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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY

REPORTER.

VOL. I. 1840.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LONDON:

KRAUS REPRINT
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1969

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 1.] WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

CONSTITUTION AND OBJECTS OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

as determined at a Meeting of Delegates and Friends to the cause, assembled from various parts of the United Kingdom, and held at Exeter Hall, London, on the 17th and 18th of April, 1839.

I. That the name of this Society be, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

II. That the objects of this Society be the universal extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade, and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves.

III. That the following be the fundamental principles of the Society—That so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

IV. That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society:—

1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the Slave-trade and Slavery; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of Slave-holding countries not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British Colonies, and elsewhere; to open a correspondence with Abolitionists in America, France, and other countries, and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

2. To recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to Slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that the Slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British Dominions, shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom, and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

4. To recommend that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing, in our intercourse with Slave-holders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.

V. That every person who subscribes not less than ten shillings annually, or makes a donation of Five pounds or upwards, shall be a member of this Society.

VI. That the Society be under the management of a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Committee of not less than twenty-one persons, who shall be annually elected, and shall have power to fill up vacancies, and to add to their number.

VII. That there be held in London a general meeting of the subscribers once in each year, at which a report of the proceedings, and a financial statement shall be presented, and a Committee and Officers elected.

VIII. That the Committee have power to transact all business of the Society in the intervals of the general meetings, and to convene special general meetings of the Society when necessary.

IX. That it be recommended to the Anti-Slavery friends throughout the world to form Auxiliary Societies upon the principles of, and in connexion with, this Society.

X. That Auxiliary Societies be empowered annually to appoint, and where such Auxiliaries are not formed, the Committee shall have power annually to appoint one or more corresponding members, who shall be at liberty to attend and vote at all meetings of the Committee in London; and that the Committee shall also be authorized to appoint annually Honorary Corresponding members, who shall have the same privileges.

XI. That the Committee do invite and encourage the formation of Ladies' Branch Associations in furtherance of the objects of this Society.

The Offices of the Society are at No. 27, Old Broad Street, London, where all communications may be addressed.

The following gentlemen are the Committee and Officers of the Society:—

Dr. Lushington	John Beaumont	Rev. J. Woodwark
T. F. Buxton	George Bennet	Rev. John Young.
William Allen	Josiah Forster	W. Taylor
George Stacey	J. H. Hinton	James J. Wright
William Ball	Henry Sterry	Samuel Fox
Robert Forster	Joseph Cooper	L. C. Lecesne
Josiah Conder	Stafford Allen	Robert Russell
Richard Peek	Richard Barrett	Dr. Thomas Price
Robert Howard	Samuel Gurney	Jacob Post
Henry Tuckett		

Treasurer.—G. W. Alexander, Lombard Street.
Honorary Secretary.—J. H. Tredgold, 41, Wellclose Square.

A LIST OF SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS,

AUXILIARY TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, WITH THE DATE OF THEIR FORMATION, AND THE NAMES OF THEIR OFFICERS.

1. BRIGHTON.
Auxiliary Society, formed July, 1839.
Daniel P. Haill, Esq., Secretary.

2. CIRENCESTER.
Auxiliary Society, formed July, 1839.
Thomas Brewin, Esq., Treasurer and Secretary.

3. EXETER.
Ladies' Association, formed July, 1839.
Sarah Sparkes, Secretary.

4. MAIDSTONE.
Auxiliary Society, formed July, 1839.
George Smith, Esq., Treasurer.
Charles Horsnail, Esq., Secretary.

5. ROCHESTER.
Auxiliary Society, formed July, 1839.
William Tatem, Esq., Treasurer.
Samuel Wheeler, Esq., Secretary.

6. WORCESTER.
Auxiliary Society, formed August, 1839.
Samuel Darke, Esq., Secretary.

7. HITCHIN.
Auxiliary Society, formed November, 1839.
Joseph Sharples, Esq., Treasurer.
Rev. J. W. Wayne, Secretary.

8. BRISTOL.
Auxiliary Society, formed December, 1839.
Samuel Thomas, Esq., Treasurer.
James Whitehorne, Esq., Secretary.

9. KENDAL.
Auxiliary Society, formed December, 1839.

10. DARLINGTON.
Auxiliary Society, old.

11. YORK.
Auxiliary Society, old.

12. HALIFAX.
Auxiliary Society, old.

13. HUDDERSFIELD.
Auxiliary Society, formed December, 1839.

14. LEEDS.
Auxiliary Society, old.

15. SHEFFIELD.
Ladies' Association, formed December, 1839.

16. DEVIZES.
Auxiliary Society, formed December, 1839.

17. DEVIZES.
Ladies' Association, formed December, 1839.

18. BRADFORD, WILTS.
Auxiliary Society, formed December, 1839.

19. AYLESBURY.
Auxiliary Society, formed December, 1839.
George Scott, Esq., Secretary.

20. LEIGHTON BUZZARD.
Auxiliary Society, formed December, 1839.

21. BUCKINGHAM.
Auxiliary Society, formed December, 1839.

22. BEDFORD.
Auxiliary Society, formed December, 1839.

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A LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE BRITISH & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

	Donations. £. s. d.	Annual Subscript. £. s. d.
Alexander, G. W., Stoke Newington	25 0 0	5 5 0
Allen, Richard, Dublin		1 0 0
Albright, William, Charlbury		0 10 0
Ashley, Thomas, Jun., Staines		1 0 0
Allen, Stafford, London		2 2 0
Allen, William, Ditto		2 0 0
Butler, Thomas, Witham		1 1 0
Buxton, Thomas Fowell, London	10 10 0	
Ball, William, Tottenham	10 10 0	2 2 0
Boultbee, William, Birmingham		1 1 0
Bignold, Thomas, Norwich	5 0 0	1 1 0
Beaumont, John, London		1 0 0
Barrett, Richard, Waddon, near Croydon		2 2 0
Beck, Edward, Isleworth		1 1 0
Bennet, George, Hackney		1 1 0
Burchall, J. R., Leeds		1 1 0
Burchall, J. R., Jun., Ditto		1 0 0
Backhouse, Jonathan, Darlington	20 0 0	
Bowley, Charles, Gloucester	5 0 0	2 0 0
Budge, John, Lambourne	1 0 0	
Bass, William, Sudbury		1 0 0
Bodaly, Richard, Wellingborough, Northampton		0 10 0
Binns, William, Poole		1 0 0
Backhouse, John, Darlington	5 0 0	
Burlingham, Richard, Evesham		0 10 0
Bass, Isaac, Brighton		1 1 0
Beaumont, William, Newcastle-on-Tyne		1 1 0
Betts, Lucy, London	0 10 0	
Brown, G. B.	5 5 0	
Brewin, Thomas J., Cirencester	5 0 0	
Brown, Potto, Houghton, near Huntingdon		2 0 0
Birmingham Ladies' Negro Friend Society	30 0 0	
Bartlett, Rev. John		1 0 0
Cooper, Joseph, London		2 2 0
Cropper, James, Warrington	25 0 0	5 0 0
Cropper, John, Liverpool	25 0 0	
Cropper, Edward, Do.	25 0 0	
Cropper, Sarah, Do.	20 0 0	
Crewdson, W. D., Kendal	20 0 0	
Cash, William, Peckham		1 1 0
Catchpool, Thomas, Colchester	2 0 0	
Candler, John, Chelmsford		1 1 0
Clare, Peter, Manchester		1 1 0
Calcoot, Adam, Dublin	0 10 0	
Cadbury, R. T., Birmingham		1 1 0
Doyle, James, Cork	1 0 0	
Dyson, William		0 10 6
Dickenson, Barnard, Coalbrookdale		1 1 0
Darby, Richard, Do.		1 1 0
Darby, Deborah, Do.	10 0 0	2 2 0
Darby, Mary, Do.	10 0 0	2 2 0
Darby, Alfred, Do.	10 0 0	2 2 0
Darby, Abraham, Do.	10 0 0	2 2 0
Darby, Lucy, Do.	10 0 0	2 2 0
Everett, A., London		1 0 0
Eaton, Joseph, Bristol	5 0 0	5 0 0
Friend, A	0 10 0	
Friend, A	0 10 0	
Foster, Richard, Scarborough		1 1 0
Foster, Edward, Cambridge		0 10 0
Forster, Robert, Tottenham		1 1 0
Fletcher, Martha, Fearnhead		2 0 0
Frith, Philip, Croydon		5 0 0
Fletcher, Caleb, Kirby-moor-side		0 10 0
Fox, Charles, Perran, near Truro		1 1 0
Forster, William, Norwich		1 1 0
Falmouth, Jamaica Auxiliary Society, per Rev. William Knibb	100 0 0	
Fawcett, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Ferguson, Joseph, Carlisle	5 0 0	
Goodman, Joseph, Houghton, Hunts		2 0 0
Gillett, Edward, London	0 10 0	
Grimshaw, William, Jun., Do.		0 10 0
Gilbart, J. W.	3 3 0	
Graham, Thomas, Coalbrookdale		1 0 0
Harvey, Robert, Peckham		1 1 0
Head, G. H., Carlisle		10 0 0
Howard, Robert, Tottenham		5 5 0
Hinton, Rev. J. H. London		1 0 0
Humphreys, Joseph, Dublin	1 0 0	
Harwood, Edward, Bristol	1 0 0	
Hatcher, J. Marnhull, Dorset	1 0 0	
Holmes, William, London	0 10 0	
Hubbard, John, Do.		0 10 0
Harford, Summer, Bristol	1 0 0	
Hall, James, Jun., Manchester		1 1 0
Horne, James, Clapham	10 0 0	
Hathaway, W. S., Teddington		1 1 0
Harward, Captain, Gloucester		1 0 0
Homan, Francis, Stoke Newington		1 1 0
Jowitt, Robert, Leeds		1 0 0
Jepson, Catherine, York	0 10 0	
James, J., Truro	2 10 0	
Janes, S., Do.	2 10 0	
Kay, William, Liverpool	20 0 0	
Latchmore, John		1 1 0
Lloyd, Samuel, Birmingham		1 1 0
Lushington, Right Hon. Stephen, M.P., London	10 10 0	
Leeesne, L. C., Do.		2 2 0
Lushington, Charles, M.P., London		1 1 0
Margate Auxiliary Society	6 0 0	
Matravers, W., Melksham		1 0 0
Maw, Thomas, Needham Market		1 0 0
Masters, H. W.		1 0 0
Neave, Josiah, Fordingbridge		1 0 0
Norton, William, Peckham		1 0 0
Norton, Thomas, Jun., Bermondsey		1 1 0
Neatby, Joseph, per H. Sterry, London		2 2 0
O'Connell, Daniel, M.P.		1 0 0
Ovens, Paulina	1 1 0	
Peek, Richard, Kingsbridge, Devon		1 1 0
Peek, James, London	5 5 0	1 1 0
Price, J. T., Neath Abbey	25 0 0	5 0 0
Post, Jacob, Islington	10 0 0	1 0 0
Pim, Joseph R., Liverpool	1 0 0	
Pim, Jonathan, Dublin	1 0 0	
Prattman, W. L., Barnard Castle	3 14 4	
Palmer, Edward		1 1 0
Russell, Robert, London		1 1 0
Rosling, Ann, Stoke Newington	0 10 0	
Robinson, Samuel	0 10 0	
Robinson, George	0 10 0	
Reynolds, Jane, Farringdon	10 0 0	
Reynolds, Hannah, Bristol		1 0 0
Robinson, Joseph P., London		1 1 0
Southall, Samuel, Leaminster		2 0 0
Sturge, Joseph, Birmingham	25 0 0	5 5 0
Sams, Joseph, Darlington		1 1 0
Sewell, P.	5 0 0	
Stickney, Isaac, Scarboro'		1 0 0
Spencer, John	1 0 0	
Stacey, George, Tottenham		2 2 0
Steer, Thomas, Derby		0 10 0
Smith, Joseph	0 10 0	
Smith, Ebenezer, London		1 1 0
Sterry, Henry, Do.		3 3 0
Savory, Joseph, Do.		1 1 0
Sutton, Lydia, near Carlisle		1 1 0
Southall, John, Leaminster		1 1 0
Sterry, Joseph, London		2 2 0
Sterry, Joseph, Jun., Do.		1 1 0
Smith, Miss, Woodbridge	0 10 0	
Sterry, Richard, London		1 1 0
Tredgold, J. H., Do.		1 1 0
Taylor, Wm., Do.	5 0 0	
Tuckett, P. D., Frenchay, near Bristol		1 1 0
Tuckett, Francis, Do.		1 1 0
Tuckett, Henry, London		1 1 0
Tindall, Robert, Scarborough	5 0 0	
Tatham, G. N., Leeds		1 0 0
Towell, John, London	1 0 0	
Thurlow, John, Tivetshall, Norfolk	1 1 0	
Tweedy, William, Truro		2 2 0
Thompson, William, Stoke Newington		2 2 0
Woodward, Rev. J. W., Upton		0 10 0
Wedgwood, Sarah, Camphill, Woore	20 0 0	
Waterhouse, Octavius, Liverpool	2 0 0	
Wilson, Isaac, Kendal	10 0 0	
Warner, John, London		2 0 0
Williams, J., Jun., Cornwall	10 0 0	

*** Any errors which may be detected in this List will be carefully corrected.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE formation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society constitutes an era in the history of human benevolence. It is distinguished from all preceding efforts of humanity, noble as its precursors have been, by the comprehensiveness of its object and the nature of its means. As to the former, it identifies the two things, Slavery and the Slave-trade, and views the making of a slave and the holding of a slave but as parts of one and the same system, equally to be abhorred, and jointly to be exterminated. On this matter the Society casts its glance over the whole world, and wherever either the Slave-trade or Slavery exists, there is the field of its operations. The new Anti-Slavery Society is further and more strikingly distinguishable by the nature of its means. Other attempts of its class have always become implicated with armed interferance; this, for the first time, renounces the whole class of coercive auxiliaries. Without saying that others have made *no* use of moral and pacific influences, it is now only that they come to be employed *alone*.

It is a third observable feature in the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that it has come into existence at a time when it might have been conceived that the anti-slavery spirit of England had exhausted itself by repeated efforts, and when all the great objects for which it had been aroused have been accomplished. The champions of humanity have been repaid by successive triumphs, first over the British slave-trader; next, as it was thought—but this was a paper triumph—over the foreign; then over British negro-slavery in name, and at length over the substance of it under the guise of apprenticeship; so that nothing more might have seemed to remain but to sing the Io Pœan, and break up the machinery by which the results had been achieved: when, lo, this very moment is seized, and not only by a single hand, to exhibit the still appalling and augmenting horrors of the Slave-trade, and that fearful influence of the SLAVE MARKET,

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which seems to render the trade indestructible, and to call for the preservation and re-animation of the machinery yet existing for the accomplishment of a further and more magnificent design. Like a phœnix has the Anti-Slavery Society arisen in vigorous youth, out of the dying embers of its parent zeal.

It may be added, fourthly, that the attitude of the Anti-Slavery Society is a new and animating one. Up to the present time, the advocates of human liberty have been contending with one great evil, whose giant form presented itself to them perpetually in some new aspect of difficulty or defiance; it was upon this one evil, British Colonial Slavery, that they were always called upon to renew their assault, and they were called upon to renew it so often, that they began more to expect defeat than victory. We go, at length, to the attack of a new enemy, and with the cheerier spirit, because we have conquered the one which grappled with us so long. We have learned now that persevering efforts can do that, the very hope of accomplishing which, at the commencement, may be all but universally laughed to scorn. Nor are we the only parties that have learned this. The same lesson has been acquired by those whom we are going to persuade. They have seen a system fall which they did not believe could ever have been shaken; and they begin to believe less firmly in the imperishability of kindred systems. The French, the Dutch, the Dane, the Spaniard, the Brazilian, and the American, have felt the influence of the extinction of slavery in the British Colonies on their respective systems, as the shock of an earthquake is felt by distant regions, or as the fall of Jericho was felt by the cities of Canaan. They look on us as conquerors; they have read their destiny; and the question has become one of time rather than of victory.

In the circumstances we have thus traced, the members and friends of the Anti-Slavery Society must find much to encourage hope, and to inspire energy. A lukewarm or feeble course would be, not only unbecoming, but preposterous; and we rejoice to know that hitherto such a course has not been pursued by them. Not a few vigorous measures have been adopted by them which may not at present be told in the public ear, but which will become manifest, we hope, by valuable results hereafter. In the mean time, they have promptly resolved on one which will occupy a large space in the public regard, and already begins extensively to attract it—we refer to the General Convention of Friends to the Anti-Slavery Cause from all parts of the world, which is to be held in London, in June next. The feelings of the public therefore, can no longer slumber, and the friends of this holy cause throughout the United Kingdom will immediately come forward to sustain and co-operate in the measures which have been taken. It must be obvious to them, that proceedings of this class inevitably involve heavy expenses, and that the arrangements necessary for the accommodation of their friends, foreigners and others, who may attend the Convention, will more especially do so. We must press upon them, therefore, the importance and necessity of organized pecuniary help. A local Auxiliary and a Ladies' Association should be formed wherever it is possible; and where it may not be practicable to institute both, a Ladies' Association, on some accounts, the more valuable of the two. If there be places without scope for either, some individual friend to the cause should become a correspondent of the Committee, and do what may be practicable in his neighbourhood. To this we must add, that while donations will have their full value, annual subscriptions—for the battle cannot be fought in a year—will be worth a great deal more. The list we have the pleasure of publishing to-day will show that subscribers are already enrolled from many parts of the country, and exhibit some examples of liberality highly worthy of imitation.

REVIVAL OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY FEELING IN ENGLAND.

On the attainment of Negro Emancipation and the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship, the great objects for which the benevolent energies of the British public were last aroused into action, the Anti-slavery feeling of England naturally and almost necessarily subsided. Strong feeling cannot be incessant, or, at least, cannot be so without a new and adequate exciting cause. Such cause is now again being shown to the public of Great Britain, and again, as on so many former occasions, the public mind answers to the call. The subjects of Slavery and the Slave-trade in their widest sense, as a crime perpetrated and a calamity endured by so large a portion of mankind, have been almost unknown to the inhabitants of this country at large; but there can be no question whether they will and do sympathize with the effort which is now made by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to put an end to them both. Within the last few weeks, three influential members of that society have been actively and laboriously employed in various parts of the country, in making known its objects, and in soliciting organized co-operation. Mr. Sturge has met the active friends of the cause at Kendal, Carlisle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Shields, Darlington, Stockton, York, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Barnsley, and Sheffield: at each of which places, resolutions were adopted, either to form British and Foreign Anti-slavery Societies auxiliary to the one in London, or expressive of the cordial co-operation of those already formed with that society on the basis of its fundamental principles. In several of these places, the Ladies resolved to re-organize their associations. We have also the pleasure of stating that, in every instance, either deputies were appointed to attend the General Conference to be held in London next summer, or resolutions were passed expressing a decided intention of doing so, or the meetings recommended their respective Committees to make their appointments. Mr. Alexander, the Treasurer of the society, has visited Leighton Buzzard, Hitchin, Bedford, Luton, Aylesbury, Buckingham, Banbury, and Oxford; while Mr. Scoble has made a tour to Reading, Devizes, Bradford, Bath, Bristol, Taunton, Exeter, Plymouth and Devonport—in all cases with a similar result, as appears by the list of Auxiliary Societies, and of places from which delegates to the Convention may be expected, which we have the pleasure of publishing to-day. Our friends in France, America, the West Indies, and elsewhere, who may attend on this great and important occasion, may, therefore, confidently rely upon a cordial and warm reception from a numerous company of abolitionists, assembled to meet them from different parts of the United Kingdom. An article which we have inserted from the *Leeds Mercury*, will afford our readers a general idea of the proceedings held by the anti-slavery friends, and may serve the further purpose of suggesting a course desirable to be pursued by those whom it may not be possible immediately to visit. An extract which we subjoin from Mr. Scoble's correspondence, will exhibit in a pleasing light the spirit which is everywhere elicited:—

"It will afford the Committee," says this devoted philanthropist, "as it has afforded me, great pleasure to be assured, that we have everything to encourage us in the revived state of Anti-Slavery feeling at this place and its neighbourhood; and that I am impressed with the conviction, that we have only to get possession of the public ear, to get possession of the heart also."

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN LONDON, IN JUNE NEXT.

This measure, which was so promptly and energetically resolved on by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, is exciting a very lively interest, both at home and abroad. It is already known that it will be attended, on the part of the Paris Anti-Slavery Society, by M. Hippolyte de St. Anthoine, their Secretary, and by several staunch abolitionists from the United States on the part of the American Anti-Slavery Society. There will be present at it, also, gentlemen from various parts of the world, well acquainted with the state of slavery and the slave-trade in different countries, and deeply interested in the objects of the Convention. Dr. Madden, who has been three years officially resident in Cuba, either as a member of the Mixed Commission Court, or as protector of liberated Africans, has already arrived in England, and the Rev. William Knibb is expected by the end of April from Jamaica. In proportion as attention is directed to it in this country, it engages a most cordial sympathy; and it is certain that several hundred delegates will be assembled, some from almost every considerable place in Great Britain. A more interesting body of men than will then be collected it is scarcely possible to conceive, whether we look at their character, their circumstances, or their object. There can be none among them, either ignorant, unprincipled, or selfish; the choice of those who send them, and the motives which induce them to come, are guarantees for their intelligence, their love of liberty, and their benevolence. They will be associated by the strongest and happiest of bonds, not by a similarity of practical aim only, but by an identity of noble and lofty principles; and thus happily will be united men of the first rank of different nations, climes, and colours. For a nobler object (the extension of Christianity alone excepted,) men never were united, and never can be. Its pure righteousness, its deep benevolence, its unmarred peacefulness, constitute beauties which cannot be surpassed. It will be no Holy Alliance for the consolidation of power, and the suppression of efforts to break the yoke of bondage; but one for pleading the cause of the oppressed, for devising the liberation of every captive, and for consulting how to arrest, we should say rather to exterminate that horrible traffic in the persons and liberties of men, which may be said to involve at once the perpetration of all crimes and the endurance of all sufferings. There cannot but be extensive good resulting from this step. The concentration of so much attention, feeling, and power upon the object the world never saw; and all these will be augmented by the effort, which will be but like the kindling of a fire among inexhaustible materials. The eyes of all nations will be fixed on it; and not with the *least* intensity those of the guilty men, who, in so many nations—and we grieve bitterly to include our own—endeavour or consent to enrich themselves by the price of their brother's liberties and blood.

A LIST OF PLACES IN GREAT BRITAIN,

From which Delegates may be expected to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention.

1. Hitchin.
2. Stroud.
3. Gloucester.
4. Cheltenham.
5. Tewkesbury.
6. Worcester.
7. Hereford.
8. Leamington.
9. Birmingham.
10. Bristol.
11. Kendal.
12. Carlisle.
13. Newcastle-on-Tyne.
14. Darlington.
15. York.
16. Halifax.
17. Huddersfield.
18. Leeds.
19. Sheffield.
20. Devizes.
21. Bradford, Wilts.
22. Bath.
23. Bristol.
24. Exeter.
25. Plymouth.
26. Devonport.
27. Aylesbury.
28. Reading.
29. Rochester.
30. Maidstone.

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31. Lewis.	37. Luton.
32. Brighton.	38. Banbury.
33. Aylesbury.	39. Manchester.
34. Leighton Buzzard.	40. Edinburgh
35. Oxford.	39. Liverpool.
36. Bedford.	40. Dublin.

To Correspondents.

Orders for this paper should not be sent to the Anti-slavery Office; but should be given to newspaper agents, by whom, in all parts of the country, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* may be regularly obtained and supplied.

Communications, for the *Reporter* should be addressed to the Editors, at the Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON JANUARY 15TH, 1839.

THE name which has been given to this Journal is so descriptive as to leave us little room for explanation. It will, of course, be devoted exclusively to topics connected with the twin abominations yet desolating the earth—Slavery and the Slave-trade. It will also be the official organ of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the habitual Reporter of its proceedings; maintaining, consequently, unequivocally, the *pacific* principles of that Society. Our columns will contain further, as much of the general information which will be continually arriving on our appropriate topics as we may be able to condense into them; together with original articles on the various important questions which will naturally arise for discussion. While the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* cannot be considered as in any way (the mere accident of time excepted) succeeding to the *British Emancipator*, from which its general scope and character will be found to differ, it will not be forgetful of the happily emancipated population of the British Colonies, a watchful regard to whose interests is one of the specific duties of the Anti-Slavery Society.

It will now be evident upon what friends we lean for support. The members and friends of the Anti-Slavery Society will, of course, encourage us, and all who may wish to know what that Society is doing. We may without presumption suggest, also, that those who wish to promote, either the prosperity of that Society, or the advancement of the objects it has in view, cannot pursue a better adapted method, than to foster and extend, gratuitously, even, if it be impracticable otherwise, the circulation of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Inasmuch as the evils with the destruction of which it is identified are but too likely to be of long persistence, it is not probable that our labours will be of short duration, or the existence of this Journal altogether ephemeral. If we may hope, on the one hand, that many of our numbers will be dispersed, we would recommend that some should be filed; and we may safely, we think, encourage an expectation that an Index at the end of the year will facilitate their binding into a volume of easy reference and consultation.

Our present number, not unsuitably, is largely occupied with details respecting the Anti-Slavery Society.

By Jamaica papers to the 7th of December, which were delivered on Monday, we learn that the amiable proceedings of the House of Assembly in that island have been interrupted by an angry episode, of which our old friend Dr. Palmer has been the subject. They have committed him to prison for a breach of the privileges of the House. The crime so promptly and so severely visited, consisted in the insertion in the *Colonial Reformer* of a letter from Jamaica which appeared in the *British Emancipator*. Dr. Palmer admits the matter to be a breach of privilege; but pleads that the letter was marked for insertion on a superficial reading, so that he was not aware of its containing the obnoxious passage—a degree of negligence for which he apologizes accordingly. He was, however, immediately committed to prison by virtue of the prerogative of the Assembly, who were evidently glad enough to punish so staunch an advocate of liberty and justice; and on the departure of the mail he was still lying in the common jail at Spanish Town, where he will lie, no doubt, as long as the angry House can keep him there—that is, we suppose, as long as they continue sitting. We are sorry that our old and valued friend has given the enemies of freedom this opportunity against him; but both he, and we, and all the world, will know why he suffers, and he will not be wanting of the consolation of a good conscience and sympathizing friends. He is not the first opposer of tyranny that has been committed for breach of privilege; and we are glad to see that he bears it in a manly spirit. "So far as we are personally concerned," he says, "we care little for what has occurred; we have been too long inured to the griping hand of oppression and persecution, to be much affected by the present blow. We can bear all the burthens the House of Assembly are able to heap upon us, without a murmur." As to the general effect of this petulant measure, there can be no doubt of its being beneficial to the cause of freedom.

The following are the remarks on this occurrence, of the editor of the *St. Jago Gazette*:

In reference to the imprisonment of Dr. Palmer, by the Hon. House of Assembly, we cannot help thinking, that the House would best have consulted their own dignity, had they *prudently* refrained from resorting to the extreme exercise of their power, and treated the paragraphs in the Colonial Reformer, of which they complained, with that *silence* so wisely recommended by Mr. March. We certainly condemn the broad accusations levelled against the House in the two offensive paragraphs; but we give our contemporary credit for the sincerity of his assertion, that the whole article was copied from an English paper, and that he was not aware of the tendency of those two particular passages. It is true, that Dr. Palmer did not urge in extenuation the hacknied and common-place words of "I regret," and "I am sorry;" but he stated to the House that which ought to have shown that he was not morally guilty of a breach of their privileges. If it be true that Dr. Palmer is the tool (as he was termed in the House) of a powerful party at home, inimical to the interests of this country, will the result of this affair not stir them up to pursue a more inveterate course than they have hitherto done, and lead them, probably, to use their influence in parliament for the purpose of renewing their attacks against the constitution of the island? We fear it will, and the House will find that this is one of those heedless and headlong measures which tend to bring them into disrepute in the mother country, and embarrass their legitimate proceedings as a legislative body.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOON.

From a private letter from New York, dated December 14th, 1839, we extract the following:

"Mr. Clay has been defeated in not obtaining the nomination for the Presidency at the Great Convention at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania. General Harrison was his successful competitor. It is not disguised that Clay's defeat was owing chiefly to the increase of abolitionists in this and other States, who would not vote for him. It is a most righteous blow, after his pro-slavery spirit in the senate of the United States last year."

A letter from the Rev. J. M. Philippo, of Spanish Town, Jamaica, dated Sligoville, December 6th, 1839, furnishes the following remarks on Dr. Palmer's imprisonment by the House of Assembly.

"The circumstance has created a very strong sensation among the peasantry in this district, their impression being that he is suffering on their account: to show their sympathy with him, crowds are pouring into the town from all quarters to see him. I have no doubt this feeling will be almost universal. With regard to the cause and design of Dr. Palmer's incarceration but one opinion pervades the minds of the friends of liberty here, namely, that it is a desire to ruin him and to annihilate his paper—a design which I most earnestly implore the British people, on behalf of thousands around me, at once to defeat."

In relation to the appeal on behalf of the persecuted ministers in Jamaica, the same writer says:

"I am truly rejoiced to find that so strong a feeling is excited in favour of our brethren who have so shamefully suffered at the hands of our Jamaica juries. The announcement, I am informed, has a little paralyzed some parties of a somewhat higher standing than book-keepers and overseers; and I think it quite time they should be frightened out of their prejudices into greater impartiality. The prompt and generous sympathy of the British public towards the sufferers of this gross injustice will effect wonders at the present crisis. No mandate from the Government would have the effect of correcting the impurity of our legal courts, either so suddenly or so effectually. If our British friends stand by us we are invincible—God being at the same time on our side."

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

BRITISH COLONIES.

JAMAICA.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

The House of Assembly is proceeding with unwonted smoothness and placidity in the exercise of their legislative functions; not a single vestige of their former turbulence, nor scarcely a symptom even of intemperance has been exhibited since the commencement of the present session. Whence arises this singular phenomenon?—is a question which will be asked by all parties in the mother country. The solution of the problem we conceive to be two-fold—1st, the recent threat of suspension and the discussions in Parliament, which have inspired a wholesome amount of terror amongst honourable members; and 2nd, that the master spirits of political strife and confusion have been providentially removed from amongst us. These two causes combined will fully explain the extraordinary sobriety of the Jamaica Assembly at this moment.

With regard, however, to the proceedings of the House, what are they now doing? for that, after all, is the more legitimate subject of inquiry. They have passed several useful and necessary laws, and others are in progress, perhaps no less necessary. But there are some now before the House, and others given notice of, which we view with extreme suspicion.

The Election Law, it will be observed, has been thrown out on the second reading, on a division of 14 to 12, from which we infer that it embraced some liberal provisions, which were obnoxious to the oligarchs.

An Act to punish and restrain Vagrancy has passed the House, and we earnestly hope it will pass no farther. We protest against the measure on behalf of the labouring population, as being uncalled for, and unnecessary, and therefore delusive—and as being liable, in its practical operation in the hands of the local magistracy, to become an instrument of fearful oppression. Vagrancy, to the extent of becoming a public evil, *has no existence whatever* in Jamaica.

An Act to compel the registering of Fire Arms, is now before the House—it is a needless, and vexatious interference with, and restraint on, the common law rights of the subject. The last law on this subject contained several most infamous enactments, having no bearing on the registration of fire-arms, but thrust in as a sort of rider. Mr. Mitchel will surely not dare to re-intoduce those clauses into his bill; but whether he do or not, we confidently expect that the whole bill will fall still-born under the veto of the governor.

A Bill to prevent combinations among Masters and Servants, is also before the House. The very circumstance of its being introduced by Mr. Guy, would be sufficient to induce strong suspicion against its provisions. We wait to see its contents.

The Contract Bill of Mr. Thompson is still before the House. *An Act to define the powers of Justices of the Peace*, by Mr. Dallas, is in progress. *An Act to facilitate the recovery of Tenements*, also by Mr. Dallas, is on the

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tapis. *An Act to prevent cruelty to animals*, by Mr, Osborn, has passed through all its stages. These are the principal acts having reference to the agricultural interests of the country. It will be our duty to scrutinize their provisions with a jealous eye, and to watch their progress through every stage.—*Colonial Reformer.*

THE FOLLOWING BILLS HAVE BEEN ASSENTED TO by his Excellency the Governor, since the commencement of the Session :—

Commissioners of Public Accounts.
Commissioners of Board of Works.
Tonnage Duty.
Rules and Articles of War.
Commissioners of Forts and Fortifications.
Duty on Horses, Mares, and Mules, imported into this island.
To authorise the discharge of Prisoners confined for debt.
For raising a TAX on Land.
For laying a duty on all Horned Cattle imported into the island.
To enable Alfred Rodgers to practice as an Attorney and Solicitor.
Rum Duty.
To prevent Cruelty to Animals.—12.—*St. Jago Gazette.*

THE ISLAND AGENT.—On the proposition for Mr. Burge's re-appointment to this lucrative situation, the Chief Justice took the opportunity of giving the learned gentleman what we, in vulgar parlance, would call 'a sound dressing,' for the improper and disrespectful manner in which he spoke of the Council, in his address to the House of Lords, on the 28th June last; for which he gets, nevertheless, a gratuity of £2000.—*St. Jago Gazette.*

A CAPTAIN JAMES has lately been tried, in Spanish Town, for having, as was proved on the clearest evidence, kidnapped, on board of a vessel under his command, two black lads, whom he afterwards sold to a planter in the island of Cuba. Sentence of death has been passed on him, but petitions, numerously signed, have been forwarded to the Executive, praying for a commutation of the sentence. We have been credibly informed, that this callous-hearted wretch—this robber of the liberty of his fellow-creatures, is expected to make important disclosures, by which the fact will be established that other persons have, like himself, been carrying on a profitable traffic, of the same nature as that for which he has been convicted.—*Falmouth Post.*

LORD SEAFORD has addressed a sensible letter to his attorney in Jamaica, which appears in the *public papers*. He says, "I am decidedly of opinion that it is for the *interest* of *both* parties to enter into *distinct and separate agreements*, both for wages and for rent. As to the *mode* of estimating rent, the fair *value* of property of any sort, is what *it will fetch in the market*, or what others would be disposed to give for it *upon an open competition*; but in making such a valuation, whether of houses or provision grounds, regard should be had solely to the *size* and *condition* of the house, of the *quantity* and *quality* of the grounds, *without reference to the number of the inhabitants of the house, or the number of persons, who may cultivate the grounds.*"

THE RICHMOND LABOURERS have obtained each £50. 6s. 11d. damages and costs, against Mr. Robinson, the magistrate, for illegal imprisonment.

TRINIDAD.

FRENCH EMIGRANTS.—Two hundred and ninety-five persons of this class were recently landed at Trinidad from Havre, having been induced, in point of fact, to sell themselves as slaves to the captain. Even the *Trinidad Standard* makes the following remark :—"The engagement entered into by these people with Captain Chevalier, to serve, on their arrival in Trinidad, as agricultural labourers for three years, *any person with whom he might place them*, was only pledging them to a mitigated kind of slavery, and we rejoice to see that the contract thus entered into is wholly void and of no effect. Such an arrangement would have given Captain Chevalier a power, which no man ought ever to be permitted to exercise over the person of another."

BRITISH GUIANA.

MR. RIES, THE EMIGRANT AGENT, has returned to the Colony with a cargo of Germans, for which he was to receive 100 dollars a-head from parties to whom they were indentured for one year, "at the same rate of wages that other labourers now in the Colony receive." After landing about thirty of them, the governor sent Mr. Stipendiary Ross on board, to inform the others that, by the law of the Colony, they were at liberty to land, and make what arrangements they chose for themselves; a privilege which they immediately took advantage of. For this very proper step, the governor has been soundly rated by certain parties. The emigrants themselves, if the statements in the papers be correct, have been about as judiciously selected as Falstaff's ragged regiment, and are likely to be of just so much benefit to the country—"They will make food for" disease to feed upon, "and save better men." Take the following, by way of example, from the *Gazette* of the 19th :—

"One gentleman engaged him to bring out to him one hundred German labourers, at £20 per head. And what think ye, are the field labourers that Mr. Ries has brought out to this gentleman? They are 1 carpenter, 2 Jew pedlars, 1 merchant's clerk, 3 grooms, 2 locksmiths, 4 tailors, 3 furriers and cap-makers, 1 Jew of no employment, 1 gardener, 4 blacksmiths, 3 bakers, 1 milliner, 1 clock-maker, 1 glove-maker, 7 house-servants, 2 masons, 2 shoemakers, 1 barber, 4 agricultural labourers, 3 washerwomen, 1 weaver, 1 seamstress, 1 cooper, 1 coachman."—*Barbadoes Liberal.*

Mr. Ries seems to have made but a bad speculation of it; as we find him complaining to the Combined Court of heavy losses, (more than £1000.) and petitioning for compensation.

CAPTAIN ALLEN, the conscientious Stipendiary Magistrate "has been banished," as our correspondent writes, "to a remote district in Berbice" ..... "Captain Allen proved, I believe, too troublesome to his Excellency, in frequently calling his attention to the numerous illegal commitments to our jail, of which Captain Allen was a commissioner, and thereby procuring the liberation of the parties. These commitments were chiefly made by the upright Police Magistrate, Thomas Dougan, and of course complaints were made against Captain Allen's interference." The result has been as stated; his virtual "banishment to a remote district in Berbice," where he will be out of Mr. Dougan's way.—*Ibid.*

THE BANKS OF THE DEMERARA RIVER.—"For miles on both banks of the Demerara river," says a correspondent, "thriving little estates are to be seen waving in the wind the rich product of the free negro's honest industry, now no more to be reaped by the white man. Their comfortable homes surrounded with plantains, yams, eddoes, cocoa, bananas, canes, &c., and the wives taking care of the young ones, and preparing the meal which their husbands are to enjoy with them on returning home from their occupations. Altogether, the scene is one which could not fail to interest you." And this is the idleness and vagrancy which threaten short crops upon the plantations, and certain ruin to the colony, and of course to British commerce throughout the world! The same correspondent says, "In the country, the labourers purchase for the most part in small lots, and no sooner are such known to be in the market, than a general anxiety is manifested to be first in making purchases. Last week, two or three of this class purchased a third of plantation *Strouk and Heuvel*, from T. P. Hart, Esq., for 1,496 dollars, of which 900 dollars were paid down, and the remainder will be shortly, I understand. This place has only 100 roods facade, but is of immense depth"...."It is worthy of notice, that the purchasers are the very persons ejected from *Bel Air* by that pompous fool,' William Armdell, Esq., on the last visit of Mr. Scoble."—*Ibid.*

IMPROVEMENT IN DEMERARA.—As I have mentioned some improvements, I will state another in a quarter in which you little expect it. The proprietor of La Penitence has discovered his error in trying to rule by coercion, and the quarrels between his labourers and himself have been accommodated. Many of his old labourers left La Penitence, and were employed on a neighbouring plantation. On the other hand, many from that plantation went to La Penitence, where the cottages have been made very comfortable, and where a system of location in families has been introduced. Mr. Albouy has left the colony, after yielding to the necessity of the times. His manager is a very indulgent man to the people under him, and *if left to himself*, will do well with the estate. Stoppages for cottage rent upon this place are now known only by name; they are still held out as a threat—merely for the sake of the appearance of consistency, I suppose—but are not exacted. Indeed, the absent days are so few, that the amount is not considered to be worth the risk of another *strike.*—*Correspondent of ditto.*

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

(Extract of a letter from Cape Town, dated 9th October, 1839.)

I beg to point out to you what I consider to be a serious error in the legislation of Great Britain. While they have annihilated slavery in their own colonies, they are encouraging the Slave Trade, by allowing to be imported into Great Britain the produce of colonies which are the receptacle of the "stolen goods." In this way cargoes of coffee are continually arriving here from Rio, Cuba, and other Spanish and Portuguese colonies. It is landed here in bond, and exported at the same duty as British produce into England. I do not know the Act which enables them to do this; but I believe it slipped through Parliament one evening, when one half the members were absent, and the other half asleep. I think it ought to be rectified. England ought not to receive the produce of a slave-working place upon any terms, much less upon terms the same as British possessions are entitled to. You may depend upon what I have told you. At this moment there are three vessels in Table Bay, receiving and discharging the cargoes brought in the manner I have mentioned.

MAURITIUS.

The *Asiatic Journal* for the present month, p. 85, contains the following startling piece of intelligence from Calcutta :—

"Sir William Nicolay has strongly recommended to Her Majesty's ministers, to allow the importation of our Coolies into the Mauritius; and pending their *decision has allowed free labourers to be introduced from Madagascar, where every labourer is the slave of some chief.*"

We do not stop to notice, either the longings of the Mauritians after the Indian Coolies, or Sir William Nicolay's eagerness to oblige them, all this we knew before: but the introduction of labourers faom Madagascar is another matter. Here is a primâ faciê case of SLAVE-TRADING, *under the direct sanction of a British Governor.* To say that they are introduced into Mauritius as free labourers, is nothing but a juggle. The people are slaves in Madagascar, where the chiefs certainly do not part with them to these benevolent Mauritians, without a consideration; and how does the giving of such consideration differ from the purchasing of slaves? Have the bought slaves an option of coming to Mauritius or not? Or are they really free when they get there? It is something new to find Mauritian planters such romantic lovers of liberty as to purchase slaves into freedom. Of course Her Majesty's ministers will charge Sir Lionel Smith, the new governor, to investigate this business.—*Ed. Reporter.*

FRENCH COLONIES.

ROYAL ORDINANCE FOR THE EDUCATION AND PROTECTION OF THE SLAVES. THE *Moniteur* publishes a Royal Ordinance dated the 5th inst., on the education and protection of slaves in the French Colonies. The following is a summary of it :—

Art. 1. declares that the ministers of public worship in the colonies shall lend their assistance to the schoolmasters in teaching the doctrines and enforcing the performance of the duties of the Christian religion, shall visit the habitations within their parishes at least once a month, and shall perform the offices of religion to the slaves, and teach the catechism to the children, at least once a week.—Art. 2, directs the Governors of colonies to publish an official notice of the days and hours at which religious instruction is to be given at the habitations; and the masters of schools are to conduct the slave children of fourteen years old, at the least, to church, to be taught the catechism.—Art. 3, declares that the slaves of both sexes, from four years of age, shall be admitted into the gratuitous schools of their respective towns and communes.—Art. 4. That the teachers of such schools are authorised, on the request of the master of slaves, to go to their habitations for the purpose of giving them instruction.—Art. 5, directs the procureurs-generaux, procureurs du Roi, and their substitutes, whenever occasion may require, to visit the houses and other places within their districts, to ascertain that the laws and regulations respecting slaves are carried into execution. The procureurs du Roi are to make monthly tours of inspection, and the procureurs generaux are to make such inspections every six months.—Art. 6, requires that regular reports of the results of the above inspections shall be sent by the governors to the Minister of Marine and Colonies. These reports are to contain details of the manner in which the slaves are fed and treated, their hours of work and rest, their religious instruction and marriages, and the punishm

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of the ordinances for their registration and enfranchisement.—Art. 7, imposes a fine of 25 francs upon every breach of Art. 2, which is doubled in cases of repetition of the offence.

This ordinance may be well intended, but practically it is a piece of sheer nonsense. We hope it will not for a moment divert the French abolitionists from pursuing their great object, immediate emancipation.—*Ed. Reporter.*

UNITED STATES.

THE CAPTURED AFRICANS.

(From the *New York Emancipator.*)

The following is a copy of the latest libel or claim entered by the United States District Attorney against the African MEN now in keeping of the United States Marshal. As this is now the main claim on which the whole case turns, we invite the attention of our legal friends to its form and substance, both with reference to its legal sufficiency and its judicial bearings upon our civil institutions, and our national character. What would they say to such a suit in Westminster Hall!

[COPY.]

District of Connecticut ss.
At a Special District Court, holden at Hartford, on the 19th day of Nov., A.D. 1839.

Thomas R. Gedney and others
vs.
Schooner Amistad, &c.

Be it remembered, that on the nineteenth day of November, A. D. 1839, William S. Hollabird, Attorney for the United States for the District aforesaid, for and in behalf of the United States, gives this Court to understand, that the duly accredited minister of her Catholic Majesty the Queen of Spain for the United States has officially presented to the Government of the United States a claim, which is now pending upon the United States, setting forth and averring, that said vessel called the Amistad, and her cargo aforesaid, together with certain slaves on board of the same vessel, all of them being the same as described in the libel aforesaid, are the property of Spanish subjects, and that said vessel, cargo, and slaves, while so being the property of said Spanish subjects, arrived within the jurisdictional limits of the United States and of this Court, and were taken possession of by said public armed brig of the United States, under such circumstances as make it the duty of the Government of the United States to cause such vessel, cargo, and slaves, being the property of the said Spanish subjects, to be restored to the true proprietors and owners of the same, without further hindrance or detention, as required by the treaty now in full force between the United States and Spain.

Now said Attorney, in behalf of the United States, prays this Honorable Court, that in case the claim aforesaid, of the Spanish Minister aforesaid, is well founded and conformable to the treaty aforesaid, that this Court will make such order for the disposal of said vessel, cargo, and slaves, as may best enable the United States to comply with their treaty stipulations and preserve the faith of the Government.

[Signed.] W. S. HOLLABIRD, U. States Dist. Attorney.

The following extract from the Hartford correspondence of the *Courier and Inquirer*, is considered as proving that the powers at Washington have determined on surrendering the Africans to the Spanish Government.

"It is understood here that Mr. Secretary FORSYTH has expressed the opinion in emphatic and decided terms, that the case cannot properly be litigated in any of our courts: that *it is a question to be settled by the Executive*, and not by the Judiciary, and that our treaty stipulations with Spain render the obligation on the President imperative to deliver the vessel and cargo into the custody of the Spanish Minister, without injury or diminution. He thinks that it is not competent for us to call in question the legality of the license and clearance papers furnished to the purchasers of the slaves by the regularly constituted authorities at Havana.

"The Spanish Minister recommends to the claimants to abstain from all action in the premises, and to rely on the good faith of our government for justice."

We know not whether it may be any consolation in this state of affairs, that the action of the British Government may now be made more direct and influential.—*Ed. Reporter.*

TEXAS.

Mr. Joseph Taylor has been arrested in Barbados, on a charge of taking several persons from that island, and selling them into slavery in Texas. His own account of the transaction is as follows:—Sometime in November, 1835, Mr. Taylor, having determined on settling to do business in Texas, carried various goods from this island, and prevailed upon ten or eleven persons, tradesmen and domestics, to go with him. Some of them were apprenticed labourers of his father, who gave up their term of service, and others were apprentices whose term he bought out. These he emancipated, and they entered into indentures to serve him and his assigns, for terms varying from three to five years, at stipulated wages. One or two of the party he found free, and these, we believe, entered into similar indentures with him. Besides these, there were a white man, named Duncan, and his reputed wife, formerly a servant in Taylor's family, with her two (or three) children, to whom he gave a passage to Texas in his chartered vessel. On his arrival in Texas, he found the country, he says, much more unsettled than he had expected. He had to move about for some time, with the people and goods he had taken with him; was subject to great inconveniences and privations, and frequently robbed by the marauding parties with which the country was, at the time, infested. He eventually lost everything. Finding the people a clog upon him, unable to protect them or himself, and having no means to remove them out of the country, he transferred their services, by assigning their indentures, to certain parties there. A law subsequently passed the Texian Legislature, prohibiting the residence of free negroes (meaning all persons of African descent) in the State, and reducing to perpetual slavery all of that race who should be found there after a certain day. This law made the people whom he had carried from this island as indentured servants, and whose indentures he had transferred, slaves. One of them having escaped, and returned to Barbados, he has brought against Mr. Taylor the charge on which he is now awaiting his trial.—*Barbados Liberal.*

COAST OF AFRICA.

Extract of a Letter, dated Angola, Coast of Africa, September 28th, 1839.

"ACCORDING to your desire, I take up my pen to let you know what is going on in this part of the world, more particularly with reference to that much oppressed part of our race, the tribes of Africa. I arrived at Benguela on the 19th inst., and found, as I had before heard, that the colony (Portuguese) is nothing more than a slave depot. The inhabitants are one and all slave dealers; and though the slaves are not embarked immediately at the port, the traffic is openly carried on in the town. At the back of the houses there are large slave-yards, surrounded with low mud buildings, in which are confined, heavily ironed and lying on bullock hides, large gangs of slaves, ready for exportation as opportunity offers. I strolled into one of these enclosures unperceived, (the owners wish as much as possible to conceal and keep quiet their evil dealings,) and there was witness, and could make oath, to the truth of this statement. There were also bullocks in sheds close adjoining, the only difference in the treatment being, that they, the bullocks, had liberty to stroll about the yard. While I was at the house of a Mr. ——, the principal merchant in the place, a father and son were bartered for a few pieces of cloth, and two little children in like manner; they had then an iron collar and chain put round them, and so were sent to the slave-yard. I understood the reason of their being so heavily ironed, was to break their spirit before going on board the small schooners, as they are then more easily managed during the voyage.

"I next proceeded to St. Paul de Loando, and I think the information I can give respecting the traffic here is most important, and calls for prompt and determined measures on the part of the Society, and the friends of abolition at home. The Governor-General of Angola and its dependencies, His Excellency Antonio Manoel de Noronha, is a determined abolitionist, and can do more real good than the whole English squadron, if he is only supported in his liberal measures by his own government, and the press in England. I will describe as briefly as I can, his policy and its results. His Excellency arrived in January, 1839, and shortly after his arrival was seized with a serious illness, so that he was not able to commence his plans till April. His first act was in favour of the free blacks, or natives, not allowing them to be made beasts of burden; the Portuguese having been accustomed (more particularly in the interior) to make them work and carry heavy weights, or else to burn their huts, to seize their kings, and to employ other arbitrary measures. He next put in force strong measures to stop the slave-trade, openly carried on before, and indeed now to a certain extent. He entered into a provisional convention with the senior English naval officer, that Portuguese slavers to the southward of the line should be seized, and sent for adjudication to St. Paul's: this is sent home to his own government to be ratified, and by this he expects to stand or fall,* the whole of the council and the inhabitants being against him. He also stationed small vessels along the coast, to prevent the embarkation of slaves in boats, and has been pretty severe with offenders brought before him. The consequence is that he is hated, and every thing is done to annoy him, and he expects through the false representations of the slave-dealers, to be recalled—it is not safe for an *Englishman* to walk the streets after sunset. There are twenty-six fine rakish vessels lying in the harbour, and there they have been for four months, unable to get a greater quantity of water or provisions than is necessary for the crew for the voyage, and obliged to wait, either for vessels from the Brazils, or news of the governor's removal. The Custom House and merchants' stores are full of English goods from the sudden check, the slave-yards being all full, and the goods unable to be disposed of, until the present stock are shipped, and room made for others. All this makes good his word, and what the governor of the Havanna said, 'Let my government give me the order, *and support me*, and not a slave shall enter or leave the country. We do not require English men-of-war.'

"His Excellency has introduced camels (from the Canaries) and bullocks for the saddle; it being the custom of the country to be carried about in hammocks, or a kind of palanquin, upon the shoulders of negroes. The governor assured me he had never been in one, but rode either on horseback or on a bullock; but that he could get no one to ride the latter, the slave dealers thinking it would have a bad effect on the slaves. I mentioned to him that I should like to come up to him on one; accordingly one was sent down for me, and through staring and sneers I rode out on it. We went to see a new road, which is making by free labour, instead of the lash and chains. It is eighty leagues long, and will reach the frontier; the natives who work upon it receive a small hire. On seeing the governor, they all exclaimed, 'See our father,' and proved they knew a friend. Not one has deserted from the work. Every other public work has cost a great number of lives from cruel usage. The governor has also sent an expedition to explore the interior. Iron, copper, and sulphur, are found, and a very valuable kind of moss for dyeing, nizella, a cargo of which has been recently shipped."

"P.S. I think I could urge some strong reasons for the removal of an English force from this coast, In some instances it has been productive of much harm to the cause. It has tended to keep up excitement in the slave crews, and has been taken advantage of by the dealers to give the traffic a popularity with the seamen and the lower orders. In the cause of humanity moral force will have the greater sway, and should be preferred to physical."

* This convention was subsequently confirmed by the Portuguese government, but set aside by Lord Palmerston, as rendered unnecessary by the late act of the British Parliament.

MR. SCOBLE, MR. ALEXANDER, and other gentlemen, are about to visit France and Holland, on the objects of the Anti-slavery Society.

☞ SIR LIONEL SMITH has been gazetted under his new appointment as Governor of Mauritius.

A joint deputation from the Committees of the Anti-Slavery Society, and the Aborigines Protection Society, waited on Lord John Russell, at the Colonial Office, on Thursday last, in relation to the dismissal and present position of Captain Stockenstrom, late Lieutenant Governor at the Cape of Good Hope. The deputation consisted of Dr. Hodgkin, Mr. W. Allen, Mr. R. Forster, Mr. Tredgold, Rev. J. J. Freeman, Rev. R. Moffatt, Mr. A. B. Wright, Mr. G. Stacey, and Mr. Conder; and his Lordship received their communications with marked attention and respect.

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Home News.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS AT LEEDS.

(From the *Leeds Mercury.*)

On Thursday last, the Committee Room at the Court House, in this town, was filled by gentlemen, invited to meet Joseph Sturge, Esq., in order to hear some facts as to the existing state of affairs in the British West India Colonies, and as to the progress of the cause of freedom throughout the world. EDWARD BAINES, Esq., M.P., was called to the chair, after which Mr. STURGE stated that the testimony of all impartial witnesses was uniform, in ascribing the happiest results to the great act of emancipation of 1838: all agreed in the assertion that, up to this moment, the conduct of the negroes was excellent. Though the religious and moral effects of emancipation were most important, it is most gratifying to find another proof afforded, by the condition of the negroes, to the position, that nations will usually be pecuniary as well as moral gainers by acting justly. The export of cotton goods from this country, for the use of the negroes in the colonies, had averaged, for the 13 years before 1838, upwards of 26 million yards; during the last year, it had exceeded 50 million yards; the quality, also, of the articles of clothing now bought by the negroes far surpassed what had ever been known when the proprietors clothed their slaves; and the export of hosiery for use among the blacks, which was quite a new trade, had been very considerable during the last year. The liberality of negroes in support of missionary operations and schools was remarkable; within four months after emancipation, one congregation had raised £1000 currency, for enlarging or erecting a chapel, and another had since subscribed no less than £3000 currency, for a similar purpose. Mr. Sturge read extracts from letters to himself, of recent date, which stated the gratifying facts that there was no police in Jamaica, and none was needed; that the attendance of the negroes on the means of grace, afforded by all denominations, was greatly increased; that a remittance of £100 sterling had been made from negroes only to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with a promise to continue it annually; that an idle man, woman, or child, was not to be seen at the time of pimento picking; that crime was almost unknown, and every form of iniquity formerly practised by the blacks was fast giving way before the Gospel; that the purchasing of Bibles was on an extensive scale; and, in fact, that the results of freedom far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the warmest advocates of the negroes. All these assertions were fully borne out by Mr. Scoble and Captain Stuart, who had visited the West Indies expressly to ascertain the effects of the new state of society; they showed that nearly all the evils still prevailing arose out of the misconduct of the managers of the estates held by non-resident proprietors; and that complaints of the negroes were not made by proprietors living themselves on the spot. Not a single case of squatting had occurred, though predictions had often been indulged in, to the effect that the negroes would fix on the unoccupied lands, and not work with any regularity. Many Christian negroes had manifested the strongest desire to proclaim the Gospel in Africa, and persevered in the wish, notwithstanding every discouragement. During the recent visit of the American statesman, Daniel Webster, to this country, a deputation from the Anti-Slavery Society had had an interview with him, when he expressed a wish that they would circulate, as widely as possible, facts showing the beneficial consequences of emancipation. Mr. Sturge then entered into details of the progress of freedom so far as other countries were concerned. France, which held 250,000 slaves, had sent out several commissioners to the West Indies, to observe the results of negro freedom in the British colonies, and the report presented to the Government took for granted that slavery in their own possessions was to be abolished, and only discussed the questions when and how. In the United States there were about 2,700,000 slaves, but the Anti-Slavery Societies were 1600 in number, and at the State elections now in progress their members would make the holding of right views on this subject a test to the candidates, and would vote for none opposed to emancipation. The importance of the Texian question was enforced by Mr. Sturge, who expressed regret that the independence of Texas had been recognized by France and the United States, but said that there was good reason to hope that the British Government would not recognise a State which had expressly re-established both slavery and the slave trade, giving a monopoly of the latter to the United States. In Brazil, there are more than two millions of slaves, and in Cuba, from 500,000 to a million. Even there the moral influence of public opinion in this country was felt, and in the Spanish colonies many were ashamed to defend slavery, who formerly saw no evil in it.

The slave trade was still double what it was when abolished by the British legislature (so far as Englishmen are concerned) more than 30 years ago. 150,000 negros were conveyed yearly to the shores of America, while, for each one of these, it was calculated, by Mr. Fowell Buxton, on the best evidence, that two were killed, either in Africa, or on the middle passage. No Englishmen were engaged, it was believed, in the slave-ships; but, unhappily, a large portion of the articles of clothing used for carrying on the traffic, were manufactured in England. Moreover, out of 17,205 barrels of gunpowder (each of 100 lbs. weight) exported this year from Liverpool, up to the 9th Dec. inst., no fewer than 16,455 barrels were for Africa—chiefly, no doubt, to be used in the slave-traffic.

Since his visit to Leeds last year, Mr. Sturge said, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had been formed, the leading principles of which body were—that the only certain way of suppressing the Slave trade (in which the profits were nearly 200 per cent.) was, to attack and abolish slavery; that peaceful measures were best calculated to effect the extinction of both, and that no proceedings of any other character should have the sanction of the society. The specific objects proposed at its formation were, that it might circulate in this and other countries authentic accounts of the horrors of slavery and the slave trade; diffuse information in slave-holding lands as to the pecuniary advantages of free labour over forced labour; correspond with societies of similar character in America and France; promote fiscal regulations for the encouragement of the produce of free labour, to the discouragement of that of the slaves; and obtain the extension of the principle "that every slave, touching British soil, becomes free," to all our dependencies throughout the world. He believed it had been thought best that the Leeds Anti-Slavery committee should not become only an auxiliary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and therefore he did not urge this, but at about ten different towns in the north, which he had visited, it had been resolved to appoint delegates to attend the great anti-slavery conference to be held in London, and the proceedings of which would commence on the 12th June, 1840. He was desirous that Leeds also should come to this resolution. A considerable number of deputies from the United States and from Jamaica were expected to attend; others might come from different parts of the world. In reply to a question from the Chairman, Mr. Sturge observed that no specific subjects had been published as those which would engage the attention of the Conference, but he believed that information as to the actual state of slavery, wherever it prevails, would be solicited and furnished; that the best means of putting an end to the system in each country would be discussed, and that measures would be taken for circulating, as widely as possible, the facts elicited at this interesting meeting. Mr. Sturge concluded amidst applause.

The CHAIRMAN congratulated the meeting on the highly gratifying nature of the communications just made by his esteemed friend, as to the success of the great experiment in the British West India colonies, and the progress of the cause of human rights generally. He fully agreed in the propriety of diffusing the information as to the complete success of emancipation all over the world, and especially where slavery still existed; for now, in addition to the religious and moral grounds hitherto urged on the slave-owners for giving freedom to their bondmen, the decided pecuniary benefit might be stated to them, and could scarcely fail to have an effect. The example of England in giving freedom to her slaves must be a powerful incentive to imitation; the results of that emancipation would supply another equally strong.

The Rev. R. W. HAMILTON inquired whether the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had employed any influence with Government against the employment of force to suppress the slave trade; to which Mr. Sturge replied, that they had not, nor were they likely to do so in their collective capacity; but as force had hitherto so signally failed, he trusted that all who felt the importance of the subject would impartially consider whether peaceful measures were not likely to prove the most effectual.

After Mr. Sturge had replied to some further questions, it was moved by the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, and seconded by Mr. Thomas Harvey, "That this meeting recommends to the Leeds Anti-Slavery Committee to consider the propriety of appointing deputies to attend the Anti-Slavery Conference, to be held in London, in June next."

This resolution was unanimously adopted; and so was another, at the suggestion of Mr. W. West, recommending that the Leeds Anti-Slavery Committee should, on the same occasion, consider whether any modifications were necessary in its own constitution.

Mr. WM. WAILES then moved the cordial thanks of the meeting to Mr. Sturge, for his highly interesting communications; this was seconded by Mr. John Jowitt, jun., and carried by acclamation. Mr. Sturge briefly expressed his acknowledgments, and the meeting broke up.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT EDINBURGH.

(From the *Scottish Pilot.*)

A very numerous meeting of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society was held in that city, on Wednesday, the 8th inst., JOHN WIGHAM, Esq., in the Chair, to receive communications from Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON and Mr. SCOBLE, on the present state of the Anti-Slavery question. The interest of the meeting was kept up to a late hour; and the resolutions adopted were so important that we give them almost entire.

"That this Meeting, contemplating the present state of the Slave Trade, and Slavery throughout the world, rejoices in the formation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,—approves of the principles upon which it stands pledged to conduct its operations, and of the great objects which it has selected for its exertions, and agrees cordially to co-operate in the promotion of its plans: And further, having learned, with much satisfaction, the intention of the Friends of universal freedom, from different parts of the world, to meet for Conference in London, on the 12th of June next, appoints the following gentlemen, viz., Dr. Greville, Rev. W. L. Alexander, John Wigham, John Dunlop, William Sommerville, jun., and George Thompson, Esqrs., to represent the Edinburgh Emancipation Society in that important assembly, and empowers the Committee to increase, if expedient, the number of delegates.

"That this Meeting views with alarm the efforts at present making by bodies of persons connected with the colonies, aided by an influential portion of the English metropolitan press, to set on foot an extensive scheme of emigration to the West Indies of the natives of Africa and Hindostan;—and believing, not only that the facts alleged to demonstrate the necessity of such a measure are, in many important respects, fallacious; but that, if carried into execution, such a scheme would, in effect, amount to a revival of the slave trade, and entail permanent misery upon large numbers of helpless and uncivilized men,—trusts that the Government of this country will inflexibly adhere to the principles laid down in the Order in Council, of 7th September, 1838, regulating contracts for labour; the instructions sent out to the Governor-General of India, to prevent the further exportation of Hill Coolies; and the late despatch of the Marquis of Normanby, disallowing the Immigration Ordinance of British Guiana. This meeting also deems it the solemn duty of the friends of freedom and humanity to watch, with unceasing vigilance, all plans upon the subject of emigration, and to offer the most strenuous opposition to those now before the public.

"That this meeting deeply commiserate the present critical situation of the Africans taken from on board the Spanish schooner Amistad, and now awaiting the decision of the Government of the United States, upon requisition of the Spanish Minister at Washington, to surrender them as property; and believing that the unfortunate persons in question were deprived of their liberty *illegally*, and were justified by the laws of nations in their attempt to regain their freedom, trusts that the British Government will leave no legitimate measures untried, to obtain from the Spanish authorities a recognition of the sacred right of these Africans to their liberty a full compensation for the wrongs they have sustained, and the condign punishment of those who, contrary to the laws of Spain, and to her treaties with this country, sought by violence to reduce them to a state of slavery.

That the acts of the Republic of Texas have fully demonstrated that the struggle of the Anglo-American settlers in that country was not, as professed, a struggle for the maintenance of civil and religious liberty, but for the power of introducing and holding slaves, and carrying on the slave trade; and that, as by the existing constitution of Texas, slavery is made *legal* and *perpetual*, and the coloured population, whether Indian or Negro, rendered wholly and for ever ineligible to become citizens—there-

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fore, this meeting would regard the recognition of the independence of Texas by the Government of this country as a national disgrace, and calamitous to the cause of universal freedom.

A copy of these resolutions was directed to be forwarded to her Majesty's Government, and the Members for the city.

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF MAURITIUS—We rejoice to see that the honest veteran and friend of oppressed man, Sir Lionel Smith, is still to be employed in the service of humanity and freedom. He is gazetted as governor of the Mauritius. We do not suppose this is reckoned, in the scale of governorship, an elevation from Jamaica, but it is of far higher importance that we can say it is a means by which Sir Lionel Smith may serve the cause of Negro emancipation with efficiency. If the West Indies be a fire, the Mauritius is a furnace to the Negro; or if they be a pit of darkness as viewed in their past history, the Mauritius is a sink of polluted iniquity,—a hell of hells, for infamy and cruelty practised upon the toil-worn children of Africa. Here, moreover, are located myriads of Hill Coolies, groaning under the *sweets* of an apprenticeship, and pining in wretched endurance of the blessings of a Christian Government,—where their mercenary oppressors represent them happy as the day is long. Sir Lionel Smith will be able, and it will be necessary that he should investigate such cases. He goes forth with a halo of renown around his name. The friends of liberty should well strengthen his hands in such a mission. There is much work in that dark den of sugared slavery,—and but few missionaries to aid or labour for the labouring peasantry.—*Scottish Pilot.*

AMERICAN SENTIMENTS ON THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(From the *New York Emancipator*. Letter of a London Correspondent.)

THE abolition of slavery is not to be effected by the prowess of any one nation. The labours of English philanthropists are, indeed, above all praise. The decisions of the British Parliament on this subject have imposed a debt of gratitude upon the world, pagan and civilised. But if her decisions had been followed by uninterrupted success, if every slave ship had knocked off her keel, and the horrors of the middle passage ceased, and the result heralded as a complete triumph, it would have lulled to sleep the roused energies of British Anti-slavery men, and left the other portions of Christendom both unenlightened and unmoved upon the atrocities of the slave system; and slavery itself would have chuckled at the attempts of a single nation to secure its overthrow. But as it is, British philanthropists have found no place yet for a pause. The work has grown upon their hands. As they have let in the light upon the dark chambers of oppression, the disclosures have become more and more distressing. When they have struck the *British* flag from the slave ship, she has sailed under other colours. When driven from one harbour or bay, she has sought refuge in another. And when afraid to carry as merchandise upon the high seas the bodies and the souls of men, under the flag of a *despot*, she has lifted up the striped and star-spangled flag of a *Christian republic!* The result is, that now more human beings are bought and sold, and more are actually sacrificed in the traffic than at any former period. And thus the attention of anti-slavery men has been kept wakeful, and their energies perpetually drawn out, and they have been excited to collect testimony, and to call afresh upon the Government, and to pour their appeal upon the ear of Christendom—and even to announce a *Conference of Nations* to sit in London, June, 1840. Now, it is no longer the struggle of a single nation; the facts respecting slavery have become widely circulated, and the grave discussion of its character is maintained with a rapidly extending interest, and the tyrant sees the assailants preparing for, and coming up to the conflict with unprecedented facilities and courage. Therefore, while we are both alarmed and distressed, that the slave trade does not appear even to have received a check, we can clearly see that all that has yet occurred has been needful to arouse the attention of Christendom to the character of slavery, and to unite the friends of emancipation in one general common effort to destroy it. Such a result is not of easy attainment, nor the fruit of impulse, nor the creation of a day. And its value is beyond all computation.

I look upon the proposed Conference with unutterable emotion. The more I understand the antecedents, and allow my mind to dwell in anticipation upon its results, the more intense is my solicitude. God's promise is unchangeable. Hence, to despair is criminal unbelief. To form, respecting slavery a correct public sentiment for *Christendom*, and to direct this sentiment into the proper channels, and to concentrate the wisdom, the prayers, and the energies of the foes of tyranny, and the friends of freedom, that oppression may cease from human society, is the blessed and glorious object of this proposed Conference. It is befitting British abolitionists that they should propose it—and that London should be the place of meeting. Christians every where should be informed of the proposition, and fervently pray that the special blessing of God may attend the meeting.

Will you send your full proportion of delegates from the United States? Do not fail of this. And let those who come, and those who do not come, remember that no portion of Christendom will stand out before that Conference in the attitude and character of our own republic. Your delegates will come from a slave-holding, a slave-sustaining community, and must, before the world, admit that one-sixth of all her people are thrust down to the degradation of a brute. I can assure them that to stand under the withering sarcasm of this *fact* in England, is quite a different thing from what it is on their own polluted soil, where the moral sensibilities are so much blunted on this subject. But let them come. They will receive a hearty and a kind welcome from an Englishman's heart.

Will you bring this proposed Conference before the friends of the slave in the United States? Call upon them to make it the object of special prayer. Make them understand it, by proper explanations. Invite ministers to preach upon it. It will be a meeting of extraordinary interest. Not of politicians, nor statesmen, nor warriors, nor literary giants, but of moralists, of philanthropists, of Christians, irrespective of names, sects, rank, or *colour*; the genuine, unassuming, but tried friends of freedom. Not that the Conference will attract great public attention, or make a display of eloquence, or astonish by the novelty of their resolutions. But I have no doubt they will deliberate in the fear of God—in the exercise of unfeigned love to their neighbours—in the spirit of meekness and prayer. Let there be prayers for such as may compose that meeting. J. K.

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

COMMITTEE.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq. Treasurer.

Charles Lushington, Esq. M.P.	Rev. Thomas Scales, Leeds.
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	£	s.	d
Amount already advertised	1227	7	0
J. L. Angus, Esq. Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	0	0
Rev. John Bartlett, Marnwood Salop	1	0	0
Wm. Ball, Esq. Kendal	5	0	0
W. D. Crewdson, Esq. Ditto	5	0	0
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Wm. Chapman, Esq. Newcastle-on-Tyne	5	0	0
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Jonathan Priestman, Esq. Newcastle-upon-Tyne	2	0	0
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Robert Ransome, Esq. ditto	1	0	0
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Jacob Wakefield, Esq. Kendal	10	0	0
John Wakefield, Esq. ditto	5	0	0
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Subscriptions will be received at the following places:—

Samuel Gurney, Esq., Treasurer, Lombard-street.
Messrs. Herries, Farquhar, and Co. St, James's-street.
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Messrs. Hanburys, Taylor, and Lloyd, Bankers, Lombard-street.
Baptist Missionary Society's Office, Fen-court, Fenchurch-street.
J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street, or by any of the Members of the Committee.

HENRY STERRY, Sec.

27, *New Broad Street.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 2.] WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

GREAT attention is at the present moment excited towards the subject of immigration into the British West Indies, more especially into the colonies of Trinidad and British Guiana. All our readers will recollect the early efforts of some Demerara planters to introduce Hill Coolies from India as labourers there, a measure familiarly and justly known as the Gladstone slave-trade. Subsequently to emancipation, strenuous efforts have been made to obtain additions to the working population in the colonies themselves, both by private speculation, and by the enactment of public ordinances; and these not having been as successful as the planters could desire, they have shifted the theatre of their operations to this country, and are now working hard with her Majesty's ministers and the public press. Upon this subject they have shewn an anxiety somewhat unwonted, to conciliate the goodwill of the abolitionists, with a view of engaging their concurrence in an organized system of general emigration to the British West Indies, under the sanction and conduct of the government. They feel, and indeed openly acknowledge, that nothing can be done in such a business without the concurrence of the English people, and that the Anti-slavery Society possess much more of their confidence than themselves. It has thus become doubly a matter of obligation and anxiety to the Committee to bring the whole subject under a careful and searching review; that they might neither fail of a spirit of kindness and goodwill to all parties, nor adopt superficial and ill-founded opinions. Lengthened and patient attention has the case received from them, and the result of their deliberations has been embodied in a declaration which we give below. We cannot over-rate its importance, or too earnestly engage to it the attention of all our friends.

DECLARATION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE.

"The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, having received information that strenuous efforts are being made to obtain the sanction of government to a plan for importing labourers into our late slave colonies, to be employed principally in sugar cultivation, have taken the subject into deliberate consideration.

"The evidence they have collected from authentic and impartial sources, proves that almost uniformly, where the emancipated negro has been fairly and equitably dealt with, he has willingly remained on the estate of his former owner, and cheerfully performed, for very moderate wages, the most laborious part of sugar cultivation, in many cases to an amount exceeding what could be exacted from him under the severest system of coercion while in a state of slavery.

"The Committee have ascertained that the complaints which are made of inability to procure a sufficiency of labour mainly originate with those agents of non-resident proprietors, who, from having been long accustomed to slavery, and always bitterly opposed, not only to its abolition, but even to its amelioration, and from their habits and deep-rooted prejudices, are utterly disqualified to secure the confidence and willing industry of free labourers.

"The Committee have ascertained also that the emigration which has taken place since 1834 to our colonies, for the purpose of promoting sugar cultivation, has generally been accompanied by much fraud and injustice, as well as by dreadful mortality to the parties who have been entrapped into it.

"All the facts collected by this Committee but too plainly prove, that, although slavery is legally abolished in our colonies, its spirit yet remains in full force with a large majority of the dominant party, and that the free emigrant would find too late, that the enactments in this country of the most impartial and humane laws would not save him from oppression, in the present state of colonial feeling; the object of those who are endeavouring to promote the proposed scheme being too obviously to depress the moderate and often inadequate rate of wages of the present labouring population.

"The Committee cordially concur in the views hitherto expressed by the government on this vital question, as stated in the order in council of the 7th September, 1838, regulating contracts for labour in the Crown colonies, in the instructions sent out to the Governor-General of India, to prevent the further exportation of Hill Coolies from Hindostan, and in the late despatch of the Marquis of Normanby, disallowing the immigration ordinance of British Guiana; and they feel that, in an inflexible adherence to the principles thus officially laid down, her Majesty's ministers are entitled to their strenuous support.

"This Committee is finally impressed with a conviction, that, at the present time, no general plan of emigration to the colonies can be proposed, either by the local legislatures or the proprietary interest in this country, which would not greatly endanger the happiness and prosperity of a community whose liberty has been purchased by the people of England at so costly a sacrifice, and at the same time hazard incalculable misery to those who might be induced to emigrate; and they earnestly recommend to their friends and correspondents throughout the country to be prepared to adopt active steps to obtain an expression of public opinion on this subject, should circumstances render it necessary.

"JOSEPH STURGE, Chairman."

We shall return to this subject in our next.

THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRACY IN THE WEST INDIES.

THE appointment of the Stipendiary Magistracy in our late slave-colonies has been a very sore point with the planters, from the commencement of the great experiment of emancipation. To the institution of apprenticeship it was so obviously necessary—it formed, indeed, so essential a part of the entire scheme—that there seemed no possibility to these reluctant gentlemen of escaping from it at that time; but they were in full expectation of deliverance on the termination of that unnatural system. In some places—Jamaica particularly—their joy broke out into expressions of vulgar and insolent triumph. That triumph, happily, was premature, since it seemed good to the colonial government of that day to continue the stipendiary justices in their office; but it would be an egregious mistake to imagine that the planters are become at all reconciled to this arrangement. A strenuous effort to get rid of what they deem so great a nuisance was made on the part of the Jamaicans, through Mr. Burge, in the spring of last year; and these wily gentlemen thought he had succeeded, nor are we by any means sure that he did not very nearly succeed. We have it on unquestionable authority, that the assembly of that island have resumed this business with great earnestness; that they have adopted measures of inquiry, so called, which they hope will be preliminary to it; and that they have instructed the island agent to press it by all the means and arguments in his power on the home government. This pliable body, we are assured, have even authorized Mr. Burge to promise and vow anything in their name, and especially to pay all necessary justices, provided they may only get rid of the stipendiaries.

On this side of the water all this will be very well understood, and will create no surprise. It is not necessary to suppose that the stipendiary magistrates have in the least degree misconducted themselves, in order to account for the hatred of the plantocracy towards them. The very work they had to do must have been unacceptable to this party; since it was—one-half of it at least—to see that justice was done by them to persons whom they had long been accustomed to oppress without rebuke. It never was expected, that, if the stipendiaries did their duty, they would be popular with the planters; they never could have acquired such a popularity but by holding in abeyance an essential and most important part of their commission, and lending themselves to schemes of tyranny and wrong. The loud complaints of these gentlemen, therefore, have neither alarmed nor startled us. On the contrary, they have afforded us gratification. They constitute one of the very testimonies we wanted, that the men we have paid have done their duty, and applied themselves faithfully to the purposes for which they were sent. They are no evidence to us that wrong has been done to employers, or injury to estates; they tell us rather that proud attorneys have been obstructed, and cruel managers restrained, that the wolf has been scared from the prey, and the lamb found a shelter from his teeth. All this is what we rejoice to learn upon such authority. We should have been chagrined and suspicious if it had not been so; and, instead of allowing the invectives of planters to alienate our confidence one moment from the stipendiary magistrates, we hail them as at once the proof and the measure of their fidelity and usefulness. We hope and believe that the same view is taken of this matter by the government.

Whether the system of stipendiary magistracy in our late slave-colonies should be permanent, and, if not, when and how it should come to an end, are questions of grave moment. In the first instance, undoubtedly, the institution was not understood to be of a permanent character, and we are not sure that it has yet come to be regarded by the government in this light. Should there arise in the colonies a general spirit of equity and justice, instead of the oppressive temper so long prevalent in them it might perhaps be possible, when that period should have arrived,

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to make an alteration in this respect; but, without this preparation it would evidently be fatuitous to think of it. The practical point, therefore, on which the question of the abolition of a stipendiary magistracy turns is the actual state of colonial feeling towards the peasantry. If upon any satisfactory evidence it could be asserted that colonial feeling in this respect has already become such as may be entrusted with the administration of justice, certainly no parties would receive such an assurance with more joy than ourselves. Few persons, however, we are sure, would be sufficiently hardy to make such an assertion; and, with the evidence of facts before us, we should not believe them. Mr. Burge, no doubt, and the thorough-going West Indians, will assure us, that the spirit of oppression has quite disappeared, and that, although the vaunted paternal regard of the days of slavery was somewhat of a fiction, now it would be a strict and illustrious reality. But we cannot believe it. Mr. Alexander Grant and the Cornwall juries are our witnesses in this matter; together with the manner in which their flagrant proceedings have been received by the whites at large, and a resolution of the assembly itself, who (ludicrously enough, to be sure,) have taken these immaculate juries under their protection, by instructing Mr. Burge to prosecute any person in England who should cast a stain on their reputation. The Barretts of Jamaica, the Applewhaites of Barbados, and the Russells and Nimmos of Demerara, cannot yet be trusted to treat a black peasantry as we must have them treated. And well my Lord John Russell knows this. To withdraw the stipendiary magistracy now, would be to let loose again on a peaceful and rising community the very bloodhounds who have been so long harassing and destroying them, and who have been so slightly affected by their present bonds, that they stand even yet pawing and gnashing with their teeth, as longing for another career of violence and blood.

Nor could we come to the conclusion that the stipendiary magistracy might be safely abolished, even if the state of colonial feeling were for the moment much better than it is. It would still require to be considered that the repose and equity apparent must be regarded, not only as produced by the stipendiary system, but as maintained by it. How long would they last after its abolition! Evident as it is that the spirit of colonial society is but little changed for the better, whatever improvement may have arisen in the administration of justice must be set down to the pressure of the unwelcome system, and it would not last a month if that system were done away. The evils against which it was directed are held in check, not cured; the waters which have deluged the country are dammed up, not diverted; and to break down the dam would be only to restore the original mischief with aggravated fury. Angry justices would pay themselves by more extraordinary frolics for their coerced moderation, while attorneys and managers would return with redoubled zest to the partially suspended methods of cudgels and ejectments.

Further, we cannot see why the stipendiary magistracy, whatever might be the improved state of colonial feeling, should be superseded at all. They are doing nothing by which any one is injured, or by which any one ought to be galled. If colonial society were what is desired, the stipendiary magistracy would no longer be a mortifying system; were all parties willing to be just, it would be universally acceptable. We see not, therefore, why it should ever be abolished, and we should rejoice to see it become a permanent and essential part of our colonial government. One thing is certain, that it ought to be most resolutely retained so long as there is a vehement desire for its abandonment. The wish to get rid of it can be nothing less than a wish to be at liberty for mischief. The eagerness of the Jamaica assembly to pay all the justices in the island is of very easy interpretation. They obviously wish to have them all under their control, to crush magisterial independence, and to be able to frighten justices from justice by the fear of losing their salaries. They are shrewd men, these planters, and great lovers of public economy; but—they are no conjurors!

On the subject of economy, however, if it really were a grave consideration on this question, it should be remembered, that if it has cost something to pay the salaries of the magistrates, much has, in consequence been saved in the diminished expences of the military. Sir Lionel Smith was enabled to reduce the military force in Jamaica one-half, (having sent away three regiments of regulars out of six) in consequence of the peaceable and orderly state of the island, and the unbounded confidence exercised by the peasantry in the stipendiaries. It is infinitely better to pay justices than soldiers, at any cost; in Jamaica, however, to pay forty justices enables the governor to dispense with two thousand troops! This, we think, is buying order absolutely cheap.

In conclusion, we must express our most earnest hope that the Noble Lord at the head of the colonial department will devote his most serious and searching attention to this question. He has already intimated in parliament, that he is far from satisfied with the administration of justice in Jamaica; and we know that he has been assured, on authority which ought to be of the greatest weight with him, that the stipendiary magistracy has been, and is at this time, of the most vital importance to that island. On this point the late governor, Sir Lionel Smith, bears a most distinct and prompt testimony, in his reply to the address of the Anti-slavery Committee, which appears in our columns to-day; and our sources of private information speak yet more strongly. We may place dependence, we hope, on Lord John Russell's characteristic firmness in this matter. We can assure him of public approbation, and of prompt and energetic support, should it become necessary.

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

A GREAT want of correct information respecting the present state of slavery in India is very prevalent. A late eminent writer, residing in Bengal in 1825, stated—"No slavery legally exists in the British territories at this moment." The editor of a popular periodical published in India in 1823, says—"Slavery is now entirely prohibited here (Bengal) by the British government, as really as in Britain itself. It is some little consolation to learn, that in India there can be no hereditary slavery." At a recent meeting in London on the subject of slavery, one of the speakers said—"Slavery has been so nearly extinguished in the British dominions, that, *if it were found lurking in any remote corner of the empire*, and could be fully exposed, he believed the nation was prepared to crush it at once and for ever!" The error of this estimable friend (in common with many others,) arose from not duly considering the extent of the great measure for the abolition of colonial, or rather negro slavery. On the renewal of the East India charter in 1833, it was proposed by ministers to abolish slavery in British India on or before April 12th, 1837; but this was overruled in the House of Lords, and the subject was left to the India government. When slavery in the West Indies was abolished, British India and the Eastern Isles were unhappily excluded from the range of that noble effort of Christian philanthropy. In August, 1839, Sir J. C. Hobhouse, president of the India board, stated—"That there is a commission sitting in India upon the subject of slavery, and that, as soon as its labours should be concluded, a report would be forwarded to this country." From these tardy proceedings it may be justly feared, that many years will elapse before East India slavery will be abolished.

The voluminous parliamentary papers of March, 1828, August, 1832, and July, 1838, contain much information upon India slavery: the following extracts appear important. Of *the nature of slavery* in British India it is difficult to speak in terms that are equally applicable to the different provinces in the peninsula. The Hindoo code divides the slaves into *fifteen* classes. In Canara, the slaves are divided into three castes,—the *moondul*, *mogare*, and *marey*; their customs are very singular. "The utmost to which the sale of slaves is tolerated in Malabar is domestic slavery, and this is exclusively confined to those born in a state of bondage. In some districts the offspring are divided between the owners of the father and the mother; but they are never separated from their parents till adults. In Malabar and Canara, where the land is very generally divided and occupied as separate properties, *the labourer is the personal slave of the proprietor, and is sold and mortgaged by him independently of his lands!* In the Tamul country, where land is of less value, the labourer is understood to be *the slave rather of the soil than of its owner*, and is seldom sold or mortgaged except along with the land to which he is attached." The most copious and satisfactory information upon this subject is found in the reports of eleven collectors to whom the Madras government, in 1819, addressed queries respecting slavery in their collectorates. The replies are contained in the parliamentary papers on slavery in India, 1828, pp. 837—896. A few extracts will show the nature of slavery under the Madras presidency. The collector of Coimbatore observes, "From all that I can learn, it appears certain, that *the owner has a right to sell his slaves without the land;* but that it is a right very seldom, if ever, exercised. The highest price of a good slave is *fifty rupees* (£5.) The price, however, is seldom so high. The children of slaves are born slaves." In Tanjore slavery exists. "The master has the power of selling the slave, but he cannot sell him to any one who will carry him to a distant part of the country, without his consent. When the lands are sold in any way, it is always independent of the bondsmen, if any upon it. If they are likwise to be sold, separate deeds of transfer are passed; if not, they continue attached to their former masters." "It is usual in the district of Tinnevelly, for slaves to be sold or mortgaged either with the land or separately, as the proprietor pleases, or his wants require."—South Arcot. "The lower castes are always looked upon as natural slaves, the property of any person who contributes to defray their marriage expenses, which is the ordinary way, at present, of constituting hereditary slavery. The offspring of slaves are always regarded as the property of their father's owner."—North Arcot. It does not appear to be accurately settled *to whom the child of a slave belongs! !* The people who keep slaves *most likely find it cheaper to buy slaves than to rear them!* and the offspring, when left to their parents' charge, who have barely sufficient to support themselves, *die of absolute want!* I cannot discover that they have any rights or privileges, and they are not possessed of any property, neither can they inherit any."

Though the *miseries of East India Slavery* appear not to equal those which existed in the West, they are of such a character as to cry loudly to Britain for redress. A few extracts may suffice: "Male slaves are few in Malwa, and are generally treated more like adopted children than menials. Females in almost every instance are sold to prostitution." T. H. Baber, Esq., magistrate in Malabar, declares, "Nothing can be more abject and wretched than the slaves of Malabar; *their huts are little better than mere baskets, and their diminutive stature and squalid appearance evidently shew a want of adequate nourishment.*" Mr. Greme, in his report of Malabar, in 1822, remarks, "The slave alone has his *sieve of a hut* in the centre of the rice lands; but on the coast at least, he is an industrious and not an unintelligent being, in good condition, and nothing deficient in bodily frame. In the interior, *he is a wretched,*

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half-starved, diminutive creature, stinted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; whose state demands that commiseration and melioration which may confidently be expected from the British Government." The Madras board of revenue, in 1818, justly stated, "The treatment of slaves necessarily depends principally on the individual character of their owners; and when we reflect on those evils which are inseparable from even the mildest state of slavery, and consider how large a portion of our most industrious subjects are at present totally deprived of a free market for their labour—restricted by inheritance to a mere subsistence—and sold and transferred with the land which they till,—policy, no less than humanity, would appear to dictate the propriety of gradually relieving them from those restrictions which have reduced them, and must continue to confine them, to a condition *scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough.*"

Of the *extent of slavery in British India* it is impossible to speak with precision. The greatest number of slaves are found under the Madras presidency. "In Malabar (exclusive of Wynaud) the number of slaves is estimated by the collector at 100,000. In *Malabar*, a man's wealth is as much appreciated by the number of his slaves, as by any other property he may possess." "Domestic slavery," says Hamilton, "is very generally prevalent in Bengal, among both Hindoos and Mahomedans. In the lower provinces under the Bengal presidency, *the employment of slaves in the labour of husbandry is almost unknown.* In the upper provinces, beginning from Western Behar and Benares, the petty landlords are aided in their husbandry by slaves." No correct idea can be formed from the parliamentary papers of the exact number of slaves in British India. The following numbers have been ascertained from a careful examination of them :—

	Slaves:
Canara, Malabar, Coorg, Wynaud, Cochin, and Travancore	400,000
Tinnevelly	324,000
Trihcinopoly	10,600
Arcot, South Division	3000
Ditto, North Division	17,000
Southern Concan	2000
Surat	2000
Ceylon	27,397
Assam	11,300
Penang	3000
	800,297

It is painfully evident that slavery is not "*lurking in some remote corner of the empire,*" but that it is extensively and palpably prevalent in our eastern territories. It has been justly remarked, "Slavery is the same bitter draught in the east as in the west. The outcry raised in India against the *Suttee* was long powerless, until it returned reverberated from the British shore; and that against slavery will continue disregarded, unless it receive support from all the energy of the home government." May India's cries to British humanity soon be heard, and her miseries be effectually relieved!

EXPOSURE OF MR. TRIST, UNITED STATES CONSUL AT HAVANA.

[From Dr. Madden's Letter to Dr. Channing.]

Mr. N. P. Trist is the gentleman who fills the office of consul-general of the United States at the Havana. He has gained for himself within the last three or four years a considerable degree of unenviable notoriety, and for his office, unfortunately, an amount of obloquy highly prejudicial to its high character, by the arrogance of his conduct, the neglect of his duties, and lastly, by the scandalous protection he has afforded to the slave-trade, and the open predilection he has recently avowed, and *officially recorded*, for the interests of that nefarious traffic.

Of late he has taken occasion twice, in official communications, to bestow a vast quantity of abuse on the British members of the commission for the suppression of the slave-trade, and not only the present members of it, but their several predecessors; and moreover, the most unmeasured reproach it is possible to conceive, on the British government; but, what is most likely to excite the anger of the folks of the old country, this poor man has bestowed "his pity" on a very large portion of the people of England. And for what calamity, forsooth?—why, for their abhorrence of the slave-trade; because, in the words of Mr. Trist, they waste their energies on a cause that is "a delusion," practised on them by men who are "*self-seekers*," "*deceivers*," "theatrical exhibitors," "fanatics," "impostors;" for all of whom his feelings, he declares, are those of "*disgust and indignation.*"

The "disgust" of Mr. Trist is certainly sufficiently loathsome without the insult of his "pity," and either of them less patiently to be endured than his "indignation."

There is some allowance, however, to be made for the latter; a latent feeling of respect for the interests of the "market," and of regret for the loss of property in Cuba which must have made him a frequenter of it, had he been able to have retained his estate there, no doubt have much to do with the "indignation" of the discomfited planter. Mr. Trist had scarcely entered on his official duties, when he purchased an estate in Cuba. Every one conversant with slavery in that island, knows that the slave population is not kept up by the increase on the plantations: on sugar properties, that there is in fact no increase at all, and that it is necessary, under the present system of management, to have recourse to the slave-market, to make up for the annual decrease by the purchase of newly imported slaves from Africa. So that one of the first acts of this officer was to place himself in a condition, which imposed on him the necessity of participating in a crime which the laws of his country pronounce piracy, and punish with the penalty of death.

Fortunately for his office, Mr. Trist became unable to meet the engagements into which he had entered, when the period came round for the payment for this estate. Law proceedings were commenced against him, and he was compelled to shelter himself under the privileges of his office and the special protection of the captain-general, to avoid the ruinous consequences of a legal prosecution in a Spanish court. Mr. Trist was compelled to give up his estate,—his property, but not his will, consented to the sacrifice.

Driven from the pleasing exercise of power as a Cubian planter, he turned to the prospect of the emoluments of office; and the protection of the slave-trade opened a new field for speculation. In the year 1836, the published correspondence of the commissioners with the British Government throws some light on the proceedings of Mr. Trist during the preceding year, with respect to the countenance given by that person to the slave-trade, then carrying on between Texas and the island of Cuba. This trade in the latter part of 1835, had been carried on by American citizens to a considerable extent. The attention of the commissioners was at length called to these scandalous proceedings. A new plan was devised to evade their vigilance. The American consul, when a shipment was to be made, had declarations made before him by the captains of the American vessels employed in transporting the bozal negroes from this port, stating that these persons were free indented labourers, and this declaration was duly attested by Mr. Trist. In plain terms, the signature of the American consul at the Havana was appended to these fraudulent documents; he, Mr. Trist, well knowing that the said free indented labourers, were sent to Texas to be sold there, by dealers established in Cuba for the sole purpose of this traffic.

The Commissioners' knowledge of these matters, in all probability, was made known at Washington; for on the 23rd of February, 1836, the following notice was posted up in the American consulate at the Havana.

"It being understood that several American vessels have lately been chartered for the transportation of Africans, or black men, from this island to Texas, Notice is hereby given to American ship-masters, and to all others, that any and every such proceeding is in direct violation of the laws of the United States. In no case whatever is it lawful for any American vessel to carry a slave, or coloured person held to service or labour, except only in going from one port in the United States to another.

"Except as just stated, no American vessel can lawfully sail with any black or coloured person whatever, unless such black or coloured person be really and truly, to all intents and purposes, *free*. To take, or have on board, any negro or coloured person whatever, who may be in any way held to service or labour, no matter whether such coloured person be called by the name of apprentice, or any other, is strictly forbidden by law. The law is just as certainly violated in carrying Africans, no matter under what name, from this island to Texas, as in bringing Africans from any part of their own coast to this island. In any case of the violation of the law, the vessel and cargo are sure to be condemned, if seized while on the voyage to Texas, or elsewhere, with any such coloured person on board, or if prosecuted after her return to the United States, and the master and every person employed in said vessel are, moreover, subject to the heaviest penalties; the least of which is fine and imprisonment for three years, and in some cases amounting to death.

"CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

"Havana, February 23, 1836."

Now, the first question is, what evidence is there of Mr. Trist having given his signature to the fraudulent declarations of the captains of the slave-carrying vessels? The best evidence in such a case, Mr. Trist's own official acknowledgment of the fact! In his last communication to the commissioners, dated the 8th of July, 1839, in referring to this subject, he attempts to prove that Mr. Macleay, the chief commissioner, had stated that which was not true, namely, that he had left it to be understood that he, Mr. Trist, was the person who made the declaration, whereas he was only the attester of the declaration. It happens that Mr. Macleay had stated nothing of the kind. But, fortunately for truth, in the anger of Mr. Trist at the detection of the Texian slave-trade, to which he had lent the influence of his official character, he plainly and directly admits that he did sign the declarations, in these cases of Texian exportations of negros, which were made before him; and moreover that the negros carried from this port to Texas went under the denomination of apprenticed labourers.

In his consular notice he distinctly states, that

"No vessel can lawfully sail with any black or coloured person whatever, unless such black or coloured person be really and truly, to all intents and purposes, free." Nay, more, that if such persons "are held in any way to *service or labour*, no matter whether such coloured person be called by the name of *apprentice*, or any other, it is strictly forbidden by law."

May I ask Mr. Trist, why then he suffered these negros, who he acknowledges were represented in the declaration as "indented labourers," and consequently held to "service" and "labour," to be carried away illegally; and why he gave the sanction of his official signature to documents which he knew were "in direct violation of the laws of the United States?" Why did he, the consul of the United States, permit the persons who made these declarations,—subjects of America,—to perpetrate a crime which involved the penalty of "fine and imprisonment," "seizure" of the vessel thus employed, and "confiscation" of the property of his fellow-citizens? Why did he not refuse his signature to proceedings which he denounces the illegality of, after they have been carried into effect, with so dreadful a penalty to be incurred by their commission; "in some cases," (to use Mr. Trist's own words) amounting "to death?"

LIST OF AUXILIARY SOCIETIES

continued.

23. LUTON, formed December, 1839.
24. MARGATE, formed
25. FALMOUTH, Jamaica, formed August 1st, 1839.
26. ST. CATHERINE'S, Jamaica, formed August 1st, 1839.
27. KINGSTON, Jamaica, formed August 1st, 1839.
28. STEWART-TOWN, Jamaica, formed November 6th, 1839.

MR. ALEXANDER, Mr. SCOBLE, and Mr. WHITEHORNE (of Bristol) left London for Paris, on Anti-slavery business, on the 23rd instant.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ALL friends of the Anti-slavery cause are earnestly requested to take in and recommend the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, the expense of which is covered by the small sum of three halfpence per week, or six shillings and sixpence per annum. Orders will be executed by all newsmen, in town or country.

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Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 25TH.

THE Committee continue to receive encouraging accounts of the attention excited towards the Anti-slavery Convention, in June next.

OUR readers will see with pleasure that a numerous and highly respectable deputation, including several Members of Parliament, waited upon the late Governor of Jamaica, on the 21st instant, with an address of congratulation and thanks. Sir Lionel's reply will be read with interest, and contains matter which should be deeply pondered. One sentence of it should be especially remembered: "I entreat you," his Excellency said, "not to relax in the exertions which I know to be still necessary to consolidate freedom in Jamaica."

The accounts by the last mail of the proceedings of the House of Assembly, these are quite in keeping with this language.

WE beg respectfully to call the attention of the colonial office to some extracts which we have made from a Dominica paper, reporting certain proceedings and speeches at the board of council of that island. We have had ample accounts of late of the doings of the Dominica board of council, but we were certainly not prepared to hear of a legislative body, even in the West Indies, conducting its proceedings with such intemperance of language, indecency of behaviour, and acrimony of feeling towards the government, as the proceedings adverted to exhibit. The Mr. Blanc, who figures so conspicuously in the tempest that he raised, and who appears much fitter for another conceivable situation than a seat in the council, (of which *august* board, he has the presidency) is the same *gentleman* (!) that is known here to have been instrumental, during the apprenticeship, when he was attorney-general, in procuring from the court of grand sessions a sentence of public whipping upon two females. This president of Her Majesty's Dominica council is also the same *gentleman*, who (as we have been informed by one well qualified to know) did himself the honour of entertaining at his table a felon slave-trader of the brig Don Francisco, captured off Dominica in 1837, with 430 Africans, and taken into that island.

So it is pretty certain now, from the lips of the president and factious leader of the Dominica council, that "this board have repeatedly pronounced that they will never consent to the charging of fees of poor prisoners to the colony, so long as a bill is not presented to the board from the popular branch, *compelling such persons to labour for the colony in return.*" These are the words of the president of Her Majesty's council, in *approval* of the decision of the board! And to what do our readers, to what does the colonial office, suppose this atrocious sentiment to apply! Why, to the case of persons tried criminally, and declared by the jury NOT GUILTY. For a proper understanding of the character of the proceedings under review, we must inform our readers, that in Dominica, when a person is prosecuted criminally, (no matter the offence, acquitted or not acquitted, "true bill" or "no bill,") that person, man, woman, or child, is called upon to pay about *fifty shillings sterling* as fees upon the prosecution, in default of which the party is straightway conducted to prison, there to remain until payment be made, or until the assembly and council can agree upon a resolution for charging these fees to the colony, an agreement which it appears, from what we knew before, now confirmed by Mr. Blanc's own words and the whole proceedings before us, the council was never willing to concede. It has happened, however, that, after several ineffectual attempts on the part of the assembly to abolish this monstrous practice, the attention of the governor has been drawn to the subject, and that latterly, after these poor persons found "not guilty" but still imprisoned, had remained some months in prison, the governor would exercise the royal prerogative by releasing them. Our readers will perceive how the governor, for exercising this act of humanity—not to say, *justice*—has been abused and vilified, along with the colonial office, by the president of her Majesty's Dominica council. We were in possession, before seeing these legislative proceedings of the council, of the facts of the two cases of Theodore Constable and Marie Lagrande, brought to the notice of the governor, and detailed in an official publication of the island, so that we are not taken in with Mr. Blanc's expression of "*convicted thieves*," as applied to these prisoners. The woman was declared "*not* guilty" by the jury. The other pleaded guilty, (openly taking a few canes before a mill) further stating in substance he was not aware that what he had done was an offence, and the court itself appeared so much impressed with this belief that it awarded no punishment, (save the paying of the fees): and we subsequently find the chief justice of the same court giving him a certificate, in connexion with the same subject, the terms of which leave no manner of doubt as to the poor man's innocence.

We doubt not that Lord John Russell must at once perceive how extensively oppressive such a practice as that under consideration must prove in a community seven-eighths of whom have just been released from bondage, and are depending for daily bread upon their daily wages. What must be the situation of a father—a mother—thus circumstanced, who is sent to prison! sent to prison, though declared by a jury "*not guilty!*" Look at this very case of Marie Lagrande. She was declared *not guilty* —sent to prison for the fees—there she remains some five months —she has, we have been informed, a consumptive husband and two children depending upon her for support, she is so poor that the marshal has to *feed* her in prison, the value of this food being added to the fees—and yet, when the governor releases her after these five months of unmerited suffering, this humane president of council abuses the governor, and refuses, and procures the council to refuse, assent to the act!

Colonial and Foreign Entelligence.

BRITISH COLONIES.

JAMAICA.

Dr. PALMER has been released from custody by the House of Assembly, previously to their adjournment for several months. His incarceration lasted twenty-three days.

BARBADOS.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

We feel great pleasure in reporting that things, so far as human agency is concerned, have been gradually mending since the close of last crop, and are now tolerably well, with a prospect of being soon better. The foolish attempt contemplated just before the crop was finished, against the peace of the country, in the shape of combinations to reduce wages, we rejoice to say was prudently abandoned before it had shown itself in any overt act; and we learnt yesterday, from a respectable planter to leeward, that wages for extra labour are decidedly on the rise his way. This, in our opinion, affords a most favourable opportunity to proprietors, to introduce the rent system, in favour of which, we are happy to report, there is a pretty general conviction among the more respectable and liberal of the planters, both proprietors and managers. Several of the latter have expressed to us the great joy they would feel, (and we believe them) were the measure immediately introduced on the respective estates under their management; as it would save them a great deal of botheration and now necessary surveillance over the daily motions of the labourers, to see that they do not cheat the estate of the quantity of labour stipulated for as an equivalent for house and ground; and as it would speedily remove innumerable little difficulties, which, however insignificant when viewed separately in detail, are in the aggregate an immense obstacle to the well working of the estate. These are the working men, the practical planters, upon whose conduct, for good or for evil, the prosperity of the country, in the successful working of emancipation, as much depends as upon the conduct of the emancipated themselves—perhaps more so.

One of the benefits, and not the least, which we anticipate from the adoption of the rent system, unshackled with any condition to labour, is, that whilst it would greatly facilitate the management throughout, and ease the manager of a large portion of his present awful responsibility in those particulars most revolting to the sensible and humane among them,—it would entirely take from those of the opposite character, the foolish, the reckless, the vicious,—decidedly the most numerous portion,—all power to do evil. Ejectments, now almost a necessary part of the present system under the best management, would cease to inflict torment when they ceased to be immediate, at the whim of the moment; and these worthies would, therefore, seldom care to resort to them; and public decency and public sympathy—the sympathy of the virtuous portion of the community —would scarcely be offended when they did.

Two or three respectable proprietors are pledged to introduce the rent system on their estates in a few days. The labourers themselves, it is thought by some proprietors, will be averse to the change; but they will be great fools if they are, and we should no more think of conciliating their folly to the relinquishing of a good, than we should the folly of any other.

In concluding this notice on the state of the country, we must congratulate our readers on the great reduction which has already taken place in the price of provisions. They are likely, we are told, to be much cheaper, the general crop through the country being somewhat better than was expected from the drought. The cane crop, however, in some of the parishes, has suffered most severely from this cause, and we have been assured, by practical planters, that the ensuing crop will, *solely on this account*, scarcely be an average one, if it do not fall greatly short.—*Liberal.*

The legislature of this island met on the 26th of November. The governor opened his speech by the following reference to the remarkable diminution of punishments in the first year of freedom:—

"On meeting the Legislative Houses, I am happy to refer, amongst the documents about to be laid before you, to comparative statements, whence it will appear that, during the last year of apprenticeship in this island, between the 1st of August, 1837, and the 1st of August, 1838, ten thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight punishments were inflicted under the authority of the justices of the peace; and during the first year of freedom, between the 1st of August, 1838, and the 1st of August, 1839, not more than two thousand nine hundred and sixteen."

On this gratifying announcement, the editor of the *Liberal* observes:— "No one will attempt to attribute this to undue leniency on the part either of the proprietors or the magistrates; no one will affirm, and expect to be believed, that either of these have overlooked and forborne to punish offences which ought to have been punished. We must therefore infer from this immense diminution of punishments, one of two things:—that, either during the apprenticeship, many things were consi-

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dered and punished as offences, which ought not to have been so considered and punished, or that "the happy *free* people" have, in this first year of freedom, most astonishingly improved in their moral and social duties, notwithstanding the slanderous assertions of their lying detractors to the contrary. The reader may choose as he pleases between these two inferences, one or the other of which is inevitable."

DOMINICA.

EXTRAORDINARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

(From the *Dominican*.)

COUNCIL CHAMBER, TUESDAY, NOV. 12.

Relief of Prisoners confined in Jail for non-payment of Fees.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE moved that the resolution of the House of Assembly, authorizing the marshal to charge the fees incurred by the two prisoners, Theodore Constable and Maria Lagrande, to the colony, be agreed to.—Since the receipt of the resolution the prisoners had been released by the governor, as announced in his excellency's message of the last meeting, but this vote was still necessary to procure payment of the marshal's claim.

Mr. O'Sullivan seconded the motion.

The president of the board (Mr. Blanc,) rose to object to the motion.—The governor had committed a violation of the law of the land, and had trampled upon the privileges of that board as an independent branch of the legislature, by releasing these *convicted thieves*, after a court of justice had adjudged that they should pay their fees previously to being discharged by the marshal. The governor had at one meeting sent a message recommending the case of these persons to the consideration of the board, with a view of getting their fees charged to the colony, that they might be discharged; and at a subsequent meeting he announces that he had, in compliance with instructions from the governor in chief, discharged them.—The governor as much as said, "I asked you to do so-and-so, but mark now, I have done it without you."—Shall not the board, like Englishmen, men possessing and representing an overwhelming interest in the country, who, he (Mr. B.) must say, are the proprietary of the country, shall not they resist every such encroachment and outrage upon their privileges? Besides, this board have repeatedly pronounced that they will never consent to the charging of fees of poor persons to the colony, so long as a bill is not presented to the board from the popular branch compelling such persons to labour for the colony in return. In England, it was *only* in 1774 that persons acquitted were relieved from payment of their fees, and cases were known in the books where allowances had been withheld, except bread and water, upon the prisoners refusing to work for the public. In this case, the parties petitioning had not been acquitted, but were convicted thieves. Was it for such persons that gentlemen were to contribute their one hundred guineas of taxes upon their estates? No! He said then that, in the first place, the governor had violated their privileges, in the same way as he did lately, when he sent an order to their clerk, desiring him to furnish his excellency with the minutes of the council after each meeting. In the second place, these persons were able to work, doubtless, and before their fees were paid for them, they ought first to be made to labour for the colony in return.

The Chief Justice repudiated the needless warmth that had been embarked by the president of the board, in discussing this question. Neither the alleged violation of privilege in the governor's discharging the prisoners without consent of the board, nor the defect in our statute book, as to the requiring of persons like the parties whose case was now before the board to labour for the colony, at all affected the simple question for consideration: which was—shall the marshal suffer for having humanely fed, in the absence of any legislative enactment, certain persons now out of jail? If there be blame anywhere for the want of such a law as pointed out by the president, surely that blame did not rest upon the marshal.—The president had said that it was only in 1774 prisoners in England were exempted from fees when acquitted, and drew the inference that it was time enough to extend the principle here; but he, (the Chief Justice) was proud to say, that, ever since he had an opinion on such matters, he had always denounced the absurdity, the folly, the barbarity, the inhumanity, the cruelty, of compelling a person against whom no charge was proved, and who might be as innocent of any as a child just born, to pay money out of his pocket or to go to jail. No, "this was not *English*,"—it was not honourable, and he sincerely hoped the good sense and justice of honourable members would induce them to refuse the amendment of the president, and, as it might as well be done first as last, appreciate the humanity of the marshal, by paying him what he had laid out in the feeding of these prisoners.

Mr. Bremner.—No fine or other punishment had been inflicted on the prisoners, and therefore he would vote for the amendment.

The amendment was then carried four in favour of, and two against it.

The Chief Justice having requested the clerk to note his name as the mover of the original motion: the clerk put it to the board.

Mr. Blanc.—I object to these innovations upon our forms; the adopting of such a plan can have but one object, and that a most mischievous one. When members, the nominees of government, wish to have the names of the mover, and the seconder, and the supporters of a motion recorded, it can only have the effect of holding themselves up to government for reward and approbation hereafter. Depend upon it, hon. members, there is an object, and you must oppose it like men—corruption and wickedness may attempt to prevail, but they shall not. This is one of the crying evils of the land which so loudly call for inquiry. Let the Chief Justice give notice of a rule to the effect of altering the practice, and it could be discussed at the next meeting.

The Chief Justice.—The president has displayed an acquaintance with the workings and purposes of men holding public situations, which, being derived from sources over which I have no control, cannot be noticed by me; and he has accounted for the motives of those actions in public men with a particularity which would induce one to believe he was actually speaking from experience. As he describes them, those motives are corrupt and dishonourable indeed, and are applicable not only to those who vote for Government, but who vote also to obtain the "reward and approbation" of any particular party, or faction, or individual in the community. If he means them to any member here present, such language is highly unbecoming any member, and more especially the president of this board; he has named no member, which, of course, would have been a breach of privilege; not having done so, he (the president) can only be regarded as speaking for himself. I for one deny and disclaim all such dishonourable motives of seeking favour and office, in wishing my name to appear as the mover of this motion—and I insist upon its being done.

The clerk then noted the names of the members for the motion accordingly.

Governor's Message on the delay in passing Laws.

Mr. Blanc rose to propose a reply to his excellency's message. It was to the effect, that in acknowledging the same, the board begged leave to inform his excellency that several measures were now before them on which the board were making all the progress in their power. The proposed reply went on to inform his excellency that the board were desirous of inquiring into and reporting upon the present state of the country, and that they took this opportunity to request that his excellency would be pleased to order to be laid before them copies of the reports of the stipendiary and other justices, from the 1st of August, 1838, to enable them properly so to do. He said that the present system of administering justice in the island is monstrous—it is cruel. Hon. members may suppose that he spoke in anger, but he assured them that he spoke in grief. When he looked upon the stipendiary magistrates—a body of men totally unfit, by their ignorance of law, and of the first elements of their duty, their general unacquaintance with the customs of the people, he saw with sorrow the cause of all the confusion existing in the land. These men are in the habit of making reports which never reach the public eye. What are those beautiful principles laid down by Chatham, Bentham, and others?—"Secrecy is the medium of corruption! Publicity is the soul of justice." He (Mr. Blanc) had seen one or two of these reports, and they abounded with misrepresentations.

Mr. O'Sullivan.—I, for one, deny that!

Mr. Blanc:—The governor calls for a "formal explanation."

The Chief Justice:—What has that to do with the reports of the stipendiary magistrates?

Mr. Blanc:—When we see those reports we will be able to find out what has been written, as he had reason to believe that their contents were calculated to bring the proprietary into disgrace; and they ought to be laid before the board that the truth may be known. They were called upon to make explanation of the delay which has taken place in the passing of laws (which circumstance he considered at once a breach of privilege,) and by having those reports they will be able to ascertain whether those laws are required or not. The state of the country was monstrous and frightful, and his object was to inquire into and report upon it.—We had lived to see charges brought against almost every public functionary. The president—the attorney general—the coroner—the late Chief Justice Jameson;—and he (Mr. Blanc) would be indeed distressed, did he not firmly believe as he had been always taught, and as he every day prayed, that 'truth shall prevail,' and vice you know, 'will not have perpetual sway.'

The Chief Justice alluded to the rumours at that time afloat of changes in the council, and observed, that, so far from deserving the imputation of being hostile to the board, if the course he had all along recommended had been followed, it would have had the effect, rather of keeping hon. members in their seats, than of endangering them.

Mr. Blanc:—Keep us in our seats! shame! shameful!

The Chief Justice explained:—Were ever such disorderly proceedings seen in the House of Lords?

Mr. Blanc:—You were never at the House of Lords.

The Chief Justice:—And you were only there two or three times, when you were studying to be a methodist.

Mr. Blanc:—No! I went to see them for THREE YEARS. The very governor's message was out of order, and unconstitutional.

The Chief Justice.—Then it cannot be constitutional to answer, which you are yet doing.

The message, as proposed by Mr. Blanc, was then carried by a majority of four to two.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15th

The Chief Justice's Protest.

The Chief Justice laid on the table a protest prepared and signed by his honour, expressing at length the "reasons" of his dissent from the message to the lieutenant-governor of the last meeting.

Mr. Blanc—I oppose the insertion of that "protest," so called, upon the journals of the board, because it contains matter irrelevant and foreign to the message from which it professes to be a *dissent*. It enters into a whole history of the consideration of all the bills which have hitherto come before the Board, and more especially contains the most direct and repeated reflections upon the majority of this Board. It is highly unparliamentary to introduce into a protest any matter foreign to, or not contained in the thing objected to. This can only be intended to bolster up the former scheme of support to all the measures of government, and to reflect upon and intimidate those honorable members who are determined to oppose them. The stipendiary magistrates, it is well known, are a set of men who have rendered themselves obnoxious to every honest member of the community. When we see men paid by government ignorant of the common elements of grammar, not able to make a nominative case agree with the verb—corrupt and ——

Mr. O'Sullivan—I call you to order. Mr. president.

Mr. Blanc—I am not to be intimidated. Yes; men who promote anarchy and confusion in the country—creating dissensions by which they live, and by which they profit—hirelings and——

Mr O'Sullivan—I call you to order, sir,—the term *hireling* is a word which I will not allow to be attached to me, at the hazard of my life!—It is false!

Mr. Blanc—I care not, sir, for the intimidations of any *bully* or——

Mr. O'Sullivan—If you go on, sir, in this insulting and ungentlemanly manner, I shall not, and cannot sit down without calling you to order!

The Chief Justice—Really these personalities towards Mr. O'Sullivan should not be tolerated by the other members of the board.

Mr. Blanc—I am FREE! sir!—

Mr. O'Sullivan—So am I! and I say I will not allow you, nor any other man, whoever he may be, to charge the stipendiary magistrates with every crime with which humanity can be cursed, without contradicting you.

Mr. Blanc—You used the word *false* just now.

Mr. O'Sullivan—It was only in defence of my character.

Mr. Blanc thought it proper at once to express that, in all his remarks

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respecting the stipendiary magistrates, he did not directly nor indirectly intend any of them whatsoever to apply to Mr. O'Sullivan, for, as he had said at a former meeting, if he must make an exception, it certainly was in favour of that gentleman.

Mr. O'Sullivan with that explanation was perfectly satisfied, and begged that every allowance might be made for the warmth of feeling pending the avowal of such an explanation. He would conclude by only remarking that he was truly sorry to find amongst the majority of the board so much prejudice and hostility towards the stipendiary magistrates, that scarcely one member had said so much as one *word* against the abuse of them by his honour, the president.

Mr. Blanc—The state of the country did indeed loudly call for an inquiry. Men were compelled to vote in support of a government whom they dared not disobey, and were determined to stop the free exercise of independent legislation. A set of persons in the country, whose sole aim is to put down the educated and the wealthy, and to exalt ignorance and insignificance upon the ruins of civilization! It had been said, and had been sent forth to the world, that there were "reporters" who took down their proceedings; they *may* report—but let them *take care*,—let them report the *truth*; let them *beware how* they attempted to publish to the world the honest sentiments of an English lawyer,—his unfettered opinions, and independent opposition to ignorance and wickedness. Those magistrates want more laws, that they might have a wider field for their mal-administration. The paper read by the Chief Justice was a libel upon the board, and calculated only to bring them into disrepute, together with the unheard-of attempts already abroad for that purpose. He therefore proposed that this paper—*this farce of a protest*, be referred to a committee of the whole board.

The Chief Justice.—The hon. member (Mr. Blanc) had thought proper to indulge in a strain of personal invective against him (the Chief Justice), whilst commenting upon the protest, which he, as a gentleman, could never condescend to reply to. The stipendiary magistrates have been charged by him (Mr. Blanc) with every crime of which gentlemen or magistrates could be guilty; and, in a message to his excellency, he had called for the reports of these men, since the 1st of August, 1838, in order, as is alleged, to prove their misconduct; and now, because he (the Chief Justice) saw that, in seeking to obtain these reports, the ultimate result would be delay in passing the laws now before the board, and which were so urgently required by the country; calculated to throw the land into anarchy, discord, and confusion—because he had entered a protest against the message, he was charged with libelling the board, and was told that the protest was calculated to bring the board into disrepute; and the unheard-of, the astounding attempt had been made to prevent his protest being inserted on the minutes of the board. It cannot be doubted, that on receipt of these reports it is the intention of the Board to have copies taken of them in order to their investigation; 70 reports—five members to have a copy of each, which would take up at least three months before they would be completed, even with the assistance of short-hand writers! (and then we could not read them) or the reporter that had already been referred to—

Mr. Blanc.—I don't believe it—he can't write short hand.

The Chief Justice.—I have been told he can, and I believe it.

Mr. Blanc.—The reporters in England never write short-hand! I knew them all; there is only one who can—his name is Dowdy.

The Chief Justice.—Oh! The president knows every thing; he, even at this distance, and the length of time which has elapsed since he was there, tells us there is only one short-hand writer in England! but I hope, as there is a reporter present, he will note that important fact. He begged leave to assure hon. members that he meant no disrespect whatever to the local justices, when he stated that "the interest of the proprietor must frequently come in collision with the interests of the labouring population;" for they were precisely the words which fell from the lips of proprietors to him. He always maintained, and saw no reason now to change his opinion, that the stipendiary magistrates were the most fit and proper persons to be entrusted with the administration of the laws between employer and employed, as they were men who, possessing no interest in the colony, would perform their duty without the risk of being supposed to act from fear, favour, or affection.

Mr. Brenner thought the last reason should be struck out, it being a serious reflection upon the local magistrates that they conceived themselves incapable of deciding cases between proprietors and labourers—he for one did not feel so.

Mr. Blanc, Yes! - And look at this—the chief justice of the island has relations in the country, property, friends, fees, a nephew at the bar, was engaged in suits for clients, yet *he* decides cases—why should not the local magistrates do so?

The Chief Justice—Lord Eldon had property, relations, former clients, relations at the bar, &c.

Mr. Blanc.—It is a notorious fact that the Chief Justice, who receives a salary of £1500 a-year, besides fees, could not sit in several cases during the last term from having been formerly engaged in them as counsel or otherwise.

Mr. O'Sullivan.—We are not here to discuss the merits of the Chief Justice for his office.—You have merged into a personal attack upon him.

The Chief Justice.—As it seemed to be the opinion of two hon. members that the third reason in his protest reflected upon the local magistrates, (though he did not think so) he would strike out the same.

Mr. Blanc.—Strike out all!

The Chief Justice,—"*Timeo danaos et dona ferentes.*"—I am not very willing to take advice from such a quarter.

Mr. Blanc.—The whole protest was a reflection upon the local magistracy, and a libel upon the board; and I intend, at the next meeting, to bring a charge against you, arising out of that very protest.

The Chief Justice.—Hear, hear, hear.

The protest, as corrected, was then ordered to be placed on the minutes.

BRITISH GUIANA.

(From the *Barbados Liberal.*)

COOLIE EMIGRATION.—We hear that a report is confidently circulated in the colony, that "the Messrs. Glen have received advices from parties in England, 'high in the confidence of government,' that government have given assurances of their willingness to allow the revival, and that speedily, of Coolie emigration to the colony." The joy with which this report has inspired "the planters and their *attaches*" is said to be "indecent and unbounded."

UNITED STATES.

CAPTIVES OF THE AMISTAD.

(From the *New Haven Record.*)

MR. PORTER.—While in your city the other day I visited the jail, and spent an hour or two with the Africans. While sitting in their school room, a little incident occurred which interested me very much at the time, and which I think will be interesting to your readers, as throwing light upon their character.

One of the teachers asked a division of some five or six, whom he was instructing, if they would like to go to Havana.—"Havana?" each repeated. "Yes," replied the teacher. "No, *No*," burst from every tongue, accompanied with a most decided shake of the head, and shrug of the shoulders, their countenances at the same time assuming an expression of the deepest anxiety. One of them at the same time raising his head, drew his hand across his throat, indicating the fate they feared. Another laid his arms across each other at the wrists, exclaiming, "Havana, Pipi," i.e. Ruiz. Another declared by signs that their legs were secured as well as their hands. Another extended his arm violently, and, by bringing his thumb and finger together, imitated the snapping of a whip, repeating "Pipi, Pipi." How strange it is they do not love Havana!

Pointing to them individually, and then away, the teacher asked, "you, you, Africa go?" "Mendi?" they inquired. "Yes," was the reply, "Mendi," i. e. do you wish to go to Mendi? "Yes, *yes*," was the universal exclamation, and their countenances kindled up with a new expression of joy. After this, the teacher pointing first to himself and then to them, said, "I, you, you, Mendi?" At first they seemed not perfectly to understand, and asked, "you, me, Mendi, go?" i. e. "You go with me to Mendi?" "Yes," was replied, "I, you, Mendi." "Yes, *yes*," said *all*. —"But," proceeded the teacher, "I, you, Mendi,"—then putting on a stern, angry look, rising from his seat, and with arms folded upon his breast, walking away, indicating neglect and ill-will—"then you so?" he asked, turning towards them.—"No, *no*, no," was the repeated exclamation, "No, so," said they, "*so*," with the warmest expressions of kindness, extending their arms, and then, as if embracing some object of affection, clasping it to their bosom, "*you so*." One, at the same time raising his hand to his mouth, by signs promised to provide food, and added in words "You Merica man, *yandinguo, yandinguo*," i. e. good, good.—But even this was not the full expression of their feelings. All extended their hands, and, grasping the teacher's, gave a warm, and, I thought, a *painful* pledge, that they spoke the truth.

I am told that not unfrequently similar incidents occur. As the teachers enter their room in the morning, many come to shake hands, and greet them with a joyous "*good morning*," and as they leave at night, they go away with the warm hearted "*good bye*," accompanied with the same outward expression.

There are among them some noble-looking, noble-spirited men, to subdue whom would be no *easy* task. Cinque, Fuli, Grabaung, Kimbo, *slaves*? Ah, yes, it may be. *Obedient* slaves? No, never—at least so it seems to me.

The thought must distress every friend of humanity, that these poor children of Africa may possibly be surrendered to their pretended owners. If such an event takes place, and they are doomed to slavery, who can tell their sufferings? Will not revenge be sweet to the Spaniards? Will not Montez and Ruiz remember the Amistad, the prosecution, the jail, the disgrace?

O let it never be, nor let them be sent back to Havana for execution. But if it *must* be, let Christians, let the genius of humanity and liberty, let the protecting angel of our country, let us all sit down mourning in sackcloth and ashes. Yet rather, let us know, that Cinqua, Grabaung, Mergroo, one, all lie by the side of Kaperi and his companions, sleeping on in quiet, till the day of judgment.—Christians, remember, when you pray, these sons and daughters of abused, bleeding Africa. BETA.

Nov. 24, 1839.

Home News.

DEPUTATION TO SIR LIONEL SMITH, BART.

A deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society waited on Sir Lionel Smith, Bart., late Governor of Jamaica, at his residence, Eaton-place, on Tuesday, the 21st of January, for the purpose of presenting to him an address from this society, a copy of which is subjoined, together with his excellency's answer thereto. The address was presented by the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, LL.D., and the following gentlemen were present on the occasion:—Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, LL.D.; Sir T. C. Style, M. P.; Joseph Pease, Esq., M.P.; Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M.P.; W. Ewart, Esq., M.P.; Joseph Sturge, Esq.; George Stacey, Esq.; Josiah Forster, Esq.; G. W. Alexander, Esq.; F. C. Brown, Esq.; Rev. J. H. Hinton; Rev. J. Woodwark; J. Scoble, Esq.; Joseph Cooper, Esq.; H. Sterry, Esq.; R. Chamberlain, Esq.; Richard Barrett, Esq.; J. Beaumont, Esq.; Josiah Conder, Esq.; J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR LIONEL SMITH, BART., &c. &c.

"Sir,—The distinguished services which you have rendered to the cause of human liberty and happiness in Jamaica, as the head of the executive in that important island during the most interesting and eventful period of its history, claim from the friends of the lately emancipated population a distinct and public avowal, and a heartfelt and grateful acknowledgment.

"In pursuance, therefore, of a duty no less imperative than gratifying, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society most respectfully tender to your Excellency their unanimous and cordial thanks for the inflexible justice which has marked your course, in the fulfilment of the high trusts committed to your charge as the governor of Jamaica, in your noble and unflinching protection of the ministers of religion of every name, and in the impartial and enlightened policy you have advocated and recommended—not less with the view of securing to that colony and to the mother country the full tide of prosperity which should result from a great act of national justice to a long injured and grievously oppressed race of men, than of placing on a firm and imperishable basis those civil and political rights and social privileges which had been assured to them by the British legislature, at a most costly sacrifice to the people of Great Britain.

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"The Committee unfeignedly rejoice that you have been enabled to accomplish much for humanity and freedom, amidst opposition of a kind which they will not permit themselves here to characterise.

"Your Excellency has brought with you the blessing of multitudes of the labouring population, who will ever bear you in grateful remembrance as their sincere and uncompromising friend and protector.

"The testimony which your Excellency has so frequently and unhesitatingly borne to the unexampled patience with which the negro population under your government endured the petty tyrannies and oppressive proceedings of many of their late masters, to the cheerful industry they have manifested where fairly and honourably treated, and to the gratitude they have so strikingly and affectingly exhibited for the protection and countenance afforded them, demonstrates that, when conciliation shall take the place of coercion—when the law of justice and kindness shall be substituted for the practice of fraud and oppression—when, in short, the spirit of slavery shall have passed away as well as its name—a career of agricultural and commercial prosperity, unparalleled in its past history, will be open to the island of Jamaica.

"In view of the great work yet to be accomplished in that colony, in obtaining the alteration or repeal of obnoxious laws, and in the enactment of such others as may be necessary to consolidate and maintain the liberties of all classes of the community; in extending the elective franchise, and thus securing to the free population the advantage of a liberal representation in the House of assembly, and in purifying the courts of law, the committee deeply regret your removal from the island before you had an opportunity of carrying out these great and beneficial reforms; and nothing could have reconciled them and the friends of enlightened freedom generally to that event, but your appointment as the Governor of Mauritius—a colony whose past history proves it will require no common firmness on the part of the executive to secure justice to its labouring population, a large number of which population consists of Hill Coolies, introduced within the last few years, the protection of whose rights the Committee would earnestly recommend to your Excellency's especial care. But the Committee entertain the fullest confidence, that the same spirit of wisdom and decision, and the same impartial justice, which so eminently characterised your government of Jamaica, will be manifested at Mauritius, and that, fully sustained in the arduous duties of your high office by the influence and power of the home government, and above all by the blessing of Almighty God, your Excellency will be enabled to overcome every difficulty, to establish the supremacy of the laws, to sustain the rights of the Crown, and to secure the liberties of the people, and thus add another claim to the gratitude and veneration of your countrymen, and to the favour and approbation of your Sovereign.

"On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be,
"Your excellency's most obedient humble servant,
"STEPHEN LUSHINGTON."

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

"GENTLEMEN,—I thank you very sincerely for an address, which assures me you have understood the difficulties of my situation in administering the government of Jamaica with that spirit of justice to the labouring classes which the government and people of England had purchased for them, and which they themselves had richly earned by their patient submission to wicked laws and habitual oppression.

"Your Society, renowned for its humane designs in extinguishing slavery in all countries, has contributed greatly to those measures which forced the liberation of the African race in the West Indies; but I would entreat you not to relax in the exertions which I know to be still necessary to consolidate freedom in Jamaica.

"Efforts are still making to carry through oppressive laws against the labourers, and to procure the dismissal of the special magistrates, that the execution of such laws may solely depend on the planting magistrates.

"I dread the consequences to the people, and a greater misfortune could hardly happen against the welfare of the island; and though I am aware the special magistrates have been a heavy additional expense to this country, it should be urged by the friends of the negros, that one of the earliest and happiest effects of their freedom has been a vast reduction in the expenses of the military establishment.

"I shall carefully inform myself of the views of her Majesty's government in regard to the encouragement of Asiatic labour for the sugar cultivation of the Mauritius; and you may be assured I will do all in my power in that colony, as I did in the West Indies, to prohibit oppression; and I beg to thank you, gentlemen, for the gratification I have derived by your confidence in my character, that I will faithfully endeavour to maintain the supremacy of the laws, the rights of my Sovereign, and the liberties of the people entrusted to my government.

"I am, gentlemen,
"Your faithful and obedient servant,
"LIONEL SMITH.

"To the Deputation of the British and Foreign
"Anti-Slavery Society."

CAPTAIN STOCKENSTROM,

LATE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Memorial to the Right Honorable Lord John Russell, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

Having been requested by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to seek an interview with your Lordship, for the purpose of submitting to your consideration a statement of the circumstances which have come to their knowledge, connected with the case of Captain Stockenstrom, late lieutenant-governor of the Cape colony, and his removal from office, the deputation respectfully solicit your Lordship's attention to the following remarks on the subject.

The Committee of the society the deputation represent are deeply impressed with a sense of the valuable qualifications and long experience of Captain Stockenstrom, and, considering the implicit confidence reposed in his character by the Caffer chiefs and people, as well as by every native tribe near the colonial boundary, the steady support he has afforded to the cause of Christian missions, education, and civilization, among the coloured classes in South Africa, they were of opinion that his resuming the administration of the government of the eastern districts of the Cape colony at the present crisis was peculiarly desirable, not only for promoting the moral advancement of the coloured races, but for the preservation of peace on the frontiers, and to avert the calamitous consequences of another Caffer war.

They therefore hailed with the highest satisfaction the proof given by Her Majesty's government of unimpaired confidence in his qualifications for that office, after a full consideration of the whole subject, in the wish officially communicated to him that he would re-consider his proposed resignation of office, and in his actual re-appointment, with an augmented salary, in the month of August last.

But it was with corresponding regret they learned that the arrangements definitively made by Lord Glenelg, after the fullest consideration, had been first suspended, and then set aside, chiefly, they believe, in consequence of the private and unauthorized representation of an irresponsible individual, Major Chartres, who, without communicating with Captain Stockenstrom, induced the Marquis of Normanby to believe that the return of the lieutenant-governor would be unacceptable to the governor of that colony, on the ground that Captain Stockenstrom could not discharge the duties of that office with benefit to the public.

This representation appears to have been privately conveyed without any authority from the governor, Sir George Napier.

Major Chartres has since avowed in a letter to Captain Stockenstrom, dated the 26th of October last, that he mistook Sir G. Napier's meaning and sentiments, and has apologized to Captain Stockenstrom in writing, for his "misapprehension and mistaken zeal." It has been asserted that an extensive alienation of feeling exists on the part of the Cape colonists towards Captain Stockenstrom, but this can be shown not to extend beyond certain individuals who have uniformly opposed the just and humane system of frontier policy introduced by Lord Glenelg, or such of the colonists as have evinced a spirit of disaffection to the colonial or British government.

Under these circumstances, it appears that Captain Stockenstrom must be regarded as the victim of erroneous information, by which means the colony and Her Majesty's service have been deprived of an efficient officer, and his voluntary resignation has been converted into a summary dismissal.

The Committee more especially deplore the treatment Captain Stockenstrom has undeservedly, and as they believe, unintentionally met with at the hands of Her Majesty's government, after thirty years service, on account of the injurious impression which it is adapted to produce in the colony, by encouraging the enemies of the sound and philanthropic policy proposed by Lord Glenelg, and carried into effect with judicious energy by Captain Stockenstrom, to infer that their opposition has triumphed, and that a change of policy has been adopted in the colonial office.

This impression can be removed only by some unequivocal demonstration of the continued confidence reposed by her Majesty's government in the character of the late lieutenant-governor. And the Committee desire most respectfully to submit to your Lordship's consideration an expression of their hope, that the stigma unjustly cast upon Captain Stockenstrom, in consequence of erroneous information, will be removed, by effacing from the records of the colonial office everything that is disparaging to that officer, and which would, while it stands, be a barrier both in his own feelings, and in the view of the public, to his serving Her Majesty with honour and advantage in any other public capacity.

On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your most obedient humble servant,
J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

Office of the Anti-Slavery Society,
January 2, 1840.

Correspondence.

FAILURE OF THE CROP IN BRITISH GUIANA.

To the Editors of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Sirs,—I have for some time been waiting for a moment of leisure to draw the attention of our abolition friends through the country to various important topics connected with the present condition of the labouring population in British Guiana, and the future prospects of that fine colony; but numerous and important public engagements have hitherto prevented my carrying my design into execution. On my return from France, however, I trust I shall be able to devote a few days to these points, with the view of showing the causes which have been in operation there, and which have led to a partial failure of the sugar crop this year. In the meantime, I beg to call your attention to three very important despatches, forwarded to the colonial department by Governor Light. The first refers to the unpropitious season which the planters had to encounter in securing their crops last year; the second to the amount of shipping employed in the carrying trade between this country and Guiana; and the third to the price of properties sold during the last year, not to speculators, but to residents in the colony, who knew their value, and who have thus shown the opinions they entertain of the outcry raised, for the worst purposes, against the labouring population.

I am, Sirs, your's respectfully,
JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 22nd January, 1840.

DESPATCHES FROM GOVERNOR LIGHT TO THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY.

Governor's Residence, Demerara, 26th April, 1839.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the Custom-house returns of produce shipped from this colony for the January quarter of the present year. There is a considerable falling off for the counties of Essequibo and Demerara; and there is far from a trifling decrease for Berbice.

I beg your Lordship to bear in mind, that the cane cultivation on most of the estates is distant, at extreme points four, five, and sometimes eight miles from the works; that the cane-fields are intersected by trenches leading into a main trench, running the whole length of the cultivation. The trenches are just wide enough, and deep enough, to allow their being navigable for punts; and on the sufficiency for water in these trenches depends the feasibility of carrying away the canes as they are reaped to the mill. In ordinary seasons the trenches are sufficiently supplied from creeks, savannahs, or lakes, with water, to communicate freely with the works by means of punts, dragged by mules pacing the side lines of the great trench. The season, which had been excessively favourable at the beginning of the year, and gave promise of large return, has not for upwards of seventy-two days had a respite from excessive drought; the consequence has been, that the savannahs, creeks, or lakes, have been

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dried up; the trenches, having no supply, have been exhausted, and the canes have been left uncut from the impossibility of conveyance to the works. This, then, is the chief cause of the failure during the last quarter, and not the idleness of the peasantry, to which some of the planters are disposed to ascribe it.

The good feeling, not to say devotion, of the negros on many of the estates, has been evinced strongly within the last three or four weeks, in arresting the alarming progress of the conflagration of the woods and savannahs, which form a belt round most of the estates, and are either separated from the cultivation by trenches or creeks. Upwards of seventy miles in Demerara alone, are at this moment smoking, or in flames, or destroyed; two or three estates on the west coast of the river Demerara have suffered much from the progress of the fire. The same fire rages in other parts of the colony, but not to such extent.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HENRY LIGHT.

[*Note.*—His Excellency, the governor, might have very properly added two additional facts, of which all the planters in Guiana are aware, namely, that, during the extraordinary drought which prevailed, and which continued for many weeks after the above despatch was written, the canals, trenches, and drains connected with estates were deepened and cleansed, to a much greater extent than had been done for many years past, and much work of that kind, which had been neglected in past years, was then performed; and secondly, that, in consequence of the heavy rains in the fall of 1838, followed by the long and severe drought of 1839, the canes were so greatly injured that, on some estates, the yield of saccharine matter was not two-thirds, and on others, not one-half of former years.]

Governor's Residence, Demerara, 28th May, 1839.

MY LORD,

I have thought it my duty to obtain a comparative return from the Custom Office of the number and tonnage of vessels inwards and cleared outwards, for the years 1836, 1837, and 1838, which I have the honor to forward to your Lordship, adding a few observations on the different data.

1st. The increasing demand of British Guiana for manufactured goods, and other supplies, has occasioned an additional tonnage inwards of 10,618 tons, as compared with that of the year 1836, and of 4270 tons, as compared with that of the year 1837.

2nd. The number of vessels outwards in ballast, is no criterion of the extent of the deficiency of export, because the importation will for several succeeding years, in all probability, require a larger tonnage than the exports, even though these latter should be equal to their amount in days of slavery; and this cannot be, unless there is an influx of labourers; inasmuch, as the women will most probably not labour in the field as constantly as they have heretofore done.

3rd. The tonnage outwards in ballast is not of ships usually trading to this country, as may be inferred from the circumstance, that the vessels in question did not return to the ports whence they came, but proceeded for the most part to the States of America, or, being vessels coming from the States or British possessions, having disposed of their cargoes of lumber, provisions, &c., obtained dollars to purchase cargoes elsewhere.

4th. It is presumed that the real decrease in the outward tonnage is about 10,000 tons in 1838, as compared with 1837, and this decrease is not greater than the events of last year rendered probable.

I trust these remarks will enable your Lordship to judge of the real grounds for the outcry made by interested persons against the diminishing resources of the colony.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY LIGHT.

[*Note.*—His Excellency might further have stated, that, in consequence of the circumstances before alluded to, which not only affected the amount of the crop, but which delayed its ingathering, vessels left in ballast for other colonies, for freight, in the first half-year of 1839. It is both unfair and unjust, if not worse, to attribute to indolence on the part of the negros, that which can be readily accounted for by a reference to providential and natural causes.]

Governor's Residence, Demerara, June 26th, 1839.

MY LORD,

A perusal of the valuation of the undermentioned estates, since the 1st of August, will convince your Lordship and Her Majesty's government that emancipation has not diminished the prices of property, the best proof of the confidence in the steady prospects of the colony:—

Plantation Zelandia, on Walkenhaam, Essequibo: £42,000. was offered to the proprietor, residing on the spot; was accepted, but the day following the proprietor begged to be permitted to recal his assent; 1839.

Plantation Allness, Berbice, sold in 1839 for £28,000, its full value, undiminished by the emancipation of the labourers.

Plantation Thomas, Demerara, sold seven or eight years ago, for £9,000; purchased since the emancipation for £20,000.

Plantation Vrow Anna, Leguan island, Essequibo, sold in 1839 for £35,000, its full value, undiminished by the emancipation.

Plantation Aberdeen, Essequibo, sold for £20,000 in 1839, a larger price than was paid for it eight or nine years ago by the seller.

Plantation Friendship, Demerara, cotton and plantains, sold in 1839 for a greater price than was paid for it in 1833 or 1834.

Plantation Windsor Forest, Demerara, for £12,000., the full value, undiminished by emancipation.

Plantation Profit, Demerara, sold for its full value, undiminished by emancipation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY LIGHT.

[*Note.*—*Zelandia* belongs to W. Arrindell, Esq., whose complaints of the ruin of the colony have been loud and frequent, not only at public meetings, but in the Combined Court; yet we find this man, after having obtained a purchaser of his estate at a splendid sum, not only recalling his assent to the sale, but willing to risk his fortune under the free system! Can we have a better refutation of the idle tales propagated through the press of the ruin of the colony?

It is a remarkable fact, that whilst all the estates enumerated in the above list have sold for their full value, (undiminished by the emancipation of the labourers, who, under the system of slavery, formed part of the estimated value of the properties to which they were attached,) several of them have realized a much larger price than could be obtained for them during the palmy days of slavery; in other words, the value of plantations in British Guiana at the present time is equal, if not greater, without slaves than it was formerly with them!]

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

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HENRY SIERRY, Sec.

27, *New Broad Street.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 3.] WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

IMMINENT RENEWAL OF THE COOLIE SLAVE-TRADE.

Our readers will learn with deep regret—we might almost say with consternation, that ministers have an intention of acting on the recommendation of Sir William Nicolay, the present governor of Mauritius, to sanction the renewed importation of Coolie labourers into that island. In the House of Commons, on the 4th instant, Mr. Vernon Smith, the under secretary in the colonial department, moved for leave to bring in a bill to extend to the British colonies in the West Indies the English act for regulating the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels; when Lord John Russell took an occasion of speaking as follows:—

"Lord John Russell said there was one subject of great importance, as connected with this question, on which he would not lose the present opportunity of stating his opinions to the house. He alluded to the emigration of the Hill Coolies. The result of his inquiries into this subject had been, that, although on the whole they had not materially suffered since their establishment in Demerara, yet the result of the experiment on the whole had been unsuccessful. There was to be considered the length of the voyage, the chance of their being kidnapped into entering into an agreement to go into a distant country of which they knew nothing; and then again there existed considerable difficulty in carrying into effect the agreement for their return to their own country, when the time of their agreement should have elapsed. For these reasons he did not deem it advisable that any permission should be given for the emigration of Hill Coolies from India to the West India Islands.—(Hear, hear, hear.) With regard to another part of the same subject, the emigration of Hill Coolies to the Mauritius, his inquiries had induced him to come to a different conclusion. In the first place, it appeared that upwards of 20,000 Hill Coolies had emigrated from India to the Mauritius—it did not appear that they had suffered in consequence; on the contrary, they had received good wages, and had been well treated. They moreover appeared to have been perfectly aware of the conditions of the contract into which they had entered, and they were enabled to enforce its observance upon their masters. Moreover, there was a constant intercourse between Mauritius and Calcutta, giving the means of keeping up a constant communication between the people in India and their relations who had gone to the Mauritius. Many who had engaged for five years had expressed their willingness to engage for five years more, after going home to see their friends; but as the prohibition against Hill Coolies leaving India was absolute, they were unable to do so. That being the state of the case as regarded Mauritius, he proposed to relax the prohibition of the Order in Council as regarded that island. It had been proposed to engage them for five years, but to this he objected, as he considered one year a sufficiently reasonable time, and he thought it would be better to renew the contract from time to time, rather than enter into a contract for a longer period. There was no analogy whatever between this case and that of apprenticeship. An apprentice had to learn a trade from his master, but these men had nothing to learn, they were merely labourers, and therefore there was no necessity for a long term of engagement; and he thought if a protector were appointed in India to superintend the contracts, and see that the Coolies were not deceived in the engagements they were entering into, it was but just that they should be allowed to emigrate from India, where wages were small, to the Mauritius, where they were large, and to improve their condition. He was aware that it was also advantageous to the masters to have the services of their labourers; but he considered that the comfort and well-being of these labourers, who, during the last session, had occupied so much of the attention and anxiety of parliament, and most properly and naturally so, should be the primary consideration. As he did not intend to bring in any bill on the subject, he thought it necessary to make this statement to the house.—(Cheers.)

Undoubtedly my lord John Russell has done much better in making this statement in the face of parliament and the public before the obnoxious order in council shall be promulgated, than lord Glenelg did in issuing a similar order without giving the public any notice at all. So far we give him credit for frankness and fair dealing; and for affording to the friends of humanity and freedom an opportunity of expressing their sentiments ere it is too late. We must not be slow in availing ourselves of it.

The public must not be deceived by the smooth diplomatic terms in which the noble secretary for the colonies has announced his purpose. He sweetly says that it is only "to relax the prohibition of the order in council as it regards the Mauritius." He persuades us, moreover, that "the comfort and well being of the labourers shall be the primary consideration," and treats us with the outlines of a plan for appointing a Coolie protector, and other pretty fictions, as though he either really imagined, or thought we should believe, that he could accomplish the end. The plain fact is, however, that the island of Mauritius is again to be opened to the importation of labourers from India; and we entertain a full conviction that, in spite of all protectorships, it will be a substantial renewal of the slave-trade.

The extent over which this revived traffic in men would be diffused is far greater than at first sight may appear. Lord John speaks of *a* protector, as if he thought that Coolie transportation might be confined to the single port of Calcutta. Beyond all question, however, the trade would be carried on in every other part of British India; and not only so, but it would diffuse itself over the whole of southern Asia, both continental and insular. Mauritius being open to receive men, and the planters willing to give a bounty on the importation of them, they will infallibly be carried thither from every quarter, as they are already from Madagascar; and the system will renew in Asia the tragedy of African desolation.

To talk of *protecting* the victims of such a traffic is utterly preposterous. Why, to allow, for the moment, that the colonial secretary could institute an available defence for the subjects of the British crown, it is obvious at once that he can do nothing for other parties—for the slaves bought of Madagasse chiefs, for example, or for Coolies shipped from the French settlement of Pondicherry. Who is to prevent the kidnapping and maltreatment of these unfortunates? My Lord John's scheme, however, is worth nothing in relation even to the British possessions. He talks of "a protector to be appointed in India, to superintend the contracts, and to see that the Coolies are not deceived in the engagements they are entering into." Now, we beg to remind his lordship that some very important proceedings take place before the Coolies enter into contract. There is the Coolie-hunt, the kidnapping, the violent detention, with their associated frauds and barbarities innumerable, as known to have been perpetrated under Lord Glenelg's order; are the Coolies to have no protection against these? Or what protection does my Lord John dream he can supply against them? The protector is to superintend the contracts. But we must remind his lordship also, that other very important proceedings take place after the contract shall have been signed. There is then the voyage to the Mauritius, not so long indeed as that to Demerara, but quite long enough to expose cargoes of human beings to sufferings little short of those of the middle-passage from Africa to the Western world. In this very voyage, in fact, some of those afflictive cases of suffering occurred, by the force of which the former traffic in Coolies was put down. And is there to be no security against the recurrence of these? The protector, however, is to superintend the contracts—aye, the contracts, this is the very marrow of the matter to the planters, who, it comes out, have been wanting to bind the poor Coolies for *five years!*—and to see that they are not deceived. But how do we know that the protector will not lend himself to the multifarious frauds of the Mauritians, or that he shall not himself be imposed upon? There never was much good done by the protectors of slaves in the West Indies.

Lord John tells us much of the happiness of the two and twenty thousand Coolies who have already been transported to Mauritius. Will he lay upon the table of parliament the documents by which his statements can be proved? We know that many of these persons were taken to that island wholly against their will, and were as truly slaves as any victims ever torn from the shores of Africa; and we cannot receive unsupported assertions of their great happiness without considerable incredulity. Will the colonial secretary even create a free press in Mauritius, and give the British public an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the facts of the case by unfettered discussion on the spot? At present, if there be anything wrong in the island, not a single newspaper dare tell of it. It is a perfect den of darkness, so far as any real knowledge of its condition is concerned; and we do not know but it may be a den of thieves.

On one point of great importance Lord John Russell has said nothing; we mean the transportation of large numbers of men without women. Is it possible that he contemplates the renewal of this revolting system; and again are we to see cargoes of our fellow-creatures in motion to a distant region, with two women to a hundred men? The planters, it may be true enough, do not want any human beings who will not do field work; but, to feed the cupidity of a few hundred sugar-growers, is a British statesman going to sanction the extensive rupture of family ties, and to foster an accumulating inequality of the sexes, which is known to be one of the most fruitful sources of vice, depopulation, and wretchedness!

We may add, that we think the present measure of the Queen's ministers exceedingly ill-timed. They are just about to send out a new governor, in whom both they and the British public can place confidence. If the subject of Coolie emigration to Mauritius must be considered anew, surely it would be enough to charge Sir Lionel Smith with instructions to inquire and report upon it. We have never had any confidence in Sir William Nicolay, and can anticipate nothing but vexation and

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mischievous results from entrusting to his successor the execution of a policy which he has recommended.

We are no enemies to free emigration, but we wish it to be really free. To Coolie hunting, kidnapping, and slavery, we have an unconquerable aversion; and these are the atrocities which we are convinced will be renewed, if the plan announced by the secretary for the colonies is carried into effect. Public opinion should be expressed on it without delay. It is a matter of grace and condescension that we have heard anything of it in parliament; and in all probability we shall hear nothing more of it there spontaneously. It is reported, moreover that the order in council may be expected to issue very speedily; so that, if anything can avert the threatened mischief, it is the prompt and general expression of the public sentiment, and we fervently invoke to action this last hope of humanity and freedom.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

ACCORDING to our promise, we resume this week the immigration question. We are told by the colonists that it is of great importance to them; and we are sure that, as friends of human liberty and happiness, it is of great importance to us. The better way, indeed, of entering on the subject, will be to exhibit in the first instance the magnitude of the scheme which the planters are now contemplating; from which will clearly appear the immense extent to which the interests of humanity are involved in it, and the deep and jealous consideration it demands.

We observe then, in the first place, that the scheme now insisted on by the planters involves the emigration from their native land, and the importation into the British West Indies, of an immense number of persons. From an article in the *Colonial Gazette* of the 1st of January, from a "Memorandum for Dr. Lushington's consideration" in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 26th of December, and from Reflections on West India Affairs, by Sir Edward Cust, (all of them sources of authentic information as to the views of the planters on this subject) may be derived ample proof of this assertion. There is a loud cry of a deficiency of labour consequent on emancipation, and immigrants are wanted to compensate this. Then we are told that cultivation may be much extended—that some of the colonies are only cultivated in patches, and that one of them by itself (Guiana) could furnish sugar, cotton, coffee, and spices sufficient for the whole empire; and immigrants enough are wanted to do all this. A writer in the *Colonial Gazette* tells us, that large supplies of labourers may be had from the American continent: "from fifty points between Rio de Janeiro and Boston they would flock to the British colonies, if invited by the call of justice to the negro;" but this, he adds, "would still be inadequate to the demand for labour." Sir Edward Cust confesses that his ideas respecting emigration from Africa alone go to the actual "transfer of A PEOPLE from home to a distant continent," *Reflections*, p. 73. These expressions are of unequivocal and decisive import. It is not a few hundreds nor a few thousands that can satisfy the planters' demand for immigration; they are calling for hundreds of thousands.

But this is neither the whole nor the worst. Emigration to the West Indies is to be not only large but perpetual. So tells us the *Colonial Gazette*: "The more intelligent of the emigrants from various parts of America would soon lay by a capital, *and would themselves require labouring hands.*" And the writer of the Memorandum innocently states, that "those labourers now in the colony who are industrious will become independent, purchase land of their own, cultivate provisions for themselves, and be of no use in cultivating the staple exports of the colony. It is therefore desirable that *an influx of labourers be constantly kept up*, to supply the place of those becoming independent." The measure pressed forward so earnestly, then, is to be not temporary but permanent; a drain for ages to come on the population of either hemisphere, and of almost every nation under heaven.

More need not be said, we think, in order to satisfy our readers that the subject is a very serious one; and that it involves the interests of humanity to an extent inferior only to the slave-trade itself.

We are not going to lay it down, however, that a great scheme is necessarily a great evil. On the contrary, we will, for argument's sake, admit the supposition that the immigration scheme may be as beneficial as it is magnificent; and we will address ourselves to the consideration of it with a degree of candour and impartiality which, we hope, shall not be liable to question.

We set out by observing, that we cherish no hostility whatever, either towards the planters or their interests. The abolitionists of Great Britain have *never* been actuated by such a principle; but, on the contrary, have been convinced that the attainment of their object would be as conducive to the real interests of the masters as to those of the slaves. And why should they be adverse to the interest of the planters now? Since it is evident that their prosperity, if consistent with justice and practical freedom, must be for the advantage of the labourers. The interests of other parties being secure, let West India proprietors be assured that we wish them all prosperity, and that we shall willingly promote any measure by which their welfare may be advanced.

In the next place, we observe, that we do not upon any ground disapprove or wish to obstruct *free emigration*. So far from this, the Anti-Slavery Committee have taken prompt and energetic measures to obtain the removal of those restrictions which have been imposed in some of the colonies, on the departure of labourers, and which must be unequivocally pronounced unjust and oppressive. By no parties can the sentiment be held in a more distinct or unqualified manner than by British abolitionists, that every free person should be at liberty to remove his residence when and where he pleases.

Notwithstanding these points of agreement, however, the immigration scheme, as now proposed by the planters, is one to which we cannot declare our adhesion. On the contrary, after the most careful and dispassionate consideration we have been able to give to the subject, we are constrained to pronounce our decided and unequivocal disapprobation of it. We must assign some of our reasons.

In the first place, we do not admit the allegations on which it is founded. These are presented to us distinctly in the Memorandum, and are as follows:—

I. A large deficiency in the sugar and other cultivated staples, arising from emancipation.

Our reply to this is two-fold: first, that although there is a deficiency, as every body expected there would be, yet *upon the whole* it is not large, but much smaller than might have been anticipated. And secondly, that the deficiency is by no means universal, or even general. Barbados has done well, and several islands have had to rejoice in an unusually large crop. But, that we may not seem to be talking at random on this subject, we print below an official return of the result of sugar cultivation in Antigua for three successive periods of five years each, the last being the period of free labour.

Crops in the island of Antigua, from 1824 to 1838 inclusive, with the Averages of every five years.

YEARS.	SUGAR.	RUM.	MOLASSES.
	Hogsheads.	*Puncheons.*	*Puncheons.*
1824 . . .	19,884	4732	7448
1825 . . .	16,901	4082	8182
1826 . . .	17,085	2966	8742
1827 . . .	5965	987	2990
1828 . . .	14,150	2126	7912
Average.	14,797	2797	5067 2/5
1829 . . .	12,849	3024	6338
1830 . . .	12,025	2943	4259
1831 . . .	13,148	2489	7912
1832 . . .	12,612	2180	8148
1833 . . .	11,092	1704	8231
Average.	12,189	2468 1/5	7177 3/5
1834 . . .	20,263	1149	13,818
1835 . . .	13,576	1907	8425
1836 . . .	10,312	946	4149
1837 . . .	5325	431	3039
1838 . . .	18,251	1115	12,113
Average.	15,545	1109 3/5	8308 4/5

SUGAR:—Increase in five years ending 1838 . 1366 hogsheads.
RUM:—Decrease in five years ending 1838 . 2459 puncheons.
MOLASSES:—Increase in five years ending 1838 . 1131 1/5 puncheons.

The governor, Sir William Colebrooke, modestly but justly remarks, that this return "amply attests that the labour of the colony has been as satisfactorily applied during the last five years as in those which preceded 1834." In addition to this document, we are enabled by the Trinidad papers to present another, exhibiting a very satisfactory view of the agriculture of that island. The following is from the *Trinidad Standard* of the last mail but one:—

"The following statement of the exports from this colony, from 1st Jan. 1839 to 15th November (ult.), has been kindly handed us, and may be relied on as correct. Comparing the number of pounds of sugar shipped up to the 15th ult. with that shipped during the entire year 1838, there is only a deficiency of 1,062,384 lbs., equal to (at 1400 lbs. nett per hogshead) to 785 hogsheads. There is more than this quantity of sugar afloat in the harbour, which will be cleared out before the 31st inst.; the crop of 1839 will therefore fully equal that of 1838. We have the further gratification to point out that the revenue on sugar already equals that of last year:—£318,289 sterl. was the value on which the 3¼ per cent. was paid last year; and from the higher rate of the tariff this crop, the value of sugar exported already stands at £321,512—the duties on the 700 or 800 hogsheads remaining of this year's crop will, therefore, be clear surplus revenue as compared with the preceding year.

EXPORTS TO 15TH NOVEMBER, 1839.

		Value.
Sugar	lbs. 28,311,529	£331,412 10 4
Cotton	112,964	2,536 8 0
Coffee	174,715	5,880 6 11
Cocoa	2,559,768	34,421 11 4
Rum	galls. 9,946	1,126 10 2
Molasses	834,609	40,217 2 0
Sundries		3,163 18 2
	Total	£409,458 6 11"

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And this is Trinidad! one of the very colonies from which we hear such a vehement outcry for labourers, because of the alarming deficiency of the crops!

We do not say that the crops have been no where deficient; but the documents produced, and others which might be produced, fully bear us out in asserting that the deficiency has been neither universal nor general, but only local and partial. We deny, therefore, the broad and unqualified allegation of a deficiency in the crops *in the West Indies;* it is only in portions of the West Indies that any such deficiency has arisen.

2. The second allegation is the want of continuous and regular labour, as the cause of the asserted deficiency.

We will postpone for a moment the question whether labour has been materially wanting, in order to bring out the fact, that, whether it have been so or not, this is not the cause of any deficiency in the crop. Our reasoning is this: If the crop had been affected by want of labour, it would have been affected universally, or at all events generally; since throughout the entire West Indies the same difficulties in respect of labour were to be contended with, and were in fact loudly complained of. We have seen convincing proof, however, that the crop has not been generally deficient; and we may safely conclude, therefore, that local deficiencies have arisen, not from the want of labour, but from some other cause. In relation to the colony in which the principal deficiency has occurred, British Guiana, such other cause is known to have existed. The last year was distinguished by a long drought, from which the colony suffered severely, as is distinctly stated by governor Light, in an official dispatch which was inserted in the last *Reporter*, and assigned by him as the cause of the failure of the crop. It is well known that in the West Indies the crops are remarkably dependent on the seasons, while the seasons are extremely uncertain; so that very great irregularities in the produce continually result from this cause alone. For an exemplification of this let our readers cast their eyes over the return from Antigua; where they will find the crop of sugar to be, in 1826, 17,085 hogsheads; in 1827, 5865; and in 1828, 14,150: and again, in 1836, 10,312; in 1837, 5325; and in 1838, 18,251. This no doubt is a sample of the inequality characteristic of West India productiveness. The crop of one year is only one-half of the preceding, and less than a third of the following. This is just what has happened in Guiana, with a notorious drought to account for it; but instead of its being set down to the course of the seasons, it is artfully blazoned forth to the world, and used *ad nauseam* to sustain the false representation that there has been a short crop in the whole West Indies, and to force on an extensive scheme of colonial immigration.

We will now take up the assertion that continuous and regular labour has been wanting. Our observations upon it are two. The first is, that in West India cultivation continuous and regular labour is not required; but rather, many hands at certain times. It is well known to have been one of the practical evils of slavery to the proprietor, and one source of its consuming expensiveness, that, having slaves, he must employ them whether he had any thing for them to do or not. It is one of the proprietor's advantages now that he can have few or many hands as he pleases, and can turn off at any time those he does not want. Complaints of the want of continuous and regular labour, therefore, may be set down as in great part artful and fraudulent. The use of these terms is little more than an imposition on the ignorant.

Our second remark on this allegation is, that, where treatment has been good, labour has not generally or even frequently been wanting. It is not upon slight grounds, or from a superficial induction, that the Anti-slavery committee (in an important document inserted in our last) have asserted, that "almost uniformly, where the emancipated negro has been fairly and equitably dealt with, he has remained on the estate of his former owner, and cheerfully performed, for very moderate wages, the most laborious part of sugar cultivation." To some planters labour may have been wanting, but only to the grinding, the fraudulent, and the brutal—the never-pay and notice-to-quit gentry—for whom nobody would have worked that could help it, if the colonies had been choked with labourers. It is accordingly from this class of planters that the loudest cry proceeds. Equitable and humane employers are not joining in the clamour. Sir Lionel Smith distinctly assured the late deputation of the Anti-slavery society, that what was wanting was not more labour, but better treatment of the labourers. People who offer fair wages and punctually pay them, who rent cottages at a just price and for a secure tenancy, can get as many labourers as they want; and if there are persons who cannot, it is because their dreadful habits of oppression disqualify them to secure the confidence and industry of free labourers. What they want is not so much men to work, as men who will quietly be maltreated and defrauded—men, in a word, *who will be slaves.*

We must content ourselves for the present, with submitting these observations on the important subject which is before us, and to which we find we must again return. They may form not a useless comment on the impudent passage of the Memorandum, which states that "*it is agreed by all parties*" that the "falling off in the crops does *not* arise from bad seasons, or from want of liberality on the part of the proprietors!"

THE GOVERNOR OF BARBADOS AND THE EDITOR OF THE BARBADOS LIBERAL.

It will be in the recollection of many of our readers, that the *British Emancipator* was indebted on several occasions, and particularly in the paper of September 4th, 1839, to the correspondence of the able editor of the *Liberal*, for a full delineation of the abuses existing in Barbados. His representations have proved exceedingly distasteful to Sir Evan M'Gregor. His excellency was once a liberal and impartial ruler—the friend of the enslaved and the oppressed; but he now "goes the whole hog" for 'conciliation,' and yet, strange to say, is sensitive and uncomfortable at the loss of his anti-slavery reputation. His disappointment has lately betrayed him into certain proceedings of a most undignified and extraordinary character.

On the number of the *Emancipator* above referred to reaching Barbados, the governor resolved to extinguish his adversary, Mr. Prescod, and to set himself right with the English public by a formal appeal to the labouring population. The agents employed were the police magistrates; and the first fruits of their labour have issued in the shape of a deputation of fifty-five negros, head-men on various estates in the parish of St. George, (accompanied by Mr. police-magistrate Watts,) who waited on the governor on behalf of the labouring population of that district. An address, purporting to be theirs, was read by Mr. Watts; to which the governor made a gracious reply. The deputation was hospitably entertained, and took their leave, highly pleased no doubt with their reception.

One would have thought an event so highly satisfactory—an acknowledgment of prosperity and contentment from so large a body of negros, accompanied by expressions of gratitude to their employers somewhat profuse, and of indignation against their unwelcome advocate, Mr. Prescod, a little vehement and in terms somewhat extraordinary, would have been made the most of. But we look in vain in the governor's address to the assembly, or in the assembly's reply, for any allusion to it. The government paper is ominously silent, and we dare say the governor's despatches might be searched in vain for any record of this remarkable occurrence. The reason is plain. The whole affair was such a palpable piece of mummery, that we presume calm reflection has made the actors ashamed of it, and disposed them to think that the less is said about it the better. We, however, are not inclined to pass over the subject so lightly. It is too important an illustration of the state of Barbados, and of the rule of Sir Evan M'Gregor, to be suffered to pass without comment.

In a letter from Mr. Prescod, dated December 12th, 1839, he says, "every statement in that letter to the *Emancipator* had either been published here in detail weeks and months before, with all the circumstances of names, and dates, and places, or was fully borne out by such *previous* publication here on the spot." The statement of this fact naturally suggests the inquiry, why Sir Evan M'Gregor deferred his appeal to the labourers till the remonstrances of Mr. Prescod were re-echoed from the mother country. The inevitable inference is, that the "oppressions done under the sun" do not disturb his equanimity, until they affect the reputation of his government and his standing in the estimation of the British community.

A few extracts from Mr. Prescod's letter will show how the demonstration above alluded to was got up:—

"On the 14th ultimo, all the necessary preparations to give the thing effect having been made at government-house, a (so called) deputation of 55 head-men on estates in St. George's parish waited upon his Excellency, with an address 'from their brother labourers in that parish,' giving the lie direct to the statements in my letter to the *Emancipator*, and denouncing the writer as their foe! I must again refer you to the papers for this delectable morceau, with his Excellency's O-be-joyful reply. Mr. police-magistrate Watts headed the deputation, and obligingly undertook the office of reader. The composition was his own, and he was best qualified to do it justice in the reading.

"The facts which have since come out are these.—The deputation was not appointed by the LABOURERS of the estates; these latter were not consulted in the matter, and they knew nothing at all of the getting up of the deputation, or of the purport of the address, until after it had been published in the newspapers, and was generally noised abroad. Many of the deputation, probably all, did not know that an address was to be delivered, until within a few minutes of its delivery—some not until it was actually delivered in their presence to the governor; and they were as ignorant of its purport as were 'their brother labourers,' in whose names it was delivered: they very indistinctly heard it read to the governor, and only became acquainted with the purport and meaning, as 'their brother labourers' did, through the newspapers and common rumour! This, in general terms, is the statement made by every one of the deputation who has dared speak on the subject; and all who have so spoken agree that Mr. Prescod's name was never called to them, nor could they have supposed that they were *summoned*—aye, summoned, as you shall learn—to government-house to speak against Mr. Prescod. Since the affair has been blown, (and you may suppose the stir it has made among all ranks and classes) threats and cajolery have been held out, it is said, to the members of the deputation, to prevent them from repudiating it. But this precaution was taken too late. Many had already told what they knew of the affair, and what they thought of the infamous deception that had been played off upon them. In one case, that of Cushey Alleyne, of the *Valley* estate, fear, whether induced by actual tampering, or by his knowledge of the characters with whom he has to deal, (for the old man does not lack shrewdness), has brought about a disclaimer of what he had said on the subject to several respectable persons. It is scarcely possible to read the statement of Mr. John E. Braithwaite and others, in the *Liberal* of 27th ultimo, and entertain a doubt of its verity; and other persons disconnected from these have, since Cushey's disclaimer, come forward to declare that he had made similar statements to them. Among these persons, I would notice par-

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ticularly Mr. Joseph Kennedy and his son, two respectable and influential members of our community. The appearance of these as witnesses, you will observe, has silenced Cushey and his eulogists and supporters—the editors of the *Mercury* and the *Barbarian*.

"In the *Liberal* of 23rd ultimo you will see Vulcan Blenman's statement, made to myself on the afternoon of the 20th, in the presence of two respectable whites who were with me at the time. Blenman is superintendant at the *Mount* estate. Mr. police-magistrate Watts called in at the *Mount* a few days before the demonstration, and desired that the manager should call up two or three of the head people. Blenman was one of those called; and after inquiring of the treatment and condition of the labourers on the estate, Mr. Watts told them that a letter had been written home to the Queen, giving *their* manager and employer a very bad character; stating that the people on that estate were very badly used—very much oppressed. &c.; and that the governor had directed him (Mr. Watts) to ask them about the truth of the letter, *which was doing them a great deal of harm in England!* Blenman repeatedly declared to me, in the presence of the two gentlemen, that he had not been deputed by the people of the estate—that they were not consulted, and knew nothing of the deputation or the address—that he had signed no address, had read none, nor had it been read to him,—that he knew not that there was to be an address, until he saw it presented to the governor, and then he heard it so indistinctly read that he was ignorant of its true purport and meaning. The first knowledge he had of these was on reading my editorial remarks in the *Liberal* of the 16th. He had not yet (while speaking to me) read the address, and I gave him a paper containing it to read; the deputation, he said, *did 'not understand it so.'*

"This statement of Blenman has been now over a fortnight before the public, and neither Mr. Watts nor any of his friends has disputed a single one of its damning facts. None of the journals on the other side has even noticed it, (except the *Mercury*, briefly and incidentally, to abuse Blenman,) although they have all industriously circulated the address, &c.

"Blenman, it is very probable, will leave the estate in consequence of this statement. He is in great dread of 'disgrace' and ejectment, with a wife and ten children, and of the displeasure of the governor, before whom he understood he could be cited to appear for having contradicted the address! You see, at a glance, that not only the undue power of the plantation despots, but the whole exaggerated weight of his excellency's authority has been brought into operation to influence these *ignorant* people. Blenman is one of the most intelligent and well-informed of 'the deputation'—can read—and yet he fears that the governor has power (the *will* nobody doubts!) to punish him for speaking the truth, and clearing himself and his fellow-labourers from a most disgraceful charge—to say nothing of the deep injury which the affair was calculated to inflict on his and their interests!

"Allow me, now, to introduce to you Mr. Providence Cobham, whose name you will see in 'the deputation,' attached to Groves' estate. Providence knew nothing of the purport of the address, until it was read to him from the newspaper by a coloured gentleman of this town, a respectable storekeeper and joint-proprietor of a sugar estate. This gentleman, who was my informant, states that Cobham, in the presence of two white and several coloured persons, told him in substance as follows:—'On the morning of the 14th, about breakfast time, he was told by the under-manager of the estate to go to Boarded-Hall station, to Mr. Watts. He inquired of the manager what Mr. Watts wanted him for; the manager replied, he could not tell—*he had received a summons to send him to the station*. Cobham directed his wife to put up his breakfast for him, and went to Boarded-Hall. When he got there, he found several persons of his class, and Mr. Watts sitting at the desk with a pen in his hand, and a paper before him. Mr. Watts asked who he was, and where he came from; and having replied, he was asked by Mr. Watts if he could write? He said no, he could neither write nor read. Mr. Watts then bade him hold the top (feather end) of the pen, and he (Mr. Watts) wrote upon the paper, while Cobham so held the pen. *Mr. Watts did not read the paper to him, nor tell him what it was about.* Mr. Watts said nothing more to him; and he went out in front of the station-house, where other people were standing. Presently he saw several common labourers come up, and the policeman in waiting told them to go back—they were not wanted. He then thought he might go too; and he got upon his horse, and had proceeded some little way from the station, when the policeman called after and told him to come back, he was one wanted. He returned, and thinking it something unusual he inquired, but nobody could tell him what was the matter—what they wanted him for; the others were as ignorant as himself. Shortly after they were all desired to mount and form in procession, Mr. Watts at the head in his gig. Cobham and those that he asked did not know whither the procession was moving, until it had reached government-house. When they had entered the reception-room and formed in lines, the governor came in, and Edward Waith went up to him with a paper, made a bow, and said *something*; the governor bowed, and Waith carried the paper to Mr. Watts, who went up to the governor, and read it to him, when the governor read another paper. Cobham did not understand what Mr. Watts or the governor read. The after-play of bows and smiles (I have seen one of the people mimicking them!) and refreshments being over, 'the deputation' left government-house to return to their respective estates; and upon the road back, Cobham says 'they were all wondering what it was about—what was in the paper that Mr. Watts and the governor had read, but nobody could tell?' Cobham was astonished when my informant told him what was in it, and read it to him from the newspaper. The report for the *Globe*, in which it first appeared, was, it is generally believed, got up by Mr. Watts.

"I have still a few more of the deputation to introduce to you. Edward Waith, from *French's* estate—selected by Mr. Watts to present the address to the governor, and ask permission for 'his friend and police-magistrate, Frederick Watts, Esq.,' to read it,—did not know the purport of the address, or that it contained anything against Mr. Prescod. Mr. Prescod's name was never mentioned to him in the affair.

"Cuffy Manning, of *Buckley's* estate, a rural constable of the district, says 'that he was desired by Mr. Watts to summon some of the most intelligent of the people to meet at Boarded-hall station, for the purpose, Manning thought, of inquiring into their condition. He summoned many of the common labourers, who, he considered, were capable of speaking as to the real state of things; *but Mr. Watts objected to them.* He wanted the head men, who, you must observe, enjoy superior privileges on the estates, have more to lose than the others, and are more afraid of losing it: they are frequently the tools of the planter and his sub-agents in oppressing their brethren.

"Tobias Went, of *Thorpe Cottage*, says 'he was summoned to attend at Boarded-hall station; he did not know what he was summoned for—the rural constable who summoned could not tell him. On his evincing some unwillingness to attend, the constable told him that, if he did not attend, he might bring himself into trouble. He applied to his master, the Rev. —— Went, for information on the subject of the meeting, but his master could not inform him. On his arrival at the station-house he saw several persons of his class there, but they were all as ignorant of the business they had come about as himself. Mr. Watts simply asked his name and the place he had come from, appeared to write them on the paper before him, and *then* desired him (Went) to make his cross. He did *so*, and soon after the deputation moved off to *government*-house. No address was read to him, either before or after his making his cross. He could not hear well what was read at government-house, and therefore did not understand it. He was not deputed by his brethren.'

"*George* Holder, of *Groves* says, 'he was summoned to attend at Boarded-hall; he did not wish to go, but the constable told him he would be obliged. He had not been deputed by his brethren, and did not know that the purpose of the meeting at Boarded-hall was *to present* an address against Mr. Prescod.'

"*These* statements were made by the parties to gentlemen of undoubted respectability and veracity, from whom I have had them direct, (the last four in *writing*,) and who are willing, if necessary, to attest the substance of them on oath."

We have quoted quite enough to show the true character of this remarkable attempt at imposition. The fifty-five head men were treated as mere puppets by Mr. Watts, who does not appear to have had tact enough to preserve even the appearance of their spontaneity and free agency. But, supposing the address had been theirs and not his, and that it expressed their real sentiments, it would have availed nothing. They neither were, nor could be, the representatives of the labouring population of St. George. These headmen are neither more nor less than the black drivers, who, during slavery were the immediate instruments by which the horrid details of plantation despotism were carried on. The relative position which they held then, they hold still. Mr. Prescod justly observes:—

"These men, holding the situations of superintendants, drivers, and rural constables, on estates, fare much better than the common labourers, enjoy greatly superior privileges, and are, for the most part, the mere tools of the planters and their sub-agents in oppressing the labourers. Occasionally, one of the order may be found sympathising with his meaner brethren, and putting no more upon them than he cannot help; but generally their sympathies, like those of men in higher life, are all centered in self, and their sole object is to advance and benefit self: and when they look around upon their comfortable houses, (*for they*, at least, have comfortable houses,) upon their well cultivated allotments, and consider the privileges and perquisites which, in addition to these, they enjoy on the estate without the drudgery of labour,—when these things are considered, and that they enjoy them only at the will and pleasure of the planter, they are naturally *more anxious to cultivate* the planter's favour than the good opinion and respect of the labourers;—more anxious, that is, to promote their own interests than the interests of these. They watch their master's looks, mould their conduct to their brethren upon his policy, anticipate his wishes, and the better to evince their devotion to his interests, stimulate him to oppression by tale-bearing, and misrepresentation directed against their brethren.

"*Of* what value, then, would have been the address alluded to, supposing it to have been got up with the knowledge of fifty-five of these men, and assented to by every one of them? Would not this itself have been evidence of rottenness in the cause, which could seek support from such a quarter, and hoped to be benefited by such means?"

The best commentary on this whole business, is the following relation of a fact which must have greatly edified Sir Evan M'Gregor.

You will learn from the papers, that only five days after the show at government-house, eight of the people from *Rowans*, one of the estates on the list, waited upon me for advice and assistance, the manager (Joseph Rock, whose name you have often seen figuring in the *Liberal*,) having the day before recommenced his pranks of ejectments, and trampling down provision grounds. And these were some of the people who had a few days before denounced me as their foe, for having endeavoured to convince the public of Britain that they are oppressed!—these were some of those happy people, whom, according to his excellency, Sir Evan M'Gregor, I, for one, am 'unceasingly engaged in endeavouring to persuade, against the evidence of their own senses, that they are unhappy and oppressed.' I have since furnished his excellency with a few more proofs of happiness and equal privileges. He reads the *Liberal* very carefully, and he knows that for every single case of oppression that I publish by way of illustration, I am satisfied to send a score to him in petition for redress."

The motive that may be supposed to have originated this movement of the governor and his satellites is glanced at by Mr. Prescod in the following sentence:—"It is the work of the governor and his tools to put down the liberal press of the island, and was, it has been whispered, to have preceded and warranted a legislative enactment to correct the licentiousness of the press!" Had we no other evidence than conjecture and rumour, we should hesitate to believe that any man or men of sane mind in one of our late slave colonies should dream of restricting the liberty of the press. In this case, however, there is other and stronger evidence. In an address to the Marquis of Normanby, which was quoted at length in the *Emancipator* of the date above-mentioned, the assembly denounce a "partisan press," and the "British emissaries," (Scoble et alii) "as enemies to their peace and harmony," and pretty plainly intimate the necessity of special enactments to meet the exigencies of their situation. Sir Evan M'Gregor fully sympathises with this detestation of a free press and unauthorized intrusion,

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and there is some reason to believe that these high contracting parties are (or rather perhaps *were*) engaged in actual conspiracy to effect their object. If any thing could enhance our sense of the value of a free press it would be the undisguised enmity of such parties, and if we were not already sensible of Mr. Prescod's great merits and distinguished ability, we should be enlightened on that head by the estimation in which they are evidently held by his and our adversaries.

The unmitigated hatred of the proslavery party is his highest meed of praise. He stands between them and their prey. His past services in the cause of freedom are of the highest value, and from disinterestedness, zeal, and ability like his, we anticipate that much will yet be accomplished in the great work of suppressing arbitrary principles and despotic habits, and purifying a corrupt public sentiment. One thing is certain, his strenuous exertions on behalf of suffering humanity could not be put forth in a more appropriate sphere.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Correction in the list of subscriptions to the Anti-Slavery Society.

Tawell, John, £1. 0s. 0d., *for donation*, read *annual subscription.*

Some articles intended for the present number are necessarily postponed.

Such of our subscribers as are not punctually served with the *Reporter*, should *change their newsmen.*

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 12TH.

WE have received Jamaica papers to the 4th of January. They concur in stating that the Christmas holidays had passed over, not only with perfect tranquillity, but with less of foolish amusement than ever. Some important matter relating to the course of tyrannical and wicked legislation which the assembly have been so smoothly pursuing will be found in another column.

The last arrivals from America assure us of the safety of the Africans captured in the Amistad. The judge of the circuit court at New Haven has decided that they should be consigned to the president of the United States, for the purpose of being sent back to Africa. This is a triumph of humanity which will diffuse—we were going to say—*universal* joy. Whom but fiends could we except from it !

Arrangements for the Anti-slavery Convention are already in progress. The sub-committee of preparation have engaged for the occasion Freemasons' Hall, together with suitable apartments in the tavern adjoining, in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

DR. PALMER. The Anti-slavery Committee have adopted and forwarded to Dr. Palmer, the following resolution in reference to his imprisonment by the House of Assembly in Jamaica:—That this Committee regard the imprisonment of Dr. Palmer by the House of Assembly in Jamaica as an oppressive and vindictive exercise of the prerogative of that House; Dr. Palmer having, in their opinion, been guilty of no intentional violation of its privileges, and being obnoxious to its displeasure chiefly for his advocacy of liberal principles: the Committee, therefore, take the earliest opportunity of conveying to their valued friend an expression of their sympathy with him in this trying circumstance, and an assurance of their unabated confidence and esteem.

AT A MEETING of the Falmouth (Jamaica) Baptist Missionary Society, on the 25th of December last, were adopted the following resolutions:—

"That this meeting deeply and sincerely deplores the continuance of the odious and abominable traffic in human beings, especially in the United States of America; and, while it sympathises with 'those who are in bonds, as being bound with,' it feels convinced that it is the duty of this meeting, and of all Christians, to offer their unceasing prayers to Almighty God, that He may incline the hearts of all mankind to unite in the most cordial endeavours to extirpate slavery from the world.

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that an Anti-Slavery CONVENTION of friends in Jamaica, who desire the utter extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, be held early in the month of March ensuing; and that circulars signed by Captain Stuart, the chairman of this meeting, be distributed inviting the friends of liberty to be present on the occasion.'' —*Baptist Herald.*

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

[From the *Dublin Weekly Register.*]

Conclusion of the speech of Dr. Madden, at the late Anniversary of the Dublin Anti-slavery society.

THE information you desire is, fortunately, of a kind that requires no powers of oratory to heighten its importance, or to add to the interest you feel in the subject of it. My business for some years has been to battle with slavery in all its monstrous forms—to be up and doing, and active against it, and not speaking much about it, having few opportunities, indeed, unless I had addressed an assemblage of sugar planters or slave traders; and any speech addressed by one tainted with my opinions to that enlightened body might entitle the speaker to the honours of a martyrdom of which I am not ambitious. The information I have to offer you is confined to facts, and a few suggestions connected with them. These it is the extent of my endeavour to lay before you simply and accurately, without exaggeration of any circumstances or the suppression of any opinions of my own that may be at variance with the sentiments of others; claiming for myself the right I most willingly concede to others—that of thinking for oneself, and expressing every thought that is honestly entertained. I am well persuaded that, difficult as it may be to exaggerate the evils of slavery, it is possible to damage the best cause by a foolish effort to promote its interest at the expense of truth. And surely, if ever there was a cause whose efforts were directed to the removal of ills, terrible beyond all evils that affect soul and body—that involve the question of life and death—that treat, not of the doom of one man, or ten thousand, but of the destiny of the whole people of a quarter of the globe—the wrongs and sufferings of stolen men that are held in chains, and the atrocious deeds of the Christian brokers in the trade of blood, who roll in riches and move in the goodly circles of Cuban society,—surely the cause is this that needs no exaggeration of its evils. They are great indeed, beyond the power of imagination to picture to itself. All that I have ever seen of slavery—and I have seen some of its horrors in various countries—in Africa itself, in Asia still more, and in America in a far worse form than in either of these regions—all that Clarkson ever penned of the magnitude of its evils, or that the Howard of our days, the good, the gentle, the Christian patriot and philanthropist, Joseph Sturge, ever witnessed of its mitigated atrocities, in the transition from slavery to freedom, in the British colonies—and mitigated as they were, God knows they were bad enough to be witnessed by men like myself, too well acquainted with all the oppressions that are done under the sun, to be morbidly sensitive at the sight of the ordinary suffering of the slave, much more to be seen by one whose eyes were not accustomed to the practical horrors of slavery, whose ears were not attuned to the cries and groans of human anguish, but whose hand, open as day to melting charity, is known to be the ready minister of every motion of a heart that flowed with the milk of human kindness; yet all that Sturge has witnessed or described, or that any Irishman in this room, in the worst days of our own bad times ever read of the cruelties inflicted or endured by any party in the phrenzy of its passions, falls infinitely short of the terrible evils of the slave trade as I have witnessed them during the last four years in Cuba.

It is little to say that 25,000 human beings are annually carried into Cuban slavery; that at the expiration of 30 years from the date of the abolition of the slave trade on the part of Great Britain, the odious traffic continues in full force; that no small amount of British capital is invested in this trade; that British subjects, now that slavery is put down in our colonies, are now embarking their means with impunity in slave properties in Cuba, are buying their slaves of necessity in the slave market, for there is no natural increase of the slave population in Cuba, but a terrible decrease by deaths; which, at the ordinary mortality on the sugar plantations, would sweep away the race in slavery, in ten years, and, according to Humboldt's calculation, in much less, for he states this mortality to vary from ten to eighteen per cent. per annum.

It is little to say that the mortality on the middle passage from Africa to Cuba is very great, that it averages at the very lowest computation twenty-five per cent.; that I have known a single slaver to lose one hundred out of three hundred, nay, two hundred and fifty, out of seven hundred; that between the wars that are made to spoil a village and steal its people, the slaughter in the strife, the spearing of the old and infirm, the mortality of the slave coffle on the frightful journey to the coast; often a distance of thirty days from the interior, through a wilderness, where the land-marks are the heaps of human bones bleaching in the sun, the remains of the victims of former slave-trading adventures, the resting place of a former coffle, the final place here of rest indeed for thousands upon thousands of human beings, who sank under fatigue, and whom God mercifully saved from the slow death of Spanish slavery; the further mortality on board the slaver from the sweeping pestilence of small-pox and dysentry, from the baneful effects of the contaminated atmosphere of a crowded slave-ship. From all the sufferings, terrible beyond any idea I ever formed of misery, till I saw that human hell, a slave-ship, crammed with chained men, cramped, crowded together, worn with suffering—spectres of men, breathing an atmosphere that came steaming up from the hot hold, with such horrible effluvia, that to me, somewhat acquainted as a medical man with the effects of the contaminated air of unventilated odours, and crowded places in gaols and hospitals in Turkey and elsewhere, where the pestilence that walks by noon-day lives, moves, and probably has its being—it seemed to me astonishing that life could be maintained in so foul an atmosphere, or under so frightful an amount of pain and suffering as I have witnessed in every slave-ship that has fallen under my observation. The further mortality from the murder of the mutilated negros on board the slavers, when from opthalmia they become blind, o from scrofulous ulcers they become so maimed in their members as to be unfit for sale at the slave marts of Cuba, and to save the provisions the worthless and exhausted slaves are slipped over the side; the further mortality from the waste of life after the landing of the slaves during the first six months of acclamation, as it is called, consequent upon the hardships they have endured;—when all these sources of misery are traced and the several amounts of mortality summed up, it will be found that for every stolen man carried away from Africa, who is alive in Cuban slavery at the end of six months, two human beings must have necessarily perished.

It is nothing to say this traffic is nefarious and appalling: why even the miscreants in Cuba, who are steeped to the very lip

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in slave-trade interests, foreigners and Spaniards, admit that the traffic is wholly unjustifiable in the abstract; they condemn the principle, and they pray you to acquit their honour because they only maintain the practice, and have a very favourable opinion of the profitableness of it. It is useless even, perhaps, to enter into general details of the sufferings of these victims of the fell spirit of avarice that reigns in Cuba; you hear occasionally, perhaps, of 400 or 500 naked savages having been captured in a small slave schooner; that every man, woman, and child on board the captured vessel was bare and naked; that the men were chained, and the children were sickly and exhausted. The mind either recoils from the painful impression of so much misery, or the picture is one of such general suffering, that no adequate idea of the particular wrongs of the wretched negros is conveyed to the mind. The portraiture of a battle affects us less than that of a single captive such as Sterne depicted; we see "the iron entering into his soul," and yet we know we are but gazing on an imaginary sufferer.

Let me present to your imagination a real captive—one that has recently fallen under my own observation, and, I may add, under my own charge—one into whose soul the iron of affliction had verily and indeed deeply entered—a single sufferer, a negress, taken out of a captured slaver, a wan, emaciated, listless, silent woman, a sullen savage, in the phrascology of Cuba in every case of anguish and despair—a person who neither spoke nor moved from the place where she sat rocking her naked body to and fro all day long. There was a calm settled look of deep, unspeakable wretchedness in her regard, which made me dissatisfied with the explanation I received of the strangeness of her conduct, that she was a sulky negress, and showed no thankfulness for anything that was done for her, like other women. They, poor things, were dressed in the new apparel which had been just given them, enjoying the good fare now provided for them, and celebrating with songs and dances the happy change in their lot. I thought she must have grievous reason for such great dejection; the poor thing left the food untouched that was brought to her at each meal; her new clothing lay folded up beside her; when she was asked through the interpreter to tell what ailed her, she gave no reply; day after day she was questioned, and a deep sigh was all the answer that could be got from her. Negros are said by planters to be the only human beings (I beg the planters' pardon for calling the negros human,) who are insensible to kindness; they, no doubt, have so many benefits to be grateful for, that the want of any thankfulness on their parts is too glaring a defect to pass unnoticed. Any kindness, indeed, that was shown to this poor creature was apparently thrown away, but apparently only, for by little and little it subdued the sternness of a mother's grief; and what grief surpasses the affliction of a mother robbed of her infant child! One day, as usual, I stooped down to speak to her. I was trying, by gesture at least, to show her I felt for her; and while I was holding her hand, and offering her some beads, such as I had given a few strings of to some of her companions, she burst out crying. It seemed at last as if her bursting heart found ease, in giving vent to one loud outbreak of sobs and sighs. She who had shed no tears since I had first seen her, now wept bitterly; her face was drowned in tears. She put her hands to her breast, she then stretched out her arms, started up on her feet, and, looking wildly over the side of the vessel, cried out for her child—her poor child; and this was her cry that livelong day. Ask her what you would, the cry still was—and oh, if ever there was one which deserved the term, cry of the heart, surely it was hers—"My child, my poor child!" It was long before this tempest of sorrow was assuaged sufficiently to obtain from her any collected account of the loss of her infant. It appeared that when the slaver was chased by our cruiser, fifty of the negros were thrown overboard (twenty-four of whom were picked up by the cruiser's boats), with the view of detaining the latter vessel, and of thus eluding the pursuit: and during this commotion on board the slaver, and the *mortal* terror at seeing their comrades flung overboard, this unfortunate woman lost her infant, but how, or at what period it was killed, she could tell nothing. I am happy to say that, by humane treatment, her immediate grief was in some degree assuaged, and that no creature could seem more sensible of the sympathy that was felt for her. But how often have I been told these people are savages—they have no natural affections—the separation of families is nothing to them—the sundering of the ties that bind mothers to children, and children to parents, is nothing to negros! They do admit that even the she bear will mourn, if robbed of her cubs; but the grief of a negro mother for her child is only a gust of passion, that proceeds, not from any emotions of the heart, but from the violence only of the irascible temper of the negro women. Oh! how often have I heard this language, and how often have I known these sentiments adopted by men—aye, even by ministers of religion, who tell you, in Cuba as well as in America, they see no hardships in slavery—that the slaves are kindly treated, are well fed, and decently clad, and have nothing to complain of! What do these gentlemen know of slavery? They eat and drink, no doubt, in the houses of the opulent planters in the towns, and they reason on the strength of the goodness of their entertainments, that the slaves of their hosts are treated like their guests.

If I ask one of those gentlemen at Havanna or Charleston, how are the poor slaves treated in those places—

> "The answer's one that smells of graves,
> The old proverbial happiness of slaves."

They see nothing in the houses they visit to shock humanity. There is no scourging of men or women inflicted in their presence—the child is not torn from the mother's breast in the presence of the reverend gentlemen—they hear no howlings of grief or pain in these well-regulated families. No doubt of it; these planters of the towns whom they visit are men of honour and respectability, and therefore it follows that "they are all honourable men;" all the tribe are necessarily humane, and every master is, by parity of reasoning, a kind owner, a merciful proprietor, and a considerate employer. I am sick of this language. I have heard it from intelligent, nay, even from religious men, and been sometimes confounded, sometimes grieved, sometimes angered at such folly, falsehood I must not call it. I have asked these gentlemen, how often have you judged of the condition of the negros, not in the houses, but on the sugar properties? have you seen these properties in the absence of your friends, the planters? —do you know how many hours they work—how great is the mortality on their estates—what is the proportion of the sexes? And I have known instances where such persons have visited one of these properties with its most agreeable proprietor, were shown all the amenities of slavery, and came back delighted with all they saw, and acknowledging that their minds were disabused on the subject of slavery, and they were satisfied it had been wholly misrepresented; and yet these men, whose experience was destined to come before the public, were actually ignorant that the negros on this property were worked, during the time of crop, for six months in the year, for twenty continuous hours; that they had but four hours sleep out of the twenty-four; that there was not one aged negro on the estate; that the proprietor did not live on the property; that the mortality on it exceeded ten per cent.; that the annual decrease was made up out of the public slave-mart, and that the amount of produce wrung from the toil of the over-worked negros was about double the amount ever obtained in our own colonies, even in the worst of times, from the labour of British slaves.

> 'Tis thus our travelling gentlemen, who dine
> With merchant planters, judge them by their wine;
> And if they're civil, corteous, and give feasts,
> They think their slaves are treated like their guests.

And now, gentlemen, having made known some circumstances to you with respect to the evils of the system of slavery, the enormity of the guilt that attaches to the practice of it, to the traffic in its victims, and likewise the ignorance that prevails amongst our countrymen in America on this subject, and the apathy they feel in the cause of emancipation, I have only to express the most ardent hope I entertain for the abolition of the slave trade by the destruction of the markets for stolen men.

WICKED LEGISLATION IN JAMAICA.

The house of assembly has been legislating at a great rate; having enacted or revived above fifty laws in a session of eight weeks. What kind of laws they have been making is told but too painfully in the following extract from the *Colonial Reformer*:—

We earnestly call on the friends of lawful liberty and just and equal laws in the mother country, to keep their eyes wide open to passing events in this island. Let them not be deceived by the apparent tranquillity which has, for the most part, marked the proceedings of the present session of the assembly. Let them not commit the egregious mistake of fancying that such tranquillity is the happy harbinger of a change of policy, or a reformation in the principles of the members of that body. A calm and attentive perusal of the various acts which have passed and are in progress, will shew that there is not the slightest real improvement in the tone and temper of the House—that they are actuated by the same arbitrary, unjust, and selfish policy that has characterised their former conduct in reference to the rights and interests of the labouring population.

It will be observed that their legislation has been of a two-fold character—partly penal, and partly protective. *Penal* as regards the labourer, and *protective* as regards themselves: for while they have most jealously provided against any possible infringement on their own interests, they have yet failed to pass a single measure affording any manner of fair protection to the rights of the labouring poor, and they have moreover passed a number of enactments most seriously restricting the constitutional liberties of the subject. We will not go into any minute details on this head to-day, but will just point out one or two prominent items. We have a law to restrain vagrancy, yet without any vagrants to restrain. A law to prevent squatting, an offence which, on the confession of members themselves, has no sort of existence. A law in effect prohibiting the poor man from fishing either in running streams, in harbours or creeks, or even on the open sea. An act for the recovery of tenements, or, properly speaking, to facilitate summary ejectments, and enactments for the speedy recovery of *rents*: but no act to secure the rights of tenants, holding legal possession of houses and lands, and paying rent for the same.

There are a number of other oppressive enactments, which we shall not now stop to particularize, but proceed to mention that which has not yet passed through all its stages—to wit—The bill to organize an *armed* police! The very parties advocating the measure distinctly admit, that there exists not the slightest disposition to riot or disturbance of any description on the part of the labouring population. And what would our British readers suppose could be the assumed ground of necessity for this expensive measure? It is neither more nor less than this. To enable the authorities to carry into effect the various penal, restrictive, coercive, and highly oppressive laws, which these honourable persons have thought proper to enact, and which they clearly anticipate will provoke serious resistance! And also to enable the planters to recover their rents at the point of the bayonet! Mr. Leslie, in his speech on Wednesday last, observed that he thought no measure was more required; *that "without it he considered it would be impossible to carry the provisions of the Vagrant Law, or the Law to register fire arms, into effect!"* and "that none but *armed men* could ever succeed in *quelling* an EXASPERATED body of men, also armed!" Mr. Hamil-

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ton Brown warmly echoed these sentiments, arguing that without such a body it would be impossible to execute a warrant properly, or take in custody *parties who refuse to pay their rent.*

Once more we call on the friends of freedom to be on the alert—the liberties of the people are in imminent danger!

On this very important subject we have been favoured with the following correspondence, which we cannot do better than lay before our readers without comment:—

Extract of a private letter.

Jamaica, December 23d, 1839.

You know how earnestly I have maintained the necessity of some improvement in the mode or means of administering justice in the higher courts. The subject has been taken up by the assembly, but, according to my notions, in a most extravagant and injudicious spirit. The measure is reputed to be the offspring of the chief justice; it, at all events, exhibits a very strong filial feeling, by commencing with a reduction of his labours and a considerable increase of his salary. It is proposed by the bill introduced, to have a vice-chancellor, a place for the speaker of the house of assembly, Mr. Panton, at a salary of £3000 sterling—chief justice £3500 sterling—two legal assistant judges £2000 sterling each, six or nine chairmen of quarter sessions and common pleas, at £1000 sterling each, to be legally educated—by which term, they have in the debates intimated they mean not merely barristers, but solicitors also; and I have reason for believing that Messrs. Dallas and March, about the poorest and most violent members of the house, and the warmest in their support of this measure, have already assured themselves of the probability of their being rewarded for their zeal, by receiving each one of these appointments.

The proposition to confine the new judgeships to men who have practised five years at the Jamaica bar, will preclude the government from making any appointments to them of men in England, who may be admirably qualified, and will confine them in their selection to Messrs. Panton, Edwards, and Middleton, being the only barristers of five years experience in the island. If the bill passes in this form, the great advantage that would be derived by the infusion into colonial society of fresh men with untainted feelings, and the chances of greater impartiality by having individuals filling such high offices who had never come in contact with the pollution of slavery, is entirely lost.

The great argument used by Mr. Dallas and others to induce the house to pass the bill, is, that the appointment of chairmen of quarter sessions, which is one portion of the bill, is the only means by which they can get rid of the stipendiary magistrates; or, in other words, so great is their anxiety to have that body dispensed with, that they are willing to put the country to the expense of £30,000 sterling per annum (the amount the measure is calculated to cost,) to effect it. To an unprejudiced mind, such extreme and feverish anxiety must naturally induce a suspicion of the purity of the motives of those who are thus solicitous, and would entail so great an expense upon the island for the removal of those gentlemen, and encourage the belief that the ends of justice would be best promoted by retaining them.

To the Editors of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Jamaica, 5th Jan., 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—After sitting two months, the assembly has adjourned until the 17th of March. They have displayed considerably less than their usual violence of language during the session but have not abated a whit of the jealous despotism which has ever distinguished their legislation as it regards the negro. Not a single step has been taken for the protection and improvement of the labouring population, whilst several laws of the most stringent severity have been passed to restrain and coerce them. The tenements' bill, and those to prevent combinations and to protect fisheries, and particularly that for the registration of fire-arms, contain clauses which will soon fill the now almost empty prisons in every part of the island. A tax of forty shillings is laid on every gun, pistol, and fire-arm of every description in the possession of any individual. Heavy penalties have been attached to the killing of a wild pigeon in the trackless and almost impenetrable woods of this island; and it is made highly penal in the same way to take a fish in any of the numberless rivers and streams so abundant in the uncultivated and unoccupied parts of the country. A vagrant law of intolerable severity has been enacted, though there is not a vagrant in the island. But the house of assembly is, it seems, determined to provide subjects for the operation of their bills. The tenements, combinations, registration of fire-arms, and certain clauses in the cruelty to animals, and even the petty debt bill, it is confidently relied on, will soon make vagrants enough in Jamaica, in anticipation of which, after a whole year passed without such a force in unexampled tranquillity, they have established an armed police for the apprehension of vagrants made by the above bills. And what is worse, the command of this force is given to the notorious special justice M'Leod, as a reward for his faithful services in the cause of the planters. This is a great mistake of Sir Charles Metcalf, and so is his late order to the stipendiary justices directing them to suspend their usual quarterly reports. The colonial office will soon feel the want of this information. The assembly have also vested new and discretional powers in the magistrates, hoping to retain by the removal of the stipendiary magistracy this increased authority in their own hands; they propose to substitute for that body six barristers or attornies-at-law, with the understanding that they shall only be chosen from those on the island rolls. Mr. March, the member, who brought in the bill, is one of the candidates. Indeed, incredible as it may appear, many of these needy and unprincipled men are demanding situations from the government, in reward for their virulent opposition to all its measures for the last six years. Dr. Morales, the friend and associate of Dr. Whittaker, and Dr. Barnett, the unblushing libeller of that excellent man Sir Lionel Smith, are both candidates for office. I much fear that the present stillness will give place to a tempest, if the British government do not disallow the bills I have alluded to above. Quiet, orderly, and submissive as the labouring population are, they will, in despite of themselves, be goaded into bad feeling, if these laws are to continue in force, and are to be construed and carried into effect at the will of a magistracy consisting of planters. Yet this is the present scheme in view, for they well know that the substitution of the lawyers is sheer humbug—five times the number of honest and impartial men would be inadequate to the performance of all the duties required of the stipendiary magistracy, and these people are determined that none but *themselves* or their *friends* shall hold the office. Lord John Russell is too old a statesman not to see their drift, much too good a man to do an act of such injustice to the present magistracy, and much too wise to trust to the late slave owner, or to his partisans the sole power of adjudication between employer and labourer for years to come in Jamaica.

A FRIEND.

CAPTAIN STOCKENSTROM AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Extract from the *South African Advertiser* (Cape of Good Hope) of the 23rd November, 1839.

WE have before us a copy of Lord Normanby's letter to Captain Stockenstrom, signifying to that gentleman his removal from the office of Lieutenant-Governor at the Cape. And from it we perceive that he was utterly ignorant of the character and object of that office.

The office of Lieut.-Governor of the eastern province was created for the express purpose of *regulating our relations with the native tribes beyond the colony.* The internal affairs of the settlement did not require it. Some duties, but of a very subordinate class, connected with the internal government of the province, were committed to the officer who held the appointment. But this was incidental, and merely a matter of convenience. His essential character was that of an ambassador consul, or head agent, to watch over the proceedings of the Caffres, to introduce a proper system of intercourse, and to maintain peace between them and the colony. And the qualifications were experience, a knowledge of their native character, and the possession of the confidence and respect of the Caffre chiefs and people. All these qualifications Captain Stockenstrom possessed in the highest degree. And with his possession of these his popularity with a certain party *in the colony*, at the time of his arrival, was inconsistent and impossible. Yet, on the sole ground of his being unpopular with this party, and for no other reason, Lord Normanby *confesses* that he has removed him from that office! Because he was unpopular with a party whose principles and designs he was appointed expressly to resist and suppress, he is removed from all connexion with the government!

This was weakness, miserable weakness on the part of Lord Normanby. On the part of others whose visits to the colonial office preceded this fatal error there were designs of which, we trust, he was not fully aware. But as those designs will now be frustrated by his successor, we shall say no more of them at present. And lest our readers should think we have committed some mistake in the statement of the case just given, we subjoin the letter itself, without further comment.

(Copy.)

Downing Street, 31st August, 1839.

SIR,—I have had under my consideration your letters, which you have addressed to me under date the 8th of June, 3rd of July, and 20th inst., on the subject of your return to the Cape of Good Hope, and I have now to acquaint you, that, under all circumstances of the case, I have felt it my duty to submit to the Queen that it is not expedient that you should resume the government of the Eastern district of that colony. It is right that I should at the same time state, that this decision proceeds from no distrust of your qualifications for the office which you have filled. Those qualifications have been fully and repeatedly acknowledged by her Majesty's government. Still less do I desire to be understood as entertaining any opinion or surmise unfavourable to your personal or official character, in favour of which the most conclusive attestations have been given by the successive governors of the colony, and by my predecessor Lord Glenelg. You will retire from the public service in possession of the cordial approbation and esteem of the government under which you have acted, but I conceive that retirement to have been rendered inevitable by the feelings of distrust and alienation towards you, which, as I learn from the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, have unhappily taken such deep root in the minds of a large proportion of the colonists, as to deprive your services in that quarter, of the value which would otherwise belong to them, and as even to convert exertions in themselves most meritorious, into sources of discontent and disaffection to the government.

In making this communication to you, I think it necessary to connect it with an assurance that I am disposed to entertain with the most favourable consideration any proposal which you may feel yourself prompted to make to me, having for its object, either the public declaration of the undiminished confidence which her Majesty's government repose in you, or the providing for you any such indemnity as it may be in their power to offer for the pecuniary loss in which you may be involved, by the termination of your connection with the government of the Cape of Good Hope.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant

(Signed) NORMANBY.

Captain STOCKENSTROM.

Extract of a letter from Caffre Frontier, dated 18th November, 1839.

With respect to this frontier at the present moment, we are in such a state of tranquillity as perhaps has not been known for years. We hear of few or no thefts; but then we have the finest season ever known by the present generation. From the month of March we have had constant rains; thus the Caffres have plenty of milk, and, having a prospect of a good harvest, they do not hesitate to take freely of last year's crops, which shews that many thefts committed by the Caffres formerly have been from want of food. Notwithstanding the peaceable state of affairs, there is great talk of a change in the present system; and if Capt. Stockenstrom does not come soon, we fear these changes will be made. If any material alteration should take place, we cannot tell what may be the result; and a war with the colony now would be most ruinous, for notwitstanding the vigilance of our present magistrate, West, to prevent the barter of fire-arms into Caffre land, we understand it takes place to a considerable extent.

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Extract of a Letter from Cape Town, dated 4th December last.

The affair of Captain Stockenstrom, fills us with dismay. The individuals who have been the cause of his detention have taken upon themselves a responsibility from which common prudence should have preserved them. If all is true that we hear, there is no saying what the results may be. We have not yet heard the echo of the report from the frontier; but it was received here in a very different spirit from what might have been anticipated. The ostensible reason assigned, the clamour of the people against Stockenstrom, is altogether without sufficient facts to support it. It is supposed by some that the whole has been a scheme to get Colonel Somerset back to his old place, or rather to get him into Stockenstrom's place; and appearances seem to lend countenance to the suspicion. It is said that Colonel Hare, to retain his new situation, must give up the army, and this he has said he will not do. Colonel Smith is the next to whom the situation must fall by right, and he has received an appointment in India; and failing Colonel Smith, the situation must devolve upon Colonel Somerset. Can you believe the condition imposed upon Colonel Hare, and the appointment of Colonel Smith at this time, to have happened by accident? I need say no more on this subject. I still hope that Lord John Russell's wisdom will correct the folly of Lord Normanby, and defeat the scheme, which must be traced to the war-office. We are in painful suspense; but as the governor has not yet received any dispatch from the colonial-office on the subject, and as all that he has received respecting it is from the war-office, we are not altogether without hope.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

We have already mentioned that Messrs. Scoble, Alexander, and Whitehorne, have undertaken a mission to the French capital, to hold conference with the abolitionists of that nation on the present state of the question among them. We publish below the sentiments with which they were charged by the Anti-slavery Committee on this subject, as expressed in a series of resolutions adopted by them unanimously, at a meeting held on the 21st of January last.

That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have learnt with heartfelt satisfaction that a project for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, is about to be introduced to the attention of the Chamber of Deputies, during its present session; and that France may thus vindicate its claim to be regarded as the enemy of oppression, and the friend of universal freedom; and as setting an honourable example to other nations holding any portion of its subjects in bondage.

That the Committee regard the report prepared by M. A. de Tocqueville, in the name of the commission appointed to examine the project of M. de Tracey relative to the slaves in the French colonies, as a masterly and eloquent exhibition and defence of great principles, not less consonant to humanity, justice, and religion, than to sound policy, and to national dignity and honour.

That the Committee consider the right of all men, of whatever clime or colour, to liberty, as affirmed in the Report, to be inalienable and indefeasible; and the existence of slavery, in any form, however modified or sanctioned, as offering great, if not insuperable impediments to their social elevation and happiness, as well as to their progress in education, morals, and religion; and as requiring a code of coercive laws to sustain it, and a rigorous discipline to enforce it, incompatible with every noble and generous sentiment, and every righteous and holy purpose: they, therefore, conceive IMMEDIATE, not *gradual* abolition,—COMPLETE, not *partial* emancipation to be not only just but expedient, not only wise but necessary, to secure those great ends contemplated in the removal of so great an evil as the slavery of their fellow-men.

That the Committee would, therefore, most respectfully and earnestly call the immediate attention of the French society for the abolition of slavery, to those parts of the contemplated plan for the restoration of their unforfeited rights to two hundred and fifty thousand human beings, which recommend compensation to be given to their masters, and the sum advanced to them as an indemnity by the government to be repaid by the negros during an apprenticeship of such duration as may be fixed by law:—

First—Because they consider the enslavement of men as an enormous crime against human nature, and against God, and, therefore, to be universally condemned and execrated, and not to be regarded as a thing to be bought and sold.

Secondly—Because, if such an indemnity could be justified by any peculiarity in the case, or by any process of reasoning, the long injured and oppressed slave should not, under any circumstances, be called upon to purchase, or be compelled to pay for his freedom and its attendant blessings.

Thirdly—Because, if such an arrangement as that referred to were carried into effect, it would postpone the enjoyment of an admitted and most precious right to the enslaved population, would be felt as a grievous wrong by them all,—would amount to a denial of ultimate liberty to many,—and would tend to alienate the loyal affections of the bondsmen from the government, as well as from their masters; and be attended with other evils which such an unnatural system could not fail to engender.

Fourthly—Because the experience they have had of the working of a similar scheme in the British West India colonies, enables them confidently to anticipate its injurious consequences to all parties directly connected with it, if not to predict its utter failure.

For these reasons the Committee would venture emphatically to urge on their friends and fellow-labourers in the sacred cause of human freedom in France, the importance of avoiding the pernicious example set them by the government of Great Britain, in substituting a system of apprenticeship for entire freedom; and of securing to their own country, by a wise, generous, and comprehensive legislative act, the distinguished honour of at once completing a great work, worthy alike of its lofty character, its enlightened wisdom, and its great renown.

(Signed) JOSEPH STURGE, Chairman.

Extract of a Letter from Paris, dated 18th January, 1840.

In a sitting of the Chamber of Deputies of the 15th of January, M. de Tocqueville, who presented the report of last year, submitted to the Chamber that the proposal for the abolition should be resumed. This proposal was opposed by M. de Salvandi, the former minister, by M. Jaubert, a friend of M. Guizot, and M. Chaperay, procureur general, but the chamber by a large majority determined that the question should be resumed. The day of the discussion is not yet fixed. The present ministers are not opposed to us; but the king, who has so much influence in the government, is anxious that the question should be adjourned. The *Court Journal* has put forth some articles to this effect. We do not expect that slavery will be directly opposed in the chamber, but that the measure of an indefinite adjournment will be strenuously supported. We shall be very glad if we obtain a resolution stating that the minister will present a plan of emancipation to the chamber in 1841. We are certain that the argument for the adjournment will be the pretended ill success of your emancipation.

THE CROPS IN JAMAICA.—We are enabled to supply the following information from a private letter. "We know what the planters have said about the crops. The returns of last year were no criterion, they said, because the cane was planted during the apprenticeship under forced labour, and only gathered and manufactured under freedom; but *this year* must determine whether the free labourers would work, which they were quite sure they would not do. This second year is come, and has passed away; the crops are gathered in, and the returns are made. Here follows the result, being a comparison of the sugar and coffee exported for the two years ending respectively September 30, 1838, and September 30, 1839, as exhibited in the return printed for the House of Assembly.

	Hhds.	Trcs.	Brls.	equal altogether to Hhds.
Sugar, 1838	49,018	8,975	3,197½	53,825
1839	42,219	5,962	1,589	45,359

Apparent deficiency in hogsheads, 8,466

To what extent the practice has prevailed since last year of enlarging the size of the hogsheads, I cannot ascertain; but that it does prevail, from motives of economy, there can be no doubt. The hogshead is enlarged by a few staves, with a little additional workmanship, at a trifling expense, and the exporter saves by it in droggerage, drayage, wharfing, and shipping, which are charged by the hogshead without reference to weight, a considerable sum: besides this, the consignee, who once had power over the estate, and whose interest lay *in the number of hogsheads* shipped, has now lost much of his rule and dominion, and the consigner can study his own interest. Many of the hogsheads are now made to hold 20 to 22 cwt., instead of 17 to 18 cwt. Let us allow only five per cent. on the whole, for an increase of weight arising from this cause, and the real deficiency for Jamaica is only 5,175 hogsheads, or one part in ten, and this is the first dreaded year of unconditional freedom, when nobody would work!

	Trcs.	Brls.	Casks	Bags	Total in cwts.
Coffee, 1838	15,752	3,989	840½	350	117,313
1839	10,510	2,216	1,024	187	78,759

38,554

Real deficiency in cwts. 38,554, or about one-third. In order to ascertain the cause of this falling off, I inquired of a magistrate in the Kingston district (where the largest quantity of coffee is grown,) how he could account for it. He said he was sure there could have been no falling off in that district, the crops had been good, and the labourers had worked well to gather it in. On looking again to the returns, I found his opinion was correct, as Kingston has exported this year within a fraction of last year's quantity, viz.:—tierces 6,165, barrels 1,844, casks 534, bags 185, this quantity about three-fifths of the growth this year of the whole island. The coffee crop is very uncertain, nothing perhaps more so, and the falling off may be readily accounted for, without imputing it, as the pro-slavery party will do, to the refusal of labourers to work. One member of the house of assembly tells me that one coffee estate, of which he is the attorney, produced last year only 9000 cwt.; he has known it to produce 27,000 cwt. Another gentleman, a local magistrate, says that he has three coffee estates, on one of which last year he lost £300 currency, from the failure of crops; but neither of them whispered one word against the labourers. There has been, however, on some coffee estates, a misunderstanding or rather collision about wages, and on some of these the coffee has been left, it has been said, to rot on the ground, the labourers having found better wages elsewhere. The exportation of mahogany and other woods has nearly doubled. In rum there is a great falling off. The importation of good salt provisions, butter, candles, and soap, together with hats, shoes, cottons, coats, and other articles of good clothing have increased greatly since freedom—according to the testimony of many of the merchants, full forty per cent., but I have not seen the returns of the last year to make the comparison.

The prospects of the island, from the extensive breadth of cane planting lately made, are acknowledged on all hands to be highly cheering. It is amusing to see how the members of the house of assembly wish to conceal the fact of a real prosperity. One member complains that the people are idle, and properties going to ruin; another tells him in reply, that he knows all the estates in the parish which the honorable gentleman represents, and he is quite sure that no ruin is there to be found. The same member rejoins that he did not allude to his own parish, but to Westmoreland, or somewhere else: the member for Westmoreland, or the other parish, rises to say that he cannot deny the fact that there may be distress in some parts of the island, but that they are doing well in his district.

AMERICAN KIDNAPPERS IN JAMAICA. Some months ago, an American vessel arrived at Lucea, in discharging the cargo, four black young men were employed, and the treatment they received at the hands of the captain was so kind and generous, that they consented, as he said he was short of hands, to serve as seamen on the return of the vessel to America. As the vessel stopped for a short time at Montego Bay, one of the lads, who entertained a suspicion that all was not right, made his escape. The other three were taken to a port in one of the Southern states, and were sold as slaves, they are now enduring the evils of slavery, and will no doubt long continue to endure them, unless the British government demand their release from captivity. The names of these lads are Thomas ———, Samuel Campbell, and Robert Dawes.—*Falmouth Post.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 4.] WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE COOLIES AT MAURITIUS.

To the Editors of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

London, 22nd February, 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—Allow me to call your immediate attention to the papers which have been just printed in "return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 6th February, 1840," No. 58, relating to the Indian labourers who have been introduced into Mauritius.

This document is issued for the purpose of justifying the colonial minister, Lord John Russell, in his application to parliament to sanction an appeal to the Queen in council to relax the restrictions which were placed, a short time ago, on the export of Hill Coolies from Hindostan to any of the British emancipated colonies. It was distinctly understood at the time the restrictions were sanctioned, that they were to continue in force at least for a period of three years; the determination of the noble lord, therefore, has come upon the British public by surprise, and has created a degree of astonishment and indignation of which, probably, his lordship is not aware.

The noble lord intends to favour Mauritius in the first instance; British Guiana and Trinidad will, of course, in turn, enjoy the same advantage, and thus "the Gladstone slave-trade" will be revived, and British philanthropists be again compelled to remonstrate and petition against the monstrous iniquity.

The history of Mauritius is one of the blackest and foulest in the colonial annals of this country. For many years the planters of that colony prosecuted to an immense extent the slave-trade, either with the connivance, or in defiance of the authority of the executive; and when the system of slavery was abolished by the British legislature, they had the audacity to put in their claim for compensation for upwards of 30,000 slaves who had been feloniously introduced by them into the island, and were paid the full amount of their demand without observation or remonstrance on the part of the government at home. These Mauritian planters have been, during the whole of their connexion with this country, entirely opposed to British laws and to British rule, and have managed by intrigue or by violence to get rid of almost every upright and honest functionary, and to secure to themselves and their creatures almost every office of importance and trust; and yet these men are to be favoured with an unlimited supply of labourers from Hindostan, and the noble lord supposes that he will be able to secure the wretched creatures who may become their prey from fraud and from oppression!

General Sir William Nicolay, who has been superseded in the government of Mauritius by the appointment of Sir Lionel Smith, was only the nominal head of the executive there: M. D'Epinay was the real governor, and, under the management of this man in the colony, and of Messrs. Irving and Barclay in this country, the affairs of the island have been managed after the most approved colonial fashion. Whether Sir Lionel Smith will be able to realize the expectations of the friends of justice and liberty in the administration of its affairs when he arrives at Port Louis, will mainly depend upon the fact whether he is to have a procureur general, a colonial secretary, and other important officers of his own noble principles about him, and whether the home government will thoroughly support him in the discharge of the high office to which he has been appointed.

It is difficult to ascertain from the papers before me when the first shipment of Coolies to Mauritius took place, or the exact number of them which has been at various periods introduced. It appears that from the 1st August, 1834, to the 24th October, 1838, there were received from *Calcutta* 13,243 coolies, viz., 12,994 men; 198 women; and 51 children. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 22nd June, 1838, there were shipped from *Cochin* 308 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to 24th June, 1838, there were shipped from *Pondicherry* 5058 coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 25th August, 1838, there were shipped from *Rajahmundy* 441 Coolies, viz., 434 men and 7 women; making a total of 19,050—viz., 18,794 men, 205 women, and 51 children. But it is quite clear from the petition addressed to her Majesty by the planters and others, dated 18th May, 1839, that a much larger number of Coolies had been introduced. The 100 persons who signed that document state, that within the "last four years" they had "caused to be brought from British India upwards of 20,000 native Indian labourers." It is stated by some parties that the whole number introduced cannot be much short of 30,000!

Now the first thing we want to know, is, what has been the mortality among these miserable beings during their voyage from Hisdostan to Mauritius, and subsequently to their arrival there. On both these important points, the papers before me are deficient in information. From the crowded state, however, of most of the vessels in which they were shipped, and the want of proper medical attendance, I have little doubt that large numbers perished between shipment and arrival. I find that the larger proportion of the ships employed in the Coolie slave-trade carried from 200 to upwards of 500 human beings each! On board two of these vessels we have an account of several suicides which took place. On board the "*Lancier*" there appear to have been five, "*malgré toutes les surveillances possibles!*" as the officers on board testify. On board the "*Indian Oak*" twelve appear to have made the attempt at various times, three only of whom perished—the other nine were saved. "June 3rd, 3 P.M., ten men jumped overboard; nine were brought back by the boats, the other missing." "June 7th, 3 P.M., a man was observed overboard swimming from the ship:" Left to his fate, the captain not liking to risk the lives of the boat's crew in endeavouring to save him. "June 9th, one of the Coolies, named Dullat, reported to have fallen overboard during the night." One cannot fail to perceive in these incidents the true character of the Coolie slave-trade, for we find that, notwithstanding the "eight guards" on board the *Lancier*, and the unceasing vigilance which they and the officers on board exercised, five of the Coolies, rendered desperate by their situation, destroyed themselves. With respect to the mortality which has occurred since the arrival of the Indians at Mauritius, the statements are various. It is, however, admitted by the governor to have been great, and to have been "the source of deep regret" to him. In a despatch, dated 31st Dec., 1838, the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Dick) thus writes:—"The mortality which has prevailed among the Indian labourers, *as well on their voyage as after their arrival here*, and more particularly on some estates and establishments, has been the source of deep regret to his excellency. Mr. Anderson, as will be seen in one of his letters appended to this communication, states the mortality of the Coolies in Port Louis" to amount to eight or nine per cent., per annum! This would be equal to the destruction of the whole number of Coolies introduced every twelve years!!

One other point deserves to be specially noticed. Out of the 19,050 Coolies introduced, of which we have any account in the papers before me, only 205 were women! It is easy to conceive, that, from this frightful disparity of the sexes, the most horrible and revolting depravity and demoralization must necessarily ensue; and that such large masses of ignorant and degraded beings must carry with them a most corrupting influence on others. I must confess that I cannot contemplate this fact without a shudder; and the most painful conviction is forced on my mind that, however immoral the negro in Mauritius was, he has been rendered more so by his contact with the Coolies.

As to the mode in which the Coolies were obtained, it is universally admitted that multitudes of them were kidnapped, and by force or fraud brought under contracts to labour in Mauritius. The "Duffadars and Crimps" have reaped a rich harvest, "notwithstanding the zealous and praiseworthy vigilance which appears to have been exercised by the officer charged with the superintendence of this branch of police duty in Calcutta, and with the execution of the ordinances passed by the supreme government, on this subject." In a despatch forwarded to Lord Glenelg, dated 21st May, 1839, Sir W. Nicolay thus writes:—"That very nefarious practices have been resorted to in many instances, in order to procure labourers for embarkation for this island, *is beyond all doubt*." And Mr. Anderson states, that "many of them have actually been kidnapped from their own country, which they have ALL been induced to leave under circumstances of gross fraud." Will the government have the firmness and the honesty to cause a rigid and impartial inquiry to be instituted into these frauds, and give the unhappy Coolies the advantage secured to them by the order in council of the 7th September, 1838, which annuls all contracts for labour where the parties have been "induced to enter into the same by any *fraud, mis-apprehension, misrepresentation, or concealment?*" This point must be urged on the government by the united voice of the people of this country. The contracts into which the Coolies have been induced to enter are generally for five years, and the wages paid them from 3 to 5 rupees per month, and in addition 1½ lbs. of rice, 4 oz. dal, 2 to 3 oz. salt fish, 1 oz. ghee, ½ oz. salt per diem. In some cases I perceive the allowance is rather more, and in others less. From the wages are usually deducted a rupee monthly to repay the amount expended on the voyage of the Coolies from India to Mauritius, and another rupee to repay the advances made to them previously

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to departure, which usually amounts to six months pay. In addition to these deductions, a proportionate sum is withheld for absent and sick days; and sometimes a rupee per month is retained by the employers for reconveying them back to India in case of misconduct, or, I suppose, at the termination of their period of servitude. The clothing allowed them is utterly insufficient, being scanty in quantity and coarse in quality, viz.: "8 yards of common cloth or linen, and 2 handkerchiefs, or 2 dhooties, 1 jacket and 1 red cap per annum." The usual time of labour, is from sun-rise to sun-set with two hours relaxation for meals, except during the season of crop, which lasts six months in the year when they are required to work as many hours as may be necessary. Now I have no hesitation in stating from my experience in British Guiana, that persons held under such contracts as these are slaves; and that such wages and allowances are utterly inadequate to sustain them in health for the performance of the heavy duties required of them in sugar cultivation.

In addition to the correspondence of General Sir William Nicolay with the home government and with the authorities in India, on the immigration of Coolies into Mauritius, the papers contain the results of an investigation into their condition by four commissioners appointed for that purpose. It appears these gentlemen examined thirty-one establishments in Port Louis, on which they found 1346 Coolies; and twenty-two estates in the second section of the *Flacq* district, on which they found 1138 men, and 19 women. In the examination of some of the establishments in Port Louis they were assisted by Mr. Special Justice Anderson, who refused to sign the report of the commissioners, for reasons which he assigns in his letters, and to which particular attention is directed. In entering upon their duties in the *Flacq* district, the commissioners met with some opposition from the planters, and as will be seen, the governor without assigning any particular reason suddenly terminated their inquiries. But this need not be lamented, as the commisioners demonstrated that they were either incapable or unwilling, or both, to perform the duties confided to them.

I am, &c.
JOHN SCOBLE.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

(From a Parliamentary Paper just published.)

Sir, Colonial Secretary's Office, 15th October, 1838.

1. IN pursuance of the suggestions of his Honor the President in Council at Fort William, that "the governors of the colonies to which Indian labourers have been extensively carried should be requested to appoint committees, including one or more Indian civil or military servants, or other persons who may be able to communicate personally with the labourers, and to ascertain whether they are contented with their lot, and satisfied with the manner in which the contracts with them have in general been fulfilled by the parties to whom consigned, and for whom their services were engaged," I have his excellency the governor's directions to acquaint you, that he has been pleased to select you for this duty, in which you will be assisted by the special magistrate of each section of the different districts of the island.

2. His excellency has further requested the only servants of the East India Company known to be now here, viz. Captain Forbes and Mr. T. Hugon, to associate themselves with you and the special justices, and to form a committee for this purpose.

3. The object of this inquiry being to obtain such accurate information with respect to the treatment of the Indian labourers in this colony as may tend to satisfy the government and the public of India as to their real state and condition here, it will be requisite that you should, in conjunction with the other members of the committee, visit the several establishments and estates in the town of Port Louis, and in the country districts, on which Indian labourers are employed; and that you should, by personal communication with the Indians, endeavour to ascertain their real sentiments and feelings on the following points:—

Whether they are satisfied with the manner in which their employers, or those acting under the orders of their employers, have fulfilled the engagements entered into with the Indians.

Whether they are satisfied as to the quantity, quality, and description of the food provided for them by their employers; the regular payment of the stipulated amount of their wages; the hours of labour; and, generally, with their mode of treatment.

You will also ascertain from their masters, what arrangements have been made by them for the faithful execution of that part of the engagement under which the Indians are entitled to a free passage back to their own country upon the expiration of their contract, or from inability to work through sickness, accident, or other cause.

4. On these and many other points which may suggest themselves to the committee, as tending to establish the real state and condition of the Indian labourers in this colony, it is desirable that the most accurate information should be obtained; and to assist the committee in that respect, I have the honour to enclose a copy of the injunctions laid upon all persons who obtain permission from this government to introduce Indian labourers, and of the rules established in Bengal for the grant of permits there.

5. It will be your duty to explain to the Indians the rights and privileges which they possess as free subjects in this colony, and the course they have to pursue to obtain redress if aggrieved. And it being desirable that the employers should be present when this is done, you will be pleased to make a communication to them to that effect previously to entering into the explanation with the Indians.

6. It is further advisable, that you should take every opportunity which may occur in the course of this duty, to impress upon the Indians the expediency of depositing their money in the savings' bank, as there is but too much reason to apprehend, that in several instances crimes have been committed from a knowledge among their comrades of their carrying their money about their persons, as is the practice in India. I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Special Justice *Campbell*.

Port Louis, 13th November, 1838.

SIR,—We have the honour to forward, for submission to his excellency the governor, our proceedings up to the 7th instant, which complete our investigation of thirty-one establishments in Port Louis.

1. We beg to state that the committee thought it unnecessary to visit those places where a less number than ten Indians were employed, as such could only be considered in the light of domestic servants.

2. The abstract of the proceedings will show where some interference may be necessary, with regard to the accommodation, medical treatment, and time allowed to the Indians for their meals.

3. Any further remarks at the present stage of our inquiry would be premature; we cannot, however, but express the hope, that in the plantations we may meet with as few exceptions to the general good treatment of the Indian labourers as have hitherto come under the observation of the committee. We have, &c.

(Signed) C. M. CAMPBELL.
T. HUGON.
G. VILLIERS FORBES.
W. BURY.

The Honourable *G. F. Dick*, Colonial Secretary.

[*Note.*—The abstracts of evidence which accompany this letter are extremely meagre, and altogether insufficient to afford the means of a correct judgment on the actual condition of the Coolies. When their complaints are noticed we find them to be—"interference with their prejudices regarding cooking," a point of material importance in the estimation of Hindoos:—"insufficiency of time allowed for meals"—"dissatisfaction with their work"—"insufficient accommodations,"—"dissatisfaction as to their food"—"want of proper medical attendance"—mal-treatment by beating, &c., and non-receival of money due to them, &c. &c. In transmitting the minutes of evidence home, the governor states, "with respect to some of them at Port Louis, there was a considerable difference of opinion between Special Justice Anderson and the other members, as to the treatment which the labourers had received from their employers, and *which does certainly not appear to have been sufficiently noticed.*" This speaks volumes as to the worthlessness of the reports transmitted to him. (Vide Despatch, dated 21st May 1839.) In calling the attention of the commissioners to this difference of opinion, in a letter addressed to them the 31st December 1838, the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Dick) says, "The Governor trusts that in your future proceedings, you will perceive the necessity of *fully* entering into such inquiries, and of eliciting *all the facts* in similar cases, in order to leave no doubt or question with regard to them." This, however, was not done as the abstract of their proceedings in the Flacq district fully proves.]

Colonial Secretary's Office, 17th Nov., 1838.

Gentlemen,—His excellency the governor directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., giving cover to the evidence taken by you with regard to the Indians employed in Port Louis, in the different establishments therein named; and as he does not perceive the signature of Mr. Special Justice Anderson, either to the letter or the abstract of evidence, his excellency wishes to know whether it was withheld designedly, and, if so, on what account. I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

To the Committee of Inquiry on the Indian Labourers.

Office of the Committee on Indian Labourers, Port Louis, Nov. 19, 1838.

Sir,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., and beg to state that Mr. special justice Anderson declined signing our letter of the 13th inst., because it did not touch upon certain general points on which his opinions were fixed, whereas we considered, at this early stage of our proceeding, that the expression of any such opinions would have been premature.

Mr. Anderson having signed the proceedings, his objections to signing the abstract and letter he will fully detail in his reply to the duplicate of the letter now under acknowledgment. We have, &c.

(Signed) C. M. CAMPBELL.
J. VILLIERS FORBES.
J. HUGON.
W. BURY.

The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.

Special Magistrate's Office, Port Louis, 19th November, 1838.

Sir,—The governor having been pleased, through your letter of the 17th inst., to communicate to "the Committee of Inquiry on Indian Labourers," that his excellency had remarked the absence of my signature to the letter and the abstract of evidence with regard to the Indians employed in Port Louis, which were addressed to you by the committee on the 13th inst., and to express a desire to be informed if my signature was designedly withheld, and, if so, on what account, I have the honour to state, for his excellency's information, that my signature was intentionally withheld for the reasons which I now beg leave to submit.

As the means of facilitating reference to such a mass of papers, I fully approved of the principle on which the abstract of evidence was adopted. It was drawn up, however, in a manner which not only did not express the opinions which I had formed on the evidence which had been received by the committee, but which appeared to me to be at variance with that evidence, and calculated to mislead any person who might have recourse to the abstract for the purpose of forming a judgment on the question at issue; under these impressions I could not feel justified in signing such a document.

To the 4th paragraph of the letter of the 13th I could not subscribe, because I had avowed my decided opposition to the opinions which it expresses, instead of considering that "further remarks would have been "premature," on an inquiry which was completed with respect to Port Louis. I communicated to the committee my anxious desire that his excellency should immediately be made acquainted with the detailed opinion of its members on the general state and condition of the Indian labourers in the town, where, as one of the committee, I regret to say that I could discover nothing to warrant the conclusion which might be drawn from the expression with which the letter of the 13th inst. terminates, as I had seen much which in my opinion required immediate remedy, and merited marked reprobation.

During the discussions which took place in the committee, it did not

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appear to me that my opinion differed materially from that of the majority of its members; but as their letter to you of the 13th induces me now to suppose that I must have been mistaken in this respect, his excellency will perhaps expect to receive from me the general conclusions at which I have arrived, from what I have personally heard and seen during the progress of the inquiry, and I shall now proceed to submit them in as few words as possible.

In a report on the state and condition of the Indian labourers in Port Louis, which, as a special magistrate, I was directed to make to his excellency in the month of January last, I stated my incompetence to fulfil that duty in a satisfactory manner with the means which were then within my reach, and my report was made from the best general information which I could procure.

The power of minute investigation, with the assistance of interpreters, which has been vested in the present committee, has afforded ample means of forming a correct judgment, and its result has convinced me that the Indian labourers employed in this town are generally fed, clothed, and paid with but little deviation from their agreements. With a few exceptions, however, they are treated with great and unjust severity, by overwork, and by personal chastisement; their lodging accommodation is either too confined and disgustingly filthy, or none is provided for them; and in cases of sickness, the most culpable neglect is evinced in withholding the accommodation, the advice, and the attendance which the utter helplessness of the sufferers so urgently requires. From the various periods at which different bands have arrived, even on the same establishment, it would require considerable time and labour to make a correct calculation of the proportion of deaths annually; but I am inclined to believe that they would be found to amount to eight or nine per cent. None of the establishments in Port Louis have sufficient hospital accommodation for their sick, and the expense of placing them in the public hospital will always be offered as an excuse by the employers for not having recourse to it; but I am convinced that it is there, and there only, that serious complaints can meet with the necessary care and attention.

In most of the establishments little or no importance is attached to indulging the prejudices and customs to which Indians are known to cling so tenaciously. Their deplorable state of destitution in their own country is always advanced as an argument in favour of their improved condition here, without any reference to the change which takes place by their emigration, from comparative idleness and indolence, with the full enjoyment of all their natural prejudices, to severe and unremitting labour under many painful restrictions.

Many of them have actually been kidnappped from their own country, which they have all been induced to leave under circumstances of gross fraud; and it is a source of astonishment to me that any body of freemen, whatever may have been their former condition, should have borne, with the patience and forbearance which the Indian labourers at Port Louis have displayed, the bitter disappointment which must have attended their introduction into this island.

To induce them to come here, their ignorance is worked upon in India by the most false and deceitful representations; and the robbery and pillage which has been practised on them in Calcutta would scarcely be credited, if the fact was not established by the most convincing testimony. They reach this colony after having been robbed of six months' pay, which is advanced in India; and when here their comfort is in every way neglected, while they are compelled, by the engagements to which their own ignorance and the avarice of others have bound them, to toil during five years for a recompence bearing no proportion to the work to which they are subjected, when compared with the common estimation of the value of labour in this colony, or to the sum which they would earn if they had the free disposal of their own time.

The harsh treatment which has been adopted or permitted by many of the employers cannot in any shape be justified in itself, and when added to the other objectionable parts of the present system, must show the necessity of applying a sure and speedy remedy, if free labour is to be placed on that footing which sound policy, justice, and common humanity would dictate. I have, &c.

(Signed) C. ANDERSON,
Superintending Special Magistrate.

The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.

Colonial Secretary's Office, 29th November, 1838.

Sir,—1. I have laid before the governor your letter of the 19th instant; and, with reference to the following extracts from it, I am directed by his excellency to request that you will specify the circumstances which have led you to the conclusions there stated.

"With few exceptions, however, they are treated with great and unjust severity, by overwork and by personal chastisement; their lodging accommodation is either too confined, and disgustingly filthy, or none is provided for them; and in cases of sickness the most culpable neglect is evinced, in withholding the accommodation, the advice, and the attendance which the utter helplessness of the sufferers so urgently requires."

"In most of the establishments little or no importance is attached to indulging the prejudices and customs to which Indians are known to cling so tenaciously."

"The harsh treatment which has been adopted or permitted by many of the employers cannot in any shape be justified in itself, and when added to the other objectionable parts of the present system, must show the necessity of applying a sure and speedy remedy, if free labour is to be placed on that footing which sound policy, justice, and common humanity would dictate."

2. The governor wishes also that you would report what you have seen which you conceive requires immediate remedy and marked reprobation.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

To C. ANDERSON, Esq., Superintending Special Justice.

Special Magistrate's Office, Port Louis, 30th Nov., 1838.

Sir,—In compliance with the wishes of the governor, communicated to me by your letter of the 29th instant, I have now the honour to state the circumstances which now led to the conclusions on the state of Indian labourers submitted to his excellency in my letter to you of the 19th inst.; and for the sake of perspicuity, I will deal with the subjects of objection in the order in which that letter presents them.

Over-work.—At all the establishments where the employment is that of carters and porters, the work commences at sunrise, and, with the exception of a very limited interval for breakfast, is continued generally without other intermission until dark, and often for several hours by moonlight. I myself have frequently seen bands of Indians driving wood and rice at ten o'clock at night, and many of them complained to the committee that they had not sufficient time to eat their meals, and that their work was too severe.

The non-prædial apprentices who are employed in similar occupations cannot be worked without their own consent during more than nine hours daily, while the Indian carters and porters are compelled to labour for fourteen or fifteen hours, and that without any sustenance after their breakfast until they retire for the night, however late the hour may be. The proprietors of establishments of this description assert that their work is uncertain, and requires great periodical exertion; but I cannot admit that excuse for the system which I have thought it necessary to condemn, and which must prove injurious to the health of men so little accustomed to severe bodily exertion as the Indians who come here are admitted to be.

Personal Chastisement.—The complaints of this nature to the committee, if my memory is correct, were chiefly confined to the establishments of Mr. F. Berger, Messrs. Tayler and Tyack, and Messrs. Giquel and Co.; but it is a matter of public notoriety, that the system is carried to a great extent at Messrs. Worthington and Co.'s, and elsewhere. This may be ascertained by a reference to the juge de paix. On the establishment of Mr. Worthington, the proprietor vehemently objected to its being communicated by the committee to the Indians how they were to apply for redress when they were beaten by their masters, although there was no objection to a similiar communication for all other objects. The complaints against Mr. Berger and Messrs. Tyack and Co. were loud and strong, and in the establishment of the former, convincing marks of most severe stripes were exhibited to the committee by several individuals. Mr. Berger met this by threatening the complainants in the presence of the committee; and Mr. Tyack stated, that he left all the management of the Indians in his employment to his servants.

When it was communicated to Mr. Giquel by the committee that his Indians complained of being beaten by the person under whose immediate direction they were, he instantly discharged him.

Knowing, as three of the members of the committee did, what takes place in Mr. Worthington's establishment with reference to bodily correction, there was some surprise expressed that it had not been alluded to by the Indians. I confess that I attributed their silence to intimidation, and I proposed, with a view to avoid this in our subsequent proceedings, that our questions should be put to the Indians when free from that restraint which, in the case of apprentices, is always felt in the presence of their master. But this suggestion was overruled; and, in my opinion, the only means of producing in the written evidence the full extent of the information which the committee was employed to search for, was consequently abandoned.

Lodging Accommodation.—On this head, my observations will be of a very general nature, for I am compelled to state, that I only saw on two establishments (Mr. Wilson's and Messrs. Watson and Co.'s,) any sleeping-place which I could consider fit for the purpose to which it is devoted.

I did not expect to see separate rooms allotted to each individual but I think they have a right to expect sufficient space and protection from the weather, accompanied by the free circulation of air, and that attention to cleanliness without which health cannot be preserved.

In no instance have the Indians in Port Louis, so far as I have seen, anything but the bare floor provided for them; and they are generally crowded together in places where respiration would be thought almost impossible in such a climate, particularly when surrounded by the filth which invariably attends them, with the exception of the two establishments which I have mentioned. At Mr. Berger's and Mr. Lesur's, the sleeping-places are over the stable of the mules, where there is an accumulated mass of filth of every description, from which the smell above was so offensive, that I could not remain in the sleeping-loft for five minutes without suffering most disagreeably, and the inconceivably dirty state of the lofts themselves added considerably to this sensation. Messrs. Tayler and Tyack declared that they had no sleeping-place for their Indians, who are therefore obliged to have recourse to a stable or a verandah during the night.

Accommodation of and Attendance on the Sick.—The hospitals on the establishments which I have seen, are generally more calculated to increase disease than to alleviate its sufferings; and I think some of them cannot be visited by an impartial observer without exacting from him the observation, that they are unfit for the reception of human beings.

From a place of this description, an Indian was brought before the committee by his comrades in such a state of attenuation as to have become a perfect skeleton; he could not stand without the assistance of three men, and, although he had been for weeks in this state, his companions declared that he had neither received medical advice, nor any kind of attention. It is true that the master denies this, and asserted that a medical man occasionally attended his establishment; but he had no journal to produce, or anything else to corroborate his statement. On another establishment, a man, evidently suffering under severe disease, presented himself to the committee to complain that he had been compelled to work for two months when he could hardly walk; and the employer admitted that he had neither an hospital or a medical attendant for his establishment, and that he had considered the man's illness as a mere pretence for idleness.

Prejudices and Customs of the Indians.—Much of the comfort and happiness of an Indian depends on the unrestrained pursuit of the prejudices in which he has been brought up, and the employer who attends to this feeling will benefit by his prudence, while he who neglects it will certainly suffer from complaint and discontent.

This was strongly manifested in an establishment where, in other respects, the Indians were very well treated; but, in consequence of a desire to give them food which differed from that provided by their agreement, and their cooking-place being the same as that used by the apprentices, they became very much discontented.

After what I have stated in this and in my previous letter, I cannot help again expressing my firm conviction that the state of the Indians requires some immediate regulations to protect them from over-work, to provide them with proper accommodation, and to secure to them that attention in

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sickness, and to their general comfort, from which the employers and their servants would reap a mutual benefit, but which I believe to be neglected in a degree which I must continue to consider highly culpable.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. ANDERSON,
Superintending Special Magistrate.

The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.

The Committee of Inquiry on Indian Labourers.

Gentlemen, Colonial Secretary's Office, 1st December, 1838.

WITH reference to the communication made to you on the 17th ultimo, I have received his excellency the governor's directions to forward to you the explanations furnished by Mr. Special Justice Anderson for declining to sign the summary of evidence forwarded in your letter of the 13th ultimo, for any observations which you may find these explanations to require, where they are at variance with the evidence transmitted by you.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

The Honourable G. F. Dick, Colonial Secretary.

Sir, Port Louis, 5th December, 1838.

1. WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, with its enclosures (two letters from Mr. Special Justice Anderson, under date the 19th and 30th ult., in explanation of his declining to sign the summary of evidence forwarded in our letter of the 13th ult.), requiring us to make any observations, where his explanations are at variance with the evidence transmitted by us, and signed by him and the other members of the committee. We accordingly beg to submit to his excellency the governor the following observations.

2. In the second paragraph of Mr. Anderson's letter, he remarks that "the abstract was drawn up in a manner which not only did not express the opinions which he had formed on the evidence which had been received by the committee, but appeared to him to be at variance with that evidence, and calculated to mislead," &c. We beg to remark, that the Abstract from the proceedings was drawn up with a view merely to facilitate reference to them, and not to express the opinions of the committee; it cannot be a matter of surprise, therefore, that Mr. Anderson did not find his opinions expressed therein, although he signed the proceedings *en masse* from which the abstract was made; a reference to the same will show whether "the abstract be at variance with the proceedings, and calculated to mislead," or not. We beg to state, that after a careful examination of both documents, we do not find any discrepancy, and are at a loss to conceive how Mr. Anderson could feel justified in signing the one document, and refusing to sign the other.

3. With respect to paragraph three, wherein he remarks that he had "seen much which, in his opinion, required immediate remedy, and merited marked reprobation," we will merely observe that, as he did visit with the committee only 12 out of 31 establishments (other duties requiring his presence elsewhere), his opinion cannot in any way be said to result from the whole of the evidence obtained by the committee, but from other sources of information.

4. With reference to that part of paragraph six wherein Mr. Anderson, from his personal inspection of 12 establishments only, arrives at such a sweeping conclusion as his remark conveys, "that, with few exceptions, the Indians are treated with great and unjust severity, by over-work, and personal chastisement," &c., we cannot refrain from observing, that the only establishments seen by him with the committee wherein the remarks in any way apply, were, Messrs. Berger's, Tayler and Tyacks, and Giquel and Co.'s, to which establishments our letter of the 15th November called the attention of government. We could not, therefore, without injustice to the other establishments, coincide in opinion with Mr. Anderson in his general view of the case.

5. It is remarked, in the seventh paragraph, that, in most of the establishments, "little or no importance is attached to indulging the prejudices and customs to which Indians are known to cling so tenaciously." We would beg to observe, that in one establishment alone, viz., Mr. Diore's, did the Indians make any complaint of the kind. We are at a loss to conceive how one solitary exception can justify such a general assertion.

6. We can neither deny nor admit the fact of "kidnapping, fraud, and deceitful representation," stated by Mr. Anderson, in the eighth and ninth paragraphs of his letter, to have been employed in bringing Indians to the Mauritius, as most of the questions put to them by the committee, had reference only to their treatment and feelings since their arrival; nothing, however, in the evidence received, could lead any unbiassed mind to the same conclusion as Mr. Anderson has arrived at. Only one man at Messrs. Watson and Co.'s expressed himself in a way to support the statement made of "bitter disappointment" being general; the man was a massaljee, or torch-bearer, who had evidently misunderstood the purpose for which his services were engaged. We noticed in the proceedings, that the complaint of having been plundered of their six months' advances was made by the Bengal men only.

7. Although the pay of Indians is below the present rate of town wages, most of them expressed themselves as satisfied. We doubt the disproportion being so great as implied, when the expense of their introduction is taken into consideration; for we saw in one establishment (Mr. Des Etang's) 29 men from Bombay, originally introduced by Mr. Bickajee in 1831 and 1832, who have twice voluntarily entered into new contracts, at eight rupees a month in the first instance, and 10 rupees in the second. Eleven other men, introduced by Mr. Lafauche from Bengal, had formed new engagements with Mr. Des Etang, at the rate of 10 rupees per month.

8. We agree perfectly with Mr. Anderson, as to the unjustifiableness of harsh treatment to Indians, but we are of opinion that he is not borne out by the evidence we received, in his assertion of its "being adopted or permitted by many of the employers."

9. We now proceed to make a few observations on Mr. Anderson's letter of the 30th ult., and will endeavour to point out where his remarks are not supported by the evidence taken by the committee; we will, as much as possible, follow the same order as therein observed.

10. *Over-work.*—There were only three establishments in which any complaints at all were made with regard to the duration of work, viz., Messrs. Berger's, Tayler and Tynck's, and Duclos. The readiness with which the men complained in that respect at Mr. Berger's, showed that they did not consider themselves bound to work after sunset, and that they thoroughly understood that part of the agreement which fixes the hours of labour from sunrise to sunset, with an intermission of three hours for meals. From our knowledge of the character of the natives, we are confident that they could not be forced to work beyond the stipulated hours without due compensation, either in money or immunity from labour at other hours during the day; the assertion of their being "compelled to work for 14 or 15 hours," is at complete variance with the declaration of the Indians themselves, with the few exceptions recorded in the proceedings.

11. *Personal Chastisement.*—We have already recorded that some of the Indians on the three establishments alluded to by Mr. Anderson complained of personal chastisement; but it was only at Mr. Berger's (where general discontent existed) that two men showed marks of stripes on their thighs. An allusion is made to the establishment of Mr. Worthington, as one on which personal chastisement, carried to a great extent, had long been notorious. We can say nothing of the previous existence of such an abuse on that establishment, and can only infer its having been discontinued or repressed from the evidence we received. Complaints were made about the quantity of food, which showed that the men were not intimidated by the presence of their employers.

12. The instructions conveyed to the committee would have precluded the adoption of Mr. Anderson's suggestion of examining the Indians out of the presence of the employers, had not all the other members of the committee (from their practical knowledge of the natives of India) been convinced that such a course would have been not only invidious in itself, but totally unnecessary. There is no similitude in the position of the Indian and that of the apprentice; the latter cannot but feel restraint in the presence of the individual whose property he was but yesterday; that the former does not entertain the same feeling was amply illustrated by the complaints made in presence of the employers, trifling and frivolous in some establishments, but "loud and strong" in two, as noticed by Mr. Anderson himself. The mutual recriminations which took place between Mr. Berger and his men, ought to have been sufficient to have convinced an unbiassed mind, that the presence of the employer did not place the Indian under any restraint in the expression of his feelings.

13. *Lodging Accommodation.*—With regard to the accommodation provided for the Indians, a reference to the proceedings will show that Mr. Anderson, in his remarks under that head, has generalized the exceptions; in very few establishments has the committee found a wilful neglect of the comforts of the Indians; in some they had so lately arrived, that there had not been time to make suitable arrangements. It would be unfair to tax the employers with the filthy habits of their servants. Had Mr. Anderson ever visited India, he would not have cited as a hardship their having to repose on the "bare floor," as it is consonant to their habits; even rich natives are accustomed to sleep on a mat spread on the mud floors in the verandahs, or on the flat roofs of their houses.

14. *Accommodation of and Attendance on the Sick.*—We beg to differ in opinion with Mr. Anderson, in regard to the places set apart for the sick on the different establishments: with the few exceptions already specified, we found them sufficient for the purpose. We must confess that, in some of them, cleanliness was not strictly attended to. The excited feelings of dissatisfaction evinced by Mr. Berger's men from the beginning, induced them to bring out of the hospital, supported by two or three men, the sick man alluded to, evidently with the intent of aggravating their grounds of complaint against their employer, who assured the committee that his establishment was regularly attended by Dr. Salesse and a native doctor. Any doubt of the veracity of Mr. Berger could easily be cleared by a reference to Dr. Salesse. With regard to the other case at Messrs. Tayler and Tyack's, there certainly was carelessness, and it was recorded on the proceedings.

15. *Prejudices and Customs.*—It is unnecessary for us to make any further remarks, as we have already touched on this subject in paragraph five.

16. We will, in conclusion, refer to the proceedings themselves for further proof of the generalization of isolated facts which is shown in the two letters under reply; we have no hesitation in again asserting, that, from what the committee have seen in Port Louis, we could not do otherwise than report favourably on the general question, were we called upon to do so without further investigation and experience.

We have, &c.,

(Signed) C. M. CAMPBELL.
J. VILLIERS FORBES.
J. HUGON.
W. BURY.

[*Note*—It will be clearly seen, that the attempt of the commissioners to reply to the statements in Mr. Anderson's letter, is a most impotent affair Their abstract of the evidence, they admit, was *not* intended "to express the opinions of the committee." The third paragraph in their letter is a mere quibble; they do not deny that in the twelve establishments visited by Mr. Anderson, in company with themselves, they had "seen much" that "required *immediate remedy*, and merited *marked reprobation*" but they say Mr. Anderson did not visit the whole of the establishments with them, and would, therefore, have us believe, that he was not entitled to form a judgment on those he had seen. The "other sources of information" open to Mr. Anderson, might have enabled him to form a much more accurate estimate of the condition of the Coolies than that of the gentlemen honoured with the commission. In reference to the "personal chastisement" inflicted on the Coolies, on certain establishments which they visited, the commissioners state, that they called the attention of the government to that point in their letter of the 13th November, 1838. Not one word is said upon the subject in that letter! On the subject of "kidnapping, fraud and deceitful representation," they profess not to have taken evidence, and therefore, "neither deny nor admit the fact." A careful review of the evidence taken, and the *animus* of this letter, prove that they limited their inquiries within the narrowest possible range, and were unfitted for the discharge of the duties imposed upon them. It must not be forgotten, that these gentlemen resisted the proposition of Mr. Anderson to examine the Coolies apart from the presence of their masters!]

Colonial Secretary's Office, 31st December, 1838.

Gentlemen,—1. I have had the honour to lay before the governor your letter of the 5th instant, in answer to the observations of Mr. Special Jus-

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tice Anderson, in regard to the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the state and condition of the Indian labourers here with respect to those in Port Louis.

2. The manner in which Mr. Anderson's statement, that the prevalence of personal chastisement in the establishment of Messrs. Worthington and Co. was matter of public notoriety, and known to three members of the committee, has been noticed, is not, in his excellency's opinion, satisfactory; and he thinks that, with such information in their possession, the investigation of the committee into the existence of such an abuse should have been full and searching.

3. The third paragraph of your letter of the 13th of November did intimate that some interference might be necessary with regard to the accommodation, medical treatment, and time allowed for meals, but in terms not sufficiently strong to mark the necessity of such interference, as shown by Mr. Anderson's letters and your answer; and the governor trusts that, in your future proceedings, you will perceive the necessity of fully entering into such inquiries, and of eliciting all the facts in similar cases, in order to leave no doubt or question with regard to them.

4. His excellency is disposed to be satisfied in much of the explanation you have afforded in answer to Mr. Anderson's statements, and to consider that that gentleman may have generalised too much, and may have derived his information from other sources than the evidence given before the committee; but his excellency quite concurs with Mr. Anderson in thinking that the criterion of comfort and convenience for the Indians should be taken from those of their own class in this island, and not from what they may have been used to in their own country. I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

MESSRS. CAMPBELL, FORBES, BURY, and HUGON.

Colonial Secretary's Office, 31st Dec., 1838.

Gentlemen,—1. I have had the honour to lay before his excellency the governor, the report of your proceedings in the inquiry into the state and condition of the Indian labourers employed in the town of Port Louis; and I have received his excellency's directions to intimate to you his approval of the series of questions you have put to the Indians, as well as to the masters; but he thinks that the committee should not limit themselves to these questions, but extend them, as occasion may require, to others calculated to elucidate the real situation of these people in the different establishments in which they work, which his excellency is most desirous of having very fully ascertained.

2. For this purpose the governor requests that, in the prosecution of your inquiries in the country districts, you will be careful to note down in full detail the whole of the evidence which is calculated in any way to establish clearly and satisfactorily the condition and state of the Indians upon the different estates and establishments.

3. The lodging accommodation afforded to the Indian labourers by their respective employers being a point on which their health and comfort are essentially dependent, his excellency is desirous that the committee should particularly inquire into the manner in which they are lodged on the different habitations, and that your report thereon should be full and particular.

4. The mortality which has prevailed among the Indian labourers, as well on the voyage as after their arrival here, and more particularly upon some estates and establishments, has been the source of deep regret to his excellency, and renders it necessary that your inquiries should be most minute as to the medical aid and hospital treatment afforded to them by their respective employers. You will be pleased, therefore, carefully to register the name of the medical attendant of each estate, and the number of his periodical visits, as well as in describing the hospital accommodation provided for the sick. And you will, as far as may be in your power, take care to ascertain whether medical assistance to the sick is timely afforded; endeavouring to impress upon the master, that, in the medical treatment of Indians, much depends on that treatment being timely administered.

5. It should be an object of your inquiry also, to ascertain whether the Indian labourers are not employed on work of a severer description than that which they have, under their agreements, engaged to perform, and whether their hours of work are not prolonged beyond what may fairly and reasonably be expected by their employers under those engagements.

6. It will be desirable that you should note the conditions of the several agreements in a summary way, so that they may easily be compared with each other, and their various discrepancies stated, with a view to their being remedied by the adoption of some general system hereafter; and also the hours of work on each estate, in order to the introduction of some regulations to establish uniformity in that respect. Moreover, you should apprise the masters, as well as the men themselves, that, unless in cases of urgency or necessity, Sunday labour is not legal, whatever stipulation there may be in their agreements to the contrary.

7. Your inquiries should further be directed very particularly to ascertaining whether the Indians are subject to personal restraint, or other punishment or maltreatment, on the part either of their masters or of those employed under them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. DICK, Colonial Secretary.

The Committee of Inquiry on the Indian Labourers.

Colonial Secretary's Office, 28th February, 1839.

SIR,—Having laid before his excellency the governor your letter of the 18th instant, transmitting the protest of the principal inhabitants of the first section of the Flacq District against the manner in which the inquiry into the state and condition of the Indian labourers is conducted, I have been directed to express his excellency's regret at a proceeding on the part of the inhabitants so calculated to produce an unfavourable impression elsewhere, and to intimate to you that his excellency considers it advisable that the inquiries of the committee should cease as soon as they shall have completed the examination on those estates in the Flacq District where no opposition may be made by the proprietors.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE F. DICK,
Colonial Secretary.

To C. M. Campbell, Esq., president of the Committee of Inquiry on Indians.

Flacq, 16th March, 1839.

SIR,—1. We have the honour to forward, for submission to his excellency the governor, our proceedings up to the 12th instant, comprising the inquiry we have made into the state and condition of the Indian labourers on twenty-two estates on this district.

2. We have found on every estate proper accommodation for the labourers, with an hospital proportionate to the number employed (with one exception, Mr. Fabre's estate.) There are four doctors in the district, who visit the estates two or three times a week, and, in case of emergency, the attendance of one of them can almost everywhere be commanded in two hours.

3. The general physical condition and health of the Indians, on all the plantations, appeared most satisfactory; the change of climate has greatly improved their constitutions. The superiority of the "huwa parree," or climate, is readily acknowledged by the natives themselves, from whatever province of India they may have come. The monthly average of sick in hospital, as far as we could ascertain, appears to be 66, or 6 per cent. on the whole: we are unable to show in figures the gradual improvement which has taken place in the health of the men since their arrival, because hospital-books have not been generally kept, as is directed for the apprentices, in which the names of the sick, the dates of the doctor's visits, and the medical treatment prescribed, should be briefly entered; the adoption of such a measure, we think, would be advisable, and much facilitate the making periodical returns of the sick, on any future inquiry as to proper medical treatment being afforded them.

4. We have carefully inquired into the mortality that has taken place, both from the masters and the Indians. On a few of the estates it has been, we regret to say, considerable; but in no instance could it be attributed to over-work or ill-treatment. The two estates belonging to Messrs. Hanning and Harris, which we particularly noticed for that perfect harmony and contentment which follow good management and kind treatment of Indians, present the heaviest mortality. Mr. Harris had been but a short time on the estate, and could therefore afford no information as to the state of the men on their arrival. Mr. Hanning communicated to the committee a certificate, signed by a medical man, as to the state of the men he received; twelve were labouring under bad chronic diseases, five of whom subsequently died. No other planter has taken the same precaution as Mr. Hanning.

5. In asserting that the bodily health of the Indians in this district is improved, we are borne out by the figured statement of mortality, which, in four years, presents an average of 2·74 per cent.; and taking that of the two last years, which embraces a larger number of Indians, the result would be still more favourable, the average being reduced to 2·33 per cent.

6. We have not to bring to the notice of government any case of systematical bad treatment, or breach of contract on the part of the master; the men are treated with humanity and mildness, and the work required of them, although more severe than that to which they have been accustomed in India, is much within what they could perform in a climate like this, so much more favourable to bodily exertion than their own.

7. We would beg to suggest the necessity of some regulation calculated to remove a general tendency to misunderstanding between the master and labourer, arising out of the great discrepancies which exist in the conditions of the different contracts, principally with regard to food and the hours of labour; they are to be found even on the same estate, where bands of Indians have been introduced at different periods; in some the articles of food are limited to rice and salt; an addition of a quarter of a rupee is sometimes made to the pay; but here it could never be considered as an equivalent for the ghee and dholl allowed them by other agreements.

8. In some of the contracts the Indian custom has been observed in fixing the hours of labour from sunrise to sunset, with an interval of three hours for meals; in others, they are from daylight till night; in others, again, they are left entirely to the discretion of the master, as will be seen by a reference to those abstracts of the different contracts we have annexed to our proceedings; where the hours are fixed, there is always a clause reserving to the master the right of extending the work, "if necessary," during the manufacturing season, that is, six months of the year.

9. We have communicated to the Indians the institution of a savings' bank in Port Louis, as affording a secure place of deposit for their money. We have met with about seventy men in this district who have saved money, one, a sirdar on Mr. Harris's estate, to the extent of six hundred rupees. It is to be observed, that more than half the number of the men we have examined have been but a short time in the island, and cannot yet have reimbursed the advances they are supposed to have received in India; the number of those that are provident would very rapidly increase were the masters more generally to encourage habits of economy in the Indians.

10. We have found the Indians aware of the obligation of the master to provide a passage back after the expiration of the contract; but we noticed that a few of the planters have an idea, which we think erroneous, regarding the right of the Indian to stay in the island, otherwise than in the service of his first master. Several labourers have put the question to the members of the committee. Although we expressed an opinion in the affirmative as to their right, we would think it advisable that all doubts on the subject should be cleared up in their minds, as many, rather than stop with an unkind master at the expiration of their contract, might leave the island, under the erroneous impression of being unable to change for a better. It would be but just, however, that the masters should be relieved from all responsibility towards the government with regard to the Indian who leaves his service and remains in the island. This responsibility might be easily transferred to the Indian himself, by requiring the deposit in the savings' bank of the thirty rupees retained by the master to provide for a passage back, at the labourer's expense, in case of misconduct.

11. A few complaints of personal chastisement by overseers were made by labourers on some of the estates; we never found it to have been sanctioned or countenanced by the master: restraint has been employed only when necessary for the preservation of good order and discipline on the estate, such as in cases of drunkenness and riotous conduct. The power of punishing even the slave has for so many years been taken away from the master, and vested in a public officer, that we consider it improbable to suppose that a system of punishment by personal restraint and chastisement could be adopted towards free men, whom it is, moreover, so much the interest of the planter to conciliate in every way. On many

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estates the mere attempt at such a course of proceeding would have been attended with danger to the planter, for instead of the mild and inoffensive Hill Cooley, he would have had to deal with the bold and independent native of western India, whose disposition would ill brook severity and harsh treatment.

12. We estimate, from the bands of Indians hitherto examined, that more than half of the men brought from the Bengal presidency, are from the western provinces, where the duffadars and crimps found willing dupes to practise upon. The misrepresentation of the nature of the work, which many were led to expect would be mere (Baghee-chu-ka-kam) gardening, would not, from their distressed circumstances at the time, (in consequence of the famine,) have engendered a spirit of disappointment in those people on their arrival, had they not besides been plundered prior to embarkation of a great portion of the advances charged to the planters.

13. We will conclude with stating, that we are strongly impressed with the belief that the condition of the Indian in the island, is superior to what it is in most parts of India; but the ideas of natives differ so widely from our own on those points, that the true test of their real sentiments can only be expected at the close of their engagements. We have seen in Port Louis, several natives of Bombay introduced by Mr. Bickerjee, who have entered into contracts with Mr. Des Etangs, at an increased rate of wages: it has also come to our knowledge, that several natives of the coast of Coromandel, lately in the employ of Mr. Darifat, in this district, having completed their five years' service, have formed a new engagement with Mr. Amadowmy, of the Riviere du Rampart district.

We have, &c.,

(Signed) C. M. CAMPBELL, President.
J. VILLIERS FORBES,
T HUGON, } Members.
J. BURY,

The Hon. Captain Dick,
Colonial Secretary, Port Louis.

This letter brings to a close the labours of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the condition of the Coolies in Mauritius, and anything more unsatisfactory can scarcely be imagined. If we may believe these gentlemen, the Coolies on the estates they visited are treated "with humanity and kindness;" but it is quite clear from the minutes of evidence, scanty as they are, as well as from the general remarks in their own letter, that this statement must be received, not only with great caution but with great abatement. They call attention to the "general tendency to misunderstanding between the master and labourer, arising out of the great discrepancies which exist in the condition of the different contracts, principally with regard to food and the hours of labour." Now, in no instance can it be found that the quantity of rice given to the Coolie per week exceeds twelve pints, and in some cases it is less, which is scarcely more than *one-half* the quantity a labourer engaged in sugar cultivation requires to keep up his bodily strength; as was sufficiently proved in the case of the labourers in British Guiana. On one estate, the "Laura," where the Coolies received the full quantity of rice, the commissioners state that they "complain of not receiving a sufficient quantity of rice." On "Marnet's Estate," they say, "although they (the Coolies,) receive the quantity of provisions according to their engagement, yet they complain of its not being enough." On plantation "Beauchamp, they complain of not receiving their quantity of rice," though the commissioners add they weighed the ration and found it correct." On Madame L'Emperna's estate, though the Coolies got their one and-a-half pounds of rice, salt "they say it is not enough." On Langlois' estate "they are dissatisfied with their engagement, as they receive but 1½ lb. rice, and ½ oz. salt." On Gelle's estate, "they are dissatisfied with the quantity and quality of their provisions," though they get "1½ lbs. rice. and ½ oz. salt." On several of the estates, "the Coolies complained of not having sufficient time allowed them for repose and meals during the day, being allowed from one hour and three quarters to two hours only, instead of three hours; and with respect to the amount of work exacted, it appears they are generally required to labour from sun-rise to sun-set ordinarily, and during the season of crop for such longer period of time as may be necessary: it appears also that, on some estates, "they are obliged to fetch a bundle of grass each for their employer, which occupies them till eight o'clock at night," or to cut wood in addition to their daily toil. But the whole system will be better understood by consulting the following "summary of agreement with Indian labourers engaged by Mr. T. Francis for Mr. Menage, and transferred to Mr. Blancard, of Beauchamp estate," and which in reference to wages, food and clothing, is more liberal than most if not, all others, of which we have any account in these papers, viz. The Coolies are

1.—Engaged to work for five years; transfer to be made by mutual consent before a public officer.

2.—To perform all work on a sugar estate.

3.—Hours of labour from sunrise to sunset, two hours allowed for meals; time of labour extended during the manufacturing of sugar, if necessary.

4.—To submit to such discipline as established by proprietor; not to absent themselves without written permission, under penalty of half a rupee per diem, and any misunderstanding to be submitted to legal authority.

5.—Medical aid to be borne by the master, except in cases of illness brought on by intemperance and misconduct. Labourers to receive no pay during illness.

6.—One rupee to be retained from their wages to pay passage back, in case of misconduct.

7.—The pay to commence from the date of their embarkation. Sirdars' pay at seven rupees per month; five rupees to labourers; four rupees to first class boys, and three rupees to second class boys for the first two years, and four rupees for the remaining three.

Food,	14 chittacks of rice	1 ounce of ghee
"	2 ditto dholl	¼ ounce of salt.
Clothing per annum,	2 dhooties	1 jacket
"	1 blanket	1 cap.

The whole system, as worked by a Mauritian planter, may be perfectly understood from this engagement, and I have no hesitation in saying it is one of gross imposition in its terms, and must be one of great oppression and suffering in its working. It should be observed, that, in cases of ill-treatment, the Coolies can only appeal for redress to the civil commissary of the Quarter or the Juge de Paix, both local officers, imbued with local prejudices, and often planters themselves.

On no estate does it appear that the commissioners inquired into the discipline practised on it; and, when instances of personal chastisement were brought to their notice, it was incidentally, and, as will be seen in their letter, treated lightly by them. On twelve estates out of the twenty-two, however, distinct cases of personal chastisement were brought under their attention, but no steps appear to have been recommended, or were taken, to punish the parties who were guilty of such illegal conduct. The opinion of the commissioners is worth nothing.

The few Coolies who have saved money are no doubt the "sirdars," or drivers of the gangs. It is their interest to make the people work, and in proportion to the zeal which they exhibit will be usually the reward they obtain.

Though no evidence appears on the minutes that the Coolies were brought to Mauritius otherwise than by their own consent, the commissioners nevertheless refer to the "duffadars and crimps" in India, who "found willing dupes to practice upon." What good results can be expected from a system engendered in fraud, and sustained by coercion! In an extract from the proceedings of the honourable the president in council in India, inserted in these papers, we find "that the methods adopted for procuring labourers to engage for service in colonies and places beyond sea are productive of serious frauds, and have led to much oppression, and that the system is a source of much injury and abuse, rather than of benefit to the labourers, in the form in which it is at present carried on." This extract is dated 11th July, 1838. The governor of Mauritius at a subsequent period, adverting to the robbery and pillage of the Coolies previously to their leaving India, observes, that measures ought "to restrict the advance of wages" to them before their arrival in Mauritius, "so that," he adds, "the labourers, instead of finding themselves with several months' advance of wages to work out on their arrival here, may at once, or at least much earlier than at present, come into the receipt of wages for their labour, and *thus be enabled to provide themselves with such comforts as they may require, previously to their proceeding to the different estates on which they are to be employed.*" How much of deplorable wretchedness and hardship does this sentence imply! Again he observes, "the promised advance of wages, it is to be feared, is not faithfully accounted for to the emigrants; also that false descriptions have been given them, as well of the place they were going to, as of the nature of their employment there; and that there are instances in which Indians have been hurried on board ship with whom no engagement had ever been made;" and still further he states, "In some cases, the proper allowance of food for the voyage has not been provided, medical inspection has not taken place previous to embarkation, nor medical attendance been furnished during the voyage!!" Yet we are called upon to believe, in the face of all these facts, that the Coolies are so contented and happy, that they have no wish to change their situation! Finally, the commissioners, after having recorded in their minutes of evidence that the Coolies, all "speak favourably of the island," and that they would "recommend their friends to come here," confess in their letter that they can scarcely credit them; for they say, "the ideas of natives differ so widely from our own on these points, that the *true test of their* REAL *sentiments can only be expected at the close of their engagements.*" How valueless does this remark render the whole of the evidence of the Coolies, taken by these gentlemen in the presence of their masters, in which they are represented as saying that they are satisfied with their treatment! But, after all, it is apparent, that, in their estimation, slavery in Mauritius is only to be preferred to famine in India; so that it is quite clear, that the extreme wretchedness and poverty of the Coolie in his own country, arising from bad laws infamously administered, is the point of comparison in the judgment of the commissioners with what they found to be their condition in the colony, to which they had been brought by fraud or force, where, whatever might be their sufferings, they would not be exposed quite to the horrors of death by starvation.

J. S.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

WE return in our present number to the consideration of the vast schemes which the planters are now concocting for the importation of labourers into the West Indies. In our last, we demurred to the allegations by which the colonial demand for more labour has been sustained. These are, first, a large deficiency in sugar and other cultivated staples arising from emancipation; and, secondly, the want of regular and continuous labour, as the cause of such deficiency. We showed at some length that there is but small foundation, if any, for either of

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these allegations; that, on the contrary, there has been no general falling off in the crops, and little culpable deficiency of labour. Further evidence of a most convincing and satisfactory character might readily be adduced on these points; but we proceed rather to those which yet lie before us.

If the alleged deficiency of the crop and want of labour (the two great arguments for immigration) be not realities, the question naturally arises whether there are any other reasons for the general effort now making among the West Indians to promote it "on an extensive scale." The answer to this question is, that there are two other grounds of action, one avowed and the other suppressed, but both of them deserving our serious regard.

1. One additional reason of the present urgency for immigration is avowed; namely, the desire, not merely to maintain, but to *extend* the cultivation of the West Indies. Let us first produce the evidence of this, and then make our remarks upon it.

In proof of our statement we can refer to no document more conclusive that the memorandum submitted to Dr. Lushington, which is pervaded almost throughout by the idea of enlarged cultivation. "Guiana, fully peopled," says the writer, "would render Great Britain independent of slave-grown cotton from the United States." Again, "Our colonies well peopled with an industrious class of free labourers would not only be able to supply Britain and the colonies with all tropical productions, but might also be sufficient to supply all the continent of Europe." And again, "The value of our West India colonies, or their great resources, particularly in Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica, has not yet, for want of a numerous and industrious population, been ascertained; nor can this be accomplished until their population bear some proportion to their extent of soil." In the same strain Sir Edward Cust proposes this stringent query: "How is the cultivation of our colonial lands to be maintained, and *how can it be extended*, without an immigration of labourers from some other region?"

It is plain, then, beyond dispute, that one of the reasons by which the planters profess to be actuated in their urgency for immigration is a desire to extend to the utmost the cultivation of the colonies. To this of course we can have no objection, if it be done by just and honourable means. We must be permitted to remark, however, that in the present eagerness to extend colonial culture there is something both significant and suspicious. It has not been always so. On the contrary, this is quite a new feature in West India affairs; and certainly the present is a singular moment for its appearance, since it is precisely the moment of the origination of free labour. We have been told till our ears might have ached with the repetition of it, that free labour was the ruin of the colonies, that the system was impracticable, and would not only prevent the cultivation of new lands, but cause the abandonment of the old. Yet the system of free labour is no sooner introduced than the entire West Indians are agitating for extended cultivation. We claim this as the unequivocal verdict of that body in favour of free labour *as a source of wealth*. As a single fact, it contradicts all the representations which have been made of the ruinous effects of emancipation, and stamps them on the best authority as fraudulent and wicked. If free labour were not profitable, the planters, always true to their pockets, would never desire more of it. Yet it is for free labour—not, let it be observed, for slave labour—that they are so importunate, and for great quantities of it, enough even to cultivate every acre of the West Indies. It is about thirty years ago, that, because they could not compete in price with the Americans, the Guiana planters abandoned their extensive cotton estates; and all the while that slave labour lasted, they were left quietly enough to barrenness and the bush: but no sooner is free labour introduced, than, (according to the West Indians) hope revives of the profitable growth of this staple article, and of a successful competition with the American cultivator. We ask our readers whether, after this, one moment's regard can be due to the lamentations which have been so long and loud respecting colonies ruined by emancipation. The common sense of Englishmen will never suffer even West Indian jugglers to blow so *very* hot and cold with the same breath.

While, however, this anxiety for extended cultivation renders just but unwilling homage to the system of free labour, we must add, that, in our judgment, it lays no ground for the vast scheme of emigration contended for. The object of extended cultivation is, of course, the augmented wealth of the proprietors of estates; a very respectable body of persons, no doubt, but caring no more about the various patriotic and benevolent objects they have drawn into this argument—making Britain independent of American cotton, for example, and checking the famines in India—if they did not put money into their pockets, than for extinguishing the volcanoes in the moon. Now, we ask why British statesmen should be besieged, and the whole apparatus of the British government be set in motion, to devise and execute an organized system of immigration on an extensive scale, to enrich a few proprietors of West India estates! Who are these, that they are entitled to such consideration! Is it not enough for them to avail themselves of the universal tendency of mankind to attempt to better their condition, and to direct the tide of emigration to the West Indies by making them attractive! Let it be known that the peasantry in Guiana are happy, and others will come without solicitation to share their good fortune. And if they should not come fast enough to satisfy all who are hasting to be rich, we commend to them a little patience and moderation.

2. A second additional reason for the present outcry about immigration we have said is suppressed; we mean, a desire on the part of the planters to control the market for labour. This, of course, they have not avowed, and we may be thought uncharitable in imputing it to them; but there is ample evidence of the fact. It is scarcely possible it should be otherwise. Until the period of emancipation there was, in the West Indies, no agricultural labour to be sold; either planters or jobbers had the absolute control of every working hand in the colonies. They cannot but be chagrined at the loss of this monopoly. To see fifty men, whom, a little while ago, he could have ordered to work where he pleased, now at liberty to sell their labour where they can get best paid for it, must cut a lordly attorney to the heart. It is a new and bitter thing for him to have to solicit labour, and it is annoying beyond endurance, when he offers his stingy terms, to be outbid by his neighbour. Every possible effort has been made by the planters to prevent the consolidation of this state of things—to prevent, that is to say, the establishment of a free market for labour. It was to effect this that they insisted on connecting tenancy and labour together; and it is for the same purpose that they still cling to the system of tenancy at will. They have striven desperately, and are still striving in a thousand ways, to dictate the price of labour, and withhold the peasant from getting the best price he can for it. And this, beyond all doubt, is one of the ends, if not the principal end, they have in view by forcing a large immigration. They want to get labour cheaper, and to have labourers so plentiful that they may not be dependent upon any, but may be able to oppress all. We have no belief, if we confess the truth, in the apparent eagerness of the West Indians to cultivate such vast quantities of new land. We suspect this is little more than a hoax, which will have answered its purpose when it shall have enticed to their estates a great number of persons, who, by their very multitude, will cause such a glut of labour, that wages enough to procure a miserable subsistence must be thankfully taken, with as much kicking and cuffing as the laughing planters shall be pleased to add to it. We ask no pardon for entertaining such an opinion of the planters. We admit honourable exceptions, but, as a body, they have earned it by many deeds; and we never can relinquish it, but upon unequivocal evidence of a new and different career.

The point now before us is one of great importance, and is worthy of the deepest consideration. It is evident that the welfare of immigrants must altogether depend on the state of the market for labour. They can expect nothing from the mere kindness of the planters. They have their labour to sell, and they will get nothing more for it than it may be worth. If there be little labour to be sold and many buyers, they will get good terms; but if the stock of labour be large, wages must be proportionably small, and they may be small even to starvation. To the really free emigrant the consideration of this is of the utmost moment. It is not enough for him that he gets to Guiana or Trinidad; the all important question for him is, what will be the state of the labour market when I arrive there! For a single person to go without satisfactory information on this point would be folly; but for an extensive system of immigration to be entered on, in which, whatever might be known about the market for labour, no prompt or adequate regard could be paid to it, would be nothing short of infatuation. It must lead directly to a glut and depreciation of labour, of which the consequences would be altogether deplorable and dreadful.

The only security presented to us against this result is the word of the planters that they will cultivate the colonies to the last acre; which, we take leave to say, is no security at all. We are not sure they mean it; since it is scarcely credible that men of their shrewdness should really design so vastly to enlarge a system which they denounce as ruinous. And even if they did mean it now, we do not believe that they would execute their design: we are persuaded that they would rather work the present estates at the enormous profits which a glut of labour would afford them, than extend cultivation greatly for a moderate return. But, whatever might happen in this case, we have not the slightest shadow of *security* for the fulfilment of a single promise. Who is to bind them to their word! What is the penalty if they break it! Where is to be seen so much as the formal declaration of a single planter to this effect! "Send us hundreds of thousands of labourers," say the West Indians, "because we want to cultivate waste lands:" and when hundreds of thousands of men have been sent to their shores, and the planters prefer to revel amidst low prices of labour and a starving peasantry, we shall have richly earned both their ridicule and contempt.

Thus much we have said on the supposition that a large extension of colonial culture is at the option of the West Indians. We are by no means sure, however, that this is the case. The writers we have quoted artfully tell us that Guiana *can* produce cotton enough to make us independent of the United States, and that our West India colonies *can* supply all Europe with tropical productions; but this is only one part of the case. An important and indispensable question is, *at what price* can they do it. Can they grow cotton and coffee, sugar and spices, at a price which will command the market! Of what use will it be to grow them, or how long will they continue to do so, if the sales yield them no profit! Now we do not believe that our West Indians have imagined for a moment that they can compete with the Americans in the price of cotton, or that they can command the European market for sugar and coffee. It is, on the contrary, perfectly notorious that they cannot. It was for this reason, and not for want of labour, that the extensive cotton plantations of Guiana

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were abandoned thirty years ago; and for the same reason, whatever number of labourers you send there, they cannot be restored now. As to sugar, every body knows that (although our colonies ought to produce it as cheap as any others) it is only a monopoly of the English market that finds any sale for British grown sugars at all; a free trade would drive them out of every market in the world. And the case is substantially the same with coffee and spices. Yet these West Indians talk of a vast extension of their agriculture, in order to supersede growers who sell already much cheaper than themselves! It is an utter fallacy, and they know it. The cry for labourers is not meant for the cultivation of new lands; it is intended to produce a glut of labour, that they may have the control of the market.

Now this is a design to which certainly no friends of the West Indian peasantry should lend themselves. It is clear that, if the planters can dictate the terms of labour, they will perpetuate the habits of slavery. These habits are both fixed on them by long custom, and endeared to them by a love of ease and power; and they will never yield but to necessity. A healthy state of the market for labour creates this necessity, and is the practical cure for habits of oppression. If there be a sufficient demand for labour, bad masters will get no work-people; and thus, in order to get work done, they will be obliged to become better masters. Such a state of things is important every where, and at all times; but at no period, and in no community, can it be more important than in the emancipated colonies of Great Britain at the present moment.

We are aware that, if evils of one kind may arise from the control of the labour-market being in the hands of the planters, evils of another kind would arise from its being in the hands of the labourers. We have no wish that it should be so; neither is it possible that it should be so for any considerable period. The current of voluntary emigration will soon equalize this. Wherever labour is largely remunerated labourers will go of themselves; and every thing will thus be secured which good masters want, and which bad ones ought to possess.

We must now close our remarks for the present; but the subject is far from being exhausted.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 26TH.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE, the new governor of Jamaica, has sent home his first impressions of the state of things in that island, in a long despatch for which we cannot find room. We must content ourselves with a few extracts and comments. The despatch is dated the 16th of October, 1839; on which day he had been at Spanish Town somewhat more than three weeks. His views, therefore, must have been taken very much from those with whom he had been in communication, and are (as he truly says) "not entitled to much credit." Some of them are evidently the echo of the island clamour, the mere voice of the planters speaking through an official organ; but in other instances his excellency shews a commendable independence and power of discrimination. The following passages are significant:—

4. It is to be hoped that the utter ruin of estates will not take place to any great extent; but it is confidently predicted that it must in many instances. The poorer proprietors, accustomed to pay for labour by the method of provision-ground, with little outlay of money, and perhaps none until the value of their crop had been secured, *find it difficult, if not impossible, to raise the means of paying labourers daily or weekly*, and that, too, without the certainty of obtaining labour when it may be most required, for the labourers are shy of entering into any engagements.

7. As a counterpoise to the power of the labourers over wages, the proprietors have that of charging rent for the houses and grounds tenanted by the labourers, and *this right is often exercised with a view to counterbalance, as much as possible, the payment of wages, and not with reference purely to the value of the house and grounds. Thus, in many instances, the rent of a house is charged, not at a rate fixed for the house, but at a rate fixed for each occupant of the house.* These counter claims for rent and wages keep up much irritation and litigation, but will, it is to be hoped, in time be settled on the basis of mutual interest.

10. In some instances labourers have purchased small lots of land, and thus become proprietors. *I should be glad if this were a general practice.* It would put an end to the causes of irritation, which may continue to exit while they hold their houses and grounds on an uncertain tenure, while it would not necessarily throw them out of the labouring class, their properties not being sufficiently large to exempt them entirely from the necessity of seeking other means of support; where they are tenants on the properties of others, they are anxious to obtain leases for their grounds; which the proprietors are willing to give, if the labourers would enter into engagements to labour for similar periods; but the latter are adverse to any contracts with respect to labour, and *the former, or their representatives, do not like to relinquish the hold which they consider themselves as having on the labourers by keeping them as tenants at will.*

11. I do not perceive any remedy for this state of things, except what time and a mutual sense of self-interest may supply. I should apprehend that *legislation can do little or nothing towards amendment*; and that it will be most advisable to let these matters take their natural course. If justice be fairly administered to all parties, they will, it may be hoped, come to a right understanding among themselves.

The governor honours the Baptists with especial notice, and states their case with an apparent endeavour after impartiality. Under all the circumstances, although he evidently lends a guarded sanction to the current censures of this body, we are glad to find that he speaks of them so mildly. He concludes his notice of them in the following terms:

If the political power exercised by the Baptists be an evil—and I am disposed, generally speaking, to think that it is an evil, whenever the ministers of religion deviate from their purely religious functions, to take a part in the strife and broils of political parties—it is an evil which does not admit of any present remedy. Either their influence will diminish, from their flocks not liking to pay the amount requisite for the support of their church establishment, or it will continue to increase by the activity of the Baptists drawing more into their fold. In the latter case, whether their influence be a bane or a blessing to the country must depend on the spirit in which it is exercised. On the whole, although I esteem the conduct of the other missionaries, in confining themselves to their religious duties, and abstaining from political strife, as more admirable and more beneficial to the country than that of the Baptists, nevertheless, if the good and the evil done by the latter were to be weighed against each other, the good, I conceive, would preponderate. The benefit of religious instruction, and of its moral consequences, seems sufficient to warrant that conclusion.

Moderate as this may seem, we venture to predict, that, when Sir Charles Metcalfe knows the Baptists better, he will speak of them in very different language. The public, in the meantime, will attach much more weight to the testimony of Sir Lionel Smith, who has long known them, as borne in his recent reply to the address of the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, which as it is short and to the purpose, we insert entire.

GENTLEMEN—I thank you very cordially for your kind address of congratulation on my return to England.

The ministers of your society in Jamaica have not only deserved well of the oppressed negros, but have been of the strongest support to her Majesty's government in that colony, by giving effect to those measures of amelioration which ultimately terminated in freedom.

It was my duty there to see that great measure, so dearly purchased, completed in all its objects; but it was the constant endeavour of the planters, notwithstanding compensation, to preserve to themselves the advantages of slavery.

The calumnies so industriously circulated by the planters against the ministers of your church have been proportioned to the good they have done in exposing oppression, and guiding the negros in their moral and religious improvement.

The abuse of such men is quite harmless, and will never, I hope, deter the friends of the negros in this country from watching over their interests.

I thank you, gentlemen, very sincerely, for the expression of all your good wishes, and I would beg to assure you, I shall always entertain a grateful sense of the benefit I witnessed from the labours of your mission in Jamaica.

(Signed) LIONEL SMITH.

WE extract the following from the *Dominica Colonist* of the 14th December last, the official paper of the island, and one we believe not hitherto overprone to liberal sentiments:

The Quarterly Session was held on Wednesday last, and although the calendar contained the names of many offenders, the offences were in general of a trivial nature. For the credit of the agricultural part of our population, we are happy to say that but *one* case came before the grand jury, and that for cane stealing. This is saying a great deal for our peasantry, a class of people but lately emerged from slavery, and from whom, we could not naturally expect such good conduct, after so sudden a transition to the full exercise of their liberty. The solitary instance we have just alluded to is a strong corroboration of the steady behaviour of the labouring portion of the community, and we fully hope they will continue to exhibit so good an example to their other brethren of the colony."

And how do our readers suppose the board of council of Dominica, under the guidance of Mr. Blanc, encourage this good conduct on the part of their labouring population? Why, by upholding that, when at their criminal court they are found *not* guilty, or "no bill" is returned by the grand jury, these labourers, living upon their daily earnings, must be called upon to pay some *fifty shillings sterling* as fees upon the prosecution, or be sent to prison until such fees be paid; and this position the council has for a long while maintained, and continue to maintain, in spite of the recommendations of the colonial office, in spite of the assembly, and now, it appears, in spite of the grand jury of of the island.

We made known in a former number an instance of a woman found *not guilty*, having been kept five months in prison for want of means to meet those fees, when the governor released her: the council, urged on by Mr. Blanc, their president, refused assent to the act, by refusing a vote proposed by the assembly to charge the fees to the colony. We at the same time made known the state of the law on this subject in the island. Were we right or wrong in that statement? Hear what the grand jury (we quote from the same official paper of the island) told the court of grand sessions on the 11th December last: "The grand jury cannot but lament the existing state of the common law, by which persons against whom bills may be ignored by the grand jury, or who may be acquitted by the petit jury, are compelled to pay the fees of the court attendant on their prosecution, or suffer imprisonment until the same be paid, a hardship which cries loudly for redress." Yes, "*loudly*," for the note from the Dominica grand jury room has crossed the Atlantic, is now responded to from our office, and will be re-echoed from Downing Street, back to the guilty council hall of Dominica.

We extract also from the legislative proceedings of the assembly an address from that body to the governer, together with a string of resolutions on the subject of the want of laws in the island, plainly referring the want of those laws to the hostile conduct of the board of council: it might be of service to Lord John Russell to read the documents.

Resolved, 1st,—"That it is with feelings of no ordinary concern this house perceives that, during the long period of seventeen months which has elapsed since its election, the book of laws presents a list of only three

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acts, (two of which were for the termination of the apprenticeship of the prædial apprenticed labourers,) as having passed the three branches of the legislature; the more particularly, as during the eight months immediately preceding the election of this house, no laws could be enacted, owing to the functions of the legislature having been held in abeyance: circumstances which not only arrest the attention of the public, but, as appears from the correspondence of the colonial agent, and from a communication received from the executive, have attracted the notice of her Majesty's government.

2udly,—"That it affords some consolation to this house to discover, from a return to an order of this house of measures passed by the same, that this house has not been unmindful of the trust reposed therein by the constituency of the island, sundry bills and resolutions having since its election been fully carried through the house, comprising most of the laws rendered necessary by the recent altered state of the community effected by the abolition of slavery.

3rdly,—"That taking into consideration the great sacrifice of personal convenience to which this house has patiently submitted in the consideration and discussion to the best of its judgment of the various measures referred to, so many of which yet remain to become law, also the inability of this house to enter into further compromise with reference to the structure of these enactments supported as these measures are by the enlightened recommendations of the Queen's government, as well as the wishes of the community; this house feels compelled, in justice to itself, and in deference to the executive government, to tender to his excellency the lieutenant-governor a copy of the return referred to, setting forth the labours of this house and their results, in the desire of obviating any blame which may be ascribed to the representatives of the people, as well as with the sincere hope that the consideration of his excellency may be directed to the unfortunate situation of the country, entirely destitute of all laws the most urgently required, and that his excellency's influence may be instrumental in accelerating the final passing of statutes for the good of the community.

His Honor the Speaker and House of Assembly, to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor.

The house begs leave to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's message of the 6th instant by which it is informed that your excellency has been instructed specially to convene the council and assembly; and, with the object of obtaining a formal explanation, to apprise the legislature that the delay of many measures which have been so long recommended to them, and which are so urgently required, has attracted the notice of her Majesty's government.

Satisfied as this house ever has been with the sound and liberal policy of the Queen's government towards the colonies, it has at all times, in accordance with its repeated professions to former governors and also to your excellency, been found ready to lend its co-operation in carrying out to the best of its judgment the measures from time to time specifically recommended to the legislature, in so far as the local circumstances of the island and the varying interests of the constituency would allow of their beneficial application. Accordingly upon a reference to the proceedings of this house, and in the absence of any allusion in your excellency's message to particular measures or to any definite period, it will appear that this house has entertained and passed a variety of laws and resolutions, comprising almost the whole of those subjects to which attention has been directed since its election urgently called for, as they have moreover been by the actual necessities of the country. The measures for raising necessary means to meet the quota of this island in the expenses of the intended judicial system, for providing salaries for certain prison officers, and revising the criminal code, continue to engage the attention of the house.

"For the delay, therefore, which has occurred subsequently to the passing by the house of the measures in question, the assembly is in no wise responsible, and consequently conceives itself exempted from the necessity of affording any explanation, although such delay has been to the house matter of concern and regret, feelings which have now been heightened by the information imparted by your excellency, that the same has attracted the notice of her Majesty's government.

"Impressed with a sense of the inconvenience and danger resulting from so anamolous a situation as is presented in the want of suitable laws for the government of the people, and anxious to afford every constitutional explanation to the constituency and to the executive government,

"This house had anticipated the demand contained in your excellency's message, and at a late meeting, ordered—'That there should be prepared and laid before it a return of all bills and resolutions passed by the house of assembly since its election in May, 1838,' &c., with a copy of which the house begs leave herewith to furnish your excellency."

House of Assembly, 8th November, 1839.

What are they doing at the colonial office! We learn from private sources that there is "dreadful work" at St. Lucia, in the West Indies, a state of things "striking at the very roots of good order and the prosperity of the colony;" and King Stephen is asleep! By the way, can it be true that this viceroy *over* my Lord John has been coaxed into a promise, that, if Governor Light should come home on leave, or should resign, Mr. Young, the colonial secretary, shall be his successor! Governor Light has for a long time lain very heavy on us, and on British Guiana; and we should not be the last to congratulate ourselves and that colony on the prospect of a change.

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY MEASURES OF GOVERNMENT: BRITISH FACTORIES ON THE NIGER.

Copy of a letter from the Right Hon. Lord John Russell to the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury.

Downing-street, Dec. 26th, 1839.

My Lords—The state of the foreign slave-trade has, for some time past, engaged much of the attention of her Majesty's confidential advisers. In whatever light this traffic is viewed, it must be regarded as an evil of incalculable magnitude; the injuries it inflicts on the lawful commerce of this country, the constant expense incurred in the employment of ships of war for the suppression of it, and the annual sacrifice of so many valuable lives in this service, however deeply to be lamented, are not the most disastrous results of this system. The honour of the British crown is compromised by the habitual evasion of the treaties subsisting between her Majesty and foreign powers for the abolition of the slave-trade; and the calamities which, in defiance of religion, humanity, and justice, are inflicted on a large proportion of the African continent, are such as cannot be contemplated without the deepest and most lively concern. The Houses of Lords and Commons have, in their addresses to the crown, expressed in the most energetic terms the indignation with which Parliament regards the continuance of the trade in African slaves, and their anxious desire that every practicable method should be taken for the extinction of this great social evil.

To estimate the actual extent of the foreign slave trade, is, from the nature of the case, an attempt of extreme difficulty; nor can anything more than a general approximation to the truth be made. But after the most attentive examination which it has been in my power to make of official documents, and especially of the correspondence communicated to parliament from the department of her Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, I find it impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the average number of slaves introduced into foreign states or colonies in America and the West Indies from the western coast of Africa annually, exceeds 100,000. In this estimate a very large deduction is made for the exaggerations which are more or less inseparable from all statements on a subject so well calculated to excite the feelings of every impartial and disinterested witness. But making this deduction, the number of slaves actually landed in the important countries affords but a very imperfect indication of the real extent of the calamities which this traffic inflicts on its victims. No record exists of the multitudes who perish in the overland journey to the African coast, or in the passage across the Atlantic, or of the still greater number who fall a sacrifice to the warfare, pillage, and cruelties by which the slave-trade is fed. Unhappily, however, no fact can be more certain, than that such an importation as I have mentioned pre-supposes and involves a waste of human life, and a sum of human misery, proceeding from year to year without respite or intermission, to such an extent as to render the subject the most painful of any which, in the survey of the condition of mankind, it is possible to contemplate.

The preceding statement unavoidably suggests the inquiry, why the costly efforts in which Great Britain has so long been engaged for repressing the foreign slave-trade have proved thus ineffectual? Without pausing to enumerate the many concurrent causes of failure, it may be sufficient to say that, such is the difference between the price at which a slave is bought on the coast of Africa, and the price for which he is sold in Brazil or Cuba, that the importer receives back his purchase-money tenfold on the safe arrival of his vessel at the port of destination. It is more than probable that the general profits of his trade, if accurately calculated, would fall exceedingly below this estimate, as indeed it is certain that in many cases it is carried on at a ruinous loss. But your lordships are well aware how powerful and constant an impulse may be given to any species of illegal traffic, however hazardous, when they who engage in it are allured by the hope of very large and quick returns, if their good fortunes could enable them to escape the penalties of the law. It may therefore be readily understood how effective is such a stimulus, when, as in the case in question, the law itself is regarded with general disfavour in the society to which the violator of it belongs, and is reluctantly executed by the government of that society. We must add to this exciting motive the security which is derived from insurances and insurance companies, which are carried on to a great extent and combine powerful interests. Under such circumstances, to repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil which can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties.

Her Majesty's confidential advisers are therefore compelled to admit the conviction that it is indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system, calculated to arrest the foreign slave-trade in its source, by counteracting the principles by which it is now sustained. Although it may be impossible to check the cupidity of those who purchase slaves for exportation from Africa, it may yet be possible to force on those by whom they are sold the persuasion that they are engaged in a traffic opposed to their own interests, when correctly understood.

With this view it is proposed to establish new commercial relations with those African chiefs or powers within whose dominions the internal slave-trade of Africa is carried on, and the external slave-trade supplied with its victims. To this end the Queen has directed her ministers to negotiate conventions or agreements with those chiefs and powers, the basis of which conventions would be, first, the abandonment and absolute prohibition of the slave-trade; and, secondly, the admission for consumption in this country, on favourable terms, of goods the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them. Of those chiefs, the most considerable rule over the countries adjacent to the Niger and its great tributary streams. It is therefore proposed to dispatch an expedition, which would ascend that river by steam-boats, as far as the points at which it receives the confluence of some of the principal rivers falling into it from the eastward. At these, or at any other stations which may be found more favourable for the promotion of a legitimate commerce, it is proposed to establish British factories, in the hope that the natives may be taught that there are methods of employing the population more profitable to those to whom they are subject, than that of converting them into slaves, and selling them for exportation to the slave traders.

In this communication it would be out of place, and indeed impracticable, to enter upon a full detail of the plan itself, of the ulterior measures to which it may lead, or of the reasons which induce her Majesty's government to believe that it may eventually lead to the substitution of an innocent and profitable commerce for that traffic by which the continent of Africa has so long been desolated. For my immediate purpose it will be sufficient to say that, having maturely weighed these questions, and with a full perception of the difficulties which may attend this undertaking, the Ministers of the Crown are yet convinced that it affords the best, if not the only, prospect of accomplishing the great object so earnestly desired by the Queen, by her parliament, and her people.

Having instituted a careful inquiry as to the best and most economical method of conducting the proposed expedition, I find from the enclosed communication from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that it will be necessary to build three iron steam-vessels for this service, and that the first cost of those vessels, including provisions and stores for six months, will amount to £35,000. It further appears that the annual charge of paying and victualling the officers and men will be £10,546

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The salaries of the conductors of the expedition, and of their chaplain and surgeon, will probably amount to £1000. In addition to this expenditure, presents must be purchased for the chiefs, and tents, mathematical instruments, with some other articles of a similar kind, will be indispensable for the use of the persons who are to be engaged in this service, when at a distance from their vessels. I have some time since given directions for the completion of this additional estimate, but with those directions it has not hitherto been found practicable to comply. The charge for this branch of the proposed service will not be very considerable.

I have to convey to your lordships my recommendation that in the estimates to be laid before the House of Commons for the services of the year 1840, the sums be included which are necessary to provide for the expenses of the proposed expedition to the Niger on the scale already mentioned, under the several heads of the expenditure. I have, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

NEW MEASURES AGAINST THE SLAVE-TRADE: LORD PALMERSTON'S ACT.

[The following despatches have been communicated to the Court of Policy in British Guiana.]

(Circular.)

Downing-street, 23rd September, 1839.

Sir,—I transmit to you herewith, for your information and guidance, copy of a letter from her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, together with copies of the letters addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty by Viscount Palmerston, signifying her Majesty's pleasure as to the measures which should be taken to give effect to the late act of the Imperial Parliament, for the suppression of the Slave-Trade.

As the commanders of her Majesty's cruizers *will receive instructions to send all vessels captured under the Portuguese flag, being concerned in the traffic in slaves, to the nearest British Port or settlement, where the negros found on board are to be immediately landed, and placed under the care of the Governor*, or other officer administering the government, I have to desire that you will make such arrangements as may be necessary for the care and support of any Africans who, under such instructions, may be landed and set free in the colony under your government.

You will, of course, understand that this instruction is not to supersede the directions with which you are provided for obtaining employment for Africans liberated by the capture of slave vessels, but it is intended only to indicate a temporary resource against destitution.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

J. RUSSELL.

Governor Light.

(Slave Trade.)

Foreign Office, 15th August, 1839.

My Lords,—I have received the Queen's commands, in conformity with her Majesty's recent answer to an address from the House of Lords, to signify to your lordships her Majesty's pleasure, that orders should immediately be given to her Majesty's cruisers employed in the suppression of the slave-trade, to seize, detain, and send in all vessels under the Portuguese flag, wherever met with, either north or south of the line, which may be found with slaves on board, or equipped for the slave-trade.

I suggest to your lordships that the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers should be *directed to send such vessels as above described to the nearest British port or settlement, and that the negros found on board such vessels should be immediately landed at the nearest British port or settlement*, and should be placed under care of the governor or other officer in command; and that the naval officers should be informed that further instructions will be sent to them, as to the manner in which the vessels and their cargoes, and the crews belonging to them, should be disposed of.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

To the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, &c.

(Slave Trade.)

Foreign Office, August 31st, 1839.

My Lords,—I transmit herewith to your lordships a copy of an act of Parliament, which has recently been passed for the suppression of the slave-trade; and I have to signify to your lordships her Majesty's pleasure, that the necessary steps be taken for establishing courts of Vice-Admiralty within her Majesty's dominions and colonies abroad, where such courts may be requisite for the adjudication of vessels which may be captured under the provisions of this act, and where such courts may not now exist.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

To the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, &c.

(Slave Trade.)

Foreign Office, 14th September, 1839.

My Lords,—With reference to my letter of the 15th of August, 1839, to your lordships, signifying her Majesty's pleasure that orders should be given to her Majesty's cruisers to seize and detain all Portuguese slave ships wherever met with, to send such vessels to the nearest British port or settlement, and to land the negros and place them under the care of the governor or other officers in command; I have to signify to your lordships *her Majesty's pleasure that orders should be given to the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers employed in the suppression of the slave-trade, that all vessels so detained shall be brought for adjudication before the court of Vice Admiralty established in that British colony, which may most easily be reached from the place of detention, or in that colony where the detained vessels might lie most safely during the trial*, and that the crews of such vessels be sent to that part of the Portuguese dominions to which it may be most convenient to convey them, in order that they may be delivered up to the Portuguese authorities; and if in any case it should be practicable, without material inconvenience, to send with these crews any evidence that would be sufficient to procure their conviction before a Portuguese tribunal, upon a charge of slave-trading, it would be desirable that such evidence shall be sent with them.

I have further to signify to your lordships her Majesty's pleasure that instructions be given to the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers above-mentioned, that if any vessel which they may have searched, in accordance with their instructions, shall be found to be engaged in slave-trade, or to be equipped for slave-trade, but to have no papers proving her to be entitled to the protection of any flag; and, therefore, it should be impossible for the captors to establish the competency of any mixed commission, or of the ordinary tribunals of any foreign country to take cognizance of such vessel, and to pronounce sentence upon her as belonging to the country for which such mixed commission, or such ordinary tribunal, is authorized to act; then, and in such case, the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers are to send such vessels, as in the case above-mentioned, for adjudication by some court of British Vice Admiralty, under the provisions of the Act of Parliament recently passed on this subject; and the slaves on board such vessels are to be landed in the colony or settlement to which the vessel may be so sent, and are there to be placed under the care of the governor, or other officer in command.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

To the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

COTTON AND SLAVERY.

(Extract from Mr. Thompson's 'Lecture at Darlington, for the British India Society. From the *Durham Chronicle*.)

THE economical bearings of the Anti-slavery question cannot be too closely studied by the abolitionists of the present day. If the question of free labour was important while slavery existed in our own colonies, it is doubly so now that we are called to act upon the slavery of other countries. We doubtless have it in our power to shake to their foundations those institutions of oppression which owe their existence to the pecuniary stimulus offered to the employment of coerced labour, by bringing into direct competition the products of free culture in British India. While our literature, our religious appeals, and our political treaties, are putting under the ban systems that are a disgrace to all concerned in their continuance, it is to the silent but sure operation of the competition I have referred to that we must look for the withdrawal of those motives which will otherwise be found to prevail, in spite of every other instrumentality. On this vitally important branch of the subject, I will to-night refer to the opinions of a party, perhaps, better qualified to judge of the comparative value of various agencies now in use than any other—I mean the abolitionists of the United States. They have the best opportunities of judging of the results of the various means that are employed to effect the downfal of slavery—more particularly of those which are employed on this side of the water. Let us, then, attend to what they say respecting the relation in which we stand to the foul system which they are seeking to destroy. Let us see what their views are concerning the probable results of a mild and fostering system of government in the East, and the encouragement of free labour tropical produce by the consumers of this country. In the preface to the first American edition of the late work of Mr. Buxton on the slave-trade, I find the following remarks and quotation:—

"By a vigorous and united effort, the slave-cursed cotton and rice of America might be excluded from British ports, to give place to the rice of Patna, and the cotton of Bengal. Our friends on the other side of the water have been reminded of their power and responsibility in this matter by one of their bitterest enemies, the slave proprietor Gladstone, who resisted in the British parliament to the last every measure of emancipation. In his speech on the 30th of March, 1838, against the abolition of the apprenticeship system, he thus taunted his zealous opponents:—'*You* (said the honourable gentleman) who are so sick with apprenticeship in the West Indies—*you* who cannot wait for twenty-four months, when the apprentices will be free, are you aware what responsibility lies upon *every one of you* at this moment, with reference to the cultivation of cotton in America? There are 3,000,000 of slaves in America. America does not talk of abolition, nor of the amelioration of slavery. It is a domestic institution which appears destined to descend to the posterity of that free people; and who are responsible for this enormous growth of what appears to be ETERNAL SLAVERY? Is it not the demand that creates this supply, and is it not the consumption of cotton from whence that demand arises? You consume 318,000,000lbs. of cotton which proceed from slave labour, and only 45,000,000lbs. which proceed from free labour; *that too, while you have the means in India, at a very little expense, of obtaining all you require* from free labour."

I have this day perused with no ordinary pleasure, an article in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, of the 24th October last, in which the importance and necessity of the movement in which we are engaged is convincingly set forth—not only by the amiable and gifted editor, but by an American cotton planter, in a letter which the editor quotes. I shall submit this article without abridgment; recommending it at the same time to the serious consideration of every individual who desires to be instrumental in pulling down the strongholds of slavery. While it convicts us of guilt and inconsistency, it also opens to us prospects of influence and usefulness which ought to animate us to instant exertion. The destinies of the slave are in our hands. We hold the key of his prison-house How long shall he look imploringly over the waves, and sorrowfully upbraid us with being the guardians of his dungeon! Is it true that "the speedy termination or indefinite extension and perpetuation of American slavery" depends upon the increase or discouragement of "cotton cultivation on the Peninsula of British India," and shall we longer treat as secondary and subordinate so plain and simple a remedy as that which is here pointed out and insisted upon! If in the days of

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ignorance such a course might be winked at, we are now called upon to repent, and to bring forth fruit meet for repentance.

I will now read this article, which should stand out in blazing characters before the eyes of this cotton-consuming community, as long as a slave is kept to grow the plant, and send its produce to our shores :—

COTTON AND SLAVERY.

We have before us the Charleston South Carolina Courier of the 12th inst., containing an article from the "South Carolinian" on the subject of the "Cotton Circular," of some of the planter politicians of the south and west. The plan proposed by the circular to effect a combination between the banking interests of the south and the great commercial cities and the cotton planter, whereby the former shall advance to the latter to nearly the value of his cotton, so as to enable him to hold it until the market is favourable, the writer strongly objects to, as based upon the assumption that the cotton planters as a class *are debtors*. He admits that such is the fact to a great extent in regard to the planters of the south-west—but maintains that there is also a large class in the south, who are not in debt, and stand in no need of bank advances to enable them to anticipate their annual income of cotton. He inquires somewhat significantly whether a combination to *keep up* the price of cotton would not almost necessarily produce combinations to keep it *down*, and suggests whether it might not make it the interest of consumers in France and Great Britain to *encourage and foster the production of cotton out of the United States* and beyond the reach of such combinations of banks and planters as are contemplated in the "Cotton Circular."

The concluding portion of the article is worthy of attention, as it may furnish the friends of emancipation with some hints as to the *great obstacle* now in the way of their object.

"The southern planter, if he confines himself to planting, *without speculation*, asks no aid from banks—his cotton will be his passport through the commercial world. By the blessing of Heaven, he is enabled to raise the noblest weed that was ever given for the comfort of the human family—a weed destined to make a new era in modern commerce, if those who raise it have spirit and virtue enough to scorn and defy the banking and speculative quacks of the day. *I have no idea that the slave-holding race could maintain their liberty or independence for five years without cotton.* It is that which gives us our energy, our enterprise, *our intelligence!* and commands the respect of foreign powers. The Egyptian may look with devotion to his Nile, as the source of the power and wealth of Egypt: the pilgrim and inhabitant of the Holy Land may bathe in the sacred Jordan, and take comfort in the belief that he has washed away his sins. The Hindoo may worship the lotus, under an idea that Vishnu created Bramah from its unfolded flowers: but a genuine *slaveholder in South Carolina*, will ever look with reverence to the cotton plant, as the source of his POWER and his liberty. All the parchments upon earth could never protect him from the grasping avarice and *financial fury* of modern society. If he expects to preserve the PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS of his country, and *transmit them to posterity*, he must teach his children to hold the *cotton plant in one hand and the sword in the other*, ever ready to defend it.

A COTTON PLANTER."

We hope the above paragraph will meet the eyes of British abolitionists. It will show them that they have a mighty responsibility in the question of the speedy termination or indefinite extension and perpetuation of American slavery. Cotton is now the great anti-abolition influence of this country. In whatever shape opposition to the cause of emancipation manifests itself—whether in the church or the state—in a mercantile or ecclesiastical association—*it may be traced directly back to the cotton-bale.* Were English and French manufacturers supplied with Indian or Egyptian cotton, the demand for slaves from Virginia and Maryland would cease—the growers of men and women for the cotton-planting region would find no market for their human staple,—and as a consequence, slavery would be unprofitable, and as another consequence, Virginia statesmen would begin to believe with Thomas Jefferson, "that all men are created equal;"—and Virginia divines—the Plummers and the Hills,—would very soon discover that slavery is incompatible with genuine Presbyterianism, whether of the old or the new school. *Slavery now lies entrenched behind its cotton-bags*—like General Jackson at New Orleans: and the efforts of British or even American abolitionists to dislodge it by moral suasion, we fear will prove as ineffectual as those of General Packenham, to force the cotton barricades of the American camp, on the 8th January, 1816. *We call, then, upon the abolitionists of Great Britain, to urge their government to foster and promote, to the extent of its power, the cultivation of cotton in the India.* By so doing, they will promote the true interest of their own country—they will confer an incalculable benefit upon ours—they will lift the crushed millions of India from their degradation—*and strike off the chains from three millions of American slaves.*

The present annual product of cotton in Asia is estimated at 190,000,000 pounds: that in Egypt at about 30,000,000. It is stated by Dr. Bowring, of England, that the slave-trade which has heretofore desolated one of the finest cotton tracts in the world—the confluence of the blue and white Nile—has been prohibited by Mehemet Ali; and that from henceforth the cultivation will go on without interruption. In this tract the finest cotton is found growing in the woods, uncultured by human hands. In the British possessions of the East, no longer weighed down by the monopoly of the East India Company, but open to enterprise, the cotton cultivation must necessarily receive a favourable impulse. WE CONFESS THAT ONE OF OUR MAIN RELIANCES, UNDER GOD FOR THE BLOODLESS TERMINATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY IS THE INCREASE OF COTTON CULTIVATION IN THE PENINSULA OF BRITISH INDIA.

THE OBERLIN INSTITUTE.

(From the London and Westminster Review. Art. The Martyr Age of the United States.)

The next year (1834) was a stirring year. The "Young Men" of the large cities began to associate themselves for the cause. Those of New York pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour, (in the language and spirit of the Declaration of Independence,) to overthrow slavery by moral assault, or die in the attempt. The most remarkable accession of young men to the cause was, however, from Lane Seminary, Cincinnati,—a Presbyterian college of high reputation, with the eminent Dr. Beecher to preside over it.

The students, most of whom were above one-and-twenty, and fifty of whom were above five-and-twenty years of age, discussed the abolition and colonization questions for eighteen evenings, and decided unanimously in favour of the former. The consequences of this decision no one will presume to calculate. Out of it has arisen the OBERLIN INSTITUTE, with the long train of benefits which have ensued, and will ensue, to freedom of thought, speech, and action, among the more privileged class of American citizens; to the education of the coloured race, in and out of the United States; and to the strengthening of the true principles of religion, in a community corrupted by the spirit of *caste*, and the passion for gain. The story is as follows. We give it partly in our own words, (for the sake of brevity) and partly in extracts from the "Statement of Reasons" put forth by the forty young men who withdrew from Lane Seminary, at this crisis of its principles and practice.

"The circumstances of our matriculation," they say, "were peculiarly impressive. We were connected with an institution freighted with the spiritual interests of the West. We were numerous, without a precedent in the beginnings of similar institutions. The Great Valley of the West was our expected field; and we assembled here that we might the more accurately learn its character, catch the spirit of its gigantic enterprize, grow up into its genius, appreciate its peculiar wants, and thus be qualified by practical skill, no less than by theological erudition, to wield the weapons of truth. But the responsibility of the post we providentially held, as the first class in a Theological Seminary, out-weighed all other considerations in our estimate of duty. The friends of the new institution expected of us that we should be letters of commendation to the Western churches, and that our scholarship, piety, and practical usefulness would be the earnests of its future success. Our probable influence over succeeding classes was also matter of deep solicitude. * * * * * We aimed, therefore, to make such a disposal of our influence as would contribute to place Lane Seminary upon high moral ground, and thus greatly elevate the standard and augment the resources of ministerial efficiency.

"As a primary step, we were led to adopt this principle, that *free discussion with correspondent effort is a* DUTY, *and, of course, a* RIGHT.

"We proceeded upon this principle without molestation, in our studies, and at our recitations and lectures.

"We applied it to missions, at home and abroad; and we *acted* immediately, through liberal contributions. We took up temperance. Discussion was needless; duty was plain, and we *acted*. With the Sunday School cause, we proceeded in like manner. Next moral reform came up. We examined it, in a series of adjourned meetings; light was elicited, principles were fixed, and *action* followed.

"With the same spirit of free enquiry, we discussed the question of slavery. We prayed much, heard facts, weighed arguments, kept our temper; and, after the most patient pondering, in which we were sustained by the spirit of sympathy, not of anger, we decided that slavery was a sin, and as such, ought to be immediately renounced. In this case, too, we *acted*."

A large number of these students were sons or brothers of slaveholders. Ohio borders on two slave states; and Lane Seminary looked for a large measure of its resources to that portion of American Society with which slavery was incorporated. Freely, therefore, as the students were permitted to act on every other moral question, this, of slavery, must be interdicted as dangerous. The Faculty forbade discussion and association on the question, from the moment the students began to employ their *leisure hours* in establishing Sunday schools, lyceums, and circulating libraries, among the free coloured population of Cincinnati, while the body of the trustees and professors were acting as partizans of the Colonization Society. While twenty-one out of the twenty-five of the trustees were members of the Colonization Society, and the president and his brother professors were making colonization speeches, which were circulated in the newspapers, they framed a set of laws repressive of speech and action on this subject among the students; and conferred an irresponsible power of expulsion on the executive committee. Though the new laws were aimed only at one subject, the students perceived that "they had driven the plough-share over the whole field of inquiry." There was no step left for the conscientious but to withdraw. They withdrew. Out of forty theological students, only two returned the next term: and of classical students, only five out of sixty. They withdrew, not with the tumult of spirits, and the head-strong self-will of unruly boys; but with the sobriety of thoughtful men, well aware of what they were doing; with the regrets of devoted students, forced away from the seat of learning, to do they knew not what, and go they knew not whither. They could not go home—those of them who came from slave states—for their lives would not have been safe. From the same circumstance of origin, their means were cut off. It is strange that the trustees and faculty of Lane Seminary did not foresee some of the consequences of their act. These young men went forth into the world with the highest characters. Dr. Beecher's (the president's) written words at this time were, "The students are a set of noble men, whom I would not, at a venture, exchange for any others." The faculty gave repeated assurances, up to the last moment, that the demeanour of the students was, without exception, respectful; and their conduct strictly lawful and orderly; and they granted certificates of the regular standing of each, on the withdrawal of the body. There had been no wrangling, no misunderstanding; and no censure could therefore attach to the character of the students. Their temper may be judged of by a passage of their farewell. "We leave Lane Seminary with sentiments of grateful affection for the advantages which, during our membership, it so largely afforded us; and, apart from the grief we feel in being obliged to withdraw from these advantages, our heart-felt sorrow is, that, in crushing the high and sacred principles of free inquiry, its ruling authorities have given a death-blow to the spirit of its glory, and have dragged it down to a dishonoured level with those institutions where mind becomes the crouching slave of prescription; institutions, in which the cries of liberty, prostrate and bleeding, and of truth, reviled and outlawed, are unheeded; but where all that fashion will countenance, and public favour applaud, and patronage support, and power defend, find ready admission, hearty welcome, and bountiful reward,—where siding with the strong against the weak, with the *doers* against the *sufferers* of wrong, is the stipulated condition of membership, and the sole passport to favour." Forty of them set about establishing a seminary where freedom of thought and speech might be secured, and whose doors should be open to students of all ranks, of every religious profession, and of

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every shade of colour. Out of the tyranny of Lane Seminary thus arose the freedom of the Oberlin Institute. The three sons of the President of Lane are active abolitionists. Lane drags on, with its array of professors and paucity of students; while the Oberlin numbers between four and five hundred students, (of any colour that pleases heaven,) and would be yet far more thronged, if only its means were as noble as its principles.

About forty of the band repaired to the forest, and set to work to clear a tract of land in the north-east part of Ohio, thirty miles from Cleveland. They first raised for shelter a long rough house of *slabs*;—that is, of split logs, the bark remaining on the outer half. The floor, sides, roof, and partitions, were made of these slabs. This building exists in its primitive state; and we hope it will be allowed to stand as it is, as long as the worm, and wind, and weather permit. They toiled in the forest during the winter of 1834—5. They had no endowments, and little pecuniary help. The fame of their virtue spread. Learned and accomplished men, whose hearts were as cultivated as their intellects, volunteered for the honour of being the instructors of such disciples, repaired to Oberlin, flung off their coats, felled trees for some hours of the day, and delivered lectures for the rest. Young men and women flocked to this spot in the forest, to beg such instruction as should fit them to be teachers to the coloured people; and when told that there were no funds, and seeing that there was not accommodation for the increasing numbers, the unfailing reply was, "I will provide for myself, if you will let me stay." Building went on rapidly; a substantial building with brick, containing ninety-two rooms, besides the barns and wooden dwellings, which were the first work of their hands. A practical farmer superintended the labour of the young men. The young women, whose number is about one-fourth of the whole, keep the house, the dairy, and the clothes, and have yet found time to learn whatever fits them to be school teachers in their turn; and some are sound Greek and Hebrew scholars.

The three hours manual labour per day, which is the rule of the institution, is supposed to be the chief cause of the excellent state of health maintained among its members—a state of health very unusual in a fresh forest clearing. The members themselves believe that their abstemious mode of living is also largely concerned in this effect. When the concourse of numbers, and the pressure of poverty became great, the members including the professors and their families) gave up first meat, (fermented liquors having been excluded from the beginning) and then coffee and tea. They live on the corn, garden vegetables, and milk, provided by their own labour; and they not only live, but thrive. When they have not money wherewith to buy new clothes, the best coats are lent about to those whose turn it is to go forth on excursions of business.

One student, Randall by name, laid down for their use all the money he had in the world, 2,500 dollars, and goes without as long as the institution is pressed. A farmer, at a great distance, was touched with the story of the founders of Oberlin, and drove over a cow—the only gift he could bestow. A farmer who lived eleven miles off in a good house, Jabez Burrell by name, invited the new comers, who could not be accommodated at Oberlin, to take up their abode with him. He boarded and lodged seventy for a year and a-half. His wife, worn out with the charge of such a household in so wild a region, fell a sacrifice. She died exhausted, but with perfect willingness. She went into the affair heart and hand with her husband, and preferred being worn out in such a cause to drawing back from it. Another settler, named John Holcomb, resident twenty-five miles from Oberlin, took in thirty students, with their professor, in the same manner, and for the same time. Other neighbours have given whatever they could,—money, time, labour of head and hands. Severely as the Oberlin has suffered from the pressure of the times, it seems as if it must be safe in the guardianship of its own principles, and of the faith and love of all who come within influence.

The President of Oberlin went to Boston on the business of the institution, at a time when the pressure on its resources was great, and its prospects very dark. He was offered a salary of 2000 dollars a year, if he would remain to minister in connexion with the Hall for Free Inquiry, lately erected in Boston. As a neighbour said, "they might as well have asked one of our old oaks to come up by the roots, and fix itself at Boston." He had no other thought than of going back to his chair and his plough; and there he is.

There is one vacation in the year at Oberlin; and during these three months the members are as hard at work as during any other season. They disperse themselves over the land, to discover where they are most wanted, and what new work is turning up for their hands to do. Wherever they go, the oppressed lift up their heads, and freedom smiles. They are the guardians of civil and religious liberty; and where they are seen, the despised and heart wounded people of colour feel as if suddenly camped about with angels. Some teach; some preach; some put the disheartened in the way of helping each other, and becoming strong by union: others organize schools, or establish anti-slavery libraries. Some repair to the West Indies, as teachers of our brethren of colour there. Others go among the same race in Canada, lifting up the intellect of the poor fugitives into a fitness for the state of freedom they have attained; or awaiting on the safe shore of the Canadian lakes and rivers the landing of the escaped slave, recording on the spot the facts of his wrongs, and sanctifying and directing into practice his first emotions on becoming free. At the end of the annual vacation, such students as can be spared from their new labours return to Oberlin. Those who can find no substitute, and cannot conscientiously quit their charge, defer their return till they can be relieved. All the members are free to go and come as they think right; and it does not appear that their studies suffer from this freedom. It might be anticipated that the vigour of principle on which they act, would do more for their intellects and mental habits than any rules and methods which serve a good purpose in ordinary cases; but there is positive testimony to the same effect. Judge Lane (Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio) conceiving it to be his duty to make himself acquainted with public educational institutions in his State, visited and examined the Oberlin, and gave it as the result of his investigation, that he had never known the same amount of mind more substantially and happily improved in the same space of time.

THE CAPTURED AFRICANS.—The decision of Judge Judson in this case is appealed against on behalf of the United States government. He is considered to have proceeded on an erroneous view of the law.

STATE OF JAMAICA.

WE are happy in being able to lay before our readers the following general view of this important island, as given by Mr. Grant, one of the stipendiary justices, in his reports of the 13th of June, and the 17th of July last. They are taken from the papers just laid before parliament, and stand out with some pre-eminence from other documents of the same class, by reason of the eulogy passed upon them in a subsequent despatch of the noble secretary for the colonies. On the 9th of September, Lord John Russell thus writes to Sir Charles Metcalfe:—"The report, dated 10th June, of Mr. Grant, the magistrate for Manchester and Clarendon, is very clearly drawn up, and contains information well deserving of attention. The same gentleman's subsequent report of 17th July is also interesting." These clear and interesting reports are as follows:—

Manchester, June 10th, 1840.

To prove that the negro knows the value of his time, and that he is anxious to make the most of it, I refer to the frequent proofs I have given of the extraordinary quantity of labour performed by individuals in a day, and state that those instances are still of very frequent occurrence.

I often hear persons complain that they are not at work several days in the week, and at the same time declare that this is not at all injurious to their properties, as they complete their jobs rapidly when they are at work.

When a planter cannot complain of the people on his own property, he must complain of the people on his neighbour's. In answer to a question whether he is doing well, he will reply, 'Why, I am doing very well; I cannot complain; but Mr. Such-a-one is doing very badly; very badly indeed; and I am afraid, if there is not a reaction, and that very soon, we shall all be ruined.' Go to the Mr. Such-a-one, and he is very likely to tell you that *he* is doing pretty well, but that his neighbour is not doing so well. Thus it is, every man minds his neighbour's business more than his own; and so long as this system of interference with each other is pursued, so long will the real state of the country be misrepresented.

Among the misrepresentations are many which are stamped with their own refutation. Amidst a zeal to alarm the Government and the English people, persons are sometimes led beyond the bounds of prudence. Of this nature is one of Mr. Burge's late despatches to the Colonial Secretary, in which he states that there was a total cessation of labour, although fair wages had been offered, while, in the same paragraph he asserts that the proprietors had been impressed with the truth of the assertion by the vast amount of bills drawn since the 1st of August; as if the bills could have been for anything but labour already performed and paid for.

I have remarked that the persons who are loudest in proclaiming the deplorable state of the country, are the very persons who grasp more firmly the property they have in it, and, if they have the means, are most willing to purchase more. This may be honest. They may be doing this without any sinister motive. I know one of them who purchased a property about three years ago. He was lately offered nearly treble the amount he gave for it. Did he take it? No; but in the same breath he would assert that the country was ruined.

In Clarendon, matters are going on pretty well, but there are some of the properties in the mountains of that parish on which the manufacture of sugar cannot be carried on with profit adequate to the outlay of money and trouble attendant on the cultivation, and on the difficulties and expenses of the embarguidiar. It is well known that, during slavery and apprenticeship, the debts due on many properties mortgaged to English merchants accumulated annually. This, although detrimental to the interest of the *proprietor*, was not so to the *merchant*. It secured to him, *at an annual loss* to the proprietor, freight for his ships, interest for his money, commissions for his trouble, and the monopoly of the estate's supplies. It was, therefore, the interest of the *merchant* to keep up the cultivation of poor and badly situated properties, though they were profitless in every respect to the absent proprietor. Now, I fancy, matters will be different. The debts of the proprietor, instead of having diminished on their first amount, having accumulated to a greater sum than the estate is worth, the property will likely be sold, and another staple resorted to, maintaining a proper relation between expenditure and profit.

We will suppose that there is one-fourth less of the population at work in producing and manufacturing the staple productions, than under the slavery or apprenticeship systems. It is well known that, to prove the impossibility of successful agriculture, persons pointed to the diminution of field labourers immediately subsequent to the 1st of August. A sufficient period of time has elapsed since the termination of the apprenticeship to prove the fallacy of such opinion or assertion. In the first place, no comparison can be drawn between the exertions of a slave and a free man, between compulsory and voluntary labour. It has happily been even already shown that the great stimulus to exertion is self-interest, that money is found to be a far more powerful excitement to industry than any which has yet been had recourse to. If it is therefore proved that the result of the money stimulus has been extra exertion, it necessarily follows that fewer persons are required to carry on, under the voluntary system, cultivation to the same extent as that carried on under the compulsory.

I have said that the fact has been proved. I refer to the state of this parish, and the new coffee lands fallen and planted. This will prove, too, that the planters do not consider the wages to be too high, for it cannot be supposed that addition would be made to previous cultivation, if it could not be done at such a rate as to ensure to the persons interested, if not profit at all events indemnification from any loss

I believe, that, in communication to the island agent, through the commissioners of correspondence, the progress of agriculture, and the present and future anticipated condition of the country, has been tested by the number of persons actually engaged in agricultural labour since the 1st of August. This might, I allow, have been done with a conscientious *intention* to show the actual existing state of affairs. But I may be allowed to ask, whether it is fair, whether it is honest, to take the weekly average of persons at work from the 1st day of August to the date on which the return was made up, and only to insert in this average list the persons at work who were *formerly attached* to the property, *leaving out strangers*, and to compare *this* with the weekly average return of persons at work

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during the whole term of the apprenticeship, including *jobbers from other properties*, weakly and ineffective labourers, such as *diseased persons, pregnant women*, and *children?*

I know a property where this return was called for, and will show what it was likely to be. Out of 70 or 80 apprentices, about 10 or 12 efficient persons only remained under the free system. Jobbers had always been employed during the apprenticeship, with the resident work-people; the weekly average number of labourers at work during that term, we may suppose to have been at least 200. When under the free system, perhaps, as the average was taken from the first day on which the people were free agents, and was reduced by dividing the number employed by the number of weeks in the interval between the requirements of labour, and only included persons who were the former slaves or apprentices of the plantation, it would not exhibit more than 20 or 25 in each week at work.

Mr. Burge called for 'facts.' This would be a fact. 'During the term of apprenticeship I had, on an average, 200 labourers each week. Since the commencement of the free labour system, on an average, only 20 or 25 of my people have been at work.' It is, of course, quite unnecessary to mention that the property is in better order than it ever had been during the apprenticeship, and that this was done by labourers from other properties, who had completed the work on their own plantations. 'Facts' were required, but it was unnecessary to mention this.

At Green Vale, a similar return could very likely have been made out, had the gentleman in charge of that property been desirous to show one fact and suppress another, and that the only one of importance, the fact of the property's being in good or bad order. It will be observed in the letter which I annex from the overseers, number 2, that, in regard to the cultivation of the property, he says, 'I am very happy to inform you that the property is in very fine order at present, and has been so since the apprenticeship system ceased;' but in reference to the general conduct of the peasantry resident on the property, he says, 'I am very sorry to say that very little work has been done by them; *it is mostly done by strangers.*" This is an error to which I have previously alluded.

I have no doubt, in furnishing the island agent, through the Commissioners of Correspondence, with 'facts,' the Manchester gentlemen who undertook that responsible task have communicated the important and pleasing intelligence that, in the first year of freedom, 1,200, tierces of coffee were shipped in Alligator Pond over the number shipped in the last year of slavery; *i. e.*, 2,100 were shipped in 1833, and 3,300 in 1839.

In regard to the question of rent, I beg to be permitted to observe, that the people have no idea that they are to have their houses and grounds rent free. There may be a few instances of a disinclination to pay, but not from any idea that the houses and grounds are their own. His excellency may remember the rent-toll for the first quarter, appended to my despatch for the month of January; and on 'Hermitage,' a property belonging to Dr. Porter, and under the managment of Mr. Davy, the first quarter's rent became due on the 1st of February, and was immediately arranged for. On the 1st of May, the day on which the second quarter's rent became due, the people walked up in a body, and arranged their different debts. But the most interresting fact with which I have become acquainted, and one which proves that not even *the disabled* believe themselves to be exempt from this tax on their resources, is the following:—The first quarter's rent became due to the proprietor of a property, on which were resident two men with very sore legs, and one man with only one hand. They went to consult the overseer, and inquired in what manner they could earn sufficient means to settle their rents. The overseer told them they could break stones for the public roads, for which he would pay them 4½d. sterling per barrel. They agreed, commenced, have continued since at the same labour, paid their rent, and have besides, earned sufficient profits for the means of existence.

There is a system adopted by some persons in charge of properties of charging what the negros call "head money;" i. e. every one resident on a property above twelve years of age is compelled to pay so much per week. For instance, if the father of a family happens to be in possession of one house and one ground, himself, his wife, and each of his children are required to pay the "head money." The people are, of course, perfectly willing to pay the annual, quarterly, monthly, or weekly real value; but this is not sufficient. The "head money," as they term it, must be exacted. I fancy a Scotchman or an Englishman would be a little discontented had he to pay rent, not having reference to the value of his house and garden, but to the number of children with which he might happen to be burthened.

At Grove Place, one of the largest properties in the parish, where the "head money" is rigorously exacted, (although the receiver was urged to allow them to pay according to the value of their houses and grounds,) some of the ablest of the people were working on an adjoining property lately, and said that they could not afford to work on the property on which they resided, as "head money" was charged; and that they were compelled to go oftener to their grounds to make them worth the money. Thus are the plantations deprived of labour, the proprietors' land destroyed, and thus is the labourer induced to employ his time in an occupation which does not, I am confident, fairly remunerate him.

I observe a great desire among the negros to purchase land, which they have been enabled to effect at about six pounds per acre. Several hundred acres have been sold at Porus Savannah, on the border of Clarendon. A number of houses have been built there since the 1st of August; and the population of the village must already exceed 1000. It is daily extending, and the population increasing; and, as it is likely to be of importance to the parish, I will, at some future period, give a more particular account of it.

I am happy to say that the "head-money" system, to which I have alluded, is giving way to a more just arrangement, and I trust will speedily be abolished. There is in existence another practice which I conceive to be highly impolitic; that of resorting to a system of mixed incidents in the terms of labour, by charging rent to persons that do not work, and by exempting others that do work, on the property. Among the evils which such a plan must generate is this: it operates as a distinction of favour and disfavour; and, as paying rent is always associated with some misunderstanding, which has led the labourer to seek his market for work off the property in consequence of employment being refused him on his own plantation, it fixes a stamp of disgrace on the individual who, among a number of exempted persons, is called upon to pay rent. It is not the injustice, but the invidiousness and impolicy of the system which is reprehensible.

I fear I have already trespassed on his excellency's valuable time; but I cannot close this communication without adverting to the cry raised at present in reference to fire-arms. That there is any proof of a mischievous intention on the part of the peasantry in their desire to possess guns I utterly deny.

People who contemplate wrong generally conceal their means of effecting it. The negro carries his gun in open day. But were there ground to fear, the absence of law would render interference unavailing: and attacks on official character can only bring about a publication of their inability legally to interfere, and must tend rather to encourage than check the evil, if it be an evil.

In such a change as has been effected in this country, amidst the difficulties and doubts which must still arise on many points, we had a right to expect that those who are interested in property should have adopted a manly and courageous course. The avidity and timidity with which the unfounded report of resistance to constables, another (I believe) equally unfounded report of a threat to kill certain individuals in this parish, of which statements have already been forwarded to his excellency, will, I fear, be accepted in future days as full proofs that those who ought to have laboured most zealously and bravely in the establishment of freedom, have not been true to their own interests.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. W. GRANT,
Stipendiary magistrate for the parishes of Manchester and Clarendon.

Richard Hill, Esq.

Manchester, 17th July, 1839.

The parish is in a state of perfect tranquillity—and every day is developed some new proof of the superiority of free labour and unrestricted competition.

Too much has been expected by persons interested in Jamaica property, in the first year of freedom. I am aware this was not the case at first: but when many things were accomplished which they did not, and could hardly have expected, they fancy they have a right to look for as much more than has been accomplished, as what has been accomplished exceeded their first expectations. While I say this, I should be unjust, did I not state that, however few, there are exceptions. I have been favoured with the perusal of a letter from a most respectable proprietor in England to his attorney in this island, whose permission I have to insert in this report the following extract: "Your letter of the 16th February last I duly received, and can hardly express how much pleasure and satisfaction it afforded. To find that our affairs were going on well, after the unfavourable accounts we saw in the newspapers, and heard from private sources, was really more than I expected; and to find from one so well qualified as yourself of judging how the new system would work, that you did not disapprove of it, but, on the contrary, thought it would work well, was truly gratifying; and I am quite sure, if the negros will work industriously, and do *their* part, it is the duty of all the proprietors to do *theirs*, for I have no notion that every benefit, and all the wealth of the West Indies, is to be drawn from thence without a corresponding return, and I for one would never join in such measures. I therefore hope you will do for me whatever your sense of justice and liberality requires, to instruct them in religion, virtue, and industry: for I am well assured all this will be required at our hands by that Almighty Being who is the author and giver of all good things."

The language of the writer speaks so much for the benevolence of his heart, that any comment on it from me is unnecessary, and would, I think, be uncalled for. I will merely remark, that, if there were many more proprietors possessed of the same feelings in reference to the great work in progress, matters would be very different to what they are at present in this island.

It is only to be hoped such daily accessions will be made to the thin numbers of the supporters of an enlightened and true system, that the day is near at hand when *all* parties will acknowledge the truth, that the successful cultivation and highest prosperity of the island must be preceded by the establishment of true and unrestricted freedom.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. W. GRANT, Stipendiary Justice.

Richard Hill, Esq.

DINNER OF THE FRENCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE DEPUTATION FROM THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A dinner was given at Paris on the 10th, by the principal members of the French Anti-Slavery Society, to Messrs. Scoble, Alexander, and Whitehorn, the delegates of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Amongst the distinguished persons present, were M. Odillon Barrot, Count d'Harcourt, Peer of France; Messrs. Delamartine, Count Charles de Remusat, de Sade, George Lafayette, Baron Roger, de Corcelles, de Beaumont, the Marquis de Tracy, de Tocqueville, Isambert, and Saint Anthoine. More than two-thirds of the company were members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Over the head of M. Odillon Barrot, who presided, was a flag bearing the names of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Macauley.

M. Odillon Barrot made a very eloquent speech—I give you one of the principal passages. Addressing the English delegates he said—"Gentlemen, I am most happy to see you here as the representatives of a country which first advocated the great cause of emancipation. France, gentlemen, will follow your example in a cause which combines justice and interest with humanity. May the alliance between France and England be imperishable."

M. Lamartine, president of the society for the abolition of slavery, in his speech, said, "every one has been calumniated in this cause—the English, the colonists, the slaves, and ourselves. England has been unworthily calumniated. Have we not heard it a hundred times repeated that all the efforts of England in favour of Negro emancipation, and the twenty millions which she gave for that purpose, were mere selfish speculation, to get rid of colonies of her own that she did not care for, and so ruin our colonies that she envied? [Chateaubriand was one of the utterers

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of this stupid calumny.] Generous spirits of Wilberforce, and Pitt, and Fox, and Canning, whose names I see inscribed on the flags which adorn this *fete*, you little thought, when you were plotting this sacred conspiracy, and extending your humane agitation through your own country and through Europe—you little thought it would be said that you were merely labouring to get some millions of English massacred by their slaves, in order to consume three or four petty French colonies in a general conflagration. Pardon should be asked of God and time for such monstrous calumnies. What now do we press for? Emancipation and indemnity—indemnity which all parties interested must be taxed to pay—that is, the state, the colonists, and the slaves themselves. This is a question of even more than the abolition of slavery, it is one of union between France and England, and of that European fraternity of which we are all missionaries. A mean and jealous policy, which would allow no place in the world to others than ourselves—a policy inspired by old national antipathies, in vain endeavours to separate England and France—two countries, which, together, form the pedestal of the rights of the human race. The liberty of the world stands with one foot on the soil of Britain, the other on the land of France. If the countries separate, liberty falls once more to the ground in an ocean of blood. But it is impossible. This meeting is a proof that the sentiments of the two countries meet in a sphere of ideas above those of vulgar rivalry, comprehending their common mission of liberty and civilization. They are united in that sympathy and intelligence which God alone can inspire. Are not ideas and sympathies the first and highest of interests? The great men and the generous feelings of the two nations will keep them united, in despite of the rivalry of cabinets and vulgar interests."

☞ Mr. Scoble, in acknowledging the honour which the distinguished company had conferred on the deputation, took occasion to observe, that, whatever might ultimately be decided by the Chambers on the subject of the indemnity, he trusted the Negros would never be compelled to pay for their freedom, either in whole or in part; as it would be inhuman, unjust, and contrary to the honour and dignity of France for one moment to entertain such a proposition. In reference to the proposed apprenticeship, which has been deemed necessary to prepare the Negros for freedom, Mr. Scoble said, they dared not place the right of the slave to liberty on any other ground than the constitution of man's nature, which unfitted him for any other state than that of freedom—on the eternal principles of justice which rendered his liberty inviolable and indefeasible, and on the divine law which denounced every form of oppression and wrong, and which forbade us to do evil that good might come. He earnestly intreated the friends of the Negros whom he had the honour to address, to pause before they recognized the doctrine of a right of property in man by giving compensation to the slave holder, and stedfastly to resist every measure which had for its basis an apprenticeship. Mr. Scoble cordially reciprocated the noble and generous sentiments which had been uttered, and trusted, that the union of two such great empires such as England and France would advance the civilization, the happiness, and the liberty of the world.

SCHEME OF THE JAMAICA ASSEMBLY FOR GETTING RID OF THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRACY.

(From the *St. Jago Gazette.*)

Of the numerous absurd and unjust schemes which, to the injury and agitation of the community, have been proposed and entertained since the abolition of slavery on the memorable 1st of August, 1834, that of the substitution of six lawyers for the present stipendiary magistracy is, *par excellence*, at once the most absurd and the most unjust. The cause of humanity, the British government, the negro population, the very planters themselves owe a heavy debt of gratitude to these gentlemen. To their exertions, to their patience, and to their straightforward course, through good and evil report, are to be attributed the present orderly conduct of the labouring population, and the rapidly improving prospects of the island. To remove these functionaries altogether, would be an experiment fraught with danger, to replace them by others would be an act of gross injustice. Neither one, nor the other, we are persuaded, is seriously contemplated, or will be permitted by the British government. In the paid magistracy alone, have the labouring population any confidence. To them do they carry all their grievances, and refer all their complaints, in every district in the island. Their discontent and dissatisfaction is apparent when they are absent from the bench. We are no alarmists, but we do not hesitate to say, that *the removal of the present stipendiary body would be regarded by the negros as the withdrawal by the home government of its protection from them.* Distrust, dissatisfaction, and ill-feeling, would immediately succeed to the implicit confidence and entire good will which they now entertain towards the British authorities.

Her Majesty's government is well aware that the present legislature of Jamaica is identical with that which existed during slavery, almost the same men returned by the same constituency, the very body, in fact, which resisted the emancipation of the slave with such uncompromising pertinacity, the members of the famous Colonial Union, the opponents successively of Lord Mulgrave, Lord Sligo, and Sir Lionel Smith.—That they should be true to the creed they have all along professed, that they should maintain that, in all disputes between employer and labourer, the late master and the late slave, the sole power of adjudication may be safely left in the hands of the former, that is of themselves, is certainly not a matter for wonder: but that the British government should, with ordinary knowledge of mankind, and after the experience, as regards these men in particular, of the last six years, have become converts to the same opinion, requires faith of no ordinary dimensions. *Credat judæus apella.* They have too much regard for the prosperity of the island, and its profitable connexion with the mother country. The experiment, we contend, is much too rash to be attempted.

It is a great mistake to suppose that a general dislike is entertained to the stipendiary magistracy. The whole body of the labouring population, and nine-tenths of the other classes, have full confidence in them. Let the peaceable and orderly disposition and conduct of the lately emancipated peasantry in the absence of a police force, during a whole year, bear testimony to their influence. By labouring assiduously to instruct the new freemen in the nature of their duties, as well as in the extent of their rights, they have succeeded in teaching them to rely solely on the law and, when injured or deceived, to forego all thoughts of seeking redress from any other source.

If the duties of the stipendiary magistracy are invidious and obnoxious, will those of their substitutes be less so? If the former have incurred the dislike of the late slave owner in the execution of the laws, which they have administered with so much success, who will ensure the honesty and probity of the latter from a similar return?

Can the services of the special magistrates be so soon forgotten? The thirty deaths, and almost as many resignations in the course of three years. How many parents are now mourning for their children? How many desolate widows, and destitute orphans have these premature deaths thrown on the wide world? Are the repeated thanks of the two late governors, nay, of the British government itself, to be considered of no weight in their favour?

Are the proposed barristers and attornies-at-law, the latter carefully excluded by the practice of Great Britain even from a seat on the bench in ordinary cases, likely to be purer and more incorrupt in Jamaica, than any other class of the community? Are they likely to be better acquainted with the character of the people, the peculiar relations of the island, or even with the common routine of their duty than men, some of whom have had the benefit of six years of experience? How, moreover, are these six lawyers to get through their multifold duties? They are, as has been remarked in another paper, it seems, to be chairmen of quarter sessions, of which there are throughout the island, seventy-two in the course of the year. The same six are to assist at all petty sessions of the peace, of which there are at least twelve, or two to each lawyer, held every day in the year that is not a holiday. Not to dwell on the fact that the whole of their time would necessarily be spent in the mere travelling, thirty miles often intervening between one place of session and the other. *Ohe jam satis est!*

LIBERATED AFRICANS IN DOMINICA.

London, 24th January, 1840.

My dear Sir,—Agreeably to my promise, whilst lately in Birmingham, I now forward you an account of the particulars, so far as they have come within my personal knowledge and observation, relating to the introduction, the disposal, general treatment, and conduct of certain natives of Africa in the island of Dominica, the place of my residence.

In the month of April, 1837, the Portuguese brig *Don Francisco*, was captured off Dominica by her Majesty's armed brigantine *Griffon*, Captain D'Urban, having on board 433 Africans embarked at *Widah*. The slaver being deemed, and on close inspection proving, not in a condition to proceed further, was brought to, and moored in the Bay of Roseau, our capital town, where the unfortunate captives were disembarked, and placed under the care and protection of S. Bridgewater, Esq., collector of the customs of the island.

I went on board of the slaver before the people were disembarked, and the scene that presented itself was one of unmitigated horror, enhanced, if possible, by the contrast afforded between the ghastly appearance and naked bodies of the children of Africa on the crowded deck, and the healthy and well clad appearance of the descendants, and probably some natives of the same unhappy region, congregated a few yards off on the beach. It was consolatory, however, to reflect, that those unhappy beings were now under the safeguard of the *British* flag.

A large public building being prepared for their reception, the Africans were landed, and it was pleasing to witness the alacrity with which the lower orders of the inhabitants flocked and pressed to the boats as they successively touched the shore, with trowsers, gowns, chemises, pieces of cloth, &c., for the poor wretches to cover themselves with.

After the lapse of a few days, during which every attention was paid to their comfort, the collector announced that he would receive applications with a view to their distribution among the respectable inhabitants. Applications poured in for a number treble that of the Africans: the collector judiciously consulted his own knowledge of the parties, and their circumstances in life.

The commandant of the garrison forces had the first choice of the men, destined to recruit the West India regiment. The nature and circumstances of a soldier's life and those of the agricultural labourer were explained to them through an interpreter, and such as preferred to be soldiers were shortly after sent to Trinidad: these were between 90 and 100.

The bulk of the remainder were distributed among the proprietors, chiefly of sugar estates, whilst the balance, consisting principally of the young females, was allotted to respectable families and the shopkeepers of the town. It is worthy of remark, that the females, when they came to understand the sort of labour destined for them, strongly and unanimously objected to be sent to the *plantations*, protesting that in their country *women* did not till the soil, giving help only in harvest time: the men confirmed this statement, and indeed it was with some difficulty, when located on the estates, that these females could be induced to change their former habits. I am happy to say, however, that no measures of severity were resorted to on this score—the example of our own female labourers and the mild persuasion of the masters, soon overcoming the difficulty.

It is perhaps the most remarkable feature in the history of the whole transaction, that this distribution took place, and remained unmolested long after, without either of the parties, the master or the African, knowing the precise terms on which their connexion rested, beyond the engagement of the one to afford the necessaries of life, and a half-understood promise on the other part to requite this with manual labour. How long this was to continue, any more than the exact quantum of these necessaries of life, or the extent of duties on the part of the servant, was not settled. It was understood, however, that a correspondence was on foot between the administrator of the local government and the Governor-in-chief, Sir William Colebrooke, having for object the settlement of the relative duties and obligations of the parties. The planters and others to whom the Africans were distributed were, in general, favourable to an apprenticeship for some years, and many months elapsed before it came to be definitely known that the government would not consent to any such apprenticeship. So far as I can recollect, no *formal* communication was made to those having these Africans, or to the Africans themselves, that the parties were thus in a position which enabled them to separate at pleasure their connexion. I should therefore say that the Africans as a body, considered themselves up to the 1st of August, 1838, the period of the abolition of the general apprenticeship, under some undefined restraint, arising probably from the

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official character of the distribution, although I would not attribute to this feeling the permanency of their location on the several estates to which they were sent in the first instance, but rather to the stronger and better motive of a cheerful contentment under the influence of kindly treatment, to the general exercise of which I am happy to bear testimony. During this sort of probation, Sir William Colebrooke kept a watchful and constant eye over their treatment.

On the estates, the plan adopted in general, was to distribute the new comers among the married and best conducted families of the labourers: these were quite glad to receive them, and became their godfathers and godmothers, making it their first and especial care to teach their *protéges* the catechism and the Lord's prayer. The weekly alimentary allowances were handed to these sponsors.

The Africans soon became acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the fellow-labourers that surrounded them, and looked forward to the approaching period of general freedom with almost as much anxiety as the apprenticed labourers, calculating it as the period, not so much of their own liberation, as one that was to bring them *wages* instead of *allowances*. Accordingly, on the 1st August, 1838, after remaining in this non-descript condition for fifteen months, by common consent on both sides, they continued on their several settlements, working on wages as the other labourers of the island, with a clear understanding that they could leave when they pleased.

I come now to the conduct and general deportment of these people. This is a point on which all parties in the island are agreed: they have been peaceable, obedient, industrious. We had six on our estate—one died a few days after location of the small-pox—the remaining five are still there, and *no fault whatever* has ever been found with any of them. Up to April, 1839, the period of my temporary departure from the island, two years, therefore, since their introduction into the island, there had been precisely *one* case of criminal prosecution against one of these Africans, for assault, and I never heard of any offences on their part becoming the subject of magisterial punishment. For the first twelvemonths, the deaths among them, according to a return officially prepared, were, so far as my memory serves me, *five*.

Their intelligence, acuteness, and aptitude, in acquiring the languages, current in the island, form another topic worthy of remark. In the course of *a couple of weeks*, the little girls (generally about twelve years), placed with the shopkeepers of the town, were seen going about with a variety of articles on sale. Taking peculiar interest in the progress of their civilization, I made inquiries on all sides, and understood that they acquitted themselves so well and so honestly of the task, with which they themselves were quite delighted that they were preferred for this sort of employment to the little natives. I can state positively, than in less than three months, all those domiciled in towns, could speak the creole French, or English currently, and without any embarrassment, as they happened to be with French or English families; very many spoke both with equal fluency, within six months. Here I will mention what a magistrate of the island declared. This gentleman, although settled in the island some twelve years, could neither speak nor understand the creole French. He had in his family one of these girls, about thirteen years, who, in the course of some six or eight months, would interpret to him in English the statements of persons lodging complaints as conveyed in the creole French.

Upon the whole, then, these Africans comprise a body of peaceable subjects, and contented and industrious labourers, forming a valuable accession to the manual strength of our labouring population, still meagre as compared with our cultivable surface, I do not think there is an instance of any of them having abandoned agricultural pursuits for domestic avocations.

What a contrast between such a condition and the miserable fate that awaited them a few hundred miles north-west of Dominica.

Yours truly, JOSEPH FADELLE.

To JOSEPH STURGE, Esq,

WEST INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The purchasing of estates by emancipated labourers goes on rapidly. The *Royal Gazette* contains a petition from sixty-three persons of this class, who have jointly purchased an estate of 500 acres, called North Brook, for the sum of 10,000 dollars or £2000. sterling—something more than £30. each, and all saved since emancipation. The object of their petition is that Governor Light will intercede with her Majesty, that the new owners may call the estate Victoria. They ask also for the help of the crown surveyor, to prevent all disputes in dividing land into equal allotments, on which they say they mean to build cottages, and they promise to work on estates as before. They will be freeholders of about nine acres each.

Mr. EDWARD CARBERY had been appointed immigration agent for Demerara, at a public meeting in Georgetown. He had reported very favourably of the prospects of obtaining a supply of labour from the United States. Writing from Baltimore, Mr. Carbery says—

"Had I authority to charter a vessel, I could get her filled immediately. I have since understood, that the expence of feeding these people during the voyage to Demerara would not exceed five or six dollars. My pamphlet is printed, and will be distributed to-morrow at the different meeting-houses. I have met the principal people, &c. here; and they are ready to afford their co-operation, being convinced that the condition of those who go will be improved.

"I am informed that about 10,000 of the free coloured population of Baltimore are agriculturists, who obtain partial employment in the spring and summer, but are very destitute during the winter; those who have trades are also badly off, for white mechanics will not work with them. My informant, a highly respectable coloured man, thinks that emigration would be a great boon to these people, and that they would gladly avail themselves of it, not only in the city, but generally through the State. Extensive emigration to the West Indies would meet with warm support from the Southern slave-holder, because it would tend to enhance the value of slaves, by withdrawing the cheapest description of labour from the market, and because he considers the presence of a free coloured population not likely to increase the contentment, the industry, or the subordination of his slaves. Judging from the information I have received, from my own observation, and the effect of Mr. Burnley's pamphlet, I think great numbers of these people will emigrate to Trinidad, and to British Guiana also, if similar encouragement be given. The disallowance of the Emigration Bill puts it out of my power to run the risk of chartering vessels, without I have authority so to do; yet so impressed am I with the conviction that great numbers of tradesmen and labouring people can be obtained from this country, that I shall put myself into communication with the coloured classes at New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and endeavour to prevent their attention being solely occupied by the statements of Mr. Burnley. I deeply regret I am not in a position to charter a vessel at once, and send her to Demerara, with emigrants on colonial account; this would at once direct the attention of these people exclusively to us, and prevent their thoughts being engrossed as they at present are, by Trinidad."

By the last arrivals from British Guiana, we learn that upwards of two thousand pounds have been subscribed by the planters, to enable Mr. Carbery to carry his project into effect, and that the sum was likely to to be considerably increased.

The *Berbice Advertiser* of the 2nd of December speaks in the following terms of the crops in desolate (!) Guiana:—

"The crops we understand, are very fine in this district. The coffee trees are covered with an abundance far more than can ever be gathered in, although we hear that the people are working very well, generally, indeed. The inducement to labour is very great, when the wages given are so high, and particularly so on a coffee plantation. We understand from very good authority, that it is no unusual thing for an active man and his wife to pick four and five baskets of coffee a day, and in some cases their children pick two or three, according to their number and strength, which, at a guilder a basket, is equal to ten or eleven shillings a day, and this with no more effort than thousands of families in England have to make to earn three shillings per day. These are truths worthy of consideration with persons desirous of immigrating to our shores.

We hear that one very large estate near town will make more sugar this year than was made in the last year of slavery. So much for ruin! We understand also, that another large estate near town, on which they used to make ten hogsheads of sugar in five days in the time of slavery, is now, in the same time, making twenty hogsheads of sugar. We are not aware that there have been any additional labourers on this estate since the period of freedom; but we hear that the secret of it is, that the comforts of the people as labourers are studied by their employers, whose highest policy it is to do so, as the aforementioned fact fully shows, which certainly speaks much for the working of the free system, as it shows what it might do if it were properly carried out."

TRINIDAD.—The *Trinidad Standard* mentions, that several fresh arrivals of immigrants had taken place, both from Europe and the United States; and that the arrivals within the year were calculated at two thousand pounds. The same paper tells us, that some of the early immigrants from the United States have performed three tasks per day; from which the editor triumphantly draws the "important inference of the superiority of free over slave labour!" He thus proceeds:—"A willing and able free man has here performed three times the quantity of labour formerly extracted from the unwilling slave. Need we a more sufficing proof of the ultimate superiority of the new system—of the immeasurable advantage of the *argumentum ad pecuniam*, over the *argumentum a posteriori*?" To think that the Trinidadians are at last converted to this doctrine!

Intelligence had been received in Trinidad, that the immigration ordinance passed by the legislature of that island had been allowed, with some alteration, by Lord John Russell. The *Trinidad Standard* of December 17th, mentions the fact in these terms—

"We are most happy to be able to state that our immigration ordinance has been confirmed: a royal order in council has been received here, embodying our island law, with the addition of some further provisos, quite compatible with the effective working of the ordinance. We trust that this order, or at any rate the despatch accompanying it, will be made public without further delay. The planters of these colonies have so little, generally speaking, to thank the colonial office for, that the local government act, not only ungraciously, but impolitically, in letting slip such a rare occasion of exciting the gratitude of the inhabitants of this island, as the early and authoritative communication of the acquiescence of her Majesty's advisers in a measure so popular throughout the community would have afforded them. Good news ought not to be doled out by instalments."

The following statement of the exports from this colony, from 1st Jan. 1839 to 15th November (ult.), has been kindly handed us, and may be relied on as correct. Comparing the number of pounds of sugar shipped up to the 15th ult. with that shipped during the entire year 1838, there is only a deficiency of 1,062,384 lbs., equal to (at 1400 lbs. nett per hogshead) to 785 hogsheads. There is more than this quantity of sugar afloat in the harbour, which will be cleared out before the 31st instant; the crop of 1839 will therefore fully equal that of 1838. We have the further gratification to point out that the revenue on sugar already equals that of last year:—£318,289 sterl. was the value on which the 3½ per cent. was paid last year; and from the higher rate of the tariff this crop, the value of sugar exported already stands at £321,512—the duties on the 700 or 800 hogsheads remaining of this year's crop will, therefore, be clear surplus revenue as compared with the preceding year.

EXPORTS TO 15TH NOVEMBER, 1839.

		Value.
Sugar.....lbs.	28,311,529.....	£331,412 10 4
Cotton	112,964.....	2,536 8 0
Coffee	174,715.....	5,880 6 11
Cocoa	2,559,768.....	34,421 11 4
Rum..... galls.	9,946.....	1,126 10 2
Molasses....	834,609.....	40,917 2 0
Sundries		3163 18 2
Total		£409,458 6 11

Trinidad Standard.

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Home News.

THE COOLIE SLAVE-TRADE.—The following petition to Parliament on this deeply interesting subject has been entrusted for presentation to Sir Eardley Wilmot.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sheweth,—That your petitioners respectfully call the attention of your honourable House to the proposed relaxation, so far as the same affects the Mauritius, of the regulations prohibiting the exportation of Hill Coolies from Hindostan.

Conspicuous as the Island of Mauritius has been for daring violation of the laws, for disloyalty to the crown, and for an opposition to the humane measures intended for the benefit of the lately enslaved population which is still unwearied and determined, and notorious as is the fact, that even up to the present time, the authorities are for the most part influenced by the pro-slavery party; your petitioners are firmly persuaded that no substantial justice can be obtained in that colony for the Asiatic labourer.

While strongly deprecating the introduction of Hill Coolies into any British colony, seeing that the certain tendency of such a measure must be to injure, both morally and otherwise, the existing labouring population, your petitioners respectfully submit, that the Mauritians are least of all fit to be entrusted with the practical working of a scheme of the kind proposed; and that, should the Hill Coolie traffic be revived in their favour, there is no colony of Great Britain to which a similar concession can be consistently denied.

Your petitioners are fully and strongly convinced that the proposed measure, being an unwise and unjust expedient for procuring a supply of labour, will have the effect of opening an unlimited field for a new slave-trade, which no enactments in this country, however humanely intended, can prevent or even control.

On these and other grounds, your petitioners earnestly implore your honourable House not to sanction in the slightest degree any relaxation of the present restrictions upon the exportation of the Hill Coolies from Hindostan.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Signed by order of the committee.

GEORGE BENNET, Chairman.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES IN THE WEST INDIES.—At a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held on Friday, the 14th February, 1840,

WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq., in the Chair.

It was unanimously Resolved—That the Committee have learned with astonishment, that the periodical reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates on the state and condition of agriculture in the Colonies have been suppressed by official authority in the Island of Jamaica. The Committee cannot conceal their regret that such a measure should have been considered advisable, particularly when they bear in mind, that the opposition of the said Reports to the counter statements of the Planters urged upon the Colonial Secretary through the agent of Jamaica, may have averted measures that would have proved of the utmost injury to the infant liberties of the emancipated labourers.

They feel that the people of England are entitled to the fullest information in regard to the conduct of the emancipated labourers, and the future prospect of the Colonies, and that the best species of information is that obtained from official and responsible sources.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE AND SIR LIONEL SMITH.

(From a despatch of Sir C. Metcalfe in the Parliamentary Papers.)

He was attended at Port Henderson, the place of embarkation, and on the road leading thereunto, by crowds of the emancipated population assembled to pay their respects to the ruler in whose administration they had been made free, and who had unceasingly devoted himself to their protection. The conduct of the people was, I understand, most affecting, and evinced the greatest affliction on the departure of their friend and benefactor.

In addition to the enthusiastic attachment of this class of the population, Sir Lionel Smith carries with him, as far as I at present understand, the respect of all unbiassed persons who are sensible of the difficulties which he has had to contend with; and, although a large class, who conceive themselves to have been injured by his measures, are in a state of irritation against him, the time will, I have no doubt, come, when better feelings towards him will prevail amongst them, and his administration be remembered with the universal respect due to his honourable, upright, manly, and unflinching conduct.

EMIGRATION TO TEXAS: FRAUDS OF THE TEXIAN CONSUL AT NEW YORK.—A very important event to English emigrants to Texas has recently taken place. My authority for naming it, is the *Mobile Chronicle*. It appears that the Agnes, a British vessel, arrived at Galveston, Texas, a few weeks since. John Woodward, the Texian consul at New York, had sold to a Mr. Iken, an Englishman, large quantities of Texian lands, to which he "had not," says the *Mobile Chronicle*, "the shadow of a title!" The emigrants in question had purchased their lands of Iken, who is not to blame; and the bitterness of their disappointment may be imagined, on finding, when they arrived in Texas, that they had not a single acre of land, and that their titles were mere blank papers. This is (assuming the accounts to be correct in every particular) one of the most cruel and infamous cases I ever heard of. The people of Galveston acted in a very proper spirit on the occasion: they convened a public meeting, with General Hunt as president, "to express their opinion of Woodward's conduct." They recommended his immediate discharge, and it is said that the Texian Congress will grant donations of land to the unfortunate emigrants, in addition to their head-rights. Persons in Europe cannot be too cautious buying scrip, or so called "title," to Texas land. —Correspondent of *Morning Chronicle*.

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 5.] WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE LATE JAMES CROPPER, ESQ. OF LIVERPOOL.

"The actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."

AMONG the names which deserve honourable mention as the friends of Africa, that of the late JAMES CROPPER is not the least distinguished. Of an active, inquiring, and energetic mind, and of a warm and susceptible heart, he was ever ready to listen to the claims of suffering humanity, and prompt to execute those plans for its relief which he conscientiously believed to be right, and which his excellent judgment deliberately approved. In the various schemes of Christian benevolence to which his attention was directed, two appear especially to have interested him—the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, and the extension of the blessings of a solid and useful education to the poor. Of the first of these, not less than the last, he was the persevering advocate and the generous supporter—his purse and his pen were cheerfully devoted to the cause of human freedom, and to the general welfare of his fellow-men.

Without disparaging the labours of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Macaulay, and Stephen, or detracting from their great merits, or from the debt of gratitude which is due to them for their generous self-devotion to the cause of suffering and oppressed humanity, it does not appear to admit of a question, that the impulse to the last great movement for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies was given by Mr. Cropper. In 1821, he adressed a series of letters to Mr. Wilberforce, in which he undertook to demonstrate "that slave-cultivation, being much dearer than that by free-men, can only be supported by high prices of produce;" and "that the most certain means to destroy the foreign slave-trade will be found to be the encouragement of the cheaper productions of free labour." These positions are illustrated, supported, and defended by facts and arguments, in a style which, though plain, is characterized by great perspicuity and vigour. But Mr. Cropper was not content with merely publishing his sentiments to the world, he urged them on the attention of the distinguished philanthropists in Liverpool, among whom was the late Mr. Roscoe, and the result was the formation of the Liverpool Anti-slavery Association, sometime in the year 1822, and this was followed by the formation of the London Anti-slavery Society in 1823.

This interesting fact is thus referred to in a Pamphlet ascribed to Mr. Macaulay, entitled, "Negro Slavery;" or, a view of some of the more prominent features of that state of society, as it exists in the United States of America, and in the colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica", issued in 1823. "The present publication, it seems right to mention, has originated with an association at Liverpool, formed for the express purpose of employing all lawful and prudent means for mitigating and finally abolishing the state of slavery throughout the British dominions. Similar associations are already formed in the metropolis and other parts of the United kingdom. But it became Liverpool, long the deepest in the guilt of the slave-trade, to come forward the first, to protest against the perpetuation of the original injustice of that criminal traffic, in the persons of the descendants of its earlier victims. Such associations, we trust, will be multiplied in every corner of the realm, and will never intermit their united and strenuous efforts, until, by exposition, petition, remonstrance, and every legal method of intervention, they wipe out this foul stain from the character of their country, and deliver themselves from all participation in a system which, as has now been demonstrated, involves the violation of every acknowledged principle of the religion of Christ."

In the first report of the London Society honourable mention is made of Mr. Cropper, in conjunction with Mr. Adam Hodgson, whose celebrated letter to M. Say, on the comparative expense of free and slave labour, appeared in 1823. Adverting to the great principle they advocated, the report says, "If there be any one opinion in political science, which is more impregnably founded than another in the nature of things, and which is more satisfactorily confirmed by the experience of ages, it is this,—that the labour of the freeman is more profitable, not only to the state, but to the capitalist who employs him, than the labour of the slave." * * * * * * "On this whole subject, so much light has recently been thrown, among others, by Mr. Adam Hodgson, in his letter to M. Say, and by Mr. Cropper, in his various pamphlets, as to leave nothing to be said upon it, beyond what is to be found in their writings." Mr. Cropper had then, in addition to his letters to Mr. Wilberforce, published "A letter addressed to the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society, showing the effects of the different prices of slave-labour produce on the condition of the slaves;" and a pamphlet, entitled, "Relief for West India Distress, and the inefficiency of the protecting duties on East India Sugar; also, pointing out the other modes of certain relief." These publications issued from the press in 1823, and a perusal of them will show, that, whilst the heart of Mr. Cropper was full of benevolence, his mind was eminently practical; and it will be further seen that in all his subsequent productions on this great question, which were various and important, he grappled with the difficulties which interested parties threw in the way of emancipation, and showed himself fully equal to the task he had voluntarily undertaken.

In the year 1827, Mr. Cropper published various "Letters on the Abolition of Slavery," and the "West India sugar" question; and when the great struggle for the freedom of the slave commenced in 1831, he unhesitatingly gave the weight of powerful aid, and the influence of his judicious counsels, to that branch of anti-slavery operations, which was conducted with such signal success by the agency anti-slavery society. In the early part of 1833, he published various pamphlets in further illustration of his general views of the impolicy of slavery, as well as in defence of the doctrine of immediate emancipation. Nor was he unmindful of the events which were transpiring in the United States of America. The "Colonization Society," which had begun to show the deformity of its character, he denounced in a letter published in 1832, as a preface to a pamphlet written by Captain Charles Stuart, entitled "Prejudice Vincible:" which was followed in 1833 by a most conclusive appeal to the friends of abolition on both sides the Atlantic, appropriately designated, "The Extinction of the American Colonization Society the first step to Abolition of American Slavery." Subsequently to this, Mr. Cropper signed the celebrated "protest" against the American Colonization Society, which bore also the honoured signatures of Wilberforce, Macaulay, Buxton, and a few others of the most distinguished English abolitionists, and which fell like a thunder bolt on that miserable offspring of prejudice and pride.

But his publications formed but a small part of his help to the great cause, which lay so near his heart. His pecuniary contributions were often munificent, and were always most cheerfully given. Indeed the readiness with which he gave formed one of the most striking and beautiful features of his character. He acted under the noble impulse of Christian duty. He felt himself to be a steward, and all he had was held as a trust, to be devoted to the glory of God, and to the welfare of his fellow-men.

Extensively engaged, at one period of his life, in commercial affairs, he had no hesitation in publicly and firmly expressing his belief that, "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men," and hath decreed in the nature of things, that "who contradicts His will must disappoint his own;" and that faith was productive of its fruits. But Mr. Cropper must not be regarded merely as a merchant whose conduct was regulated by high and honourable principles, or as a philanthropist, whose active benevolence slumbered not; but as a Christian who could refer every "work of faith and labour of love" to the influence of that grace which "cometh from above," and whose ground of acceptance before the Most High was "merits" not his own. Mr. Cropper had been in feeble health for some time before his decease; but it was evident to those who were about him, that his Christian character was rapidly maturing, and that he was no stranger to the consolations of the gospel; and that though, at last, taken away almost suddenly, he was not unprepared for the "great change."

Mr. Cropper died of apoplexy, at his house, Fearnhead, Warrington, on the 26th Feb. last aged 67 years. In him the Anti-slavery cause has lost one of its most zealous and generous supporters, education one of its most enlightened and devoted advocates, and an extensive circle of relatives and friends one whom they revered and loved when living, and whose memory they will long cherish as one of "the excellent of the earth."

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

EVERY one who reflects on slavery and the slave-trade thinks of the island of Cuba:—Cuba, the queen of the western archipelago, where slavery reigns in all its horrors, and the slave-trade revels uncontrolled in human wretchedness and blood. Nor is this all. Cuba is the centre of the slave-system as it now afflicts the world; the stronghold from which it laughs defiance at the efforts of philanthropy, and in which, if philanthropists are to do anything effectual towards their object, it must primarily be attacked and put down. Unhappily, however, Cuba has hitherto been a sort of terra incognita, a land of darkness as to what is going on within its limits; and the friends of humanity have been much in want of authentic information. This want is now in part supplied by a work of much interest which has just issued from

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the press. It is entitled *Travels in the West*, by David Turnbull, Esq., and this, which is the first of two volumes, is devoted to *Cuba, with notices of Porto Rico and the slave-trade.* Mr. Turnbull visited Cuba towards the close of the year 1838, and spent several months in the island. He is a gentleman and a scholar; highly connected in English society, and well qualified to report his views of the country through which he passed. He is moreover a man of sound anti-slavery principles; his statements at the same time being at the utmost distance from extravagance or asperity. He had ample opportunity of making both inquiries and observations, and there appears every reason to place reliance on his accuracy and fidelity. We shall have frequent occasion to refer to the interesting and important volume which we have thus briefly introduced to the notice of our readers; but for the present we shall confine ourselves to the view which it affords of the state of slavery in Cuba.

In an early part of his work, Mr. Turnbull thus exhibits his general impression on the subject before us.

"As the experience of years had taught me to believe that the Spaniards are a kind and warm-hearted race, and as I had frequently been told that the slave owners of the Havana were the most indulgent masters in the world, I was not a little surprised to find, as the result of personal inquiry and minute observation, that in this last particular I had been most miserably deceived, and that in no quarter, unless, perhaps, in the Brazils, which I have not visited, is the state of slavery so desperately wretched as it is at this moment on the sugar plantations of the queen of the Indies, the far-famed island of Cuba."—p. 48.

After speaking of the comparative indulgence with which the house-reared slaves are treated in the towns, he proceeds to say:—

"When we get into the country and visit the coffee, and especially the sugar plantations, where I propose by and by to carry the reader, if he has the patience or the heart to accompany me through the revolting details, we shall see how very differently the unhappy field negro is treated. It is there we verify the words of the poet:—

'Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.'

In fact, the most dreadful of all threats with which one of the wealthy inhabitants of the Havana contrives to terrify a deliuquent domestic from the errors to which he is prone, is to hint at the necessity of sending him to rusticate for a season, under the charge of the Mayoral, on his master's estate in the country.

"In our own sugar colonies, during the prevalence of slavery, there was the same tendency to an unreasonable increase of the planter's domestic establishment, but as 'the great house' was probably situated within sight of the sugar mill, so that the master became acquainted with the persons and characters of his field negros and their families by daily observation and intercourse, it was not unusual to make exchanges from the house to the field, or *vice versâ*. These changes, although still a punishment sufficiently severe for the one party, had nothing so terrible in their aspect, as the banishment from a life of pampered luxury and ease in the Havana, to that worst of penal settlements, a Cuba sugar plantation. Under the tender mercies of the Mayoral, he knows well before leaving the Havana that he has nothing to expect in the plantation but a wretched existence of over labour and starvation, accompanied by the application, or at least the constant terror, of the lash as an incentive, relieved only by the hope of that dissolution, which sleepless nights and incessant toils are so speedily and so surely to accomplish."—pp. 51, 52.

And shortly after this we have a paragraph which lifts the veil from the apparent happiness even of the domestic slaves.

"To those who are not wilfully blindfold, there are not wanting even at the Havana, not to speak of the sugar or even of the coffee plantations, a thousand palpable indications of the misery which attends the curse of slavery, independent altogether of the superior horrors of the slave trade.

"On the public Alameda, just outside the gates of the fortified portion of the city, and therefore within the limits of a dense population, there may be seen a modest looking building protected from public gaze by lofty wooden parapets, in the interior of which are a series of whipping-posts, to which unwilling or disobedient slaves are sent to receive their allotted quota of punishment, as a saving of time or labour, or perhaps to spare the too tender feelings of their masters or mistresses. But, although by means of the parapets, the authorities have succeeded in shutting out the inquisitive glances of the passers by, excluding from public view the streaming blood and lacerated flesh of the sufferers, they have totally failed in shutting in their piercing screams and piteous shrieks for mercy.

"Those visitors at the Havana who are accustomed to speak in terms of inconsiderate satisfaction of the comforts and indulgences of the slaves, sometimes sneeringly comparing them with the privations to which an English or an Irish labourer is exposed, have probably never heard of those family arrangements by which the spirit of a slave, who has first been spoiled by over indulgence, is to be systematically and periodically broken. The mistress of many a great family in the Havana will not scruple to tell you that such is the proneness of her people to vice and idleness, she finds it necessary to send one or more of them once a month to the whipping-dost, not so much on account of any positive delinquency, as because without these periodical advertisements the whole family would become unmanageable, and the master and mistress would lose their authority."—pp. 53, 54.

In subsequently taking us to the sugar estates, Mr. Turnbull gives us the following sketch of La Holanda:—

"This estate I found in a condition not unusual in this island, and certainly not unknown in any of the sugar colonies. It had passed from the hands of the original proprietor into those of the money lender at the Havana, and was said to be in *pleito*, which signifies to be broken down by lawsuits, or, if the pun may be pardoned, to be in a very miserable plight. The works looked ruinous, as might have been expected, and the gang of labourers consisted of forty-six negros, of whom forty only were represented as efficient. The grinding season, was not yet begun, so that the boiling-house was unoccupied, except by three poor wretches, whom we found fastened by the leg in the stocks, two belonging to the place, and the third to a medical practitioner in Guines, who had sent him there for punishment without legal sanction or authority of any kind. The other two had passed their sleeping hours, and the short intervals allowed for meals, in this dreary condition during a period of two months preceding my visit, but for the rest of their time they worked with the field gang as usual. The offence of one, according to the statement of the mayoral, was wandering from home at night, there being no barracoon on the property, and that of the other was theft, but of what nature, or to what extent I was not informed. The doctor's boy admitted very frankly that he had stolen five eggs, and I understood from the mayoral that that was the amount of the charge against him. The weather at the time was cold, the wretched prisoners could scarcely be said to be clothed, in the filthy rags with which they were *not* covered; and their position in the great, empty, dismal-looking boiling-house made the scene altogether one of the most heart-sickening and intolerable I had ever had the misfortune to endure."

(To be Continued.)

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

In two former articles on this momentous subject, we have concerned ourselves chiefly with the reasons by which the planters enforce their appeal for a large importation of labourers. Besides these, we have noticed also a reason by which we have no doubt they are actuated, although it has not been avowed; and we trust we have satisfactorily shewn the insufficiency of them all. We cannot dismiss the subject, however, with this negative treatment. There are reasons of a contrary kind, and these neither few nor small, why every friend of humanity and freedom should desire and promote the frustration of the scheme now brought forward by the West India body.

1. One of these is obviously deducible from the present state of colonial feeling. It can never be forgotten that the West Indies differ essentially from most of the other points to which the current of emigration has been directed. It is one thing to emigrate to the United States, to Canada, to Australia, or to New Zealand; but it is quite another thing to emigrate to Demerara, Trinidad, or Jamaica. The British possessions in the West Indies have for ages been cursed with slavery; and, with respect to the treatment of the labouring class, an entire set of habits has been formed in the employers, deeply injurious and absolutely intolerable to persons accustomed to freedom. It is true that slavery, as a recognized state of society, exists no more; but the spirit and usages of slavery exist in all their force. The party is not only numerous but dominant who repine at the loss of their long-cherished power, and are still striving by artful and atrocious legislation to regain it. Acts of parliament do not alter men's tempers; nor can men of tyrannical habits and disposition be prevented from causing a great deal of wretchedness by the most humane acts that ever were passed. There is a great change yet to be wrought in the temper of colonial society, before the West Indies can be a fit place for free immigrants. Let us avail ourselves on this point of the testimony of the *Colonial Gazette*.

"In this, as in every case where the aim is to increase the population of a colony by means of immigration, the first step would be to render the colony as attractive as possible to the class of immigrants. In order to attract any great number of the negro race to the West Indies, it is absolutely necessary that the principles of emancipation should be followed out to the end—that that race should there be placed on a footing of perfect social and political equality with the whites. If any white object to this, we should say that his foolish pride deserves the beggary which the triumph of his objection would entail on his class. For while the utter ruin of the planters must occur without a great increase of labouring hands, it is equally sure that no measure of negro immigration will be adopted by parliament that does not repudiate all distinctions of colour. Nor, if adopted by parliament, would any measure of the kind prove sufficient for its purpose, unless it made the British colonies a land of refuge—a happy home for the persecuted negro population of the western world. This we address to such planters as forget that emancipation has taken place. To those whose object is to give the negro race, for once in the world, a fair chance of rising from their universal degradation, we need scarcely say that it is a *sine qua non* of success to banish every distinction of colour.

"Supposing the British West Indies to stand out from the rest of America by the repudiation of every distinction of colour, there would be sources in plenty from which to draw immigrants of the negro race. The government of Trinidad has settled this point as respects the free coloured people of the United States. Its mission to the States for the purpose of setting on foot a system of negro immigration to that colony, has been completely successful. Equal rights under a sympathizing government was the attraction which it held out to these unhappy people. After much communication with the free negros of the United States, the government of Trinidad is satisfied of their disposition to settle in the British West Indies, provided they be there secured against falling into the same political and social degradation from where they now wish to escape. But where in that part of the world is that race admitted to a real equality with the whites?"

The challenge with which this quotation closes ought to settle the whole question of immigration. Can the British government, can any friends of humanity and freedom, think of sending persons without number into colonies where the aristocratic lordlings will not vouchsafe to them a state of social and political equality with themselves!

The matter before us, however, is by no means one of mere speculation. To a certain extent the experiment has been tried, and to an extent quite sufficient to demonstrate the character of the result. Immigrants not a few, Scotch, Irish, German, Portuguese, Maltese, and Indian, have already been introduced into the West Indies; and from none of them have we heard the tidings, 'We are happy.' None of them are multiplying like a flock, or sending letters of invitation to their relatives or friends to follow them. Many of them have gone into a premature grave, and the rest are for the most part, we may say almost without exception, pining away the remainder of a short life of hopeless and helpless sorrow. This general statement, far from being imaginary, is

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borne out by numerous and appalling facts, which have been from time to time made public on unquestionable authority, and which, but that they would fill a volume, we would here recite anew. What has happened already is just what would happen again, since like causes produce like effects. Or we ought, perhaps, to state the case more strongly, and say, that, if so miserable has been the fate of immigrants into the West Indies, many of whom understood the language spoken, and still more of whom were shrewd men accustomed to take care of themselves, how much worse must the condition become of the unfortunates now contemplated, who are to come from all countries, knowing nothing of the language in which they are addressed, with neither shrewdness to detect misrepresentation nor skill to correct it, and led in all respects like sheep to the slaughter! Can the British government consent to organize a system "on an extended scale," for involving hundreds of thousands of our innocent fellow-creatures in a doom like that which has befallen the emigrants who have hitherto been deluded by West India flatteries! It seems to us that considerations of humanity and policy conspire to dictate a different course. Let the planters show that they know how to treat the emigrants they have, before they are trusted with more. When we see families increasing, villages multiplying, and social privileges equalized, it will be time enough to encourage immigration. To do it sooner, is both infatuation and wickedness.

2. A second consideration adverse to the immigration now pleaded for may be derived from the very structure of the scheme itself. It proceeds on the principle, not of husbanding, but of wasting human life. We will shew what we mean by an example. The South Australian colony invites families to emigrate to that distant land, or married men with their wives, who constitute the primary elements of families; and there is before them the prospect of domestic life and happiness. Not so the West Indians. They want work done, and want no immigrants but *labourers*. If women will work in the field they may go; but if not, they will have men only—no wives, no children—but merely eight or ten women to a hundred men, for washing, cooking, &c. Such were the instructions sent by Messrs. Gladstone and Co. to their agents at Calcutta, and they have been acted on beyond the letter, and are still to be so. We might speak in strong terms of this heartless sacrifice of human happiness, this reckless laceration of domestic sympathies, this fearful generation of profligacy and crime: but we pass these topics by for the present, to animadvert on the atrocious waste of life involved in this system. It is not intended that the colonial peasantry shall keep up its own numbers, by the natural increase of human kind; but the planters mean to consume the life of every generation in agricultural toil, and to supply themselves with fresh labour by continual immigration.

That we do no injustice by these remarks to the West India body will appear by a reference to the course they have adopted towards the emancipated peasantry. If they had ever entertained the idea of providing for the culture of the colonies out of the natural increase of the labouring population, they would have cherished marriage, encouraged family residence, and favoured the acquisition of domestic comforts; all which would have been only practically saying, 'we want to see quickly a race of strong lads for our cane fields.' It is notorious that they have done just the contrary of all this. They are looking for labourers to emigration. And they will be constantly looking to the same source. They no more mean that the immigrants shall become family people, and that their children shall yield the next race of cultivators, than they have meant the same thing respecting the emancipated slaves. If they did, they would say, 'we want a temporary emigration; an influx of population for a few years only, with as many women as men, or young married people with their children." They ask, however, for no such thing. No such cargo of immigrants has yet been landed in the West Indies; and we can well imagine what sort of welcome it would meet there. They want a constant immigration of working hands, and they reckon upon killing them off, without successors in any other way than by perennial immigration. We denounce this system as atrocious, and conceive it impossible that an enlightened government can sanction it for a moment.

3. We draw a third objection to the present scheme of immigration, from the tenacity with which the planters insist that the immigrants shall be engaged under a long contract for labour. The frauds practised under this, which was the original system, upon the Coolies in Mauritius and British Guiana, induced Lord Glenelg to issue an order in council, dated September 7th, 1838, to the effect that no contract for labour should be binding unless entered into within the colony, and then for not more than one year. It is this wise and necessary regulation that embarasses the West Indians in their present scheme of immigration, and which they are employing all their interest at the present moment to destroy. They are urgent with the government to permit that contracts may be entered into with immigrants before they quit the country they are leaving, and that these contracts may extend to a term of five years. Such a permission obviously might, and undoubtedly would be immediately abused, to the perpetration of the most cruel frauds. A Coolie, for example, or even a German, or an Irishman, is told that Demerara is a beautiful country, that Belle Vue is a delightful estate, that Mr. Matthews is the kindest of managers, that the houses are excellent, the work easy, the hospital delightful, and the wages five dollars a month; and upon this information, which he has no means of testing, and which, for aught he knows, may be all false, he signs a contract to work on Belle Vue estate, at the stipulated wages, for five years. When he arrives he finds the climate deadly, the estate a swamp, the huts execrable, the attorney a savage, and the wages only half what everybody else is earning. He complains, he frets: while his sneering employer produces the fatal contract, and the maddened labourer curses his own folly, and all that have had to do with his delusion and ruin. This is what the planters want, but shall they have it? Will Lord John Russell give it them? Or will the abolitionists of England sanction him in doing so? We hope not. If the West Indians mean honestly by the immigrants, let them go free and unfettered. Let them not only see the country, but see the estate, and the huts, and the hospital, and the master, before they enter into any contract; aye, and let them take the hoe, and try the work, before they bind themselves to spend five years, or one year, at digging cane holes. Let them see different estates, and have an opportunity of choosing that which is most healthy, or that which is nearest to a school, or a place of worship, or a village with its shops and market. Let them further be permitted to ask the price of labour, and see if there is one employer who will give them higher wages than another, that they may do the best for themselves which circumstances may allow. Why should they not? And why, but to make fraudulent bargains and unrighteous gains, should the planters object to it? If they want labour at its market price, an influx of immigrants without contract will meet their desires; but, if they want immigrants deceived by false statements and bound hand and foot to their own disadvantage, an honest government and an enlightened community ought at once to declare that they never shall be gratified. Lord Glenelg's order in council of the 7th of September may justly be regarded as the bulwark of the immigrants' welfare; and Lord John Russell will deserve ill of his country and of the world if he consents to its abrogation.

4. A further objection to the scheme of immigration now urged is to be found in the countries which it is designed to embrace. We are to have a systematic emigration to the West Indies, not only from the entire continents of Europe and America but from India and Africa (!)—in a word, "from all parts of the world." What, without any consideration of the length of the voyage, or the time it shall occupy? Aye, from the very antipodes must men be fetched to make sugar at Demerara! But, Africa! To think that the sugar-growers have not yet sufficiently desolated Africa! To think that, with all the millions this continent has contributed to the cultivation of the West Indies, her plains must yet be scoured for labourers! Yet this is gravely proposed by Sir Edward Cust, and argued on as smoothly as though the subject were the price of sugar at the West India Docks. And upon what principle? We are to have a *free* emigration from Africa, of course. By no means. Hear Sir Edward Cust's own words: "The measure I should desire to be adopted is, that a direct negociation should be opened with the petty sovereigns of Africa, to obtain a supply of labouring families from thence." This sentence contains more wickedness than we think we have ever met with in so few words. It proposes negociation with the petty sovereigns of Africa, not to obtain permission for such of their subjects to emigrate as may desire it, but "*to obtain a supply* of labouring families"—that is, clearly, by coercion. The people are held to be at the disposal of the princes, and are to be disposed of by them to the British government. This is to be by "negociation;" a use of diplomatic phraseology, which can deceive nobody. There must, of course, be a consideration given in return; and this, of whatever kind it may be, will constitute the transaction a purchase and sale. This is nothing less than a direct renewal of the African slave-trade; the only difference being, that the purchasers of men are henceforth to be not individual speculators, but the British government—a proposition, certainly, of tremendous aggravation, and an intolerable insult to the British nation. We marvel beyond utterance at the cool effrontery with which this atrocious scheme is put forth by Sir Edward Cust, and supported by the West Indians. The British government, we rejoice to say, have put themselves in the right attitude on this point, and we cannot believe that they will ever swerve from it. In a recent order in council confirming the emigration ordinance of Trinidad, her Majesty has been advised to declare it expedient that emigration "should not take place from any part of the coast of Africa." And in a despatch, communicating to governor Light the disallowance of a similar ordinance passed in British Guiana, Lord Normanby thus more freely expresses the views of the government. "We are not less opposed to the plan of recruiting the Negro population of the West Indies from Africa. No precaution which has been, or which could be devised, would prevent such a measure from giving a stimulus to the internal slave-trade on that continent, or from bringing discredit on the sincerity of the efforts made by this nation for the suppression of that system of guilt and misery." These are just sentiments, and must be the unbending rule of British statesmen. Hitherto the government have shown themselves equally averse to a new importation of Coolies into the West Indies, although they propose to allow it to the Mauritius. We trust this latter step will not be taken. We are sure that it will create an internal slave-trade in India, and that desperate efforts—who can affirm them to be unsuccessful?—will be made by the Gladstones and others to extend it again from the eastern to the western world.

5. Another very objectionable feature of the plan now urged by the West Indians is, that their proposed system of emigration should be directly conducted by the government. So writes Sir Edward Cust:—"I wish to ground this plan upon its being made a government undertaking." And in like manner, the *Colo-*

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nial Gazette says, "A law should preclude individuals from speculating in the conduct of emigration from Africa to the West Indies; the whole process, from beginning to end, should be confided to a special and responsible public authority." We look at this arrangement as intended to apply to emigration generally; as a concession, in fact, on the part of the planters to the friends of humanity, in order to afford them a guarantee against abuses of the system. Looking at its effect, however, we deem it in itself so pregnant with mischief, that we cannot accept it. It is in fact an aggravation of evil. The whole case may be regarded as a commercial transaction. On the one hand, there is a demand for an article, namely, labour; and on the other, a scheme for supplying the article required. Now, the only safe way of trading in any case is for the demand to create the supply, and to regulate it. The latter is quite as important as the former. If it be neglected, the market may be overstocked, and the entire trade become ruinous and destructive. Now, the only security that the supply shall be regulated by the demand, arises from the immediate connexion of that supply with the interest of those who furnish it. While a merchant can send ginghams to Trinidad, at a profit, he will continue to do it, but no longer. Hence, trade left in the hands of private persons is, within certain limits, safe and healthy; since each trader quickly feels his interest, and always obeys the intimation. But what would be the case with any branch of trade left to be conducted by government? Let the supply of cottons to the West Indies, for example, be taken, and let the government organize a plan "on an extended scale," for this purpose: what would be the result? Clearly, first, that the trade would be carried on by a party not susceptible to those quick feelings of interest which affect individuals, and practically regulate the supply by the demand; and secondly, that it would be carried on by an immense apparatus, which would not admit of prompt and effectual variation, even if it were desired. If the government should enter zealously into the trade, we should have a glutted market, and a heavy balance of loss. The result will not be at all different, if, instead of cottons, we speak of labour. Admit that there is a demand for labour in the West Indies. Let individuals undertake the supply, and it will be effected with comparative safety. *They* will stop, when they find the market likely to be overdone. In all their speculations, there will be an eye to profit; and emigrant vessels will be multiplied or diminished with the usual sagacity of mercantile men, and in quick sympathy with the variations of the demand. But let the government undertake it. They have no interest to be affected, they will entertain no question about profit, but will go straight on with the business, whatever may be the state of the market for labour. And, even if they were desirous of regulating the supply by the demand, they could not. They have neither the sagacity of merchants on the one hand, nor the power of controlling the vast machinery they would have set in motion on the other. Any extensive operations on their part would undoubtedly produce a glut of labour in the second instance, as a glut of cottons in the first. But if a glut of cottons would be bad, a glut of labour would be much worse. Labour is not a dead, but a living article. A glut of labour is a glut of human beings, a multitude of men, women, and children, without employ, without shelter, without food, without claims, without sympathy, without hope. They cannot be packed up like bales of calico, and left to rot in warehouses; they must have food, raiment, and shelter, or else they perish of hunger and destitution, the victims of British cupidity and folly. Foreseeing this consequence, the *Colonial Gazette* proposes that there should be "a law to *entitle the immigrant negro to public support whenever unemployed, and to obtain upon demand a free passage back to Africa!*" This is the editor's plan for "preventing the labour market of the colonies from being over-stocked, either through design or negligence;" but we have not yet heard what his West Indian friends say to it. We suspect they might think the remedy worse than the disease; especially since he proposes that the expense should be charged on the colonial treasury, as "a wholesome penalty *in terrorem*." To us it seems that the grave proposal of such a remedy is the admission of an inherent evil condemnatory of the whole plan. The government, we think, can never lend themselves to such a violation of all sound principles; or consent to run such imminent hazard of placing hundreds of thousands of innocent and helpless immigrants in a situation, in which the very advocates of the scheme admit that they ought to be entitled to "a free passage back again on demand."

Our objections to the immigration scheme for which the West Indians are now agitating are by no means exhausted; but we think we have said enough to shew that it has no claim to the adoption of the British government, or the approbation of the British people. If the West Indians want labourers, we give them the following counsel. First, let them promote marriage and domestic habits among the existing peasantry; and then they will soon have a race of serviceable youth. Secondly, let them treat agricultural labourers with equity and kindness; and then that kind of labour will not be regarded with disgust. Thirdly, let them improve the condition of the peasantry as to houses and household comforts, and give them fair protection and equal rights; and then the tide of emigration will, without any trouble, set in on their shores, as certainly as the waters of the ocean obey the impulses of the moon.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM will take up the Hill Coolie question, in the approaching debate in the House of Commons.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 11TH.

THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE,

Will commence its sittings at Freemasons' Hall, London, on the 12th of June, 1840. A book is prepared for entering the names and other particulars of the delegates who may be appointed by anti-slavery bodies both at home and abroad. In a case of such singular interest and importance, the committee earnestly hope, and fully expect, that the friends of the cause in the United Kingdom will not be backward, either in the appointment of delegates, or in their attendance as delegates when appointed. It is particularly requested that all anti-slavery bodies will send an immediate *official notification* of the appointments which may be made by them, addressed to J. H. Tredgold, Esq., at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

(CIRCULAR.)

27, New Broad Street, February 15th, 1840.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, from the information they have already received, not only from their friends in this country but also from various parts of America, Europe, the West Indies, &c., have reason to expect a very numerous attendance of deputies from different parts of the world, at the general Anti-Slavery conference to commence on the 12th of June next. They have secured Freemasons' Hall, with commodious committee rooms adjoining for holding its sittings. They are anxious early to receive from the different Anti-Slavery bodies who may appoint deputies, the names of the gentlemen who are to represent them. Such deputies and the members of the London committee to form the conference. The business of the conference will comprehend the following amongst other matter:—Information as to the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British West Indies, &c.; the nature and extent of slavery in the different countries where it exists, but especially as regards the African race and their descendants; the nature and extent of the Slave-trade; and, finally, the best measures by which, consistently with the great principles on which the Society is founded, the total and unconditional abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade can be obtained, and the liberties and welfare of the emancipated population secured.

The conference will probably close its labours by one or more public meetings at Exeter Hall.

On behalf of the Committee,

WILLIAM ALLEN, Chairman.

IN relation to that most causeless and most mischievous measure, the renewed exportation of Indian Coolies to Mauritius, the Anti-Slavery Committee have been incessant in their exertions. We inserted in our last their petition to the House of Commons; and it will be seen by our paper of to-day that they have presented to the colonial secretary a memorial, which goes more at large into the merits of the case. We should hardly indeed speak of the *merits* of the case, for merit it has none. Never was there an important measure for which less even of a plausible ground could be laid. The Mauritians, although getting up a complaint—as is the system of all sugar-growers, and its vehemence is proportionate to their prosperity—are suffering no want of labour; as is evident from the fact, that, up to the latest returns, the produce of the island has not fallen off a single hundred weight, but, on the contrary, has actually increased. Yet they cry out for more labour; and we fear they are to have it, from what passed between Lord John Russell and the deputation, though he evidently could not assign any sufficient reason. He spoke indeed of some gentlemen who had been through Mauritius, and had brought him *viva voce* accounts of the happiness of the Coolies; but surely it is not worthy of an enlightened statesman to legislate on such a ground as this. Who are these gentlemen? What have they reported? And what is their authority? If all this is to be withheld from the public, Lord John Russell cannot complain of us if we suspect it to be a trick of interested parties to delude him. We have heard of certain gentlemen deeply interested in the trade with the Mauritius, whose dinners are splendid and their wines delicious; and although we entirely acquit the present colonial secretary of being thus influenced, we have reason to know that colonial secretaries have dined with them before now, and that their magnificent hospitality has been in no remote connexion with the legislation for the island at former periods. In Lord John's Russell's own judgment and sense of justice we have much confidence; but we fear this is a case in

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which he has not exercised his own judgment, but has suffered himself to be led on by others whom he is willing to oblige. The manner in which he conversed with the deputation led them to suppose he could not be fully acquainted with the subject. The papers laid upon the tables of parliament make out a case directly against the Mauritian planters. Something was said about destitution in India and the benefit of the Coolies; but the noble lord admitted that the provision in contemplation was to be for the profit of the Mauritian planters! The Mauritians! A body, not only of uncontrollable tyrants, but of convicted felons, who clandestinely imported and held for many years nearly thirty thousand persons in unlawful slavery, and then had the cleverness to extract from our governors nearly two millions of money for their release! These men ought to be punished rather than pampered. Instead of more labourers being sent to Mauritius, thousands are there who ought to be sent home. Lord John Russell's favourites are singularly chosen. We believe, also, that he has now before him some instructive specimens of the discipline which the planters at Mauritius are preparing for the Coolies whom they are expecting. Is there not making at this moment by the planters of that island a resolute effort to supersede the stipendiary magistracy, by instituting an appeal from the decisions of these justices *to themselves;* has there not been one ordinance passed to enable the planters to coerce labour; and another to organize an armed police, who may be stationed on every estate, if paid by the manager, and employed to drive the Coolies to their toil at the point of the bayonet? Will the colonial secretary inform us what is the tenor of ordinances Nos. 11, 12, and 13 of the year 1839, as passed in Mauritius, and now waiting for allowance—if it is possible such murderous ordinances can ever be allowed—by her Majesty in council!

Should Lord John Russell, however, be determined to proceed, we hope that all is not lost. There is still to be a discussion in parliament about it, and our friends must help us in a strenuous effort. The Anti-slavery committee has petitioned; and it is now important that similar bodies throughout the country should imitate their example. There is yet time for it, if it be done promptly; but there is no time to be lost.

It is not by the expression of public feeling alone that we expect benefit to the cause of humanity from the approaching discussion of the Coolie traffic in the House of Commons. There are gentlemen in that house who will go into the merits of this question, and will probe it, we hope—although that certainly will be very deep—to the bottom. There will undoubtedly be brought out some startling and stubborn facts for the noble secretary for the colonies to grapple with. It is generally supposed by persons in this country, that the exportation of Coolies from India was stopped by orders sent out from England. But this was not the fact. Orders were, no doubt, sent tardily from this country; but the enormities of the trade had already become so manifest in the east, that it had been arrested by the governor-general of India before the arrival of the prohibition from England. This is a fact of great importance, and materially affects the case as it now stands. Before the governor-general could have issued a proclamation putting a stop to the exportation of Coolies, the atrocities of the Coolie-hunters and kidnappers must have become the subject not only of public notoriety, but of official report; there must be somewhere minutes and records of the facts on which this measure was founded, and of the investigations by which those facts were ascertained. Where are these records? They have never been laid on the tables of parliament; and we are fully justified in asking, why not? They have certainly more title to that distinction, and are of much greater importance to the British public, than much of the trash which Messrs. Burge, Gladstone and Co. have been permitted to deposit there. Certainly Lord John Russell will not re-open the traffic in Coolies, without letting parliament and the public know what the reasons were which induced the governor-general of India, on his own responsibility, to stop it. We venture to ask further, whether the colonial secretary has himself seen the documents to which we have referred; and whether the home government, even, has ever been favoured with a copy of them. Strange rumours we have heard that the official papers in question have never been sent to Downing Street at all; which, if the case be so, is a circumstance altogether unaccountable, and surpassing our humble comprehension. Surely some member of parliament will have the spirit to call for these important documents. If they have not reached Downing Street, they may perchance have arrived at Leadenhall Street, whence a vote of the honourable house may fetch them. To us it seems that there can at all events be no further legislation on this matter till they are forthcoming. It would be infatuation to proceed in such a business in the dark. Things frankly told may be bad enough; but, when they are so carefully concealed, we have full right to suspect that they are frightful beyond endurance. What has taken place in India the public has a right to know, and must know, before any further facility be given for the exportation of the Coolies.

And this is not all. The condition of the Coolies who have been deluded to Mauritius, is itself wrapped in almost as much a mystery as the proceedings of the kidnappers in Bengal. There is no satisfactory account even of the number of Coolies imported into that island. All that can be made out from the recent parliamentary paper is 19,050; but we have authority—not official, certainly, but undeniable authority—for saying that the number is more than double this amount. It is, in fact, no less than 46,000! And as to the condition of these unfortunates, the late inquiry—which, be it observed, was set on foot by Sir W. Nicolay at the suggestion, not of the colonial secretary in England, but of the governor-general of India, extended to no more than 2000, this number being only one-tenth of those admitted to be in the island, and not one-twentieth of those actually there; it did not comprehend establishments in which there were less than ten Coolies, thus abandoning a large portion of them to oppression without inquiry; it was atrociously objected to by some of the planters, and abruptly terminated by the governor without any reason assigned; and, as was demonstrated in our last number, it makes out a melancholy and heart-rending case on behalf of those whom it did comprehend. It never was asked in the course of this miscalled inquiry, how many deserted wives and destitute children the Coolies had left behind, or what provision was made for their necessities. Of the many atrocities about which this most unsatisfactory document says nothing, some have been considerable enough to give rise to public rumour; we refer to sundry Coolie insurrections, of which the papers of the island (albeit there is no freedom of the press in Mauritius) have given us intimations, and of their having been promptly suppressed by the military. These, we suppose, were ebullitions of Coolie contentment and happiness. But, most seriously, are we to have no further account of these things? Are we to suffer these tyrant Mauritians just to conceal from us what they please, and then, knowing we are blindfolded, to give them all they ask—aye, to the blood and sinews of 50,000 more of our innocent and helpless fellow-creatures? It is impossible. Certainly the House of Commons will put a stop to this infamous business.

THE HILL COOLIES.

As if to show how impossible it will be, at least if the planters can make it so, to authorize the exportation of Coolies to Mauritius and to deny it to the West Indies, we find Mr. Gladstone, on the eve of a parliamentary debate respecting the former, moving for the production of papers relative to the condition of the Coolies in British Guiana. It so happens moreover—but doubtless, not by Mr. Gladstone's contrivance—that the papers thus moved for contain accounts of a very plausible kind, although, in reality, very partial and unfair. The active philanthropist, Mr. Scoble, has watched Mr. Gladstone at his calling, and has put forth an immediate antidote to the misrepresentation, in the form of a pamphlet, entitled, *A brief exposure of the deplorable condition of the Hill Coolies in British Guiana and Mauritius, and of the nefarious means by which they were induced to resort to these colonies.* He gives an account of the character and origin of the Coolie traffic, and of the atrocities which he was himself the means of bringing to light in Guiana in the year 1839. It is a heart-rending account, and ought to be permanently before the eyes of the public and the legislature. The extract we shall make from it, however, refers to the present struggle respecting the Mauritius, and the recent movements of the planting interest.

The restless activity of this powerful body, supported as it is by a corrupt and venal press, in the colonies, and by a well-paid band of agents in this country, was never more manifest than at the present moment, or directed to more unworthy objects. Convicted again, and again, of the grossest mis-statements respecting the conduct of the free negros—the state of the crops—and the general prosperity of the colonies, they continue to assert the absolute ruin of these possessions of the crown, and call upon the government to give them laws to coerce labour under a state of freedom, and to place the administration of the laws entirely in their own hands by the removal of the stipendiary magistrates; and to allow them to import, to an unlimited extent, and under contracts of service for five years, the natives of India, that they may be able to reduce the wages of their late slaves to the minimum point, and thus force them, once more, under their cruel and despotic sway.

In consequence of their exertions and misrepresentations, there is the most imminent danger at the present moment, that the Coolie slave-trade will be revived, and that the measures for which the abolitionists of this country have striven so long, and so zealously, will give place to others of the most objectionable kind. Already has it been announced in parliament by Lord JOHN RUSSELL, that the restrictions imposed on the exportation of Hill Coolies, so far as they relate to Mauritius, are to be abandoned, and the intimation has been received with unbounded joy by the felon-planters of that colony. In the papers, which have just been printed by order of the House of Commons, we learn by a letter, dated Mauritius, the 11th of June, 1839, that the planters "yesterday received the gratifying intelligence, that Sir WILLIAM NICOLAY submitted a despatch to the council here, by which it appears that the ministry apprise him of a bill which would be laid before parliament, authorising the introduction of Coolies, and *permitting them to engage for* FIVE YEARS, "This intelligence," it is added, "has spread universal joy throughout the colony, and 'nous sommes saurés,' escapes the lips of the least sanguine!" Whatever might have been the intention of the ministers of the crown, they were not able, during the last session, to carry such a measure; neither the house nor the country would have permitted such an iniquitous scheme to be carried into effect.—One fact is clear, however, that the admirable order in council of the 7th of September, 1838, regulating contracts in the crown colonies, and which limited their duration to *one year*, and provided that where the labourers had been "induced to enter into the same by ANY FRAUD, MISAPPREHENSION, MISREPRESENTATION, OR CONCEALMENT," the same should be void; and which further required, that all contracts, *to be valid*, must henceforth be made, not at Calcutta and elsewhere, but *in the colonies* to which the labourers might resort, in the presence of the proper authorities, and under the forms therein set forth, was to be set aside in Mauritius, within a few months after it had gone into effect? And now what the government dared not, or could not do last session, they propose to do this. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, will relax the restrictions on this infamous

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traffic in the persons of men, and throw open India, once more, to the Mauritians, who have ever shown themselves as destitute of every human sympathy, as they have proved themselves regardless of all laws, human and divine!

In the papers which have been recently laid before parliament, which embrace but a very small part of the proceedings relative to the Hill Coolies in Mauritius, and are consequently extremely defective in the information they contain, will be found enough to convince the most sceptical of the inhumanity and wickedness of the doings of the Mauritian planters. The whole system has been characterized by the grossest fraud and cruelty, and has been sustained by the most infamous tyranny and oppression. How were the Coolies in Mauritius obtained previously to the restrictions being laid on? Mr. F. R. PRINSEP, secretary to the government of India, in an official report on the subject, states: "The methods adopted for procuring labourers to engage for service in colonies and places beyond sea, are productive of serious frauds, and have led to much oppression;" and, he further observes, "the system is a source of injury and abuse, rather than of benefit to the labourers, in the form in which it is at present carried on." The governor, Sir WILLIAM NICOLAY, in referring to the same subject in a despatch to Lord GLENELG, dated 21st May, 1839, observes, "That *very nefarious practices* have been resorted to in many instances, in order to procure labourers for embarkation for this island, *is beyond all doubt*;" and Mr. Special Justice ANDERSON asserts, in one of his letters to the governor, that "many of them have actually been KIDNAPPED from their own country, which," he adds, "they have ALL been induced to leave, under circumstances of GROSS FRAUD." To go into the history of all those "frauds" would be to detail circumstances, second only in atrocity to those connected with the African slave-trade. The fact is established beyond dispute, that multitudes have been kidnapped—forced into prison-depots until the Mauritian slavers were ready to receive them—hurried on board—put under hatches and guards—robbed and pillaged of the advances made to them by the Mauritian agents in Calcutta—shipped in large numbers on board vessels without the requisite accommodation, food, or medical attendance—brought under the most fraudulent contracts to labour for years on scanty wages, and scanty fare—separated from their families and from their homes—compelled to perform the hardest agricutural labour known at the discretion of their masters—and without the protection of an upright, impartial, and efficient magistracy.

It is difficult to ascertain when the first shipment of Coolies to Mauritius took place, or the exact number of them which has been, at various periods introduced. It appears that from the 1st of August, 1834, to the 24th of October, 1838, there were received from *Calcutta* 13,245 Coolies, viz., 12,994 men; 198 women; and fifty-one children. From the 1st of June, 1837, to the 22nd June, 1838, there were shipped from *Cochin* 308 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to 24th June, 1838, there were shipped from *Pondicherry* 5058 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 25th August, 1838, there were shipped from *Rajahmundy* 441 Coolies, viz., 434 men and seven women; making a total of 19,050—viz., 18,794 men, 205 women, and fifty-one children. But it is quite clear, from the petition addressed to her Majesty by the planters and others, dated 18th May, 1839, that a much larger number of Coolies had been introduced. The 100 persons who signed that document, state, that within the "last four years" they had "caused to be brought from British India upwards of 20,000 native Indian labourers." It is stated, by some parties, that the whole number introduced cannot be much short of 30,000!

With respect to the mortality which has occurred since the arrival of the Indians at Mauritius, the statements are various. It is, however, admitted by the governor to have been great, and to have been "the source of deep regret" to him. In a despatch, dated 31st December, 1838, the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Dick) thus writes:—"The mortality which has prevailed among the Indian labourers, *as well on their voyage as after their arrival here*, and more particularly on some estates and establishments, has been the source of deep regret to his excellency." Mr. Special Justice ANDERSON states the mortality of the Coolies in Port Louis, to amount to eight or nine per cent. per annum! This would be equal to the destruction of the whole number of Coolies introduced every twelve years!!

Out of the 19,050 Coolies introduced, of which we have any account in the papers before me, only 205 were women! It is easy to conceive, that, from this frightful disparity of the sexes, the most horrible and revolting depravity and demoralization must necessarily ensue, and that such large masses of ignorant and degraded beings must carry with them a most corrupting influence on others.

As to the general treatment of the Coolies in Mauritius, but one opinion can be entertained by the friends of humanity. Independently of the evidence derived from private sources, on which implicit reliance can be placed, which represents the state of the Coolies as deplorably wretched, and their hardships and sufferings even greater than those endured, by the negros when slaves, the fact of their having become the prey of the MAURITIAN PLANTERS would be sufficient to justify the worst apprehensions that could be entertained on that point. One honest functionary in Mauritius, Mr. Special Justice ANDERSON, has spoken out upon this point in opposition to those who would have us believe that the Coolies in that colony are treated with "humanity and kindness;" and, we have no doubt, in opposition to his own interests and personal ease and comfort. In his letters to Governor NICOLAY, dated the 19th and 30th of November, 1839, he states, that those whom he had examined in Port Louis were "overworked," were subjected to severe "personal chastisement," were without proper shelter and "lodging accommodation," were deprived of necessary medical attendance and care when suffering from disease, and in other ways seriously injured and abused, insomuch that he says, "it is a source of astonishment to me, that any body of freemen, whatever may have been their former condition, should have borne, with the patience and forbearance which the Indian labourers at Port Louis have displayed, *the bitter disappointment which must have attended their introduction into this island*;" and, he adds, "to induce them to come here, their ignorance is worked upon in India by the most false and deceitful representations, and the robbery and pillage which has been practised on them at Calcutta, would scarcely be credited, if the fact was not established by the most convincing testimony. They reach this colony after having been robbed of six months pay, which is advanced (or said to be advanced,) in India; and when here, their comfort is in every way neglected, while they are compelled by the engagements to which their own ignorance, or the avarice of others has bound them, to toil during five years for a recompense bearing no proportion to the work to which they are subjected, when compared with the common estimation of the value of labour in this colony, or to the sum which they would earn if they had the free disposal of their own time."

In view of these facts, the writer of this article would earnestly call on every philanthropist in the kingdom to use his utmost exertions and influence, in public and in private, to prevent the relaxation of the restrictions to which reference has been made; and to urge on the government the paramount importance of maintaining, in all its integrity, the Order in Council of the 7th September, 1838; and to demand that all the fraudulent contracts into which the Coolies have been induced to enter, whether in Mauritius or Guiana, shall be immediately cancelled, and the unfortunate victims of cupidity be permitted to return home. And that the parties whether in India, who have been guilty of entrapping them into fraudulent contracts, or in the colonies, who have injured and oppressed them, shall be brought to condign punishment. This would be a useful lesson to the planters. It would teach them to husband their own resources, and would procure for the emancipated negros the consideration and care which are their due; for so long as the planters in the British colonies can calculate upon the cultivation of their estates by the introduction of *adult* labourers, they will be as careless of the general welfare of their peasantry, in future, as they have been reckless of the lives of their slaves in times past.

MEMORIAL OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE

ON THE EXPORTATION OF COOLIES TO MAURITIUS.

On the 3rd instant a deputation of the Anti-slavery Committee waited on Lord John Russell at the Colonial Office, in order to present a memorial in relation to this important subject. The deputation who presented the memorial to his lordship, were as follows, viz.:—Sir CHARLES STYLE, Bart., M. P.; DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M. P.; EDWARD BAINES, Esq., M. P.; Dr. HODGKIN, and Messrs. W. BALL, G. STACEY, H. TUCKETT, D. TURNBULL, C. F. BROWN, J. BEAUMONT, R. RUSSELL, C. PHIPPS, JOHN SCOBLE, and J. H. TREDGOLD. In the interview had with his lordship, it was understood that the government would persevere in their intention of relaxing the restrictions on the exportation of Coolies to Mauritius, within certain limits. The following is a copy of the memorial presented:—

To the Right Honorable Lord JOHN RUSSELL, M. P., her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MY LORD,

The committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have learnt with the deepest regret, that it is your lordship's intention to recommend to the Queen in council to relax the existing restrictions upon the exportation of Hill Coolies from Hindostan, so far as they affect Mauritius, and that initiative measures have already been introduced to the attention of the House of Commons for the accomplishment of that purpose.

In approaching your lordship, for the purpose of respectfully submitting to your lordship's consideration the reasons which induced them to give to the contemplated measure their most earnest and determined opposition, the committee beg to assure your lordship that they are governed only by a sincere desire to secure the native inhabitants of the East from injustice and oppression, and the recently emancipated negros in Mauritius the full enjoyment of that liberty which has been obtained for them at so costly a sacrifice to the British nation.

1. The committee would remind your lordship of the fact, that the Mauritian planters have always been conspicuous for their daring violation of the laws under which they are placed; for their disloyalty to the crown of these realms; and for their unwearied opposition to the humane measures of the home government, intended for the benefit and protection of their late bondsmen, as a decisive proof that no confidence can be placed in their good faith and honour, and that *no* substantial justice can be obtained at their hands for the Asiatic labourer, or the emancipated negro; and they are further confirmed in this view of the case by the *notorious* fact, that, for the most part, the authorities in Mauritius are influenced by the predominant party there, which is known to be hostile to British laws and to British rule, and to be violently opposed to the full and fair development of the great measure of freedom lately bestowed on the negros.

2. In opposition to the facts which have come to their knowledge, the committee can place no reliance whatever on the general statements put forth by interested parties representing the Coolies at present in Mauritius, as happy in their condition, and as having no wish to change it. *Independently of other evidence*, in their opinion it is impossible to conceive that these wretched persons can be contented with their lot, when it is remembered that large numbers of them were conveyed to Mauritius under the most fraudulent pretences; without regard to the equality of the sexes, to the separation of families, to their social elevation, or to their moral welfare; and forcibly brought under contracts for labour, for long periods of time at the smallest rate of wages. And, in their judgment also, it would be contrary to the universal experience of mankind to believe that they can be happy, when it is known that the parties who introduced them into that colony were influenced only by the sordid purposes of gain, and by the avowed intention of coercing the labour, and of keeping down the wages, of the negros in a state of freedom.

3. As the committee would earnestly deprecate the further introduction of Hill Coolies into any of the emancipated colonies, as fraught with the most injurious consequences, morally as well as otherwise, to the existing labouring population, and as therefore calculated immeasurably to impede their advance in civilization and religion; they would respectfully submit to your lordship that, on this ground also, the Mauritian planters are least of all fit to be entrusted with the care of the ignorant and degraded natives of Hindostan, inasmuch as they have shown themselves not only utterly regardless of, but entirely opposed to the education of their late slaves in morals and religion.

4. The committee are firmly persuaded that the proposed measure, instead of inducing the Mauritian planters to act upon just and equal

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laws, and to depend on the exercise of humane treatment and good faith towards their present labourers for the cultivation of their estates, will cause them to rely on unjust and adventitious expedients for the accomplishment of their objects, and will have the effect of reviving the traffic in the persons of men, which no enactments in this country, however humanely intended, can prevent, or even control. It appears also to the committee, that the necessary consequence of the relaxation of the restrictions on the exportation of Coolies to Mauritius must lead to a similar measure in favour of British Guiana and Trinidad; an event, which they would greatly deplore, as fatal to the interests of humanity, and destructive of the hopes they have cherished in connexion with the freedom of the slave.

5. The pretence that the natives of India would be benefited by the proposed measure, the committee venture respectfully to deny. In order effectually to relieve the suffering and oppressed Hindoos, they humbly conceive a series of enlightened, humane, and comprehensive laws must be substituted for those which exist; and the present system of misgovernment be entirely abandoned. All partial expedients to relieve the misery which so extensively prevails in that vast country, can, in their judgment, only have the effect of retarding the introduction of those searching reforms which the exigencies of the people, and the prosperity and security of the empire so immediately and peremptorily require.

6. The distance of Mauritius from the controlling power of the home government, and the consequent difficulty and delay in obtaining information relative to the evils which exist in that colony, and in applying early and efficient remedies to them, has been felt by your lordship's predecessors in office; whilst the signal success of the Mauritian planters in carrying on their nefarious schemes—in frustrating the measures of government, and in displacing its officers—and in obtaining an immense sum of money as compensation for slaves who had been feloniously introduced, by means the most fraudulent, fully justifies, in the opinion of the committee, the alarm they feel as to the consequences which will result from the projected measure.

7. For these reasons the committee earnestly entreat your lordship, and your lordship's colleagues in office, not to advise her Majesty to sanction the relaxation of the restrictions referred to, but to maintain them inviolate; and to order such measures to be immediately taken, as shall restore to their families and to their homes those wretched Coolies who have been fraudulently introduced into Mauritius, and are held to service contrary to the Order in Council of the 7th September, 1828.

(Signed) W. BALL,
Chairman of the Committee.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street, 28th February, 1840.

CUBA THE CENTRE OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM.

[A letter from an American merchant to Mr. Sturge.]

New Richmond, Ohio, November 5th, 1839.

DEAR SIR,

An address from you to the friends of freedom respecting Texas, published a few days since in the *Cincinnati Philanthropist*, gave the abolitionists in this region great pleasure, as cheering evidence that you were not an idle spectator of what is going on upon this continent. Permit me, although a perfect stranger to you, to obtrude on you the few following thoughts respecting the overthrow of slavery in this hemisphere.

One of the most important points to which our British brethren can direct their attention, is the overthrow of slavery in the island of Cuba. Rest assured, dear sir, this is the lock and key to the whole system on this continent.

You can form no idea how deeply-rooted the de-humanizing system of slavery is in the United States, both in church and state. The whole United States, and I think twenty-four out of the twenty-six state governments, are controlled by the slave-holding power. Massachussetts and Vermont are the two noble exceptions. And oh! for our christianity! It would make an angel weep to look on one brother in Christ owning and selling another. There is nothing like it in the heathen world. The black or coloured man who is a slave, is compelled by law through the whole slave country to live like the brutes that perish, in a state of indescribable pollution, and in violation of the law of the God of the universe!

But to return to the subject of slavery in Cuba. It is the greatest rendezvous of pirates and slaves in the whole world. And not a moment should be lost in applying to the British government, and they to the new government of Spain, to have an entire revolution brought about in Cuba from slavery to freedom. That will cure Texas. It will likewise form a point of commencement for us in the United States, as it will bring up the whole question for discussion before our congress, a discussion which is now put down by the arbitrary power of majorities and gag laws. Get your Queen to apply by a special messenger to the Queen of Spain, for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. If this can be effected in Cuba, it will be worth years of efforts and resolves by Anti-slavery societies, here or elsewhere.

I love human freedom and just laws. I love freedom, because it is in conformity with right, and because it is favourable to a high improvement of the human race in virtue and knowledge. Were slavery abolished, a great missionary field would open in sight of my house, on the banks of the Ohio, extending thousands of miles to the north and west, and comprehending millions of white and coloured men, who, instead of being trained up for heaven and immortal glory, through Christ the Saviour, are to all appearance only filling up the measure of their iniquity.

I presume you have heard of the value set by Mr. Henry Clay, one of our statesmen, on the negro property in the union—twelve hundred millions of dollars! And this in the senate-chamber of our congress, without a blush!!!

God's hand is in the signs of the times, and his agents are to take the best possible plans to do his blessed work. The great stumbling-blocks ought to be removed out of the way first. The West India movement is a glorious beginning; but do not neglect the centre of the slave-system, which is Cuba. Neither be afraid of threats of disunion, or the like, which come from the south; for a more helpless and inefficient community is not to be found on the face of the earth—not in christendom, at any rate. We have some noble and kindred spirits in this country; and if only free discussion were allowed in our legislative halls, as it is with you on all subjects, oppression would fall, like Dagon before the ark.

EXPORTATION OF COOLIES: A CRY FROM INDIA.

It is a fact proved beyond controversy, that the poor men are inveigled from their humble home by a host of crimps, whom the system has called into existence; that the sole object of these crimps is to plunder the poor men of the advance of six month's pay, by various contrivances, and to the utmost extent of their power: that the poor men are induced to quit their country under engagements for five years, by hopes of happiness and comforts which are never realised; that when, by the flight of some of the labourers, the full complement falls short, other men have been kidnapped in Calcutta, and entrapped on board; that their treatment on the voyage has been, in many instances, of such a nature as to remind us strongly of the horrors of the "middle passage;" that their treatment in the colonies has varied according to the character of the masters; that in some instances they have been worked down to skeletons: that on flying from the house of bondage, parties have been sent to seize them, with orders to shoot them if they offered any resistance; that they are transferred from one planter to another, under the same system by which slave labour was formerly hired out; that in some instances they have been shipped on speculation; that they are taken from a cheap to a dear country, where the allowance they receive, although more than adequate to supply them with comforts in their native soil, will not even purchase them the necessaries of life in the colonies to which they are exported. These facts are clearly in evidence. One thing indeed is still wanting—the testimony of the planters themselves to the harsh treatment the men receive; and if we are not to extinguish this embryo slavery before this evidence be obtained, it will not be extinguished till it has grown up into a monstrous and insupportable slave-trade. The traffic is already spreading rapidly to the other ports in India. A hundred and fifty of these poor wretches, exported from Bombay, have just put in to Colombo. The *Courrier de Pondicherry*, in one of the late numbers, speaks of the interruption which had been offered to the farther shipment of these labourers by the Madras government, in consequence of letters from the Mauritius, and deems it unjust, as a retrospective measure, four or five vessels having already been freighted to convey cargoes of labourers. While the *Courrier* is calling for facts, every port in India is becoming a slave mart.

Let us suppose, however, that the "*noirs cultivateurs*," as they are termed, from the East Indies, are treated with all the tenderness and consideration due to free labourers; that they are never over-worked, never under-fed; granting that their labour does not differ in severity from that to which they have been accustomed here, and that they enjoy all the comforts of life; we demand of Government, upon what principle they venture to permit the men to desert their families; upon what ground of political or commercial expediency they have allowed five thousand six hundred and eighty-six females and families, in one year, to be abandoned to utter destitution. Say that the Order in Council is imperative on the governor-general to allow our labourers to be exported that order cannot take away from our Government the right, nor can it abrogate the duty of maintaining a salutary police; and, as a necessary act of police, to prevent the departure of one labourer, until he has made provision for the support of his family, during his absence. Government would be, even under the Orders in Council, justified in calling upon the merchants to give security to the Superintendant of Police in Calcutta, for the support of the families whom they are reducing to destitution, by abstracting the head. The merchant who ships the men on commission should be bound by the state to pay a monthly sum out of the wages of the men, into the hands of the superintendant. The tickets which are sometimes given to the wives and children of the men for pensions during their absence, are so much waste paper. We know of more than one instance in which, when the planter had gotten the men fairly into his possession, these allowances have been suddenly and wantonly stopped. We propose nothing but what is just and equitable;—two rupees monthly to be paid by the commission agent into the police-office, for the family of every labourer whom he ships from the country; and we verily believe, that this demand would soon put a stop to the trade.

Under the colour of a Bill for protecting the India labourers, it is proposed to legalize the importation of them into the colonies." * * * * * * * Hundreds of thousands of poor helpless women and children are now to be abandoned to want, that the growth of sugar in the West Indies may not languish. It is in vain to shut our eyes to the calamities which impend on India. It was in this manner that the slave-trade crept in, under the shadow of parliamentary regulation; a race was then begun between *abuses* and *legislation*, in which *legislation was always found to be in the rear*. AND SO IT WILL BE WITH THE COOLIE TRADE. We must tread the same circle; and, after years of the most poignant misery, come to the same result, that, in the case of the *new*, as of the *old*, trade, THE ONLY PATH OF SAFETY LIES IN ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION.—*Friend of India.*

REVIVAL OF THE COOLIE SLAVE-TRADE.—Mr. George Thompson, thus notices this interesting subject, in a recent lecture for the British India Society, at Bradford, York:—

"There is one other topic of special and pressing importance to which I must beg for a few minutes to call your attention. I refer to the threatened revival of the system of carrying the natives of India from their own shores to the sugar plantations of Mauritius and other colonies. I had thought—we all thought, that this deceptive and detestable trade had received a mortal blow, by the issuing of those Orders in Council which followed the agitation of the subject the year before last. Surely nothing has transpired to make us look with more allowance on the system! On the contrary, the disclosures made by Mr. Scoble, since his return from British Guiana, have been such as more than to confirm our worst fears. Yet it seems probable that the noble Secretary for the Colonies will speedily apply to parliament, to sanction a relaxation in the restrictions recently put upon the exportation of Hill Coolies. Strange to say, the papers laid upon the table of the House of Commons, upon which we are told Lord John Russell intends to found his application, contain the most convincing evidence that the trade, as hitherto carried on, has been one of fraud and force, and that the treatment of the Coolies has been of the most cruel description. It appears that, from the 1st of August, 1834, to the 24th of October, 1838, there were imported into Mauritius from Calcutta, 13,245 Coolies—viz., 12,994 MEN, 198 WOMEN, and 51 children. Let the proportion of the sexes be looked at. Let the frightful consequences of this cruel and

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guilty separation of the males from the females upon the shores of India be taken into consideration. Let the necessary state of things in the island of Mauritius be well weighed. *If the object of the government be to set at naught the laws of God and the nearest relationship of life, and to convert the emancipated colonies into hells upon earth, let them revive the inhuman and horrible trade which they were some time ago compelled to promise should be utterly suppressed. If they would blast the prospects of those who have been set free, and spread a contagion through the colonies too fearful in its character to be named, or scarcely conceived, let them again sanction the Gladstone slave-trade; but let them be prepared to witness an indignant resistance to their measures and a humiliating defeat of all their plans.* The returns of Coolies imported into Mauritius, do not seem to be clear, but it seems that out of 19,050, only 205 were women! A superintendent special magistrate, who seems to possess far more honesty and moral courage than those with whom he is associated, has borne testimony to the iniquity of the system. In a letter to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary of the island, this magistrate, whose name is Mr. C. Anderson, says—

"Many of them have actually been kidnapped from their own country, which they have all been induced to leave under circumstances of gross fraud; and it is a source of astonishment to me that any body of freemen, whatever may have been their former condition, should have borne, with the patience and forbearance which the Indian labourers at Port Louis have displayed, the bitter disappointment which must have attended their introduction into this island.

"To induce them to come here, their ignorance is worked upon in India by the most false and deceitful representations; and the robbery and pillage which has been practised on them in Calcutta would scarcely be credited, if the fact was not established by the most convincing testimony. They reach this colony after having been robbed of six months' pay, which is advanced in India; and when here their comfort is in every way neglected, while they are compelled, by the engagements to which their own ignorance and the avarice of others have bound them, to toil during five years for a recompence bearing no proportion to the work to which they are subjected, when compared with the common estimation of the value of labour in this colony, or to the sum which they would earn if they had the free disposal of their own time."

With these facts before you, I need not ask whether you are prepared to sanction the revival of the Gladstone slave-trade. What adds to the indignation with which this system is regarded, is the fact that at least one-third of the fertile soil of India is uncultivated, and if not cursed with a blighting land-tax might not only give food enough to the Coolie, but produce the very articles which the Coolie is kidnapped and carried away to cultivate in a foreign land.

Advertisements.

AT A MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the BIRMINGHAM BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, MARCH 6, 1840, held at the PUBLIC-OFFICE, BIRMINGHAM, SAMUEL LLOYD, Esq., in the Chair,

Resolved unanimously,

"That it appears to this meeting, that between 20,000 and 30,000 Natives of India have been, within the last five years, introduced into the Mauritius, and that, being employed under a system of forced labour, they are subject to all the miseries which attended the former slave population.

"That this Meeting has learned with deep regret, that it is the intention of her Majesty's Government to adopt measures for relaxing the prohibitions of the Order in Council of September 7, 1838, which put an end to such importations.

"That this meeting, fully persuaded that the alleged necessity for the introduction of these labourers can only have arisen from the well-known fact, that the planters of that Colony are no longer able to supply the dreadful waste of life resulting from the oppressive treatment of the negros on their estates by the contraband slave-trade which they have heretofore feloniously carried on; and being convinced, from the experience of the past, that, in most of our colonies, but especially in the Mauritius, no regulations on the part of Government can secure the unhappy Coolies from becoming the speedy victims of similar oppressions, earnestly entreats her Majesty's Ministers not to persevere in a measure which can only result in the legalized restoration, under a different name, of a slave-trade, as abhorrent to humanity and justice as that which the people of this country have so long been endeavouring to destroy.

"That so long as the emancipated negros of Mauritius find it more advantageous to employ themselves as free labourers in making other produce than in the cultivation of sugar, the substitution for the negros of the natives of India must be followed by the same disastrous consequences to them as formerly resulted to the negros; and that all attempts to obtain the cultivation of sugar by other means than voluntary labour, under the condition of adequate wages, are only so many contrivances to defeat the purpose for which the people of England have paid twenty millions of money, and to renew the system of forced labour by false pretences, and under another guise.

"That this Meeting, bearing in mind the persevering and contumacious resistance of the Mauritian planters to the measures called for by the British Parliament for the amelioration of the condition of the former slave population, are of opinion that the Mauritians are, of all the colonists, least entitled to the contemplated act of favour, and the least fit to be entrusted with the practical working of such a scheme as that proposed, which, in the best regulated communities, must be one of deep oppression and injustice; and they cannot but express their astonishment at the present Ministry allowing themselves to be deluded by interested parties into the adoption of such a measure.

"That a copy of the above resolutions be forwarded to the Members for the Borough, and the northern division of the county; with a request that they will attend in Parliament, and oppose any measures for relaxing the Order in Council of 7th September, 1838.

"That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

(Signed) SAMUEL LLOYD, Chairman.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

COMMITTEE.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq. Treasurer.

Charles Lushington, Esq. M.P.	Rev. Thomas Scales, Leeds.
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Amount already advertised.		£1346	18 0
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Subscriptions will be received at the following places:—

Samuel Gurney, Esq., Treasurer, Lombard-street.

Messrs. Herries, Farquhar, and Co. St. James's-street.

Messrs. Drewett and Fowler, Bankers, Princes-street, City.

Messrs. Hanburys, Taylor, and Lloyd, Bankers, Lombard-street.

Baptist Missionary Society's Office, Fen-court, Fenchurch-street.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, or by any of the Members of the Committee.

HENRY STERRY, Sec.

27, *New Broad Street.*

BELLE-VUE, DEMERARA. There has been a complete clearance on this estate, of Coolie notoriety. Messrs. Matthews, Russell, Nimmo, and Charlieb—the attorney, manager, doctor, and driver—all have lost their places, through the exposure of their practices effected by Mr. Scoble. Gentlemen of the same tribe should take a lesson from this.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 6.] WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

ADDRESS TO THE WOMEN OF ENGLAND.

THE magnitude and importance of the work in which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is engaged, namely, the overthrow of the twin abominations of slavery and the slave-trade wherever they exist, requires that they should seek and obtain the countenance and support of every philanthropist, both at home and abroad; and especially of that portion of the human family whose sympathy has ever been excited by suffering and distress, and whose assistance has never been withheld for its relief. To the women of England, the committee would appeal in behalf of Africa, so long desolated and degraded by the slave-trade; and, in the name of upwards of six millions of their fellow-creatures, subjected to the most rigorous bondage—exposed to the most dreadful privations—and subjected to the most cruel treatment, to gratify the lust of wealth and the love of power in those who have usurped an unrighteous dominion over them.

Through the divine blessing on the labours of the abolitionists of this country, the last vestige of legalized slavery has disappeared in the British possessions in the West Indies, Central and South America, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope; and eight hundred thousand human beings have been raised from the condition of chattels to that of men, and put into possession of the blessings of freedom. Already the benefits of the wise and great measure of emancipation are beginning to be realized: education and religion are rapidly extending; marriage and the parental relation are honoured; peaceful industry, where the people are honourably treated, abounds; and a willing obedience to the laws universally marks the conduct of the emancipated. Yet there is much to be done to complete the work of freedom in these colonies. The passions, prejudices, and pride of men long used to treat their bondmen as an inferior species to themselves, and to exercise arbitrary sway over them, have not as yet yielded to the spirit of kindness, liberality, and good will; oppressive laws still exist, and others are contemplated; and justice is too often and too flagrantly perverted, to allow the friends of the liberated negros to slumber at their post, or to cease their exertions until they have placed their liberties on a firm and imperishable basis.

But whilst the committee rejoice in the triumphs of justice, humanity, and religion, in these colonies, they have to deplore the existence of slavery in British India. At least five hundred thousand (some assert there are millions) of British subjects, on that vast continent, are held as property, and are in a state of extreme wretchedness; whilst the traffic in human beings is there allowed in practice, if not sanctioned by law. For the liberty of these the committee would earnestly plead, and they trust, they shall not plead in vain.

The prodigious extent and the multiplied horrors of the African slave-trade have engaged too much of public attention to require more than a mere reference to them, in order to excite the deepest feelings of commiseration for its unhappy victims in every human breast. At the lowest computation, not less than one hundred and fifty thousand men, women, and children, are torn from Africa annually, to meet the demand of the slave-markets of the western world; whilst not less than fifty thousand more are provided to supply those of the East! Yet these form scarcely more than a third of the yearly victims of this nefarious traffic. Upwards of three hundred thousand in addition, are estimated to perish in the wars engendered by it in the interior of Africa, in their transit across the burning and arid deserts, in their detention at the coast, and by disease, famine, and death, in the most aggravated forms.

Still the whole tale of horror is not told. In the rice-swamps and cotton plantations of the southern states, of the great North American republic, three millions of men, women, and children, languish in slavery and chains. A number nearly equal to this are compelled, under the dreadful stimulus of the cart-whip, to cultivate the vast territory of Brazil; and about one million more are engaged on the sugar and coffee plantations of Cuba and Porto Rico, belonging to the crown of Spain; Martinique and Guadeloupe, the possessions of France; Surinam and other colonies of Holland; and Santa Cruz and St. Thomas, appertaining to Denmark. The variety and weight of misery, privation, and suffering endured by them can only be fully known to *Him* who is omniscient, and whose ear is open to their cry; yet enough is known of their sorrows to excite the tenderest compassion for them, and the most earnest prayers and efforts for their deliverance.

One fact must not be lost sight of. Nearly one-half of the millions of the human race now held in slavery are women, and on them it falls with dreadful severity! Within the grasp of their brutal masters, neither the innocence of youth, nor the virtue of womanhood is respected. Human rights are not merely trampled on, human nature is not merely outraged, but the soul is polluted, and the loveliest as well as the noblest attributes of our being destroyed.

In those countries where slavery extensively prevails, especially in the United States of America, an immense internal slave-trade is carried on, under the most revolting circumstances. Not only are husbands and wives, mothers and children, publicly exposed to auction, handled and examined like cattle, and sold and separated without compunction or remorse; but in some of the older slave states, as in Virginia and Maryland, the loathsome practice of rearing human beings for the markets is resorted to, without the slightest regard to decency or shame.

The deep conviction of religious duty that prompted the friends of the slaves in the British colonies to seek and to secure their freedom, should impel them to similar zeal and exertion, in the use of every moral, religious, and pacific means, to attain the same end in every part of the world, for those who are still held in bondage. *Slavery, wherever it exists, is the same moral deformity, the same crime before God;* and ought to be viewed with detestation, and reprobated with boldness, by every one who professe s act on *Christian* principles.

To the accomplishment of this great work, the Christian women of England are now summoned. Will they not answer the appeal? It were injurious to their well-earned reputation, to their principles, and to their piety, to question the course they will pursue. Africa, ravished of her children, will not stretch out her hands in vain, to implore their assistance to deliver her sons from slavery, and her daughters from the hands of the spoiler. The promptings of humanity, the pleadings of benevolence, will lead to exertion; and cheered by the Divine promises, and animated by the glorious results of past labours in the same sacred cause, they will devote themselves to the *utter extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.*

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society wish to become the mouth-piece of their suffering and enslaved fellow-creatures over the whole earth. It will therefore seek to unfold the secrets of every prison-house to the light of day, and to give loud utterance to the groans of the captive negro, whether lashed to his task under the scorching rays of a tropical sun, or chained to labour in the abysses of a Brazilian mine. Let it not be said, that, because the work is great and difficult, it is either hopeless or impracticable. Already there are cheering indications, that the principles on which the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, is sought by this society are making rapid progress. Truth is achieving its victory over error—righteousness over iniquity—and liberty over slavery. In the blaze of light now poured on this subject, the slave-holder sees the doom of the atrocious system which he sustains, and himself revealed as the enemy both of God and of man. The indignant reprobation of the civilized world is uttered no less against the man that buys and holds a slave, than against him that steals one. But, though the final triumph of the cause to which the society is devoted were distant, the duty of promoting it is immediate and imperative. The diffusion, therefore, of its principles—the recognition of its claims—the development of its plans—and the increase of its funds, is warmly commended to the women of England, in the confident expectation that they will cheerfully exert themselves in support of a cause dear to humanity, to justice, and to religion.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

27, New Broad-street, 18th March, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—Presuming that the suggestions alluded to in *Times* of yesterday, for effectually putting down the slave-trade at Cuba and Rio de Janeiro, by a proposal to confer a new power on the Courts of mixed Commission sitting there, are chiefly taken from your recent work entitled "Travels in the West," I am requested by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society respectfully to solicit the favour of your furnishing them, for publication, with the particulars of the plan you have in contemplation for this humane purpose. I am, my dear Sir, your's respectfully and sincerely,

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

D. Turnbull, Esq., &c. &c.

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From the Times of Tuesday, March 17th, 1840.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Monday evening.

Suggestions of a novel and important character have been made to the government, for the purpose of effectually putting down the slave-trade in those countries where it is still kept up, in spite of all the obligations of treaties. Referring to Cuba and Rio de Janeiro, as the marts where this abominable traffic chiefly prevails at present, the proposal is to confer a new power on the courts of mixed commission sitting there, by enabling them to enforce the law of the country in which they sit, by declaring any labourer not to be a native creole, but introduced into the country in violation of law and treaty; also that the onus of proving a lawful dominion over the slave should be thrown on the party claiming it; that there should be, in fact, a legal presumption in favour of freedom. Some difficulty may be anticipated in distinguishing in all cases the imported African from the native creole, but it is affirmed by the parties who originate these suggestions, that the difference between them is so strongly marked that the mere presentation of the individual in court, without any evidence of the place of his birth, would, in most cases, be sufficient to determine his condition.

This object, however, it is clear, can only be obtained with the concurrence of the Spanish government, which must be, under all circumstances, a matter of very delicate negotiation; but it is thought capable of accomplishment, if properly represented at that court. If a willingness to assist in it is manifested, the course advised would be to draw the line between all the importations of slaves previously to conferring this new power on the mixed commissions. This would create an interest on the part of the planters against new supplies of slaves, which would lessen the value of their stock; and it is conceived that if only one-half of those that arrived were set at liberty under this new regulation, it would so far deter purchasers as to destroy the market, and put an end to the future importations.

All suggestions of this nature are entitled to a patient hearing with the public, and this, whatever practical difficulties may beset it, is worthy at least of a trial.

London, 20th March, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was duly favoured with your letter of the 18th, in which, on the part of the committee of your excellent institution, you do me the honour to desire that I should furnish you, for publication, with the particulars of the plan I have conceived for the suppression of the African slave-trade.

The only obstacle which existed to an immediate compliance with your request, consisted in the fact, that, ten days ago, I had the honour to receive the directions of Lord Viscount Palmerston, to prepare a similar statement for the use of her Majesty's government. Most anxious to emulate the approved zeal of your society in this branch of your philanthropic labours, I lost no time in laying your letter before the noble viscount, nor in expressing to his lordship how desirous I was to comply with the request contained in it; but, as the statement I should have to prepare for you, although different in form, must in substance be almost identical with the paper I had so lately submitted to the consideration of the government, I felt that there might possibly be motives of public convenience for suspending such a publication as that which your letter contemplates, until some government decision had been taken on the subject.

It is with the liveliest satisfaction, however, that I am now enabled to acquaint you, that lord Palmerston has consented in the kindest manner to relieve me from the restraint under which I felt myself placed, assuring me that he sees no reason for withholding from you, or from the public, the particulars, which, without further preface, I have now the honour of laying before you.

From the great and increasing amount of the African trade, the evils of which have only been aggravated by the various attempts that have hitherto been made to re-strain it, I submit I am entitled to assume that the true principle on which an effective measure of abolition should be based has not yet been disclosed. I will not assert that the plan I am now to bring forward is free from all difficulty, but I confidently maintain that there is no difficulty attending it which cannot be easily surmounted, if the government will consent to apply to it the mere moral force at its disposal.

The lever with which I propose to overthrow this colossal grievance, is to be found among the simplest elements of economical science. It is by cutting off the *demand* for victims that the *supply* is to be suppressed. It is by making the purchaser and possessor of an African slave *insecure* in the enjoyment of his unlawful acquisition, that he is to be deterred from paying the price. It is by demonstrating to the slave-dealer that imported Africans will no longer be a marketable commodity, and by that process alone, that he will willingly abandon a trade which has ceased to be profitable.

The great *consumers* of African slaves, are the empire of Brazil, and the colonial dependencies of Spain.

The white inhabitants of the Brazilian empire begin to be sensible of the imminent dangers to which they will expose themselves, if they persevere much longer in adding to the disproportionate amount of their negro population, by the toleration of the African slave-trade. With the example of St. Domingo before their eyes, we have a reasonable guarantee of the sincerity of the professions of his Imperial Majesty's government, in favour of a system of absolute suppression.

The case is somewhat different with regard to the colonial dependencies of Spain. In Cuba, the white and coloured portions of the population are nearly balanced in numerical strength. In Porto Rico, the negros are far out-numbered by the inhabitants of European descent. In both islands, but especially in Cuba, the natural desire for independence has of late years been stimulated into passion, by the intolerable burthen of the fiscal exactions, which have been levied for the purpose of defraying the charges of a war in another hemisphere, in which they feel no interest.

It is in consequence of this state of things, that the sincerity of the professions of the government of her Catholic Majesty, on the subject of the suppression of the slave-trade, is liable to reasonable suspicion. The planters of Cuba and Porto Rico, wherever their estates are fully and properly peopled with a just proportion between the sexes, in place of desiring the continuance of the slave-trade, have a direct and obvious interest in its suppression. On the neighbouring continent of North America, within two days' sail of the Havana, the average value of a field-slave is at least a thousand dollars. In Cuba, the effect of the competition of the slave-dealers with each other is to reduce the value of an imported African to less than the third-part of that amount.

The high price of slaves in those states of North America which adjoin the Gulf of Mexico is still maintained, in spite of the well-known fact, that, in the breeding districts of Maryland and Virginia, the negro population is found to increase in a duplicate ratio, as compared with the inhabitants of those regions of European descent. The planters of Cuba are aware that the negro population of Virginia has long been doubling itself every twelve years and-a-half, while the white inhabitants require twenty-five years to accomplish the process of duplication.

There is nothing in the climate of Cuba to prevent a similar rate of increase of the negros. There is nothing, in short, but the cheapness of labour, arising from the toleration of the African trade, which prevents the proprietors of old plantations in Cuba from throwing themselves with confidence on the principle of propagation.

Here I would desire respectfully to guard myself against the supposition of my being the apologist of slavery, under any circumstances, or with any degree of modification. My present business is to deal with the African slave-trade, and to suggest a practicable mode of accomplishing its suppression. In the proper place and at the proper period, I do not despair of being able to demonstrate, that, by a resort to sound principles, the practice of slavery itself may be rooted out, in those very countries whose social and political institutions are now so intimately blended with it.

I have not engaged in this conflict, without endeavouring to measure the strength of the adversaries with whom I shall have to contend. Of these I perceive there are several classes:—

The mere dealer in slaves—the man who invests his capital in the building and outfit of fast-sailing clippers, in manning them with their ruffian crews, in loading them with their cargoes of rum or gunpowder, and in devoting himself to the study of international treaties and preventive laws for the sole purpose of evading them, is not by any means to be regarded as a very formidable antagonist. The terms "coward" and "capitalist" were never more truly convertible than in the person of the trafficker in slaves. He may hire the bands of ruffians and outcasts to hazard their lives in his service; but his money he will not peril without the assurance of a profitable return. That object he finds the means of accomplishing, either by spreading the risk over a sufficient number of separate adventures, or by abandoning a portion of the gain he contemplates, in the shape of premiums of insurance to joint stock companies or private underwriters.

Another class of opponents will be found among the ministerial and judicial servants of the Spanish government. Their superiors in the mother country have ingeniously made it the interest of a great number of these public functionaries to evade the execution of the laws, and to convert that evasion into a fruitful source of profit, the better to secure the retention of the island in her Catholic Majesty's dependence. Inasmuch, however, as the existence of the court of mixed commission at the Havana, with all its acknowledged imperfections, has had the effect, during the twenty years elapsed since its creation, of disappointing the cupidity of those venal functionaries to a very considerable extent, I see no reason to doubt that, with the improved machinery I propose to introduce, this iniquitous source of profit will be completely dried up and extinguished.

Before entering on the specification of the nature of this machinery, it may not be inconvenient to indicate the first and most important step of the process which I propose should be followed.

It is asserted by many of our most eminent philanthropists, that, according to the spirit of our existing treaties with Spain, we are entitled to demand the instant liberation of every individual consigned to slavery, in any part of the Spanish dependencies, since the date of the first of these conventions. To this argument, it would not be easy to offer a satisfactory reply. For the present, however, I am content to cut off the source of future importation, and to leave this an open question to be agitated by others. Should my humble voice be ever entitled to share in the decision, I trust I need not say with what cordiality I would give it in the affirmative.

Let us not embarrass ourselves however, with too much work

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at a time. The most convenient moment for discussing this separate question will be after the channels of importation shall have been cut off, and after the enormous masses of capital at this moment engaged in the trade to Africa shall have been finally drawn off, to find their due level in the great money markets of the world.

According to the views I am now to submit to your society, the courts of mixed commission at the Havana and Rio de Janeiro, which under the operation of existing treaties have gradually been sinking into a state of listless inactivity, will at once be raised to a degree of efficiency and vigour, which they have not possessed at any period of their existence.

The plan I have conceived is, by the negotiation of new conventions, or of additional clauses to existing treaties, to confer on these courts the power of enforcing the laws of the country in which they sit, by declaring that A, B, or C, the inmate of a barracoon, or a labourer on a plantation, is not a native creole, but has been introduced into the country in *violation* of law and treaty. I am further to propose, that the onus of proving a lawful dominion over the slave should be thrown on the party claiming it, that in short there should be a legal presumption in favour of freedom; and I think there can be the less objection to introduce and recognize this principle in the treaty I recommend for negotiation, inasmuch as I have been informed by the eminent Spanish juris-consults with whom I have advised on the subject, that the presumption of freedom, in the absence of proof to the contrary, is already the right of every inhabitant of her Catholic Majesty's dominions.

Happily, however, for the interests of humanity, it is matter of notoriety, among persons conversant with the subject, that a fresh imported or *bozal* negro can, for many years after his arrival in America, be distinguished at a glance from the native creoles. The distinction is in fact so clear, that the mere presentation of the individual in court, without a word of evidence as to the place of his birth, would in most cases be sufficient to determine his condition.

Should her Majesty's government be induced to enter on such a negotiation, the true grounds and motives for the opposition to be expected from the government of her Catholic Majesty will not, in all probability, be openly avowed. It will never be admitted that a clandestine encouragement of the worst practices of the slave-trade is rendered necessary by a sort of political necessity, in order to repress the aspirations of the creole population of Cuba for that sort of independence which the other Spanish provinces of America have already achieved.

Neither will it be pretended that the continuance of the slave-trade is necessary to the successful cultivation of the soil, in presence of the fact already alluded to, of the rapid increase of the negro population in the neighbouring states of the North American Union.

The ostensible ground of opposition will probably be confined to a pretended fear of discontent and insurrection on the part of those slaves who will not be entitled to a declaration of freedom in their favour, in consequence of the place of their birth, or the date of their introduction. Her Catholic Majesty's government have constantly professed as ardent a desire as our own to concur in the measures of suppression already proposed; and the fact is undeniable, that, in the place of being diminished or modified by any of the measures of restraint which have heretofore been resorted to, the evil is actually on the increase; a position satisfactorily established by the progressive nature of the official returns of the amount of the slave population.

The arguments that may be drawn from a pretended fear of discontent and insurrection, may be answered by the fact, that it is the wild and savage African alone whose removal we propose—and that it is no part of our plan to disturb the condition of the comparatively civilized creole. It is, besides, by units, and not by cargoes, that the process of liberation will take place; so that the proceedings under the new treaty will be much less alarming in their general aspect, or their individual amount, than those already sanctioned by existing conventions.

As the proceedings of the court of mixed commission, moreover, have hitherto been conducted in strict conformity with the Spanish principle of closed doors, written pleadings, and secret deliberations, it might possibly be advisable to adhere to the established practice, inasmuch as the presence of a British prosecutor, and one or more British judges, would afford a sufficient guarantee for their perfect regularity. The mere existence of the court for upwards of twenty years, in the course of which discussions have frequently arisen affecting the freedom of entire cargoes of Africans, without producing a single practical evil, to give the captain-general, or the government, any substantial chance of complaint, appears to me to afford a broad basis on which the demand for the enlargement of the powers of the court may be conveniently founded. The great advantage of proceeding by units, and not by masses, is, that every individual liberation would amount to the assertion of a vital principle, without affording any reasonable pretext for apprehension or alarm.

It may not be easy to suggest any better expedient than that recognized by treaty, for the case of a difference of opinion between the two commissary judges. It is true, that, in doubtful cases, a decided leaning has been observed on the part of the Spanish members of the court towards the acquittal of the prizes brought up for condemnation; and there may, therefore, be some reason to apprehend a corresponding disposition, to resist the liberation of the negro clients of the British prosecutor, as often as a sufficient air of doubt can be thrown over the case to justify the hesitation of the Spanish commissary judge.

On the very worst supposition it is possible to conceive, the drawing of lots for the choice of the arbitrator would be resorted to *in every case*, without a single exception.

The practice of the Spanish judges, however indefensible in many particular instances, has never yet been carried to this systematic extreme, and, in fairness, it cannot be said there is any just reason to anticipate such an unheard of design of pertinacity for the future. But, suppose for a moment that the Spanish judge and the Spanish arbitrator were to be for ever deaf to the calls of duty, and the evidence of fact, it results from the mere doctrine of chances, which, when applied to thousands of cases, becomes infallible, that one-half of the whole of those to be thus presented to the mixed court for adjudication would be decided in favour of the liberty of the slave. Now the systematic liberation of *one-half only* of the future importations would be perfectly sufficient to prevent the planter from paying a remunerating price to the dealer or importer, and hence it is demonstrated that the system I propose must be FATAL to the trade.

Objections of a dilatory nature may of course be expected on the part of her Catholic Majesty's ministers, at the outset of the negotiation. The necessity or convenience of consulting the governors or captains-general of their Transatlantic possessions, will probably be urged as a reason for withholding their immediate assent to a proposition which is calculated to affect the future interests and prosperity of the Spanish West India colonies. To render this pretence unavailing, I am strongly of opinion that the past and future importation of slaves into these colonies should be separated from each other by a broad line of distinction; and that the object of the proposed negotiation should be exclusively confined to the case of *future importations*. The most convenient *terminus a quo* would probably be the date of the first official note of the British ambassador, directing the attention of her Catholic Majesty's government to the subject.

Were it consistent with the duties or the dignity of a cabinet minister to undertake such a mission, I have already respectfully suggested, that the well-earned popularity of the Lord Privy Seal with the Spanish nation would convert, in his lordship's hands, a tedious into an instantaneous operation. Before his lordship's arrival the mind of the people might be prepared for his reception, through the medium of the Peninsular press. His re-appearance in Madrid would become a sort of triumphal entry, and the great and interesting object of his embassy would be accomplished under the influence of the first burst of national enthusiasm. In hazarding this prediction, I have not spoken without some knowledge of the Spanish character, nor without an intimate personal acquaintance with the machinery of the Peninsular press. It was my fortune to be a resident at Madrid during the period of the negotiation of the treaty of 1835.

Before closing this paper, I entreat the attention of the society, to a few of the collateral advantages, which are destined to result from the adoption of my plan.

1st. The whole of the naval force, so unprofitably, so injuriously employed in the ineffectual blockade of a whole continent on one side, and of two large islands and a vast empire on the other, would be liberated from duties involving great loss of human life, and a heavy charge to the state, without any corresponding benefit in the shape of honour or profit; and would either be rendered disposable for services more useful to the country, or would produce a proportional saving of the national expenditure.

2nd. The commercial interests of this country are deeply injured by the toleration of a trade, with the practice of which her Majesty's subjects refuse to pollute themselves. The honour of her Majesty's crown is grieviously tarnished by the habitual disregard of the solemn treaties, which her Majesty, and her royal predecessors, have concluded and ratified for its suppression. These interests will be protected, that honour will be saved, by the adoption of a sound system of abolition.

3rd. In the department of foreign affairs, a vast amount of labour would be saved to the principal secretary of state, by rendering it unnecessary to continue those widely ramified negotiations throughout the civilized world, the object of which is to create a universal league for the suppression of the slave-trade. The unprofitable labour of our foreign embassies and legations, would equally be spared, and a similar saving would be effected in the colonial department of the government.

4th. The state of our relations with Spain would be greatly improved. The suppression of the slave-trade, and the progressive civilization of the creole negros, to the total exclusion of savage Africans, would liberate the greater part of the overgrown garrisons of the Havana, and of the outports of Cuba and Porto Rico, and would thus go far to enable the Spanish government to satisfy their foreign creditors. If any serious difficulty presented itself in the course of negotiation, I submit that the incalculable importance of the object would justify the government, either in threatening, on the one hand, to recognize and guarantee the independence of Cuba, in case of refusal; or in undertaking, on the other, as the price of her consent to an effectual and *bonâ fide* suppression, to secure the mother country in the possession of this valuable dependency, as long as it remained practically free from the stain of slave-trading.

5th. The existing differences with Portugal, our ancient ally, arising out of the infringement of our slave-trade treaties, would be adjusted in the simplest and most satisfactory manner, by the total extinction of the original cause of quarrel.

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6th. A fruitful source of discord with the United States of America would likewise be extinguished, by the peaceful mode of suppression I am now recommending. The law of last session with reference to Portugal is evidently destined to throw the whole of the carrying trade in slaves, directly or indirectly, into the hands of the Americans. The dissensions which are sure to arise out of this state of things will serve to embitter the *Boundary Question*, uniting the inhabitants of the Southern States and the Atlantic cities with the belligerents of Maine and the manufacturing interests of New England, in the no longer latent desire of an open rupture with Great Britain.

7th. The growers of inter-tropical produce, who rely exclusively on free labour for the cultivation of the soil, will derive a benefit from the equalisation of expenditure, arising from the introduction of any efficient system of slave-trade suppression, so vast and so important, that I shall leave it to be estimated by the members of that powerful influential body, whose interests are now happily blended, as well as reconciled, with the cause of African freedom. It is one of the most cheering characteristics of the plan I am now submitting to your society, that it challenges no controversy, but, on the contrary, is perfectly compatible with every other project that has yet been presented. While it annihilates the profits of the dealer, and ameliorates the condition of the slave, it confers a just reward on those colonies and countries who have volunteered or consented to substitute wages for the lash, and to trust entirely for the future to the labour of free men.

8th. But the crowning advantage to arise from the peaceful solution of this *questio vexata*, ought rather to be regarded as *direct* than collateral. The introduction into the interior of Africa of habits of peace and order, Christianity and civilization, will be the inevitable result of suppression. A taste for foreign luxuries is already implanted in the mind of the native African. To obtain the enjoyment of them he resorts to war and rapine, to the caption and sale of his fellow-creatures. The taste will remain after the medium of exchange has lost its value. The arts of peace will take the place of deeds of violence, and the humanizing influence of lawful commerce will follow in the steps of the man-stealer.

For several years to come, the courts of mixed commission will have abundance of employment. The receiving ships in the various stations will present an interesting spectacle; and the superintendants of liberated Bozals will have an important duty to perform, in determining between the competing claims of Trinidad, Guiana, and the other West India colonies, for the large amount of voluntary labour which they will in some sort have at their disposal, according to the advantages that may be offered in the rate of wages or allowances, or in the shortness of the term of service. These colonies will find it their interest to have accredited agents in constant readiness at the seat of each of the mixed commission courts. The effect of their competition with each other can only be favourable to the interests of the unfortunate Africans; and the tendency of the previous struggle of the superintendant, in his capacity of prosecutor or protector, will be to inspire him with all the generous feelings of a champion, a guardian, and a redeemer.

In laying a statement in all respects similar to the above before the government of the country, I felt that I discharged my mind of the high responsibility which had never ceased to press on it, from the moment that my views on the subject had reached a reasonable degree of maturity. That responsibility I respectfully transferred to her Majesty's ministers, and with it the immortal honour of accomplishing the extinction of "the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted mankind."

Confident of the high ground on which I stood, I ventured to conclude my address with the following appeal to the noble Secretary for foreign affairs:—

"The British minister who shall accomplish an object which has engaged the attention of statesmen and philanthropists, for the last half century, defeating the ingenuity of the one, and disappointing the zeal of the other, will be hailed by his contemporaries as a benefactor to his race, and will send down his name with glory to the latest posterity. The British Minister who should lightly reject the first practicable remedy that has ever been brought forward, if its soundness should afterwards be demonstrated, would not only throw away the wreath prepared for his acceptance, but would justly expose himself to the most serious reproach."

It was through the instrumentality of such means as are now at the disposal of your admirable institution, that the evils and the injustice of slavery in the British West Indies were so effectually pressed on the attention of the legislature and the government, as to determine the enactment of the great measure of emancipation of 1833.

It is by the active exercise of the same benignant influence that I hope to see our government induced to put forth the moral energies of this great nation in the manner I have ventured to recommend, and so to accomplish the extension of a social evil of still greater magnitude.

In the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to condense the facts and the reasoning which are to be found so much in detail in the work to which you have been good enough to allude. The countenance of your society, the commands of the government, the approbation of several distinguished members of both houses of parliament, the growing force of public opinion, and the concurrent voice of the press, have all afforded me the greatest comfort and encouragement in reasoning on this subject, and each, in its way, has materially contributed to strengthen a conviction already formed of the soundness of this system of suppression, which first presented itself to my mind when I found myself surrounded by the scenes of hopeless wretchedness the slave-trade has produced. It is by a great popular impulse in this country that her Majesty's government will be moved to enter seriously on the negotiation proposed. It is by the force of a similar impulse in the Peninsula that the Spanish government will be compelled to yield to the demands of justice and humanity.

I remain with great truth and regard, my dear Sir, your's most respectfully and sincerely,

J. H. Tredgold, Esq., &c. &c. D. TURNBULL.

MAURITIUS.

THE following important and authentic document in relation to this colony have just been received by the Anti-slavery Committee.

PREPARATIONS FOR FREEDOM.

The act of parliament dated August 28th, 1833, (3 and 4 W. IV. cap. 73) began to take effect at Mauritius, February 1st, 1835. Since that period ordinances relative to the apprentices have been passed from time to time by the legislative council. Some of these ordinances have been disapproved by the home government, and others have been abrogated by the total emancipation of the prædial labourers; but while those ordinances have been abrogated by the benevolent provisions of the emancipation act, those provisions themselves have been rendered in a great degree nugatory, by certain articles in an ordinance passed by the legislative council, August 14th, 1838. (Ord. No. 6, 1838.) By this ordinance, a vagrant law of the most oppressive character is established. According to the royal instructions of August, 1831, by which the legislative council was appointed, it is provided in art. 31, that no act or ordinance passed by that council is to have effect till ratified by the home government; but this regulation is virtually nullified by the qualifying clause, "except only in cases where delay might produce embarrassment," &c. ("Excepte seulement dans lecas des ordonnances dans lesquels le delai necessaire pour communiquer prealablement avec nous produrait des consequences serieusement nuisibles ou embarassantes.") In the present instance the council has availed itself of this exception, and it is stated that the present ordinance shall have effect from the day of its publication, and shall be in force for five years, reckoning from that date, or until the pleasure of her Majesty be made known. In this ordinance it is enacted that vagrancy is a misdemeanour, that the law visits the offence with correctional punishment, viz.:—

1st.—Imprisonment, with or without labour.

2nd.—Interdiction for a term from certain civic, civil, or family rights.

3rd.—Fine. (V. Ord. vi. art. 192.)

Vagrants are defined to be those who have no fixed domicile, nor any means of subsistence, and who, being able to labour, do not habitually work at any trade or profession. Art. 193. Vagrants legally declared to be such shall, on that account alone, be punished by imprisonment, not exceeding six months. Art. 196. Any beggar or vagrant who shall be found to have in his possession one or more articles of a greater value than one pound sterling, and who shall not show satisfactorily in what manner such article or articles have come into his possession, shall be punished by imprisonment. Art. 200. Any beggar or vagrant, who shall have used any violence whatever against any individual, shall be punished by imprisonment. Art. 201. In order to give full effect to this most oppressive vagrant law, a law which bears in fact exclusively on the emancipated apprentices and Indians, the legislative council has just passed an ordinance, providing for the protection of the sugar plantations from depredations, by appointing a body (gardes champetres) from which each proprietor may have two men on his estate, on condition of paying fifteen piastres, or three pounds sterling, per month. These men, chiefly if not altogether creoles, wear the same uniform and carry the same arms as the policeman, and, living on the plantations and being supported by the proprietors, will form in fact a part of their establishment, and will be entirely under their direction.

This arrangement cannot fail of putting a fearful power into the hands of the planters against the labouring classes. Every passenger over or in the neighbourhood of an estate is in danger of being imprisoned, unless he prefer the alternative of hiring himself to the proprietor on such terms as may be proposed to him. Nothing could be more uncalled for than this ordinance, as depredations were never less common than they are at present, and existing laws are far more than sufficiently severe for the protection of rural property. The heaviest penalties are attached to trespasses, and the rural police, independently of the recently established gardes champetres, is always at hand to enforce the law. In an ordinance passed by the legislative council, August, 1838, for the purpose of establishing a penal code for the island of Mauritius, "it is enacted that a fine of not less than four shillings and not exceeding four pounds, shall be awarded against any person who shall pass through ground belonging to another person, or shall enter upon such ground, contrary to the will of the owner." Art. 376. By the same ordinance it is enacted, that "whosoever shall cut or pull out of the ground any grain, forage, fruit, vegetable, or any other produce, knowing the same to

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belong to another person shall be punished by imprisonment, not exceeding six months, and a fine not exceeding twenty pounds." Art. 356. The crime of destroying trees, &c., is punishable by one year's imprisonment, and a fine of fifty pounds. Art. 355. If the protection of the plantations were the exclusive object which the planters had in view in urging at this critical period an extraordinary interference of government, it is highly improbable that they would submit to give six pounds per month for that which they have always efficiently done by the service of their aged slaves, who could no longer be employed in fatiguing labour, but who were fully competent to act as watchmen. Such aged labourers are still to be found on every estate, and their services, at the trifling expence of daily food, would be fully adequate to the protection of the estates from petty depredations, the only kind of depredations which the planters have any ground to fear. Is it politic, is it safe, in a British colony, to put swords and pistols into the hands of men pledged to the service and under the immediate control of French planters! One cannot but be reminded of the policy of this same class of persons in the year 1832, when, under the pretence of protection from the blacks, they prevailed on the governor, Sir Charles Colville, to sanction the establishment of a volunteer corps; an armed force was consequently raised under the sanction of the colonial government, by which the power of that government was defied, the dignity of the British arms insulted, and the terms of an insurgent populace forced upon a British governor.

The blacks regard the police with the greatest terror; nor is it to be wondered at, as they have no defence from their ferocious violence, and scarcely any refuge from their persecution. If they attempt to settle themselves along the coast with the design of supporting themselves by fishing, they are driven thence on the plea of not having a license to fish, for which they must pay five shillings per month; if they apply to the commissary of police for a license, they are liable to delays and repulses, and are in the meantime exposed to the penalties of the vagrant act. Are they found on the highways? They may be seized as vagrants, and treated accordingly. Their only refuge is in mountains and forests inaccessible to their armed enemies, or in constrained service on the plantations. Thus the benevolent designs of the British government, as indicated in the emancipation act, are in a great degree neutralized, and a great number of her Majesty's subjects are driven into a state of terror, degradation, and want, without any provision whatever being made for their protection, improvement, or elevation.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COURTS OF JUSTICE.

The following is the last published list of the Members of the Court of Justice.

COUR SUPREME.

Chef Juge,	L'Hon. J. Wilson.	£20,000. per ann.
Vice President,	L'Hon. J. V. Surtees.	1200. „
Troisieme Juge,	L'Hon. E. Romono.	1200. „
Juge Suppleant	pour les Assizes N. Geffny	400. „

Days of Audience. Tuesday, Correctional Police. Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, Civil and Commerce. There are four assizes in the year, besides extraordinary sessions. The days of sitting are fixed by the President.

Parquet du Procureur and *Avocat General.*

Proc. and Av. Gen.	L'Hon S. D. Epinay,	£1750. per ann.
Substitut du Proc. Gen.	E. A Williams,	810. „

Tribunal de Premiere Instance.

President,	L'Hon. B. Colin,	£1200.
Juge Suppleant,	J. P. Lalonette,	650.
Procureur de la Reine,	O. Desmaiais,	650.

Days of Audience. Monday, Civil; Tuesday, Commerce; Wednesday, Civil and Auctions, (encheres); Friday and Saturday, Correctional Police.

There can be no doubt but that the great Law Officers are appointed by the Home Government.

The law of the colony is said to be the Code Napoleon, and such proclamations and ordinances as have been enacted or published from time to time by the colonial government. A code of penal law was published in August, 1838; it has not yet been approved by the home government, but, according to a declaration appended to the enactment, it is considered to have had effect from the day of its publication. The following articles in the penal code alluded to, may be given as illustrations of the spirit of Mauritius legislation:—

"Any minister of religion, or any person officiating as a preacher, who shall pronounce at any public assembly a discourse containing any criticism or censure upon the government, or upon any law, ordinance in council, or any other act of public authority, shall be punished by imprisonment." Art. 140.

"Any writing or printing, published in any form whatever, in which any minister of religion, or any preacher, shall have presumed to criticise or censure either the government or any act of public authority, shall carry with it the punishment of imprisonment." Art. 142.

"Any exposition or distribution of any song, pamphlet, print, or picture, contrary to good morals, or to public or religious morality, shall subject the offender to a fine not exceeding £50., and to imprisonment not exceeding one year." Art. 206.

"Any person who, without having been thereunto authorized, by the police, shall act as crier or sticker of any print, writing, drawing, or engraving, even although bearing the name of the author, printer, &c., shall be punished by imprisonment, not exceeding two months." Art. 209.

"No association of more than fifteen persons, of which the objects shall be to meet every day, or on fixed days, for the consideration of any religious or political subject, can be formed unless with the sanction of government, and under such conditions as the public authority shall deem necessary to impose upon such society." Art. 210.

"Whosoever, in any manuscript or printed writing, published and circulated in any manner whatsoever, shall instigate to hatred or contempt of the person of the Queen, or of the government of Her Majesty in Great Britain or in the colony, shall be punished by imprisonment, and by a fine not exceeding £200. sterling." Art. 283.

"Any person who, by word or gesture, shall commit an outrage on the things used for religious worship, in the place devoted to, or actually used for, such religious worship, or upon any minister of such religion whilst officiating as such, shall be punished by a fine, not exceeding £100. sterling; and may moreover be condemned to imprisonment, not exceeding one year. "Art. 185.

"Any person publishing a report of any prosecution for outrage or slander is to be punished by a fine, not exceeding fifty pounds." Art. 293. N. B.—The complaint and the judgment only are to be published.

"Medical men revealing secrets in connexion with their practice are liable to imprisonment for six months, and a fine not exceeding fifty pounds sterling." Art. 300.

It is greatly to be lamented that in a colony which has been thirty years in the possession of the British, the French language should still be the language of the courts of judicature, and that to this day nothing available should be in progress toward the introduction of the English language, notwithstanding the occasional notices which the colonial government has published in reference to the subject.

CONSTITUTION OF THE JURIES.

Three assessors are associated with the judges of the supreme court in judgment of criminal cases, and their office is not simply to decide as to the guilt or innocence of persons under trial, but also, together with the judges, to decide in reference to the punishment to be awarded. Persons eligible to serve as assessors are nominated by a body of men called notables, selected from the merchants, planters, and other respectable inhabitants of the island. The nine districts (quartiers) into which the colony is divided furnish the following proportion of notables.

Port Louis	20	Grand Port	7
Pamplemausses . . .	7	Saveine	6
Riviere du Rempart .	6	Riviere Noixe . . .	6
Flacq	7	Plaines Wilhems . .	5
Moka	6	Total	70

These persons are appointed for life, or at the pleasure of the governor, and vacancies caused by death or otherwise are supplied from time to time by government proclamation. One principal duty of this body of men is to nominate annually a hundred persons as eligible to serve as assessors; for this purpose they assemble at government house according to proclamation, together with four official gentlemen appointed thereto by government. The following is the form of a proclamation by which a meeting of the notables was convened for this purpose, January 9th, 1838:—

"Whereas it is necessary to convene the notables of this colony, for the purpose of preparing the list of persons eligible to serve as assessors for the year 1838, and whereas it is provided by law, and has been the practice to insert the names of some public officers among the electors, his Excellency the governor hereby directs, that the notables nominated by proclamation of the 29th November, 1833, and subsequently, shall meet and assemble at Government House, in the town of Port Louis, on Wednesday, the 24th inst., at ten o'clock, for the purpose of preparing the said list of persons eligible to serve as assessors for the present year. And his Excellency has further been pleased to appoint the Hon. E. A. Draper, Esq., treasurer and paymaster-general, T. S. Celsey, Esq., assistant auditor-general, James Dowland, Esq., chief clerk in the internal revenue department, and Edward O'Brien, Esq., assistant civil engineer and surveyor-general, as the public officers to serve as electors with the said notables on this occasion," &c. &c. &c. The notables themselves usually form a large proportion of the persons nominated as assessors. The prisoner may object thrice to one or more of the assessors nominated to sit on his trial, but he is obliged to submit to the fourth nomination. Persons of colour are eligible to act as assessors.

It would be superfluous to make any observation in reference to the inadequacy of this institution for every practical purpose of justice, especially in cases where political considerations are involved. The body of assessors is altogether a creation of government, and must in the nature of things be expected to act according to its constitution, a constitution necessarily hostile to the liberty of the subject in all cases of collison with any department of the colonial government. It is doubtful, however, whether the existing character of society at Mauritius would warrant the introduction of a more independent institution of jurors.

CONSTITUTION OF THE LEGISLATURE.

The executive council of Mauritius consists of his Excellency the governor, the second officer in command of the troops, the attorney-general, and the colonial secretary.

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The legislative council consists of fourteen members, besides the governor, who is president, and has not only a vote in common with the other members of council, but also a casting vote in cases which require it. Seven of the members of council are official, and seven unofficial.

The official members of council are—the chief judge, the attorney-general, the second officer in command, the treasurer, the colonial secretary, the collector of customs, and the auditor-general.

The unofficial members are selected from the principal merchants, planters, and other inhabitants of the island, and are appointed by his excellency the governor, subject to the approbation of the home government. Vacancies occasioned by death or otherwise are supplied by a commission from the governor, subject to the approval of her Majesty's government.

Unofficial members—M. M. B. Ducondray, Blyth, Arbuthnot, Mairre, Lucas, Pitot, Kœnig.

Persons of colour are eligible as unofficial members of council. On a vacancy recently occurring, a seat in council was offered to, and declined by a gentleman of colour.

The legislative council was established in 1832, according to the royal instructions transmitted to Sir Charles Colville, on his being appointed governor of the Isle of France. In the 14th article of those instructions, it is provided that no law or ordinance shall be enacted, nor any question discussed, which shall not have been proposed by the governor The circumstance of many of the members of the council being intimately connected with and interested in the sugar plantations, cannot but have a prejudicial influence in reference to the labouring classes, an influence but too distinctly marked in almost every colonial enactment in which the contending claims of proprietors and labourers are concerned.

LOCAL MAGISTRACY.

In each district (quartier) of the colony there are a civil and police commissioner, (commissaire civil and de Police,) enjoying a salary of £171 per annum, a deputy civil commissioner and inspector of canteens, (suppleant commissaire and inspecteur des ugildives,) at a salary of £180 per annum, and two special justices, each having a salary of £450 per annum—excepting the districts of Plaines, Wilhems, and Moka, at each of which places there is but one special justice.

The civil and police commissioners are for the most part planters, and their office is to take cognizance of all civil and police cases in their respective districts, excepting questions arising between proprietors and labourers—these fall under the jurisdiction of the special justices. The first class of magistrates here mentioned are appointed by the colonial government, the special justices by the home government; appointments to the special magistracy made by the colonial government are subject to the approval of her Majesty's government. There exists no regulation by which persons of colour are declared to be ineligible to the magistracy; such a regulation is prohibited by the twenty-second article of the above-mentioned royal instructions—"Et nous vous ordonnons et commandons deplus, de ne proposer ni approuver quelque ordonnance que ce soit par laquelle des personnes de naissance ou origine Africaine ou Indienne pourraient être assujétees ou soumises a quelques exclusions ou restrictions auxquelles les personnes d'origine Européene ne seraient pas egalement assujétees et soumises," Inst. Royal, Art. 22nd.

It is considered by many sensible persons to be a matter of regret that there should be different classes of magistrates for the different classes of society in the colony, now that all distinctions as to civil and political rights and privileges are professedly abolished. Besides, cases sometimes are so questionable in their nature, or so complex in their form, as to render it doubtful to which class of magistrates they should be referred, or even to involve the necessity of appealing to both.

A few of the special magistrates have distinguished themselves by an unflinching readiness to protect and vindicate the oppressed, and have been honoured with unmeasured abuse from the colonial press, and the unqualified hatred of the planters, who conceive that their interests have not been sufficiently consulted. But, generally speaking, the special magistrates enjoy far more the confidence of the proprietors than that of the labourers.

Complaints have been made that it is no uncommon thing for the special justices to consult their own advantage, by employing on their own account, the penal labour to which convicts have been sentenced by them. This is an evil of an enormous magnitude, tending to the grossest perversion of justice; for it is obvious that the prisoner has little chance of being proved innocent, when it is the judge's interest to declare him guilty.

The creation of an upright and efficient magistracy in a remote colony, debased by the very worst form of slavery—slavery unmitigated by liberal institutions, and without a free press, or any other ameliorating moral power, must ever be connected with extreme difficulty. It is a humiliating thought, that there are comparatively very few who escape the moral contagion, which sweeps with such desolating power through the various ranks of colonial society; and it is lamentable to see in how short a time men who, at home, have exhibited a high sense of honour, and an attachment to liberal principles, learn to sympathize with colonial prejudices and propensities, and adjust their conduct accordingly. From the constitution of man, one cannot but anticipate a moral deterioration under circumstances calculated to develope the worst principles of human nature; but it is exceedingly desirable that every suitable measure should be adopted for counteracting the mischievous effects which may be looked for, where public officers fall under the demoralizing influence of any peculiar forms, or any prevailing disposition of society. Perhaps nothing would be more efficient in this regard than that specialty in the instructions of such officers which might tend to limit their discretionary power to the exercise of which so much of the evils connected with colonial magistracy may be attributed.

CONDUCT OF THE PROPRIETARY BODY, &c.

It is to be lamented that proprietors should allow any considerations to prevent their duly estimating the importance of that conciliatory conduct towards their labourers, which is essential to the well-being of all parties. A notion operating very prejudicially in this regard is but too prevalent at Mauritius; namely, that the emancipation of the slaves will prove but a temporary measure. It is conceived that slavery is necessary to the existence of the colonies, and that, in the event of a war, the colonies will be found to be necessary to the existence of the British Empire; it is concluded therefore, that, on the breaking out of the first war in which the colonies may be involved, slavery will be re-established by the very government by which it was abolished. In confirmation of this opinion, an appeal is made to the history of the Isle of France. In 1794 an act was passed by the colonial government, professing to abolish the slave-trade. In 1796, commissioners from the French republic arrived at the island, for the purpose of proclaiming the immediate emancipation of all the slaves; but they were arrested in the government house, put on board the corvette Momeau, and sent back forthwith to France. This act of the colonial authorities does not appear to have been resented by the republican government; but, in 1802, not only was slavery, but the slave-trade legally re-established in the French colonies to the East of the Cape of Good Hope, by the following despatch from the first consul of France.

"Au nom du peuple Francois, Bonaparte, premier consul, proclame loi de la republic le decret suivant, rendu par le corps legislatif le 30 floréal au X (20 mai 1802), conformement à la proposition faite par le governement le 27 dudit mois, communiquée au tribunal le meme jour.

"Art. 1. Dans le colonies restituies a la France en execution du traité d'Amiens du 6 germinal au X, l'esclavage sera maintenu conformement aux lois et reglemens anterieurs a 1798

"2.—Il en sera de meme dans les autres colonies Francaises au de là du Cap de Bonne Esperance.

"3.—La traité des noirs, et leur importation dans les dites colonies, auront lieu conformement aux reglemens existans avant la dite epoque de 1789.

(Signé) "BONAPARTE."

It may here be observed that the colonists are aware that the abolition of the slave-trade is comparatively of little consequence while slavery itself is allowed to exist. Ways and means can always be found for importing slaves into a slave colony, notwithstanding all the precautions which may be taken by the home government. General Hall, who had too much penetration not to see that the treaty formed with Radama for the abolition of the slave trade between Madagascar and the Mauritius was little better than a hoax, and too high a sense of honour to make himself a party to its continuance, assured a number of gentlemen who waited upon him in reference to that treaty, that, during the short period in which it was in force, not less than seventeen hundred slaves had been imported into the Isle of France from Madagascar.

With regard to the power possessed by the proprietors for oppressing their labourers, it is unquestionable that the existence of the vagrant law of August, 1838, not only secures to the proprietors every facility for, but also tends to perpetuate the disposition to oppression. There can be no doubt whatever that they can summarily dispossess the labourers of their dwellings and provision grounds, and also punish as trespassers their friends who may visit them, excepting in cases where specific engagements to the contrary are entered into, cases—which in all likelihood will be of comparatively rare occurrence, so long as the provisions of the vagrant act are in force. Nothing less than the entire removal of servile disabilities from the labouring classes, and the equal enjoyment of civil and political rights, can ensure conciliatory measures from their employers. Those acts and habits of kindness which tend to the happiness of society in general partake much more largely of the character of selfishness than many are disposed to allow. The law of kindness is, with the great mass of mankind, the law of necessity. Let slave proprietors be once convinced that conciliatory measures are necessary to secure their own interests, and they will soon prove themselves to have as much of the milk of human kindness in them as other men.

PRISONS.

In the report of the prison committee for 1837, mention is made of three prisons in Port Louis.

1st.—The prison of the court of justice. The prisoners here are such as have been convicted at the bar of the court of justice, persons awaiting their trial, and debtors. Convicts are employed at the works of the citadel and the new prison, also in breaking stones for macadamizing the public roads; such as are acquainted with any trade, or desirous of learning any, are at liberty to follow the same. In 1836, there were 245 persons received into this prison, and the mortality amounted to 23. In 1837, 372 were received, and the mortality was 34. Female prisoners are kept apart from the male. It is a matter of deep regret (the committee

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remark) that, down to the present period, no religious instruction whatever should have been afforded to the prisoners. A few belonging to the protestant communion have occasionally been visited by a minister of that persuasion, but the great majority, professing the tenets of the church of Rome, are deprived of the consolations of religion, and are utterly without any spiritual assistance; a circumstance mainly to be attributed to the very small and insufficient number of the catholic clergy, whose time is wholly engrossed in administering to the wants of the numerous population of port Louis. The committee have in contemplation to recommend the appointment of a chaplain to the establishment.

2nd.—The Bagne prison. The prisoners confined here are apprentices condemned by the special justices, and vagrant Indian labourers. The committee remark that the prison of the Bagne contains a floating population. Indians are confined here until claimed by their employers; and the punishments awarded to the apprentices rarely exceed a few days or weeks. The establishment has more the character of a depôt than that of a regular place of incarceration. The number of persons imprisoned in the Bagne in 1836 amounted to 5221; in 1837, the number was increased to 9090. The Committee observe, "this difference is principally to be attributed to the numerous bodies of Indian labourers, who, owing to the want of proper regulations, abandon the plantations;" they remark still further, that "the greatest part of the Indians who are brought to this prison are afflicted with the itch." It is to be regretted that the document from which these notices have been taken makes no mention of the fact, that there are crowds of Indians constantly flocking into Port Louis, in order to lay before the authorities their complaints, and seek for redress of grievances; and that such are the persons who form the vast majority of the "floating population" of the Bagne.

3rd.—The police prison is a temporary depôt for seamen who have run from their vessels, individuals convicted of overt acts of fraud or violence, and persons under provisional arrest by order of the procureur de la Reine.

The expense of feeding each prisoner is three pence per diem, and that of clothing one pound sterling per annum. Convicts earn on an average ten pence per diem. The Committee propose to furnish macadam at two pence per load. In each district there is a lock-up house connected with the rural police, for the temporary correction or accommodation of the disorderly and complainers.

POLICE.

The following is taken from the last published statement of the police establishment, dated 1837. Since that time a very large addition has been made to the rural police, in order to furnish each proprietor with two policemen on his estate, at a salary of three pounds per month each man.

Port Louis: population, 27,695	
Superintendant of police, per annum	£1100
Assistant	550
Secretary	240
Two clerks, £120 and £96	216
Eight officers of police, united salaries	1224
Commissary of Port Louis	143
Officer of police for the marine	144
Seven clerks of the vagrancy department (commus chargés du marronage) united salary	635
Four inspectors of canteens (guildives)	768
Five brigadiers and 40 guards*	
Pamplemousses: population, 13,694.	
Commissary and Deputy, united salaries	£351
Deputy additional*	
One brigadier, 7 guards, 3 chiefs of detachments*	
Riviere du Rempart: population, 9891.	
Commissary and assistant, united salaries	£351
One brigadier and 7 guards*	
Flacq: population, 11,293.	
Commissary and assistant, united salaries	£351
One brigadier and 7 guards*	
Grand Port: population, 8938.	
Commissary and assistant, united salaries	£243
Inspector of canteens	120
Two brigadiers and 10 guards.*	
La Savane: population, 4325.	
Commissary	£171
Inspector	156
Riviere Noire: population, 5594.	
Commissary and assistant, united salaries	£303
One brigadier and 7 guards.*	
Plaines Wilhems: population, 6656.	
Commissary and assistant, united salaries	£303.
Moka, plantation, 2,621.	
Commissary and assistant*	
Inspector	
One brigadier and seven guards.	

N.B.—The mark * signifies that the salary is not published.

Since the emancipation of the prædial labourers, great changes have taken place in the relative amount of population in the different districts.

THE NEW LAWS.—The fisheries protection act, prohibits any person from fishing in any of the rivers of the island, unless he shall be the proprietor of the land on both sides of the river; and, by the vagrant act, women convicted of vagrancy may be employed in the penal gang, and made to work in chains, on the public streets and high-ways!

TRINIDAD IMMIGRATION—ORDER IN COUNCIL.

OUR readers are already aware that the council of Trinidad have prepared an ordinance for the encouragement of immigration, which has been sent home by the governor, and, with certain exceptions and modifications, approved by the government, in an order in council, dated 30th September, 1839. This fact is the more important, because the order in council thus issued is intended to be a model for other colonies on the subject of immigration, and has accordingly been sent out as such to British Guiana, the planters of which have been vexed by the disallowance of an ordinance which they had framed and sent home, with the same view as the Trinidadians. It becomes, therefore, of considerable moment to examine the document which is now before us.

As it came out of the hands of its framers, the ordinance was truly West Indian and characteristic. It contemplated immigration from all parts of the world, expressly mentioning the coast of Africa, both north and south of Cape Palmas, and, with under the denomination of places "east of the Cape of Good Hope," comprehending India and Madagascar. It enacts nothing concerning the proportion of the sexes, so that the immigrants under the ordinance might have been absolutely all males. It enacts nothing concerning preparations to be made for their arrival; so that there might have been thousands of helpless creatures on the shores of Trinidad, without home or shelter of any kind. But it does enact that to every appointment to be made under the ordinance the consent of the council should be necessary, thus fettering the executive, and securing that every immigration agent shall be the creature of the planters. On all these points the order in council modifies the ordinance, in a manner which we shall notice presently.

The most prominent feature of the order as it now stands, is the appointment of a class of gentlemen to be called immigration agents; one of whom is to be stationed at "every such port or place as shall from time to time be selected" as a point of emigration, while the principal of this body, under the designation of "agent-general," is to reside in Port of Spain, the chief town of Trinidad. These functionaries are, in the terms of the order, to give ample explanations to parties emigrating, and to see that their welfare and accommodation are secured in every particular. We are glad to see that they are not to be paid, as before, at the rate of so much per head for the emigrants they obtain; we are not told, however, how much they are to have for their labour, except that the agent-general is to have £100 a year, and the other agents such remuneration as to the governor, with consent of his council, "may seem reasonable." Now this arrangement is liable to most serious objections. First, with respect to the agent-general, even if he had an independent salary of £100 a-year, this would be by far too small to render him an independent officer; and there can be no doubt but his salary is made so small, on purpose that he may be dependent on the favour and rewards of the planters. Secondly, with respect to the other agents this object is openly pursued. They are to have nothing but what the planters please to give them; so that every farthing of their remuneration depends, not upon their doing justice and showing fairness to the immigrants, but upon giving satisfaction to their pay-masters. It must be obvious, that neither justice nor fairness could be expected from men so situated; men who, if they would get any salary at all, *must* play the planters' game. Besides this, however, although the order in council provides that the appointment of the agents shall belong to the executive alone, the paying of them still requires the consent of the island council; and this really throws the appointment also into their hands. It must be futile for the governor to appoint persons whom the council will not pay. The entire body of agents, therefore, will be colonists—persons imbued with the colonial spirit, and ready to carry out the planters' purposes—men well prepared to perpetrate the frauds to which their dependence will furnish constant temptations. And, lastly, concerning this class of functionaries we have to observe, that they are neither required to give any guarantee for the faithful discharge of their office, nor subjected to any penalties for a violation of their duty. Yet, their duties are of the first and most indispensable importance to the welfare of the immigrants, and are set out in a most imposing array of words, to deceive the unwary; the order, however, providing neither security for their fulfilment, nor punishment for their neglect! This is true colonial legislation. Here are men to be appointed under a *profession* of doing good to the immigrants; but it is made directly their interest to play into the hands of the planters; and, if they neglect, or even sacrifice the parties they are professedly appointed to protect, there are no means of punishing them for their crime!

It cannot be said, however, that there are no parties of whom the punishment is contemplated in this order. The masters of vessels, if they shall wilfully violate the regulations, have the whip held over them; but in a manner which evinces that it is not intended to strike. In the first place, the penalty is utterly inefficient. A captain may break all the regulations, and play what pranks he pleases, for £20, or perhaps for £5—for this is the whole penalty for misconduct of whatever kind, a fine, not less than £5, nor more than £20. Why, the profit which might be made by a crowded and half-starved cargo of emigrants, would afford a dozen such fines as these. Secondly, every charge against offending captains is to be heard and decided by planter magistrates, from whom the conviction of such culprits, could scarcely in any case be expected. Thirdly, there is no person whose duty it is made to prosecute offenders of this class. The agent-general is not charged with it; and, as to the immigrants themselves

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doing it, it is out of the question. Fourthly, a loop-hole is left for the justices, even when they convict, to suffer offending captains to escape. Instead of requiring payment of the fine *upon conviction*, it is left in their discretion, without any limit, *to fix a time* when it shall be paid; which time may be fixed, of course, so as to release the party from any obligation to pay it at all.

In addition to these remarks, which show the utter absence of any available protection for the immigrants, it may be observed, as a hardship on the native peasantry, that this entire scheme is to be paid for out of the general funds of the colony. To these all the inhabitants are made to contribute; but, in this case, they are lavishly to be expended for the benefit of a part. It is the proprietors of estates only who are to profit by immigration; yet every peasant in the island is to pay his share towards a scheme, which goes to depress his condition, and to restore his bonds.

We now say a word concerning the modifications in the ordinance effected by the home government. They have, of course, disallowed that part of it which relates to "the introduction of emigrants from any part of Africa;" but they have not, we regret to say, extended the same protection to India and Madagascar. The governor, under instructions from England, may, by proclamation, sanction the renewal of the traffic in Hill Coolies, and the transportation of men from every part of the world, Africa alone excepted. This is evidently keeping the door open for a revival of the Coolie-trade; and it cannot be long that the Gladstones and Co. will allow it to be a dead letter.

Two important clauses are introduced—the one directed to "ensure an equality in numbers between the male and female emigrants annually introduced" into Trinidad; and the other, requiring that "proper and salubrious habitations should be ready to receive them on their arrival." Of the design of these clauses we must, of course, speak in terms of strong commendation; but we are constrained to add, that they are entirely wanting in executory power. With respect to the "proper and salubrious habitations," the governor is to declare, "by a public notice," what is meant by them; but no one is appointed to see that his notice is complied with; nor does it appear how its not being complied with is to prevent the arrival of emigrants in the island. Indeed, all which it seems to us can be done in such case, is to prevent emigrants *going upon an estate*, which, if they are actually in the island, may just amount to keeping them in the streets.

As little does it appear how the governor is to work the clause relating to the proportion of the sexes. No registry of emigrants is instituted for this purpose; nor any course prescribed in case of the excess of either sex. The clause is of great importance, however; and we hope the governor will not forget, that he is absolutely forbidden to give effect to the ordinance, "except under such circumstances and precautions as *shall ensure*" the object in view.

Finally, we observe with satisfaction that the order contains no clause respecting contracts for labour. Well will it be for emigrants who can take a little money with them, by help of which they may spend a few days in looking about them, and selecting their occupation. Those who cannot do this, should make the shortest engagements they can—by the week, if possible.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 25TH.

THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE,

Will commence its sittings at Freemasons' Hall, London, on the 12th of June, 1840. A book is prepared for entering the names and other particulars of the delegates who may be appointed by anti-slavery bodies both at home and abroad. In a case of such singular interest and importance, the committee earnestly hope, and fully expect, that the friends of the cause in the United Kingdom will not be backward, either in the appointment of delegates, or in their attendance as delegates when appointed. It is particularly requested that all anti-slavery bodies will send an immediate *official notification* of the appointments which may be made by them, addressed to J. H. Tredgold, Esq., at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL has given notice that, on Friday next, he will move the insertion of the new clauses in the colonial passengers' bill, on which the debate is to be taken respecting the exportation of Coolies to Mauritius. All our friends, therefore, should be on the alert, and should execute *by the next post* whatever they have in hand, whether in the way of petitions to parliament, or of private communication with their representatives.

The friends of the Anti-slavery cause of the gentler sex, will peruse with much interest the *Address to the Women of England*, which appears in our present number. We trust they will regard it, not as a mere appeal to their sensibility, but as a summons to action. Deeply has the Anti-slavery cause been indebted in former years to the Female Anti-slavery Associations, by which so large a quantity of information was diffused, and so valuable an amount of funds contributed. In both these respects such an agency is not less necessary now; and we earnestly hope the organization of these associations will be promptly and extensively revived.

THE West India mail, which has arrived after long detention by the easterly winds, although possessing no particular importance, supplies us with some interesting articles of intelligence, which will be found in their proper place. The letter of Captain Stuart bears strongly on the immigration question.

WE scarcely need direct attention to the paper in our columns to-day, headed *Suppression of the Slave-Trade*. It develops a plan of Mr. Turnbull, the author of *Travels in the West*, for the extinction of that infamous traffic, possessing, we think, much practical value and importance. We are glad that it has so far engaged the attention of Lord Palmerston, and we trust that he will not suffer the matter to slumber.

AN article we have quoted from a Texas paper furnishes us with the gratifying intelligence that General Henderson, the agent of that republic, has returned without having obtained from the British government the recognition of its independence. We hope it is true, as the *Morning Star* affirms, that the cherished existence of slavery in Texas is among the reasons which have been influential with Lord Palmerston, in deciding on this course. An American paper lays it broadly to the charge of the "two meddlesome fellows, Sturge and Scoble." At all events, we sincerely thank the noble foreign secretary for it and hope he will maintain it inviolate. It fully appears from the extract we have made that Texas is to be a slave-holding republic *for ever*; and that, if the Texians should be able, they will extend the same curse to the isthmus of Darien.

WE have devoted as large a space as possible of our columns to-day to an authentic and highly important document, which the Anti-slavery Committee have just received from Mauritius, and which we earnestly commend to the attention of our readers. The mystery in which everything relating to that colony is wrapped up has always been matter of complaint, and has obstructed the adoption of suitable measures for its improvement. The communications which have at length been procured will in part, and with powerful effect, remove this mystery. The veil being thus far lifted up, there is disclosed a scene of oppression and wrong of the most afflictive kind, and almost incredible. We will not here repeat the particulars, because we wish our friends to have no pretext for not reading the entire document; but we are sure they will feel with us, that the existence of such a state of things, in a colony which has been thirty years under our dominion, is a deep disgrace to British statesmen. The light thus thrown up on the interior of Mauritius we cannot but think to be eminently well-timed, when Lord John Russell has marked out its felon and tyrant planters for especial favour. His lordship himself, we hope, will not disdain to read, what may, perhaps, contain information even for Her Majesty's principal secretary of state for the colonies. The new police ordinance, providing two armed men for every estate that will pay six pounds a week for them, is evidently a preparation for those crowds of Coolies, whom the eager planters are expecting to receive at the hands of the British cabinet. The Commons of England can never consign them to such murderous bondage.

WE observe that the late excellent lieutenant-governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Stockenstrom, has received from the crown a patent of baronetcy. This mark of royal favour is a source of gratification to us, not merely because it is well deserved by the meritorious officer on whom it has been conferred, but because it indicates the removal of the unjust stigma which had become affixed to his character in the colonial office, and will tend to do away the mischievous impression, which has already been produced at the Cape, that the government intended to abandon the beneficial policy he had been charged to administer. We earnestly hope that the return of Sir Andries Stockenstrom to the colony under these circumstances, may effectually crush the elements of mischief too promptly breaking out, and lead to results of far greater importance than the arrangement of his private affairs.

PLAN FOR THE WHOLESALE RUIN OF THE PEASANTRY. [From the *Colonial Reformer*.] At a recent special vestry for granting licences to retailers of spirituous liquors, under the IX clause of the law authorizing a duty on distilled spirits retailed or consumed within the island, it is said that after twelve licences had been granted for the town of Port-Antonio, to particular applicants, *a general permission was entered up for* ALL SUGAR ESTATES *within the parish* to retail spirits!!! It is not possible to misunderstand the purposes of this indiscriminate grant to sugar estates to sell spirituous liquors. It is to legalize a wholesale demoralization of the labouring tenantry, and, by licensing every STILL-HOUSE AS A RUM SHOP, to liquidate the cost of labour *by the wages of intemperance*. We earnestly call the attention of the government to this act of atrocious profligacy.

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SLAVERY IN CUBA.

The population of the island of Cuba approaches to a million of souls. On this subject we extract the following passages from Mr. Turnbull's work, our notice of which we resume from our last number.

"There has been no regular census of the whole population since the year 1827, when it amounted, including whites, free negros, free people of colour, and slaves, and also including the troops, the crews of vessels in the harbours, the followers of both, and other transient persons, to 730,562. Of this number the whites amounted to 311,051, the free negros to 57,514, and the free people of colour, not negros, to 48,980; so that, in spite of the constant accessions to the slave population by importation from the coast of Africa, they are represented by the official census as being greatly outnumbered, not merely by the free classes taken collectively, but by the white population alone. The number of slaves in the island is given in the printed returns at 286,942; of whom 183,290 are stated to be males, and 103,652 to be females. However great this discrepancy between the sexes may appear, it is, in point of fact, not nearly so great as that which is borne out by my own personal observation and researches."—pp. 145, 146.

"Even on the supposition that the general and local governments are earnest and sincere in their endeavours to obtain correct returns of the slave population, it is not to be denied that there are many difficulties to be overcome, before anything like accuracy can be arrived at, in this department of the census. Upon the whole, therefore, I am disposed to adopt the conclusions of Mr. Consul Tolmé, who proposes that, at the close of the year 1838, the white population should be taken at 400,000, the free people of colour of all shades, at 110,000, and the slaves at 360,000; making the aggregate 870,000, or in round numbers, 900,000 souls. There are some Spanish authorities who make the whole population amount to a million, of whom 600,000 are supposed to be either free people of colour, or slaves.

"In the anxiety of the government to balance one class of the population against another, we find, in the official documents connected with the census of 1827, some details which will probably be interesting to the general reader. Between the white males and the free male negros, the proportion is given as 160 are to 100, or 6.01 : 1. Between the white males and the free male people of colour, exclusive of negros, 705 to 100, or 7.05 : 1. Between the white males and the other freemen, whether of pure negro blood, or of the mixed race, 324 to 100, or 3.24 : 1. Between the white males and the whole of the male slaves, of whatever shade, as 92 are to 100, or .92 : 1. Between the white males and the whole of the coloured males, slaves or free, the negros included, as 71 are to 100, or, .71 : 1. Between the whole white population and the whole free coloured population, free negros included, the population is stated at 292 to 100, or 2.92 : 1. Between the whole white population and the whole slave population, 108 to 100, or 1.08 : 1. Between the whole white population and the rest of the community, whether in servitude or free, as 79 are to 100, or .79 : 1.

"The free male negros, as compared with the freemen of mixed blood, are stated to be 117 to 100, or 1.17 : 1. The free coloured males, whether negros or mulattoes, are in proportion to the male slaves, as 22 to 100, or .22 : 1, and the whole free population to the whole slave population as 145 to 100, or 1.45 : 1."—pp. 151, 152.

Of the condition of the 360,000 persons held as slaves we proceed to give some further particulars. The following relates to plantation Holanda, of the atrocities practised on which we gave an edifying sample in our last. About four months anterior to his visit, Mr. Turnbull tells us,

"One man had actually been flogged to death. When the fact became known at Guines, a sort of legal investigation was instituted. Two medical practitioners were sent to the spot to disinhume and examine the body. Either they arrived too late, or they had no desire to make a report unfavourable to the mayoral. The judicial functionaries were also said to have been tampered with, and the result was an acquittal of the mayoral from the charge of homicide. This was to be expected under the circumstances as a matter of course. It could not be thought desirable that a white man in authority should be brought to trouble in consequence of an inquest, the subject of which was a dead negro. In these countries public opinion has little or no influence where the life of a slave is concerned. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the man who died under the lash had endured the greatest amount of mortal sufferiug.

'Non è ver che sia la morte
Il peggior di tutti i mali;
E an sollievo pei mortali
Che son stanchi di soffrir.'

"Four months after the manslaughter I found the mayoral in full possession of the irresponsible authority with which such officers are invested. Such events are not of course of daily occurrence; but as they never by any chance find their way into the newspapers, they are scarcely spoken of beyond the immediate neighbourhood where they take place. A case in all respects similar, as regards the farce of *post mortem* examination and judicial inquiry, occurred in 1837, within three miles of the Havana, where it naturally made some stir; although it ended, as such inquiries constantly do, in the white-washing and acquittal of the principal culprits. The value of an overseer could scarcely be said to be diminished by an accident which resulted in the loss of three hundred dollars' worth of human flesh. In all probability it will be amply compensated by the extra labour which his system of management is calculated to extract from the survivors. A caution on the part of the proprietor will generally be considered as a sufficient punishment."—pp. 278, 279.

In another estate, Los Honores, our traveller says, "I observed a very large two storied stone building, with strongly barred windows, which I was desirous of entering, but on perceiving that permission would be granted reluctantly, I did not persevere in my request. This prison-looking building was called the Infirmeria, but it was evidently large enough to accommodate the whole population of the estate." No doubt the *accommodations* of this building were ample; but the Cubian planters, like the rest of their genus, are very shy of letting out the secrets of the prison-house. Speaking of the people on an estate called Santa Anna, whom he saw at a leisure period of the year, the author says:—

"But the season of comparative ease was now drawing to a close, and the crop season was approaching, when, according to the admission of the mayoral, only four hours, or at most four hours and a half, out of the twenty-four, were allowed for sleep. A similar statement made to me on the first estate I visited was so startling, that I was compelled to suspend my belief. As it was everywhere admitted, however, and even here at Santa Anna was spoken of without disguise, as the regular system on an estate which, by common consent, was allowed to be managed with unexampled consideration and humanity, I was at length compelled to yield my reluctant belief. Even here, in the empty boiling-house, I found a poor negro with one leg in the stocks. The night before had been piercingly cold, as it often is in Cuba, and negros are proverbially more sensible to it than white men. I need not say, therefore, how horrifying was the unheeded appeal of the solitary prisoner to the mayoral as we passed, of 'mucho frio! mucho frio!'"—p. 286.

One of the statements made in this passage is perfectly appalling. The slaves on the sugar estates, during crop, which is half the year, are made to work twenty hours per day! Only four hours, or four-and-a-half, out of the twenty-four, are allowed them for sleep! Well may Mr. Turnbull say, "of all the tortures inflicted on the poor negro, the smallness of the modicum of sleep allowed him was what puzzled me the most at the commencement of my inquiries, and in the end excited the most painful emotions." As to food, the general rule was but two meals a-day, and then "short commons." Of the practical treatment of the slaves, we have the following instructive, and no doubt characteristic sample:—

"While in quest of the mouth of one of those extraordinary caves produced by the action of water on the schistose formation, washing it away from beneath the superincumbent mass of calcareous rock, we overtook, on the bridle path, a long file of negros, each labouring under a heavy load; and at the same instant there came up one of those brutal drivers, armed with his instrument of torture, who, without any notice or apparent provocation, applied himself most vigorously to the work of flagellation, not sparing a single individual of the gang. With this proceeding we did not interfere, because in a foreign country we felt ourselves reluctantly compelled to pay some respect to any emblem of authority, although it should appear in the questionable shape of a cart-whip. Soon after the driver had performed his round of duty, and had allowed the gang to proceed on their journey, we were met by two persons in the guise of gentlemen, whose behaviour immediately attracted our attention. No sooner had they caught sight of the file of negros, than, rushing on with the most furious exclamations, they began to beat and pummel the poor fellows with all their might. Seeing nothing in the appearance of these persons to entitle them to consideration, we began to expostulate with them on their conduct; when it turned out that they had no sort of interest in the gang, or the work they were employed in, but defended the outrage by declaring that the master was their friend, and that the people richly deserved what they had got, as the whole of them had just been detected in the fact of lying down by the road side and falling fast asleep, instead of proceeding with their loads to the end of their journey. Under any other circumstances it would have been laughable to observe the vehemence with which, so hateful to the ears of a slave master, they repeated the word *dormiendo!*"—pp. 221, 222.

There is no attention whatever paid in Cuba to the fecundity of the slave population. It is cheaper to buy slaves than to rear them. On the estates generally there is a great disparity of the sexes, there being not more than one woman to three men; while on some estates the inhuman system has been adopted (and chiefly by planters from the United States) of having *none but men*—the whole of these wretched creatures being locked up on the estate as prisoners every moment they are not kept at their labour! But we must quote the passage which records this atrocity.

"It is notorious that there are individual estates in the island with 600 or 700 negros upon them, from which the softer sex is entirely excluded. In this respect I am bound to say that the Creole proprietors evince much more regard for the laws of humanity than the emigrant planters from Spain and the United States. It is in fact but justice to others to signalise the case of a certain Mr. Baker, from the United States, who has established himself in the neighbourhood of Cienfuegos, on an estate where he has congregated no less than 700 male negros, to the exclusion of a single female, locking up the men, during the short period allowed for needful rest, in a building called a barracoon, which is in fact, to all intents and purposes, a prison."—p. 146.

The effect of such a system on the negro population may well be imagined, but, for want of statistical information, it can not be fully exposed. The following passage can be regarded merely as an approximation:—

"It is extremely difficult to arrive at any just conclusion as to the recent increase of the slave population. If we take the official returns as the basis of our estimate, we shall find that the numbers given in 1817 are 199,145, and 286,942 in 1827. During this interval of ten years, it was estimated by the British commissioners of that period, as may be seen from the parliamentary papers, that the number of slaves imported from Africa was 130,797, showing an annual average of 13,079, which, if I may judge from the events which occurred under my own observation, I cannot consider an exaggerated statement. If then we add the number thus given, as imported, to the census of 1817, we find a total of 329,942, which would show an excess during the ten years of deaths over births of 43,000, which makes a loss of 13 per cent. on the ten years. This loss, however, is very far indeed from being equivalent to the average loss admitted by the managers or mayorals on the numerous estates which I made it my business to visit. On sugar properties that average amounted to the appalling proportion of ten per cent. per annum, or cent. per cent. per decade, thus inferring the necessity of a total renewal of the numbers by importation in the course of the ten years."—pp. 149, 150.

Mr. Turnbull professes himself "far from being satisfied"

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with this estimate, which he conceives to be much below the truth. But even this is horrible. Instead of there being any natural increase of the slave population in Cuba, there is a constant waste of it, and the sugar estates consume their entire people *every ten years!* When the state of the slaves in the British colonies was brought before the public, it was justly deemed to be an appalling statement that their numbers were decreasing at the rate of from one to two per cent. per annum; a rate of destruction at which the entire slave population would have been consigned to the grave in from one hundred to fifty years. In Cuba, however, this murderous system sweeps the country desolate, not merely once in ten years, but every ten years in succession!! And this with a race of people, than whom none upon earth are more prolific. In the breeding states—we shudder at the term—of North America, the negro slaves double their numbers in twelve years and a half. Sugar growing in Cuba kills them clean off in ten.

Such, let the people of England know, is slavery in Cuba. We could wish that Mr. Turnbull had given us some further insight into the details of plantation management, by stating the kind and quantity of food, and other particulars; but this perhaps he will do hereafter. In the meantime he has told us enough to awaken deep commiseration. If we can extract one word of comfort from his book for the English reader and the friend of humanity, it is to be found in the following passage:—

"The whole history of negro emancipation in the British West Indies, the period of probation afforded by the apprenticeship, the abbreviation of that period in 1838, and the tranquil and successful issue of the great experiment, have not been lost on the more enlightened portion of the inhabitants of Cuba. It has for some time been strongly impressed on the minds of many of the inhabitants, that neither slavery nor the slave-trade in any part of the world can long survive the abolition of involuntary servitude in the dominions of Great Britain."—pp. 258.

ON FREE IMMIGRATION.

As there must always be a disguise for the accomplishment of an evil design, so the plans now advocated for transporting nations to Mauritius and the West Indies are covered by a new-born and marvellous zeal for free emigration. It is even made use of as a complaint against the opponents of the present schemes in general, and against the Anti-slavery Committee in particular, that they are setting themselves against this undeniable privilege and right. We have a few words to say on this subject, first, in defence of ourselves and the Anti-slavery Committee; and next, in reference to the truth and consistency of our accusers.

First, with respect to the Anti-slavery Committee. *They* have certainly taken no part against free immigration. In the declaration of their sentiments, published in this and other papers in January last, they use the very guarded language which follows:—"This Committee is finally impressed with a conviction, that, at the present time, no general plan of emigration to the colonies can be proposed, either by the local legislatures or the proprietary interest in this country, which would not," &c.: where it will be observed that their opposition is confined, first, to a "*general plan* of emigration to the colonies," and secondly, to this only "*at the present time*"—for reasons, and for a period, both of which it is hoped may prove temporary. In strict accordance with this language of the Committee was that of this journal on the 12th of February; viz.—"In the next place, we observe, that we do not upon any ground disapprove, or wish to obstruct, *free emigration*. So far from this, the Anti-slavery Committee have taken prompt and energetic measures to obtain the removal of those restrictions which have been imposed in some of the colonies on the departure of labourers, and which must be unequivocally pronounced unjust and oppressive. By no parties can the sentiment be held in a more distinct or unqualified manner than by British abolitionists, that every free person should be at liberty to remove his residence when and where he pleases."

It is true that we have called for a present prohibition, rather than a regulation, of the threatened transportation of Coolies from India to Mauritius; but certainly only for a temporary prohibition. We never thought of shutting up India absolutely and for ever. And if we are asked when we are willing that the prohibition shall cease, we say, *as soon as emigration shall be really free:* as soon as there shall be a guarantee against Coolie-hunting and kidnapping, and the practice of deceiving every emigrant by gross and wilful misrepresentations; as soon as the planters shall have learned to treat emigrants as freemen, and shall have secured to persons of all colours and conditions an equality of social and civil rights. The atrocious practices notoriously identified with emigration hitherto have rendered it a slave-trap, and therefore we exclaim against it. Immigration, conducted as it has been, and is still wished to be, cannot be free. We must see a great alteration in the whole system before we can consent to its extension.

And now a word to our accusers. In taking up *free emigration*, they catch hold of a cry which is well adapted, no doubt, to tell in their favour with well disposed, but ill-informed men. But it is altogether artful and dishonest. It is not honest to pretend even for the government, that a love for free emigration induces them to think of opening India to the Mauritians. Why, this same government is shutting up the West India islands one from another, by giving its sanction to restrictions on emigration there, which most materially interfere with the liberty of the subject, and the welfare of the emancipated peasantry. And if, while they are thus checking emigration in one hemisphere, they urge the encouragement of it in the other, it is too much to ask us to believe that they are actuated by a regard to the rights and privileges of the poor. We do not say that they are doing these contrary things for the sake of pleasing the planters; but we are sure that both of them answer the planters' purposes.

That the planters, whether of the east or west, care about free emigration, no man with his eyes open can believe for a moment. Not one word of regret or indignation have they ever expressed at the atrocious frauds and robberies practised on the Coolies in Bengal, or of anxiety that they should not be repeated. No readiness have they manifested to afford to emigrants the ample information, and the means of free action, which alone can constitute immigration really free.

On the contrary, their scheme notoriously proposes to obtain labourers from all parts of the world, and therefore, the great majority of them under entire ignorance and delusion; under as long a contract for labour as they can induce the government to sanction, and therefore without any means of free action; and as fruits of any system of tyranny, fraud, and murder, which may be fostered by the traffic, as in Africa for example. And this is their free emigration! What they want is to make slaves; and they cry out Free Emigration! as a cover to the villany.

HILL COOLIES.

To the Editors of the Anti-slavery Reporter.

SIRS, LONDON, March 23d, 1840.

In looking over some old papers a few days since, I found the following memorandum of a conversation, alleged to have taken place in the House of Commons, on the 10th July, 1837, respecting the Hill Coolies, to whose deplorable condition in Mauritius and British Guiana the public attention has been properly directed of late. The conversation, if correctly reported, affords a striking specimen of official ignorance and parliamentary duplicity, and as such I commend it to the particular attention of your readers, in proof of how little confidence can ordinarily be placed in the statements of public men; and am, Sirs, yours, &c.

ARGUS.

MR. BUXTON:—"I have received information, that a number of slaves have been carried away from Bengal, &c. &c. to the Mauritius, for the purposes of labour; and I wish to know whether Her Majesty's government have taken measures to do justice to these individuals. I shall be happy to have an answer, not only from the Right Hon. Baronet, the President of the Board of Control, but also from the Hon. Baronet, the Under Secretary for the Colonies."

SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE replied, "I have only to state, in reference to the matter to which my honourable friend alludes, that, the exportation of these persons was effected *with their own free will and consent*; that they were neither more nor less than free labourers, and no more slaves than we are. The Governor General of India, in consequence of the exportation of these individuals from Bengal, has thought proper to make *certain regulations for the proper conveyance of such persons, and for preventing more than a certain number from embarking in each ship. Every attention has been paid to the comfort of these parties, and an opportunity is afforded them of returning home, if they like, at the expiration of a certain period.* My honourable friend may depend upon it that the Governor General in council will see that no abuse is allowed."

SIR GEORGE GREY replied, "In reference to the colonial department, I have only to say, that the attention of the government has been drawn to this matter, and that *these individuals have had everything done to promote their comfort, and the object which they have in view.*"

MR. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE said, "I believe that I am correct in stating, that a highly respectable gentleman made an engagement with these people, that, *they should serve him for five years; but the Colonial Office would not allow them to be retained in his service for more than three years.*"

Notes—1. It is evident that Mr. Buxton had obtained information respecting the Coolies who had been transported from India to Mauritius, of no very satisfactory nature; and that he deemed it of sufficient importance publicly to demand explanations of two right honourable gentlemen then attached to Lord Melbourne's ministry. Mr. Buxton designated the Coolies "slaves," and this term was evidently intended by him to convey to the House the idea he entertained of the manner in which they had been obtained in India, and of the treatment they had experienced in Mauritius, and the propriety of the use of the word in the application he then made of it was subsequently proved.

2. Nothing could be more unlike the actual state of the case, than the statement of the Right Hon. the President of the Board of Control It is now officially proved, that the Coolies were, in a multitude of cases, kidnapped, imprisoned, thrust on board ships against their wills, and conveyed to Mauritius by thousands; that they were crowded on board vessels, in some cases without a sufficient supply of food, and without medical attendance,—that they were brought under the most fraudulent contracts, to labour in sugar cultivation for long periods of time, for the smallest rates of wages—that they were subjected to a most rigorous and cruel treatment, and that after more than 40,000, nearly the whole of whom were males, had been removed, the governor general of India found the abuses to have been so great, that, without waiting the instructions of the home government, he absolutely forbade the exportation of any more from any of the presidencies, as the same Right Honourable Gentleman informed the House, in the session of 1839, in reply to a question of Mr. Baines, the member for Leeds! And with respect to the "regulations" said to have been made by the Governor General of India, we have yet to learn what they were If they be in existence, why is the present noble colonial secretary engaged in forcing upon the attention of the House the "Colonial Passengers' Bill," to secure the very objects which the President of the Board of Control said were amply provided for by the governor general of India, before he answered Mr. Buxton's question, in 1837? Did they prove a failure? If so, may not those contemplated by Lord John Russell prove a failure also?

3. The reply of Sir. George Grey was of a similar character with that given to Mr. Buxton by Sir John Cam Hobhouse. He assured the house "*that these individuals* (the Coolies,) *had everything done to promote*

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their happiness." By whom? The governor-general of India? Where is the proof? By the executive in Mauritius? Where is the proof? By the planters there? The proof is the reverse of that stated by the Right hon. gentleman! Never was there a case of grosser fraud and villany practised on the ignorance and helplessness of men within this empire, than the Coolies' case develops from beginning to end; and great responsibility as well as disgrace rests with all those who have been parties to the iniquity.

4. Mr. William Ewart Gladstone, student of Christchurch, volunteered a few additional remarks to those of the right hon. gentleman referred to, of a most extraordinary character, when taken in connexion with an event then about to take place, as we shall presently show. The "respectable gentleman" alluded to by the member for Newark was his own father, who had been in negociation with the government for the expatriation of Coolies from their own country to British Guiana some months before, and had positively succeeded to the extent of his wishes, having been distinctly promised an order in council, allowing him to export Coolies to his estates in Demerara, under contracts for five years; which order in council was actually promulgated under the sign manual, *two* days after the conversation now reported and commented upon: it was dated the 12th July, 1837! Of course the son could know nothing of the promises made by the government to the father; nor could he have been aware, that within a few short hours after he interposed his testimony, as to the tender regard of the Colonial office for the welfare of the Coolies, the mandate would be issued to seal their doom. Thus was Mr. Buxton silenced and hoodwinked. It would appear incredible, were we not too frequently compelled by what transpired to believeit, how right hon. gentlemen may be imposed upon, and to what extent they may impose upon others, by their silence, or by their statements.

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM IN THE WEST INDIES.

On this important subject, we present to our readers the following letter from a gentleman of much local knowledge and experience. It is addressed to the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Committee:—

London, 11th of February, 1840.

SIR,—Referring tothe interview with which I was favoured by the Committee of your benevolent society, on the 31st ult., and in accordance with their desire, I have now the honour briefly to submit for their consideration the following suggestions, viz.:—

That, in order effectually to secure to the negro population the full benefit of freedom, and to lay a foundation for the future welfare and prosperity of all classes of the inhabitants of her Majesty's possessions abroad, it is indispensably necessary that a complete change should be made in the colonial system; it being morally impossible that principles of government and laws applicable to a state of slavery, can ever be so modified as to adopt them to the altered circumstances and condition of a newly erected society, now happily entirely composed of free British subjects.

That with this view the attention of her Majesty's government should be respectfully invited, during the present session of parliament, to the expediency of instituting, under competent authority, an inquiry into the present constitution of the colonial governments: including

"The number and extent of the several islands or colonies, having local legislatures with the number of inhabitants in each, eligible to be members of the council and assembly.

The power and authority exercised by, or claimed to belong to such legislatures.

The nature and object of the laws now in force in each island or colony, affecting the life, liberty, and property of the subject.

The number of courts of law and equity in each island or colony, and of the persons filling the judicial offices, distinguishing those who are members of the legal profession; and generally into

The administration of justice, civil, and criminal, by the magistracy since the passing of the Emancipation Act.

As, by an impartial report on such inquiry, I can confidently undertake to affirm, that it will be incontrovertibly established,

First.—That in the constitution of a majority of the local governments very material alterations are requisite, inasmuch as the smaller islands in the West Indies do not at present contain an adequate number of persons, fitted by property or education for performing the functions of legislators.

Secondly.—That the laws now in force, having been passed by legislatures, composed almost exclusively of the late slave proprietors, will generally prove, on examination, to be loosely and indefinitely framed, and to be only consistent with each other in a deficiency of provisions for securing protection and impartial justice to the negros, and, in many instances, to be extensively oppressive and injurious to their relative rights and interests, as a component part of a free community.

Thirdly.—That nothing can be more deeply deplorable than the existing state of the administration of justice throughout the colonies, in consequence of the judicial offices being (with few exceptions) filled by uneducated private individuals, (often of inferior station in life,) who, not being members of the profession, and altogether ignorant of even the first principles of law, are too frequently led, by straitened circumstances and local interests and prejudices, to be influenced in their decisions by private considerations, personal animosity, and party feuds. And,

Lastly.—That, on an investigation of the manner in which the civil and criminal laws have been administered by the magistracy, since the passing of the Emancipation Bill, much abuse of power on the part of many of the local justices in every colony or island will be clearly demonstrated.

Confining my attention on the present occasion to those colonies only having leigislatures, (and without reference to her Majesty's foreign possessions abroad which are governed by Orders in Council, and are under the more immediate control of the colonial department,) I shall diffidently proceed to point out—that to remedy the evils to which I have adverted (and which will be found principally prevalent in the West Indies) it would appear to be advisable, that the windward and leeward British islands, from Barbados to Jamaica, should be limited to but three governments, viz.

First.—Barbados, to which St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago, should be annexed.

Secondly.—Antigua, with which Dominica, Montserrat, Barbuda, St. Christopher, Nevis, Anguilla, and the Virgin Islands, might be conveniently combined. And,

Thirdly.—The colony of Jamaica and its dependencies.

As a security for the true preservation of the rights and interests of her Majesty's subjects in the smaller colonies in the windward and leeward islands, thus proposed to be attached to Barbados and Antigua, one or more competent persons from each might be selected and appointed by the Crown, to be members of the board of council at their respective seats of government. And the inhabitants should retain the right of electing a limited number of members (according to the extent of population) to act as their representatives respectively in the general houses of assembly.

To each of such united legislatures (as by the American constitution is vested in Congress,) should be confided the power to pass all laws affecting the general weal of the several colonies comprised in them, while the internal regulation of each island might with propriety be entrusted to a mayor and corporation, and to inferior courts of limited jurisdiction and a reformed magistracy, subject to appeals to the superior tribunals of law and equity, to be established and held at the respective seats of government, under a revised system of law and administration of justice.

As it is, however, greatly to be feared, that the prevailing prejudices of the colonists are not likely to be so far removed within any reasonable period, as to qualify them for the faithful and disinterested discharge of so grave and important a duty as that of framing a code of laws adapted to their new condition, having a due regard to the rights, privileges, and liberties of all classes of the community, it is to be ardently desired that the leading principles of all laws affecting life, liberty, and property in the colonies, should be settled and determined in this country; and that such laws should, with all convenient speed, be passed by the imperial parliament, in the exercise of the same unquestionable power and authority whereby the total extinction of slavery was so happily accomplished; and in furtherance and completion of that sacred act of national justice to the inferior classes of the population. But should such a measure be deemed (as, from the late discussion in parliament on the Jamaica question, may be probable) to be at all incompatible with their chartered rights of legislation, it is, under any circumstances, earnestly to be hoped, that her Majesty's government will admit of no further delay, but promptly proceed clearly and explicitly to define the principles of all laws considered necessary for adoption by the local legislatures, and to transmit them for such purpose, accompanied by a firm and decided intimation, that, unless simultaneously carried into effect within a limited period, they will unhesitatingly be passed by the mother country.

By the pursuit of such a course, and concentration of so many petty local governments, it will be obvious—

That the now arduous and onerous duties of the Colonial Office will be abridged.

That the expenditure of public money will be diminished; and

That a reform of the laws and the introduction of one uniform and consistent system of colonial government will be produced."

To insure the permanency of such a system, it will then only remain for her Majesty's government to make and perfect that thorough reform the administration of justice, so essential to the future preservation of the rights and interests of all classes of the colonial communities. And on this point, I trust I shall be pardoned for expressing my conviction (from local information, and long personal experience as an officer of the crown, and a member of the legislature,) that insuperable difficulties and obstacles will be found to exist, which preclude the practicability of carrying into effect many provisions of the bill recently framed for such purpose, and sent out by the government for adoption by the local authorities. And that in the event of such changes being made as are here submitted for consideration, (or, indeed, under any circumstances) a new judiciary system, far more simple in its details, might be framed, rendering the appointment of fewer judges necessary, and considerably reducing the expense of the proposed establishment.

Without entering, therefore, just now into further particulars, it may suffice for me here to state on this point, that it is wholly vain to look for any degree of prosperity or tranquillity in the colonies until this very serious impediment to both shall be removed, and the administration of the laws in the superior courts be exclusively confided to professional gentlemen of liberal education and established character and reputation, to be nominated by the crown, and rendered independent of the local legislatures for their salaries; and all minor questions, civil or criminal, affecting the negros, usually determinable by justices of the peace, be decided also exclusively by a stipendiary magistracy, to be appointed in each island under executive authority.

These observations which have been induced by my anxiety to promote the truly humane and laudable objects for which your excellent society has been formed, are offered under a hope that they will, at least, be received as the unbiassed sentiments of a native West Indian, now removed from the colonies, and having no property or other interest in them beyond an ardent desire which I shall ever retain to advance the general welfare of all classes of my countrymen, and more particularly of those of my fellow-creatures whose rights to protection and support I have (during a residence of upwards of twenty years among them) individually professionally, and officially endeavoured (to the utmost extent of my power and ability,) to uphold, at the complete sacrifice of my private fortune and professional distinction.

That this communication may be deemed worthy of attention, I have only in conclusion to state, that I am perfectly prepared (from documents and other proofs now in my possession,) to satisfy your committee, or the secretary of state (if necessary), of the entire accuracy of my statement on every question to which I have now summarily adverted, and to point out the practicability of carrying into effect (beneficially and advantageously to the colonial islands) every measure which I have undertaken to recommend for their improvement.

WEST INDIA FALLACIES.

Several unsatisfactory articles having recently appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, Mr. Scoble has addressed a letter to the editor of that journal, which we insert below.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Sir,—It is not too much to suppose, and you must pardon me for saying it, that the multitude of affairs which engage your attention, and the extent of labour involved in the discharge of your editorial duties, must

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prevent you from giving that consideration to the details of certain questions, in some measure foreign to those which necessarily occupy most of your time, which would qualify you to pronounce an absolute opinion on them for the guidance of the public mind. I have been led to remark this on several occasions, when you have undertaken to discuss West India affairs, and have felt satisfied, that if you had all the facts of the case before you, you would either have abandoned the positions you have laid down, and the conclusions you have drawn, or have so greatly modified them as to have given no triumph to the enemies of human liberty and happiness, and no cause of grief to their friends. At present, the West India planters have in you a most powerful auxiliary; they propose gigantic schemes of immigration into the British colonies, and you second them in their efforts to sway the government and the public; they cry out for labourers "from those parts of the globe"—Africa and Hindostan, for instance—"where the climate may appear most similar to that of the British colonies," and you echo their cry: but sir, allow me to say, that when you shall have looked at the question of immigration into those possessions of the crown, not merely as one of theory, but of practice, you will pause before you give currency to the schemes and pretensions of those who would monopolize the labour-market of the world, to gratify their lust of wealth, and love of power.

Notwithstanding the outcry of the West India body to the contrary, they never were in a state of greater prosperity than at the present moment. Their predictions that the measure of emancipation would be attended with the devastation of their estates—the destruction of their lives—the ruin of commerce—and the consequent dilapidation of the revenue, have been completely falsified; and whatever of difficulty they have had to encounter since the period of complete emancipation, has arisen almost entirely from their own absurd, dishonourable, and oppressive conduct. Of course, I except from this censure the wiser and better portion of the planters, who have secured to themselves the confidence of their labourers, and are, as they declare, able to carry on the cultivation of their estates at less expense than formerly, without any diminution—nay, in many instances, with a large increase in the amount of produce raised.

The blessings conferred on the planters by the abolition of slavery were great. Multitudes of them were delivered from the ruthless grasp of mortgages, and were placed in circumstances of independent competency by that noble act. The twenty millions of pounds sterling, voted as compensation, equal to an income of one million two hundred thousand pounds per annum in the colonies, were shared among them. This enormous sum was given to cover the loss which it was anticipated would result from emancipation, and this sum they have enjoyed as capital, since the first of August, 1834. In addition to this, whilst there was but a slight diminution in the amount of sugar exported from the emancipated colonies from that period to the 5th of January, 1839, a period of five years, as compared with the five years of slavery which preceded them, the price of sugar had risen 9s. per cwt. The quantity of that staple exported during that period was 21,635,459 cwt., independently of molasses, which at 9s. per cwt., gives a profit of £9,735,956, and the additional profits obtained on other articles of tropical produce may be fairly said to make up the balance of £10,000,000 sterling: thus, within a period of five years, the West India body have gained a capital of thirty millions sterling, equal at the colonial rate of interest, six per cent, to an annual income of one million eight hundred thousand pounds, by the system of freedom! I say nothing of the generous remission of the four-and-a-half per cent duties by the crown, equal to about £50,000 per annum, to the windward colonies.

Morally, the planters have gained immensely by emancipation. The just abhorrence in which they were held as slave-holders, extorting unwilling labour by the cart-whip, has ceased to exist. They have been placed in a new and honourable relation to society. The day that made their bondsmen free delivered them from the indignant reprobation of their fellow-men. Were they wise, they would endeavour to throw the veil of oblivion over the past, and strive to conciliate the confidence of those whose painful duty it has ever been to watch their movements, and who have, happily, on many occasions, been permitted to defeat their unrighteous designs.

It must not be forgotten, that the West India body enjoy the monopoly of the British market for all the staple articles they raise, save cotton; and they ask for the monopoly of that article also, under pretences of humanity and patriotism, that they may, forsooth, have the honour of putting down slavery and the slave-trade wherever they exist. Generous philanthropists, worthy patriots, most excellent of men! You have the voice of Jacob, but the hands of Esau! You would put down these great abominations, *provided you were paid for it*! Monopoly and immigration is your motto. Let me be understood. I am no enemy to immigration into the British colonies, much less to the exclusion of slave produce from our markets. I would open our ports to the free produce of Hayti: I would encourage the growth of cotton in the East Indies, where there are millions of free labourers waiting to be employed, who are now deprived of the means of subsistence, by a system of arbitrary laws, most cruelly administered. I would point out to the merchant princes of Leadenhall-street a source whence they might derive an ample and honourable revenue, for that which, I have no hesitation in saying, is now most dishonourably obtained by them, from the smuggling of the vile and destructive drug, opium, into China. I would direct attention to Africa, and show that on its rich and fertile plains also, the cotton of commerce may be produced by free labour, and thus open vast and profitable markets for our manufactures, and for legitimate commerce in these important parts of the world.

I have said that I am no enemy to immigration, when it can be proved to be necessary. When guarantees shall be given that it shall not be abused, and when the planters can be trusted with its management, I shall have no objection to labourers being admitted into the British colonies, to any reasonable extent. At the present moment I assert that the necessity for immigration does not exist, and that it would prove injurious to those whose interests we are bound to protect, as well as their masters, I mean the labourers. The number of labourers at present in the colonies is sufficient to carry on the necessary cultivation of the estates. Though the number of the negros has greatly decreased since the period of slavery, by the excess of deaths over the births, owing to the rigour of the apprenticeship system, from which the negros have just escaped, I am satisfied, from actual observation and personal knowledge of facts, that, with judicious management, fair wages, and honourable treatment, the amount of produce raised during the latter years of slavery may be kept up without the addition of a single immigrant to their present number. To adduce the amount of produce shipped last year to Great Britain as proof of the want of labour in the colonies is most unfair, and the planters know it to be so. The amount of the decrease in the shipments upon the whole year, in the article of sugar, was 698,000 cwt as compared with the preceding year. Allowing that there were no disturbing causes arising out of the entire abolition of slavery, no contests about wages, no change in the occupations of the negros, the excessive drought which prevailed in the colonies, especially in British Guiana, will go far to explain how the decrease, which after all is not so great as might have been anticipated, has occurred.

But it is asserted, the wages paid the negros are excessive. Who says so? The planters, who formerly paid their labourers none! The statement that the negros are paid extravagantly for their work is untrue. In Guiana, the sum paid the labourer for a day's work, regulated by the planters themselves, is 1$6\frac{1}{2}$d. sterling. In Jamaica 1$3\frac{1}{4}$d., in Barbados 10d., in Tobago 8d., and in the other colonies from 5d. to 6d. for the first class of labourers, which sums are liable to deductions for absent and sick days, and such fines in addition as the planters may think fit to inflict! Now, sir, when the price of provisions, aye, sir, the price of provisions, and the other necessaries of life, in the colonies, is considered, the highest wages paid is moderate, and the lowest totally inadequate to meet the wants of the labourers and their families without additional labour on their provision grounds. Sir William Colebrooke, governor of the leeward islands, in a despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated 16th of August, 1838, writing on this very subject, says,—"The ordinary wages of sixpence sterling per diem are inadequate, and *hence the number of women who are still employed in the ordinary labours of the field.*" That the planters in Guiana do not think the wages they give too high, will appear from the fact that they engaged Mr. Reiss, a German, to procure a considerable number of his countrymen to perform precisely the same amount of work daily as the negros on the same wages, with the addition of rations nearly equal in value to the money payment; and they can afford to give this, inasmuch as the amount of produce which a single labourer can raise in that colony is twice that which he could raise in Jamaica. It may be also remarked, that the wages paid the negro freeman in Guiana is, at the present time, precisely what the planters fixed, without consulting them, at the commencement of the free system; and you may well suppose that they would not fix it too high.

The export of manufactured goods from Great Britain to the emancipated colonies, for the five years ending the 5th January, 1839, exceeded those of the five years of slavery which preceded them, by £3,223,204; and I have little doubt, that, when the official account of the exports to the colonies for the year ending the 5th of January, 1840, is published, it will appear there has been no diminution in that important branch of our commerce. The exports and imports of the United States to and from the British colonies, since the period of freedom, have much increased, whilst the quantity of produce sold for consumption in the colonies is considerably greater than formerly. In Barbados alone it will be seen, by a recently printed parliamentary paper, that of sugar alone there is now sold 2000 hogsheads annually in that island.

In every colony visited by me in my late tour to the West Indies, the marks of increasing prosperity were everywhere visible, and everywhere admitted. Even in Guiana, of the ruin of which we hear so much, the price of estates during the whole of last year was greater upon the average than could be obtained for them during the period of slavery, with the slaves upon them! The cry of ruin is senseless and absurd.

With respect to the guarantees necessary to secure the immigrants from frauds and injuries, it is quite clear, that no regulations which have hitherto existed have been sufficient to secure immigrants into the colonies from the grossest frauds, and the most cruel treatment; and I question much whether the ingenuity of man can devise laws sufficiently comprehensive and stringent to secure them protection in future. It is quite clear to me, I speak from the experience I have had, that the planters are not to be entrusted with the administration of any laws which may be passed, either in this country or in the colonies, which are designed to benefit their labourers, and to secure to them their just rights. I may, sir, come under your censure, as one of those who "continue to entertain the same jealousy of the planters now that the negros are free, that they did while slavery existed;" but I must be permitted to say, that I can fully justify the jealousy I feel, whether I look at the laws they have enacted, to the tyrannical spirit they have exhibited, or to the oppressive deeds of which they have been guilty, since the termination of the apprenticeship system.

I would not lightly bring charges against any man or set of men; but I cannot forbear saying, that the facts which have recently been brought to light, both with respect to British Guiana and Mauritius, prove that the planters are not yet to be trusted with the management of any scheme of immigration whatever. In my next communication I will, if permitted, produce the facts, which shall prove my justification for entertaining this opinion.

I am, Sir, your's very respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, March 21st, 1840.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

JAMAICA.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEASURES.—The following circular has been issued by Captain Stuart:—

Falmouth, Tuesday, January 21st, 1840.

The following resolutions, among others, were adopted at a public meeting held at Falmouth, on the 25th December, 1839:—

"That this meeting deeply and sincerely deplores the continuance of the odious and abominable traffic in human beings, especially in the United States of America; and, while it sympathises "with those who are in bonds, as being bound with them," it feels convinced that it is the duty of this meeting, and of all Christians, to offer their unceasing prayers to Almighty God, that He may incline the hearts of all mankind to unite in the most cordial endeavours to extirpate slavery from the world.

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that an Anti-slavery Convention of friends in Jamaica, who desire the utter extinction of slavery and the

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slave-trade, be held early in the month of March ensuing; and that circulars signed by the chairman of this meeting be distributed, inviting the Friends of Liberty to be present on the occasion."

In pursuance of the above resolutions, we earnestly and affectionately invite you to meet, or to get some delegate or delegates from your neighbourhood appointed to meet us in Spanish-Town, on Thursday, the 5th of next March, in order to appoint one delegate, or more than one, from this island, to attend the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New-York, in the first days of next May, and the meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in London, on the 12th of next June.

C. STUART, Chairman.

AMERICAN KIDNAPPING. [From the *Baptist Herald.*] We have been informed on an unquestionable authority, that an American captain, whose name is Frisby, did actually STEAL THREE PERSONS from the port of Montego Bay, some time last year. Under pretence of getting water, he put into the Bay, and whilst there he inveigled four persons on board his vessel. One of these, who, we are told, had formerly been a cook to Mr. Tongue, had his suspicions that all was not right, and managed to get ashore; but, under cover of night, the other three were carried off, and the vessel started with them for the slave-states. Some attempts were promptly made by our esteemed governor, Sir Lionel Smith to have these persons restored, but every effort proved unsuccessful. All the information that could be obtained from H. B. M. consul at New Orleans was, that a vessel answering the description of Captain Frisby's had been sold there. One of the three individuals thus kidnapped was no less a personage than Margaret Scarlett, a half-sister, we are told, of the present Lord Abinger. Three of Mrs. Scarlett's children, from whom she was so craftily and so cruelly torn away, were consequently left in a state of destitution; and we believe are now living at Montego Bay. We understand that another of the three unfortunate creatures was a man named Dunstone, whose wife has still to lament, if not to curse, the atrocious circumstance of being bereft of her natural protector. The man Henry, now a constable at Montego Bay, as our informant states, was the individual who happily made his escape from the fangs of the MAN-STEALING Captain.

Extract of a letter from Captain Stuart to Mr. Sturge, dated Montego Bay, 11th January, 1840.

On Wednesday, 1st of January, I reached Hampden, Blyth's station, and that evening addressed a large meeting in his church, after laying the corner stone of a new free village, close by his dwelling. On Thursday, I visited with him Mr. George Gordon, Daughtrey's companion in investigating James Williams's case, distance several miles. On Friday, visited Dundee estate, called at Orange valley, laid the foundation of another new free village, about four or five miles distant. Both of these villages are founded on the tee-total temperance principle, and on both occasions we had very large and interesting companies. On Saturday, I went by Bethtephil to Salters'-hill, Dendy's, about twelve or fifteen miles, and on Sunday preached to his congregation, of about 2000 people, and spoke particularly afterwards to the church. On Monday, returned from Salters' Hill to Hampden, distant about twelve miles, and attended an exceedingly interesting meeting in the evening, in Blyth's church. On Tuesday, went to Bethlephel, and presided in the evening at an anti-slavery meeting in Dendy's church. On Wednesday, rode to breakfast at Montego Bay, distant about 14 miles; and in the evening visited Burchell at Mount Carey, distant about nine miles. On Thursday, returned to Montego Bay to breakfast, and hurried over a few indispensable arrangements and inquiries, and snatched the first time-fraction for this letter. I am now writing on Thursday evening, the 9th; to-morrow (Friday the 10th) I purpose attending the petty sessions at Adelphi, about eleven miles distant. On Saturday, the petty sessions and the Mico school here, with personal inquiries from people attending market. On Sunday, 12th, preaching in Burchell's church, &c.; and on Monday, 13th, going to Mr. Hunter's for statistics, the same who so frankly supplied you; &c., &c.

Sabbath, 12th January, 1840.—It is now about 4 p.m. This is the first daylight hour in which I have had anything like rest since I left Dexter's. I have just returned from preaching as intended, and from partaking of the memorials of the dying love of our blessed Lord. My subject was John v. 30, "My judgment is just, because I seek not my own will, but the will of my Father who sent me." The church, which is symmetrical and spacious, was filled; it seats 2000; there were probably 2500 present—a most decorous and solemn company. Burchell grows in my estimation as I see him more. He seems to me to be a prudent man, with heavenly wisdom.

But I must hasten to snatch a fact or two, before the light fails. I could give you many particulars that would refresh you, and some that would pain you, in relation to the condition of the negro population; but, admitting every exception, as a body it is well with them. There is another class, alas! with which it is woe,—almost altogether woe, as far as relates to Trelawney, St. James's, and Hanover. The only exception that I have been able to find is that of the English emigrants on Freemason's Hall, in Trelawney; though not happy, they are well. You must not, however, consider my present information final, as I am in the midst of my inquiries. I merely feel constrained to state briefly what I have learnt, for the sake of others who may be in danger of being decoyed. Let me say, before I begin, that I was assured at Falmouth, that not a single person of the emancipated population of Trelawney, numbering at 25,000, has applied for parochial relief; and I am similarly assured in this place (Montego Bay) that the same is the case in St. James's. The destitute who were abandoned by their former masters, are universally provided for by their own relations and friends, if Creoles; or, if Africans, and without relations, by their ship-mates, that is, by their companions in the horrors of the middle-passage. I must also mention, before I proceed to the European emigrants, that Hampden and Dundee, in Trelawney, and Content and Latium, in (I believe) St. James's, with Childermas and Seven Rivers, in St. James's, as far as I have heard, are singularly well managed and prosperous estates. Now to the European emigrants.

Mr. Burchell has three orphans.

Mary Ann Clarke.—Her parents came out to Greenwood, the property of the late speaker, Barrett, and died within a few months of their arrival. It is about five years since they came out; the girl is now about ten.

Isabella and Cæsar Schimmings.—Their parents came out with them from Liverpool, to Mr. Robert Watt, member of the contumacious assembly, and were settled at Prospect, in Westmoreland. Their father got his death by excessive exertions to obtain the breaking of his indentures, in which he at length succeeded, about a month before his death. The mother, after his death, dragged out another year of suffering, and then followed him. From all that I can hear, she died as much of neglect and want as of sickness. The father was a singularly hale and athletic man upon his arrival. Burchell declares to me that he has seen the meal provided for them alive with vermin. Their earthly resource in their extremity was the negros. These, though aware of the hostile purpose in introducing the European labourers, have ever exhibited the most generous attentions to them when destitute. They have supplied them with food when they were starving; they have sheltered them when cast out; they have nursed them when they were sick; and Mrs. Schimmings was buried by a negro family taking up the boards of their own floor to make her a coffin.

The above-mentioned Mr. Watt seems to have been the common importer of European emigrants into St. James's, as Mr. Lemonius was into Trelawney. It seems to have been a speculation with each, as neither seems to have retained the parties imported by them long in their own hands. They appear, generally, either to have been handed over to others, or to have left with indignant disgust. The assembly gave, I believe, £15 currency per head to the importers.

Of the several hundred introduced into this part of Jamaica, very few, I am told, survive. I have met with two or three who are settled by themselves, and are doing well. But most who survive are scattered, no one that I have met with knowing where.

The following account is given me by a remarkably intelligent and interesting coloured gentleman of this place. The Seaford township is situated about twenty-five miles south of Montego Bay, on the confines of Hanover and Westmoreland. The land (several hundred acres) was given by Lord Seaford. The expense was supplied by the island—the premium paid for each emigrant was £15 currency. The agent employed was Mr. Lemonius. The number brought out was upwards of 300. They were from Germany.

Their disappointment upon reaching the place, I am told, was extreme. The houses preparing for them were not half finished; no adequate stores of provisions had been made; nor was a sufficiency planted to produce a supply. Mr. J. P. Tracey, now of this place, was ordered, in 1836, by Lord Sligo, to visit Seaford once a fortnight, and make his reports—he did so for about two months. He was told by some of the settlers that Mr. Lemonius had declared to them, that all they had to do was to bring their rifles with them, and shoot down the negros' cattle. In their extremity, they very naturally plundered the negro's provision grounds. They seem to have been in themselves, generally, a bad set. A great many of them died, chiefly of dysentery produced by unripe food, &c.—many ran away—a few remain; these I intend D. V., to see, and then perhaps shall hear more about them.

A party was settled at Cowpark Pen, in Westmoreland, a remarkably healthy place in general, and where their labour has been light, and their treatment blameless yet a family; named Newbury, consisting of eight persons, from England, of excellent habits and good manners, has lost half its members, I am told.

I must refrain from other details for the present.

A few words on another subject.—In the first days of December, 533 re-captured Africans were landed here. They were in uncommonly good health. About eighty, during their residence here, passed through the doctor's hands, of whom a small proportion only died. Their treatment was admirable throughout, with some natural and all but unavoidable exceptions—the chief of the exceptions was, not having sufficient reference to the character of some of the persons to whom they have been indentured for one year. But there is one very serious objection to the measures pursued on these occasions. The finest young men are enlisted, as it is called, into her Majesty's military service. I have not time here to detail to you the heavy and solemn objections; but they are obvious, and will readily occur to you. I think that everything should be done that can lawfully be done, to secure the newly rescued Africans from such *enlistings*.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Jamaica to Mr. Sturge, dated Jan. 27th, 1840.

On the 7th inst., a slaver, captured by the *Cleopatra*, was brought into Kingston, with 280 slaves on board, and sent immediately under quarantine, to Navy island, in consequence of the small-pox being on board, of which two of the captives had died. I can at present learn nothing further concerning her, but shall visit both ship and cargo as soon as I am able. The vessel with 500 slaves which was brought into Montego Bay, a few months since, and the captives, for safe custody, and for decency sake, were put into buildings secure from the public gaze. Some of the turbulent whites of that place broke into one of them, where some women were placed, and for doing so were fined ten pounds each by the stipendiary justices; this circumstance has made them furious, and they have commenced actions against the magistrates for exceeding their power! The poor people have since been apprenticed off for one year, I am told to their general satisfaction, with the exception of sixty or seventy of the young men, who have been enlisted as soldiers in one of the West India black regiments.

Since my last letter, I have obtained sundry returns of commitments, which are highly gratifying, as proving the peaceable and quiet conduct of the people. The subjoined is a summary.

Trelawney parish, population 32,000. Return of commitments to the house of correction, from December 10th, 1837, to December 10th, 1838.

	Males	Females	Total
Quarter sessions	26	8	34
Summary trial	203	55	256
Courts martial	35	0	35
	264	63	327 Total excluding court martial..2

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Commitments from the 10th of December, 1838, to the same period, 1839.

	Males	Females	Total	
Quarter sessions.....	16	.... 1	17	
Summary trials	65	.... 10	75	
Courts martial	17	.... 0	17	
	98	11	109	Ditto 1838 .. 92

Decrease of commitments..200

When it is considered that the parts of Falmouth and Rio Bueno are situated within the above parish, and that foreign seamen are included in the commitments, the return exhibits probably a lower average of crime than will be found in almost any part of Great Britain. Many cases sent for summary trial, if I may judge by those that came before the Kingston courts, would in England be settled in a different way, such as abusive language and petty assaults.

St. Andrew's parish—population 17,000.

Commitments from 31st December, 1837, to 30th December, 1838. Ditto from 30th December, 1838, to 30th December, 1839.

	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Quarter sessions ..	20 ..	1 ..	21	21 ..	0 ..	21
Summary trials....	93 ..	43 ..	136	43 ..	15 ..	58
	113	44	157	64		79

(Assaults 35)

Decrease of commitments in 1839....78.

St. David's parish—population 10,000.

Commitments from 1st October, 1837, to 1st October, 1838. Ditto from 1st October, 1838, to ditto, 1839.

	Males	Females	Total.
Quarter sessions	79	41	120
Summary trials	52	11	63

Decrease of commitments in 1839..57

TRINIDAD.

The *Standard* contains the following retrospect of the year 1839 :—

"The first subject of congratulation which strikes us, is the immense and very advantageous difference between the position of the planters of this colony on the 1st of January, 1840, and the 1st of January, 1839. Yes, as recently as on this day twelvemonth, all was doubt and distrust—no one could say with any certainty that the new system, just entered upon, would "work," whilst there were but too many grounds to fear the contrary. True, the few months which had elapsed since the memorable 1st of August had sufficed to shew, that the labourers were not likely in any way to disturb the order of society in their mode of enjoyment of the recent boon which had been conferred upon them—that there was as much, and perhaps more, safety for life, and respect for property, than previous to the emancipation: still it must be admitted that, in the disposition evinced pretty generally by the labourers to shift from one district to another—in their averseness to enter into any regular engagements—in their want of faith, in many cases, in keeping such engagements when entered into—in their unsteadiness and objection to work for any number of days consecutively—there were strong grounds for apprehension; and the planter, whilst he acknowledged the right of the labourer to act in this manner as long as the latter could afford to reject all permanent employment, looked round with considerable anxiety, to see how he was to get off the crop then on his grounds, and how he should manage to raise and manufacture the future crops, from the proceeds of which he hoped to derive a subsistence for himself and family. Crop time, however, came, and—surpassing the expectations of the most sanguine—the crop *was got off*. It is true that the planter was providentially assisted by the most favourable season, perhaps, ever known in Trinidad; it is true that his expenses were heavy—very heavy; but still, under all the circumstances, it was more than was expected, and the 'great question' was practically and satisfactorily solved:—a crop equal to the average of that of the apprenticeship had been got in by free labour. Since then, the conduct of the labouring population has been daily more steady and satisfactory, and the results of the crop of 1840 are looked to with hope and confidence."

TEXAS.

BRITISH RECOGNITION OF TEXIAN INDEPENDENCE REFUSED.—From the *Morning Star* (Texian paper), of Janurry 22nd, we quote he following:—

"England has declined—refused to recognise the independence of Texas. Our commissioner appointed to negociate a treaty of recognition with that governmen has returned.

"From he English journals, and from various sources, it is now perfectly apparent that the only obstacle to our acknowledgment is the existence of slavery in Texas. O'Connell, whose name is a by-word of infamy, by his control of a party in parliament can give a majority to the ministers or the opposition; he has issued his insolent mandate to the ministry not to recognise Texas so long as slavery exists in our borders. And the ministry have bowed to his dictation—and REFUSE *to acknowledge our independence*. We deem it our duty to lay these facts before our citizens; and we assure them that no possible uncertainty exists of the determination to interfere in our domestic institutions.

"What course, then, we repeat, and we are ready to answer the question, ought Texas to pursue towards England? We do not inquire whether Texas will submit to any interference in our domestic affairs. We know the temper of this people; and England may refuse our recognition till our posterity shall possess this country from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, till the time when Texian diplomacy, backed by Texian armies and navies, shall be able to dictate the law to old England, before we will even entertain the question of any foreign interference with slavery. Texas is a slave holding country, and, by the grace of God and our right arm, will remain such. If we can make any change in this or any other of our institutions, it will be of our own spontaneous act, and neither suggested nor dictated by any foreign influence. Slavery is no longer a question for discussion and settlement—it is a closedsubject. We will hear no proposition concerning it.

"At this time Texas has no agent of any nature whatsoever in England. General Henderson has just been greeted with the heartiest welcome home. Mr. MacIntosh, secretary of legation, is left charge de affair's at Paris.

"*The course of Texas is* TO TAKE NO FURTHER STEP WHATSOEVER AT THE PRESENT TIME TO OPEN AN INTERCOURSE WITH ENGLAND. If her ministry, who, we believe, really desire to acknowledge our independence, dare not perform this act of right and duty through fear of a foul-mouthed demagogue, we have, nevertheless, no fear but that Texas will continue to flouriah, and soon attain a pitch of importance among the nations of the world which must needs force our recognition from all."

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

The Cape papers inform us of the capture of two slavers by her Majesty's ship Modeste, under the powers of Lord Palmerston's act. They had been brought into Simon's bay. One of them, the last taken, is said to have had "fifty slaves on board, and a valuable cargo." Of the contents of the other, the Escorpao, the *South African Commercial Advertiser* of December 28, furnishes the following particulars. "The distribution of the prize negros brought in by the Modeste, has excited intense interest in this town and neighbourhood. Whoever has the distribution of them will have many eyes upon him in Europe, and throughout the world. He is their guardian; and, as such, of course, his sole object is to provide, in the best possible manner, for his wards.

"They are set down upon our shores naked, and, no interpreter having yet been found, speechless. A more helpless set of creatures, or more deserving of our sympathies, cannot be imagined. A large proportion of them are children under ten years of age.

"The captured vessel was commanded by Spaniards, but under Portuguese colours. She had been on the coast several months, and had not completed her cargo, which was destined to amount to one thousand souls. Some of the unhappy captives had been already three months on board. She is a fine fast-sailing vessel; and, but for an accident that happened to her spars, when she passed the Cape outward bound, she might possibly have distanced even the Modeste. As it was they had a brisk chase, and some thirty or forty shots were fired at her rigging before she brought up. One of the miscreants who commanded her says they will be provided with guns NEXT TIME. It is to be regretted that the present law does not permit the administration of hemp THIS TIME."

Concerning the disposal of these captives the following proclamation was issued by Sir George Napier, on the 30th of December.

"PROCLAMATION.

"By his Excellency Major-General Sir George Thomas Napier, K.C.B. Governor and Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the territories and dependencies thereof, and Ordinary and Vice-Admiral of the same, Commanding the forces, &c., &c., &c.

"Whereas certain African negros have been recently landed at Simon's Town, in this colony, from a vessel called the Escorpao, captured as a prize by her Majesty's ship Modeste, and which said vessel was deemed to be in an unfit state to remain at sea, or to proceed again thereto with the said negros on board; and, whereas it is necessary that provision be forthwith made for securing to the said negros, as free persons, a comfortable present subsistence, as well as the means of providing for themselves hereafter. I do, therefore, hereby proclaim and make known my determination to permit the disposal of the said negros, and of such other negros as may hereafter land in this colony under the like circumstances (unless otherwise instructed), amongst such inhabitants of this colony, as I shall deem desirable, such inhabitants being thereto consenting, and with such provisions, and upon such conditions, as shall to me seem just and proper. And I further proclaim, that the duration of the contracts of service or apprenticeship to be entered into upon the part of the said negros shall be as follows, to wit:—For males of seventeen years or upwards, and for females of fifteen years or upwards, a contract of service for the space of one year; and for males and females under the said ages respectively, a contract of apprenticeship to continue until the male or female apprentice shall attain the ages of eighteen years and sixteen years respectively.

"And whereas there are other matters and things necessary to be inserted in the said contracts of service and apprenticeship respectively, which could not conveniently be set forth in this proclamation, as well as certain rules and regulations which will be required for the proper protection and the continued superintendance of the said negros, as also for the providing for the payment to such apprentices of such wages or other remuneration as may be deemed reasonable in respect to the more advanced periods of their apprenticeship. I do further intimate that all such matters and things, together with such rules and regulations, will be made publicly known, either by one or more government advertisement or advertisements, or else by one or more notice or notices, to be issued under my authority, by the person or persons whom I shall, for that purpose, delegate and appoint.

"And whereas some expense has been already, and will be hereafter incurred in maintaining, contracting, and superintending the said negros, which the said negros are unable to repay, and which the colonial revenue ought not to bear, I hereby give notice that no contract of service or apprenticeship, as the case may be, shall be made or executed under the authority of this proclamation, until after payment by the person proposing to take such servant or apprentice of the sum of one pound sterling, for and in respect of each and every servant or apprentice so proposed to be contracted, such payment to be made into the hands of the person or persons whom I shall appoint to receive the same.

"And I further direct, that in every case in which any such contract of apprenticeship shall have two or more years to run, there shall be annually paid by the master or mistress of such apprentice, for every year of such apprenticeship after the first year there of, the sum of ten shillings, the same to be paid into the hands of the person or persons to be appointed as aforesaid.

"And whereas it may be doubtful whether the ages of the said negros respectively have been estimated with sufficient accuracy, I do hereby further direct, that no contract of service or apprenticeship be executed under this proclamation until a further examination of those negros shall have taken place, and a fresh estimate shall have been made of their ages respectively, by such person or persons, and at such times and places, as I shall see fit to appoint and make known.

"God save the Queen.

"Given under my hand and the public seal of the settlement, at the Cape of Good Hope, this thirtieth day of December, 1839.

(Signed) "GEO. NAPIER.

"By command of his Excellency the governor,

(Signed) "JOHN BELL,

"Secretary to Government."

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THE WORLD'S CONVENTION

OF THE

FRIENDS OF EMANCIPATION,

TO BE HELD IN LONDON IN 1840.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

YES, let them gather!—Summon forth
The pledged philanthropy of Earth,
From every land, whose hills have heard
The bugle-blast of freedom waking;
Or shrieking of her symbol-bird
From out his cloudy eyrie breaking;
Where Justice hath one worshipper,
Or Truth one altar built to her;
Where'er a human eye is weeping,
O'er wrongs which Earth's sad children know,
Where'er a single heart is keeping
Its prayerful watch with human woe:
Thence let them come, and greet each other,
And know in each a friend and brother!

Yes, let them come! From each green vale,
Where England's old baronial halls
Still bear upon their storied walls
The grim crusader's rusted mail,
Batter'd by paynim spear and brand
On Malta's rock, or Syria's sand!
And mouldering pennon-staves once set
Within the soil of Palestine,
By Jordan and Gennesaret;
Or borne with England's battle line,
O'er Acre's shattered turrets stooping;
Or 'midst the camp their banners drooping,
With dews from hallowed Hermon wet.
A holier summons now is given,
Than that grey hermit's voice of old,
Which unto all the winds of heaven
The banners of the Cross unrolled!
Not for the long deserted shrine,
Not for the dull, unconscious sod,
Which tells not by one lingering sign
That there the Hope of Israel trod:
But for that TRUTH, for which alone
In pilgrim eyes are sanctified
The garden moss, the mountain stone
Whereon His holy sandals pressed—
The fountain which His lip hath blessed—
Whate'er hath touched His garment's hem
At Bethany or Bethlehem,
Or Jordan's river side.
For FREEDOM, in the name of Him
Who came to raise Earth's drooping poor,
To break the chain from every limb—
The bolt from every prison door:
For those o'er all the earth hath passed
An ever deepening trumpet blast,
As if an Angel's breath had lent
Its vigour to the instrument.

And Wales, from Snowdon's mountain wall,
Shall startle at that thrilling call,
As if she heard her Bards again;
And Erin's 'harp on Tara's wall'
Give out its ancient strain,
Mirthful and sweet, yet sad withal—
The melody which Erin loves,
When o'er that harp, mid bursts of gladness,
And slogan cries and lyke-wake sadness,
The hand of her O'Connell moves.
Scotland, from lake, and tarn, and rill,
And mountain hold, and heathery hill,
Shall catch and echo back the note,
As if she heard upon her air
Once more her Cameronian's prayer,
And song of freedom float.
And cheering echoes shall reply
From each remote dependency,
Where Britain's mighty sway is known,
In tropic sea or frozen zone;
Where'er her sunset flag is furling,
Or morning gun-fire's smoke is curling;
From Indian Bengal's groves of palm,
And rosy fields and gales of balm,
Where Eastern pomp and power are rolled
Through regal Ava's gates of gold:
And from the lakes and ancient woods,
And dim Canadian solitudes,
Whence, sternly from her rocky throne,
Queen of the North, Quebec looks down;
And from those bright and ransomed Isles
Where all unwonted Freedom smiles,
And the dark labourer still retains
The scar of slavery's broken chains!

From the hoar Alps, which sentinel
The gateways of the land of Tell,
Where morning's keen and earliest glance
On Jura's icy top is thrown;
And from the olive bowers of France,
And vine groves garlanding the Rhone.—
'Friends of the Blacks,' as true and tried
As those who stood by Orge's side—
Brissot and eloquent Gregoire—
When with free lip and heart of fire
The Haytian told his country's wrong,
Shall gather at that summons strong:
Broglie, Passy, and he, whose song
Breathed over Syria's holy sod,
And in the paths which Jesus trod,
And murmured midst the hills which hem,
Crownless and sad Jerusalem,
Hath echoes wheresoe'er the tone
Of Israel's prophet-lyre is known.

Still let them come—from Quito's walls,
And from the Orinoco's tide—
From Lima's Inca-haunted halls—
From Santa Fe and Yucatan,—
Chiefs who by swart Guerrero's side
Proclaimed the deathless RIGHTS OF MAN,
Broke every bond and fetter off,
And hailed in every sable surf,
A free and brother Mexican!
Chiefs who across the Andes' chain
Have followed Freedom's flowing pennon,
And seen on Junin's fearful plain,
Glare o'er the broken ranks of Spain,
The fire-burst of Bolivar's cannon!
And Hayti, from her mountain land,
Shall send the sons of those who hurled
Defiance from her blazing strand—
The war-gage from her Petion's hand,
Alone against a hostile world.

Nor all unmindful thou, the while,
Land of the dark and mystic Nile!—
Thy moslem mercy yet may shame
All tyrants of a Christian name,—
When in the shade of Cezeh's pile,
Or, where from Abyssinian hills,
El Gerek's upper fountain fills,
Or where from mountains of the Moon,
El Abiad bears his watery boon,
Where'er thy lotus blossoms swim
Within their ancient hallowed waters;
Where'er is heard thy Prophet's hymn,
Or song of Nubia's sable daughters,—
The curse of SLAVERY and the crime,
Thy bequest from remotest time,
At thy dark Mehomet's decree
For evermore shall pass from thee;
And chains forsake each captive's limb
Of all those tribes, whose hills around
Have echoed back the cymbal sound,
And victor horn of Ibrahim.

And thou, whose glory and whose crime
To earth's remotest bound and clime,
In mingled tones of awe and scorn
The echoes of a world have borne,
My country! glorious at thy birth,
A day-star flashing brightly forth—
The herald-sign of Freedom's dawn!
Oh! who could dream who saw thee then,
And watched thy rising from afar,
That vapours from oppression's fen
Would feed thy upward tending star?
Or that Earth's tyrant powers, which heard,
Awe-struck, the shout which hailed thy dawning,
Would rise so soon, prince, peer and king,
To mock thee with their welcoming,
Like Hades, when her thrones were stirred
To greet the down-cast Star of Morning!
'Aha! and art thou fallen thus?
Art THOU become as one of *us*?'

Land of my fathers!—there will stand,
Amidst that world-assembled band,
Those owning thy maternal claim,
Unweakened by thy crime and shame,—
The sad reprovers of thy wrong—
The children thou hast spurned so long.
Still, with affection's fondest yearning,
To their unnatural mother turning.
No traitors they!—but tried and leal,
Whose own is but thy general weal,
Still blending with the patriot's zeal
The Christian's love for human kind,
To caste and climate unconfined.

A holy gathering!—peaceful all—
No threat of war—no savage call
For vengeance on an erring brother;
But, in their stead, the God-like plan
To teach the brotherhood of man
To love and reverence one another,
As sharers of a common blood—
The children of a common God!—
Yet, even at its lightest word,
Shall Slavery's darkest depths be stirred:
Spain, watching from her Moro's keep,
Her slave-ships traversing the deep;
And Rio, in her strength and pride,
Lifting, along her mountain side,
Her snowy battlements and towers—
Her lemon groves and tropic bowers,
With bitter hate and sullen fear,
Its freedom-giving voice shall hear;
And where my country's flag is flowing,
On breezes from Mount Vernon blowing,
Above the Nation's council halls,
Where Freedom's praise is loud and long,
While, close beneath the outward walls,
The driver plies his reeking thong—
The hammer of the man-thief falls,
O'er hypocritic cheek and brow,
The crimson flush of shame shall glow:
And all who for their native land
Are pledging life and heart and hand—
Worn watchers o'er her changing weal,
Who for her tarnished honour feel—
Through cottage door and council-hall
Shall thunder an awakening call.
The pen along its page shall burn
With all intolerable scorn—
And eloquent rebuke shall go
On all the winds that southward blow;
From priestly lips, now sealed and dumb,
Warning and dread appeal shall come,
Like those which Israel heard from him,
The prophet of the cherubim,
Or those which sad Esaias hurled
Against a sin-accursed world.
Its wizard-leaves the Press shall fling,
Unceasing from its iron wing,
With characters inscribed thereon,
As fearful in the despot's hall,
As to the pomp of Babylon
The fire-sign on the palace wall!
And, from her dark iniquities,
Methinks I see my country rise:
Not challenging the nations round
To note her tardy justice done—
Her captives from their chains unbound,
Her prisons opening to the sun.
But tearfully her arms extending
Over the poor and unoffending;
Her regal emblem, now no longer
A bird of prey, with talons reeking,
Above the dying captive shrieking;
But, spreading out her ample wing—
A broad, impartial covering—
The weaker sheltered by the stronger!—
O! then, to Faith's anointed eyes,
The promised token shall be given;
And on a nation's sacrifice,
Atoning for the sin of years,
And wet with penitential tears—
The fire shall fall from Heaven.

Philadelphia Paper.

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THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND BRITISH GUNPOWDER.

It is well known to our readers, that the supply of slaves for the ships which hover on the coast of Africa is derived to a great extent from internal wars, which are fomented for the purpose by the slave-traders. A large part of the articles furnished in return for slaves consists of arms and ammunition for these murderous wars, and by far the greater part of these proceed from English ports. We print below an account (extracted from official documents) of the quantities of gunpowder exported from Liverpool in the year 1839; from which our readers will see at a glance, what an enormous proportion of it (upwards of 17,000 barrels) have gone to Africa. And almost the whole of this has been shipped by British merchants, to perpetrate the murders which feed the slave trade!

GUNPOWDER EXPORTED FROM LIVERPOOL IN 1839.

		Barrels containing 100 lbs. each.	Half Barrels.	Qr. Barrels.	One-fifth Barrels.	Kegs.
January.	Africa	571	88	379	200	...
	Bahia	...	...	300	...	17
	Barbados	...	...	25	...	...
	Pernambuco	...	...	750	...	...
	New Orleans	1	...	...	...	...
	Tortola	1	...	...	...	...
	Bordeaux	544	5	...	15	...
	Batavia	...	...	60	...	...
February.	Africa	5929	...	...	...	...
	Brazils	...	...	800	...	...
	Mauritius	...	...	48	...	...
	Jersey	1	...	...	...	...
	Bay Chaleur	1	...	...	...	...
	Marseilles	74	...	...	...	...
	Barbados	...	50	...	...	...
	Halifax	...	...	50	...	...
March.	Africa	1175	...	...	...	...
	Barbados	37	...	...	...	...
	St. Thomas	2	...	...	...	..
April.	Bahia	...	...	400	...	...
	Carthagena	51	...	...	...	...
	Halifax	20	...	...	...	...
	Antigua	3	...	40	...	...
	St. Andrew	...	...	17	...	...
May.	Africa	2150	...	...	...	...
	Batavia	...	30	...	...	...
June.	Africa	725	...	...	...	...
	Monte Video	...	...	80	...	...
July.	Africa	100	300	600	...	...
August.	Africa	385	...	...	...	...
	Demerara	...	18	...	...	...
	Miramichi	15	...	...	...	...
	Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	84
September.	Africa	2550	...	...	...	322
	Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	25
	Elmira	...	...	10	...	...
October.	Africa	630	...	...	...	...
	Barbados	...	...	...	...	50
	St. Thomas	...	5	141	...	...
November.	Africa	2150	...	...	...	...
December	Africa	690	...	...	...	...
	Batavia	...	...	60	...	...
	Charleston	...	...	52	...	2
	Gulf of Mexico	...	...	...	...	200
	Gibraltar	14	...	...	...	...
	Maranham	...	...	480	...	...
	New Orleans	2	...	...	...	...
	Senegal	111	...	...	...	...
	Texas	...	10	...	...	...
	St. Cabello	...	...	80	...	...

WHITES *versus* BLACKS AT THE LORD'S TABLE. [From the *Jamaica Baptist Herald.*] A few Sabbaths since, I witnessed the following most heart-ren ling scene, at the communion-table of our ascended Lord. The ordinance was delivered to the communicants as they came by, and knelt around the altar. Twenty or more could kneel around it at a time. One class came up, knelt and received the ordinance, and were bid depart in peace. A second class came, received the ordinance, and were told to depart in peace. A third class came, and were received in a similar way. A fourth class came; there were eight or ten who came. The minister waited, and urged all to come. Soon two respectable-looking coloured females detached themselves from the congregation, walked down the aisle, went round to one end of the altar, away from the rest, and were about to kneel. The minister at this time saw them, and motioned them away to a pew. They departed, looking sorrowful and heart-broken. The communicants were ordered to depart in peace. "Now," says the minister, "if there are any of our coloured friends who wish to come, they can come." The two coloured ladies modestly and meekly took their place at the altar. In a cold and indifferent way the sacrament was administered. The minister turned from them as soon as they had received it, and left them kneeling, without repeating the usual form, "Depart in peace," &c. At length they rose and departed.

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

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J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, or by any of the Members of the Committee.

HENRY STERRY, Sec.

27, *New Broad Street.*

THE PORTUGUESE SLAVER, Ulysses, was condemned by the British Court of vice-admiralty at Jamaica, under Lord Palmerton's act, on the 20th of January last. This is the first instance of a foreign slaver being condemned by a purely British court.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 7.] WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

ANTI-SLAVERY DEPUTATION TO FRANCE AND HOLLAND.

As it would be quite impossible, in our present number, to give *in extenso* the lengthened report, with its appendix, of the visit of our friends, Messrs. Alexander, Whitehorne, and Scoble to France, we must confine ourselves to an abstract of their proceedings whilst there, and select portions of the valuable information they obtained of the state of slavery in the colonial dependencies of that country, and of the efforts of the distinguished abolitionists of France to promote its abolition.

In pursuance of a resolution framed by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at its sitting on the 27th December last, Mr. Alexander, the Treasurer of the Society, Mr. Whitehorne, of Bristol, and Mr. Scoble, proceeded to Paris on the 23rd of the following month, and reached that city on the 27th. The object proposed in going thither was to consult with the committee of the French Anti-slavery Society on the plan for the abolition of slavery, which it was understood would be formally presented to the consideration of the chamber of deputies in the session of 1841, and would form the basis of discussion during its present sitting; and to endeavour to secure their co-operation in the overthrow of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

Immediately on their arrival, the deputation put themselves into communication with those zealous and tried friends of the negro, Messieurs de St. Anthoine and Isambert, who imparted to them a large fund of useful information as to the then state of the abolition question—the difficulties to be encountered in bringing it to a successful issue—and the hopes that might be cherished that the day was not distant when France, as well as England, would not have a slave in her colonial possessions. Subsequently, they had the advantage of the counsel and assistance of Messieurs De Tracey and Appert, not less the devoted friends of abolition than their distinguished friends already mentioned, who were appointed to receive the deputation, and to arrange the period when they could meet the French committee.

As a large portion of the French Anti-slavery committee was composed of distinguished members of the chamber of deputies, whose engagements at that time happened to be of a pressing nature, the deputation had not the honour of an introduction to them, until a subsequent day, when they were most courteously and cordially received. Among the eminent men who were present at a special meeting of the committee, were the Marquises D'Harcourt, De Tracey, De la Rochefoncault, Liancourt, the Counts De la Borde, De Sade, De Remusat, Baron Roger, Messieurs Odillon Barrot, De Tocqueville, Isambert, Billiard, Dufau, Montrol, &c. &c. &c. They were introduced by Messieurs De St. Anthoine and Appert, M. Odillon Barrot in the chair, from whom the deputation received a cordial welcome in the name of the society. After having stated the objects they had in view in their visit to Paris, and presented the letter and resolutions to the distinguished chairman with which they were entrusted by the London committee, the deputation replied at length, and they trust satisfactorily, to a series of most searching questions on the results of emancipation in the British colonies, and strenuously urged on their friends the necessity of seeking the immediate and entire abolition of slavery, and of steadfastly resisting any proposition that might be made to enforce an apprenticeship as preliminary to complete emancipation, whether with the view of preparing the negros for freedom, or as necessary to secure the re-payment of the proposed compensation to the planters from their compulsory toil. At the close of the sitting of the committee, the deputation were invited to meet their friends again on the following Monday morning, and to favour them on the evening of that day with their presence at a banquet, both of which invitations they accepted.

Subsequently the deputation met the committee a second time, when they presented in writing detailed answers to the questions which had been proposed to them. The justly celebrated M. De Lamartine presided on that occasion. In a beautiful speech, replete with fine sentiments, M. De Lamartine developed his views on the necessity of an apprenticeship *for the benefit of the negros*, and was replied to at length by the deputation. It is hoped that this great man, whose influence is so extensive, and who is so deservedly respected, may yet see that the best way to educate the negro is to make him free. The deputation ventured to observe that to carry education in one hand, and the cart whip in the other, was not likely to be a very successful scheme for improving the character of the enslaved negro in morals and religion. As a short notice of the banquet given to the deputation was inserted in a previous number, it is not necessary again to advert to it.

During the intervals of leisure afforded to the deputation, they had the advantage of introductions to M. Guizot, the present ambassador from France to this country, M. Dupin, Count Girondeau, M. Passy, then finance minister, an old and warm friend of the negro, M. Teste, M. Gasparin, &c., and of meeting parties of distinguished and influential persons at the houses of M. de Tracey, M. Lutteroth, and M. Montrol, to whom they feel much indebted for their polite attentions, and the warm hospitality shown them. They had also the privilege of meeting at the house of the Rev. Mr. Wilks many christian friends, who were addressed by the deputation on anti-slavery subjects.

In closing this very brief account of their visit to the French metropolis, the deputation have great reason for thankfulness, that, whilst they discovered some things to discourage them, they discovered more to cheer them. In the hands of the distinguished men who compose the committee of the French society, the cause of abolition will not be allowed to sleep, but will be urged forward, at the earliest possible moment, with all the zeal, influence, and eloquence they are known to possess. With such men as M. Odillon Barrot, M. de Lamartine, M. Passy, M. de Tocqueville, M. de Remusat, M. Isambert, M. de Tracey, and numerous others that might be mentioned in the chamber of deputies, the deputation have full confidence that when the debate on the question of abolition shall come on, it will be not less effective than brilliant, and will lay the foundation for the final triumph of those great principles which lie at the root of the freedom, the civilization, and the happiness of mankind.

In company with his friend Mr. Whitehorne, Mr. Alexander proceeded on the 11th of February from Paris for Holland. Their first stay in that country was at Amsterdam, where their attention was particularly directed to procure information respecting the extent and circumstances of slavery in the Dutch colonies. It is matter of regret that they did not succeed in obtaining all the knowledge on the subject of their inquiry which is desirable, but enough has been learned, to evince the importance of directing public attention in Holland to the slavery which exists in the foreign possessions of that country.

From the best information received, the number of slaves in the colony of Surinam appears to be from 50,000 to 60,000, including upwards of 600 belonging to the Dutch government. Mr. Alexander was informed that the precise number of slaves is not given in any published document.

By the lowest computation the excess of deaths over births in Surinam, among the slave population, is 3 per cent. per annum, a fearful decrease, and which scarcely had a parallel in the island of Trinidad during the period of slavery in the British West Indies, although at the time referred to, the diminution of the servile portion of the community in that island was greater than in any other island or colony under the English government.

It was further mentioned, that, by statements contained in the Surinam almanac, it is shewn, that from six to eight plantations annually go out of cultivation, a circumstance which strongly corroborates the information relative to the mortality among the slaves, and proves the impolicy, in addition to the wickedness, of slavery. It may also be observed, that the frightful decrease in the slave population of Surinam, affords an evidence in addition to those already well known in England, of the murderous character of sugar cultivation by slaves.

It appears that a Moravian mission has been in existence at Surinam for about a century, but, until within the last few years, the missionaries had not access to twenty estates in that colony.

At the present time they are partially admitted on one hundred plantations, among a number of between four and five hundred. Those estates to which their labours are confined are in general visited monthly, but it frequently happens that the missionary is informed, on wishing to see the slaves, that it is inconvenient for him to do so, and he is not allowed to see any of them, or only a small part of their number, on these occasions. Thus has the master or overseer of the slave the monstrous power of shutting out from the victim of his cupidity and tyranny the light of that gospel, which might cheer and sustain him amidst the toils and unjust sufferings to which he is exposed.

Very little lettered instruction appears to be given to the slaves, and the affecting demoralization almost universal in countries where slavery prevails, is found extensively in Surinam among all classes. A very small number of the slaves are united by the bond of marriage.

In a book entitled 'Leschouvring van den Toestland der Surinaamsche Plantagrislaven,' written by F. A. Kuhn, and published

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at Amsterdam in 1828, an account is given of the situation of the slaves in Surinam at the time of its compilation, when it appears to have been one of considerable suffering in various respects. It is, however, very desirable that a correct statement should be obtained of the present circumstances of the slaves in the Dutch colonies, both as respects law and practice; as likewise, their number, and the proportion of males and females, and married and unmarried persons among them.

Mr. A. did not learn the number of slaves in the Dutch West India islands. In Java, they are estimated at about 1500, and are said to be exclusively domestics, the agricultural labour of this important and thriving island being performed by free men.

During the stay of the deputation at Amsterdam, they called upon a considerable number of persons, including several ministers of religion. Among these it is hoped that the hearts of some are touched with compassion for the situation of their deeply injured fellow-subjects, and that they will not rest without using vigorous exertion to obtain for these unhappy bondsmen, the liberty of which they are at present so unjustly deprived.

From Amsterdam Mr. Alexander proceeded to Utrecht, where he made only one call, on Professor Ackerdyke, to whom he had a letter of introduction, who appeared to enter cordially into his views. Had Mr. A.'s arrangements permitted, he would gladly have devoted a longer time to a visit to Utrecht. It will however be seen, in the sequel of this report, that his lack of service at this place has been supplied by other labourers. Mr. John S. Mollet met Mr. Alexander at Leyden, where they made several calls, and were pleased to find that most of those with whom they had intercourse sympathised in the object of their mission.

From Utrecht they proceeded to the Hague, where they were introduced to several persons, principally through the kind assistance of Groen Van Printseren, to whom they felt particular obligation for his kind services, and had the opportunity of meeting many influential persons at their Hotel, when the purpose of their visit was stated. Several of those present appeared disposed to give to the subject brought under their notice that consideration which was sought of them, and which its importance and interest so strongly demand on the part of all who are sensible to the claims of humanity and religion.

Rotterdam was the last place which they visited, and in this town it was truly grateful to their feelings, to meet with cordial and enlightened friends, who know the cruelty and wickedness inseparable from slavery, and who were fully prepared to adopt every suitable means of seeking entire and immediate abolition. Among these, Mr. Alexander might particularly mention some of his fellow-countrymen, including James Laming, to whom he was first introduced. Previous to his departure for England, he had an opportunity of addressing about eighty persons, when all the English ministers of religion were present. On this occasion, the extent and some of the features of the slave-trade and slavery, as at present existing, were pointed out, including an allusion to slavery in Surinam. The cruelties of the apprenticeship in the British colonies were also stated, as evidence of the evils which must ever exist under a system of coerced and uncompensated labour. The good conduct of the negros during that trying period was noticed, particularly as evidenced by the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate the working of the apprenticeship system. It was further shown, by reference to parliamentary documents, that the conduct of the labourers in the British West Indies since the introduction of freedom had been remarkably peaceful, and that they had generally manifested a disposition to work industriously, in those cases in which they had been considerately and fairly treated. The advancement in education, morals, and religion, already evidenced among the new freemen was also noticed, and an appeal made to those present to seek the immediate abolition of a system, baneful alike to human happiness, and the moral and religious interests of our fellow-men. During this visit to Holland a considerable number of anti-slavery documents were placed in the hands of persons in that country, and others have since been forwarded. The most important thus circulated were Clarkson on the Abolition of the slave trade, Buxton on the slave trade, two pamphlets on the same subject, and negro apprenticeship, issued by the late Anti-slavery Society in Aldermanbury, the whole of the parliamentary reports on the working of freedom in the British colonies and the Anti-slavery Reporter. Mr. Alexander expresses much gratification in having had an opportunity of pleading for those whose misery is unseen, unheard, and unknown, by many of those who live under the same government. It is his earnest hope that the Christians of Holland will not be unmindful of the duty which devolves on them in reference to those held in bondage in her colonies; and in this case he entertains the firm and consoling persuasion that their labour of love will not be in vain in the Lord, but that the bonds of the injured slaves will be speedily broken, and the reign of the Redeemer eminently promoted by this great act of national justice, among those who are now living in the awful demoralization and darkness of heathenism.

Extract from a letter addressed by Mr. M. S. Mollet to Mr. Alexander, dated 24th of March, 1840; alluding to a visit paid by Mrs. Fry, Mr. Samuel Gurney, and Mr. William Allen, to some parts of Holland, in which he bore them company.

"In the course of this excursion, which has been highly interesting, though our friends have made prisons and the houses for the insane a chief object of their inquiries and examination, the subject of slavery has likewise had a share in their labours of love. This has been particularly the case at this place, and at Utrecht. One of the meetings they had in this town, which was attended by upwards of fifty persons of both sexes, was wholly devoted to explain the views of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society; and at Utrecht, where more than eighty persons of both sexes were present, nearly two hours were employed in a similar way. Professor Ackerdyke was one of the hearers, and both Mr. Allen and Mr. Gurney narrated the principal events connected with the history of this cause in England; after which I likewise gave some details on the state of slavery in the Dutch colonies, demonstrating the necessity of putting an end to the prevailing system, even for the real interest of the owners of the plantations. Besides this, we had a great deal of conversation on that subject with several individuals of note at Rotterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, Ziest, and even at Zwoll; and have every where endeavoured to show the necessity of procuring as much information as possible on the abuses arising from a state of slavery in our own colonies, as well as in others, and of spreading this information at large, through the means of our various periodical publications, which will certainly be done in a short time."

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

WE have much pleasure in publishing the following interesting document, narrating the measures taken by Sir Alexander Johnston for the abolition of slavery in Ceylon. Deeply do we regret to add, that, through the culpable and all but inexplicable negligence of the British government, these plans, so admirably adapted to their end, and so easy of execution, have not been carried out. There yet remain 28,000 persons in slavery in Ceylon!

Sir Alexander Johnston having, in 1801, been appointed to a high office in His Majesty's service in Ceylon, and having carefully ascertained, as well the numbers of the slaves at the Cape of Good Hope, as of those in the island of Mauritius, in the southern part of the Peninsula of India, on the respective islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, and Java, at Malacca, and on the numerous islands in the Eastern seas, as also the nature of the moral and political circumstances which exercised a powerful influence over the different countries in Africa and Asia from whence all those places were supplied with slaves, formed a plan before he left England, for the gradual abolition of the whole of the trade in slaves which was carried on in the Indian seas, and of the state of slavery which had existed so long in the various parts of the British dominions in India.

Sir Alexander thought it advisable in the first instance to try and accomplish this object in the island of Ceylon, and afterwards, if he succeeded there, to adopt such measures as might appear to be calculated for accomplishing a similar object on the continent of India. With this view, he proposed to begin by taking the following steps in Ceylon:—

1st. To prevent any importation whatever of slaves into that island.

2nd. To punish severely all inhabitants of the island who might be convicted of having been engaged in any way in the slave-trade in any part of Asia.

3rd. To introduce a general system of education amongst all classes of people on the island.

4th. To prepare the minds and the feelings of the natives for the complete abolition of the state of slavery, by establishing Christian missionary stations in central parts of the country; and by circulating the scriptures amongst all the different classes of the people.

5th. To render all the proprietors of slaves on the island anxious to divest themselves, whenever they can safely do so, of all the property in slaves, by imparting to those slave proprietors, in the first instance, all the rights and privileges of freemen, enjoyed by British subjects in England; and by continually shewing them the difficulty, if not impossibility, of their ever being able to exercise those rights with the impartiality and independence with which, as freemen, they ought to be able to exercise them, as long as they continued themselves to be the proprietors of slaves.

Sir Alexander having submitted the whole of his plan, and all the information which he had collected, to his friends in parliament, immediately received from those gentlemen the most ready assurance that they highly approved of his plan, and that they would most cordially support him in his undertaking with all the influence which they possessed in England.

Accordingly Sir Alexander proceeded to the island of Ceylon, in 1802; and, with the advice and co-operation of his friends, introduced, between 1802 and 1808, several local regulations into that island, which effectually prevented the natives of the country from importing any new slaves into the island, and from being engaged, in any way whatever, in the trade of slaves, in any part of Asia.

Sir Alexander having thus accomplished part of his plan, and having, in 1809, been officially sent to England by the government of the island, for the purpose of proposing to His Majesty's then ministers several measures which he thought highly conducive to the happiness of the natives, and to the prosperity of the island, proposed, amongst others, that a new and more efficient tribunal should be established in Ceylon, for the detection and punishment

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of all offences committed against the provisions of the act of 1806, declaring the trade in slaves to be felony: that all the rights and privileges of freemen, enjoyed by British subjects in England, should be granted to the natives of every caste and religious persuasion in Ceylon; and that Wesleyan and other missionary stations, and an auxiliary bible society, should be established on that island.

Sir Alexander having, while he remained in England from 1809 to 1811, constantly consulted with his friends upon all these questions, was ultimately enabled, through their influence with the Wesleyan and other missionary societies, and with the British and Foreign Bible Society, to induce those powerful bodies to enter completely into his views, and to concur with him in opinion as to the propriety of establishing Wesleyan and other missionary stations, and an auxiliary bible society in Ceylon; and at one of the meetings which took place, by appointment at Mr. Wilberforce's house, between Mr. Wilberforce, the late Lord Teignmouth, the late Dr. Coke, the then head of the Wesleyan society, and Sir Alexander Johnston, the whole of the preliminary arrangements for establishing the Wesleyan missionary stations in Ceylon, were finally settled; and the Rev. Dr. Coke stated, that he had been so thoroughly convinced from what had been said of the importance of that station, that he should feel it to be his duty, notwithstanding his age, to accompany the Wesleyan missionaries who were to be sent to Ceylon; and to remain on the island as long as Sir Alexander might think it necessary, for making such arrangements as might be required for insuring the success of the mission.

Sir Alexander having succeeded in obtaining, as well the different powers which he required from his Majesty's Ministers, as the various information which he required from the Wesleyan and other missionary societies, and from the British and Foreign Bible Society, returned to Ceylon in 1811. On his arrival there, he took immediate steps for promulgating throughout Asia the nature of the provisions of the act of 1806, declaring the trading in slaves to be felony, and also for explaining the object of the new commission, under which offences against the provisions of that act were to be tried; and shortly after the following circumstances occurred, which made the provisions of the above act more generally known than ever throughout Asia. (See Ninth Report of the African Institution.)

Some Mahommedans of high rank, Malays, descendants of Arabs, and inhabitants of the southern peninsula of India, happened, while returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, to touch, in an Arab ship, at Point de Galle the southern port of Ceylon, and, during their stay there, to purchase the children of some of the poorer inhabitants of the country, for the purpose of making slaves of them; and these persons, having been tried for this offence under the new commission, were convicted, and sentenced to punishment, which circumstance, as they were men of considerable importance in their respective countries, and as they were detained in prison in Ceylon, called the attention of the people of those countries forcibly to the subject, and served to put an end, at least for a considerable time, if not altogether, to the repetition of a similar offence by any persons of those countries.

Although Dr. Coke, who had accompanied them from England as he had said he would, died from fatigue and the infirmities of age on the passage, the other Wesleyan missionaries reached the island of Ceylon in perfect safety, and were shortly after established on that island, in the manner in which Sir Alexander and his friends had agreed that they should be established; and have since produced all the moral and political effects amongst the natives of the country which they had anticipated.

The provisions of a charter of justice, under the great seal of England, imparting, as proposed by Sir Alexander, the right of sitting upon juries, and being tried by juries of their own countrymen, and all the rights and privileges enjoyed by British subjects in England, were carried into full effect by Sir Alexander; and the various proceedings of the African Institution and the Society of Friends in favour of the abolition of slavery were regularly explained, as they were published, to such of the natives of Ceylon as acted as jurymen, by Sir Alexander, who took the opportunity, when they attended the court as jurymen, to point out to such of those as were proprietors of slaves, the difficulties to which they must be subject, whenever they might be called upon to act as jurymen in cases in which the prisoners might happen to be slaves. These measures, aided by the exertions of the Wesleyan and other missionaries, and the circulation of the Scriptures through the auxiliary Bible Society, gradually produced a very desirable effect upon the minds of the proprietors of slaves in Ceylon; and they, amounting in number to 760 proprietors, and having, it is believed, an interest in from 11,000 to 12,000 slaves, unanimously passed a resolution in 1816, declaring free all children born of their slaves after the 12th of August, 1816, and agreeing to bring up, at their own expense, all such children to the age of fourteen; and thereby not only gradually to put an end to the state of slavery which had existed for 300 years in Ceylon, but also to provide that those who should be born free should, by the education which they gave them, be enabled to earn their own livelihood, and become industrious and peaceable subjects of his Majesty's government.

Mr. Wilberforce, on Sir Alexander informing him from Ceylon of the result of the measures which he, with his advice and co-operation, had been carrying into effect on that island for fourteen years, immediately laid the whole of the circumstances of the case before the African Institution, which made the most honourable mention of the conduct of all the slave proprietors in Ceylon, in the eleventh report of their proceedings.

This result is worthy of the consideration of the statesman, the philosopher, and the christian, because it was brought about without putting Great Britain to any expense whatever, and because it affords a decisive proof, that the most certain way of inducing the people of Asia to treat their slaves with humanity and liberality is to raise the moral and political character of the masters, by imparting to them all the rights and privileges of freemen enjoyed by British subjects in England, and to purify and enlighten their principles of religion by circulating amongst them translations of the scriptures, and making them practically acquainted with the principles of christianity.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

The evils which have resulted from the existence of slavery and the slave-trade, have not merely affected those who may be said to have been held as slaves under the laws of different foreign states, but also an immense number of persons who are clearly entitled to the protection of the government, either as British subjects, or as the descendants of British subjects, or as having an acquired right to that protection under the various treaties into which foreign states have entered with this country, for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, having directed their attention to these points, venture to lay them before your lordship, with the earnest hope, that they will engage your lordship's most deliberate consideration, and that such measures may be taken by her Majesty's government, as shall secure to the unfortunate victims of oppression that relief to which they are justly entitled, and which their sufferings or their injuries loudly demand.

The first class of persons to which the committee would direct your lordship's consideration, is the black and coloured population of Upper Canada and the West Indies. A large number of this class in Upper Canada were once slaves in the United States of America, but, having escaped from bondage, and voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of the British flag, have become a most loyal, devoted, and useful body of subjects to her Majesty. The committee are credibly informed, that attempts are frequently made by the former masters of these persons to recover them, on the alleged ground that they are fugitives from justice, and not from oppression; and that, on some occasions, when given up, as they conceive improperly, by the authorities, there has been the most desperate resistance on their part, accompanied with bloodshed and loss of life, and it has thus been made manifest that they have preferred death to slavery. The committee would, therefore, entreat your lordship to cause a strict inquiry to be made into these circumstances, with a view of applying the necessary remedy. It has also come to the knowledge of the committee, that her Majesty's black and free-coloured subjects of the West Indies, engaged as seamen and traders, are subjected to interruption, and even to imprisonment, in the pursuit of their lawful callings in the Southern States of the United States of America, and in the Spanish West India colonies, and that, on some occasions, when they have not been prepared, either by the production of what are termed free papers, or the necessary evidence in proof that they are free, they are not only kept in prison, but actually sold into slavery by the authorities, to pay their gaol fees. The committee venture to designate this practice, not only a most barbarous and gross violation of personal rights, but of the laws of nations, and of the respect due to the honour and dignity of the crown and people of this country. They would, therefore, respectfully call on her Majesty's government to assert the rights of this class of her Majesty's subjects, as of all others, and to insist that all laws in these states or colonies, not universally applicable to all her Majesty's subjects, without distinction of colour, shall be repealed, or take such other means as shall be amply sufficient to secure the object in view.

The next class for which the committee would claim the protection of the government, is composed of a large body of black and coloured persons who have, at various times, been taken, under various pretences, by their masters and others, to foreign colonies, and are now held in slavery in such colonies. Many of these were taken from their homes during the period they were held as slaves in the British colonies, and not a few have been taken and sold as slaves in those colonies since the act for the abolition of slavery went into effect. The committee have reason to assert, that these unhappy persons are longing to return to their native islands, and to the bosom of their families, and that their present bondage is rendered doubly painful to them by the knowledge that they possess, that their friends and former companions are now in the enjoyment of their rights as men, and of their privileges as British subjects. They are to be found in Martinique and Guadeloupe, in Cuba and Puerto Rico, in the slave states of the great American republic, and even in Texas. The committee would, therefore, venture to suggest to your lordship, to take such measures as may be required to ascertain their numbers, and to secure their prompt return to their families and to their homes.

Another class for which the committee would bespeak the powerful interposition of the British government, is composed of Africans liberated by the Mixed Commissions in the Spanish colo-

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nies, the Brazils, and in the Dutch colony of Surinam, under the treaties made and provided with the various powers to which these countries belong. These now amount to many thousands, and with their offspring, form a large body of people. Their condition the committee are assured, is even worse than that of the slave population of the colonies and countries in which they are found, whilst the frauds which are practised on them, and on the British government in respect to them, are of the most open and disgraceful kind. The committee would, therefore, respectfully propose, that the numbers and actual circumstances of these wretched people should be forthwith ascertained, that they should be placed under the superintendence of properly qualified persons, appointed by her Majesty's government, with a view to their removal with their own consent, as early as practicable, to the British colonies.

But there is still another and a larger class, the Africans, who, contrary to the laws of Spain, Brazils, and Holland, and the treaties which these powers have entered into with Great Britain, have been illicitly introduced into their respective territories, and are consequently illegally held and used as slaves. Had the laws of the countries referred to been carried into full effect, not only would the vast multitude of unhappy beings who are now enduring the most terrible fate to which men can be exposed, and the untold numbers who have miserably perished under circumstances the most revolting and horrible, been preserved from slavery and death, but, the markets for slaves in these countries having been destroyed, the slave-trade with all its atrocious accompaniments, so far as they were concerned, would have ceased. Happily, however, for humanity, there is yet hope that no inconsiderable number of these Africans and their descendants, who have survived the perils through which they have been called to pass, may yet be free, and most honourable will it be to the government of her Majesty, if it become the instrument of achieving their liberty! Spain, Brazils, and Holland, have been for many years under the most solemn engagements to co-operate with this country in the suppression of the slave-trade. Under the treaties which exist with these powers, the Government of this country has acquired the right to demand of them what has become of the Africans who, it is notorious, have been illicitly and scandalously introduced, by tens of thousands, since the formation of those treaties, who still continue to be introduced into the colonies and territories of the two former powers, notwithstanding the vigilance of British cruisers, and an immense expenditure of treasure and of life on the part of this country. And further, in the judgment of the committee, the government has not only acquired the right to demand what has become of these victims of cupidity and oppression, but also the power to interpose in their behalf, to declare their right to liberty, and to secure its enjoyment. The committee would, therefore, beg most earnestly of your lordship to adopt such measures as shall be a test of the sincerity of these powers to abolish the slave-trade, and shall lead without delay to the enforcement of their own laws. The importance of such a step must be obvious to your lordship, inasmuch as it would secure the liberty of an immense body of Africans now unlawfully held as slaves, and, what is now even of greater importance, would effectually destroy the slave-trade. The committee conceive that the constitution of a court under the treaties referred to, possessing ample and summary powers to ascertain the bozal from the creole negros—the Africans imported subsequently to the date of the first treaties with these powers for the suppression of the slave-trade, from those who had been previously introduced—and authority to decide, without appeal, in all cases brought before it for adjudication, upon the question of their right to liberty—the onus of proof, in all cases to the contrary, resting with the parties claiming ownership, would be of great value in this respect.

On behalf of the Committee, &c., &c.,
G. W. ALEXANDER, *Chairman.*

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
20th March, 1840.

THE NEW SCHOOL OF WEST INDIANS.

UNDER the title of the "*Re-colonization of the West Indies*," we find in the *Colonial Gazette* of March 25th an interesting article, from which we make a few extracts. In describing "the errors of what is called the West India body," the writer says:—

"Not very long ago, there was scarcely a West Indian, either here or in the Colonies, who did not imagine that he had a sort of right to wealth unbought by exertion. Till ruin stared them in the face, the whole class seemed incapable of believing in the possibility of its approach. Their resistance to the inevitable abolition of slavery, though angry and obstinate, was remarkably feeble in comparison with the power which they might have exerted: and if it had been ever so vigorous, it would only have proved the more their want of sagacity. Blinded and enervated by a long prosperity, they opposed what no opposition could prevent, and yet brought less vigour to the impossible task than would have been requisite to gain a favourable cause."

He goes on to tell us of the generation of a new race, who

"Have discovered the necessity of exerting themselves, like other people who win prosperity. Being thrown on their own resources, and beset by difficulties that might appal the stoutest, they show a vigour of thought and action proportioned to the emergency. The efforts of various bodies of capitalists in the West Indies to obtain labour for hire, on which the value and indeed the existence of their property wholly depends, remind one rather of the adventurous colonizers of a wilderness than of men enfeebled by the pampering influence of slavery and monopoly. Fresh obstacles seem only to augment their courage and perseverance. If the destiny of the West Indies were in their keeping, we should have no misgivings as to the result. But it happens that less depends on these energetic colonists, than on the Imperial Government and public opinion in England. And when the question is how to influence the latter in favour of the West Indies, so that wise legislation may come to the aid of the colonists in their endeavours to save their country, we find no present means adequate to the end. The accustomed organs of the West Indies in this country have not an undivided interest in the Colonies, but commonly regard their West India property as a matter subordinate to interests or occupations here; and, what is worse, they belong for the most part to the old-fashioned order of West Indian politicians, who have little feeling on the subject beyond an ill-concealed regret at the abolition of slavery, and a lively dread of free trade. They can complain of past interference with their property in slaves, and deprecate future interference with what they regard as their property in the bounty on West India sugar; but concerning a sufficient measure for the supplying the West Indies with the *sine quâ non* of prosperity, plenty of labour for hire—or the means by which public opinion and the Legislature of the Mother-country might be brought to regard the Colonies with affection—they have not the most distant idea. Nor, if they had great objects in view, would they know of any way to pursue them, but the beaten path of gentle importunities addressed to the careless ear of Mr. MOTHER-COUNTRY. We speak generally, not denying that there are exceptions, even among the oldest of the old-fashioned West Indian organs. But, speaking thus generally, the West Indian body, as at present constituted, may be regarded as a worn-out machine of no manner of use.

"And yet are there in this country men of West Indian birth or connexion, capable of worthily representing the new race of colonists, whose energy has been stimulated by untoward events. They comprehend the dangerous situation of their country, and possess both the courage and the talent to save it. With definite objects, they are not deterred by prejudice or pride from adopting appropriate means. They know to what extent, and why the West Indian colonies have no hold on popular sympathies at home; and they are prepared accordingly to carry out the principle of emancipation to the end, by abolishing *all* distinctions of colour, socially as well as politically, in the West Indies, and cordially to aid in forming out of the ruins of British slavery a West Indian nation of the negro blood. Their aim is so to improve the productive industry of the West Indies, as to undersell the employers of slave-labour in every market. With these views they must look forward to the time when bounties on West India produce would be of no avail, and must therefore be ready to acknowledge the popular principle of free trade. They are a class called into existence by adverse circumstances, and able to contend with them—unprejudiced, clear-sighted, bold in their conceptions, devoid of paltry intercolonial jealousies, cognizant of popular opinion in the Mother-country, and desirous to gain its sympathy; and, lastly, they are a small minority. For now we may ask, when was so great a change as these men contemplate in the state of the West Indies brought about, except by the exertions of some brave little band of original thinkers? But the difficulties! the obstacles!—these will but incite them to corresponding efforts. Steam navigation promises them most valuable aid, by shortening time and space. The glorious region composing the West Indies will soon be united as one country by facilities of intercourse among its parts, and brought almost to our own doors. A vast and new field will be laid open to British enterprise. May it then be colonized over again on the popular principle of freedom in all things!"

We have read this article with mingled feelings. It lets us know clearly how vigorous the efforts are, and are to be, by which the West Indians, new and old, are endeavouring to make the government embark in their scheme of immigration; and we may hence gather with equal certainty, how strenuous and watchful our exertions must be, if we mean effectually to guard against mischief. But it is evidently intended also to disarm the hostility of abolitionists, by inspiring the belief that an influential part of the body, the West Indians of the new school, "are prepared to carry out the principle of emancipation to the end, by abolishing *all* distinctions of colour, socially as well as politically, in the West Indies, and to aid in forming, out of the ruins of British slavery, a West Indian nation of the negro blood." This is well and persuasively said; but *may it be believed*! Can we have so cheering a matter in some other shape than that of unauthorized words! Shall any evidence of what is asserted appear promptly in substantial measures, or undeniable facts! Will the young West Indians come out before the public, and in some official form declare themselves the holders of such a principle! Will even any one of them write a pamphlet, avowing it as his own! Concurrent as we should be in a course of immigration *really* conducted on the "popular" and righteous "principle of *freedom in all things*," we have had too much experience of West Indian artifice to believe that such a thing is intended merely because it is talked of. There have been laws passed in the West Indies before now, never intended for anything but to delude the people of England; and, for aught we know, the article we have quoted may be intended for nobody, but—the abolitionists.

Whatever gratification it may afford us to meet with a confession of the past errors of the West India body, and an acknowledgment of the necessity of at least professing some new and more popular principles, we must emphatically say, let us have something more than professions.

BAPTIST ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION in the United States.—The *Christian Reflector*, of February 19th, contains a spirited call to all Baptist Abolitionists, to attend a National Convention of Baptists friends of Immediate Emancipation, to be held at the MacDougall-street Baptist church in this city, on Monday, the 27th day of April, to form an American Baptist Anti-Slavery Society, and to consider and adopt the best means for enlisting the influence of the Baptist denomination in favour of the immediate abolition of slavery, not only in their own church, but in our country and throughout the world. The call is signed by 487 persons, the majority of them ordained Baptist ministers, and the others chiefly deacons of churches, students of theology, &c.—*New York Emancipator.*

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Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 8TH.

THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE,

Will commence its sittings at Freemasons' Hall, London, on the 12th of June, 1840. A book is prepared for entering the names and other particulars of the delegates who may be appointed by anti-slavery bodies both at home and abroad. In a case of such singular interest and importance, the committee earnestly hope, and fully expect, that the friends of the cause in the United Kingdom will not be backward, either in the appointment of delegates, or in their attendance as delegates when appointed. It is particularly requested that all anti-slavery bodies will send an immediate *official notification* of the appointments which may be made by them, addressed to J. H. Tredgold, Esq., at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

THE case of the Coolies is respited. Lord John Russell has further postponed the discussion of his project to the 15th of May, which we hope may be translated—to the Greek kalends. These repeated procrastinations betoken embarrassment, and may be regarded, we trust, as precursors of the relinquishment of this ill-omened scheme. In the mean time, our friends must improve the opportunity for action, that they may turn what is now not improbable into a happy certainty.

THE distinguished traveller and friend, Joseph John Gurney, writes from Antigua, that he has visited the Danish islands of Tortola and St. Croix, and the great importance of efforts being made for the abolition of slavery there. He speaks in most gratifying terms of the peasantry of Antigua.

IMMIGRATION TO BRITISH GUIANA.

Copy of Despatch from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to Governor LIGHT.

Downing-street, 15th February, 1840.

SIR,—I cannot be surprised at the anxiety you evince on the subject of the ordinance for the promotion of emigration. An equal desire for the adoption of some measures upon this subject has been shown by the merchants of London and Liverpool connected with the West Indies, and is expressed in several memorials. I send you copies with this despatch of two of the most important.

I will not, at present, enter into the question upon which you are at issue with the planter-proprietors of British Guiana; namely, whether the colony is at this moment prosperous or the reverse. The decline of produce is unquestionable. The return appended to your despatch of 15th October, 1839, shows a decrease on the quarter, from 6th July to 10th October, as compared with 1831-2-3, in sugar, of 7259 hogsheads; rum, of 2014 puncheons; molasses, 7309 hogsheads. But in coffee, the decrease is still more remarkable, being a decline from 1,618,228 pounds to 346,350, or more than three-fourths of the whole production of the former years.

The statement of the West India merchants, in their memorial of the 17th ultimo, is as follows:—"The deficiency in the last year's crops, in Demerara alone, exclusive of Berbice, was shown to be no less than £930,000." Some part of this decline may be owing, as you assert, to the lateness of the season; but no doubt can exist as to the fact of a remarkable falling off in the quantity of produce during the first year of freedom.

I am not disposed, as a general proposition, to refer this falling off in the produce to the want of adequate wages as its cause. Many vexatious disputes have no doubt arisen; the proper rate of wages was all to seek; the engagements and obligations of slavery had left strong traces in the habits and minds both of employer and negro; the one, with little reason, expected that the negro was, at all events, to carry on the cultivation of sugar; while the other, with as little right, thought he was, in any case, to remain in undisturbed possession of his large provision ground. But a larger and more general cause had led to the decline of cultivation of sugar and coffee.

It is not to be expected, that men who can subsist in comfort without hard labour will continue to devote themselves to it. The state of planter and slave left the West India colonies without a middle class; the more careful and intelligent of the emancipated negros became petty traders. A few acres of ground will produce provisions for a family, with some surplus to sell at market, and bring home manufactured goods; the negros who earn high wages buy or hire plots of land, and refuse to let their daily labour for hire. There is nothing in this singular or culpable. No man in this country, who has capital sufficient to keep a shop or rent a farm, will follow the plough as a day-labourer, or work from morning till night as a hand-loom weaver.

Nor, let me observe, were the damage to end here, would the British government have any cause to feel disappointment. Carrying into effect the religious and benevolent views of the nation at large, it was their object to convert slaves into free men; to rescue their brethren of Africa from the lash of compulsory toil, and establish them as christian men on the soil where they had been transported as chattels, or beasts of burden. On this, the principal question of all, there is, I am happy to say, no room for doubt. None of the most inveterate opponents of our recent measures of emancipation allege that the negros have turned robbers, or plunderers, or blood-thirsty insurgents. What appears from their statement is, that they have become shopkeepers, and petty traders, and hucksters, and small freeholders; a blessed change, which providence has enabled us to accomplish.

It is important, but still a secondary question, to consider how we can maintain the natural prosperity of our West Ind a colonies, promote the cultivation of products for which the climate is adapted, and keep up, if not increase, the consumption of British manufactures.

I must fairly confess that, so far as these results are to be obtained by raising sugar in the quantities formerly obtained, I see much reason to apprehend we shall not be successful to the degree anticipated by those who urge measures now under consideration upon the government. The fairest way, and the one most likely to lead to the truth, will be to pass in review the measures proposed.

These measures are all founded on the proposed encouragement to a large emigration of labourers into Guiana, Trinidad, and other colonies, with a view to introduce a large population, similar to that now existing in the island of Barbados.

The first proposition for this purpose was for the introduction of a number of Indian labourers, called Hill Coolies. The proposition, in its original shape, contemplated an engagement for five years, under contract of service.

Although Lord Glenelg greatly mitigated the measure contemplated, yet Parliament immediately took alarm at the proposal: the ignorance of the people to be removed, the abuses of crowded ships and unwholesome food, the unavoidable length of the voyage, the change of climate, the danger of compulsion upon another race, and of slavery in a new form; all these objections were urged, and urged with success against the measure. Some members of the House of Lords conceived that these evils might be obviated by regulation, and that house of parliament sent a bill to the House of Commons for the protection of the natives of her Majesty's territories in the East Indies, contracting for labour to be performed without the said territories, &c., by which minute restrictions were laid upon the passage of emigrants; and, among other provisions, security was taken, in the third clause of the bill, that they should have the means of performing their own heathen rites.

But, when these restrictions came to be considered, those for whose benefit the labourers were to be conveyed agreed with her Majesty's government that it would be better to stop the emigration from India altogether, until some more efficacious, and, at the same time, more simple measure could be devised; the governor-general of India, weighing all the difficulties of the case, came to the same conclusion: nor has the committee, appointed in Bengal to investigate the subject, proposed any satisfactory plan.

I confess I should be unwilling to adopt any measure to favour the transfer of labourers from British India to Guiana, after the failure of the former experiment. Admitting that the mortality of the Hill Coolies first sent may have been accidental, I am not prepared to encounter the responsibility of a measure which may lead to a dreadful loss of life on the one hand, or, on the other, to a new system of slavery. Corporal punishment is not unknown to those poor people; and I have heard no argument used, in favour of enabling the crowded population of India to take advantage of the high wages of Guiana, which remove altogether the danger I apprehend.

Another resource which has been adverted to is, that of the negros captured by our cruizers in slave-ships; but I cannot anticipate much benefit from such importation. If, as has lately been the case, the number of slaves taken in such vessels should be few, but little advantage would be derived from sending them to Trinidad and Demerara, instead of the Bahamas, at the risk of fresh capture. You are probably aware that, since January, 1838, not more than three captures of ships, with slaves on board, have taken place in such situations as to lead to their being brought to the West Indian Mixed Commission Court for adjudication.

But if this number should increase, and any large addition be made to our rich colonies from this source, our whole policy in putting down the slave-trade would be exposed to suspicion, and we might not improbably be told, that we were indirectly recruiting our own possessions with compulsory labour by the very means which we employed to suppress the traffic of other nations; still I am not determined to exclude this source of supply, I wish only to point out, that it must be either scanty or suspected, and that those who looked to it as a remedy for the present want of labourers will probably be disappointed.

Other or more legitimate modes of increasing the number of labourers have been suggested. A gentleman, who yields to none in experience or ability, conceives that the middle class of Trinidad will be filled by emigrants from the United States, leaving the blacks of the islands to resort to field labour for subsistence. This may, to a considerable extent, be the case.

In course of time we may hope to see the black population, which was kept down by legal oppression and licentious morals consequent on a state of slavery, advance in numbers under the institution of marriage, and in the enjoyment of property. Every increase of numbers, if accompanied by education and civilized habits, will lead to increase of industry, and be productive of wealth.

But, supposing everything to be done, which, by bounties on emigration, locating captured negros, and natural increase of population, can be expected, it will still remain a problem, whether it would be possible to maintain sugar cultivation to its former extent, for this is what is meant by the term "prosperity;" while, on the other hand, the term "ruin" is used to designate, not the poverty of the people, not the want of food or raiment, not even the absence of riches or luxury, but simply the decrease of sugar cultivation.

Let me, then, look at this question largely. It is stated (I take it only for illustration), that the wages of a day labourer are, in Guiana, 1s. 6d. per day, and in Hindostan not more than 2d. When you should have removed to Guiana a large number of labourers, they are still to be free labourers; the soil is fertile, the climate invites to indolence: the Indian race love ease and enjoyment, at least as much as any other; you have still no certainty for your sugar crop. In the meantime, it is a mere matter of calculation to the capitalist what sugar will cost him to raise in Hindostan, to bring to England, and to clear of duty; and whether, all this done, he can compete successfully with the Demerara planter. If he can, the sugar business will rise in Bengal, and the Coolie remain at home; the plantation will be found for the labourer, and not the labourer go to the plantation. Changes in commerce as great as this took place when woollen manufac-

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tures came from Tuscany to England, and fabrics of silk went from the East to France.

Having made these observations, I have to add, that I have no indisposition to allow the attempt to be made to recruit extensively the population of Guiana. I will state, in a separate despatch, the modifications I think necessary in an ordinance, to replace that which Lord Normanby advised her Majesty to disallow. Freedom of labour is the general principle, and restriction should be the exception.

But in whatever degree I might be disposed to yield to the representations of the merchants and proprietors, whether in this country or in the colonies, I must enjoin upon you to bear in mind, that the happiness of the inhabitants of the colony you are appointed to govern is the chief object. Encourage religious instruction, let them partake of the blessings of Christianity, preserve order and internal peace, induce the African race to feel that wherever the British flag flies they have a friend and a protector, check all oppression, and watch over the impartial administration of the law. By such means our colonies in the West Indies will be made to flourish, though in a different form and a different sense from that in which the term has been hitherto used. The Queen, whose commands I now convey to you, looks for her reward in the faithful attachment of a million of her people, whom it has been her care to render worthy of the boon which it was the happiness of her predecessor to be enabled to grant, by the liberal assistance of his parliament, and amid the joy of his subjects,

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

ENGLISH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

(From the *Mining Journal.*)

We insert in our columns of to-day a letter from Mr. Turnbull, on the traffic in human beings, which is carried on for the more economical working of the Brazilian mines—that gentleman directing our attention to an item in the report of one of the companies of £45,000, being the *value* of the live stock. There can be no question, in our opinion, but that it includes (if it be not wholly composed of) the price set on the heads of men, women, and children, bought by the company, and whose labour is looked forward to as affording the means of profit to the *English* shareholder. It is one of the proud boasts of this country, that a sum of no less than twenty millions was, by the legislature, appropriated to that grand moral object—the abolition of slavery—and yet we find associated with the companies, both in the capacity of directors and shareholders, those parties who were, many of them, foremost in giving freedom to the slave.

The present is, however, only one of the many instances afforded us, wherein the philanthropist (so mis-called) avowedly protects the interests of his fellow-man, but at the same time, covertly and indirectly benefits by the continuance of a system, which, as a whole, he condemns, but which, as a part, he finds to be productive of private advantage and benefit. That the advantages arising from slave-labour, in the working of the mines in Brazil, hold out an inducement to the employment of capital, from the economy with which, under such circumstances, mines are worked (free labour, we believe, in many cases, not being always attainable), is a question too well known and understood by those on whom the direction and management of these undertakings devolve in England, to require any observation or exposition on our part. We know that, with many the means by which the end is obtained is a matter of indifference, and that they ask not for detailed information, so that the results are of a satisfactory nature. In the case of the African slave (who, be it remembered, is considered as so much *stock*,) he, with his family, must be disposed of to another master, should the company be dissolved, or the mines not prove prosperous, so that his *value* may be received and placed in the coffers of the company, to be divided between the English shareholders—those very men who would deprecate slavery, and whose signatures may be found to petitions for its abolition; while several have taken an active interest in the question, and, by their votes in our legislative body, have acquired the title of the champions of the slave and the lovers of humanity. The answer we have already anticipated—the scarcity of free labour, and the economy attendant on that of the slave. Is this, we ask, an explanation which can be deemed satisfactory by any man who possesses love for his fellow-creatures—who has one spark of proper feeling? Are there not other channels for the employment of capital with the prospect of profitable results, without dealing and bargaining for the slave, who, when his services are no longer necessary, is sold and handed over to the best bidder? Shame on such a system, and on those who, as practising it, at once avow their assent to, and their advocacy of dealing in human flesh. We hope that government, who are bound to see the measure fully carried out which they introduced, and to which the nation willingly contributed their twenty millions sterling, will at once take the matter in hand, and teach the mining adventurer that his pursuits must be confined, at least so far as England is concerned, to free labour, and that he must not fill his purse with the ill-earned gains of the labours of the slave.

[The following is the letter referred to in the preceding article.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MINING JOURNAL.

Sir,—Through the medium of your excellent Journal, I am desirous of calling the attention of the share-holders in the Spanish and Brazilian Mining Companies to some facts, in which they are deeply interested, and which may possibly, nevertheless, have escaped their consideration. I have just had laid before me a printed circular, account current, and report, addressed by the directors of one of these associations to the holders of its shares, in which the principal item of charge consists of an outlay of £45,000. sterling, and upwards, for the purchase of live stock!

Now, I desire to know, whether the ladies and gentlemen to whom such documents are addressed, are in the habit of informing themselves of the nature of the "live stock" which is thus purchased with their money and for their advantage. If the phrase include anything but men, women, and children, it is only because the directors have ingeniously classed their fellow-creatures in the same category with their horses, oxen, and mules, and their other beasts of burthen. Pray tell these unthinking share-holders that they are not only owners of slaves, but among the most active and efficient promoters of the African slave-trade.

A public meeting, I understand, is about to be called for the purpose of strengthening the hands of the government in the negotiations to be opened with Spain and Brazil, for conferring on the courts of mixed commission at the Havannah and Rio de Janeiro certain additional powers, suggested in a work of mine lately published; the effect of which, it is confidently expected, will be sufficient to accomplish the suppression of the trade. There are several of these mining companies, whose operations, although performed by slave labour, are yet conducted in such a way as to make them independent of all farther participation in the slave-trade. The directors of such associations are, doubtless, aware, how much it is their interest to deprive their rivals of all further supply of the cheap labour they obtain by means of importation from the African coast. Invite them, I beseech you, to attend the meeting, in order to exculpate themselves from the large share they are supposed to take in the encouragement of man-stealing; and at the same time expose the criminal practices of those with whom they must be constantly in danger of being confounded.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

London, March 26th, 1840. D. TURNBULL.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA. JAIL SCENES IN SAVANNAH-LA-MAR.—(From a letter of Captain Stuart to Mr. Sturge, dated 4th of February, 1840.)—On Saturday last I visited the gaol in this place, and found amongst the prisoners one young man and two young women. Their cases appear to me to be very grievous, and to involve a serious outrage on law and justice. The names of these three young persons are, Benjamin Tennison, who seems about eighteen years of age; Annie Williams, who seems to be twenty, or upwards; and Anne Ferrard, who appears to be about eighteen. All these have been living on New Retrieve estate, the property of Neil Maledam, Esq., Sinclair, attorney; Latham, overseer. Benjamin Tennison has a brother, named Charles Malcolm, living on the estate, and renting on it a house and ground, for which he pays 2s. sterling or 3s. 4d. currency, weekly. With this brother he lived, having no separate house or ground whatsoever; working usually on the estate. Under these circumstances, an arbitrary charge of rent was suddenly made against him, amounting to 7s. 6d. currrency; but he refused to pay it; declaring, however, as he says, that, if they would give him a house and ground like others, he would pay like others; no house or ground was given him, but, without any explanation which he understood or remembers, and without any summons to court of which he was aware, he was apprehended, and at once hurried to gaol, where he now is. The distress warrant on which he was committed is dated 30th of December, 1839, and is signed by G. R. Johnston, and J. M. Dawes, local magistrates. The damages, that is, the rent charged, is 7s. 6d, currency, and the costs 18s. 9d.

Annie Williams was living with her father and mother, N. H. Spence and Janette Wallace, they having a house alone, without any ground on the estate, her father paying 2s. sterling weekly for the house, but renting land on another estate, called Magotty, Annie Williams had no separate house or ground whatsoever; she usually worked on the estate. Under these circumstances, she was suddenly and arbitrarily notified that she owed rent and was required to pay it; about 11s. sterling. She of course refused, having nothing to pay rent for. She was subsequently arrested without any trial whatever, and taken to gaol, where she now is. The distress warrant is dated 17th of December, 1839, and is signed by G. R. Johnston, local; and R. Cocking, stipendiary magistrate. The damages [rent] are 11s. 8d., and the costs 18s. 9d. currency.

Anne Ferrard was living with her mother, Catherine Maledam; her father is dead; she had no separate house or ground whatever; her mother paid a weekly rent of 9d. sterling, and her two brothers, who lived with them, paid 2s. sterling each, per week; she usually worked on the estate; she was regularly summoned to the Court-House, and attended. Messrs. Johnston and Cocking were on the bench; she was told she owed three dollars rent for house and ground; she replied that she had neither house nor ground; that she was living with her mother; but that, if they would give her a house and ground like others, she would willingly pay as others did. She was dismissed and went home; but, on the 13th instant, without any further explanation, she was apprehended and taken to jail, where she now is. The distress warrant is dated 30th December, 1839, and is signed by G. R. Johnstone, local; and by R. Cocking, special. The damages (rent) are 17s. 6d, and costs, 18s. 9d. currency.

These three young persons possess no property of their own. A very great incidental evil in this case is, that, the jail in which they are confined affording no means whatsoever of separation by day, or of classification at any time, these two young women, who seem by their manners to be quite modest and simple, are forced into the company of strangers; one of whom is actually a man of highly dangerous character, long inured to villany. Another thing which I could not avoid noticing, was the nauseous smell of the whole prison atmosphere. The gaoler, who seems a proper man, is not supplied with any means of purifying it, or of keeping it pure. Stipendiary Harris, who was with me, desired him, however, at my remonstrance, to purchase lime immediately for that purpose, and charge the vestry with it. The whole building, though finely situated, and encompassed with a massy stone wall, is, in its whole interior and in all its windowings, miserably dilapidated and insecure.

From my extended intercourse with the peasantry of Hanover, I prefer them to any other part of the population of Jamaica which I have seen; they seem to me to have a more patient manliness than the others—not less manly, but more patient. It is a double outrage to oppress such people. I may add, that, notwithstanding the above grievances, which are bitter indeed to many, the people of Hanover [in [general are happy. They are too strong in the law, in the churches, in the wants of the estates, in their own ready industry, and in the supervision of Great Britain, to be crushed. They are steadily, peaceably, and irresistibly rising above the lawless freaks of oppression which dash over one another. The greatest sufferers are the wrong doers themselves. Many of the estates are gloomily standing still, determined to flourish, as of old, by oppression, or to perish. I cannot fear, indeed, that they will go on to perish, neither can I hope that oppression will altogether cease; but pride knows how to bow to necessity; and God has given to youthful freedom in Jamaica a growth so vigorous, that the weeds seek in vain to overpower her. She is rising beautifully above them all. In Hanover, the Rev. John Stainsby,

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of the established church, the stipendiary James Harris, John Holt, Esq., of Phœnix estate, and the proprietors of the same; the Rev. Richard Quarrell, of Cheltenham (in England); and the young Baptist missionary, Francis; together with the Rev. Charles William Winkler, above-mentioned, of Argyle Penn and Knockalva, particularly deserve the approbation and support, as far as my information goes, of all the friends of impartial justice.

Emigrant Settlers.—Seaford-town and Mr. Lemonius.—From a letter of Captain Stuart to Mr. Sturge, dated 4th February, 1840.—On Thursday last, I visited Seaford-town, the third government settlement of European emigrants which has fallen in my way, in this island. I called upon the superintendant, and saw his *mistress*; he was out. The schoomaster also was away from home. From the people I got the following details, which I give as I received them; Rev. C. W. Winkler, was with me; they were given in a very modest and manly manner. They told me that they all came out together in December, 1835; that their original number was 544. They were engaged by Mr. Lemonius, or his agents; they are chiefly from Hanover; they are Catholics generally; they have no church or minister; their schoolmaster is a Catholic, and teaches the Romish catechism, and conducts a kind of worship with them on the sabbath day. Their indentures are expired, and they say they were not faithfully kept; they are not favourably situated for getting work. The superintendant prefers giving employment to the negros, rather than to them. They have not been paid faithfully for the work which they formerly performed for the public, by engagement with him; they have no physician. The schoolmaster is very useful and kind in this respect; but for him they say many more would have died; he seems to be a benevolent and prudent man. They now dwell in houses built by themselves; their land is excellent they occupy each, variously, from one to five acres; (each family;) they have hitherto had no restriction in this, beyond their own means, or energy, or convenience, or choice. The scenery is beautiful, consisting of an undulating valley adorned with hills, between a northern and a southern range of mountains; but the situation is remote, good roads are not formed, and there is no market near; I observed in their garden spots, however, ginger and tobacco for commerce; and the coffee, the cane, the mango, and the plantain, besides the grained provisions of their country, planted for their own enjoyment.

But all this is the most favourable side of the picture; death and discontent, whatever were its causes, have fearfully ravaged them. I have the details from them of twenty-six families, yet remaining in the settlement, numbering

Formerly	26 men,	32 women,	and 117	children.
Deceased	2 „	8 „	and 53	„
Leaving	24 „	24 „	and 64	„

Of these total as above .. 175
Have died 63

Total remaining..... 112

Of the above 8 women, 6 are second wives, the first having died; among the women were some widows with families.

They give me the details of 15 other families, numbering persons 78.

Of these remain	13
Removed, chiefly to America.....	15
Deceased.....	50

That is 50 persons deceased out of 78, in little more than four years.

By the above account it would appear that there remain at Seaford, 125 persons; but I find by a government report, published in the Royal Gazette of January the 13th last, that there are said to remain 68 males, and 66 females, making 134, and leaving a deficiency in my account of nine persons.

Their countenances are pale, and their appearance feeble. I did not see one who looked robust, but I only saw a few of them; their children looked like drooping plants; some beautiful, but wan; yet they seem contented and industrious. They told me, that, were it not for the fever, they would prefer this to their native country; and as it is, they do not wish to return. Their chief grievance, as they feel it, is the want of a wise, kind, and vigorous superintendant. This is certainly a grievous want, and exceedingly happy would it be could they be supplied with such an one. Many of them formerly went about begging, and this corroborates their affirmation that the provisions pledged them by their indentures were not faithfully supplied. Since they have begun to reap the cultivation of their own grounds, this begging has ceased.

Many smaller parties have been settled at different times by private speculation, since 1834 and 1835. They have almost all vanished, dispersed or dead, but the speculation does not yet seem extinct. It would be worthy of a parliamentary commission, if entrusted to proper hands, to explore by authority, and publicly report, the history in detail of emigrant parties introduced from various lands since 1833, into our recently emancipated colonies. It might check a system which certainly in general has been a system of fraud, suffering, and death. And if there be any exceptions, by making those exceptions known on unquestionable evidence, it might alike benefit the colonies which need more labourers, and the labourers who are pining for employment in their native countries. The experiment at this day has had extent and duration sufficient for the establishment of sound conclusions. Should such a commission, however, be appointed, it would be better to divide it, as otherwise the extent of the inquiry, and the difficulties of travelling, would very injuriously protract the report.

I need not remind you, that all the dearest hopes of liberty in these colonies, as well as throughout the world, depend, under God, upon the faithfulness of British Christians. You must be continually exercising all the influence you can upon the home government, to make and keep it right if possible. Look especially to the stipendiaries, and support the upright ones: to the laws, and suffer not evil ones to be sanctioned; and, if possible, extinguish the authority of the local magistrates in all matters between masters and servants, they themselves being one of the parties concerned.

The Old System.—[From Captain Stuart, dated 25th January, 1840].—By the regulations in council of 29th November, 1838, respecting gaols, houses of correction, &c. (of which I am informed, that the new law, not yet published, is little more than a transcript,) sixth section the sexes are directed to be separated, and due classification to be made; but, in contempt of this, the vestry of this parish has resolved merely to put the building as it is into better order; leaving the ordained classification of prisoners, and the separation by day of sexes, wholly unattended to. This is a gross abuse, and demands decided correction.

The petty session magistracy is in a deplorable condition. Excepting stipendiary Harris, it is almost altogether one-sided in all questions between masters and labourers. Of Mr. Cocking the negros frankly say, "No use for me, massa, go to him. Him friend with busha—him eat with busha—him drink with busha—him sleep at him house—him shake hands with him."—They have but two places of sitting in the parish, Lucea and Green island, from either of which some parts of the parish are twenty miles distant. Even in these two places their sittings are irregular, and heavy arrears of business arise. For instance, a great number of labourers from different estates were summoned to answer charges of rent last Wednesday—but a quarter session court, instead of a petty sessions, was held; and although they attended punctually not one of their cases could be brought forward. They were warned to attend the next day (Thursday, 23rd inst.) The petty sessions sat, and they attended again, but the whole day was consumed in petty criminal cases (criminal cases taking the precedence of all others,) and they are now put off till next Wednesday. I need not point out the ruinous effects upon the agriculture of the country inseparably connected with such litigations and such delays, nor the mutual displeasure, mistrust, and aversion which they must produce both in master and man. The loss to the labourers, as poor men, depending upon their own daily labour for the subsistence of themselves and families; the dissipation and uncertainty of mind which it must more or less produce, and the enhancing of the prices of provisions, already hurtfully dear, are collateral evils of affecting magnitude. The rent cases, above spoken of, have two totally illegal features.

1st. Charging double rent arbitrarily and suddenly, under pretext of some agreement or stipulation to which one side only has agreed—for instance:—

William Thomas Chambers,
Dr. to Blenheim Estate, the property of Neil Malcolm, Esq

1839.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 28th.	To rent of house and ground, one week, from 21st			
1840.	Dec. to date	0	3	4
Jan. 4th.	To rent of house and ground one week, from 28th			
	Dec. to date	0	3	4
Jan. 11th.	To rent of house and ground, one week, from the 4th			
	January to date	0	6	8
		£0	13	4

as per agreement and notice given.

This is one of a multitude. The people all solemnly affirm that they have made no such agreement whatsoever, and are aware of no such notice, apart from the bill itself. The above was handed to Chambers about the 15th or 16th instant.

2nd. The other illegal feature is, charging several members of the same family rent, viz.:—

George Wilson (and wife) per house and ground, weekly .	£0	3	4
George Wilson, his eldest son, living with his parents, and have no separate house or ground	0	1	8
Cecilia Wilson, eldest daughter ditto	0	0	10
James Wilson, second son, ditto	0	0	5
Total—one family, for one house and ground . . .	£0	6	3

There are several other children in the family, but no rent has yet been exacted from them. This case is on New Mill Estate, under the attorneyship of W. H. Knott.

St. David's Doings again. From a letter to Mr. Sturge, dated 27th January, 1840.—"On the 8th inst., a man named Grant Lea, introduced by Stipendiary Moresby, came to ask my assistance. He lives in St. David's, and was freed on the 1st of August with the general mass: he was a widower, and about two months since married again, to a widow living in a hut, and occupying a provision ground, under Mr. Maclean, a planter and magistrate, for which she paid a macaroni (1s.) per week rent. On his coming to live in the hut with her, this said magistrate charged him an extra macaroni per week for himself, and half a macaroni for his child, making 2s. 6d. English in all. He and his wife and child continued working for him, the two elder at 1s. per day, and the younger a 6d., till near the end of the year, and instead of paying the rent in money gave him one whole day's labour in the week. At that time, Grant Lea left the estate to go and prune coffee on a neighbouring property, for which he received half a dollar a-day, but still continued, with his wife and child, to work every Monday for the rent. In consequence of his working four days in the week elsewhere, Maclean charges him with a debt of 20s. for four weeks, extra rent, including the very time he had worked on Mondays to pay the rent, and sends him a summons to answer the demand in court. Having found, on inquiry, that the parish of St. David's had become notorious for its mal-administration of the law, and that the labourers entertained the belief that no justice was to be found in its courts, I resolved at once to send down a Kingston solicitor to defend Lea, and quash the proceedings. It was well I did so, as we completely succeeded, to the great chagrin and wrath of the offending party, and to the great joy of the poor people in the country round about, who held a two days jubilee for what they deemed the triumph. The solicitor, however, made no use of the fact that Lea and his wife and child had all been paying rent for the same occupation. Let me here remark on the constitution of this said court at St. David's. It happened on this occasion, that stipendiary Lyon was present. He came in unexpectedly, as a *locum tenens* for a brother justice. Had he not been there, the sitting magistrate would have been the prosecutor himself, and a neighbouring planter, who at his request issued the summons, the judge. We can easily see how the case would have been disposed of under these circumstances. As it was, the prosecutor retired, leaving the adjudication to his brother justices, one stipendiary and one local, who of course differed, and the case was thrown out. After this matter was settled, there came in five cases, I understood, of a similar nature, arising out of rent charges preferred by the local magistrate who had just sat in judgment in Lea's case, against his own labourers, all

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of which were confirmed, as the parties, expecting no justice, suffered judgment to go by default. When I advised Lea to go into court and plead his own cause, he said, "They no hear me, constable come and take me by the collar, and lead me awsy." It seems strange to me that the planters in St. David's should pay only one shilling per day to coffee pickers, or sixpence per bushel task work, when in St. Mary's, among the mountains where we have just been, the labourers receive 1s. English per bushel, and can earn half a dollar per day, and when the wages at common day work are a macaroni and three-pence. There is something extremely wrong among the planters eastward."

SIR LIONEL SMITH.—At a meeting of the Baptist Missionaries, at Brown's Town, on the 15th of January, 1840, a subscription was set on foot towards purchasing a testimonial to be presented to the late governor of Jamaica. The design, and the mode of presentation, are to be determined by friends in England.

THE REV. W. KNIBB is on his voyage, and may be expected in England very shortly.

ANOTHER SLAVER has been taken by her Majesty's brig, Ringdove, and carried into Port Royal, reported to have a great many slaves on board.—*Jamaica Paper.*

ST. LUCIA.—THE REFUGEE SLAVES FROM MARTINIQUE.—Extract of a letter from St. Lucia, dated January 20th, 1840.—"The poor persecuted refugees from Martinique have set the best example; they have long been protected and advised by Dr. Robinson, and now of the number of 600 or 700, they are comfortably located, have their houses and gardens, and go out to work by the job, either singly or in bodies, with a most praiseworthy industry. This is as it should be; during that period when their gardens do not require their constant attention, they seek for work in weeding, planting, or manufacturing the staple."

TRINIDAD.—[Extract of a letter to Mr. Scoble, dated 31st January, 1840.]—"The planters now do not complain of their labour, but the old cry is still heard, 'we want an increase of hands.' I am of opinion that they are not really so much in need of labourers to take off their crops or carry on their estates, as they are desirous of having the labourers more in their power, and, like Barbados and Antigua, over populated, so as they may give them just what they please for their labour. In this they are short-sighted; for I rejoice to find that, even from the quarter whence they expect the most useful and abundant supply, (the United States) the men are very desirous of being so circumstanced as not to be compelled from necessity to labour on estates, particularly if their means will permit them to cultivate lands for their own advantage. I have conversed with an old black man from Boston, who is highly respectable (a local preacher), and upon whose favourable report depends our having a considerable number of his countrymen; he is averse to all the immigrants being located on sugar plantations, but is aware that many must, of necessity, be so engaged. There is a fine field in this country, and the friends of humanity, both in England and the United States, might do a great deal of good in establishing some thousands of the unfortunate descendants of Africa on the north and south-eastern coast of this beautiful country. A town at Mayaro would very shortly grow into importance, and command, from its contiguity, a great commercial intercourse with Demerara and the settlements up the Orinoco. Under proper government, the captured Africans might be there located to greater advantage than scattered about the country, amongst those who are decidedly opposed to their moral advancement. It is a well known fact, that Trinidad depends upon the Spanish main and the neighbouring islands, even for the small quantity of provision which its forty thousand inhabitants consume; consequently, as the planters will never be brought to turn the least attention to that circumstance, I am persuaded a great number of small proprietors, growers of corn and rice, are in great demand, especially now an influx of population is expected."

BRITISH GUIANA.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS. BERBICE.—The following letter has been received by the Secretary of the Anti-slavery Society:—

Orange Chapel House, Berbice, January 3rd, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—It is with sincere pleasure that I forward to your committee the enclosed fifty pounds, coming as it does from my dear black people, as a sacred pledge for their future help to your godlike and noble society. The following is a copy of the resolution passed at our late missionary meeting regarding the same.

Moved by Mr. Harris, seconded by Mr. R. Fraser, and

Resolved—"That, whilst rejoicing in the blessed effects of freedom experienced by us, this meeting deeply sympathises with all those who are yet bound, and being deeply concerned, not only of the demoralising and brutalising effects of slavery, but that it is utterly opposed to that which is the birth-right of every human being, and totally at variance with the laws of God, determines to make use of all available means for assisting those societies which have for their immediate object the entire emancipation from slavery of every son and daughter of the human family. And as a sacred pledge thereof, £50 sterling of the collection to be made this day, be transmitted forthwith to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to aid in the benevolent and godlike objects of that institution."

As the Berbice newspaper accompanying this to your address will give you the particulars of that meeting, and will give you some insight into the spirit and movements of our ever dear people, I shall only add, that I trust we shall be able to do much more this year than ever we have done in the cause of our common Master. We feel that ours is a common cause. Sin and slavery must be overcome, and we have had the blessed satisfaction of seeing them in many instances die together. The negro feels himself a man so soon as his fetters fall, and, taught by God's good Spirit, he employs his manhood in the service of Jesus.

Hoping to hear from you soon, and praying for the prosperity of our holy cause, I remain, my dear Sir, your's most sincerely,

SAMUEL HAYWOOD.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary, Anti-Slavery Society.

A LIFT FOR GOVERNOR LIGHT.—(From the *Guiana Chronicle.*)—"In our last publication, we laid it down as a fact, that the governor has been doing everything in his power to serve the colony, notwithstanding the gross calumnies propagated concerning him, the rude tone adopted towards him, by some of our colonial members in the court of policy and their adherents, and the lies which have been so unblushingly published by a portion of the press here about him. We will publish in our next his dispatch relative to Scoble, which will amply prove his disinterested desire to benefit the country, by exposing the machinations of those who *batten* on the mistaken humanity of England,—and *which dispatch has been the cause of Mr. Scoble being excluded from the Colonial Office.* Would all the representations of all the planters in British Guiana, have effected this? Assuredly no,—for they would have been looked upon as interested parties; and their statements, therefore, however true, would be viewed with suspicion, and consequently carry but little weight."—What a quagmire his *Light* governorship must be in, to derive benefit from such an effusion as this!—*Ed. A. R.*

COAST OF AFRICA.

RENEWAL OF THE SLAVE TRADE BY THE FRENCH AND DUTCH.

(*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*)

SIR—The conduct of the French in the neighbourhood of our settlements at the river Gambia having lately occupied the attention of parliament and the public, we beg to lay before your readers the enclosed extract from a letter we have received this day from Africa, in reference to their further proceedings in that quarter. It would appear they have other objects in view besides commerce, in pushing their encroachments on our trade *per fas et nefas* at the Cazamanza. No wonder they should be so anxious to exclude us from that river, by seizing our ships, and warning off our traders, when one of their objects there is to purchase slaves for the use of the French government in the West Indies, an operation which they are naturally anxious to carry on with as little observation or interruption as possible.

No person who knows anything of Africa, can entertain a doubt of the serious mischief which must arise out of these proceedings on the part of the French. The nature of the traffic they are carrying on differs in no respect from the ordinary slave-trade of the Spaniards and Portuguese in its moral effects on the natives, and its destructive tendency in putting a stop to legitimate trade. The native chiefs will hail these slave purchasers, in the open market by the agents of a powerful European government, under the protection of two ships of war, as the return of those halcyon days when the trade was carried on and encouraged by the civilised nations of the world; and will be more confirmed than ever in the idea, that it is England alone that deprives them of their old and favourite traffic.

In the meantime, the French will derive another important advantage from the traffic; it will give them the exclusive command of the trade in produce, which is sure to follow the traffic in slaves, it being well known that the chief part of the produce is brought by slave labour to the coast, and that the trade always flows to that point where both the produce and the slaves find a market together.

These proceedings on the part of France (and the Dutch are pursuing the same system on another part of the coast, where they are purchasing slaves for the service of their government at Batavia), render nugatory all the expensive exertions of this country to put down the slave-trade on the coast of Africa. The English squadron may be withdrawn, and the proposed civilization expedition may be laid aside as both involving a useless sacrifice of life and money, if France and Holland be permitted to counteract all our exertions, by a system which differs in no respect, either in principle or in effect, from the traffic we are labouring to abolish, and which must keep alive in the breasts of the native chiefs, that love of the trade which it is one of the leading objects of our policy to eradicate.

We are, Sir, your most obedient servants,

FORSTER AND SMITH.

New City Chambers, March 18.

Extract of a letter from the *Rio Nunez*, dated 31st December last, received 16th March, 1840.]

"There are now in this river two French men-of-war, viz., La Fine, and La Cigale, accompanying a French merchant vessel, which has contracted with the governor of St. Louis, Senegal, to buy about five hundred slaves (all men) to make soldiers of. It is a good thing for us here that Signor Caetana, of Bissao, has contracted with the French for the above slaves, as it was reported their intentions were to put factories in this river to purchase them, which would have very much injured our produce trade, as the natives would neglect the cultivation of produce to attend to the horrible traffic in slaves. I believe they will leave here by the 2nd of January, 1840, for Bissao, to ship a part of the slaves.

SLAVERY IN NEW ZEALAND.—A late number of the *Cambrian*, contains the following:—"The ship *Earl of Durham*, belonging to Dundee, arrived at Swansea on the 17th instant, from the coast of Chili, in 100 days. She has circumnavigated the globe, and brings from New Zealand twenty-one firspars of extraordinary size, for naval use; from Valparaiso, Copiapo, and Penablance, 410 tons copper ore, 27 tons Nicaragua wood, and a considerable amount in bullion. An interesting incident occurred whilst the ship was in the Bay of Plenty (New Zealand.) Captain Cabell had occasion to trade with a Chief from White island; at the close of the transaction the latter made him a present of a slave, and sold him another for a blanket. These two young men are now on board, and have done duty during the voyage in a highly satisfactory manner; increased, indeed, by their grateful efforts to render what they could to the author of their liberty for that inestimable blessing. "Query:—Has not Captain Cabell been guilty of felony in purchasing a slave? *Ed. A. R.*

AN AUXILIARY to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was formed in Barbados, on the 27th of December.—*Barbados Liberal.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 8.] WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22ND, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE NEW SCHOOL OF WEST INDIANS.

Our remarks on the New School of West Indians have engaged the notice of the editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, who is good enough to say that they "deserve the most serious attention" of the West Indian body. After quoting at length our call for authorized professions of liberal sentiments, and something more than professions, on the part of the men of new views, he says:—

"We admit without hesitation, that, with the exceptions of one colony and one individual in this country, the West Indians are as yet open to the charge here brought against them. The exceptions will be noticed presently. Meanwhile the general accusation may be stated yet more strongly. The 'new and popular principles' of West Indian policy asserted by this journal have not been, as far as we know, *publicly* adopted by any number of West Indians; and as this journal is no West India organ, nor has any connexion direct or indirect with the West India interest or any West Indian colony, but takes just what course its conductors please in disregard of all influences, therefore the abolitionist organ, when addressing the West Indians, may justly call not only for 'something more than professions,' but for the professions which *we* have uttered in all sincerity. The West Indians as a body have yet to declare themselves in favour of carrying out emancipation to the end, by asserting the principle of freedom in all things. Until they, or a number of them sufficient to be recognized as a party, shall take this step, they must be, and ought to be, objects of suspicion with the abolitionists. It were to be wished that the organs of the powerful abolitionist party would rather encourage the West Indians to adopt 'new and popular principles,' than sneer at them and taunt them as in the above extract. It were devoutly to be prayed for, that none of the writers or speakers on the abolitionist side should be paid for their work, so as to have a pecuniary interest in maintaining the war, by which, indeed, they live; but, to say the truth, the sneers and the taunts which the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* addresses to the West Indians are by no means unmerited. The very 'professions' which should precede 'something more' have yet to come. We cannot acknowledge this, however, without repeating, that 'there are in this country, men of West Indian birth or connexion, prepared to carry out the principles of emancipation to the end, by abolishing *all* distinctions of colour, socially as well as politically, and cordially to aid in forming out of the ruins of British slavery, a West Indian nation of the negro blood.' They exist, but they yet want organization and everything else that would give them power. The supply, however, of what they thus want, depends wholly on themselves—provided they have the energy, without which the wisest are among the most useless of mankind. This must soon be determined. Our own course in West Indian politics depends wholly on the event; we will not strive for any who will not help themselves."

Passing over the injustice which we think our contemporary does us, in one or two minor points, we sincerely thank him for this passage. Most distinctly and emphatically do we assure him, and the entire West Indian body, that it would fill us with unbounded joy to know that they were prepared and determined "to carry out the principles of emancipation to the end." The object we have set before ourselves is so vast, and there is so much to be effected in every quarter of the world, that we want to have done with the West Indies, and are pining for the day when we may commit the new-born freemen to a race of planters truly paternal. We shall hail every symptom of such a state of things with unfeigned joy. In the mean time the public will not fail to appreciate the testimony which our contemporary has borne to the just and necessary character of the jealousy we have hitherto exercised. With the exception of only one colony and one man, he admits a melancholy uniformity of oppression. He tells us there are individuals of a better mind. Our reply is, let them show themselves. They will find no sincerer or firmer friends than the abolitionists of England.

We have something to say, however, as to the exceptions claimed. Little can be allowed to Trinidad, because it "has a coloured man in its council of government." There are two gentlemen of colour in the house of assembly in Jamaica, and it is far from being certain that coloured men are among the best friends of their class. As to Mr. Burnley, whose letter, at the challenge of our contemporary, we publish entire, his professions are fair, although we confess we attach much more value to those which he made before the House of Commons in 1836, than to those which he makes now as the "official agent" (not unpaid, we suppose,) of the island of Trinidad. It is quite too soon, we conceive, to speak of the results of immigration into Trinidad from the United States. The report of those who have been sent to make inquiry on the spot has not hitherto been given; so that it cannot yet be known how the project will ultimately be regarded in America. And we think it quite as doubtful how the Trinidadians will in the long run like the Americans. A shrewd West Indian in this country has been heard to say, "It won't do to have *them*, they are *too sharp!*"

MR. BURNLEY'S LETTER TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Bryanston Square, 13th December, 1839.

MY LORD—In compliance with your lordship's desire, expressed in the interview with which I was recently honoured, I have respectfully to represent that the members of the council of government in the island of Trinidad, notwithstanding the difficulties and obstacles which have opposed themselves since the abolition of slavery to the attainment of profitable results from free-labour, are firmly convinced, that by the aid and support of her Majesty's government, these difficulties may be easily removed, and every benefit hitherto expected from the great experiment of emancipation ultimately realized. These difficulties may, in fact, be all referred to one source, viz., a deficiency in the amount of the labouring population, arising naturally and inevitably out of the sudden transition from slavery, the most simple of all conditions, to the more complex system which prevails in a free community. The master and the labourer were formerly in juxtaposition, administering, without the necessity of intermediate aid, directly to the wants of each other. Emancipation has severed the tie which bound them—has removed them apart and left a void space between, which must be filled up by a middle class. Until, therefore, an additional population can be acquired, this middle class will necessarily be composed of drafts from the agricultural labourers, reducing immediately the amount of exportable produce, and inflicting much distress upon the planters; whose complaints are loud and echoed everywhere, giving a disastrous aspect to our first attempts, and unfortunately encouraging the long-cherished hopes of slave-owners in foreign states, that the abolition of slavery would prove the destruction of the British West Indian colonies.

The members of the council of government in Trinidad, attributing these circumstances to their natural causes, are of opinion that they furnish no reasonable ground for despondency, but, on the contrary, a stronger motive for increased exertion on their part to counteract them. Under these impressions, I was commissioned by the board, in April last, to visit the United States and some of the British provinces in North America, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any portion of the free negro population inhabiting those countries could be induced to remove to Trinidad.

In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, a small population of that class exists, which is evidently unable to contend advantageously with the rigour of the climate, and is consequently dependent upon the legislature and the community every winter for partial support. The benefit to be derived from their removal to a more congenial clime was so obvious, that the proposals made by the council in Trinidad, were cordially received by the government of Nova Scotia, and the negros immediately invited to take advantage of the offers made in their favour. But in proportion to the discouraging difficulties which surround them, is the depression of their mental energies; and as long as they are gratuitously assisted when unable to provide for themselves, it is doubtful whether any of them will be disposed to move, even in the hope of improving their condition.

In the United States of America there are about 500,000 free persons of African descent, including numerous individuals of excellent education, Christian knowledge, respectability, and property, and, as a body, comprising all the essential elements of a moral and prosperous community. Generally speaking, they are suffering from no physical privations; and the climate, although not so congenial to them as that of the tropics, presents no difficulties which moderate prudence and forethought cannot effectually provide against. But their position as a class has long been politically and socially unjust, and is felt to be every day becoming more vexatious and intolerable. This circumstance is attributed to the persevering exertions made by the American Anti-Slavery Society in their favour.

By their means the question of "abolition" has been most vehemently discussed, and the opinions of the citizens elicited throughout the union. The result has shown that an immense majority is opposed to the measure, as well as to the admission of the free coloured population to political and social equality: whilst the powerful arguments of their opponents, not only in America but in Europe, have created a feeling of exasperation and antipathy amongst the whites towards the negro race, which is exhibited more decidedly in the north, where slavery has been long abolished, than in the south, where it still prevails; and the political laws by which, in some states, they are virtually, and in others openly disfranchised, are becoming more stringent every day.

Under these circumstances, the most intelligent of the free coloured class are of opinion, that in proportion to the continuance of this discussion will their actual position be deteriorated; that the well-meant efforts of their friends will only render their condition more galling; and that the expectation of the two races being ever allowed to co-exist in a state of social equality, will become every day more hopeless. Emigration has consequently been often contemplated by them as a means of relief. They have looked to the west, but abandoned the idea, from the certainty of being soon overtaken by the powerful tide of American colonization; and to the north, under British-Canadian protection, but the severity of the winter, which they feel to be unsuited to the constitution of their race, presented a sufficient obstacle. To colonization in Africa they will not listen for an instant, for reasons which will be subsequently noticed. These subjects were under frequent discussion, when the sudden extinction of slavery by parliament, accompanied by the strongest expressions of kindness towards the negro race from the whole population of Britain, seems to have turned their attention to the prospect of finding in our West India colonies a congenial climate, under the protection of a sympathising government.

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The foregoing opinions relative to the state of the abolition question, and the future prospects of the African race in the United States, may not be in accordance with the view of the subject usually entertained in this country; but they have not been adopted without due inquiry, accompanied by the advantage of unreserved communication with the class most seriously affected by the consequences.

The result of the whole of my observations and inquiries, prosecuted for three months in the Atlantic States of the union, has impressed me with the conviction, that an abundant population of free negros, possessing all the qualifications necessary to constitute a prosperous and moral community, is ready to emigrate from thence, and place itself under the British government in our West India colonies, provided such a policy be pursued as may insure to them political and social equality without distinction of colour. In the United States neither jealousies nor prejudices seem to oppose themselves to this step. I frankly spoke everywhere of the object of my mission; communicated openly with the negro population; addressed them in public rooms and chapels without fear of molestation; and attached my name to the invitations printed and distributed everywhere among them. The white population universally wished me success; and but one single sentiment seemed to prevail from Maine to Virginia, viz. that the two races could not exist advantageously together on terms of equality, and that policy as well as humanity would rejoice if a separation could be effected, and a happy home provided elsewhere for the free coloured population.

Of the value of such a population—active, intelligent, and grateful—no estimate can be too high, in the present condition of our colonies. The middle class, which we at present essentially require to perfect our disjointed system, would be immediately supplied by individuals capable, from education and habit, of properly fulfilling its duties. Intimately acquainted as they are with the cultivation of cotton and tobacco, for the growth of which our West India islands are in general as well adapted as the United States, nothing more would be required than the encouragement of the government to promote the production of both to any extent.

But beyond all these advantages would be the great moral effect created by the spectacle of a free, numerous negro population, enjoying under the protection of the British government, prosperity, social happiness, and equal rights. The effect of such an imposing scene would be soon to attract around it, as a nucleus, all the loose, floating coloured population at present scattered throughout the Antilles and the Gulf of Mexico, which is everywhere depressed, and generally degraded. The gradual accession of such a population would give everywhere throughout the West Indian colonies, highly gifted as they are by nature, and so admirably located for the commerce of the western continent, a stirring impulse to agricultural exertion, furnishing an extended market for our manufactures and a constant source of profitable employment for our capital. To me, my lord, this brilliant prospect appears no idle delusion. On the contrary, the longer I contemplate it the more it seems to me to require only to be willed to be brought immediately into existence. We shall then, unless all that has been asserted of the capabilities of the African race, and of the superiority of free labour, be devoid of foundation, possess the only efficacious means for the destruction of the slave-trade and the extinction of slavery. European leagues will certainly be productive of counter-leagues; violence will be resisted by violence, and a train of inconceivable evils ensue, if possible more horrible than those we now strive to arrest; whilst the production of the valuable articles of tropical growth on cheaper terms by free than slave labour, will inevitably furnish a peaceful, moral, and sure means of driving the latter out of the field. All the experience we have acquired, teaches us that this victory can only be achieved on the western continent. Extensive districts of great fertility existed in the old world, untenanted by man, when Columbus discovered America, which in general still lie waste or partially inhabited, whilst the United States are teeming with life and happiness. It seems, therefore, reasonable to believe that the negro race is more likely to acquire in the tropical west the same advantages which their white brethren have obtained by emigration to the same continent, than by making the attempt in any other quarter. The fact which I before alluded to, of the determination of the negros in the United States not to proceed to Africa, coupled with the history and actual condition of the American settlements on the coast, fully confirm this opinion. Societies of influential men in the United States have long been formed for the promotion of those objects. The aid of religion and philanthropy has been invoked. Large sums of money have been collected, every exertion made and every inducement held out to effect their purpose. The local governments at Liberia, Monrovia, &c. have been established on the most liberal basis. Every office, except that of governor, is filled by persons of African descent; and taxation and expenditure are placed under their own control. They entered into it at first with ardour; but find, after sufficient experience, that they cannot prosper there as colonists. With the native tribes they do not amalgamate: and, instead of imparting a portion of their own civilization, are in danger of being swamped by the mass of barbarism around them. Continually harassed by petty wars and the fear of them, commerce and agriculture remain in a lifeless state from the insecurity of capital. Even the climate does not appear to agree with them. Such is the substance of all the information sent by the negros in those settlements to their brethren in the United States. Not a freeman, consequently, can now be induced to emigrate in that direction; and so invincible is the repugnance to returning to their father-land, that even gangs of slaves have refused their freedom on those conditions. I am, therefore, firmly persuaded that it is only in the west that slavery can ever be conquered by free negro labour, and that any British attempt to that effect in Africa will not only be productive of a costly failure, but probably of the loss of the golden opportunity now within our reach, which, if thrown away, may never be recovered.

Convinced as I am that America can supply our West India colonies with a sufficient number of labourers, it may seem inconsistent, or atleast unnecessary, to urge your lordship to allow us to procure them elsewaere. But as principles of the highest importance are involved in this question, I cannot refrain from observing, that any interdict, by which the colonial governments may be prohibited from hiring labour wherever it can be procured most advantageously, will be productive of the worst moral effect. Justice and humanity, no doubt, require that proper regulations should be framed and enforced, by which emigrants may, in the first instance, be protected against fraud and misrepresentations with respect to ther future prospects—that families should not be divided—that every practicable arrangement should be made to obviate privations and unnecessary discomfort during the voyage; that on arrival they should be effectually secured in the enjoyment of all the stipulated benefits and advantages which tempted them to leave their native land, and be placed in every respect on an equal footing of rights and privileges with the inhabitants of the colony they have adopted. It certainly might, and would happen, that some emigrants, from miscalculation and want of judgment, would ultimately be disappointed in their expectations. But should disappointment become general from irremediable causes, it is evident, that the first news of such a result would stop the tide of emigration, even if a colonial government could be supposed so insane as to continue to expend money on the introduction of a burdensome population, for whose destitution, under the proper regulations supposed to be adopted, they would be bound to provide. Any evil consequences, therefore, which might arise, would inevitably be corrected as soon as discovered, by those natural effects which are continually at work in all the experiments which men are every day making for the improvement of their condition. But if they are attempted to be averted by a positive prohibition to enter into contracts, which both parties, after due consideration, and acting in good faith, may believe to be mutually advantageous—if her Majesty's coloured subjects in Asia or Africa are to be debarred, under the plea that they are too ignorant to understand their own interests, from doing that which is lawful to their white fellow-subjects elsewhere—such a decision would constitute an abandonment of those high principles, the stringency of which supplied our best argument for interfering with the rights of private property in the West Indies, and destroying an institution which had been encouraged and sanctioned for years by the highest authorities in the state. When we attacked slavery, we boldly proclaimed to the world that all men had an indefeasible right to the labour of their own hands, with liberty to dispose of it when and where they deemed it most advantageous; and that all men were possessed of equal natural rights, without distinction of colour or complexion, and were equally competent to judge of that which would best promote their own happiness. If these principles, my lord, solemnly invoked for the destruction of our old colonial system, are now to be discarded when appealed to in aid of the difficult task of reconstructing a new one, what hope of success can remain in the breast of a colonist? What confidence can he place in the promises, or the legislation of the mother-country, or in the stability of the opinion of the nation? The effect will be disastrous. Instead of the courage and cheerful hope which the accomplishment of his present task requires, he will be filled with distrust and despondency, and renounce it in despair. Upon the broad principles of justice and freedom we commenced the mighty movement which has saddled the nation with a large accession of debt, and risked the prosperity of some of our most valuable colonies. And upon the same broad principles we must continue to act, if we ever expect the great experiment of free labour in the tropics to be crowned with success.

There is, however, another source from which a supply of free labour may be derived, to which I feel obliged to draw your lordship's attention. I allude to the Africans captured by our cruisers, and liberated by our courts of mixed commission. During the long period in which we have prosecuted an arduous struggle for the suppression of the slave-trade, the following facts have been brought to light

A certain number of slaves are annually captured by the British cruisers, adjudicated by the courts of mixed commission established at the Brazils and Havanna, and the negros found on board emancipated. These unfortunate beings, thus supposed to be made free, are immediately distributed, under the name of apprentices, amongst the resident proprietors, by whom they are worked and treated as slaves. By this proceeding the actual number of slaves imported is not in the slightest degree diminished, notwithstanding the numerous cargoes intercepted by our cruisers; while the cost to the slave-holding community is reduced in the exact amount of the whole number adjudicated, as they are distributed on terms nearly gratuitous, and the loss of the original purchase-money falls on the insurance-offices, which are openly asserted to be supported by British capital. It may be easy to clear ourselves of the charge of criminality which a direct connexion with these offices would prove, but I fear a slight consideration of the subject will convince us of the general truth of the allegation. The distribution of capital is governed by laws peculiar to itself, and is as little to be controlled by human enactments, or moral considerations, as the torrent which bursts through the broken dike and overwhelms the innocent population below. Any amount which we, the great dealers in capital, may furnish for the most legitimate purpose in a foreign land, immediately displaces and lets loose a similar amount of foreign capital, which is thus rendered available for any illicit traffic offering a high rate of profit; and every hundred pounds advanced by a London or Liverpool merchant to a sugar-planter in the Brazils, enables the latter to speculate to that amount in insurance shares, by which the slave-trade is now notoriously known to be supported.

In this way we become participators in proceedings we condemn; and any voluntary extension (some persons may say continuance) of our commercial connexion with a community obstinately bent on pursuing this traffic, cannot fail to excite suspicions of the sincerity of our conduct, which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to remove.

A further evil is engendered by the distribution of captured Africans in the foreign territories where they are emancipated. Valuable as the boon is known to be, it is naturally solicited and received by the proprietors who possess most influence in the country; thus giving to every man of political weight and power a direct personal and pecuniary interest in the continuance of a traffic which the government has bound itself, years ago, by solemn treaty to abolish. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that under such circumstances the treaty still remains a dead letter.

I am aware that her Majesty's government have made every effort to prevent these unfortunate results; that a clause has been inserted in our treaty with Spain, to the effect that negros captured and liberated shall for the future be delivered over to the care of the government whose cruisers shall have made the capture; and that a similar arrangement has been proposed for the acceptance of other states. It may therefore be expected, that a large number of Africans will eventully be at the disposal of the British government, by whose cruisers alone, the captures are in general effected. The future destination of these individuals is therefore a matter of public interest, and more particularly to the inhabitants of Trinidad, from the following circumstance. About four years since, a large body of them were delivered over to us by the authorities at the Havanna, and some, if not all of the West India legislative colonies were requested by government to receive them. By all they were refused, as dangerous

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to the peace of society; and were consequently sent to Trinidad; where they were found to be such manageable beings, requiring only just and kind treatment to make them useful labourers, that those who before rejected them are now disposed to consider them a valuable acquisition. Under these circumstances, the colonists of Trinidad might not be deemed unreasonable in urging a preferable claim to their services; but reflection has taught them that a planter's best hope of success, under the new system, is to be found in a strict adherence to the principles by which slavery was overthrown; and that the only just ground for a preference of this description must be derived from the superior advantages offered to the labouring class. On this principle, therefore, I beg to suggest to your lordship, that the liberated Africans shall hereafter be distributed in the colonies which offer the most advantageous terms in exchange for their services.

I am aware that, under this rule, the greater number would be located in Trinidad or Guiana; but even if this could be admitted, as a valid objection to the operation of a just rule, I cannot discover how it is possible to obtain a better result under any other arrangement. Even if they were sent in preference to the old colonies, the latter would derive no benefit from their admission; for it is from these colonies that Trinidad is at the present moment receiving an accession of labourers, who emigrate solely because they are discontented with their home wages. Any importation therefore of a new population into those colonies would necessarily lessen that rate of wages, and increase their previous discontent; and the natural consequence would inevitably be, to drive them more rapidly from their homes, until the previously civilized natives were entirely supplanted by an African race. And this result it would be found impossible to avert, but by the adoption of colonial regulations hostile to the principles of free labour.

The preceding sentiments and observations, which, I fear, I have intruded with too much prolixity upon your lordship, have a general reference to all our West India colonies. It now becomes my duty to call your lordship's attention to the splendid colony of Trinidad, which, in its natural advantages and capabilities, is in no respect depreciated in the high value which it bore in public estimation when ceded to the British crown at the peace of Amiens. Its maritime position at the mouth of the Orinoco commanding the trade of that vast river, navigable into the heart of the continent of South America, and its safe and spacious harbour, exempt from the scourge of hurricanes, are both well known to present commercial advantages of the highest order. The temperature is mild, and the climate highly salubrious for the African race; while Europeans enjoy there as much health as usually falls to their share in the tropics. Droughts are entirely unknown. No part of the surface is so mountainous as to impede cultivation, and none so low as to require dikes and canals, or any process beyond superficial draining; so that it is as well adapted for the formation of the largest estates as for a cottage system, where the population may cultivate their small farms during the season of rain, and in crop-time find ample employment at liberal wages on the neighbouring estates. Above all, the soil is of the highest fertility, fully equal to that of Cuba, Porto Rico, or the best parts of the Brazils. It is well known that, since the abolition of the British slave-trade, those countries, by the enjoyment of only one advantage from which we were excluded, viz. that of procuring labourers at the cost of 400 dollars each, have been enabled to engross the sugar-market of Europe. There can, therefore, be little doubt of our successfully competing with them in Trinidad, when supplied with agricultural colonists at a cost not exceeding thirty dollars.* The fertile territory I have described comprises a superfices of 2400 square miles, of which the crown has fortunately divested itself of only a small portion. No clergy reserves have been created; and no occupancies are possessed by individuals so extensive as to interfere with proper roads of communication, or with the establishment of an advantageous system of colonization, by which the sale of the public lands may be made to provide a sufficient fund for the introduction of labourers. In fact, few or no disturbing causes exist to impede the development of the great experiment of free labour as successfully as the most ardent philanthropist could desire.

At the present moment the introduction of an additional population would certainly not tend to decrease the rate of wages; for, by promoting competition, it would secure faithful and diligent work—encourage contracts for agricultural services during limited periods—insure the execution of every well-considered plan for the employment of capital—and give such an impulse to the prosperity of agriculture, which is now suffering from the want of these advantages, that the highest rate of wages would be cheerfully, because easily, paid. No possible influx of labourers can permanently reduce them in that colony so long as the government discreetly exercises the power it possesses in the sale of the public lands until the whole are exhausted, which a cultivation of sugar equal to the consumption of Europe could not effect. For this important purpose, no doubt, proper and above all fixed rules will be immediately required. I dare not, now however, intrude further upon your lordship's time by detailing these and a variety of other measures essentially necessary to the proper working of our new system,—such as the establishment of hospitals, and other arrangements suitable to the relief and protection of an immigrant population; the adoption of legislative measures by which the culture of tobacco and cotton may be promoted, and those articles introduced into the British market on equal terms at least with those of foreign growth, which is not at present the case; and, lastly, the financial arrangements which will be requisite to carry the whole into successful execution.

In consideration, however, of the essential importance of these matters in connexion with our future colonial prospects, and of the duties which devolve upon me as agent of the council of government in Trinidad, I have respectfully to request that your lordship will allow me again to revert to them at an early opportunity.

I have the honour to be, your lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

William H. Burnley.

To the Right Honorable Lord John Russell, &c. &c.

* Thirty dollars are the highest amount paid by the government of Trinidad for the passage of an immigrant.

The governor of St. Helena, by proclamation, cautions *emigrants* from the island to the Cape of Good Hope, to avoid entering into any contract until they arrive in the colony.

IMMIGRATION INTO BRITISH GUIANA.

An interesting parliamentary paper has been produced on the motion of Mr. Mackinnon, consisting of copies and extracts of correspondence between the secretary of state for the colonies and the governor of British Guiana, respecting the immigration of labourers into that colony. We extracted from it the very important despatch of Lord John Russell's inserted in our last, and shall now take some general notice of its contents.

We are here presented with the despatch of Lord Normanby, communicating the disallowance of the Guiana immigration ordinance of 1839; from which we extract the following passages. After admitting that the effect of immigration on wages was not a valid argument against immigration, his lordship says,—

But I am not so well convinced that it is just or wise to appropriate the public revenue in aid of this service. If the capitalists are anxious to enlarge their agricultural and manufacturing operations, it seems reasonable that the expense should be borne by themselves, and that the funds to which *every member of society is a contributor* should not, for this purpose, be diverted from their more legitimate destination.

There is undeniable justice in the principle here laid down; and it is deeply to be regretted that it has been departed from by Lord Normanby's successor in office, in the sanction now given to the immigration ordinance of Trinidad. His lordship thus satisfactorily writes concerning the liberated Africans:—

I cannot but view with serious apprehension the plan of settling an emigration agent from Guiana at the Havanna, in the Brazils, and in Sierra Leone, where the three courts of mixed commission are held. It is of the utmost importance to avoid even the appearance and imputation of this country being actuated by any selfish motives in our transactions with the Brazilian, Portuguese, and Spanish governments, on the subject of those courts; nor could her Majesty be advised to place the Africans liberated under them at the disposal of any such agent.

The Guiana ordinance manifested the tenacity with which the planters cling to the inequality of the sexes, by providing that only one of every three emigrants should be a female. On this subject we are gratified to hear Lord Normanby say, "It appears to me indispensable * * * that there should be an equal number of each sex."

Governor Light's reply to this despatch is dated the 18th of September, 1839, and warns the colonial secretary of "the disappointment and excitement" which would be occasioned by it. He expresses his opinion, that the combined court would not "have refused to draw the funds necessary for the encouragement of immigration from that portion of the community which would alone derive benefit from an influx of labourers"—a measure of justice to which, certainly, they should be strictly held; but he adds, "I do not think they will relinquish their claim to seek and to introduce labourers unindentured from any part of the world in which free agents are to be found, voluntarily inclined to emigrate to British Guiana." What the planters really mean by this is, we apprehend, that they will insist on having immigration agents in Africa and in Bengal. We shall see.

Under date of the 23rd of December, the governor forwards to England a petition to the Queen on this all-absorbing subject of immigration, from the "clergy, planters, merchants, and other inhabitants" (with some exceptions, we presume,) of the colony. This document urges the necessity of "an extensive scheme of immigration;" implores her Majesty "to withdraw the restrictions at present in force against the immigration of labourers into the colony from the East Indies and *elsewhere*," (meaning Africa, of course); and prays sanction for the raising of a loan of £400,000 on the security of the colony. This petition, we are told, emanated from a public meeting, and is signed by 800 persons.

Now, for the matter of the loan, Governor Light thus intelligibly speaks of it in his accompanying despatch:

I beg to draw your lordship's attention to that part of the prayer of the petition which refers to the loan of £400,000, and to state that I explained to the committee my decided dissent from it.

I am fully persuaded that one-half the petitioners thought only of obtaining emigrants, and were indifferent to the loan; that the loan would be prejudicial to the general interests of the colony; that *the loan would be a job in the hands of a few monied men, who would put at least £30,000 in their pockets, if it were allowed*, and that all the purposes of emigration may be answered by an annual grant.

Half-a-year before, when this money job was first broached, his Excellency strenuously opposed it, and with much clear-sightedness. In his despatch of June 26th, 1839, he thus exposes the mischievous tendency of it in another and still more important aspect:

By the ordinary supplies of ways and means, £30,000 are raised by a tax of 1½ per cent. on produce; a tax of 2½ per cent. would produce £40,000.; and with that sum, supposing every emigrant to cost £20, an annual importation of 2000 emigrants might be obtained, *quite sufficient for the wants and means of accommodation of the colony.* At the end of ten years, 20,000 emigrants would have been added to the colony, and located only on those estates where proper accommodation had been provided, without debt or loan; whereas the proposed loan would only procure 20,000 emigrants, *one-third of whom would probably have died before the end of ten years, from injudicious location, or insufficient attention, consequent on too hasty an introduction of numbers at the same time.*

It is evidently this ruinous glut of labour which the planters are wanting.

These Guiana gentlemen assure us (and we fully believe them) that they "deeply deplore" the "representations, seriously affecting the character and credit of the colony and its inhabitants," which are "circulated in the mother country;" and add, what we are somewhat incredulous of, that they "court the strictest inquiry!" Their treatment of Mr. Scoble affords convincing

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evidence on this point. We suspect they would prefer that Englishmen should take their word for it, that all is as it should be.

While we are on this part of the subject we may notice the memorials which West Indians in England have presented to the colonial office, "two of the principal" of which Lord John Russell has sent to the governor of Guiana, and laid on the table of parliament. One of them is a communication from Messrs. R. Semple and Co., of Liverpool, who, "having two sugar plantations in the county of Berbice," make a regular "application for 500 of the captured Africans, with their families!" The other is dated from the "West India Merchants' committee room, 16, Bishopsgate within," on the 17th of December, 1839, and is signed by fifteen gentlemen, one of whom subscribes "on behalf of the Liverpool West India Association." This document is the original of the "memorandum submitted to the consideration of Dr. Lushington," which appeared some time ago in the *Morning Chronicle*, but it lets us know some things of which we suppose prudence then dictated the concealment. The memorialists urge that "a government scheme of free immigration should immediately be put into operation, in order to keep up a *constant influx* of labourers." And after renewing their longings after "the natives of Africa and Asia," they tell us that their transportation could be affected "with due regard to the comfort of the people, by *removing them in tribes, or clans*, or in entire families." This is exactly a West Indian's notion of "*free* emigration."

We must now say a few words on the despatch of the present secretary for the colonies, to which we adverted in the commencement of this article. His lordship quotes the statement of the West India merchants, that "the deficiency in the last year's crops in Demerara alone, exclusive of Berbice, was shewn to be no less than £930,000." These gentlemen have not told us how they reckon; but the papers before us contain a short despatch from governor Light, which may advantageously be confronted with this statement.

Copy of a dispatch from Governor Light to the Marquis of Normanby.

Governor's Residence, Demerara, 15th October, 1839.

My lord,—I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship the return of colonial produce shipped from this province in the third quarter of the present year. The quantity shipped of sugar is considerably less than in the corresponding quarters of 1831, 32 and 33; it is in hogsheads, 2765 less than the corresponding quarter last year, but *the price of produce has increased in proportion to the diminution of the crop.*

It is a fact, that, from the unfavourable season during a portion of the year, the canes have yielded one-third less than usual; the last quarter of the year, considering the favourable season for the last month, is likely to give a much larger return. *I shall be prepared to show, by the prices of the last twelve or fifteen years, that even supposing the exports of sugar for the year* 1839, *from this colony, only reach* 35,000 *hogsheads, the return in money will be larger than when the produce was at its greatest extent.*

I have the honour to be, my lord,
Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) HENRY LIGHT.

It is not for us to say how these two statements can be made to agree.

Our especial object, however, in referring again to this despatch, is to bring out more prominently some of the admirable sentiments it contains in relation to the emancipated classes generally, and the cultivation of sugar in particular. In reference to the former, we quote with high satisfaction the following passage, as expressing the sentiments of the British government.

"It is not to be expected, that men who can subsist in comfort without hard labour will continue to devote themselves to it. The state of planter and slave left the West India colonies without a middle class; the more careful and intelligent of the emancipated negros become petty traders. A few acres of ground will produce provisions for a family, with some surplus to sell at market, and bring home manufactured goods; the negros who earn high wages buy or hire plots of land, and refuse to let their daily labour for hire. There is nothing in this singular or culpable. No man in this country, who has capital sufficient to keep a shop or rent a farm, will follow the plough as a day-labourer, or work from morning till night as a hand-loom weaver.

Nor, let me observe, were the damage to end here, would the British government have any cause to feel disappointment. Carrying into effect the religious and benevolent views of the nation at large, *it was their object* to convert slaves into free men; to rescue their brethren of Africa from the lash of compulsory toil, and establish them as christian men on the soil where they had been transported as chattels, or beasts of burden. On this, the principal question of all, there is, I am happy to say, no room for doubt. None of the most inveterate opponents of our recent measures of emancipation allege that the negros have turned robbers, or plunderers, or blood-thirsty insurgents. What appears from their statement is, that they have become shopkeepers, and petty traders, and hucksters, and small freeholders; a BLESSED CHANGE, which providence has enabled us to accomplish.

Lord John Russell then takes up the question of the cultivation of sugar, the maintenance of which he truly states to be *the object* of all the schemes of immigration, which he passes briefly in review. His remarks on them all are excellent, but to quote them here would be to reprint almost the entire despatch. We will only express our regret that his lordship has not fully exercised *his own judgment* on the case of Mauritius, as he has evidently done on that of British Guiana. The part of the despatch which we wish to quote, and of which we think the importance cannot be overrated, is that in which Lord John Russell treats the question of sugar cultivation in its broadest aspect.

But, supposing everything to be done, which, by bounties on emigration, locating captured negros, and natural increase of population, can be expected, it will still remain a problem whether it would be possible to maintain sugar cultivation to its former extent—for this is what is meant by the term "prosperity;" while on the other hand, the term "ruin" is used to designate, not the poverty of the people, not the want of food or raiment, not even the absence of riches or luxury, but simply the decrease of sugar cultivation.

Let me then, look at this question largely. It is stated (I take it only for illustration,) that the wages of a day-labourer are, in Guiana, 1s. 6d. per day, and in Hindostan, not more than 2d. When you should have removed to Guiana a large number of labourers, they are still to be free labourers; the *soil* is fertile, the climate invites to indolence; the Indian race love ease and enjoyment, at least as much as any other; you have still no certainty for your sugar crop. In the mean time, it is a mere matter of calculation to the capitalist what sugar will cost him to raise in Hindostan, to bring to England, and to clear of duty; and whether, all this done, he can compete successfully with the Demerara planter. If he can, the sugar business will rise in Bengal, and the Coolie remain at home; *the plantation will be found for the labourer, and not the labourer go to the plantation.* Changes in commerce as great as this took place when woollen manufactures came from Tuscany to England, and fabrics of silk went from the East to France.

This is looking the matter in the face, and giving the men who would fain make British Guiana supply the whole world with tropical productions an answer which we hope they will understand. We trust the enlightened principle thus laid down will never be receded from, but will be stedfastly adhered to as the rule of our West India policy.

We cannot refrain from further quoting the concluding passage of Lord John Russell's despatch, in which he has embodied sentiments which are eminently worthy of a British statesman, and to which the heart of every true Briton will loudly respond.

But in whatever degree I might be disposed to yield to the representations of the merchants and proprietors, whether in this country or in the colonies, I must enjoin upon you to bear in mind, that *the happiness of the inhabitants of the colony you are appointed to govern is the chief object.* Encourage religious instruction, let them partake of the blessings of Christianity, preserve order and internal peace, induce the African race to feel that wherever the British flag flies they have a friend and a protector, check all oppression, and watch over the impartial administration of the law. By such means our colonies in the West Indies will be made to flourish, though in a different form and a different sense from that in which the term has been hitherto used. THE QUEEN WHOSE COMMANDS I NOW CONVEY TO YOU, LOOKS FOR HER REWARD IN THE FAITHFUL ATTACHMENT OF A MILLION OF HER PEOPLE, WHOM IT HAS BEEN HER CARE TO RENDER WORTHY OF THE BOON WHICH IT WAS THE HAPPINESS OF HER PREDECESSOR TO BE ENABLED TO GRANT, BY THE LIBERAL ASSISTANCE OF HIS PARLIAMENT, AND AMID THE JOY OF HIS SUBJECTS.

KIDNAPPING OF INDIANS IN BRITISH GUIANA.

WE had hoped before this to have been able to put our readers into possession of the facts connected with this atrocious affair; but the public press in the colony has refused to insert the particulars of the investigations had before the magistrates, which led to the indictment of one Spencer, a post-holder, and his wife, for the crime. From what we can gather, however, it would appear that the nefarious traffic in Indian slaves has been carried on in the Demerara river for years past; and that it has been mainly through the disclosures of a woman of the name of Fraser that the iniquity has been brought to light. Spencer and his wife were put on their trial at the last criminal sessions of the supreme court on seven distinct cases, but, owing to the blundering of the Attorney-General, the whole of the indictments were quashed; and we deeply regret to say, the probabilities are that the delinquents will escape the punishment they merit. From a letter which has been handed to us, dated Demerara, 24th December, 1839, we make the following extract:—"The doubtful state in which the late criminal proceedings have left the case is very likely to cause its failure; because the witnesses (Indians we suppose) brought down from the interior, a great many of whom had come from a great distance, some a five weeks journey, suffered so much from want of support whilst they were kept in attendance, and from others of them having been since cast adrift without any means of sustaining themselves, that they are not expected again to attend as crown witnesses, and will disperse before the proceedings are renewed." Nothing could be more unfortunate than such a termination of the affair, either as it respects the ends of justice, or the confidence with which it is desirable to inspire the Indians in the protection and care of the government.

In connexion with this affair we call attention to a conversation reported to have taken place in the court of policy on the 20th December last; we copy it from the Royal Gazette; "His Honour the High Sherriff laid before the court a report he had received from Mrs. Susanna Maria Fraser, respecting the shooting of an Indian in a corial, up the Demerara river.

"The GOVERNOR—I will have these reports investigated immediately.

"Mr. CROOL—Would it not be a mercy to take or buy the children of the Indians when offered, and educate and civilize them? I think it would be an act of charity to rescue them from the ignorance in which they are sunk, and from the barbarities to which they are subjected.

"The GOVERNOR—If *individuals* were to do so, from motives ever so charitable, the enemies of the colony would magnify it into charges and accusations against us; but if the *colony* would undertake to protect and civilize such as might be subject to destitution and cruelty, and make a public measure of it, they

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might be made useful both to the community and to themselves." After a few remarks from Mr. Cameron, the report adds, "It was understood that something is to be done."

We marvel much at the cool effrontery of this Mr. Crool in making the proposition he did, to *take* the Indian children from their parents under the plea of mercy, and to *buy* them under the pretence of charity! If the destitution of the Indians in Guiana be so great as the hon. gentleman indicates, whence does it arise? If they are subjected to barbarities, what is their nature, and who are the parties that inflict them? We have always understood that the colony is so extremely fertile, and the fruits so abundant, that destitution is unknown. Is the destitution in any way connected with the encroachments of the whites, and the uncertainty of the tenure by which the Indians hold their little plots of land on the banks of the Essequibo, and the Demerara? It is high time that the government should cause a strict inquiry to be made into the general treatment and condition of the aborigines in Guiana, and that means should be taken to locate them in parts of the colony from which they should in future in no case be dispossessed; enjoying security and protection under the British government, we have little doubt that their education and civilization might be secured.

Whilst we are on the subject we may add, that, if we do not greatly mistake, the attention of the home government has been called to the fact, that the Brazilians, whose territory borders on our own in Guiana, have frequently made incursions into different parts of the colony, and captured many of the Indians, who have thus been reduced to slavery by them; and that, very recently, they have broken up a most interesting missionary station on the Essequibo, belonging to the Church Missionary Society, and have actually turned the building appropriated to public worship into a barrack! Mr. Youde who had laboured with great success among the Maeusies at the station, has been obliged to return to George-town, and his Indian flock have dispersed in all directions, leaving their habitations and cultivated lands a prey to these invaders. By some writers well acquainted with British Guiana, it is said to be 100,000 square miles in extent. Mr. Schomburgh, the enterprising and intelligent traveller, who has spent several years in exploring it, computes its size at 75,000 square miles; but if the pretensions of the Brazilians are not checked, it will soon be reduced to about 10,000 or 12,000! The boundary line between Brazils and British Guiana has not yet been determined. We sincerely trust that we shall not lose the greater part of this splendid portion of South America, through the inattention or supineness of the British government.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The communication of "A Friend to Just Laws" has been received, but the subject of it is unsuitable to our columns.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, April 22.

THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE

Will commence its sittings at Freemasons' Hall, London, on the 12th of June, 1840. A book is prepared for entering the names and other particulars of the delegates who may be appointed by anti-slavery bodies, both at home and abroad. In a case of such singular interest and importance, the committee earnestly hope, and fully expect, that the friends of the cause in the United Kingdom will not be backward, either in the appointment of delegates, or in their attendance as delegates when appointed. It is particularly requested that all anti-slavery bodies will send an immediate *official notification* of the appointments which may be made by them, addressed to J. H. Tredgold, Esq., at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

The venerable Thomas Clarkson has announced his intention of being present at the approaching Anti-slavery Convention, in a letter to Mr. Sturge, in the following terms:—

"I had a hope, and still cherish it, that by nursing myself and incessant care, I might so patch myself up as to be able to attend for an hour your great meeting on the 12th of June, just to show myself as the humble originator of the abolition of slavery in this country, and as one, who, though he has kept at work in it for fifty-six years, is not only not tired of the pursuit, but that his heart now beats as warmly as ever in the cause. At the same time that I cherish such a hope, it is extremely doubtful whether I shall be alive at the time of the meeting."

We shall esteem as a favour, information of the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies, both in England and in foreign parts, and propose to insert such intelligence from time to time in our pages. Among the most interesting of these Societies which have recently been established, are several in the West Indies, which have not been unproductive of substantial aid to the funds of the Parent Society. The considerable sums of £100 and £50 have reached us from Jamaica, the former from the Falmouth Auxiliary, by the Rev. W. Knibb, and the latter from the St. Ann's Bay Anti-Slavery Society, by the Rev. T. F. Abbott; in addition to which, £50 has recently come to hand from the Rev. J. Haywood, of Orange Chapel, Berbice. When we reflect that the whole (as we understand,) of these very liberal remittances have been derived from persons who were lately slaves, how forcible an evidence they afford of the fitness of these persons for freedom, who, by their labour, are not only providing for their own wants and those of their families, but seeking to extend the blessing of liberty to those who are yet groaning under bondage. How cheering too is the reflection, that they for whose rights we were lately suppliants, are now our fellow-workers in the sacred cause of liberty and by their conduct, affording the strongest arguments for its universal establishment.

We have not hitherto mentioned, that an Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Rotterdam, before Mr. Alexander's departure from Holland, and we are informed that there is reason to believe that this will not long remain the only Anti-Slavery Society in that country.

Since our last we have had the satisfaction of learning, that an Anti-Slavery Society, has been formed at Boston, and a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association, at Stoke Newington. The Stoke Newington Ladies' Association, intend circulating twelve copies of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, among the members of the committee, and in the neighbourhood. We trust that the appeal in a recent number will not be made in vain to many of our female friends, and shall be glad to hear of the formation of numerous Ladies' Associations, as well as Anti-Slavery Societies composed of those who take a more stirring, if not a more useful part in worldly affairs.

Information has been received from many places of the appointment of delegates. Friends of liberty both white and black, are about to cross the ocean for this interesting occasion. In the letter accompanying the contribution of his people from Jamaica, the Rev. T. F. Abbott, thus writes:—

"You have, I doubt not, been apprised that brother Knibb has been appointed by the brethren to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention, in June next. He proposes taking with him Edward Barrett, one of the black members of his church; and I have arranged, at his request, for Henry Beckford, one of the members of my church, to accompany him.* It will, I hope, be a glorious meeting, and be attended by results highly beneficial to the cause of truth and liberty."

* Edward Barrett and Henry Beckford are two descendants of the African race, who were formerly slaves.

The intelligence brought by the last West India mail is far from satisfactory. In Jamaica, the results of the late session of *willing* legislation are becoming painfully manifest. Sir Charles Metcalfe, in making a tour of the island, is everywhere overwhelmed with the compliments and flatteries of the old slavery party; while the friends of freedom utter their complaints and apprehensions in loud and solemn language. We direct special attention to two extracts to be found in our paper of to-day, the one from the *Colonial Reformer*, the other from the *Baptist Herald*. Two or three trash-house fires had occurred, and the easy plan had been pursued of ascribing them to the bad feeling of the peasantry. We confidently hope the allegation is unfounded, and certainly shall not believe it till it is proved.

Barbados, also, is unsettled. The new contract law has thrown the whole island into confusion. In another page, our readers will find a painfully interesting communication from Mr. Prescod, on that subject.

The gallant veteran, Sir Lionel Smith, having, as our readers are aware, accepted the government of the Mauritius, embarked for his destination on the 14th instant. No colony under the British crown more urgently needs the presence of an enlightened and determined governor than this, and it is just matter of congratulation to the friends of liberty, that an officer so distinguished for the best qualities has been appointed to the post. That he will have to encounter many difficulties cannot be doubted, nor that he will provoke, if his measures be just, the resentment of the planters; but we trust he will not a second time be sacrificed to it. Her Majesty's ministers would have done better to keep him at home, than to send him in the Queen's name to this den or oppression, unless they mean to sustain him firmly against any outbreak of Mauritian clamour. There is no good in prospect for this colony, unless the honest representations of such a governor are henceforward to have much more power at the colonial office, than the blandishments and intrigues of Messrs. Barclay and Irving. We insert below the valedictory letter which has been addressed to the new governor by the Anti-slavery Committee.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR LIONEL SMITH, BART. &c. &c. &c.

Sir,—Although the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have already presented their congratulations to your Excellency, on your appointment to the government of Mauritius, and expressed their confidence in the principles and the firmness of your administration, they cannot withhold a further brief communication of their sentiments, now that the time for your departure from these shores is at hand.

They scarcely need assure your Excellency, how earnestly they desire for you a safe and prosperous voyage to that distant spot, together with the perfect recovery of your health, and the long continuance of your valuable life. They trust, it is destined to prove a blessing to a colony, where so much requires to be done in order to establish among all classes the equal enjoyment of social and civil rights. Whatever hostile feelings to such a

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state of things may exist in that community, or pervade the administration of justice, we are assured your Excellency will quickly discover, and firmly discountenance. You have been too steadfast a friend of the negro in Jamaica, to permit us to doubt your unflinching maintenance of the rights of the labouring classes, both African and Asiatic, in Mauritius. Nor will your attention, we are persuaded, be less earnestly directed to the elevation of the peasantry from that state of moral and intellectual degradation, into which they are known to have sunk, even more deeply than the same classes of our fellow-subjects in the West Indies, inasmuch, as access has not been permitted to them for the impartation of religious instruction, whether inculcated by Christian missionaries, or the conductors of schools. Your Excellency well knows how much such instruction has contributed to the best results of freedom in Jamaica, and will undoubtedly use the most strenuous endeavours to open the way for similar efforts in Mauritius, by securing not merely the theoretical, but the practical enjoyment of religious liberty, and defending from illegal and vexatious opposition the willing instruments of Christian benevolence. You have already apprized us that the difficulties are great; but they are not, they cannot be, greater than those which in other places have already in measure been overcome, and the Committee look with high expectation in this instance also, to the results of your long experience and tried firmness of mind. We believe, Sir Lionel, that a noble calling is given you, not only by an earthly sovereign, but by Divine Providence; and we earnestly hope and pray, that the King of kings may inspire you with resolution and with wisdom to perfect one of the most important changes which can ever be accomplished by man for his fellows. Accept, your Excellency, the renewed assurance of our best wishes, and of the sincere pleasure with which we shall receive all accounts of your happiness and success.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

JOHN BEAUMONT,
Chairman.

London, April 13th, 1840.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The state of this island is extremely unsatisfactory. The following is from the *Colonial Reformer*.

"Our columns this day afford the most painful evidence of the bad state of feeling which exists in the country; and taken in connexion with the report of proceedings in Trelawny, as published last week, show the stern necessity for our being up and doing. We cannot, and we will not, remain silent or quiescent, whilst we see the grim visaged demon of tyranny and oppression skulking in the shade, and ever and anon stalking abroad, and clutching his helpless victim in his malignant grasp.

"But let us in the first place awaken Sir Charles Metcalfe from his pleasing, but delusive day-dream of conciliation. We begin seriously to apprehend that his Excellency is deceiving himself with regard to the actual state of the country—that he has been flattered into the belief that all is *right*—that by means of his prudent policy—his cautious forbearance—his diplomatic tact—together with the frankness, urbanity, and courtesy of his demeanour towards all classes, he has finally succeeded in quenching the flames of factious discord, and restoring harmony and good feeling throughout the country! If such be the impression on Sir Charles Metcalfe's mind, it becomes our duty to remove the veil from his eyes, and show him the dangerous position into which he is likely to be thrown. We would tell him that there is not the slightest amendment in the state of public feeling since he arrived—that the *apparent calm* which has prevailed for several months back has resulted from local causes, in no way connected with his administration. We would assure him that there is the same disposition to resist or defeat the generous policy of the mother country—the same determination to oppress and ill-treat the lately enfranchised population, and the same anxious desire to deprive the labourers of the feeble protection which has hitherto been afforded them.

"The pro-slavery spirit, we say, is as rampant as ever—all the difference is in the means employed to accomplish its ends. Instead of thirty-nine lashes, and the chain, and the stocks, and all the other emblems of pure despotism, we have now, as the means of coercion and oppression, the infliction of enormous rents, fixed at the arbitrary will of the tyrant landlord or his unprincipled agent—doubled at his caprice, and sanctioned and enforced by the adjudication of a corrupt local magistracy! Superadded to these, we have summary ejectments without law or authority—wanton destruction of the labourers produce, and divers other means of exasperating the people, and driving them into the commission of retaliative outrage. Then again we have them exposed to the operation of a variety of atrocious laws, to which Sir Charles has unfortunately given his solemn sanction, and which, bad as they are in principle, are rendered infinitely worse in practice, by the wilful perversion and misconstruction of many of their provisions. The *Petty Debt Act* and the *Tenements Bill* are, we learn, already becoming fearful instruments of oppression in various parts of the country—and when the *Vagrant Act*, the *Police Bill*, the *Registration of Fire Arms*—the *Fisheries Bill*—and the *Pound Law*, together with many others passed, and to be passed, come into full operation, we may find our rural peasantry so hemmed in and surrounded by highly penal and restrictive laws, that it will be scarcely possible for them to move to the right or to the left, without risk of infringing some or other of the enactments. This indeed seems to have been the object of the framers of these laws, for the honest purpose of keeping the people in a state of abject dependence on the caprice of their respective employers.

"In the mean time, the dominant party are throwing dust in the eyes of the executive in order the more effectually to entangle him in the meshes of their net. They are literally stifling *him* with the empoisoned breath of their flattery, and from all we can see and hear, we begin to entertain serious apprehensions that his Excellency may become so involved in the labyrinth, that he will find it extremely difficult to extricate himself, and recover his free agency. Hence it is that we desire to arouse his Excellency's attention to the present posture of affairs. A crisis is rapidly approaching which it will require all his energy and firmness to encounter—he will be constrained to abandon his present specious but unsound scheme of conciliation, and with an unsparing and uncompromising hand to arrest the frightful evils which now threaten the peace of the community. He will find, on the one hand, that the gentry of the country, encouraged by the concessions already made, and the impunity with which they have been allowed to practice their impositions and petty oppressions, are now beginning to assume a bolder front, and openly to trample on the rights and liberties of the people; and on the other hand, he will find that a singularly patient and forbearing peasantry, goaded to desperation by the lawless aggressions committed upon them, are beginning to yield to the influence of revengeful passions, in a manner calculated to excite the most painful feelings of anxiety and alarm.

"Every succeeding post brings us intelligence still more gloomy than that of the preceding. Who that has the interests and welfare of the country at heart can read the details of oppression and injustice contained in our columns of this day, and those inserted in our paper of Saturday last, without trembling for the continuance of peace in the country? We learn from the Falmouth Post, that the trash-house on *Gales Valley Estate*, and a cane piece on Little Montpellier, in St. James', have been burnt down, and a gentleman who passed through Falmouth on Monday, had reported that "Haddington" and "Bamboo" were on fire when he left. These alarming events are said *not* to have originated in accident, but to have been the deliberate acts of incendiaries—resulting from bad feeling between employers and labourers on the subject of rents. Fain would we persuade ourselves that such is not the case, but we must confess, the conviction presses upon our mind with irresistible force, that the fires in question occurring under such circumstances, can scarcely be viewed in any other light.

The language of the *Baptist Herald* is still more strong. The following is an extract: "Towards the representative of her Majesty, Sir Charles Metcalfe, we feel the highest respect; but we assure him, that unless the insidious laws of the last session are *repealed*, the friends of liberty will have reason to mourn that ever he assumed the government of the island. That he will use all his influence to protect the deeply-injured peasantry, whenever his eyes are opened to their real condition, we most firmly believe; and if we have formed a correct opinion of his character, he will, like former governors, regret that he attempted the delusive path of conciliating the inveterate passions of men whose avowed aim is, if possible, to crush the liberty of man. And then what can he do, without sharing the fate of his noble predecessor? The moment he becomes the succourer of the oppressed, that moment every base and grovelling means will be used for his recall, and like every upright governor who has sacrificed his comfort to his duty, he will retire in disgust.

"None can regret more than we do any outbreaks of the law: this in every case is deeply to be deplored, and emphatically to be denounced; but who *set the example!!* We answer fearlessly, the members of assembly, and the magistrates of the land. Who taught the negro to destroy property? Why the Barretts, the Smiths, the Seniors, the Raffingtons, and the Millers, magistrates of the land, some of whom are still holding that office; and should the homeless, houseless, wretched labourer, whose all is wantonly destroyed, sometimes take revenge, who can wonder? We implore them, however, never to think of thus acting; and hitherto there is no *proof* that they have thus acted—no proof accompanying the alarm that is sounded. It is more than possible that some white being perpetrated the outrages. As the advocates, the determined advocates of the people, we have much more right, and reason too, to charge it upon the masters, than *they* have upon the peasantry; and why? Why, just because they have been found guilty in courts of law (and ought to have been in many more instances) of breaking the law by the open destruction of property, and because the peasantry have *not* been found guilty of similar acts of violence.

THE MALTESE IMMIGRANTS. [*From the Colonial Reformer.*]

We do not scruple to confess that we regard with feelings of the liveliest compassion every fresh importation of immigrants to the shores of this inhospitable country. We cannot forbear, when we hear of arrivals of these deluded persons, from exclaiming—Where are the Germans? Where are the Irish? Who considers,—*where*? A climate unfavourable—a description of labour unsuited—a diet unknown to Europeans—the fatal facility with which a pernicious beverage can be procured—neglect, ill-treatment, and hearts broken with the disappointment of the golden visions they were led to form of this *El Dorado* have swept them off, almost to a man; and such will infallibly be the melancholy lot of all future immigrations of prædial labourers in mass, until the British government interfere and take the whole control and responsibility of the undertaking on itself, and appoint its own officers for the protection of these confiding strangers. We could relate tales of the distress and misery encountered by the Germans that would make the hardest heart bleed. How many of these sold their little all at home, where, in a congenial climate, they earned by the exercise of a calling to which they were brought up, competent, if not superfluous means of existence, only to perish in this island by working under a tropical sun, at a species of labour totally new to them, and to which they could not accustom themselves!

It is with these feelings that we deplore the late arrival at Montego-Bay of 150 Maltese.—The melancholy fate of their countrymen in Trinidad fills us with the keenest apprehension on their account. As regards the Maltese, we anticipate the greatest inconvenience from the use of a diet so entirely different from that to which they are accustomed. They are a proverbially sober people, and would almost as soon drink poison as rum but a due proportion of light wine, their ordinary beverage, *is* said to be essential to the preservation of their health. It is proper also, that the importer of these strangers should be informed, that the ground provisions of these islands are not a suitable and wholesome description of food for them. In their own country they will not even eat the English potato. IF NOT FED ON BREAD THEY WILL DIE. Sir Edward Cust may write as he pleases about *voluntary* immigration, he knows nothing of the matter. Immigrants, whether from Africa, or India, or Europe—call them as you please, apprentices, or indented servants—cannot be free agents, but must virtually be placed in a condition little differing from that of slavery, before the planter can derive a profitable return from their labour.

THE WAGES SYSTEM.—Some important particulars on this subject are communicated in the following extract of a letter from Jamaica dated St. Thomas in the Vale, 10th January, 1840.—"Conceiving that the following facts may serve the cause of liberty, I send them to you. Edward

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Queenborough Lewis, one of the lately emancipated peasantry, earned a short time ago 10s. currency, or 6s. sterling, per day, by digging cane-holes on Swansea estate, in the parish of St. John. In the days of slavery, the apportioned work of a labourer was sixty, eighty, or one hundred cane-holes per day, according to the soil; here we have an instance of two hundred being dug in a state of freedom. The reason is, however, obvious. Reward is a more powerful stimulant than the cart-whip. After working on Swansea estate, Edward and many others were employed on Water-Mount estate in the same parish, on the same work. Some earned 10s., some 6s. 8d., and others 5s. 10d. per day. The overseer paid them well the first two weeks, but afterwards disputed their charge; and, on one Saturday, presented £6. to be distributed among forty people, to whom he was indebted more than £100. They refused to receive the £6., and applied to me for advice. I made out a few of their accounts, and directed them to warrant the overseer if he refused to pay. I have not yet heard of the result of the affair. Cases of this sort are very common in Jamaica, and are one of the evils which demand immediate redress, and should have occupied the attention of the legislature during the past session, instead of squatting and vagrant bills. It is my opinion that half the ill-feelings between the labouring population and overseers and attornies, arise from the detention of their hard-earned money. A law by which the labourer may compel the payment of wages, &c. above £10., instead of by action in the grand court, is essentially necessary at the present time, and should engage the attention of the friends of liberty in the mother-country. My son told me, that, in conversation with a gentleman a short time since, he was informed that many labourers on estates in the parish of St. Mary, were owed £30. and £40. by the proprietors; but, from the want of means to institute actions in the grand court, could not obtain payment. The gentleman just alluded to mentioned a case, in which a labourer engaged with an overseer to build a lime-kiln for £40. currency. The contract was performed, but the overseer refused to pay, though two respectable persons testified as to the proper performance of the work. But, if the labourers even possessed the means of instituting actions, they would in the end gain little, or, perhaps, loose a great deal, in consequence of the delay connected with the proceedings. By the 5 Will. IV. chap. 2, the master can, by a very summary process, deprive the labourer of his earnings to the amount of £100, for breach of contract; but if the labourer would obtain his hard-earned salary, he must, if it be above £10. spend £20 in a law-suit, and in all probability have to wait a whole year or more for the adjudication of his claim. Often the labourers are beaten in the most shameful manner, when they apply for the payment of their accounts. A young man named Needham was thus treated by a Mrs. Sanquinetti, a few months ago. Needham complained to the justices at Rodney-hall, in this parish, but his case has never been adjudicated. James Brown, a labourer on Rose-hall estate, in this parish, informed me a few days ago that Mr. Sutherland, the overseer, owed him 3s. 4d. for two day's labour; that he sent his daughter for the amount, but Mr. S. refused to pay, saying he did not owe him anything. Brown then applied himself to Mr. S. for payment, a dispute ensued, when Sutherland kicked, thumped and beat Brown with a stick. Brown complained to Mr. Special Justice Jackson, who directed Sutherland to attend the court in two week's time, and answer to the charge. When the case came on for hearing, Mr. Justice Jackson was absent, but another magistrate (whose name Brown does not know) presided, who, in the face of the clearest evidence in proof of Sutherland's guilt, dismissed the complaint, saying, that if Brown had not provoked Mr. Sutherland, he would not have struck him; and that if Sutherland, instead of striking Brown, had complained to the magistrates, he should have been sent to the house of correction. What an illustration of Jamaica justice!"

BARBADOS.—This island is again in a disturbed state. The reason why, is explained in the following extract of a letter from Mr. Prescod to Mr. Sturge, dated Dominica, February 13th, 1840.

"I hinted in my last of the 11th, that Barbados is again thrown into confusion by the oppressive contract law of Sir Evan and the planters. The labourers are not in a condition to render any contract law a prudent or advisable measure however equitable in theory, it will be perverted to their detriment in practice. They are too much at the power, the savage will of the master, to have any option in the matter, if he wishes for a contract. The law may profess to provide only for voluntary contracts, but the poor wretches are not in a condition to maintain a will of their own in opposition to the will of the planter, who coerces them with the terrible power of ejectment at a moment's warning.

"I foresaw the evil about to be brought upon the country, already groaning under the effects of severe drought, and pointed it out, and forewarned the country against it, in reviewing, in the *Liberal* of the 27th of November, the governor's silly recommendation of a contract law in his speech to the legislature on the preceding day. He and his friends, I suppose, are now convinced of their folly. I have written to Barbados for particular information on this subject, and shall forward it to you by the first opportunity after I have got it. For heaven's sake, bear in mind and impress it on the minds of our friends, that, in framing laws to benefit the colonies, the peculiar condition of the people must be considered and provided for. They are yet in a sort of civil bondage on estates, especially in Barbados, with only the privilege to some trifling extent of changing masters. This may be a capital state of things for the planter, at least, in his opinion, but it is not the best possible for the labourers; and therefore the law should aim to provide checks to the improper exercise of the master's power, not to strengthen and encourage it. Give the labourer his cottage at a fair rent, allow him to dispose of his labour as he pleases, just as the planter disposes of his sugar, and then, if you like, let us have an equitable law to regulate contracts voluntarily entered into (for they will only then be voluntarily entered into,) by both the contracting parties. At present the planter proposes the contract, and the labourer must either agree to it on the planter's terms, or be thrown into the highway with his wife and children and household goods. Where exists the voluntary principle in this?"

To Mr. Prescod's statement, may be added the following extract from the letter of a correspondent in the *Barbados Liberal*. "The good results of the Contract Act may be seen by its promoters and friends, on visiting the highways leading to very many plantations, where those who have refused to enter into contract with their employers have been turned, beg and beggar."

DOMINICA.—[From the *Dominican*.] It affords us much gratification to record that amongst the numerous good actions of that philanthropic minister of the gospel, the Rev. Joseph John Gurney, during his short stay in this island he did not fail to visit our prisons, from which he procured the release of a man named Titus Garraway, by paying the sum of £12. 0s. 3d. currency, being the amount of court and jail fees incurred by him upon being convicted about three months ago, at the grand sessions of the peace, of assaulting a police officer, and fined 20s. currency. The case of this unfortunate person, along with that of others similarly situated, had been, with Governor MacPhail's known humanity, lately submitted by his Excellency to the consideration of the council and assembly. Titus, we think, will long remember the providential arrival here of friend Gurney.

ST. LUCIA.—[Extract of a letter from Mr. Prescod, of Barbados, to Mr. Sturge, dated Castries, February 11, 1840.]

The island seems distracted with party quarrels, but, generally, I learn that the labouring population are doing well, and things proceeding much better than the anti-freedom party would have us believe. His Excellency Colonel Everard, administering the government, assured me yesterday in conversation, that he did not see that the planters had the smallest ground of complaint because of emancipation. I have heard the same from other credible quarters, and, in one or two instances, from planters themselves. The rent system has been adopted here by Mr. Todd, of the Union estate, with complete success.

TRINIDAD.—(Extract of a letter from Mr. Prescod, of Barbados, to Mr. Sturge, dated St. Lucia, February 11, 1840.)

In the Naparima district, which I visited, in company with our friend Dickinson, and an intelligent young friend from Port of Spain, I had opportunities of conversing with several respectable proprietors on their estates. I thought it best to confine my inquiries, both there, and with planters elsewhere in the island, to the two following points:—The general conduct of the labourer since emancipation; and the effects of emancipation on the value of property and the interests generally of the planter. On both these points the information obtained, from planters themselves be it remembered, was most satisfactory, and afforded me high gratification. Everywhere was I told, by every planter with whom I conversed that, with here and there an individual exception, the labourers were conducting themselves with propriety, and were working well;—not doing all the work that the planter in many cases desired, but quite as much as during slavery and the apprenticeship—in many instances *more*. The few exceptions to good conduct were on all hands attributed to want of education, which is most deplorably neglected. On this head I shall have to write more fully in a subsequent letter; and shall merely observe here, that one of the greatest benefits that Britain can just now confer upon her colonies in the West Indies, is a good system of education on *liberal* principles. The thing miscalled education, now in operation, is the meanest and most insignificant imaginable. A better and general system is absolutely necessary to the development of the best features of emancipation.

As regards the effects of emancipation on the interests of the planters,—strange and inconsistent as it must appear, when considered in connexion with their public apprehensions of ruin,—I spoke not with a single planter in Trinidad, but he assured me that *his* estate, or the estate under his charge, (as the case might be,) is more valuable now than ever it was; and many respectable planters affirmed the same of property generally, and furnished cases in point. I found, on their statements, that the estimated increase of value rises from ten to twenty per cent. Mr. Alexander Fraser, joint proprietor of the Wellington estate, which he manages, in South Naparima, informed me, that late in 1837 that estate sold, at a fair valuation, for 40,000 dollars; early last year his partner and himself bought it for 50,000 dollars; and *now*, were it brought into market, he should expect, and would get 60,000 dollars for it. Dr. Philip, member of council, and a wealthy and highly respectable and intelligent planter of the same district, told me his estate is worth 10,000 dollars, about 20 per cent., more now than previously to emancipation. In short, the planters one and all agree that emancipation has done them a good instead of an evil. It is far better, they say, to work their estates by free labour than by slave-labour, even where they contend that the latter is the cheaper of the two. A few, however, maintain that it is not cheaper to work by slave-labour than by free. I had no means of deciding between these conflicting opinions. Their existence, however, proves that the question is not already decided (as alarmists here and in Britain would have us believe) unfavourably to emancipation.

Those planters who maintain that free-labour is not as cheap as slave-labour, account for the increased value of property consequent on emancipation from the increased security given to property, and because free-labour is more equable in its working, and affords the advantage of calculating before hand the probable return which the invested capital will give. In the opinion of these, then, it amounts to this,—that the profit to the proprietor from cultivation by free-labour, is not so great as by slave-labour, but it is *certain* and more secure. The difference of cost, even in the opinion of these, is by no means so great as would induce a sensible man, with an eye to his worldly interests, to prefer slave-labour to free. I met not a planter in Trinidad who did not give a decided preference to the latter.

The wages on sugar estates in Naparima, are good, but not so much as the planter could afford to give, or as the labourer, from the productive value of his labour, would be justified in demanding. The money rate is about 2s. sterling, with certain allowances (for this vicious system is universal in the colony,) and lodging, equivalent to about 1s. 6d. more per day. I could not learn that the rent system had been introduced, even by way of experiment, on a single estate in the island; yet, there can be little doubt on minds not completely swayed by old habits, that it would work beneficially for proprietor and labourer. The latter, indeed, cannot improve morally without it. I used my best arguments to induce one or two liberal proprietors to give it a fair trial, but without success. I have, however, some hope, that Dr. Philip will bring his powerful mind and liberal principles to bear on the subject; and, if he do, the advantages to result to proprietor and labourer cannot escape him, and his example would soon be followed by others, when they shall have perceived the good effects. You are, no doubt aware, that the Dr. Philip, of whom I here speak, is a coloured gentleman, and brother to that Dr. Philip who, some years ago, exposed the

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murderous policy of the Trinidad government under Woodford, in a work entitled, "The Free Mulatto." The present doctor wants *only* his brother's energy of character, to emancipate his class from the vile thraldom in which they are yet held by the handful of whites—chiefly merchant clerks, and other adventurers of the same grade, from Liverpool and Glasgow, who have picked up affluence and respectability on this side the atlantic. With such a man as Dr. St. Luce Philip at their head, the struggle of the coloured classes—the *people* of the colony, for their proper political stand would be short-lived, and their victory complete.

I have said that, great as appear the wages now given by the planter of Naparima, I learnt that they are not the same as in other parts of the island; they are not so much as he could afford, and the labourer would be justified in demanding. Those whom you have seen descanting so lugubriously on the high rate of wages paid in this, and some other colonies similarly circumstanced, do not tell, and it is charity to hope that they do not know or have forgotten, the productiveness of the labour so purchased. Considered in connexion with this, the 3s. 6d. or 4s. sterling of the Trinidad planter has no greater effect on his profits, than the 1s. of his Barbados competitor in the sugar market. One labourer in Trinidad can, from the difference of soil, do the work of five in Barbados, and the first outlay for land and buildings in the one is less than half what it is in the other. By an estimate furnished us by Dr. Philip, I find, that, with judicious management, and at the present rate of wages, a clear profit of 25 per cent. may be obtained on capital invested in sugar production in Naparima, when the price of sugar is 60s. in the British market; and it must be observed, that the doctor's estimate of the first outlay for land, buildings, and stock, greatly exceeded estimates which I had seen from other sources.

The chief, almost the only, complaint of the Trinidad planter is, the deficiency of labour, and this the more avaricious and inconsiderate, without much reason, charge to the indolence of the liberated negros, and uncandidly endeavour, by their clamours, to make out a case against emancipation, merely in the hope that they will be pitied and assisted by government in some of their favourite schemes of forced immigration. I say, without much reason they complain of their labourers; for, although it is not possible that several instances of downright indolence should not exist in a labouring population of over 20,000 of both sexes and all ages, I find on examination, that the planter makes *his* wants and *his* interests, not the wants and abilities of the labourer, the criterion by which, to rate the industry of the latter. There is quite as much labour given by the liberated negros now for wages, as was wrung out of them by the cart-whip in slavery, and by imprisonment during the apprenticeship. I go further, and say that the planter now generally gets more labour. The crop of last year, in spite of gloomy forebodings and confident predictions (vide the newspapers of that date,) of a deficiency of 5000 hogsheads, has exceeded the crop of the preceding year by two or three hundred hogsheads, which, for want of vessels to ship, are turned over to this year's exports. The present crop, I am told, with a good season, will at least equal in amount the last.

What then do the Trinidad planters mean, by "deficiency of labour," "impending ruin," and the like? *They are gloating over the rich virgin lands around them, and longing to turn them to profit.* They wish *to extend* their cultivation. Emancipation has inspired them with hopes, which the wildest imagination might not have entertained in slavery. They see wealth at their feet, and want only hands to gather it up. This is the whole secret of their lamentations about "deficient labour," and their clamour for "immigration on a large scale." They mean, not that the land at present in cultivation will be thrown out for want of labour, or that it will only be cultivated at an expense which, will not leave them a fair profit on their capital. Neither of these. They mean, that other land, now lying waste before them cannot to the extent they desire, be taken into cultivation, without producing among the proprietors, such a competition for labour as would reduce their profits nearer to a level with the profits arising from capital employed in other business. This, I hesitate not to say, is the ruin so clamorously apprehended by the Trinidad planter, and those who find it their interest to hold with him, and support his views. Their insincerity is likely, they now begin to see, to do their injury. By declaring, as they have done, that, without an immediate augmentation of labour by immigration, they cannot supply the full quantity of sugar, not more than half the quantity, at furthest, required for British consumption, they tempt the government to remove the restrictions on foreign sugar to make up the deficiency. To suppose, that the British people will go without sugar, or buy it 30 or 40 per cent. dearer than at present for their sake, is in keeping with the known character of the West India planter. Nor must you be surprised at the folly which could overlook this simple consequence of their bad policy to obtain additional labour. They seldom see a consequence beyond the limits of their boiling-house.

UNITED STATES.

TWO DELEGATES have been appointed by the free-coloured population of Baltimore and Maryland to proceed to British Guiana, to ascertain whether it possesses such advantages as to justify the free-coloured population migrating thither; and the board of the Immigration Society have authorized these delegates to proceed to British Guiana and Trinidad, for the purposes they contemplate.

FRANCE.

The Society for the Abolition of Slavery, held a meeting yesterday, M. H. Passy, in the chair. A short report was read on the condition of the Mauritius; and several communications were made as to the state of various French and English colonies. A conversation ensued concerning the intentions of the present cabinet upon the slavery question, and it was mentioned that government would institute a special committee to draw up a bill, which should be ready for presentation next session. The slavery committee of the chamber of deputies held a sitting the day before yesterday, and heard the evidence of M. Jules Lechevalier.—*Galignani.*

IN BRITISH GUIANA there have been established in the rural districts since the 1st of August, 1838, 74 new stores for the sale of dry goods, &c., and 267 free settlers' cottages, almost exclusively from the emancipated class.—*Parl. paper.*

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

COMMITTEE.

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	£.	s.	d.
Amount already advertised	1454	18	0
Friends at Llanelly, Brecknockshire	1	10	0
Rev. Dr. Hoby, Birmingham	1	1	0
Rev. S. Lillycrop, Dover	0	10	6
Burwood Godlee, Esq., Lewes	2	0	0
John Rickman, Esq. Lewes	1	0	0
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James Edwards, Esq., ditto	0	10	0
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Sir Thomas Blomfield, Bart. ditto	0	10	0
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Subscriptions will be received at the following places:—
Samuel Gurney, Esq., Treasurer, Lombard-street.
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Messrs. Drewett and Fowler, Bankers, Princes-street, City.
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Baptist Missionary Society's Office, Fen-court, Fenchurch-street.
J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, or by any of the Members of the Committee.

HENRY STERRY, Sec.

27, *New Broad Street.*

THE BARBADOS EMIGRATION Act has been disallowed; the government asserting "the propriety of leaving the labourers absolutely free to take their labour to the best market."

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 9.] WEDNESDAY, MAY 6TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

REPORT PRESENTED AT THE PUBLIC MEETING, APRIL 16TH, 1840.

A CONSIDERABLE period has elapsed since the members of the Liverpool Anti-slavery Society were convened. During that interval, the committee, to whom the management of its affairs has been consigned, have not been inactive spectators of the iniquities still perpetrated in the systems of slavery and the slave-trade; nor have they been backward in upholding those efforts which have been contemplated for their extinction.

Since the last meeting of this society, the friends of humanity and truth have been called to mourn the loss of an advocate who had ever stood nobly forth to their guidance and their aid. Closing a life of usefulness and honour in the enjoyment of the consolations of Christ, the esteemed James Cropper entered his rest on the 26th of February last. The interment of his mortal remains took place in the ground attached to the Friends' meeting-house, on Tuesday the 3rd of March, when the greater part of the committee joined the funeral procession, immediately after his sorrowing relatives. When they next met, (on the 26th of March,) they unanimously resolved:—

"That this committee, bowing with humble submission to that afflictive dispensation of Divine providence, which has removed from his labours their esteemed president, James Cropper, Esq. desire to express their deep sympathy with his bereaved family; to testify their grateful sense of the services rendered by him, in various ways, to the cause of justice, humanity, and religion; but especially (as one of the earliest movers in the anti-slavery enterprise) in defence of the rights of the negro; and to record their veneration for the memory of so excellent a man—so distinguished a philanthropist—so devoted a christian."

To occupy the post thus vacated, the committee at once elected John Cropper, Esq., junior, their president; associating with him, as vice-president, Thomas Blackburn, Esq.

Since the public meeting of the inhabitants of this borough, convened in pursuance of the requisition of a large number of the friends of this society by the worshipful the Mayor, William Rathbone, Esq., on the 20th of April, 1838, the most momentous events have transpired in connexion with the advance of the liberties of the coloured race.

While the government and the legislature of this country were hovering over the provisions of the unsatisfactory bill introduced by the Right Honorable Sir George Grey, for the purpose of modifying the system of apprenticeship, the colonial assemblies and councils were seriously considering the necessity of prompt and final emancipation. In the months of May and June acts were passed to that effect; whereby in Barbados the apprenticed population were liberated on the 26th of June: in the other West India colonies on the 1st of August: and, at the Cape of Good Hope on the 1st of December. The unrelenting Mauritians refused to come to that determination, and it required a royal ordinance to secure this consummation, which took effect on the 31st of March following.

This blessed work was accomplished by the powerful moral influence of British Anti-slavery bodies on the minds of the West Indian legislators; bringing them to the speedy concession of what was openly denied in the high places of this land. Contemplating these results, realized in a manner so unexpected, the servants of Jehovah have reverently adored his sovereign interposition—bowing their heads, and worshipping at his feet, they have ascribed unto him the glory due unto his name. "What hath GOD wrought!"

When the eventful day of release arrived, it was spent by the freedmen in no uproar, or dissipation, or violence; but as a day of solemn religious festival, "holy unto the Lord:" and by their advocates at home, as a day of sacred triumph. In this town a public dinner was given on the occasion; when William Rathbone, the mayor, presided, attended by members of the council, ministers of religion, representatives of other kindred institutions, and by a numerous assemblage of the members of this society.

The continued endeavours to oppress and injure the emancipated, soon demonstrated the necessity of renewed efforts to preserve and consolidate their rights—and to extend those rights to all their sable kindred throughout the earth. Accordingly on the 17th and 18th of April, 1839, "The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society" was formed in London, and thus declared its constitution and plan:

"That the objects of this Society be the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves.

"That the following be the fundamental principles of the Society:

"That so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings:—

"That the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means that are of a moral, religious, and pacific character: and,

"That no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

"That the following be among the means to be employed by this society:—

"To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the slave-trade and slavery; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of slave holding countries, not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British colonies, and elsewhere; to open a correspondence with abolitionists in France, America, and other countries; and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects, by all methods consistent with the principles of this society.

"To recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

"To obtain the universal recognition of the principle, that the slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British dominions shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom, and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

"To recommend, that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing in our intercourse with slave-holders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the christian religion."

The triumph which the British people were honoured with consummating,—and the re-formation of the anti-slavery body for these purposes, has reflected its influence over European and American countries; and, while it has quickened the energies and cheered the hearts of the friends of freedom, it has no less excited the jealousy and the animosity of the guilty oppressors.

In a tour on the continent, George William Alexander, Esq., the indefatigable treasurer of the central society, availed himself of every opportunity of vindicating and enforcing the rights of the African. A deputation, in which Messrs. Scoble and Whitehorne were associated with him, visited the French Anti-slavery society, whose committee includes some of the most distinguished statesmen in that land, and submitted to them the results of the change in the British plantations. Messrs. Alexander and Whitehorne further proceeded on the same errand to Holland.

These results have also been brought under the notice of the American citizens by John Scoble, Esq., and by Sir Lionel Smith, the late governor of Jamaica, whose dignified, independent, and righteous conduct of the government of that island entitles him to the most grateful acknowledgments of the negros and their friends. These testimonies have tended to the great encouragement and invigoration of the persecuted but faithful trans-atlantic abolitionists.

The British public have long been in possession of the interesting facts which a full investigation of the present state of affairs has brought to light, and which justify the allegations against the inexpediency of the apprenticeship, while they place the propriety of immediate emancipation beyond doubt.

The most impartial and authentic accounts prove, that where the liberated have been equitably and humanely treated, they have (with very few exceptions) been willing and faithful in the service of their employers; and that where a contrary disposition has been manifested, it may be traced to the necessary resistance of attempted oppression, in the demand of exorbitant rent for their dwellings, or the offer of inadequate wages for their work; and in some instances to the annoying operation of both these causes.

When it is remembered that these contests have not been few—that men could not be constrained to toil beyond their inclination and strength—that women and children could no longer be driven, willing or unwilling, to the field—that in certain cases, seasons have been unpropitious, it is matter of surprise that the product has been so good as it is shewn to be.

Notwithstanding all the alarms of the most complaining community, it is satisfactory to know that the alleged depreciation of pro-

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perty in British Guiana is the reverse of the fact; as appears from the despatch of Governor Light to the Marquis of Normanby.

"Governor's Residence, 26 June, 1839.

"My Lord,—A perusal of the valuation of the under-mentioned estates since the 1st of August, will convince your lordship and her Majesty's government that emancipation has not diminished the prices of property, the best proof of the confidence in the steady prospects of the colony.

"Plantation Zelandia, on Walkenhaam, Essequibo; £42,000 was offered to the proprietor residing on the spot, was accepted; but the day following the proprietor begged to be permitted to recall his assent: 1839.

"Plantation Allness, Berbice, sold in 1839, for £28,000, its full value, undiminished by the emancipation of the labourers.

"Plantation Thomas, Demerara, sold seven or eight years ago for £9000; purchased since the emancipation for £20,000.

"Plantation Vrow Anna, Leguan island, Essequibo, sold in 1839, for £35,000, its full value, undiminished by the emancipation.

"Plantation, Aberdeen, Essequibo, sold for £20,000 in 1839, a larger price than was paid for it eight or nine years ago by the seller.

"Plantation Friendship, Demerara, cotton and plantains, sold in 1839, for a greater price than paid for it in 1833 or 1834.

"Plantation Windsor Forest, Demerara, for £42,000, the full value undiminished by emancipation.

"Plantation Profit, Demerara, sold for its full value undiminished by emancipation,

I have, &c.,

(signed) HENRY LIGHT."

(Vide Parliamentary Papers, part 1, 5, 523, 1839, page 317.)

If proof be required of the good disposition of the coloured people, it will be found in the government reports of the diminution of crime, and of the willingness to labour on fair terms. It is also evinced by the following interesting transaction:—Among the purchases that they have made of property is the estate called North Brook, in British Guiana. Sixty-three persons having bought this property, petitioned Governor Light to use his influence in obtaining permission to call it "Victoria." The estate comprehends 500 acres, and was jointly purchased by them for 10,000 dollars. They express their "firm determination, as a body, to continue to labour daily, as now, upon the several plantations where they are employed;" and their intention of erecting, in addition to their own cottages, "a school-house and church." They further request "the assistance of the crown land surveyor to measure out equal portions of the land, to prevent anything like the possibility of dispute."

"We would fain hand down to posterity (they remark in their petition to the governor) some token of our gratitude, and some memento of the emancipation which we have witnessed, partaken of, and enjoyed; and we conceive that we cannot do so more effectually, (certainly not more agreeably to our feelings,) than by being allowed to name our plantation after our good and gracious queen 'Victoria!' We, therefore humbly and earnestly pray that your Excellency will be pleased to represent our wishes to her Majesty, in such maner as your Excellency may deem most likely to propitiate her Majesty and obtain her royal consent."

Such is the true character and conduct of the men who were trampled down as an inferior race; who were declared to be alike ignorant of the uses of freedom and of the rights of property; and of whom it was falsely predicted, that their first free acts would be recorded on the page of rebellion, desolation, and massacre.

Before the glorious change was commenced, no small clamour was raised for additional labourers; and various schemes of immigration were proposed. To these the most anxious and vigilant attention has been directed, and must be continued.

Concerning the condition of the Hill Coolies in British Guiana, the fears that were entertained have been too fully realized. The fraudulent promises, or violent kidnapping, by which they were procured in India; the rigour and the suffering which they had to endure through the middle passage; the severe exactions; the cruel punishments; the disease and mortality that have befallen them in the house of bondage, furnish a narrative which, with all its memorials of atrocity, has been already before the tribunal of public opinion, and which has passed uncontroverted under the close scrutiny of colonial investigation.

It is certain that to 385 males, landed in Demerara, there were only twenty-two females, (seven of whom were believed to be under eleven years of age,) and it is no less certain, that the enterprising speculator deliberately calculated that the proportion of one woman to nine or ten men was enough. In little more than eight months, out of 419 thirty-eight died, and seventy were generally on the sick list, exhibiting the most loathsome spectacles, resulting either from inhuman punishment, physical neglect, or protracted labour to which they were incompetent.

Such was the result of official inquiry, that the late colonial secretary, the Marquis of Normanby, in a despatch of the 15th of August, 1839, declared, "that more than enough had already passed to render her Majesty's government decidedly hostile to every such project, and that the laws now in force in different presidencies would effectually prevent its execution."

Although these details have been furnished with the utmost clearness and minuteness, an attempt has been made to re-open the traffic with the Mauritius. That colony, by its daring defiance of British law, by its perverse hostility to every measure of justice and mercy, has proved itself the most unworthy to be trusted with the working-out of such an expedient, and yet it is the first to claim the attention of the British government and legislature.

During the former traffic it appears, that from the 1st of August, 1834, to the 25th of August, 1838, there were received into the island from Calcutta, Cochin, Pondicherry, and Rajah-mundy, 18,794 men, 205 women, 51 children, in all 19,050 persons. On the showing of the planters themselves, it is manifest that a much larger number was obtained, some of them estimating it about 30,000, others 45,000.

In consequence of the excitement produced by the exposure of this nefarious system, its further prosecution was suspended. The despatches of the governor-general of India, in which he notified his prohibition, crossed those which were conveying to him orders to that effect.

Removed from this means of gratifying their cupidity, the Mauritians induced the Governor to seek the renewal of the importation, under the authority of her Majesty's ministers; meanwhile, they obtained from him permission to introduce labourers from Madagascar. The Asiatic Journal for January last furnished the information, that "Sir William Nicolay had strongly recommended to her Majesty's ministers to allow the importation of Coolies into the Mauritius: and pending their decision, had allowed free labourers to be introduced from Madagascar, where every labourer is the slave of some chief." In this manner they might hereafter do under licence, what heretofore they had done clandestinely.

In the face of these facts, however, the present secretary for the colonies, Lord John Russell, has proposed to withdraw the restrictions on the Coolie trade, as regards that colony. This was first attempted by a mere intimation of his purpose, without troubling the house further in the matter; but subsequently, by seeking its tacit sanction while extending the "Colonial Passengers' Bill" to the island of Mauritius.

Convinced that whatever care may be exercised in preparing the contracts for the emigrants, deception and compulsion in their deportation will not be prevented; that whatever theoretic prescriptions may regulate the middle passage, its miseries will still actually continue; that whatever protective ordinances may be issued to the island of their doom, real and substantial justice will never be obtained; the committee of the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society entrusted to the hands of Thomas Thorneley, Esq., M.P., a petition, signed on their behalf by the president, imploring the House of Commons not to sanction, in the slightest degree, any relaxation of the present restrictions upon the importation of the Hill Coolies from Hindostan.

The further consideration of the subject will be resumed on the 15th of May, and it is incumbent on every lover of equity and religion to give such decided expression of hostility as shall secure its immediate rejection. For if it be allowed, sub silentio, to obtain the countenance of the House, it can never afterwards be refused with good reason to other colonies; and then, while Britain with one hand demolishes the ancient system of African slavery, she will with the other establish in its stead a new form of Asiatic slavery, seeking speedily in deeds of darkness to rival its infamous predecessor.

In the survey of "the dark places of the earth that are full of the habitations of cruelty," the heart of the Christian sickens and bleeds.

The number of slaves in the Dutch possessions is not exactly ascertained. In Surinam alone there are from 50,000 to 60,000, and, as the excess of deaths over births is annually 3 per cent, there must be a constant purchase of two Africans to every one born in the colony to meet the demand.

In Cuba, the greatest rendezvous of pirates and slavers in the world, there were computed by consul Tolmé to be at the very least 360,000 bondsmen, at the close of the year 1838. It is affirmed by an eye-witness, (Dr. Madden) that the system of slavery there exerts a power of iniquity gigantic and appalling, to which there is no parallel. He states, "that British subjects, now that slavery is put down in our colonies, are embarking their means with impunity in slave properties in Cuba, and buying their slaves of necessity in the slave market; for there is no natural increase of the slave population in Cuba, but a terrible decrease by deaths, which at the ordinary mortality on the sugar plantations, would sweep away the race in slavery in ten years; and according to Humboldt's calculation in much less, for he states this mortality to vary from ten to eighteen per cent. per annum." In the trade thus necessitated no small amount of British capital is invested.

As it respects Brazil, it is notorious that the British people are indirectly the abettors of slavery; and that the means employed to rescue the living cargoes of slave vessels have supplied the victims by which that system is upheld. This will appear from the testimony of an accurate observer, who is in correspondence with a member of the committee. Writing from Rio de Janeiro, August 23rd, 1839, he says, "you will be not a little surprised and astonished to hear, that the slave-trade here is supported and carried on mainly by English capital. The Portuguese are generally too poor to fit out a vessel themselves, and they therefore apply to the English, who lend them money at an enormous rate of interest, in the expectation of its being paid out of the immense profits which are realized by a successful expedition. Nor is this the only way in which they are involved in the guilt of upholding and continuing slavery. They do so, by receiving and disposing of goods which are intended for the purpose of being bartered for negros. These articles consist of coarse

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cloths, tools, and articles of Birmingham manufacture, which are received from England, sold to the dealers here, and sent regularly to the coast to be exchanged for human flesh and blood. Until lately there was only one house in Rio which refused to accept consignments of these goods, or to have anything to do with them." Again, from Rio de Janeiro, September 23rd, 1839; "I see there has been a statement in the English papers recently, to the effect that the negros in the slavers captured by our cruisers, and brought into Rio, are not set at liberty on coming here; but are apprenticed for a term of eight years, during which time they are treated in all respects as slaves, and frequently at the end of that time, continue slaves still. I have made inquiries as to this matter, in such quarters as would certainly afford me correct information, and I can confirm the statement fully. The system practiced is this:—the negros are apprenticed to persons who pay £5, and engage to support them in return for their labour for eight years, and to set them free at the end of that period. Of course, a register is kept by our commissioners of the apprentices; but you may easily suppose, that no system can be devised which shall enable them to identify the apprentices after the lapse of years. Well, by and by, before the eight years expire, there comes in a certificate of the death of the apprentice. If the commissioners inquire, they find that a negro has certainly died on the estate from which they receive the certificate; and it is impossible to prove that it was not the apprenticed negro. This is almost invariable. No negro survives his apprenticeship to all appearance. The consul told me that he did not believe one who had been apprenticed, was ever emancipated; and though this seems too sweeping, the answers to my inquiries convince me that it is not very far from the truth. Thus our cruisers really do harm rather than good: for, in the few cases in which it is impossible to practice the fraud I have mentioned, the proprietor, not having sufficient interest in the negro, overworks and underfeeds him, to get all that he can in the time allowed, and in these instances the certificate of death is often too correct.

The most speedy and vigorous measures are demanded for the removal of a means of cruelty and injustice, such as is by this and by other testimony exposed.

The revolted province of Texas, at the instigation of some of the southern states of America, is striving hard for a lofty pre-eminence in slavery and the slave-trade. Having repeatedly failed to obtain, either by negociation or fraud, a hold upon that territory, the slave-holders have sent into it multitudes of men of desperate characters and fortunes, by whom it has been at length wrested from Mexico. By impartial journals in the United States they are denounced as monsters of wickedness. The *Arkansas Advocate*, a southern paper, affirms, "we are very certain that the vicissitudes of fortune have transformed a multitude of cut-throats, desperadoes, outlaws, and criminals, into Texian heroes and statesmen." These truly are fit champions of the abominations of slavery, whose contest with the Mexican republic issued in the declaration of their boasted independency, in consequence of the abolition of the slave-trade in 1824, and of slavery in 1829, by that country; and the recognition of whose independency is now sought from the great empires of the earth. These criminal intentions have been embodied in a form too authoritative to be mistaken. On their statute book it is recorded, that "all persons of colour, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude; provided the said slave shall be the bonâ fide property of the person so holding slaves as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them, and holding them on the same terms by which such slaves were held in the United States; nor shall congress have the power to emancipate slaves; nor shall any slave-holder be allowed to emancipate his or her slaves without the consent of congress, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the republic without the consent of congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negros into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited, and declared to be piracy." With this declaration they cast themselves upon the support and protection of the United States, and gurantee to the republican slave breeders the monopoly of a market, to which they look with greediness as abundantly profitable.

The British government, alive to the impending evil, have righteously and resolutely refused to acknowledge the independence of a state established in injustice, peopled by the infamous, and devoted to slavery.

The severities of American tyranny can scarcely be conceived. The atrocities of the system have in some measure been dragged to light; and ere long the tremendous picture must be fully exhibited.

It is matter of the most deliberate and accurate calculation, that a negro in certain labour will be worn out in a given time, and that a certain amount of profit must be ground out of him. If that profit be greater by prolonged durance, he is so tasked as to lengthen his wretched existence; but, if the profit of a more speedy exhaustion of his energies be the greater, he is quickly hurried to the grave. By his owner he is no more regarded than as an animated piece of machinery. The unrevealed horrors of a system, of which this is the fundamental principle, it is impossible for the most vivid fancy to imagine. "I was told confidentially and from excellent authority," says Dr. Andrew Reed, "that recently, at a meeting of the planters in South Carolina, the question was seriously discussed; whether the slave is more profitable to the owner if well fed, well clothed, and worked lightly, or, if made the most of at once, and exhausted in some eight years. The decision was in favour of the last alternative."—[Vide Reed and Matherson's narrative of a visit to the American churches; 2nd edition, vol. ii. p. 187. 1836.] In this merciless and ungodly work christians are implicated; and by it about 3,000,000 of immortal beings, one-sixth of the entire population of the United States, are plundered of their personal rights, and generations are murdered by calculation and rule. Their value as cattle, or as chattels, was declared unblushingly by Henry Clay, in the senate chamber of congress, to be 1200 millions of dollars.

The progress of the abolition movement cannot be hindered, persecuted and martyred though its advocates may be. For a time they were scorned, till in the years 1833 and 1834 they were brought into a position of prominence. The young men rallied round the standard of freedom; the declaration of independence was their motto, and the commandments of God were their authority. The Oberlin Institute for affording equal education to all classes, abolishing the distinctions of colour, was formed. The people of the south were enraged, and the cities of the north were in commotion. Acts of violence were committed by the populace, and gross outrages even upon christian females were perpetrated by "gentlemen of property and standing." Abolitionist petitions were ordered to lie on the table of the legislature unread; and the excellent John Quincy Adams was there attacked with virulent slander and ridicule. The orthodox clergy who might have been engaged in a more god-like enterprise, determined to take ground in opposition to the abolitionists. The freedom of the press was invaded, and the noble Lovejoy fell a sacrifice in asserting its right, before the rifles of the infuriated mob.

Is there not a God that judgeth in the earth? Still the advance of the herald of liberty continues; every year augments their strength, confirms their resolution, vindicates their integrity, extends their principles, and exalts their hope. Let British christians aid them by their sympathy and their prayers!

The French nation are engaged in the consideration of the rights of the slaves in their own colonies, and their Anti-slavery institutions are becoming more energetic and efficient. It is to be hoped that ere long they will be permitted to rejoice over the liberation of the 250,000 human beings who are still in bondage under their rule.

In the British possessions in India a system of oppression still exists, of no mitigated or ordinary character. It appears from the evidence before parliament, that in Malabar and Canara "the labourer is the personal slave of the proprietor, and is sold or mortgaged by him independently of his lands;" while in Tamul he is "the slave rather of the land than its owner; and is seldom sold or mortgaged, except along with the land to which he is attached." "It does not appear to be accurately settled to whom the child of a slave belongs. The people who keep slaves most likely find it cheaper to buy slaves than to rear them; and the offspring, when left to their parents' charge, who have barely sufficient to support themselves, die of absolute starvation." Mr. Greene, in a report from Malabar, remarks, "the slave in the interior is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature, stinted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, whose state demands that commiseration and melioration which may be confidently expected from the British government." Another authority affirms, that the restrictions imposed "confine the slaves to a condition scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough." The following are the numbers of the slaves in British India, as nearly as can be ascertained from the official papers:—

Canara, Malabar, Coorg, Wynaud, Cochin, and Travancore,	400,000
Tinnevelly	324,000
Triekenopoly	10,000
Arcot, South division	3,000
„ North „	17,000
Southern Concan	2,000
Surat	2,000
Ceylon	27,397
Assam	11,300
Penang	3,000
Total	800,297

The friends of man and the servants of God must not rest until these strong holds of iniquity in British territories be overthrown; until, in every quarter of the British dominions, there be no toleration to the slave-holder, and no fetters for the slave.

So long as this accumulated demand for unrequited and exacted toil continues, will the enormities of the slave trade be perpetuated.

When that abominable traffic was abolished by Great Britain, there were annually victimized by it 72,000 human beings. In spite of treaties and of preventive and protective services, it has progressively increased. On the authority of Lord John Russell it appears that the lowest estimate now exceeds 100,000. Buxton computes it, with every reasonable allowance and deduction, to be, at the present time:

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By professing christian countries	150,000
By Mohammedans	50,000
Total annually . .	200,000

Abundant data are furnished to show that this falls immeasurably short of the full amount of the mischief; and that there are to be added to the numbers landed in the fields of slavery, multitudes who fall a prey to death, in the seizure, march, and detention, in the middle passage, and after landing.

1. There are landed	150,000
2. 25 per cent perish in the passage . . .	37,500
	187,500
3. 100 per cent perish in the seizure, march and detention, before embarkation . . .	187,500
Annual sacrifice . .	375,000

So with the Mohammedans.

1. In the seizure	50 per cent.
2. In the march	30 per cent.
3. In the seasoning	20 per cent.
	100 per cent

This, added to the number who enter into full labour, 50,000, gives a total of 100,000.

The fearful account then stands thus.

Christian countries destroy annually the life & liberty of	375,000
Mohamedanism	100,000
Total . . .	475,000

These human beings are plundered of all they hold dear, and remedilessly consigned, either to violent and terrible death, or to a servile estate of the most cruel and appalling kind.

The treaties so solemnly ratified to suppress this criminal commerce are set at naught; a foreign flag is lent, and the use of it sold with the connivance of the authorities, "to all the miscreants of every other nation in the world who may choose to engage in the base pursuit." This is the reward of thirty years negociation. The Spanish treaty, according to the report of the commissioners in 1836, has led "only to an increased rate of premium out and home, with an augmented price of negros."

The employment of armed cruizers and other modes of prevention has left the evil almost without check. Mr. Maclean, governor of Cape-Coast Castle, in a letter dated October 16, 1838, says, "My neighbour (as I may call him,) De Souza, at Whydah, still carries on an extensive slave-trade. Judging from the great number of vessels consigned to him, he must ship a vast number of slaves annually. He declares, and with truth, that all the slave treaties signed during the last twenty-five years have never caused him to export one slave fewer than he would have done otherwise." The correspondent whose testimony has before been cited, in a communication from Rio de Janiero in September last, observes:—"The slave-trade is notoriously carried on actively here, for the government is compelled, if not inclined, to wink at it; so strong is the popular feeling on the subject. Within five miles of the spot from which I write there is a depot of fresh imported slaves; and but yesterday I was warned not to go very near it in my rides, lest its owners should recognise and molest me, as one of a people towards whom they bear (in consequence of the doings of our cruizers,) the bitterest animosity. Hardly a night passes in which cargoes of the poor wretches are not conveyed in boats up the bay. I cannot get any probable estimate of the number annually imported into this province, but from all I can learn it must be very great."

When this state of things is fairly taken into account, together with the extravagant profits of the slave-dealers and the growing demands of the slave-consumers, it will be manifest that little hope remains of destroying the trade, but in the destruction of the system of slavery; when the demand will cease, and the twin-monsters will fall to rise no more.

This hasty sketch affords but a very imperfect view of the diversified systems of thraldom under which millions of mankind groan in unrelieved agony. They know not where redemption is to be found; to them hope never comes; they are strangers to the eye of pity, and to the voice of consolation; and their pilgrimage is written in lamentation, and mourning, and woe.

But if all which they endure could be fully told, it would fail to exhibit the amazing amount of evil which is diffused among the perpetrators of these accumulated wrongs. Myriads of men become more defiled, debased, and embruted, by their contact with the inhuman and anti-christian work in which their hands are engaged, than the hapless victims of their malignant cupidity.

To rescue them from moral suicide, and their prey from the murderous grasp, is an enterprise worthy the devotion of every philanthropist, and of every christian; until there be no tyrant to depose, and no captive to free. Above all, it is incumbent on the religious communities of Britain to demand the removal of the sin which is still tolerated in their oriental possessions; and to protest against the compromise of British character, by the employment of British capital in the dominions and under the protection of foreign powers.

To give full expression to these sentiments, and to facilitate the accomplishment of these results, a general convention of the anti-slavery representatives from all parts of the earth will shortly be held. Upon this august assembly the eyes of the enslavers and the enslaved will be riveted with no ordinary intenseness; and from it shall go forth the mandate before which the accursed demon of dark despotism shall flee. The arm of the Lord will awake—the sword, "sharpened to make a sore slaughter—furbished that it may glitter," shall be upheld, to return no more to its scabbard, till "righteousness be established," and the "oppressed go free," with the song of adoration. "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory!"

HILL COOLIES—MAURITIUS.

THE motion on which Lord John Russell has given notice, that he will take the opinion of the House of Commons on the relaxation of the prohibition which at present exists, on the exportation of Coolies to Mauritius, stands for Friday, the 15th instant. It is, therefore, necessary that the friends of humanity should be on the alert, to prevent the scheme of the noble lord from being carried into effect. This may be done by numerous petitions against it, and by the different constituencies throughout the United Kingdom, addressing respectful, but decided letters to their representatives, on the subject, and by earnestly entreating them to be in their places when the discussion shall come on, and to use their influence, and if need be, their votes to defeat the project.

The noble lord in an admirable despatch to the governor of British Guiana, dated the 15th February, 1840, referring to the further importation of Coolies into that colony, so ardently desired by the planters, says:—"I confess I should be unwilling to adopt any measure to favour the transfer of labourers from British India to Guiana, *after the failure of the former experiment*. Admitting that the mortality of the Hill Coolies first sent may have been accidental, I am not prepared to encounter the responsibility of a measure which may lead to *a dreadful loss of life* on the one hand, or on the other, to *a new system of slavery*."

The Guiana immigration ordinance, which provided for the further importation of Coolies, native Africans, and others, into the colony, was disallowed during the period Lord Normanby held the seals of the colonial office. The Trinidad ordinance, also has been disallowed by the crown, in so far as it related to the import of labourers from Hindostan and Africa, since Lord John Russell has presided over that department; and it may be added, that both the noble secretaries have spoken in the most decided terms, in opposition to the earnest and oft repeated solicitations of the planters of these colonies, to secure these classes of labourers. It may be asked then, *why* the government intend to favour Mauritius? We are utterly at a loss to supply the answer. We know of no reason that can be given for it, which would not apply with greater force to Guiana and Trinidad, than to that colony.

It must be fresh in the recollection of the anti-slavery public of this country, that Mauritius was the *last* British colony to abandon the slave-trade, if indeed it were ever given up by that island; and the *last* to resist the wishes of the people and the government of this land, to terminate the apprenticeship system, the rigours of which in that colony were more terrible than those of slavery itself. One proof may be given: the quantity of food allowed the wretched apprentices was six pints of rye flour or rice, or seven pounds of biscuit, or a proportionate quantity of vegetables, and three pounds and a half salt fish weekly, not *one-third* of the quantity secured to the slaves of the Crown colonies by the order in council of 1832; and, to obtain the required amount of work from them, a most fearful amount of punishment was inflicted:—in twelve months, not less than 14,371 were punished, 7304 by the lash, on whom was inflicted the enormous amount of 135,124 lashes, and 7067 otherwise than by flogging, such as hard labour—penal gang in chains and collars—stocks, &c. &c. It will also be remembered that the planters of this colony stand charged with the introduction of upwards of 30,000 slaves, after the slave-trade had been declared felony by the laws of England, and that, notwithstanding, the most palpable proofs of their guilt and criminality, they were not only permitted to escape the punishment which their atrocious offences merited, but, when the compensation money was distributed among the various colonies, their claims were admitted, and to the last farthing paid. It will be further remembered, that no colony has so insulted the mother country, violated her laws, and bid defiance to her power, as Mauritius; and what must appear passing strange, until the recent appointment of Sir Lionel Smith, scarcely a man, with the exception of General Hall, has swayed the government, who has not violated his trust, shrunk from the performance of his duties, or basely yielded to the French faction, the executive power. One honest functionary after another has been displaced, the Jeremies have been thrust out to make way for the D'Epinays; and with scarcely a single exception, at the present moment, all the officers subordinate to the governor are the mere creatures of the pro-slavery party, which is made up, to use the language of Mr. Jeremie, "principally of the refuse of the French revolution," who entertain "a deadly hate of the principles, the manners, the power, the very name of Britain." The answer to the question proposed, *why* Mauritius is to be favoured, cannot be found in the humane character of its chief inhabitants, as planters, nor in their loyalty as subjects. On the blackest page in the annals of our colonies will be inscribed the history of Mauritius.

It is melancholy to reflect that previously to the prohibition on the export of Coolies having been issued by the governor-general of India, upwards of 40,000 had been introduced into that

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colony, under circumstances the most infamous, the larger part leaving behind them wives and children, parents and friends, to suffer the most cruel privations or to perish with hunger in their native land. Those who went voluntarily were under the impression that they were going to the Company's "rabustie," or village, and that their employ would be "gardening," in return for which they were to have a sufficiency of food and clothing, besides the advantage of money wages. How were the miserable creatures deceived! They found that an island off the coast of Africa was their destination, and on their arrival there, that employments the most laborious were forced upon them, whilst their supplies of food and clothing were utterly insufficient for necessary purposes, and the money wages they were to receive were made to depend entirely upon the performance of the required amount of work. Anything more heartless and cruel than the treatment of these people can scarcely be imagined. It is sufficient, however to say that these things happened in Mauritius to account for the villanies and deceits practised.

If the experience of the past should be any guide for the future, then we can perceive the strongest possible reasons why the government should stedfastly refuse the proposition of the Mauritians, made through their representatives and agents Messrs. Irving & Barclay in this country. These gentlemen have the strongest possible reasons for the exertions they have made, and are still making to accomplish their purposes. In the *Cerneen*, a Mauritius paper, of the 21st December, 1839, the editor directed the attention of the public to the consideration of various schemes of immigration which were then current in the island, and after recommending the formation of a committee, who should "be charged with forming a project, and with afterwards transmitting it to our agents in London," adds, "but let it not have the power of doing anything without the concurrence and approval of our London agents." "Who can tell," says the editor, "that the latter have not already acted in our behalf! One of them has all his fortune at Mauritius, the others have twenty thousand tons of our sugar annually consigned to them. "Where," he asks in conclusion, "can men be found who are more vitally interested in the question?" In the succeeding paper the editor gives the news which had just reached the colony, "that Mr. Irving and Mr. Barclay had already taken active steps with Lord Normanby, as well as with his successor Lord John Russell, in order to procure the abrogation of the order in council prohibiting the emigration of Coolies, and the enactment of a new law respecting vagrancy." In a subsequent part of the communication, it is added: "Mr. Irving had framed a memorial which he went, on the 14th September, to present in person to Lord John Russell, at his private residence in Windsor Park. The interview, we are informed, was long, and Lord John Russell appeared to listen with considerable interest to the representations of Mr. Irving, who insisted principally; 1st. Upon the abrogation of the order in council prohibiting the emigration of Coolies; 2ndly. Upon the necessity of a new law respecting vagrancy; and 3rdly. Upon the urgency of giving positive instructions to the stipendiary magistrates as to the line of conduct they are to pursue! Now the whole of the proposition of Mr. Irving amounts to this, that the government should rescind the orders in council of the 7th September, 1838, regulating contracts, and for the suppression of vagrancy, for the purpose of allowing the Mauritians to enter into contracts with the Coolies *in India* for a period of five years, and when they got them there, to bring them under the operation of a stringent vagrant law, which should subject them to heavy punishments for "wandering abroad," or being found loitering on the public highways, or whistling in the streets of Port Louis! And, it would appear, that the special justices are to be instructed "as to the line of the conduct they are to pursue," in other words they are to be coerced into subserviency to the will of the planters. We confess that we can scarcely trust ourselves to designate this monstrous proposition of Mr. Irving's, in language which shall at once indicate its true character, and his own daring; but knowing, as we do, that the order in council regulating contracts, is the only protection immigrants can have against the most shameful frauds, when applications of its wholesome provisions is confided to the care of an upright stipendiary magistracy, and that the existing vagrant law, is, in some of its enactments, even more stringent than it ought to be, we can conceive of nothing which deserves stronger censure, or more indignant reprobation than this audacious attempt to revive the system and practice of slavery.

On one of the points so strenuously urged by Mr. Irving on the attention of Lord John Russell, we are happy to say the noble lord has given his positive assurance that no change shall take place—the order in council regulating contracts is to remain in full force, and, of course the duties of the special justices under it will remain untouched. On another point—vagrancy, we trust the noble lord will be equally inflexible. The point gained by the Mauritians is the relaxation of the prohibition on the export of Coolies from British India; but we feel persuaded that a determined resistance on the part of the country to this most unwise and impolitic measure will lead to its defeat.

It is difficult to fix the period when Coolies were first introduced into Mauritius. The references to the subject in the parliamentary papers we have been enabled to consult are exceedingly scanty. We find, however, in a despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated 9th September, 1837, Sir W. Nicolay states, "the number of Indians who have arrived here at different times within three years amounts to 8690, including women and children." From this extract it would appear that the importation commenced before the termination of negro slavery in that colony. The terms on which they were engaged may be seen from the copy of agreement with thirty-six dhangars and Bhoond Coolies, by Arbuthnot and Co., par. pap. no. 74—1838, from which we make the following extracts. "The pay of the natives shall be fixed at the rate of five rupees per month for each man," for "digging holes, weeding canes, or working in the sugar house, *the quantity of daily labour required from each to be fixed by the manager of the property.*" Food allowed "for each man, per day, 2 lbs. rice, half-a-pound dholl, and 2 ounces salt, and some oil and tamarinds; and annually for each, four dhooties, one sheet, two blankets, one jacket, and two caps;" period of service, five years; and it was stipulated that one rupee per month should be deducted from their wages to form a fund, to provide them the means of return home after their contract was fulfilled. Subsequently to this period, we find the contracts less liberal, and the following may be quoted as the average of them: viz. wages, three to five rupees, per month, with one and a-half pounds rice, four ounces dholl, two to three ounces salt fish, one ounce ghee, half an ounce salt per diem, with deductions in some cases of as much as two rupees per month, to repay advances for the expenses of voyage to Mauritius, and for the purpose of forming a fund to pay for the return of the Coolies to India at the expiration of their terms of service. In all cases further deductions were made for absent and sick days. The clothing annually supplied, "eight yards of common cloth or linen, two handkerchiefs, or two dhooties, one jacket, and one red cap." The usual time of labour, from sun-rise to sun-set, with two hours relaxation for meals, except during crop time, which lasts about six months in the year, when they are required to work as many hours as may be necessary.

The nature of the laws under which these Coolies were placed may be gathered from the remarks of Lord Glenelg, in a despatch to Sir William Nicolay, dated 25th May, 1836, conveying to him the disallowance of an ordinance, "to conciliate the maintenance of good order, and the demands of industry," &c. His lordship says, "the design of the law might more accurately have been described as *the substitution of some new coercion* for that state of slavery which has been abolished; the effect of it, at least, is *to establish a compulsory system, scarcely less rigid, and in some material respects even less equitable, than that of slavery itself.*" Had his lordship used stronger language to designate this most iniquitous law it would not have been inappropriate. For instance, labourers out of employ, or choosing to indulge themselves in temporary repose, might be adjudged to labour as convicts on the public works or on the plantations; and as Lord Glenelg states, "condemned without even the imputation of a fault to three years compulsory labour;" nay, his lordship goes further, and says that the operation of the law would be such as to inflict "compulsory labour for life on the labourers on the plantations to which they may be assigned by the police."

The disallowance of this and another ordinance of a similar evil tendency "excited," as we are informed by Sir W. Nicolay, "a considerable degree of alarm;" and he informs the government that petitions had been forwarded to him, soliciting permission to call a general meeting of the inhabitants for the purpose of drawing up a memorial "*protesting against the disallowance.*" Instead of indignantly refusing to receive the petitions, which were in their nature seditious, inasmuch as they dared to call in question the prerogative of the crown, the governor expressed himself in reply to them in the following terms: "entertaining sentiments on the importance of that ordinance correspondent with your own, his Excellency yet feels obliged to withhold his sanction from a meeting to be convened for the avowed purpose of protesting against an act of his Majesty's, in the exercise of his royal prerogative." He then presumes to reason on the decision of his Majesty as having caused him the greatest disappointment, and ventures indirectly to censure the course which the home government had felt it to be its duty to pursue: he then adds, "under the peremptory instructions to make immediate announcement of the disallowance, it became his Excellency's duty to publish the fact, but his attention has ever since been occupied upon this important subject, in the hope of devising some means for accomplishing the objects contemplated by the enactment of ordinance, No. 16, without infringing upon the injunction conveyed by the secretary of state." Ought this man to have been allowed to hold office one moment after the government became aware of the course he had taken! Yet he was permitted to retain it sufficiently long to give his sanction to several most infamous laws in defiance of the peremptory orders of the crown; viz., a vagrant law (ord. No. 6, 1838) of the most oppressive character, which bears exclusively on the liberated negros and the Coolies; and in order to give full effect to it, another ordinance was passed, appointing a body of rural police (gardes champêtres) from which every proprietor may have two men on his estate on condition of paying a certain sum per month! These police are to be armed and equipped as the ordinary policemen, to live on the plantations of the proprietors, and, in, point of fact, to form part of their establishments, and to be entirely under their direction and control. It is provided also, that these "gardes champêtres" shall, whenever required, be concentrated on any given spot. With such a body of men, paid, fed, and directed by the planters, it is easy to conceive that the liberties of the negros and Indians in Mauritius are narrowed within the smallest possible compass. We have, in past numbers, adverted to the existence of this and other laws, which had been recently transmitted home, and trust that the government has sent out the notification of their disallow-

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ence to Mauritius by his Excellency, Sir Lionel Smith. The vagrant law was superseded by the order in council of the 7th Sept. 1838, but we have been assured, on authority direct from Mauritius, of a recent date, that the one referred to above, is still administered as the vagrant law of the colony.

We have adverted to these points to show that hitherto not the slightest confidence could be placed in the good faith of the colonists, nor in the wisdom of the legislative council, nor in the firmness of the executive; and yet Mauritius is to have more Coolies!

We look almost in vain through the parliamentary papers for a straightforward and honest statement of the general treatment of the Indian labourers. On this important point as well as on the state of the law, Lord Glenelg, in a despatch to Sir W. Nicolay dated 14th May, 1838 thus writes:—"It appears *there is no law in force for regulating the duration of contracts of this nature*," *viz. with the Coolies*, "*for prescribing their terms, or for securing to the labourer, without the expensive and slow process of action at law, the faithful execution of these terms.*" "I also collect," adds his lordship, "that they are usually brought into the colony unaccompanied by females, thus aggravating the evils of the existing disproportion of the sexes; and finally, that *it is apparent that your conclusions in favour of the present system rest upon the reports of the employers, and on those of the commissaries of quarters, who are, for the most part, if not wholly, engaged on their own account in the cultivation of land by the same or similar methods.*" In a subsequent despatch, dated 31st January, 1839, the noble lord calls the "special consideration" of governor Nicolay to three points, "1st, the absence of a proper proportion of women to accompany the Indians. 2dly, the want of an unexceptionable authority to settle disputes between the labourers and their employers. And, 3rdly, the limitation of the terms of the contracts." The mere statement of these points is sufficient to show the nature of the system under which the Coolies were brought, and the frauds and injuries to which they were exposed. References are occasionally made to Coolies who were imported into Mauritius, some as far back as 1830, without even the formality of a contract; and it is not attempted to be denied that large numbers were so introduced. Mr. Scott, an eye-witness of the condition of many of them, pronounced it to be "deplorable;" and says, that "some complained much of the *severity* and *duration* of their work; that the *stipulated* quantity of food and clothes was not distributed;" and "that the terms of these (contracts) are getting gradually *less advantageous to the Indian*," as we have before shown, and that "*numbers were only restrained by being on an island from at once running away!*" We find also, "that engagements had been entered into in Calcutta with the Indians," which required their "working on Sundays," which permitted their "corporal punishment by the sirdar, or chief," and which allowed the planters to exact from them "unlimited hours of work." Against irregularities of this kind the governor cautions the importers of these people into Mauritius; but none of the evils complained of were remedied, up to the period when the governor-general of India issued a prohibition against their further exportation, either to that colony, or to the West Indies—a measure which the home government also, in consequence of the debates in both houses of parliament, and the disclosures then made, felt to be imperatively necessary to prevent the further traffic in the persons of the Coolies, which was declared to be second only in atrocity to the African slave-trade.

Mr. Scott, in his report to the governor-general of India, from which we have already quoted, states, that he found the Coolies in Mauritius had left India "under the impression that they were going to the company's ra-bustic," (or village,) and adds, "the only practical difference between the slaves and the Indians is that the latter receive remuneration in money." He afterwards observes, that the Indian infers from the statements made to him, "that the price of rice, ghee, &c. is the same at the rabustic, as 'in his own bazaar,' and only finds out his error when it is irretrievable."

Mr. J. P. Woodcock, of the Bombay civil service, made also a report to the governor-general of India on the same subject, from which we make a few short extracts. After stating the manner in which Coolies were obtained in Calcutta, through the medium of "crimps," he adds, "Mauritius was described to them in glowing terms, and advantage taken of their ignorance to provoke the belief that every necessary of life was cheap, labour light, and that the voyage would only occupy them ten days!" Of their treatment on board ship during their voyage, he gives the following description:—"I was a passenger in March last in the *Drongan*, 355 tons, Captain Mackenzie, bound for Mauritius with a cargo of rice, and sixty-six Coolies,* * * * of every variety of caste from the Bramin to the Choman. * * * * * "The lower decks of the *Drongan* were stowed with rice, and the Coolies were disposed in the waste between the gangways and the forecastle, where, if the weather had not been remarkably fine, they might have suffered, *being unprotected from every change of weather.*"

He then informs us that "they were made to assist in working the ship, and suffered no ill-treatment but such punishment as their own sirdar inflicted." The voyage occupied two months in this instance. On their arrival, the Coolies "were marched off to their destination," to perform as much labour when there as "should be fixed by the manager of the estate," which he subsequently describes as "a long and hard day's work." He fully confirms Mr. Scott's representations respecting the price of "food and raiment in Mauritius," which, he remarks, "is inordinately expensive."

He found the Coolies were generally ignorant of the mode of obtaining redress for their grievances; and when not ignorant, they complained "of the distance to which they must proceed to obtain justice." On stating to them that they might apply to "the commissary of police of the division of the island to which their estate belongs," they replied, "he is a Frenchman, ignorant of our language; and then our master is a Frenchman; so what justice can we expect!" "The chief abuses," Mr. Woodcock adds, "which suggest themselves as possible to occur in the system at present adopted in procuring and deporting labourers to the Mauritius are, the manner in which they are collected; the ignorance of the terms on which they have agreed to serve; the doubt whether the identical persons who agree are embarked; and the treatment they are likely to obtain during the voyage."

The frightful mortality which has attended the transit of the Coolies to Mauritius must not be overlooked. Sir W. Nicolay, addressing the supreme government of India, points out "the necessity of measures for the proper treatment of the Coolies on the passage," and subsequently goes on to state, "that three successive ships have been placed in quarantine, owing to *the disease and extensive mortality* that has prevailed among the labourers embarked upon them;" that the '*William Wilson*,' out of 224, had lost 31; the '*Indian Oak*,' 6; and the '*Adelaide*,' out of 72, no fewer than *twenty-four*, besides *two* on its arrival, and *one* lost overboard. And the colonial secretary (Dick,) in a despatch to the government of Madras, attests that the ship '*Edward Robinson*,' of 300 tons burthen, brought from Pondichery and Tranquebar 425 natives of India," and adds, "*on board which ship there was no surgeon*, nor any person capable of giving professional assistance, in case of sickness or an accident occurring." "In the instance of the '*Juliana*,'" says Sir W. Nicolay, again, "very unfavourable rumours reached the government, after her departure, of *the manner in which the Indians on board of her were treated*, the truth of which I have reason *not* to doubt." One extract more from the parliamentary papers before we quit them;:"I have heard a case," says Mr. Scott in his paper laid before the governor general of India, "when the sold slaves of an estate had come to their master and begged him to send for no more Indians to take the bread out of their mouths." In how many cases this may have been done we know not; but we can easily imagine what must have been the effect of the introduction of about 45,000 Coolies, all of whom, with the exception of a few hundred women and children, were *adult* labourers, upon the interests, and the happiness, as well as the morals of the liberated negros; and we do know, that the great object for which this host of Indians has been imported into Mauritius has been to lower the price of wages, by compelling the negros to accept such terms as their masters choose to give them, or to starve!

In a former number of the *Reporter* we gave the latest official intelligence of the condition of the Coolies. In that article we showed, from incontrovertible evidence, that the whole system of immigration into Mauritius had been characterised by the grossest frauds and cruelty, and had been sustained by the most infamous tyranny and oppression. On the present occasion, we shall do no more than quote a summary view of the facts collected in Mr. Scoble's recent pamphlet on the subject. In answer to the question, "How were the Coolies in Mauritius obtained previously to the restrictions being laid on? Mr. Prinsep, secretary to the government of India, in an official report on the subject, states: "The methods adopted for procuring labourers to engage for service in colonies and places beyond sea, are productive of serious frauds, and have led to much oppression and," he further observes, "the system is a source of injury and abuse rather than of benefit to the labourers, in the form in which it is at present carried on." The governor, Sir William Nicolay, in referring to the same subject in a despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated 21st May, 1839, observes, "That *very nefarious practices* have been resorted to in many instances, in order to procure labourers for embarkation for this island, *is beyond all doubt*:" and Mr. Special Justice Anderson asserts in one of his letters to the governor, that "many of them have actually been *kidnapped* from their own country, which," he adds, "they have *all* been induced to leave under circumstances of *gross fraud*." To go into the history of all those "frauds" would be to detail circumstances second only in atrocity to those connected with the African slave-trade. The fact is established beyond dispute, that multitudes have been kidnapped—forced into prison-depôts until the Mauritian slavers were ready to receive them—hurried on board—put under hatches and guards—robbed and pillaged of the advances made to them by the Mauritian agents in Calcutta—shipped in large numbers on board vessels without the requisite accommodation, food, or medical attendance—brought under the most fraudulent contracts to labour for years on scanty wages, and scanty fare—separated from their families and from their homes—compelled to perform the hardest agricultural labour known at the discretion of their masters—and, to crown all, left without the protection of an upright, impartial, and efficient magistracy.

It appears that from the 1st of August, 1834, to the 24th October, 1838, there were received from *Calcutta* 13,243 Coolies, viz., 12,994 men; 198 women; and 51 children. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 22nd June, 1838, there were shipped from *Cochin* 308 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to 24th June, 1838, there were shipped from *Pondicherry* 5058 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 25th August, 1838, there were shipped from *Rajahmundy* 441 Coolies, viz., 434 men and seven women; making a total of 19,050—viz., 18,794 men, 205 women, and 51 children. But it is quite clear, from the petition addressed to her Majesty by the planters and others, dated 18th May, 1839, that a much larger number of Coolies had been intro-

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duced. The 100 persons who signed that document state, that, within the "last four years," they alone had "caused to be brought from British India upwards of 20,000 native Indian labourers."

With respect to the mortality which has occurred since the arrival of the Indians at Mauritius, the statements are various. It is, however, admitted by the governor to have been great, and to have been "the source of deep regret" to him. In a despatch, dated 31st Dec., 1838, the colonial secretary (Mr. Dick) thus writes: "The mortality which has prevailed among the Indian labourers, *as well on their voyage as after their arrival here*, and more particularly on some estates and establishments, has been the source of deep regret to his Excellency. Mr. Special Justice Anderson states the mortality of the Coolies in Port Louis to amount to eight or nine per cent. per annum! This would be equal to the destruction of the whole number of Coolies introduced every twelve years!!

Out of the 19,050 Coolies introduced, of whom we have any account in the papers before us only 205 were women! It is easy to conceive that, from this frightful disparity of the sexes, the most horrible and revolting depravity and demoralization must necessarily ensue; and that such large masses of ignorant and degraded beings must carry with them a most corrupting influence on others.

As to the general treatment of the Coolies in Mauritius, but one opinion can be entertained by the friends of humanity. Independently of the evidence derived from private sources, on which implicit reliance can be placed, which represents the state of the Coolies as deplorably wretched, and their hardships and sufferings as even greater than those endured by the negros when slaves, the fact of their having become the prey of the Mauritian planters would be sufficient to justify the worst apprehensions that could be entertained on that point. One honest functionary in Mauritius, Mr. Special Justice Anderson, has spoken out upon this point, in opposition to those who would have us believe that the Coolies in that colony are treated with "humanity and kindness;" and we have no doubt, in opposition to his own interests and personal ease and comfort. In his letters to Governor Nicolay, dated the 19th and 30th of November, 1839, he states, that those whom he had examined in Port Louis were "overworked," were subjected to severe "personal chastisement," were without proper shelter and "lodging accommodation," were deprived of necessary medical attendance and care when suffering from disease, and in other ways seriously injured and abused, insomuch that he says "it is a source of astonishment to me that any body of freemen, whatever may have been their former condition, should have borne, with the patience and forbearance which the Indian labourers at Port Louis have displayed, *the bitter disappointment which must have attended their introduction into this island*:" and, he adds, "to induce them to come here, their ignorance is worked upon in India by the most false and deceitful representations, and the robbery and pillage which has been practised on them at Calcutta would scarcely be credited, if the fact was not established by the most convincing testimony. They reach this colony after having been robbed of six months pay, which is advanced (or said to be advanced) in India; and when here their comfort is in every way neglected, while they are compelled by the engagements to which their own ignorance or the avarice of others has bound them, to toil during five years for a recompense bearing no proportion to the work to which they are subjected, when compared with the common estimation of the value of labour in this colony, or to the sum which they would earn if they had the free disposal of their own time."

But it may be said, that the evils we have glanced at are admitted, and that the object of the government is to prevent their occurrence in future. Lord John Russell would extend the clauses of the colonial passengers' act to Mauritius, to prevent the overcrowding of vessels carrying emigrants from Hindostan to that colony, and for securing to them a sufficient supply of food and water, and of medical treatment and care while on board. We can have no possible objection to this, but we would remind the noble lord that all this was said to have been provided for long ago by the governor general of India, and that, notwithstanding the existence of the regulations, and the vigilance of the public officers in the different presidencies, the evils complained of multiplied and increased to so serious an extent as to compel the supreme government to interdict the further progress of emigration. We observe also that the laws in force affecting the labourers in Mauritius require a most careful examination and revision, before the Government would be justified in taking off the interdict. We affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the whole correspondence between the executive of that island and the colonial office, if it were made public, would show, that up to the present period, the laws which have been enacted and are in force are of the most atrocious nature, with the exception only of those orders in council issued in 1838, which we have the most serious grounds for believing are a dead letter. We affirm also, that if all the papers and documents now in the colonial office respecting the Coolies were published, the noble lord would scarcely venture upon the step he proposes to take on the 15th inst. At all events, we ask whether the reports of the commissioners of inquiry in India which led Lord Auckland to interpose the supreme authority of India, for the protection of the Coolies, ought not to be produced before any measures be adopted which shall relax the restrictions which at present exist to their further exportation; and is it not reasonable to expect that the present governor, Sir Lionel Smith, should be called upon to report on the actual condition of those already in Mauritius; the state of the law which affects them; and the measures which may be necessary to secure them ample protection, before the Mauritian planters be permitted to reduce any more to what we believe will be found, on inquiry, a system of slavery. We implore the noble lord to defer his proposition until the British public and the British parliament are in a position to decide upon these important measures.

It cannot be argued that there has been so diminished a supply of the staple products of Mauritius raised since the emancipation of the slaves took place, as to render such a measure as that contemplated by the noble lord necessary. In 1825, the quantity of sugar exported was 93,723 cwts.; in 1829, 297,958 cwts.; in 1833, 529,352 cwts.; in 1837, 537,961 cwts.; in 1838, 604,671 cwts.; and in 1839, 612,385 cwts. Here then we have full proof that the arguments so incessantly urged by the West India colonies, and which have been so well met by the noble lord at the head of the colonial department, in a recent despatch to the Governor of British Guiana, will not apply to Mauritius.

We ask for time, and for further information, which we know the government possess or ought to possess; and earnestly trust the noble lord who proposes to open India once more to the felon planters of Mauritius will re-consider the subject, and postpone the contemplated measure, at least until another session of parliament. But should the noble lord persist in urging it forward, we entreat those honourable members who have distinguished themselves without reference to party as the enemies of oppression, and the friends of liberty, to give it their most strenuous and decided opposition.

In conclusion, we call the attention of our readers to a circular addressed to each member of parliament, on the 26th March last, when the discussion was expected to come on, by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and which we need not say, is as applicable now as it was then:—

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society deeply regret to find contrary to their earnest hope, that the government have determined in connexion with the extension of the "Colonial Passengers' Bill to Mauritius" by the clauses to be proposed by Lord John Russell, to seek the sanction of the house of commons to the relaxation of the prohibition which at present exists against the exportation of Coolies from Hindostan.

The committee respectfully, but earnestly implore your attendance at the House to-morrow, Friday evening, to prevent the adoption, or, at least, to postpone the consideration of so injurious a measure until some future session of the House, for the following among other reasons:—

1.—Because an immense number of Coolies, amounting to more than 40,000, has already been introduced into that colony under circumstances the most infamous, and held to service under contracts the most fraudulent; leaving in India, as is well-known, in the great majority of instances, their wives and children destitute and without protection.

2.—Because the official accounts which have been received in reference to them state the startling fact, that out of upwards of 19,000 Coolies, (the number reported,) scarcely more than 200 were females.

3.—Because the very partial inquiry into the condition of the Coolies in Mauritius, conducted under circumstances in no wise likely to elicit truth, and extending to not more than 2500 of them, is of the most meagre, unsatisfactory, and contradictory character.

4.—Because the governor-general of India, in consequence of the atrocities brought to light by a court of inquiry held on the spot, in connexion with the mode in which they had been obtained and transported to Mauritius, absolutely forbad their further exportation to that or any other British colony, from any of the presidencies.

5.—Because neither the report of the commissioners of inquiry in India, which led the governor-general to take this most decided and important step, nor the communications of that high functionary to the home government stating his reasons for the same, nor the despatches of her majesty's ministers relative thereto, have been presented to parliament.

6.—Because the home government fully confirmed in the year 1838 the previous decision of the governor-general of India, after a full discussion of the whole question in both houses of parliament.

7.—Because the state of the law in Mauritius, at the present time, as affecting every class of labourers, is of the most rigorous and oppressive kind, and is chiefly administered by the planters themselves.

8.—Because the demand for an augmentation of labourers is principally grounded on an alleged want of disposition to industry, and a reasonable demand for wages on the part of the negro freemen, of which no proof appears; and which is contrary to the general evidence furnished in those instances, in any of the colonies in which they have been considerably and equitably treated.

9.—Because the amount of produce raised in Mauritius, so far from shewing a diminution since the abolition of slavery, exhibits an immense increase.

10.—Because, from the facts already established in the papers laid before parliament, the most rigid and searching inquiry, conducted by impartial, disinterested, and honourable men is imperatively demanded, before the government can be justified in taking so important a measure as that about to be submitted for the sanction of parliament.

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Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 6TH.

THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE

Will commence its sittings at Freemasons' Hall, London, on the 12th of June, 1840. A book is prepared for entering the names and other particulars of the delegates who may be appointed by anti-slavery bodies, both at home and abroad. In a case of such singular interest and importance, the committee earnestly hope, and fully expect, that the friends of the cause in the United Kingdom will not be backward, either in the appointment of delegates, or in their attendance as delegates when appointed. It is particularly requested that all anti-slavery bodies will send an immediate *official notification* of the appointments which may be made by them, addressed to J. H. Tredgold, Esq., at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

We are requested to state that a sub-committee has been appointed to assist such friends as may attend the conference in procuring suitable accommodation. Letters addressed to 27, New Broad Street will be attended to.

THE importance of the subject which is to be discussed in parliament on the 15th instant, if Lord John Russell adheres to his present notice on the subject of transporting Hill Coolies from India to Mauritius, has induced us to devote a large portion of our columns to-day to a full statement of the facts involved in it. Our efforts on this matter must not be relaxed for a moment. Whatever symptoms of embarrassment and indecision may have been apparent in his proceedings, the noble Lord has given no intimation as yet of the abandonment of his purpose. To all appearance he means to press the measure, and we must act as though we knew that he does. We may at all events be sure that he will, if he finds the abolitionists asleep. We implore our friends to complete whatever they have begun, or contemplated. Our success is of great importance to the cause of humanity.

OUR columns to-day contain the details of an interesting and not unimportant episode in the great Anti-slavery struggle. The scene of it is Liverpool, once the strong-hold of the English slave-trade, and now of the spirit of slavery. On the 16th of April, there was held in this town a public meeting of the local Anti-slavery society, "to take into consideration the duty of the friends of the negro, with reference to the present state of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world." On this occasion Mr. Scoble, when making the very accurate, and one would have thought by no means provoking statement, that the wages of a day's labour in Guiana was one guilder, or 1s. 4½d sterling, was interrupted by a loud cry of "no! no! I say no!" Upon inquiry, who should appear to be the author of this cry, but Mr. Semple, of the house of Semple and company, a fallacious letter from whom to Lord John Russell on the subject of immigration to British Guiana has the honour of figuring in the late parliamentary papers. Mr. Semple made the somewhat startling declaration, "I paid three guilders." He afterwards stated that three guilders (4s. 2d.) per day "was the minimum of each negro's earnings upon the estates with which he was connected;" and added that "he should be exceedingly happy to show Mr. Scoble his accounts of the earnings of his people," in confirmation of his assertion. It is not for us to say whether Mr. Semple expected his offer to be accepted. In fact it was so; and Mr. Scoble, Mr. John Cropper, and the Rev. Mr. Bevan, waited on him on Saturday, the 18th of April. The details of this interview, which are as yet private, but which we think must ultimately come before the public in an authentic shape, are most instructive, and to all but those who have some previous acquaintance with West Indian ways, will be most marvellous. What we are able to state at present is, that the accounts of one estate (Mara) were investigated by Messrs. Cropper and Bevan; and it was found that, out of 120 labourers, not more than five had earned more than a guilder per day, the great majority much less, and some of them not more than half that sum! So much for the truth of the assertion so boldly made at the public meeting, and for the validity of the evidence of which the examination was challenged. It is now due to Mr. Semple to say, that he did not wait for the investigation of the accounts before he acknowledged his error. At the commencement of the interview he did so, and expressed his regret for it; he stated also that his eagerness to correct his mistake had been so great, that he had first returned to the Music Hall for this purpose, in hope of reaching it before the meeting had broken up, and had subsequently written a note to this effect, which, on bad advice certainly, he had destroyed—adding, that he was then ready to take whatever steps might be necessary to this end. So much humility engaged at the hands of Mr. Scoble and his friends merciful treatment for Mr. Semple; and it was agreed that the matter should terminate by his writing a second note after the tenor of the first. This arrangement issued (under what influences we say not now,) in the production of a somewhat artful communication, enclosing a declaration of Mr. William Laing, a partner in the firm, for the purpose of attempting to justify a mis-statement which ought to have been frankly retracted. These documents will be found in another place, together with an account of the meeting, taken (with a minute and unimportant addition,) from the *Liverpool Standard*, a hostile paper, and two admirable letters, one from Mr. Bevan, and one from Mr. Scoble, with which the first scene of this drama concludes. Our readers, of course, will peruse the whole; and they may expect further disclosures respecting this characteristic but infatuated exhibition of West Indian artifice and fraud.

We have now a word or two to say respecting the conduct of the papers in the West Indian interest, the *Liverpool Standard*, and *Mail*. Evidently prepared for their purpose, they poured out immediately a flood of abuse on the abolitionists in general, and on Mr. Scoble in particular. This distinguished philanthropist is denounced as "the most reckless and inaccurate speaker that ever ventured to stand before the public;" as "having grossly committed himself by his flagrant mis-statements on subjects connected with the West Indies," and as "actuated by deep-rooted and inveterate hatred of the West India proprietors." Similar compliments are paid to the abolitionists at large, while the body of Friends, without even an exception, are courteously designated "the lying Quakers." All this cannot be misunderstood. There would be no resentment against us if our operations had no power. No pains would be taken to stigmatize Mr. Scoble as a liar, if it had not been found that his testimony embarrassed the schemes of avarice and oppression. The libellous virulence of the West Indian press, is at once a testimony to the virtue and a proof of the usefulness of the parties against whom it is directed; and, if we wanted such an impulse, it would supply us with the last and irresistible motive to perseverance and constancy.

THE mail which arrived on Saturday from the West Indies brings intelligence of an interesting character. In Jamaica, Sir Charles Metcalfe has been pursuing his tour of the island, amidst festivities and flatteries which are sufficiently significant and ominous. All the compliments he receives are from the old plantocracy, and these are of the most fulsome description. We find but one occasion mentioned on which he permitted himself to be addressed by the labourers, and then, says the editor of the *Colonial Reformer*, "a multitude of complaints were immediately poured forth, chiefly we believe, on the subject of excessive rent charges, and summary ejectments. The complaints, however, were urged in so confused a manner, that his Excellency appeared unable to understand them—he was extremely patient and attentive in listening to all they had to say, but seemed quite at a loss how to carry on any conversation with them." And so begins and ends the sympathy of this conciliating (!) governor with the great mass of *the people* in Jamaica! Well may they regret Sir Lionel Smith! The fulsome compliments of the planters Sir Charles Metcalfe returns with compliments not less fulsome. The only exception to this rule is to be found in his reply to the magistrates of Hanover, to whom, after their late unrighteous and cruel decisions, he does just venture fondly to say:—

"The support that I consider at present to be of the greatest importance, and for which I confidently rely on the magistrates of this and every other part of the island, is the careful and benevolent administration of the laws; such as will ensure protection and security to all classes of the inhabitants, redound to the honour of the legislature and the magistracy, and promote in the greatest degree the happiness of the community.

And this is taken by the *St. Jago Gazette* and the *Colonial Reformer* to have been intended as reproof, and a severe one, of men whose flagrant injustice and tyranny are taxing the patience of the people beyond the power of endurance! It is at length quite manifest that, under the guise of conciliation, the governor has again been throwing everything into the hands of the planters, and allowing himself to become the passive instrument of their will. Even those who viewed his early measures with a favourable eye have been constrained to change their opinion concerning him. A private letter from a most respectable source gives the following view of his administration.

Sir Charles Metcalfe is a quietist; and his system is to tranquillize the surface of everything, never mind what corruption may be underneath. His answers to public addresses are full of nauseating compliments and fulsome flattery; and his conciliation consists in asking every man to dine who calls upon him, (and every one who calls is admitted,) and in permitting all things, provided they are quietly done. As a portion of this scheme, even the customary mode of acquainting the public with the appointments to offices of trust under the crown, and to commissions in the magistracy of the various parishes, is abolished. And why? Because the principle laid down by the government has been departed from for the sake of conciliating a party, and men admitted into the magistracy whose names, if published, would have excited the indignant remarks of the community. It is a fact, that since Sir Charles has been in the island many new appointments have been made, but that not one has been gazetted. Why this concealment? My impression is that what is done covertly is not done honestly. There existed previously too numerous a body of magistrates in this colony, as compared with the property and population; and instructions were sent to Sir Lionel Smith to reduce the number where possible, and not to appoint new ones, except in cases of great necessity. Why has there been a deviation from that wise policy? Can any principle be more iniquitous, than to appoint overseers as magistrates who are interested, and their masters too, in nearly every case they decide; and who, when in the commission, commonly attend the courts as complainants, and are consequently changing places with others so situated—now on the bench deciding—now on the floor preferring a complaint? Is

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that right?—The same system of quietism has prevented the issuing of writs of supersedeas to any of them; although several have been guilty of gross perversion of legal principles and of extreme injustice. This is but one portion of those sins of omission which amount to the encouragement of oppression, and which add to the present popularity of the governor. I have not space to enlarge on this subject; but I entreat you not to mistake the absence of scurrility in the press for evidence of a general popularity on the part of the governor, nor a system of quietism for a government of integrity and benevolence.

If, however, the system of the government have been "quictism," far different has been the system of the planters. They have done their best to promote agitation. Atrocious acts of oppression have abounded. The administration of the present iniquitous laws in their hands has been the reverse of "careful and benevolent;" it has been merciless, reckless, and unjust. The papers teem with instances of flagrant oppression and wrong, worthy of the worst days of slavery. In addition to numerous vexations of this class, the question of tenancy and rent has been thrown into a most agitating and intolerable position. According to an opinion of the attorney-general given to Mr. Knibb, the labourers are now held to be weekly tenants! On this subject the editor of the *Colonial Reformer* says, "We have seen the opinion given by the learned attorney, and are quite satisfied that, if promulgated and acted on by the general body of proprietors or their agents, it would plunge the entire country into the most dreadful state of confusion—it would in effect go to turn adrift upon the wide world nine-tenths of the labouring population of the island at *one week's notice*. Nay, more, according to the attorney-general's opinion, the landlord has no occasion to trouble himself with the process of ejectment—he has the right of doubling his rents at a week's notice—and if he only keep on doubling his demand every week or fortnight, it would quickly amount to a sum quite sufficient to supersede the necessity of ejectments. And the construction put upon the petty debt act affords a ready means of carrying the planters' views into effect."

Such is the course, not of quietism certainly, but of galling and reckless provocation which has been adopted by the planters. It would have been no matter of surprise if the most serious disturbances had followed: but, happily, not only for the general population of Jamaica, but for the thoughtless oppressors themselves, the establishment of freedom has brought a safety-valve into operation, by which the dangerous pressure of general indignation will, as we hope, be relieved. Three public meetings have been lately held, one of them an anti-slavery convention at Spanish-town, another an anniversary of an anti-slavery society at Kingston, and a third an annual meeting of a society for the protection of civil and religious liberty at Falmouth, which have given to the people opportunity for the utterance of their feelings. And freely and fervidly they have been uttered; but not in a way to expose them to just censure. The planter-press, indeed, has broken out into loud complaints and vehement denunciations; but that is easily to be accounted for, without supposing that the speakers at these meetings said anything worthy of blame. The use of speech after the manner of freemen, is strange to the ears of the old slave-masters, and the new-born power of public rebuke and indignation galls them. It is a good sign; and as it indicates some remaining sensibility, augurs, perhaps, some measure of improvement. That our readers may the better know the character of the meeting most virulently complained of, we give the following extract from a private letter on which entire reliance may be placed.

A great deal of noise has been unnecessarily made about it, and much abuse has been unjustly heaped upon the speakers who moved and seconded the resolutions. It was as mild a meeting as the most prudent hater of injustice and oppression could desire; but nothing but "conciliation," however great the sacrifice demanded by the great and powerful at the hands of the victims of their tyranny, suits the admirers of the "mild" government of Sir Charles. Since the Falmouth meeting, meetings of a similar character have been held at Spanish Town and Kingston; and, although stronger expressions were used at the latter than at Falmouth, but little has been said of them in the way of censure, probably because the Honourable T. Bernard presided at the one, and the Honourable Hector Mitchell, mayor, at the other.*

The editor of the *Colonial Reformer* retraces in detail the course of the various speakers, and we select two extracts in illustration.

The chairman, Mr. Abbott, brought under review the atrocious conduct of certain of the planting gentry, who, in defiance of common law and common prudence, had perilled the peace of the country, by unroofing the houses and destroying the provision grounds of the labourers. These outrages, no doubt, had led to the burnings of trash houses about which such an outcry had been raised—the one was the natural result of the other. Mr. Abbott instituted a very just comparison between the two offences of burning on the one hand, and destroying on the other; and contended it was equally a crime on the part of the white man to destroy the house and provision grounds of the black man, as it was on the part of the black man to set fire to any of the premises of a white man—both were lawless acts of violence deserving the severest punishment. And pray, who will gainsay Mr. Abbott's opinion in this matter? And yet Mr. Abbott has been denounced, as inciting the labourers *to commit arson!* He further explained that the discontent of the people arose from the absence of fair arrangements respecting rents. They were willing to rent their houses upon just and equitable terms; but the planters insisted on binding the labourers down to work five days in the week, and to be mulcted in certain penalties for every days' absence! And as the irresistible inducement to their consenting to this system of disguised slavery, they were to enjoy the privilege of occupying certain premises, *but to pay a rental for the same at least double their actual value!* Well might Mr. Abbott pronounce this scheme "*preposterous!*" Is there an honest man here, or elsewhere, who would not subscribe to the same sentiment? Mr. Abbott further mentioned that he had told his own flock to strike work till they obtained a proper adjustment of the question, and the consequence was that arrangements mutually satisfactory had been concluded. Yet Mr. Abbott is one of the "*Firebrands.*"

* * * * *

The speech of the Rev. Mr. Knibb closed the proceedings of the meeting. It was evidently delivered under feelings of considerable excitement, and was certainly anything but complimentary to the "plantocracy" of Jamaica. No wonder that they writhe and scream under his lash—*certes* he has not spared them. Apart, however, from what was merely annoying and offensive to the fine feelings of the aristocracy, there was literally nothing in Mr. Knibb's speech that could be made the ground work of controversy. And pray what right have they to complain of Mr. Knibb speaking disparingly of them? If there be one man more than another in this community that has had ample provocation to speak with bitterness of the Jamaica planters, that man is Mr. Knibb. For the last eight years he has unceasingly been the object of their deadliest malignity—they have spared no effort to destroy him—he has been threatened with assassination. Every scheme which the most diabolical ingenuity could devise, backed by the blackest falsehood and foulest perjury, has been resorted to for the purpose of blasting his reputation—and day by day, and week after week, has he been subjected to the brutal insults and slanderous invectives of the vermin of the press, especially retained to do the filthy work of these very parties. Do they think then that they are entitled to Mr. Knibb's forbearance? Have they any just ground of complaint because he expresses for them his contempt and scorn? Assuredly not.

The *Reformer* closes his observations with the following appeal. "We ask an impartial public, if there be anything in those addresses to justify the ferocious violence manifested by the depraved organs of the dominant faction? For our parts we are only surprised that, under such exciting circumstances, with so many sources of discontent to rouse the angry passions, so much moderation and forbearance should have been observed in a meeting comprising so many of the injured parties. The meeting, however, will do good—we should like to see similar ones held in every parish in the island where such abuses exist—it would be the most effectual check on the lawless aggressions of petty tyrants and oppressors."

The accounts from British Guiana are very cheerful, and in singular contrast with the fallacious—we may say the wilfully false—statements which have abused the public ear in England.

WE mentioned in our last, that the wicked contract law passed by the planters of Barbados, in conjunction with their sapient governor, had thrown the island into a ferment. It now appears that the Barbadians are reaping the fruits of their folly in the rapid emigration of labourers to British Guiana, a relief to the oppressed which the recent disallowance of the emigration act by the home government renders, of course, of somewhat easier access. In this state of things the men of Barbados have become frantic, and have actually passed an act, to which the governor has given his sanction, in the very teeth of the home government. We give this extraordinary piece of legislation entire from the *Times* of Monday, as received by a private arrival bringing papers to so late a date as the 25th of March.

"BARBADOS.

"An act to amend two certain acts of this Island, one entitled 'an act to prevent the clandestine deportation of young persons from this Island,' and the other entitled 'an act to regulate the emigration of labourers from this Island, and to protect the labourers in this Island from impositions practised on them by emigration agents.'

"Whereas it is deemed expedient that the penalties declared in and by the first clause of the aforesaid act, entitled 'an act to prevent the clandestine deportation of young persons from this Island,' should apply only to the abduction of children under twelve years of age.

"Clause 1. Be it therefore enacted by his excellency Major-General Sir Evan John Murray M'Gregor, Bart., governor and commander-in-chief of this Island, the honourable members of her Majesty's council, and the general assembly of this island, that the first clause in the said last mentioned act shall apply only to the case of children under the age of sixteen years, as therein is provided. And that the second clause of the said last mentioned act shall apply to the case of young persons over the age of twelve, and under the age of twenty-one years. And wherens, in and by the said act, entitled an 'act to regulate the emigration of labourers from this Island,' the churchwarden and justice of the peace, whose duty it is to inquire whether any labourer, artificer, or pauper, desirous of emigrating from this island, hath any such kindred as in the said act is mentioned dependant on him or her for support, are not restricted as to the time within which such inquiry should be made.

"Clause 2. Be it therefore enacted, that such churchwarden and justice of the peace shall within ten days after application for that purpose to be made, as in the said last mentioned act is provided, give the certificate therein required, unless it shall appear within such period that such labourer, artificer, or pauper, hath any such kindred dependent on him or her for support, and for whom he or she shall not have made satisfactory provision during his or her absence; and to remove all doubts as to the true construction of the said act, it is hereby declared, that such labourer, artificer, or pauper, shall not be bound to adduce any witness or witnesses to prove that he or she leaves no such relative behind: provided also that the said act shall not apply to the case of paupers, unless there be reason to suspect that any such pauper hath designedly reduced himself or herself to that condition in order to evade the restrictions in the said last mentioned act. And whereas certain persons have been carrying on a traffic in labourers, to emigrate from this island to other colonies, such persons have by wicked devices endeavoured to dissatisfy the labourers with their state and condition, and they have greatly unsettled the minds of the labouring population, by their false pretensions, and have practised great fraud and

* The Rev. T. F. Abbott, a Baptist missionary, presided at Falmouth.

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deception upon the labourers to prevail on them to emigrate. And whereas, while it is just that the labouring classes should be left absolutely free to carry their labour to the market of their choice, yet it is proper to provide at the same time against their own ignorance and inexperience being practised on by interested parties, and experience has proved the inadequacy of the existing laws for that purpose.

"Clause 3. Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this act it shall not be lawful for any person, unless under the sanction of her Majesty's government, to act as an emigration agent in this island, and every person acting as such emigration agent in this island without such sanction, and every person counselling, aiding, and abetting any such offender, and every person who shall contract with, entice, persuade, or endeavour to seduce any labourer or artificer to go out of this island to any other colony or place, shall, on conviction thereof, before any police magistrate of this island, forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding 50*l.* nor less than 10*l.* for every labourer or artificer so contracted with, enticed, persuaded, or attempted so to be, and in default of payment shall be committed to the common gaol of this island, there to remain without bail or mainprise, for the space of three calendar months, unless the forfeiture so incurred shall be sooner paid, one half of which forfeiture shall go to the informer, and the other half be paid into the public treasury of this island for the public uses thereof; and if any person so convicted shall, after such conviction, be guilty of any such offence, and be thereof convicted before any police magistrate, such offender shall be imprisoned in the common gaol of this island, with or without hard labour, for the space of six calendar months.

"Clause 4. Provided nevertheless, and be it further enacted, that if any person be convicted before any police magistrate of any offence punishable by this act, or by the said act, entitled 'An Act to Prevent the Clandestine Deportation of Young Persons from this Island,' and shall think himself or herself agrieved by the judgment of such police magistrate, before whom he or she shall be convicted, such person shall have liberty to appeal from every such conviction to the Assistant Court of Appeal, and the execution of every such judgment so appealed from shall be suspended in case the person so convicted shall immediately enter into recognizances before such police magistrate, which he is hereby authorized and required to take, himself or herself in the sum of 50*l.*, and two sufficient sureties in the sum of 25*l.* each, current money of this island, if such conviction be a first conviction for any such offence, but if a subsequent conviction, then in the sum of 100*l.*, with two sufficient sureties in the sum of 50*l.* each, upon condition to prosecute such appeal with effect, and to be forthcoming to abide the judgment and determination of the said Court of Appeal, and to pay such costs as the said court shall award on such occasion; and if upon hearing such appeal the judgment of the police magistrate before whom the appellant shall have been convicted shall be affirmed, such appellant shall immediately be committed by the Assistant Court of Appeal to the common gaol of this island, without bail or mainprise, according to such conviction, and for the space of time therein mentioned, unless in case of a first conviction the sum adjudged to be paid by the police magistrate giving such judgment shall be paid.

"Read three times, and passed the Council unanimously, this 13th day of March, 1840.
"RICHARD HORT,
"Acting Colonial Secretary.

"Read three times, and passed the General Assembly, *nemine contradicente*, this 13th day of March, 1840,
"JOHN MYERS,
"Clerk of the General Assembly.

"E. J. MURRAY MACGREGOR, Governor.

"Government-house, Barbados, March 21, 1840."

This desperate effort of faction and tyranny, first to plunge the peasantry into hopeless wretchedness, and next to prevent their escape from it, has led to the following resolutions on the part of some of the colonists, as published in one of the Barbados papers.

"1. That this committee have witnessed with extreme regret the emigration of large numbers of the labouring population of this island to British Guiana; and believing, as they do, that it is neither to the true interest of the people themselves nor of the country that this emigration should continue, they cannot but deplore the existence of those causes which have led to it.

"2. That this committee have read with much alarm and sorrow the third clause of an act which has just passed the legislature for checking this emigration" (quoting the clause.)

"3. That this committee consider it a duty which they owe to themselves, to their labouring brethren, and to the country, unequivocally to deprecate and condemn this enactment, as encroaching unnecessarily and oppressively on the undoubted right of the people to receive counsel and advice from any persons whom they may choose to consult or confer with as to the disposal of themselves and their services by emigration or otherwise; and also on the right of every such person to give such counsel and advice without incurring legal penalties.

"4. That such an enactment is, in the opinion of this committee, eminently calculated to cherish and increase the excitement existing in the public mind at present, and to strengthen the hands of emigration agents, by enlisting on their side the sympathies and influence of the friends of the labouring population and the advocates of human rights."

These proceedings need no comment. No doubt the government will pursue a proper and spirited course on this occasion.

MEETING OF THE LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

YESTERDAY evening at seven o'clock, a meeting of the members and friends of the Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Music-hall, Bold-street, for the purpose of taking into consideration the duty of the friends of the negro, with reference to the present state of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

The meeting was rather numerously attended, although at the commencement of the proceedings very few people were present.

On the motion of Dr. Raffles, seconded by Mr. Richard Rathbone, the president of the society, Mr. John Cropper, took the chair.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, urged the importance of pressing upon the public the necessity of going on in the good work which the society had at heart, in particular that of carrying amongst the emancipated slaves the blessings of the Christian religion. He trusted that the example of this country would be followed by other nations, and that ere long the bonds of slavery would be for ever dissevered.

A very long report was then read by the Rev. Mr. Bevan, conveying a high tribute of respect to the memory of the late Mr. Cropper, and giving many details of the progress of the cause in various parts of the world. The report noticed in terms of commendation the efforts of the anti-slavery community of the United States. It also went to show that in Guiana, Demerara, Essequibo, &c., the landed property lately sold had for the most part brought much above its previous value, and none of it below it. This, the report contended, went to prove that the evils apprehended by the friends of slave labour had by no means been realized. Some of the details of the continuance of slavery in Cuba and other parts were sufficiently horrifying. The demoralization of Texas by the encouragement of slavery was dwelt upon, with a compliment to the anti-slavery states of the American union. The abolition movement was, however, going on, and could not be arrested. The dreadful mortality occasioned by slavery was dwelt upon, and it appeared that the annual expenditure of life by the traffic pursued by christian countries amounted to 375,000 individuals. Nothing would arrest the evil but the doing away with the employment of slaves, by bringing the minds of those who made them the instruments of their cupidity to a sense of their wickedness. The report concluded by intimating that, to arrest the dreadful evils of slavery, a convention of the friends of the abolition would be held at London in June next, upon which it implored the blessing of divine providence.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. John Scoble, whose name appeared in prominent characters in the placards. He was loudly cheered.

Mr. Scoble said he had listened with intense interest to the able and eloquent report just read by the secretary of the society. He felt that the ground which had been occupied by the secretary almost precluded the necessity of his appearance before them; the harvest had been reaped, and all he (Mr. Scoble,) could do, was to pass through the field and gather up a few scattered ears here and there, and present to them some few details upon points to which their attention had already been directed. The last time he had the pleasure of addressing an audience in this town, it was his principal duty to call attention to the wretched, horrid, and appalling situation of the negro apprentices; and to urge upon all the friends of humanity and freedom then present the necessity of exerting themselves yet once more, to put an end for ever to the system of slavery in the British West India colonies. Since that period, as the report had shown, they had achieved a noble triumph for liberty. There would not now be found in the length and breadth of our West India colonies a single slave; at this moment we should find human beings raised from the condition of cattle to the condition of men; we should find men formerly under the most inhuman system ever devised, reduced to the condition of beasts of burden, raised now to the condition of British freemen. In the colonies which he had recently visited, he had been struck, not merely with the results of emancipation in so far as the interests of the planters were concerned, but as far as the feeling and condition of the emancipated were concerned. He had found that commerce flourished; that trade was never in a more healthy condition than at the present time in the British colonies; that wherever there had been a defalcation in the amount of crops, it was to be traced either to the ordinances of providence, or to those circumstances which were foreseen, and said to have been provided against, by the planters themselves. We had heard very little of complaint from the colonies generally, with the exception of the island of Jamaica and British Guiana, with regard to the conduct of the labouring population. We found, indeed, charges brought against the emancipated negros, but they were merely a reiteration of those charges which were formerly brought against the slaves. The meeting knew that Pharaoh of old said to the children of Israel, that they were idle; and so it was said now of the freemen of our colonies. When you spoke to the planters in this country, and to the merchants who depended upon them, upon this subject you found they all said, "We cannot exact labour—the negros are indolent—they have a country abounding in fruits and roots, and everything that can sustain and gratify the appetite and heart of man, and they will not labour for more than what will just give them the necessaries of life." Throughout the press we found the same statement made; but what were the facts? It would be found, upon examination, that whenever the negro would not work it was because he was not adequately paid—it was because he knew the value of his labour that he was in opposition, generally speaking, to the planters. We were told, for instance, that in British Guiana, the negros received an immense reward for their toils. Now, what was the reward which the emancipated negro received in that colony for a day's labour, as fixed by the planters themselves? Just sixteenpence halfpenny sterling! (A loud cry of "No.") There is a gentleman who says no.

Mr. Semple then exclaimed, "I say no: I paid three guilders."

Mr. Scoble.—Will you be good enough to walk up, sir? (Mr. Semple complied with this request, by taking a seat upon the platform.) He (Mr. Scoble,) was exceedingly pleased that a gentleman from Demerara, a planter too, should appear, who said that he paid three guilders to his negros for a day's work. When his friend Mr. Bevan was reading his admirable report, he was hoping something of this kind might occur, in order that some spirit might be given to the meeting. A little opposition, especially from planters, was exceedingly gratifying to all parties who attended meetings of this kind, and now they were to have it. He would make his statement again—that the price of a day's labour, as fixed by the planters themselves, in British Guiana, was just one guilder *per diem*—the third part of a dollar, which, in sterling money, was 1*s.* 4½*d.*

Another gentleman.—That is for four hour's labour.

Mr. Scoble.—One gentleman at a time: he would dispose of one at once, and now for the facts of the case. During the period of apprenticeship, a tariff of labour was drawn up by a committee of planters; it received an official sanction from the late Sir James Carmichael Smith, and it was considered a sufficient amount of work for a negro performing a day's labour of seven hours and a half. When the 1st of August, 1838, arrived, this same tariff of labour was considered the standard of a day's labour for the freemen, and for that day's labour the sum of one guilder *per diem* was offered by the planters; and the negros were compelled, after the 1st of August, to accept the tariff of the planters. His statement was this:—that the day's labour, as far as the amount was concerned, was fixed by the planters themselves upon the 1st of August, 1838; that the amount of wages they gave for it was also fixed by the planters themselves at one guilder *per diem*. He was speaking of the ordinary field labourers, and of the amount ordinarily expected. If the negros did not perform the full amount of labour, a certain amount was deducted from the guilder, and they

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received only the balance, which was but fair and just to the two parties contracting, and he did not quarrel with it. Now he should be glad, before he proceeded any further, to hear the statement of the gentleman with regard to the three guilders being paid *per diem*.

Mr. Semple then stood forward. When Mr. Scoble stated that one guilder was the wages given to negros in British Guiana for a day's labour, he was constrained to call out—No; and he maintained it was not the fact. He would in a very few words prove to the meeting that it was not the case. He was himself a native of Demerara, and he had inherited from his father a small West Indian property. He was as averse to slavery as any man and christian possibly could be. His inheritance had been but trifling; and such was his aversion to and detestation of anything like slavery, that as soon as he became of age he declared that he would have nothing to do with it. His patrimony was sold, and he turned his attention to mercantile pursuits. He settled at Berbice, a portion of British Guiana, where he resided as a merchant eleven years; and his character, he believed, was tolerably well known both there and in Liverpool. He had no slaves—he owned none; neither had he anything to do with them, except as porters and domestics. After he came to this country he took into partnership two young men who had been his clerks; but one morning, on going to the office, he was greatly surprised to find that his partners, without his sanction or permission, had bought a large estate, for which they gave between £30,000 and £40,000. Under these circumstances and in this respect he was undoubtedly a West India proprietor; but so far from Mr. Scoble's statement being true, he could show the meeting, or Mr. Scoble himself, his returns, proving that the wages paid these people were three guilders per day. What Mr. Scoble said of the rate of 16½d. might be true; but Mr. Scoble knew that that 1s. 4½d. was for a "task" of seven hours and a half labour, which any negro could do in four hours with great ease; but for twelve hours they could get three guilders, and his people did get it.

Mr. Scoble.—Oh, oh.

Mr. Semple desired that he might not be interrupted by such exclamations as oh, oh.

Mr. Scoble said he would not cause any further interruption.

Mr. Semple would go further to say, that he should be exceedingly happy to show Mr. Scoble his accounts of the earnings of his people. Indeed a friend of his, who had but just sailed for Barbadoes, waited upon Mr. Scoble yesterday, but could not meet with him, for the same purpose; and there were gentlemen in that meeting who would bear him out when he said that he had himself yesterday sought for Mr. Scoble. Indeed, if Mr. Scoble had not invited him he should have intruded himself upon the meeting. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Scoble said, of course it would be exceedingly rude in him to attempt to invalidate the statements of Mr. Semple, who said that his negros received three guilders *per diem* for their work. He would not undertake to refute him, or to say the fact was not so; but the meeting would permit him to bring before them one or two official facts, for, after all, more attention would be paid to them than either to Mr. Semple or himself, as bearing on the question mooted between them. With regard to the amount of wages paid for a day's labour, he had before him a statement made by certain colonists from Demerara, in the shape of an address to Lord John Russell, in which they stated that they paid 1s. 6d. *per diem* to the negro.

A voice.—Read the passage.

Mr. Scoble must be allowed first to make his statement, and then he would read the passage. In this address it was stated that the value of a day's labour was nominally 1s. 6d., but that the real value was fixed at 1s. 4½d, the value of the dollar being fixed by proclamation at 4s. 2d. Mr. Scoble then read an extract from a despatch from Lord John Russell to the governor of British Guiana, dated 15th February, 1840, and requested the chairman to say whether he had read correctly or not.

The Chairman looked at the passage, and said Mr. Scoble had read it correctly.

Mr. Scoble continued.—Now what was the amount of labour exacted from the negros for this 1s. 6d., but which was really only 1s. 4d. *per diem*? In a despatch from governor Light to Lord Glenelg, dated January 30th, 1839, it was stated that the planters had desired him (the governor) to authorise the substitution of nine hours labour *per diem* instead of seven hours and a half, but that he had refused. [Mr. Scoble read the extract.] It had been stated that the negros upon the plantations could perform three days' work upon one—

Mr. Semple.—No; I said they could perform three of these tariffs in one day.

Mr. Scoble.—Well, that is the same thing.

Mr. Semple.—Not exactly. I said they could perform three of these tariffs in one day.

A gentleman.—They can do four.

Mr. Scoble.—I beg to deny most distinctly that statement.

The gentleman.—I beg to say I have seen it myself.

Mr. Scoble had had proof of this fact in the year 1837, and subsequently when he visited the colonies, that there were different soils in British Guiana. The labour upon one estate might be very much lighter than upon another. Upon the east coast, where the soil was light and pliable, the negros could perform their accustomed task in much less time than the negros who were located upon the banks of the river could perform theirs.

A gentleman.—It is just the opposite.

Mr. Scoble said that was a most extraordinary statement, for there was not a planter who did not know that the soil upon the river was stiff and hard, whilst that upon the east coast was light and pliable, and that much more labour could therefore be performed upon the one than upon the other. This was clear from this fact—that upon some estates on the banks of the river, the tariff of one hundred roods weeding and moulding had been reduced to seventy-five, in consequence of the labourers not being able to perform it within the seven hours and a half. It was easy for one gentleman to affirm and for another to deny; it must be for the meeting to judge. He had proved, in the first place, the value of a day's labour in a memorial to Lord John Russell from the planters themselves, and what a day's labour was had been stated by the governor of Guiana; and he would leave the meeting to decide the question. During the season of crop it was usual to give higher wages to those who were employed about the buildings—in the boiling house—because they were required to labour a greater number of hours, in order that the saccharine matter might be properly boiled out. Now he had known in these circumstances a negro to get from one and a half to two guilders per day; but it was only during the apprenticeship, when the value of labour was much more highly appreciated in Guiana than at present. And he said, looking at the fertility of the soil as compared with other colonies, the remuneration of labour, whether one guilder or three guilders *per diem*, was not too much, and that the planters could afford to give more.

Mr. Semple said he had an engagement to meet, but before he left the meeting he wished to remind Mr. Scoble of one circumstance—that he (Mr. Semple) did not at all contend or maintain that three guilders *per diem* was too much. All he said was this, that it was what his people got, and that it was the minimum of each negro's earnings upon the estates with which he was concerned. Independently of that, they had free rent and medical attendance.

Mr. Scoble wished to say that himself and Mr. Cropper would do themselves the pleasure of waiting upon Mr. Semple to-morrow.

Mr. Semple said he should be most happy to see them.

Mr. Scoble observed it must be borne in mind that Mr. Semple had stated that the minimum was three guilders per diem.

A Voice.—For how long?

Mr. Semple.—I say for the day; and I believe not for twelve hours.

The Chairman.—However, we will call upon you.

Mr. Semple.—Very well.

Mr. Scoble resumed. He should be very happy to bear his testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Semple's statements when he had examined the documents, should he find them correct. He would repeat the observation that this tariff of wages had been fixed by the planters themselves; and he would ask the meeting, as a question of common sense, whether it was at all likely the planters would fix such a small amount of labour to be performed in return for their wages as some gentlemen would have them suppose? Much had been said with regard to the diminution of produce in British Guiana; much had been said too as to the ruin of that fine portion of the British empire. He felt more than ordinary interest in that colony, for he had spent a longer period in it than in any other which he visited during his two tours, in the years 1836 and 1838. So far from being an enemy to the colony or to the planters, he would ask any person whether he had ever deteriorated the character of the colony? On the contrary, he had often said it was one of the most splendid appendages to the British crown—that there was ample room in it for forty millions of people—that it had a soil of inexhaustible fertility; and that those individuals who located themselves there, provided they went as free persons, and took care of their freedom when there, were likely by steady industry to raise themselves. This he had asserted again and again; for he was no enemy to emigration thither. His quarrel was not with the colony, but with the men who were the governors of it—the planters; and so soon as they could be trusted with any grace with those who went there, he would allow them to have them. This was a point of very great importance in connexion with the prosperity, present and future, of British Guiana. He ought to state that there was a gross fallacy lurking under the statements made by gentlemen with respect to that colony. In all the written documents which had appeard before the public, and in all the statements made with regard to the falling off in the amount of the crops in the colony, they had on all occasions studiously concealed some of the facts of the case. In the first place, they had disguised the actual amount of the exports of the colony under the name of hogsheads of sugar. They would never, they took care, go into details as to how many hundred weights less were the exports last year—but he had found out that the hogsheads increased very much in size; and it would be found, when the official documents were published, that the amount of sugar shipped from Demerara and Berbice during the last year did not fall so very short from the amount exhibited the year before, as stated by the planters themselves. He had before him an official document, which gave the total amout of sugar exported, (but it did not go into details of the different colonies) during last year, as compared with the preceding years. Looking at the whole of the colonies, the amount was 698,000 cwts. less as compared 1838; and 483,000 cwts. as compared with 1837, which he believed the planters of Guiana said was a very profitable year to them. So that the loss upon the sum total was not very great. Mr. Scoble then proceeded to contend that the principal cause of the falling off in the produce of British Guiana in 1839 was the drought, and to defend the character of the negro for industry; and in conclusion he mentioned three points, on each of which he enforced the well known views of the abolitionists, namely, legislation, administration of justice, and emigration; but owing to the late hour at which the meeting concluded, and the necessity for going to press soon, we are unable to report his arguments. In conclusion he moved a resolution declaratory of the sentiments of the meeting.

William Rathbone, Esq. hoped this country would never cease in its exertions, until the abolition of slavery was achieved in every quarter of the globe. God had made all men alike, and there was no need for such meetings if christians proceeded upon the principles which they professed.

The Rev. Mr. KELLY moved a resolution to the effect that slavery was pernicious alike to the slave-holders and the enslaved. He would make no lengthened remarks, as an American gentleman would succeed him, who represented a country which had much more to contend with than this. He considered that the work of abolition, to be successful, must be founded on Christian principles.

The Rev. JOHN KEEP, from America.—It was gratifying to state that in no part of the British dominions was now heard the clanking of the chains of slavery. He then alluded to the American abolitionists. Slavery existed in its most painful form in the United States. He traced the commencement of slavery, upwards of two hundred years ago, in these states, when they were under the British flag. He furnished some interesting details relative to the gallant conduct of the slaves during the revolutionary war. He next noticed in indignant terms the opposition to free discussion in America on the subject of slavery. Mr. Scoble, he said, had, however, been heard with attention, and there were 1500 anti-slavery associations in the states. A school was also commenced, into which the black man and the white man were admitted together. The place, such was the opposition, was in a dense and remote forest near Lake Eirie. The speaker expressed his gratitude for the kindness with which he, as a member of a deputation from the American states, had been received in England, and rejoiced in the brotherhood of his countrymen and the British public in the cause in which they had mutually embarked. He doubted not but

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their combined exertions would result in victory. The motion was carried unanimously.

Dr. Raffles, in an eloquent address, moved the next resolution, opposing the proposed introduction of Hill Coolies into the Mauritius.

The motion was unanimously agreed to, as also a petition founded upon it.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the meeting broke up.

LETTER OF THE REV. W. BEVAN.

To the Editor of the *Liverpool Standard*.

SIR,—Having observed in the *Standard* of Tuesday last, some lengthened strictures upon the proceedings of the late meeting of the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society, permit me to request that you will afford room in your forthcoming publication, for the correction of certain misapprehensions and inaccuracies in the article to which I refer.

It is inquired by the writer, as "the ostensible object of the meeting, was 'to take into consideration the duty of the friends of the negro, with reference to the present state of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world,'" "Why was the subject of the *British* colonies in the West Indies introduced into the discussion?" The vast importance which attaches to the successful issue of the experiment of emancipation, in connexion with the discussion of the general question of slavery, is of itself sufficient to warrant the most searching inquiry into the progress, and a constant recurrence to the results of that experiment. Besides, the events which have occurred in those colonies in the working out of the great physical and moral transition, have not been of a nature to justify any relaxation of the supervision which is necessary on the part of this country to the satisfactory establishment of the negro's rights. Further, it was incumbent on those to whom the management of the meeting was committed, to review all that had been done in the struggle and the triumph of the two years that had elapsed since the members of the society were convened, and to state the measures that had been adopted for the purpose of demonstrating to other nations, yet contaminated with the sin of slave-holding, the propriety and expediency (confirmatory of the justice) of abolishing the system.

The report noticed the attempted revival of the Hill Coolie traffic. Documents are now before me (some of them are before the public—others of them shall not long remain unpublished) from courts of justice in India, and from commissions of inquiry in British Guiana and Mauritius, which furnish ground for the apprehensions entertained, that, if the projects of certain parties had not been suppressed by the government, a traffic no less to be deprecated, because no less unjust and cruel than the slave-trade would have threatened thousands of helpless victims.

The remainder of the report furnished a comprehensive sketch of the present state of slavery and the slave-trade in various quarters of the globe.

After most deliberate reflection, I am unable to discover on what part of the proceedings of the meeting, as reported in the *Standard* of Friday last, the writer of that article will fix for proof of the insinuated charge of "the most relentless persecution" of the planters.

The writer further observes—"Mr. Scoble said, that, during his recent visit to the West Indies, 'he had found that commerce flourished—that trade was never in a more healthy condition than at the present time.' From this sweeping assertion, we might infer that there had been for the last two years no deficiency in the amount of exports from the West Indies. Is this the fact?" Now, had the writer of that article taken the trouble of referring to your own report of the meeting, he would have found that Mr. Scoble's statement was contrary to his own hypothetical inference, and fatal to the ungenerous implication it involves. In that report, Mr. Scoble is represented as having before him an official document giving the total amount of sugar exported during the past year, as compared with preceding years. "Looking at the whole of the colonies, the amount was 698,000 cwts. less as compared with 1838, and 485,000 cwts. as compared with 1837." In another journal, Mr. Scoble is reported to have "quoted two despatches from the governor of British Guiana, both alluding to the extensive injury done by the drought." "He also mentioned, as within his own knowledge, various estates on which the canes had yielded less last year, in consequence of the drought, than was expected. In one instance, from 10 acres of canes were expected 10 hhds., but had only produced 7; in another, 80 acres yielded only 35 hhds., when 80 were expected; on a third, 102 acres only furnished about 65 hhds. Thus they would perceive, that the falling off in the amount of the crops last year was not owing to the indolence of the negros, but to the ordinances of providence."

That the reason assigned for the deficiency by the report and by Mr. Scoble was not unfounded, will appear from the authority of governor Light:—

In a despatch of April 26, 1839, the governor says:—"The season, which had been excessively favourable at the beginning of the year, and gave promise of large return, has not for upwards of 72 days had a respite from excessive drought; the consequence has been, that the savannahs, creeks, or lakes have been dried up; the trenches having no supply had been exhausted, and the canes have been left uncut from the *impossibility* of conveyance to the works. This, then, is *the chief cause of the failure*, and *not the idleness of the peasantry*, to which some of the planters are disposed to ascribe it."

In an address to the combined court on the 19th February, 1839, the governor says:—"*We have no right to ascribe to emancipation the deficiency of staple products since the 1st of August.* If exportable produce be diminished in quantity, it has increased in value; if the planter do not obtain full labour, yet his payments on that point are lessened."

In a despatch from Governor Light, dated October 15, 1839, he notices the quantity of sugar shipped during the third quarter of that year—"It is considerably less then in the corresponding quarters of 1831-32-33; it is in hogsheads 2765 less than the corresponding quarter last year, but the price of produce has increased in proportion to the diminution of the crop. It is a fact, that from the unfavourable season during a portion of the year the canes have yielded ONE-THIRD LESS THAN USUAL; the last quarter of the year, considering the favourable season for the last month, is likely to give a much larger return. I shall be prepared to show by the prices of the last twelve or fifteen years, that even supposing the exports of sugar for the year 1839, from this colony only, reach 35,000 hogsheads; the returns in money will be larger than when the produce was at its greatest extent."

As to the imports into the colonies, it will be sufficient to quote the same high authority in a dispatch of May last. Governor Light says,

"The increasing demands of British Guiana for manufactured goods and other supplies have occasioned an additional tonnage inwards of 10,618 as compared with that of the year 1836, and of 4270 tons as compared with that of the year 1837."

And again,

"It is presumed that the real decrease in the outward tonnage is about 10,000 tons in 1838 as compared with 1837, and this decrease is no greater than the result of the last year rendered probable.

"I trust these remarks will enable your lordship to judge of the real grounds for the outcry made by interested persons against the diminishing resources of this colony."

Acordingly he addressed the combined council in these terms.

"It could not have been expected that internal commerce could probably long withstand any great diminution of exportable produce That the merchants do not anticipate this, is proved by the numerous stores established in all parts of the colony where they were before unknown; and though those articles formerly wholesale to the planter are now no longer required, yet equal, if not greater trade takes place under a new form. You will agree with me that George Town presents few symptoms of anticipated ruin."

These extracts, confirmatory both of the report and of the proceedings of the meeting, are sufficient to produce conviction in every candid mind.

Let an equitable and benevolent system of management be established in that and other colonies, and the testimony of Governor Light with regard to some estates will soon become true of all—"Where tact, judgment, and conciliation have exhibited a corresponding feeling, steady labour has been obtained." I am, sir, yours &c.,

WILLIAM BEVAN.

April 25, 1840.

MR. SEMPLE'S LETTER TO MR. CROPPER.

Liverpool, 20*th April*, 1840.

DEAR SIR,—Agreeably to your request, I beg to hand you a copy of Mr. William Laing's declaration, (signed in presence of yourself, Mr. Bevan, and Mr. Scoble), of amount of wages paid by himself to labourers in Berbice. This document and the others you and Messrs. Bevan and Scoble have seen at my office, prove that labourers in general (in that colony) can earn, if they choose to work, three guilders per diem, and that some do earn more than three guilders a-day.

So far I am justified in having contradicted Mr. Scoble at the anti-slavery meeting, when he so expressed himself as to make it appear that a guilder was the full amount of a day's labour in British Guiana; but I was wrong in so expressing myself, as to seem to assert that the labourers in that colony were in the habit of earning, at least, on the estates in which I have an interest, three guilders a-day, No man knows better than Mr. Scoble himself, that the negros do not choose to earn as much as they can—that sometimes they only do half-a-day's work—that sometimes they work for a week or two, and then idle for a week or two. The fact that they can at pleasure work in this desultory manner is the best proof that they enjoy superior advantages, in point of remuneration, to European labourers.

Supposing that they choose only to earn a guilder a day, these wages together with the advantages of having their cottages rent free, and medical attendance provided them, and in many instances education for their children, amounts to much more in substantial value than any wages paid to agricultural labourers in any part of Europe. This may be very easily proved.

I have the honour to be, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

To John Cropper, Esq. ROBERT SEMPLE.

MR. LAING'S DECLARATION.

"I, William Laing, of the county of Berbice, in the colony of British Guiana, planter, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare, that I, together with others, am the owner of the estate Friends and Mara, in Germania, in the said colony; and that, on the 1st day of August, 1838, I was the superintending manager of the said estates, and that the following was the scale of wages I proposed to the labourers on the said estates, namely, one guilder for the task of work termed the seven and a half hours' task, which is easily performed by industrious men and women in from four to five hours; many of the labourers on the said estates having often, in a day, performed treble the quantity, for which they received three guilders, and occasionally even more so, as to earn from four to five guilders per day; and, in addition to these wages, they were allowed houses, all framed cottages with two floors, as much provision ground as they choose to cultivate for their own benefit, medical attendance, medicine, and tuition, gratuitously; and in order to encourage them to be industrious and to remain continuously at work, every one who had finished six days' work received, weekly, one bunch of plantains, or five pounds of rice and one pound and a half of salt fish, some rum and sugar, gratis, and frequently a little pork and tobacco were also allowed, and they were encouraged to rear poultry, hogs, and vegetables for their own benefit. And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, by virtue of the statute in this behalf made and provided."

The above declaration was solemnly made and subscribed by the said William Laing, at Liverpool, in England, this 18th day of April, 1840, before me,

(Signed) WILLIAM LAING.

MR. SCOBLE'S LETTER TO MR. CROPPER.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 24th inst., with its enclosures—a letter from Mr. Robert Semple, dated the 20th inst., and a declaration of his partner, Mr. Laing, on the subject of labour and wages in Guiana, has reached me; and, I regret to say, the contents of these papers are such as to make it incumbent upon me to reply to them at length.

After the interview I had with Mr. Semple at which you and the Rev.

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Mr. Bevan were present, and the apparently ingenuous manner in which he lamented that, under the excitement of the moment, he should have made statements in contradiction to mine calculated to mislead the public on the matter at issue between us, I regret that he should have fallen back on the justification which that letter contains. When he spoke of that "tenderness of conscience" which led him to return to the Anti-Slavery meeting, unfortunately too late for the purpose of correcting the serious error into which he had fallen, notwithstanding his expectation that he should be hooted and hissed for so doing, I gave him credit for upright intentions; when he further stated that he had written a note to you as the chairman of that meeting, expressing his sorrow for what had occurred, but which note had not reached you, in consequence of the injudicious counsels of one of your friends to whom it had been shown, I felt it would be ungenerous in me to pursue the matter further, especially as I expected from him, as the sequel to our interview, a letter to you containing an admission of his error, and an expression of regret that it had occurred. I have been deceived. Mr. Semple has refused to do me justice; and has allowed the pro-slavery papers in Liverpool—the *Mail* and the *Standard*—to apply the most opprobrious epithets to me under the sanction of his name, and, as I must now believe, with his full concurrence.

The charge brought against me by Mr. Semple at the Anti-slavery meeting held in our town on the 16th inst., was that I had understated the amount of wages paid to the labourers in British Guiana for the ordinary day's labour. My statement was, that for an ordinary day's labour, fixed by a tariff or scale by the planters themselves at the commencement of the apprenticeship system, and continued since the period of complete emancipation, the wages paid was one guilder. This Mr. Semple rudely and peremptorily denied, and asserted that he paid three guilders. I referred then in proof of my assertion, to the parliamentary papers I had with me; but still Mr. Semple maintained the truth of his averment, and added, that three guilders *per diem* "was the *minimum of each negros earnings upon the estates with which he was concerned*, and challenged an investigation of his books in proof of his statement. His books were examined, and the opposite of his statement was found to be true. So far from *each* negro earning three guilders *per diem*, it was ascertained that, out of a gang of about 120 on plantation *Mara*, in Berbice, there were not more than five whose earnings amounted, during either the months of November and December 1839, and of January 1840, to more than thirty guilders per month, or little more than a guilder per diem, whilst all the rest were under that amount, some very considerably so indeed. So much for the proof.

Previously to my having visited Mr. Semple, I had again referred to the parliamentary papers, No. 151, 1840, and found on pp. 48 and 50, a letter from the house of R. Semple and Co., dated Liverpool, 25th November, 1839, in which my general statement finds ample corroboration. They say, "one guilder, equal to 1s. 6d. (rather to 1s. 4½d sterling—a guilder being the third part of a dollar, the sterling value of which is fixed at 4s. 9d.) for the task of work termed the seven and a-half hours task," in other words, the day's labour as fixed by the tariff, without allowing for the time necessarily taken up in going to and returning from labour, which is sometimes considerable, the estates in that colony being from two to six miles in depth. They further say, in a subsequent paragraph of their letter, "and to encourage them (the labourers) to be *industrious*, and to remain continuously at work, every one who finishes *six days' work*, that is six tasks as regulated by the tariff, one each day, receives *weekly* one bunch of plantains," or some other equivalent as an extra reward for the same. It is material to observe here, that, as Messrs. Semple and Co. had previously stated the value of the ordinary day's labour to be one guilder, so they have applied the same words to designate the amount of work regulated by the tariff as I have done—they call it a "*day's work*." It is also quite clear that they consider their people to be industrious when they perform the task required by the tariff. And thus I am perfectly justified by the very party on whose authority I am pronounced to be "a tricking trader in falsehood,"—"a liar"—and the greatest enemy of the colonies! I might have added the further testimonies of Governor Light, and of Lord John Russell on the same subject, but as I quoted them at the meeting, it is unnecessary that I should do more than merely advert to them here.

As to the question whether any or all the negro freemen in Guiana, can perform more than one task in the day, that is a mere matter of opinion, and must depend entirely on a variety of circumstances, such as the nature of the work—the soil of the estate—the condition of the fields—distance from the buildings—weather—and the skill, strength, and activity of the workman. Mr. Semple said, that *all* his people performed *three* tasks daily for which they obtained *three* guilders each, besides perquisites: and that the three tasks could be performed easily in less than twelve hours. In this, however, he has been proved to have grossly exaggerated, both by his own admissions, and by the papers he exhibited to us at our interview with him; and in this, as we have already seen, he has been contradicted by the evidence of the letter addressed by the house of which he is the head to Lord John Russell, and by the subsequent declaration of his partner, Mr. Laing. Here is the latter gentleman's declaration: "the following was the scale of wages I proposed to the labourers on said estates"—viz. Mara and the Friends,—"one guilder for the task of work termed the seven hours and a-half task, which," he adds, "is easily performed by industrious men and women, in from four to five hours. *Many*—not *all*, as was asserted by Mr. Semple—of the labourers on the said estates, having often in a day performed treble the quantity for which they received three guilders, and occasionally, even more, so as to earn from four to five guilders per day." Now let us take it for granted that the task required by the tariff can be performed in four hours and a-half by an industrious negro, it would take nine hours to perform two tasks; thirteen hours and a-half to perform three tasks; eighteen hours to perform four tasks; and twenty-two hours and a-half to get through five tasks, so as to secure the five guilders spoken of by Mr. Laing. The extreme period of day-light at any time of the year in Guiana is scarcely more than twelve hours, and sometimes less, so that an industrious labourer, to earn his three guilders, must actually be in the field one hour and a-half daily longer than he has light to work by, without allowing himself a single moment for rest or for meals, during that long period of thirteen hours and a-half of toil, in darkness, or under the blaze of a tropical sun; or without reckoning the time he must occupy in going to or returning from his labour, which varies from one to three hours, according to distance!

In the document shown to us by Mr. Semple, we found in a few instances, say four or five, that negros had earned occasionally as much as three guilders per day on plantation Mara, but the nature of the work performed, was not specified. It did not appear whether these men had been employed in cutting new canals, or in the boiling-house, or as tradesmen under specific agreements for labour not provided for in the tariff, and, therefore they could not be quoted as justifying Mr. Laing in his declaration, that "*many* of the labourers on the said estates had *often* in a day performed *treble* the quantity required by the tariff, for which they received three guilders," any more than Mr. Laing's *many* could justify Mr. Semple's *all*. Besides which, Mr. Laing had the candour to inform me, in answer to my inquiries, that new canals had certainly been cut on the estates, and that, in reference to the ordinary business of the plantations, the practice of *doubling* the wages of the people had been resorted to after they had performed a certain amount of work in the day, to induce them to go on.

I may just add, that the day's labour expected from the immigrants who have been introduced into Guiana, whether Portuguese, Maltese, Coolies, or negros, is the same in amount with that set out in the tariff, and that, if that amount be performed, the planters are fully satisfied, as well they might be!

On the causes which have led to deficiency of the crops, in that colony, last year, it is quite unnecessary that I should say one word after the conclusive letter of the Rev. Mr. Bevan, which appeared in the *Mercury* of the 24th inst., and the remarks which I made on that point at the meeting; but it may be proper that, as the accuracy of my statement on the subject of the increased size of the hogsheads has been disputed by some and positively denied by others, I should give the data on which it rests: I have before me a statement drawn up by Mr. John S. Kewley, dated Liverpool, 31st December, 1839, which gives the number of hogsheads of sugar which have been imported into this country from the West India colonies from 1829 to 1839 inclusive; and the official statement of the same staple given in hundred weights for the same period. By comparing these with each other, my statement will be found strictly true. For instance, in 1829, the imports according to Kewley, were 271,700 hhds. according to government 3,764,333 cwts:—1833. 238,000 hhds.: 3,646,204 cwts.: 1836.—225,850 hhds.: 3,601,791 cwts.: and 1839.—179,800 hhds.:—2,822,872 cwts. It will thus be seen that the hogsheads increased in bulk between 1829 and 1839 nearly two cwts. each, or full one seventh; and that 225,850 hhds. in 1836, carried nearly as much sugar as 238,000 hhds. did in 1833! These figures will speak for themselves; and will show our friends the necessity of demanding from the West Indians, when they talk of the great diminution in the number of hogsheads of sugar which have been exported from the colonies since emancipation has taken place, as compared with the good old days of slavery, what has been the actual decrease in hundred weights. In my speech at Liverpool I stated the actual decrease, and I challenge disproof of its truth, as of all other statements I publicly make on matters at issue, between the abolitionists and the West Indians. Their abuse and calumnies I despise, their want of prudence and foresight I lament, and I can assure the more wise and honest portion of them that they will always have my hearty co-operation in any measures, the object of which may be the real welfare and happiness both of themselves and of their people.

I am dear Sir,

To JOHN CROPPER, Esq. J. SCOBLE.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The subscriptions among the peasantry for the memorial to Sir Lionel Smith, is expected to amount to Five Hundred Pounds

ST. LUCIA.—The late charge of the chief justice of this island to the assessors of the royal court, affords the following satisfactory extract:—"I now proceed to direct your attention to the more immediate object of our meeting in this hall, viz., the state of the calendar: and here again, there is fresh subject of congratulation for us all. Attribute the great diminution of crime (particularly of the more heinous offences,) to what you may, the fact is indisputable, that there has been a great diminution of crime amongst the people; the wayward and savage passions, the rude revenge, which manifest themselves amongst the lower classes of society in every community, have displayed themselves here much less frequently than heretofore. Since the apprenticeship ceased, we have had (with one single and sad exception,) neither the atrocities nor the wild vengeance of former times to repress and deplore. All the jealousy of mastership, on the one side, all the impatience of restraint and turbulence which mastership, as it existed, gave birth to on the other,—have passed away, nor most fortunately in this island left a trace of bad feeling or exasperation behind; all the dissensions and evil passions of a former state of things having been lost in the gratitude and fruition of the present.

"It would not be fitting from this place to discuss the general question of the negro character, his capacity or his abilities but certainly a more contented, peaceful, and well disposed race than the population of this island can no where be met with. That they are not *all* industrious, that they have not *all* found out their own true and best interests, that they have not *all* yet learned that the chief charm of existence in every rank of life is to be found in well apportioned, and active, and useful exertion of body and mind,—or that the destiny of man on this earth is to gain "his bread by the sweat of his brow," may be fairly laid more to their misfortune than their fault,—to the former system of slavery and its consequences,—to the want of proper and patient instruction, and oftentimes to the want of proper management on the part of those whom Providence has placed in a higher grade of society. And if labour has in some instances been directed into other hands, or from circumstances into other channels than formerly, there cannot be a doubt but that the *number* of labourers now at work on your rich and beautiful valleys, and the amount of labour performed by them in the aggregate, is not less than during any period of the apprenticeship, or proportionally of former times. Give, then, your peasantry the same encouragement and opportunities, and the same training which others have had in more favoured islands, and you will not find them either falter or fail, and under a bountiful providence you may speedily enjoy a prosperity which you have not yet known."

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BRITISH GUIANA. We copy from the *Times* the following instructive extract of a letter from Demerara, dated March 4, 1840. "The close of the last year has exhibited a considerable falling off in our sugar-crops, as you will observe, and the decrease is, of course, to be greatly attributed (though not altogether) to the want of labour. Not altogether, because the unprecedented dry season up to May, 1839, and the absence of the usual rains of December, January and February preceding, are very important causes to be considered in accounting for this decrease. You are mistaken in thinking that I am less sanguine in my hopes for this colony's future prosperity; they are not even damped by the small crop of last year, more especially as we are now bestirring ourselves with every prospect of success in emigration, as I will presently inform you.

"I can tell you this fact, not yet public, that the surplus of the customs to be paid into the colonial treasury for 1839 is nearly £16,000 (while that of 1838 was £8000-odd,) nearly double, and every source of internal taxation has given greatly more than was calculated, in many cases twice as much. Again, had it not been for the conduct of our combined court last year, who, with a mixture of folly and selfishness, cried out ruin, and acted in their cheese-paring, penny-wise, pound-foolish economy, as if they really believed the cry, we might (as Trinidad has) have got 3000 or 4000 emigrants, and thus made a large crop; but when they asked to be allowed to apply large sums of money to be raised by internal taxation to emigration, they were told by the secretary of state that they had declared by their acts their inability to provide for the first exigencies of society, and that they had no surplus revenue, which could alone be legitimately applied to external purposes, if these first exigencies of society were first provided for.

"I do most sanguinely anticipate increasing prosperity, and I would at this moment buy a sugar estate, could I get an advance of capital; shortly they will not be to be had on the same terms, as the moment the stream of emigration sets towards our shores the value of property will increase 50 per cent.

"In the absence of permission to apply any of the public funds to emigration, and on the receipt in December last of letters from our fellow-colonists in the United States, we called a public meeting, and organized a society for the purpose of emigration, to be supported in the mean time, and until the embargo on the public funds for that purpose is removed, by voluntary subscription. We have received subscriptions to the amount of nearly £6000; have forwarded to our agent in the United States, £1500 for the fitting out vessels for conveyance of the free coloured population to this colony, and are now daily expecting advices from him. In the mean time, and without waiting to hear of the proceedings here, our agent prevailed on thecoloured population of Baltimore and state of Maryland to send two deputies chosen at a great public meeting to report on the state of this colony, its condition, soil and natural productions, and on the social and political rights of coloured men; they have been here six weeks, have been all over the colony, and are now about to depart in a day or two, with expressions of satisfaction as to the result of their inquiries; and if their report to their constituents corresponds with their expressed opinions here, we may look for emigration in numbers. The disallowance of the restrictive law of Barbados has opened that source, and we have now in the river fifty-two emigrant labourers, and many more expected. The population there is in a very distressed and disturbed state; they are over-populated, and their wages are consequently too small, and in the event of short crop there, as is the case, much of the population are actually out of employment."

FOR some reason or other, the good people of this colony are rapidly eating up their own words. The following direct confirmation of all that the abolitionists have ever said is found in a late number of the *Guiana Royal Gazette*.

"The arguments used by the philanthropists in favour of the slandered Africans have in many cases, even in this colony, received a strong practical corroboration; for, notwithstanding that we must confess that there are still some whose characters have not justified the hopes of their friends, yet it is well known that the examples of civilization, morality, religion, and political refinement, which many saw in their days of bonds and coercion, have had the most salutary effects upon their lives and manners since; and these effects, as every proprietor, and every clergyman, and every man of observation throughout the colony can testify, have become more and more visible since the period at which the labourers were put in possession of the means of shewing them. So that it is satisfactory to know that, after all we have heard—after all the murmurings of doubt and despair that have rung in our ears, and after we have been stunned and terrified with the cries of bankruptcy and abandonment, the real cases of vagrancy and entire relinquishment of labour are only exceptions and not the common course of things.

"It is the opinion of every prudent and moderate man who has the management of labourers and of property, that a spice of mildness and conciliation introduced into the treatment of the workers would go far to induce even the most refractory and lazy to return to habits of industry. A stranger previously to the first of August, 1838, who had an opportunity of consulting the various statements made by some of the old colonists, wherein they affirmed that the whole of our peasantry in a body would after freedom betake themselves to the woods, and finally abandon the walks of civilization, and who would now survey the dwellings of the industrious labourers upon the estates, and therein see the comforts with which they are surrounded, and recognise in their dwellings the abodes of comparative refinement and religion, could not fail to discover that those gloomy predictions were founded upon prejudice, and not upon reason. Facts are every day coming in to annihilate the strong bias that seemed to have possession of the minds of some against the industrious character of our labourers; and now that we have had twenty months of the experience of complete freedom, in the course of this time, with only some exceptions, the hopes of the friends of the Africans have been confirmed, while the fears of their enemies have been in a proportionate degree disappointed. Those who have adopted the mild and conciliatory course have found it to answer well, while such as commenced with harsh and unamiable measures have been fain to abandon them, and to proceed upon a course of mildness. If this latter plan were universally adopted, and such measures taken as would ensure the services in the field of the rising generation, it would very much reduce the necessity for emigration from other countries."

NECESSITY, as the proverb has it, is the mother of invention. And so, as we are very glad to see, a machine has really been invented which, in the stead of human beings, will dig canals among the sugar estates of Demerara. We take the account of this blessed improvement from the *Royal Gazette*.

"The very extraordinary, ingenious, and novel system of cultivating and draining our estates by the application of machinery to agricultural purposes, has opened a new era in our colonial prospects. The canal excavator, for the invention and introduction of which the colony is indebted to the mechanical ingenuity and the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Francis Hoard, will of itself be equal to the placing of twenty thousand labourers on our estates, and the furnishing of each of them with a shovel. The effective operation of this machine is now no longer doubtful. Its powers have already been amply tested in the presence of numerous competent judges. This canal excavator is intended as a pioneer, to make way for the application of machinery to the general purposes of agriculture, as soon as it shall have been so extensively employed as to meet the necessities of the colony in point of drainage. It is Mr. Hoard's intention to apply machinery also to the upturning of the soil, and to the planting of the canes. For this purpose he has already invented a steam plough, or, as he technically denominates it, the *Cane Cultivator*."

AFRICAN INSTITUTE.—We give insertion to the following letter, agreeing with the writer that the facts stated require publicity; and because, by having quoted the paragraph referred to from an English journal, we in some sort attracted attention to the association in question. We cannot afford Mr. Turnbull the information he requires, as we know nothing of the society beyond its name.

"TO THE EDITOR OF GALIGNANI'S MESSENGER.

"*Place Bréda, No.* 29, 29*th April.*

"SIR,—Finding it stated in the *Messenger* that the Rev. Dr. Woulf had accepted the office of Vice-President of 'the African Institute,' I take the liberty of inquiring whether you can furnish me with any clue to the discovery of this institution. When in London the other day, I learned from Sir Lionel Smith, and several other distinguished friends of the African race, that they had been offered diplomas conferring on them high-sounding titles in the so-called *Institut d'Afrique*, accompanied by demands of money, ingeniously graduated from 1000 franks down to a single Napoleon; and, without a doubt having arisen as to the existence of such an association, I was requested to ascertain and communicate its nature and objects, together with its prospects of usefulness. I take the liberty of enclosing a letter addressed to myself, bearing the number 849, announcing my election as a 'vice-president d'honneur.' As a head-piece to this letter you will find the names of no less than five presidents, a duke, a marquis, an admiral, a lieutenant-general, and one of his majesty's aides-de-camp. On referring for information to one of these distinguished individuals, I received for answer, to my very great surprise, that even he was not aware of the existence of such an institution. The leading friends of negro emancipation in this city with whom I have had occasion to communicate on the subject of the great anti-slavery conference, which is to take place in London in the month of June, appear to be all just as little informed on the subject. Now, as a considerable sum of money has been collected in England, and has already found its way to this country, I submit that it is your duty to give all possible publicity to the facts, sustaining the society if it deserves to be sustained, and giving it to the winds if it proves to be a bubble. Attention should be directed in the proper quarter to the concluding paragraph of the inclosed letter:—"En conséquence de votre réponse, j'aurai l'honneur de vous faire adresser votre diplome *par voie d'embassade*." I am, sir, etc.,

"D. TURNBULL."

We received the enclosures above referred to, which bear out the description given of them by Mr. Turnbull, but we do not deem it requisite to publish them.—*Galignani*.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

St. Croix, Jan. 20*th*, 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—I have thought that the statement of a few incidents connected with a voyage from Jamaica to St. Thomas's and this island, might not be altogether uninteresting to your readers, and which I take an opportunity of sending.

We left Port Royal, Jamaica, on the 5th ultimo, in H. M. steam packet, Hecla, and on the 6th arrived at St. Jago de Cuba. The town lies at the end of a deep bay with a very narrow entrance, commanded by strong fortifications and a castle called El Morro. With other passengers were the Revds. Messrs. Parkyns and Blythman, of the Wesleyan Association body, also the Rev. Mr. Bird of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, with his family going to Cape Haitien. As we were informed that there would be no obstruction in the way of passengers landing, and no passport required provided we intended proceeding with the vessel, Mr. Bird and myself went on shore, and after satisfying our curiosity returned to the ship, hoping to prosecute our voyage. In going through the harbour we grounded on a bank, which, though it happily proved to be only clay, yet detained us from Monday until Friday. The circumstances which came under my observation during the interval are those which have mainly led me to communicate with you.

On Tuesday, Mr. Bird and myself revisited the city. At one of the stores we met a black man who spoke English well. I inquired from whence he came; he told me that he was brought from Jamaica about five years before, and sold by his master to a person in Cuba, to his lasting sorrow.

At the same time that we were on shore, some persons went from the town to the ship. Among others, a person whose name I heard was Hanna, and who acts as clerk and translator to Mr. Wright, the English proconsul, during the absence of Mr. Hardy the consul. This person made himself familiar with a fellow-passenger, of whom he inquired particulars about all the passengers, and when told that Mr. Bird and myself were on shore, remarked that, had he known the previous day who we were, he would have "taken care that we should have been first tarred and feathered, and sent back with six inches of steel in us!!!"

On Thursday, after several attempts had failed to lighten the ship so as to get her afloat, the commander intimated that as far as the passengers were concerned he feared the voyage was ended, and requested us all to

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seek lodging on shore, and get forward as we could. We then learned by a person from the consul's office, that not only would passports be required, but also security, and that he himself did not believe that any security would be accepted for any missionary, or person connected with any religious society in England. That the least we had to expect would be imprisonment until we could be sent away, and he advised us that on no consideration should we trust ourselves on shore until he had communicated with Mr. Wright. Mr. Wright I was told replied, that on no account ought we to leave the ship. Happily for us, while under circumstances of considerable excitement, a renewed effort was made to get the vessel off, which proved successful, and we once more floated, to the no small relief of our anxious minds. A prison in St. Jago de Cuba, which I believe to be as unhealthy as any town in the West Indies, or a remittance as prisoners to Havannah, to wait the pleasure of the governor-general, and with the quasi sort of protection which I had every reason to believe we should have received from Mr. Wright, the acting consul, himself, as I was very distinctly informed, both by the captains of English merchant vessels, and also by a native of the town, a proprietor of estates with at least 300 slaves,) presented prospects by no means cheering, and we felt happy to be in the hands of God and not of man. I was also informed that Mr. Hardy, the British consul, now in England as director of the mining company of St Jago, is directly identified with the employment of very large bodies of slaves in the worst of all work. But slaves in law are cattle, and n'importe, their loss is easily supplied. Two or three tons of copper ore will replace any loss of slave life.

We had the assistance of the crews of the English vessels in the harbour, as well as of about 50 slaves, to take the coals out of our ship to lighten her off. [Captain Richardson of the brig Sarepta, of Swansea, told me that he brought out about 40 miners from Cornwall, who were each supplied with bibles by the British and Foreign Bible Society. They were, said he, mostly religious men; and when they landed their bibles were taken away and burned, and now they are not permitted any two of them to worship together. He also said to me, "My crew are all religious, and I have services regularly. I was warned by the authorities to desist, and I said plainly that I would not offend their religion while on shore, nor would I suffer interference with me or my crew on board." Captain Galloway of the "Jim Crow," told me he had a brown man on board. The authorities demanded him to be given up. He replied, "He would not yield him up but to superior force." In both instances, no further steps were taken. A passenger from Jamaica, informed me also, that when he applied for a passport to the Cuba consul there for a friend, he was asked, whether his friend or his servant were either of them coloured, and if the friend were a missionary, as in either case would a passport not be given.

We arrived at Cape Haitien on Sunday, where Mr. Bird is now stationed. As our vessel only remained a few hours, it was necessary to land all the baggage, a matter of some difficulty, the custom house being closed. As a thing of course we applied to Mr. Thompson the British consul, but we unfortunately found him too busy to pay us any attention. Happily I was acquainted with an American coloured resident, and he went with us to the colonel-commandant of the city. By him we were received with a courtesy strongly in contrast with that we had just experienced; every assistance was at once afforded, and all difficulties removed, and I found one proof added to many others that a polished gentleman may have a sable skin; and on the other hand, that there may be official importance with little dignity and less grace.

Passing along the coast of Porto Rico we saw a very suspicious looking schooner. Our commander would, I think, have willingly taken charge of her, had she on inspection proved a slave vessel; but the treatment of Lieutenant Potbury of the Flamer, who captured a slaver under similar circumstances, was quite a sufficient as a lesson to him to confine himself to his own course; and I had the melancholy feeling that possibly in a few hours some scores of human beings were consigned to the mercies of Spanish planters, who might otherwise, and with less than an hour's delay, have been under British protection.

We landed at St. Thomas's on the 15th. There was a public sale in the principal street. The bill specified a quantity of dry goods, also a fine young negro, a shoe-maker, and warranted to be sold for no fault whatever. On taking up a St. Croix newspaper, I found an advertisement offering for sale a washerwoman and two other negros.

The Danes are vividly alive to the question of emancipation, but talk much of the justice of compensation. I trust the government at Copenhagen is also alive to the question of freedom. It is thought that the governor-general of these islands, General Von Sholter, now at home, will bring back with him some plan for the general instruction of the people. Much has been broken through within two years. A Sunday school in which slaves are taught is now established in St. Thomas's under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Labagh; and the Rev. B. Luchoch of St. Croix, (English Episcopal clergyman,) has two connected with his congregation, in which there are 900 scholars, and several infant schools on the estates, with the knowledge though not under the sanction of government. I remain, your obedient servant,

J. W.

ENGLISH SLAVEHOLDERS.

UNDER this title we inserted in a late number some just remarks by the editor of the *Mining Journal*, occasioned by a letter to him from Mr. Turnbull, on the "*live stock*," (!) held by a Spanish mining company. The subject is too important, however, to be passed over with so slight a notice, and we resume it to-day by presenting to our readers some extracts from Mr. Turnbull's recent work on Cuba, for which we entreat the most serious consideration.

"I believe it is perfectly understood, that every foreign merchant at the Havana, and at the other sea-ports of the island, has an interest more or less direct in the maintenance of the slave-trade; as if striving to prove how nearly they could approach the limit of the law without an actual infringement of it: *Quam prope ad crimen sine crimine*. There are some merchants, however, who unhappily do not content themselves with that indirect interest which arises from the ordinary commercial profit on the goods they may sell, but who actually agree to furnish an outward-bound slaver with supplies for the coast of Africa, on the condition of receiving payment on the usual credit for the prime cost of the goods, while his mercantile profit is made to depend on the return of the ship, and the success of the homeward voyage. In this way the spirit of gaming which uniformly pervades these slaving transactions may be safely indulged in,—at least without any obvious pecuniary risk; and in fact, it is not difficult, from the vast variety of shapes that the trade has assumed, for a person on the spot either to steep himself to the eyes in the abominations of the traffic, or stealthily draw off a more moderate portion of the polluted stream. It grieves me to the heart to be compelled to add that some of our own countrymen are tempted by the monstrous profits to enter more or less deeply into those speculations. I think I shall never forget the tell-tale countenance of a simple Irishman at the Havana, when, perhaps for the first time, his attention was drawn to the criminal nature of the enterprise in which he had indirectly engaged. Having made some money by keeping a retail shop for the supply of the shipping in the harbour, he had been induced to engage in a speculation of this sort, by which he expected to double or treble his ordinary profits. His answers to my inquiries having produced an exclamation which was not, perhaps, over courteous, he asked in a tone of alarm—'Why, what harm is there in it; what risk do I run?' To which the prompt reply was given by a countryman of his, who happened to be with me at the time,—'Only the risk of being hanged if ever you set your foot in Ireland again.'

"There is another class of our countrymen, however, who have much more to answer for than this poor Irish shopkeeper in their wholesale disregard of the first principles of humanity. I fear it is not to be doubted, that there are men of large capital in the British metropolis who lay out their money at the large interest which the slave-trader can afford to pay; and it is within my knowledge, that certain individuals of immense wealth, who, although bearing a foreign patronymic, are to all intents and purposes British subjects, who, not content with risking their money to secure this high rate of interest, have actually stipulated on becoming sleeping partners in one of the most notorious slaving-houses at the Havana, the better to enable them, as they fondly imagine, to bring their French and Spanish partners to account. Even on the Spanish territory, however, such transactions are no further obligatory than the laws of honour prescribe; and although it has sometimes been said that there may be honour among thieves, I believe it will be found, in the case referred to, that there has not been much among slavers."—*Travels in the West*, pp. 139, 141.

"The Cuba proprietors are regaining their lost ground by the introduction of steam-boats, and the construction of railways; and I fear that those of our capitalists who, tempted by the high rate of interest, have lent their money to the colonial government of the island for the purpose of defraying the expense of making the railway to Guines, have not sufficiently reflected on the baneful consequences of their proceeding. Every shilling of English capital laid out in the island, either in the extension of cultivation or the cheapening of produce, serves to fetter some poor negro in the interior of Africa, or to rivet the chains of those now toiling in the cane-fields or the sugar-houses of Cuba. The holders of shares in the Brazilian Mining Companies are still more directly connected with the slave-trade. It is well known that the mines of that country are worked by slave-labour; so that every shareholder is not only a slave owner, but, by the purchases of newly imported Africans which are constantly made by the managers of the company, becomes a most efficient promoter and encourager of the slave-trade. If those ladies and gentlemen 'who live at home at ease' were only to witness some portion of the enormities committed by means of their money, and to promote their advantage, they would spurn from them the contaminated gains with loathing and disgust."—*Ibid.* p. 133.

"The question has for some time been agitated of establishing a branch of the English Colonial Bank at the Havana. The English company to obtain a footing will probably be tempted to reduce the rate of interest; and the difference will be so much profit to the owner and dealer in slaves. Nay, as the names of members of the British House of Commons are to be found on the list of the directors of the Colonial Bank, it is to be feared that a parliamentary interest will be created in favour of this infamous traffic, since the wealthy slave-traders of the Havana will become the most valuable customers of that branch of the new banking establishment."—*Ibid.* p. 101, 102.

It is impossible, we think, to peruse these statements without deep humiliation and affliction. It is then British capital which still supports the slave-trade! It is British merchants who have the profits of it! It is English gentlemen and ladies who, by taking shares in certain banking and mining companies, practically deal in slaves, and are "among the most efficient supporters of the slave-trade!"

It is not, however, that *all* the parties whom we have thus, from a painful necessity, classed together, are open to equal or indiscriminate censure. The many hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of persons who have become shareholders in the joint-stock companies, are, no doubt, not only most respectable, but decidedly hostile to slavery and the slave-trade. In taking shares they never anticipated becoming implicated in either of these enormities; and if the question had ever come before them as shareholders, they would have given their vote in favour of humanity and freedom. All this we readily admit. But, we must press these estimable persons to consider that the money they have embarked in these concerns is actually employed by directors, who act in their name and with their authority, in carrying on works by slave-labour, or in loans to facilitate the slave-trade; and that, in the shape of yearly or half-yearly dividend, they are receiving the profits of this employment of their capital. We ask them whether this is not the same thing morally as though they did it themselves; and whether they do not stand in the judgment of their consciences as slaveholders and slave-traders? What they would not do by themselves, no honourable persons will consent to do by the instrumentality of others. There is nothing in the machinery of a joint-stock company which severs its operations from the proprietary body, or releases individual proprietors each from his share of responsibility and blame. Every

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proprietor may make his and her voice heard in the management of such a company, and we have no doubt, but a general expression of the sentiments of proprietors on the subject now before us would be of great advantage; but if it were not so, the attempt having been made, it surely becomes the duty of every proprietor to relinquish his interest in a concern, rather than become a party to criminal proceedings, or a partaker of iniquitous gains. We are sure that, upon consideration, such a step would commend itself to many. We are acquainted with one person who, on discovering the fact that the colonial bank has begun to share in the profits of the slave-trade, (this concern has for some time had a branch at Porto Rico,) immediately disposed of his entire interest in it; and there are others we could name, some of high standing in the direction—from whom a similar course may be expected as highly consistent and becoming. This entire matter calls for immediate and searching consideration, and we shall shortly return to it.

The Glasgow Emancipation Society, we understand, has named twelve gentlemen to represent Glasgow in the conference: with power to its committe, to add as many to the number as they may deem proper or expedient; and they are about to issue a circular to the friends of the anti-slavery cause in the west of Scotland, recommending them to appoint representatives to the conference without delay.

The Congregational Union for Scotland, at its meeting in Dundee last week, appointed the Rev. William Lindsay Alexander, of Edinburgh, and the Rev. Thomas Pullar, and John A. Fullarton, Esq., of Glasgow, as their delegates to the Convention in London; and we think it highly probable the Relief Synod and the Secession Synod, will also send delegates to the same interesting assembly.

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

COMMITTEE.

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BRITISH GUIANA.—The real prosperity of this colony may be judged of by the following document, extracted from the latest parliamentary papers.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR LIGHT TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Governor's Residence, Demerara, 12th November, 1839.

My lord—I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship a return of stores for the sale of merchandize, erected in the rural districts of this province since the 1st of August, 1838; also, the number of new cottages erected on land purchased by the labourers since emancipation.

The return of stores erected does not include the estates' stores, where provisions and articles of daily use and want are to be obtained.

I have thought it right to give your lordship this species of information, because the district storehouses must naturally diminish the sale of objects that were formerly only to be obtained in the towns of Georgetown and New Amsterdam; and though the merchants of the towns are generally parties connected with those in the country, yet, finding fewer customers than formerly, some of them are disposed to complain.

Many of the labourers who have purchased the land on which they have erected cottages do not abandon field-labour; they pay at the rate of £15. an acre, and £3. sterling for the expense of title; the expense of a cottage from £40. to £50. With such data your lordship may judge of the prosperity of the province, unconnected with exports or imports.

I have the honour to be, my lord,
Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,
(signed) HENRY LIGHT.

BRITISH GUIANA.

A RETURN showing—1st, The number of new stores, for the sale of dry goods, provisions, liquors, and merchandise in general. 2nd, The number of free settlers' cottages, (almost exclusively from the emancipated class) erected and established in the rural districts since the 1st August, 1838.

Districts.	Counties.	District Stipendiary Magistrates.	No. of stores	No. of cottages.	Remarks.
A.	Demerara.	C. H. Strutt	3	8	The village of Mahaica and the hamlet Mahaicany are rapidly increasing, and some settlements are springing up near Abary.
B.	.....	A. M. Lyons	4	14	In this district but little disposition to wander has been exhibited. The labourers industrious and well-behaved.
C.	.....	J. W. Brittain....	2	6	Many plots of land have been purchased by labourers, and preparations for building cottages are in progress.
D.	.....	T. Coleman.....	7	64	Most of the saleable land in this district is high up the river.
E.	.....	J. O. L. Mare....	4	..	.....
F.	Essequibo	D. Mackenna....	10	6	This district is composed of the islands Leguan and Wakenaam. Fredericksburgh is greatly increasing.
G.	.....	G. Bal.....	11	27	Free settlers can have a fine choice of convenient plots of good land in this district.
H.	.....	W. H. Ware	3	3	Free settlers can have a fine choice of capital land, but remotely situated.
I.	Berbice	G. Rose	2	57	In this district abandoned lands to a considerable extent have been purchased by the labourers.
K.	.....	J. Macleod	8	..	In this district but little land is out of cultivation, and scarcely any for sale.
L.	.....	A. Van R. de Groot	12	73	In this district there is a good deal of waste land, and many acres have been bought in small plots.
M.	.....	J. A. Allen	8	4	In this district the disposition to build has not been very manifest, though abundance of waste land.
Town.	Demerara	George Ross	..	..	Georgetown district. Buildings being erected in all directions.
			74	267	

W. B. WOLSELEY, *Circuit Stipendiary Magistrate.*

November, 1839.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 10.] WEDNESDAY, MAY 20TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE LATE LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

To the Editor of the Liverpool Mercury.

SIR,—Since you did me the favour of inserting my last communication, the facts presented in it have been controverted. Permit me to have another corner in reply.

Whether the authority of his Excellency, Governor Light, adduced in that letter, be worthy of consideration or not, must be left to public decision. It is sufficient to know that it is the authority of one who has not hitherto been regarded as very hostile, either to the plans or the interests of colonial planters and proprietors.

An attempt has been made to weaken our hands by casting discredit on the character of Mr. Scoble. Now Sir, personal calumny is no refutation of testimony, and the aspersion of an advocate will not disprove the justice of the cause he may have espoused.

1. Let me first address myself to the question of wages mooted by Mr. Semple. It will be satisfactory to set his own statements in contraposition.

Extract from the speech of R. Semple, Esq., as reported in the Liverpool Standard *of April 17, and in the* Liverpool Mail *of April 18, 1840.*

"He did not contend or maintain that *three guilders per diem* was too much; all that he said was this, that *it was what his people got: and it was the minimum of each negro's* earnings, on the estates with which he was connected."

Extract from a letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, dated Liverpool, November 25, 1839, "signed "R. Semple and Co."—Vide Parliamentary Papers. 1840; 151, p. 48.

"The following rates of wages and allowances were proposed and agreed to on our estates, viz.:—*One guilder*, equal to 1s. 6d., for the task of work termed the seven hours' and a half task, which is easily performed by industrious men and women in from four to five hours; many of the labourers on our estates have *occasionally* performed treble the quantity, for which they received 4s. 6d. In addition to the wages, they are allowed houses, all framed cottages, with two floors; as much provision ground as they choose to cultivate for their own benefit; medical attendance, medicines, and tuition gratis; and, to encourage them to be industrious and remain continuously at work, *every one who finishes six days' work* receives *weekly* one bunch of plantains, or five pounds of rice, and one pound and a half of salt fish, some rum and sugar, gratis; and frequently a little pork and tobacco are also allowed, and they are encouraged to rear poultry, hogs, and vegetables for their own benefit."

By the "six days' work," Messrs. Semple and Co., of course mean six "tasks." These terms are used by them as they were by Mr. Scoble, interchangeably; and the quibble respecting them, is set aside. On their showing, it appears that for each of these, one guilder is fixed by the tariff. Thus, Mr. Scoble's assertion is corroborated. It also appears, that instead of "*three guilders a day*," being "*the minimum of each negro's earnings*, on their estates, it is only "*occasionally*" obtained; and that the man who finishes not eighteen tasks, but six, in six days, receives as an encouragement, certain extra allowances. Thus, Mr. Semple's statement to the meeting is not borne out by the correspondence of the firm with the colonial secretary, but the reverse.

It may, however, be said that this, at any rate, shows that it is possible for negros to earn such wages, and that what some may do, all may do. This is matter of opinion, dependent on varying contingencies; whereas the points at issue between Mr. Semple and Mr. Scoble affected not matters of possibility, but of fact; not what might be earned, but what had been ordinarily earned. The facts of the case then are as the latter represented them, respecting the fixed scale of labour and wages, and not as the former affirmed. What he (Mr. Semple) declared to be the general principle is proved, under his own signature, to be only of occasional occurrence.

2. As to the late decrease in the exports, it is asserted in the most unqualified terms, that, "the deficient yield of the crop, is *entirely* attributable to the indolence of the negros, and not to the seasons."

Now, what is the testimony of governor Light? In a despatch of July 16th 1839, he says:—"The lengthened drought of the last and the beginning of the present quarter, would have caused diminished crops in Essequibo and Demerara, under the most coerced system of labour." I refer again to that of October 15th, 1839:—"From the unfavourable season, during a portion of the year, the canes have yielded one-third less than usual."

Concerning the labouring people, he observes, in a despatch of January 30th, 1839,—"Where tact, judgment, and conciliation have excited a corresponding feeling, *steady labour* is obtained; and I could mention more than one estate that has made more sugar this year, than in the most favourable years of apprenticeship." So in that of April 26th, 1839,—"The good feeling, not to say devotion, of the negros on many of the estates, has been evinced strongly within the last three or four weeks, in arresting the alarming progress of the conflagration of the woods and savannahs, which form a belt round most of the estates." Again, in that of December 2nd, 1839,—"I have great satisfaction in reporting that a much more steady disposition to work continually is evinced in all parts of the colony, even on estates less fortunate in their mode of management."

Confirmatory of this is the following.

Extract from the address of Governor Light to the Court of Policy, which met on the 28th January, 1840:—

"It is notorious that for three or four months of the past year not only were the canes unproductive, but in many parts of the country the means of conveyance from the field to the sugar works were arrested by the want of water in the trenches. The decrease cannot, therefore, be entirely ascribed to the change in our social system. I trust the produce of the present year will, by its proportionate increase, give reason for congratulation. The receipts of import and internal duties have far exceeded their estimated produce, and the civil list has been nearly covered by the *surplus Customs* alone."

In that address the governor does not hesitate to "bear testimony to the conduct of the labouring population. That they are less constant in their industry than when coerced," he observes, "was to be expected; that they are so industrious, is a subject of gratulation. Their cheerfulness and contentment dissipate the fears of many, and exceed the hopes of all." * * * "Your colony is remarkable for a small amount of crime, and there are but few cases of an aggravated nature. Your peasantry are submissive, obey the law, and respect authority. At these latter qualities we may marvel—and my opinion will find its way to the mother country—when we consider the bad example systematically set by those whose station in society ought to restrain them."

These proofs will show how far the sweeping denial of the effect of bad seasons, and the unlimited imputation cast upon the labouring class, are at variance with the truth.

The prosperity of the colonies, so recently relieved from the load of guilt that attaches to slavery, cannot, however, be estimated by the exports of a few years;—years in which the entire social system is undergoing the necessary re-organization, and in which the elements of a new state of things are working into order and regularity: but by the ultimate results, when that system shall have become permanently consolidated, the various ranks duly arranged, and the movements of all classes of the community harmoniously adjusted. New moral forces have been generated—new necessities occasioned—new channels for the employment of industry and capital opened; and it only remains for those who held sway under the former economy, so to adapt themselves to the present, as to secure that confidence which is now lacking, by reason of the bitterness of past experience among the emancipated, in order to give an impulse to all that is productive of wealth, peace, and happiness.

3. Passing now to the Hill Coolies, I leave the facts to speak for themselves.

(1) Is it denied that, in many instances, they have been obtained by fraud, and secured by force? The judicial proceedings, instituted before J. H. Patton, Esq., a magistrate, in British India, during the month of July, 1838, furnish a reply. On the 29th of June, Sergeant Floyd, accompanied with Mr. Dias, the magistrate's clerk, the Balagulitee Jemedar, and a suitable guard, undertook an investigation, by whom the following evidence was produced in court:—

They found certain "inhabitants and residents of Bancoorah and Soonamookie, who had been taken by force and brought down to Calcutta. They stated that they were arrested by a guard of thirty or forty persons, who said that they were government servants, and were ordered to impress men for government work in Calcutta. That on their arrival there, they were deposited in the house which belongs to Rampershaud Baboo; (a kidnapper;) that since their imprisonment, they were not allowed to have any communication with strangers, and the whole of the prisoners were similarly situated."

"One man made severe complaints of having for several days received on his bare back so many as thirty thumps with a jootah, and his back and cheeks were much swollen from the flagellation. Several Rajpoots said, that they were intercepted by the Duffadars on the road to Juggernauth, to which place they were proceeding on a pilgrimage. The whole of the men prayed for their release, and said they were detained against their will by Rampershaud Baboo and his people."

On the 30th, the search was renewed. In a building on the Seealdah road, which they had difficulty in entering, the officers found several Coolies, who "complained of treatment similar to what has been described. They all said that they were enticed from their country and kept against their will; that they were averse to proceeding to sea, and would not go if the Hakims would protect them."

Sixty-four men and women were rescued on these two days; and to the contents of the report, from which these extracts are made, Sergeant Floyd was sworn.

On Tuesday, July 3, Mohun Singh, being duly sworn, deposed, that he was induced to accompany two men, named Chollairam and Assawur Garre, by the offer of employment in Calcutta. "On reaching Calcutta, deponent discovered the deceit, as deponent was carried to Assawur's house, and continued a prisoner there for upwards of two months and fifteen days.

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Deponent objected to be shipped, and was consequently closely watched. Deponent was not allowed to do anything unwatched. Received no money from the duffadar or any other person, but the duffadar took from deponent one rupee and five annas in cash, one brass lotah and a doputtah, which the duffadar refused to deliver up. Deponent was found in the Assawur's house by the sergeant, who was informed by deponent of all that is above stated, and who released and brought deponent here. Deponent further said, that he was never willing to proceed on board a ship, and is not willing now to do so. He therefore craves the protection of this court."

Pursun Gowallah, on being duly sworn, deposed: "that he was returning after the feast of Dole Jatrath, from Juggernauth. That on arriving at Mednipore he met a Chuprassee, belonging to the collector's office of that district, named Chandkhan, who asked him if he wanted employment. Deponent said he was a Gowallah. Chand said a Gowallah's situation was vacant at a Sahib's house. Deponent replied, that he had heard at Juggernauth, that several men had been kidnapped by duffadars, and feared Chand wanted to ship him. Chand said he knew nothing of the duffadars, and otherwise made deponent believe he would obtain for him the berth of a Gowallah. Chand took deponent to the house of one Thakoordoss and one Narain. Chand went away, and deponent remained with the last mentioned men five or six days; after which Thakoordoss said he was proceeding to Calcutta, and would give deponent the situation promised by Chand. Deponent agreed, and Narain produced seven other men, all of whom came together to Calcutta. Deponent and the rest of the men were deposited in the house of Rampershaud Baboo. Two men escaped, and deponent heard that five were shipped off. Deponent was kept a close prisoner for four months, was never allowed to step out of the house. Deponent was carried to the house of a Sahib about a month ago, but on refusing to be shipped, was taken back to Rampershaud Baboo's, where Thakoordoss, told deponent there was no other employment but as a Coolie to Mauritch; and as he would not consent to go, deponent was severely flagellated by Thakoordoss." Testimony of the same kind was given, on oath, by several other victims of the duffadars and crimps.

On the 2nd of August, twenty-six Coolies were liberated by the police, and brought before the same magistrate. The depositions show that "the men were being shipped by force, that they never voluntarily consented to be shipped, and that they were kept close prisoners by the duffadars."

Sir William Nicolay, governor of Mauritius, in a dispatch of May 21, 1839, bears witness:—"That very nefarious practices have been resorted to, in many instances, to procure labourers for embarkation for this island, is beyond all doubt; and many have been sent hither, who, on their arrival, have been found unequal to any labour whatever."—[*Vide Parliamentary papers*, 1840; 58. p. 7.]

2. Is it affirmed, moreover, that the provisions for their voyage have been adequate and comfortable? Then, why should the captain of more than one vessel, employed in their transportation, declare that "nothing should induce them to take down such another cargo?" What should constrain one of them to say,—"This is the first and the last time I have gone or will go slaving?" James Scott, commander of the "Earl of Clare," thus entered his protest against the traffic, in an honest and important letter to the editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, on July 21, 1838:—"Although the men pass before a magistrate, who pays every attention to them, yet he never gets at the whole truth of the story. Before the men are shipped, they are kept in a go-down, ready, under guards, for fear of desertion; yet many frequently escape, and *any man is crimped that they can possibly get hold of*, to make up the original number. Now comes the misery of those creatures. They have no idea but that the voyage will be the same as sailing down the Ganges; and generally ships are crammed almost to suffocation, and many, I believe, have scarcely standing room below for them. The officer's receipt is given, and the commander of the vessel is called on to sign a bill of lading for so many a head, running in the usual form, 'shipped, in good order, and well conditioned,' &c., 'and to be delivered at the aforesaid port of Mauritius in like good order.' This, I think, becomes *something near akin to slavery*. I have just arrived from Mauritius, it having been our misfortune to have been chartered in Calcutta for that island; and much against the wish of my worthy owners here, I took down 486 men and women. We certainly had room; namely, the whole of the main deck. I lost twenty-four by death on the passage, and considered myself fortunate in not being placed under quarantine on my arrival at Port Louis; as, some days after I reached the place, the Donna Pascoa came in from Calcutta, and was placed under quarantine—a full ship, and upwards of 500 souls on board, including the ship's company. Thus, after making the passage, they were prohibited from landing, which to a seafaring man, is bad enough, but how much worse must it be to those landsmen, without any comforts, crowded together in a ship, and debilitated by the voyage? The men, in consequence, began to despond, and several cases of death took place before my friend Captain Hancock was allowed to land them. *I promise you*, Mr. Editor, *that it is the first and the last time I have gone, or will go slaving.*"

Well might the Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot, and Co., inform Mr. Gladstone, in the letter dated Calcutta, June 6th, 1836, that they "are not aware that any greater difficulty would present itself in sending men to the West Indies than to the Mauritius, *the natives being perfectly ignorant* of the place they agree to go to, or the length of the voyage they are undertaking."—[*Vide Parliamentary Papers*, 1838; 232. p. 3.]

3. Is it denied that the females were shamefully disproportioned to the males? "In Demerara," says Mr. Gladstone, in a letter published in the same papers, to Messrs, Gillanders, Arbuthnot and Co., dated London, March 10th, 1837, "the females are employed in the fields as well as the men, and if the female Coolies will engage to work there, a larger proportion may be sent, say two women to three men, or if desired, equal numbers. But, if they will not engage to work there, then, the *proportion* sent to the Isle of France, of *one female to nine or ten men*, for cooking or washing, *is enough*."

The following are specimens of this proportion:—The shipments from Calcutta to the Mauritius, from August 1st, 1831 to October 24th, 1838, were 12,594 men, 198 women, 51 children. From Ragah-munday, between June 1st, 1837, and August 25th, 1838, they were 434 men, 7 women. The numbers conveyed by the *Hesperus*, from Calcutta to British Guiana, were 155 men, 5 women, 10 children.

Can it be matter of surprise, that the Coolies, when discovered, should hail their deliverers from the prison houses of the kidnappers, and from such impending misery? It is in evidence before the Indian police courts, that "on the gentlemen approaching, a crowd of Coolies rushed out, exclaiming for justice and protection; and declaring that *they would rather have their throats cut, than be sent on board ship.*" "They fixed on two of the Brejobasses, who they alleged, had beat them on their attempting to go down stairs. These men denied that any of the Coolies had been beaten or prevented leaving the house. Mr. H. then explained to the Coolies, that as the Brejobasses denied that they had detained them, those who liked to go away might do so at once. This was received with a great shout, and in a few minutes the whole of them, without one exception, gathered their bundles and rushed down the stairs."

4. Is it denied that many have been injuriously maltreated; and, in sickness, neglected? "*It certainly is proved*," is the declaration of Governor Light, in a despatch of May 8, 1839, "that the Coolies on Vreed-en-hoop had been subject to chastisement by the interpreter, totally unauthorized by law." To what extent did this proceed? To "flogging with the cat-o'nine-tails, and with a rope." Some were flogged "with their hands tied behind their backs," others "with their breast to the post."

Nor will it be disputed that the condition of the patients in the sick-house of Belle Vue was afflictive to so great a degree as to render their removal necessary. Governor Light says, in his despatch, dated June 27, 1839, "I have had the honour of forwarding documents respecting the Coolies on Belle Vue and Vreed-en-hoop. On the former estate there has been gross neglect on the part chiefly of the late manager and medical man, Dr. Nimmo. The attorney, Mr. Matthews, to say the least, has been culpably careless in his superintendence." [*Vide Parliamentary Papers*, 1839; 463. p. 109.] The particulars of the twenty-seven cases, taken down to the colonial hospital, abundantly prove the correctness of his Excellency's judgment.

The state of the Coolies in the Mauritius will be found, on a careful examination of the evidence officially furnished, (notwithstanding every attempt to make it appear otherwise,) to be even more intolerable.

I appeal, sir, to any man of unbiassed judgment, whether in seeking to obstruct the progress of a system of deception and violence, such as Coolie kidnapping and shipping, we are depriving those unfortunates of their *freedom* of labour, as is asserted; whether in labouring to avert these injuries and calamities, we are maintaining an unrighteous cause?

Why are the Coolies characterized by Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot, and Co., as a race "looked down upon by the more cunning nations of the plain, and as always spoken of as *more akin to the monkey than the man*,"—"with hardly any ideas beyond supplying the wants of nature;" if it be not to indicate that they are the more fitting and ready prey to that system? Why are the women so disproportioned in numbers to the men, unless it be intended that in the necessary failure of natural increase to perpetuate the trade?

"I confess," says the Right Honourable the Secretary for the Colonies, in a despatch of February 15, 1840, "I should be unwilling to adopt any measure to favour the transfer of labourers from British India to Guiana, after the failure of the former experiment. Admitting that the mortality of the Hill Coolies first sent may have been accidental, I am not prepared to encounter the responsibility of a *measure which may lead, on the one hand to a dreadful loss of life, or, on the other, to* A NEW SYSTEM OF SLAVERY.—[*Vide Parliamentary papers*, 1840; 151, p. 43.]

Deeply do I deplore the necessity of such prohibitory terms, in a land, and to men, professing to revere the authority of the God of love, and to adopt the principles of the gospel of peace.

4. As to the general question of emigration, let it be remembered that no veto has been put upon it; but that the mode by which it shall be regulated is now the subject of most anxious deliberation. It is encumbered with great difficulties, but I hope that it will be, ere long, so adjusted as to secure the well being of our colonies, and the unimpaired freedom of the labouring population.

The despatch of Lord John Russell is too long to insert, and the entire of its contents must be read, to do justice to his lordship. It indicates an enlightened, equitable, sound, and humane policy. At some future day I may more fully refer to its authority.

It must be borne in mind, that a labouring population will be found, as a permanent class, in every country; and it only requires time and care, on the part of influential residents, so to settle the new order of society, as to secure from that class voluntary and productive aid. Its members cannot all become suddenly independent, so as to live without the hire of their labours; and it is gratifying to be assured by the Governor of British Guiana, that "many of the labourers who have purchased the land on which they have erected their cottages, do not abandon field-labour." [*Vide Parliamentary papers*, 1840; 151, p. 26.] What is now necessary to the employers and the employed is, the sincere and well-founded conviction, produced in the minds of the latter by the considerate dealings of the former, that there is now an identity of interest, and a reciprocity of benefit, such as could never exist or be tolerated in slavery. This conviction time will deepen; and as a gradual increase of the population proceeds, the coming generation will learn from its predecessors to estimate its duties and its rights, and to pursue the advantage of the entire community in securing its own prosperity.

"But supposing everything to be done, which, by bounties on immigration, by locating captured negros, and natural increase of population, can be expected, it will still remain a problem, whether it would be possible to maintain sugar cultivation to its former extent,—for this is what is meant by the term 'prosperity;' while, on the other hand, the term 'ruin' is used to designate,—*not the poverty of the people, not the want of food and raiment, not even the absence of riches or luxury, but simply the decrease of sugar cultivation.*"—Lord John Russell.

Sir,—I am cautioned against trusting to the authority of Mr. Scoble. Much as I value my friend for his Christian character, and his testimony for its clearness and honesty, I do not rest my convictions on any individual statements; they are based on an extended review of the highest authorities, to which exception may be taken by the interested, but to which the full importance will be attached by the people of Britain.

I am reminded that it is my duty to look to the enslaved in other quarters of the globe. Every bondsman has my sympathy; every enslaver my prayers, that "God would have mercy on the persecutor, and turn his heart." To this cause I was, at the first, unexpectedly and providentially

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called; to it my days and energies are consecrated, in common with the "ministry I have received of the Lord Jesus," and in it I will, by Divine help, labour that "every captive may go free." For the millions of the oppressed we are afresh girding on the armour;—for them we have re-organized the body of British abolitionists;—for them we are convening a great assembly, that no means may be left untried to discourage all slave produce,—to destroy all slavery,—that the infamous traffic in human flesh and immortal spirits may no longer desecrate and vex the earth. We desire so to act in this grand enterprise, however, as to secure the free ground we have gained, and not to incur the rebuke, "These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."—Your's, &c.,

Liverpool, April 30, 1840. WILLIAM BEVAN.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The despatch of the new governor of this colony, under date of October 16th, we insert entire in our present columns, although extracts from it have been inserted before, that it may be perused in connexion with the observations we have deemed it right to make upon it. From the sound practical wisdom of much that he says, in answer to the congratulatory addresses pouring in upon him on every side, we were not quite prepared for such an effusion of illiberality as that document contains. We had perused with considerable satisfaction, the answer of his Excellency to the address of the custos, magistrates, and other inhabitants of the parish of Manchester, a sentence or two from which we insert: —

The dissatisfaction of the peasantry on the subject of rent, appears to proceed partly from disinclination to pay any rent for houses and grounds, which in the state of slavery they occupied without any such charge, and partly from the manner in which rent on most properties is regulated, solely with a view to the exaction of labour.

This dissatisfaction may, perhaps, be in some degree removed by the landholders of the island themselves. From all that I have seen and heard in the several parishes of the island, I am persuaded that it is for the interest of the landholder, as well as for the happiness of the peasant, that the former should grant to the latter a more certain tenure of house and ground, than it is generally customary to give; fixing the rent according to the value of the house and ground; taking the rent from one person only, and abstaining altogether from the practice of making amount of rent subservient to the procuring of labour. I should have great hope that by either selling a small portion of land to the peasant, or by giving a lease of house and grounds for a year or more, subject to a six months notice to quit, not only would the peasant be relieved from the uncertainty and discomfort which he at present experiences on this question, but the landlord would have a better chance of obtaining labour, either by contract or otherwise, than he ever will have in the state of constant bickering and heart-burning, which the daily struggle regarding labour and rent, connected together, infallibly engenders.

The following is the despatch, addressed to the Marquis of Normanby,

King's House, 16th October, 1839.

MY LORD,—I am about to submit to your lordship such ideas on the state of this island as I at present entertain, derived from the little knowledge that I have acquired since my arrival, and not therefore entitled to much weight.—Nevertheless it seems to be my duty to offer them, in preference to total silence on a subject so interesting and important.

When the freedom of the slaves was established, the great question that agitated the island was, on what terms free labour could be obtained for the cultivation of the estates, from which the wealth of Jamaica has hitherto been derived. It naturally became the interest of the owners of properties to obtain labour on the cheapest, and that of the labouring population to sell it on the dearest terms; and a struggle with these opposite views commenced between the two parties.

1. The practice which prevailed in slavery, of granting grounds to the labourers, from which they derived the means of subsistence, in esculents for themselves and their families, and by the sale of the surplus produce gave a great advantage to the labourers when they acquired freedom, as it rendered them in a great degree independent of labour, and enabled them to hold out terms. The proprietors could not hold out with the same safety, for the want of labour on their properties, at some, if not all periods of the year, must have been ruinous. The wages of labour, therefore, have hitherto settled more at the will of the labourer than at that of his employer; and this must continue to be the case until a great increase of the labouring population shall make labour cheaper; or until such a number of properties shall be thrown out of cultivation by the impossibility of meeting the expense, as may produce the same effect as an increase in the labouring population.

2. It is to be hoped that the utter ruin of estates will not take place to any great extent; but it is confidently predicted that it must in many instances. The proprietors, accustomed to pay for labour by the method of provision grounds with little outlay of money, and perhaps none until the value of their crop had been secured, find it difficult, if not impossible, to raise the means of paying the labourers daily or weekly, and that too, without the certainty of obtaining labour when it may be most required, for the labourers are shy of entering into engagements.

3. The labourers in some parts of the country work for only four days in the week, requiring Friday and Saturday for the cultivation of their own grounds; and as the best season for cultivation will often be the same for their own grounds as for those of their employer, exercising their right to work or not to work, and not choosing to bind themselves by any contract it cannot be matter of surprise if they prefer their own interests to those of their employer. It is, I understand, often necessary to bribe highly, in order to procure labour on Fridays or Saturdays, or at the critical periods of the crop.

4. There is, I fear, no doubt, that owing to these causes great loss has been and will be sustained on many of the estates, chiefly in the sugar plantations, where continuous labour is most indispensable. This is not so much the case in the coffee plantations; and I have seen statements showing that the cultivation of estates by free labour, is cheaper than it was during slavery and apprenticeship—a result which it would be most gratifying to find generally established.

5. As a counterpoise to the power of the labourers over wages, the proprietors have that of charging rent for the houses and grounds tenanted by the labourers, and this right is often exercised with a view to counterbalance as much as possible, the payment of wages, and not with reference purely to the value of the house and grounds. Thus, in many instances, the rent of a house is charged, not at a rate fixed for the house, but at a rate fixed for each occupant of the house. These counter claims for rent and wages keep up much irritation and litigation; but will, it is to be hoped, in time be settled on the basis of mutual interest.

6. With respect to the party most to blame in these disputes, it is difficult to arrive at the truth where party-spirit so much prevails. Were I to give implicit credit to some official reports that I have received, I should conclude, that whenever affairs on an estate went wrong, the manager must be to blame, and that the labourers were never unreasonable; while from other quarters I have a totally different statement. I conclude that the truth lies probably between the two extremes, and that the patience of either party is occasionally tried. Much, no doubt, must depend on the character of the manager.

7. The obvious remedy for the power possessed by the labourer over wages, and for his independence of labour, being the resumption of his grounds, which the proprietor has a right to resume, it may be asked why the exercise of this right is not had recourse to, as in fact the instances of ejectment have been comparatively few. For this there are several reasons; the proprietor or manager still clings to the idea that the tenants on his estate will continue to labour for him exclusively. He is not, therefore, disposed to eject them, but seeks to make their houses and grounds the means of securing their labour at the least cost. It is felt also that ejectment, carried generally into effect, would be harsh and cruel, and might drive the labouring population to desperation; for they are peculiarly tenacious of those possessions to which they are naturally much attached; and in the purchase of fire arms, which has lately taken place among them, while one party is of opinion that it proceeds from a love of sport, the other asserts that it is avowedly for the defence of their houses and grounds.

8. In some instances labourers have purchased small lots of land, and thus become proprietors. I should be glad if this were a general practice. It would put an end to the causes of irritation, which may continue to exist while they hold their houses and grounds on an uncertain tenure, while it would not necessarily throw them out of the labouring class, their properties not being sufficiently large to exempt them entirely from the necessity of seeking other means of support; where they are tenants on the properties of others they are anxious to obtain leases for their grounds, which the proprietors are willing to give, if the labourers would enter into engagements to labour for similar periods; but the latter are averse to any contracts with respect to labour, and the former, or their representatives, do not like to relinquish the hold which they consider themselves as having on the labourers, by keeping them as tenants-at-will.

9. I do not perceive any remedy for this state of things, except what time and a mutual sense of self-interest may supply. I should apprehend that legislation can do little or nothing towards amendment and that it will be most advisable to let these matters take their natural course. If justice be fairly administered to all parties, they will, it may be hoped, come to a right understanding among themselves.

10. In attempting to describe the present relations between proprietors and labourers, I beg to be understood as speaking only generally. There are no doubt numerous exceptions with which I may become better acquainted hereafter.

11. This natural struggle between proprietors and labourers has been attended with discord and virulence between other classes of society.

The Baptist missionaries have made themselves peculiarly obnoxious to the proprietors, by the advice and aid which they are supposed to have given to the labourers.

It seems very possible that the intervention of a third party between the two immediately concerned, giving its support to one, may have prevented a settlement that would otherwise have taken place favourable to the other, or equally fair to both; and it is quite natural that the proprietors should dislike this interference in a matter of such vital interest to their properties; it may also have operated to cause distrust and resentment between the interested parties, which is a serious evil; but at the same time it was natural that the labourers should seek the advice of the pastors and ministers, who had evinced a great interest in their welfare—had weaned them from their barbarous superstitions, and had opened to them the blessings of Christianity; and it was not unnatural that, under these circumstances, advice should be given; and it may be, that without the advice and support of their ministers, the emancipated population might have fared worse in their dealings with their former masters, or might, from disappointment, have followed desperate courses. Considering what might possibly have happened without the influence of the ministers over their flocks, it is not easy to estimate the full value of the operations of the missionaries of all denominations; but it seems undeniable that the Baptists have pursued a course different from that of all other missionaries, for I hear no reproach uttered against the Wesleyan, Moravian, Presbyterian, or Church of England missionaries. The Baptists alone have become a political party, and caused themselves to be regarded as hostile to the proprietary interests. From the partizanship which they have evinced, they have, it may be presumed, greater influence than any other sect in this island, and are preparing, I am informed, to influence the elections on a dissolution of the Assembly, when such of the emancipated population as may be duly qualified to vote, will become entitled to vote.

12. If the political power exercised by the Baptists be an evil—and I am disposed, generally speaking, to think that it is an evil, whenever the ministers of religion deviate from their purely religious functions, to take part in the strife and broils of political parties—it is an evil which does not admit of any present remedy. Either their influence will diminish from their flocks not liking the amount requisite for the support of their church establishment, or it will continue to increase by the activity of the Baptists drawing more into their fold. In the latter case, whether their influence be a bane or a blessing to the country, must depend on the spirit in which it is exercised. On the whole, although I esteem the conduct of the other missionaries, in confining themselves to their religious duties, and abstaining from political strife, as more admirable and more beneficial to the country than that of the Baptists, nevertheless, if the good and the evil done by the latter were to be weighed against each other, the good, I

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conceive, would preponderate. The benefit of religious instruction and of its moral consequences, seems sufficient to warrant that conclusion.

13. The conduct of the labouring population generally is represented by the stipendiary magistrates, whose reports are the most frequent channels of official information possessed by the government, as being orderly and irreproachable; and I see no reason to doubt the truth of their representations. Particular instances of an opposite character have come under my notice since my arrival: but I trust, and believe that they are exceptions to the general rule.—The generally tranquil state of the country, without any police, is a strong proof of the present peaceable disposition of the inhabitants. The character, however, acquired by the people in their transition from slavery to freedom, seems to be more that of independence than of submission to the will of others. They are, I imagine as independent and thriving, and as little subservient as any labouring population in the world. They are also, as far as I can see, cheerful and merry. They are generally, in this neighbourhood, with smiling faces and civil tongues, and seem pleased with being noticed.

14. The stipendiary magistrates are a class, with individual exceptions, offensive to the proprietary interest. This is not surprising. The magistracy of the country consisted formerly exclusively of proprietors or their representatives, performing their duties gratuitously. The special justices or stipendiary magistrates, were thrust among them purposely to protect the apprentices against them, and, with exclusive powers for that purpose. Their services have been continued with similar views regarding the free labourers. These arrangements were no doubt necessary. It was scarcely possible to entrust the dispensation of justice entirely to those who were themselves so much interested in the question likely to arise for decision. Nevertheless, the establishments of stipendiary magistrates was extremely grating to the landed interests, and, added to the abolition of slavery, became a second revolution in the island. The annoyance was aggravated in a great degree, partly by the inexperience and unfitness of some of the stipendiary magistrates, and partly by their receiving a bias, from the purpose for which they were appointed, and by their regarding themselves rather as protectors of the labourers than as dispensers of equal justice to all parties.—The labourers, understanding the purpose of the domination of stipendiary magistrates, looked to them exclusively for justice; and the latter, acting under the immediate direction of the governor, and furnishing him with continual representations of oppression on the part of the proprietors or their agents, a state of things was produced very unsatisfactory. The bulk of the magistrates of the island were distrusted by the government; and together with the class to which they belonged, became generally disgusted. The continuance of such feelings is much to be deprecated. A magistracy divided into two parties hostile to each other—one party distrusted by the government and the lower orders, and the other distrusted by all the aristocracy, presents a picture which cannot be contemplated with gratification. This subject engages my anxious attention, but I do not at present clearly see a remedy. There is a disposition, I understand, likely to show itself in the House of Assembly, to form local courts, under persons qualified by legal knowledge, and free from self-interest, to be paid by adequate salaries. If any arrangement of the kind could be devised, affording real justice to the people, and palatable to the landed interest, I should think it advisable to encourage it.

15. I trust that nothing that I have said will be construed as imputing blame to the stipendiary magistrates. They have been placed in a very delicate and arduous position—one which required that every individual holding it should be gifted not only with legal knowledge and strict impartiality, but also with peculiar tact, temper, and discretion, and the power of sweetening a bitter potion. It was not to be expected that all could come up to this standard; some have conducted themselves admirably, and have apparently given satisfaction to all classes of the community among whom they have been placed. If others have received a bias from the purpose of their appointment, and leaned too much to one side, it was a natural error. I do not suppose that they have, in any instance, intended to commit injustice. I have no reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the stipendiary magistrates generally, as far as it has officially come under my notice.

16. Your lordship is aware that the legislature will meet on the 22nd inst. I am informed that the House of Assembly will come prepared to proceed to business with good will; but as the members must naturally be imbued with the spirit of the constituency that they represent, and of which they are themselves for the most part influential leaders, and as there is much rankling from past circumstances, it is impossible at present to anticipate the result of the approaching session. Mr. Panton, it is supposed will be the speaker, and is generally understood to be as fit as any in the assembly for that office. I have, &c.,

C. T. METCALFE.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ABOVE DESPATCH.

Our fears are realized: Sir Charles Metcalfe, Governor of Jamaica, has thrown himself into the hands of the planters, and is giving full proof of his utter incapacity, or, what is worse, his indisposition to carry into full effect the necessary measures for securing to the liberated bondsmen their unquestionable rights. We feel it to be our duty, therefore, to sound the alarm, lest our silence should be construed into acquiescence, in the course he has pursued, and which cannot fail to terminate disastrously to the cause of freedom, and to the general interests of the colony.

The design of the present government in its attempt to suspend the legislature of Jamaica, for a limited period, was to enact such laws as the exigencies of the island, and the liberty and welfare of all classes in it required. In this, however, they were defeated, and, as a consequence, Sir Lionel Smith, whose firmness and decision had kept the rampant spirit of slavery in check, was recalled, and Sir Charles Metcalfe was sent thither to allay the storm which had been raised. This has been done; but at what cost to liberty, remains yet to be seen.

The spirit with which he intended to carry on his government, might be gathered from his opening speech to the contumacious legislature of the island. At its close, he condescended to flatter that body when he thus addressed them: "It is on your wisdom, knowledge, and experience that I chiefly depend. On these I implicitly rely, as well as on your patriotism, and on that loyalty for which Jamaica has ever been celebrated," when Sir Charles must have known that the reverse of all this was true, and that if he were sincere in offering them this fulsome adulation, he was passing the severest censure on the government which had sent him thither. The wisdom, knowledge, experience, patriotism, and loyalty of Jamaica planters and legislators! who ever heard of these things before? Judged by their acts and by their history, they are the very reverse of what he designated them. But this was the first step in the progress of conciliation.

The next was a covert attack on the liberated negros, the Baptist missionaries, the special magistracy, and an apology for the planters. In a despatch addressed to the colonial office, dated the 16th October, 1839, within about three weeks after his arrival in the colony, he states that the negros "in some parts of the country, work only four days in the week," reserving the other two for the cultivation of their provision grounds; that "the wages of labour, have been hitherto settled more at the will of the labourer than that of his employer," and that to obtain continuous, or extra labour, he found it often necessary to bribe highly; "and that it was only as a counterpoise to the power of the labourers over wages," that the proprietors have that of charging rent for the houses and grounds," not as he afterwards says, "with reference purely to the value of the house and grounds, but to counterbalance as much as possible the payment of wages." Now unless we have been grossly deceived by the reports of the special magistrates, and by the statements of Sir Lionel Smith, the wages demanded by the negros have been *moderate*, whilst the rents demanded by the planters have been *exorbitant*, so much so, as in some instances to swallow up the whole of the wages of the labourers. These demands have been enforced by notices to quit, summary ejectments, and the most cruel and arbitrary proceedings. The pages of the blue books laid before parliament amply prove this. On the side of the oppressor, there has been power. Sir Charles, however, is compelled to acknowledge, though it is evidently with reluctance, that the official reports of the stipendiary magistrates concur in stating that the conduct of the labouring population is "orderly and irreproachable."

The Baptist missionaries are next passed in review by Sir Charles. They are represented as having "made themselves peculiarly obnoxious to the proprietors, by the advice and aid which they are supposed to have given" to the labourers: that they have "prevented a settlement" between masters and labourers, "equally fair to both;" that they are "a political party," and are regarded as hostile to the proprietary interests; that they have pursued a course "different from that of all other missionaries," and he does not see that "*their influence will diminish*," except by "*their flocks not liking the amount requisite for the support of their church establishment.*" But, after all, it appears, that, "if the good and evil" done by them "were to be weighed against each other, the good" he conceives would preponderate." Anything more indelicate than the allusions—more odious than the comparisons—or more insulting to a respectable body of christian men than the insinuations and representations contrived in the foregoing paragraphs can scarcely be imagined. No doubt they will take the proper means of justifying the course they have felt it to be their duty to pursue, and vindicate their reputation from the injurious charges which the new governor has endeavoured to fasten on them.

The next objects of his attack are the stipendiary magistrates. They, it appears also, with a few exceptions, are obnoxious to the proprietors. He speaks of their inexperience and unfitness—of their being biased in their decisions—acting as protectors of the labourers, rather than as the dispensers of equal justice to all parties; and, of course, he considers the dislike of the planters to them as only natural and reasonable: but yet he concludes by hoping that nothing he has said will be construed as imputing blame to them!

Thus then it appears after having attempted to get up a case against these three parties, the labourers, the Baptist missionaries, and the stipendiary magistrates, Sir Charles has been compelled to admit, that the first are "orderly and irreproachable" in their conduct, the second have done more good than evil, and that the third are, as a body, blameless.

The next step in the progress of conciliation was the allowing of above forty acts of the colonial legislature to be hurried through their various stages in the course of a few weeks, and to receive his authoritative sanction, by which they became the law of Jamaica. Some of these acts are of the most disgraceful character, and their combined operation will be found productive of the most injurious results. In another article we shall endeavour to give our readers some account of the legislation which has been allowed to pass current with Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Hard upon this Sir Charles has gratified some of the most determined enemies of the negros, and of the government, by becoming their guest during his tour through the island. Amongst others we single out the name of Mr. John Manderson, senior member of the assembly. During the period Sir Lionel Smith administered the affairs of the island, his resignation as *custos* of the parish of Manchester was accepted, yet he had the audacity a short time since to usurp the office of judge at a court of quarter sessions! This was done previously to the visit of Sir Charles; yet we find no prosecution ordered, nor even a rebuke administered, but this man singled out for especial honour. We also learn that other persons, who have been purposely excluded from the commission of the peace, for instance, Mr. Thomas Raeburn, and Mr. H. A. Plummer, have dared to take their seats on the bench at the police office, and to adjudicate on cases brought before the court!! No notice whatever appears to have been taken of these gross irregularities. Is not this carrying conciliation far enough? Further, it appears, that his Excellency has granted commissions to many individuals who are said to be totally unfit to receive the trust; and others of the same class are waiting to receive the same honour.

But this is not all, Sir Charles has taken another step; he has actually suspended the monthly returns of the special magistrates, the only source of authentic information the government had to depend upon! When Mr. Pease asked Lord John Russell on the 28th of January last, whether this was the case, his lordship replied, that *he was not aware of any such order having been given.* Surmise has now become certainty; and we venture to say, that a more unjust and impolitic act could not have been done by Sir Charles, or one that will fill the country with greater indignation. Are the people of this country, England, who have paid twenty millions of pounds sterling, for the emancipation of the negros to be kept in ignorance of the actual state of the colonies, by such men as Sir Charles Metcalfe? We know, however, the meaning of all this: the planters are clamouring for the removal of the stipendiary magistrates. Their agents at home are urging every possible reason on the colonial office, to effect the same purpose; and Sir Charles, is lending the influence of his high office to accomplish the same end; and we learn with indignation that the government are about to reduce the number of these important and necessary functionaries,

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preparatory we suppose to their being finally dispensed with. But will the people of England consent to this? We believe not. We look forward to the great Convention in June next, when British abolitionists will again be assembled, and when the policy of the government in reference to the emancipated negros will again be brought under review, and such measures be taken, as shall re-assure the friends of freedom in the colonies, as well as at home, that the liberties, and the interests, and the happiness of the liberated bondamen, are neither overlooked nor forgotten.

We conclude our observations for the present with the spirited remarks of the Editor of the *Colonial Reformer* of the 28th March last.

Oppression, injustice, cruelty, and fraud, may now be practiced with comparative impunity. *Sir Charles Metcalfe clearly designs to get rid of the stipendiary magistracy*, we must therefore call on all the friends of liberty and justice in this island to convey to the black population the intelligence that their interests are about to be entirely sacrificed, at the shrine of conciliation—that they are about to be deprived of that small measure of protection which was extended to them through the impartial administration of the stipendiary magistrates, and to be turned over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of their former owners.

We wish them to know that this calamity can only be averted by their rising as one man to petition the Queen and Imperial parliament against their being deprived of the judicial superintendence of the stipendiary magistracy.

A letter from the Rev. J. M. Phillippo to Mr. Sturge, will shew the views taken of this official document by Anti-slavery friends in Jamaica.

My dear Friend,—I write to you by this mail under the influence of very peculiar feelings—under the influence of feelings of surprise, disappointment, and regret, created by a despatch from Sir Charles Metcalfe to the colonial secretary, containing reflections on the whole body of the Baptist missionaries in this colony, and which has just appeared in the island prints.

Hitherto, as in duty bound, until convinced to the contrary by some public act, I have, as you are aware, expressed a favourable opinion of our new governor. Whatever were my private apprehensions of the nature and tendency of his policy, I have endeavoured to persuade myself, and have represented it as my conviction to you, that his administration of the government, if not characterized by that uncompromising firmness and some other essential elements, which distinguished that of his late predecessors, it would at least be *prudent, politic and liberal.* How greatly I now find myself in error in having so fondly cherished such a hope, you will probably long ere this have anticipated, as I presume both you and the friends of the negro in general, will have seen the despatch to which I allude.

I have said that the friends of liberty in Jamaica expected that his Excellency Sir Charles Metcalfe in his administration of the government would be at least *prudent, politic, and liberal;* but was it *prudent* in his Excellency, (leaving the *justice* of such an act entirely out of consideration) was it *prudent* to write a despatch, only, if I am correctly informed, between two and three weeks after his arrival, seriously reflecting on a body of christian ministers, and to make invidious comparisons to their disadvantage between them and other denominations, without knowledge, without proof, without pretext, simply on the testimony of prejudiced and partial, because irreligious and interested men?

It appears to be assumed by his Excellency that the Baptist missionaries possess greater and more extended influence over the lately emancipated peasantry, than is possessed by the ministers of any other distinct denomination and that it was out of the power of authorities, civil or ecclesiastical, to circumscribe that influence within narrower bounds, that there was, in a word, no means by which it could be successfully restrained. Was it therefore *wise*—was it *politic* on the part of his Excellency at the very commencement of his government, without provocation, to destroy the confidence of such a body in him as an equitable ruler?

The illiberality of his Excellency towards the Baptist missionaries, for I can designate it by no milder name, appears evident from the whole tenor of that part of his despatch which relates to religious teachers, and without for a moment wishing to impugn his Excellency's motives, it would seem impossible under all the circumstances of the case, to account for his conduct towards them upon any other ground than that of pre-existing prejudice, created in his mind, I must suppose, by designing men, in order to make him instrumental in the sacrifice of the reputation of these ministers of the gospel, both here and in the mother country, from some political or self-interested motive of expediency.

Should his Excellency have been flattered with the belief that the publication of his opinions respecting the Baptist missionaries would have the effect of diminishing the affections of their people towards them, he will probably find himself mistaken. It may rather be apprehended, from the necessity of explanation and self-defence, to which these ministers may be driven by the vituperation and calumny to which they may be especially subject, as a consequence of these opinions, that their influence, as has happened in all similar cases of previous occurrence, will be increased rather than diminished, and that his Excellency and his advisers will but have thus unwittingly added to the evils (so called) which they wished to subdue.

With you and the friends of justice and humanity in England, his Excellency's opinions formed so hastily—on such objectionable *data*—and under such suspicious circumstances, will probably have but little weight, and regarding this as an additional attempt to intimidate us as Baptist missionaries in the performance of our duty to our still oppressed fellow-creatures, you will I doubt not as a consequence consider us entitled to a still greater share than ever, of your sympathies and prayers.

As an individual of the body of Baptist missionaries thus prematurely traduced by his Excellency, and residing as I do in the immediate neighbourhood of his Excellency's residence, both in town and country, I have reason perhaps of feel myself especially aggrieved. I however deeply regret the publication of these opinions on other grounds than those merely of a personal kind.

I regret it because his Excellency has been betrayed into the expression of that, with regard to many of the Baptist missionaries at least, which has not the slightest foundation in truth, and which I challenge any individual to prove.

I regret the occurrence because, increasingly alive to the real object of discreditable imputation cast on the character of their ministers, it is calculated to produce feelings in the minds of a vast portion of the peasantry scattered throughout the island, the very reverse of those his Excellency has expressed himself anxious to cherish and promote.

I regret it because it will tend to diminish, on the part both of ministers and people of the Baptist denomination, that confidence in his Excellency's impartiality and equity as supreme magistrate, which as loyal subjects they have ever been anxious to cherish towards the representative of their beloved sovereign; and finally—

I regret the expression of his Excellency's opinions as contained in his despatch relative to the Baptist missionaries for his own sake; as this unjust, indiscriminate and uncalled for censure, cast upon a body of christian ministers under such peculiar circumstances as have been previously named, and that too, in direct opposition to the testimony of his late illustrious predecessors, cannot fail to be to his Excellency, as it must be to every manly and ingenuous mind a source of painful reflection in the retrospect. I am my dear friend, very truly yours,

JAMES M. PHILLIPPO.

SUSPENSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES.

We observe in the parliamentary reports that our friend Mr. Pease, took an opportunity on the 28th of January, of asking Lord John Russell from his seat in the house of commons, whether there was any foundation for a report he had heard that the stipendiary magistrates of Jamaica had been directed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, to discontinue their reports to the British government; and that his lordship replied *he was not aware of any such order having been given!*

We beg to assure Mr. Pease, that his information is unfortunately but too correct: Sir Charles Metcalfe, a few days after his arrival, suffered himself to be persuaded, to issue an order, prohibiting the stipendiary magistrates from sending him any further reports on the state of their respective districts, thus depriving the government of the *only* source of correct and authentic information, it had to depend on! All the information he receives at present is of course limited to the representations of the planters and their adherents;—Of the real state of the country, we fear that he is in consequence profoundly ignorant, or rather that he has formed most erroneous opinions thereon:—Hence the rampant and menacing attitude assumed by the pro-slavery faction—hence renewed oppressions and daily iniquitous decisions of the island magistrates—hence the destruction of the provision grounds, and demolition of the cottages of the labourers—hence also perhaps, the fire raisings on estates, and hence, in short, the discontent and bad feeling again so rife in every quarter of this distracted island.

The wrongs done to the labourers cannot be brought before the executive in an official shape; and of newspaper reporters, he is not bound to take cognizance.

Soon and seriously will the British government experience the inconvenience arising from this *mistake* (?)—The representations or rather *misrepresentations* of the planters alone, reach them at present; and we do not hesitate to say that if these only continue to be received, believed, and acted on, the fate of Jamaica, as a valuable colony to Great Britain, is sealed for ever. The proprietary of the island, will soon be the victims of their own folly and perverseness.

In the present unfavourable state of affairs we can scarcely hope that our exertions can be of much service in this benighted country; It is therefore to the friends of liberty and justice in the mother country, that we more directly address ourselves—it is their eyes that we wish to open to the impending danger; and earnestly do we call on them to step forward before it be too late, and not to remit or pause, in their exertions until the great cause of slave-emancipation be fairly and finally accomplished—a consummation from which we appear as yet far, far distant.

We noticed a few weeks ago the fact of Mr. John Manderson daring to usurp the seat of a judge at a court of quarter sessions; we have since found that Mr. John Manderson, is not—"all *alone* in his glory"—others have followed his *spirited* example; Mr. Thomas Raeburn and Mr. H. A. Plummer, persons who had been purposely *excluded* from the new commission, as being unfit to be *included* in it, on account of their exclusive unfitness, have thought proper on several occasions to take their seats on the bench at the police office, and to adjudicate on cases brought before the court. It is said in fact, that several persons have been committed to prison by these *pseudo* magistrates.

Now, the chances are about three to one that these commitments were palpably unjust, because at Montego-Bay very little but injustice is to be obtained;—but whether just or unjust the commitments were decidedly *illegal*, and the committed parties have their right of action for damages, for false imprisonment, both against Messrs. Plummer and Raeburn, and the keeper of the prison where they were confined. But as there is a wide difference between having a right, and being allowed the benefit of that right—we presume it would be worse than useless to recommend the aggrieved parties to seek any such remedy; and as to our conciliating governor, adopting any measures, we began to believe that if one half the planters in the island were to usurp the functions of magistrates, without any title thereto, they would be permitted to do so with perfect impunity so far as Sir Charles Metcalfe is concerned. But we bid our friends at home to note these things; they afford a strong illustration of the disorganized state of society, at this moment, and what liberties the slave driving oligarchy are disposed to take with the rights of the people.

AMERICAN EMIGRANTS TO DEMERARA AND TRINIDAD; OR THE WEST INDIES *versus* LIBERIA.

(From the *Grenada Gazette.*)—Two gentlemen, Messrs. Peck and Price, delegates from the free-coloured population of America, to visit and report on the climate and advantages resulting to immigrants in the respective colonies of Demerara and Trinidad, arrived here, on Thursday last, from Berbice, in the steamer *Pluto*, and sail again this evening for Trinidad. We have had the pleasure of an interview with Mr. Peck, and consider him an intelligent, sensible man, and well adapted for the mission in which he is engaged. He appeared highly pleased with this island, and regretted that his time did not allow him to make any stay in it. He was, however, of opinion, that if American labourers,—he meant mechanics as well as field labourers,—were required by

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the colony, there would be no difficulty in procuring them. He distinctly mentioned to us, that the spirit of emigration among the coloured Americans, was not in consequence of their being destitute of employ in their own country, but merely to relieve themselves of the political disabilities under which they are at present suffering.

In the Americans, we have a people inured to labour, speaking the same language, of the same religion, and as civilized as ourselves—can we procure any other more suited to our wants than these people?—We believe not; and therefore would recommend the attention of the proprietary body to America, rather than to Malta, or any other country, for industrious and well-behaved labourers.

(From the *Trinidad Standard.*)—Messrs. Peck and Price, the two delegates appointed by the inhabitants of colour of the state of Maryland, to inquire into the advantages held out by British Guiana and Trinidad to coloured immigrants from the States, arrived here on Wednesday morning from Grenada, in the *Governor Doyle*. We understand their stay will be very short, these gentlemen having already exceeded the limits of the time they had resolved to absent themselves from their home on this errand. Several of our influential planters have called on them, and offered them every facility in seeing the country, and entering into the objects of their mission.

EMIGRATION TO TRINIDAD.—(From an *American paper.*)—Our own earnest desire has always been, that our oppressed and injured fellow countrymen would all agree to stick by the soil on which they were born, and abide the issue, and share the blessings which we cannot doubt futurity has in store. Yet, being in favour of liberty, we would never interfere with the liberty of emigration. The proposals for the defeated planters of the British West Indies, to obtain supplies of labourers from this country for the purpose of controlling and keeping down the price of labour of their now freed bondmen, has always appeared liable to many objections; yet it was presented in so plausible a manner, that it is not strange that numbers of people, made heart-sick by hope long deferred, should embrace the slight hope of improvement held out by these proposals. The last London Anti-Slavery Reporter contains accounts from British Guiana, and the last Coloured American has statements from Trinidad, which throw light upon the subject, and ought to engage all the friends of humanity in exertions to dissuade our countrymen from venturing on a removal, at least until the matters alleged are more fully cleared up. A Mr. Walker who has returned from Trinidad, says, there is no employment for women but field labour, and that great distrust prevails among the settled labourers towards the new comers.

He also says:—

"That part of the island where the emigrants are wanted, is down the coast, sixty or eighty miles distant from Port Spain, in the most sickly parts of the island, and where most of them now are. The communication with this part of the island is altogether by vessels, one of which usually belongs to an estate, and which does all the transportation for that estate, so that it is impossible to leave an estate but in the vessel belonging to that estate, which renders leaving extremely difficult, and also it is impossible to go without the consent of the overseer, who refuses to let them go, on the ground, as one told Mr. Walker, when asked his reasons, because said he, 'there is no necessity for them to go to town.' Here they are in complete slavery, and must remain so, until they break away by violence."

IMMIGRANTS.

We perceive from several of the colonial papers that there is a calling out for immigrants from any and every quarter whence they are supposed to be attainable, to induce "the idler and the vagrant" says the editor of the *Guiana Gazette* "to take up the shovel or hoe and proceed to his task." Any thing rather than fair wages. We say to our American friends look to the representations made to induce your coloured people to listen to the call. Watch the movements of Messrs. Peck and Price, and others, on the same errand. Something more than truth will be employed. The following paragraph from the *Guiana Gazette* of March. 17th, is suspicious enough.

It is pleasing to learn, that the American emigrants that have arrived at Trinidad, are giving unqualified satisfaction. Some of them can earn so much as one dollar and a half per day. They are diligent, honest, and attentive labourers; they do their work well, without trouble or murmuring; and the planters are even better pleased with the late arrivals than they were with the first. From this account we are encouraged to hope well from the cargo which is daily expected from Mr. Carbery. The introduction of a large supply of labourers of the character and habits of those located in Trinidad, together with the prospects that have been lately opened up to the colony, by the mechanical and persevering genius of Mr. Hoard, is almost an indubitable security that the golden days of this province have commenced and will continue to brighten as they advance, provided their brilliancy be not tarnished and their progress impeded by those who have the direction of our public affairs.

EQUALIZATION OF SUGAR DUTIES.

The equalization of the sugar duties is exciting considerable attention, and ruin to the colonies is confidently predicted as the result. We have often heard of such predictions before, and seen them falsified by the event, so that we are under no great apprehensions now.

Correspondence.

Extract of a letter from George Blyth, Presbyterian Missionary, to Joseph Sturge, Esq., dated Hampden, Jamaica, P. O. 24th March, 1840.

THE expense of conducting the schools is considerable, as two of my teachers are white men from Scotland. This was rendered necessary by the difficulty of procuring zealous and efficient teachers among the natives; and this difficulty will continue till the young ones under instruction shall have grown up and been educated. Many of them possess good abilities, and I have no doubt, some of them will become good teachers. The system on which our schools are taught, is that of the Glasgow educational society, which, as it comprises moral and religious training, is peculiarly fitted for missionary schools. We require the children to pay small school fees, but they are not half sufficient to meet the expenses of the schools. The free system adopted by the bishop in the national schools, operates against the payment of fees, and is bad in principle. There are upwards of five hundred children in our day schools, and a still greater number attend for instruction on the week day evenings and Lord's day.

Perhaps you have seen an appeal which we have made for subscriptions to assist us in establishing a seminary for training up native youths for teachers and ministers. The following are some extracts from it:—

"Although the presbyterian missionaries have been enabled, with the assistance of friends in Britain, to establish and support efficient schools in which the rudiments of an English education, and the principles of religion are taught; yet for many years they have felt the want of a higher seminary, in which greater attention may be paid to those who are further advanced, and in which a better education may be obtained than can be expected, even in the best schools that Jamaica yet possesses.

"The progress which many of our brown and black children have made in our common schools, proves, beyond any reasonable doubt, that the insinuations which have been thrown out against their capacity of improvement, are unfounded; and now that our people of all colours are equally free, it is only reasonable that we place a somewhat liberal education within their reach. Without it, even with freedom, they cannot rise high in the scale of society, nor turn to full account, the privileges which have been conferred upon them."

We lately had a meeting of our society for promoting civil and religious liberty, when a number of the Bellevue congregation, with their minister, Mr. Anderson, attended and aided the collection. The united contributions of the two congregations amounted to fifty-five pounds, at which forty pounds was voted to the United States Anti-slavery Society, and the remaining fifteen pounds to the Boston ladies, who have acted such an honourable part in the struggle for liberty. We were glad of the opportunity of transmitting these sums to America by our esteemed friend Captain C. Stuart.

The working of the free system varies very much in different parts of the island. In some districts there is no doubt that the cultivation of the estates is going down. In this quarter, it remains much the same as it has been for a number of years; and having been favoured with good seasons last year, the present crop will considerably exceed the former, and I presume will be equal to what was raised during the apprenticeship.

The greatest hardships which the people in this quarter suffer arises from rent being demanded for houses which are not habitable, and the repairs of which the overseers, in many instances, entirely refuse, or for some pretence or another delay. I hope this and some other evils will be corrected by the free villages. We are now settling two of these, for the sites of which the purchasers have paid upwards of £1000. Captain Stuart laid the foundation of the first houses of each, since which a number of other houses have been begun. We have also offered £1000 sterling for a third run of land of still larger extent, adjoining Hampden church, and hope to obtain it.

I think I formerly mentioned that my congregation had resolved, from the beginning of 1839, to support the expenses of the station without aid from home. With the exception of the schools they have fully redeemed this pledge, besides raising several hundred pounds for missionary and other religious purposes. This circumstance shows the industry of the people. Indeed, instead of accusing them of indolence, I am rather disposed to blame them for being too anxious to make money. I don't know a healthy person who can justly be called idle. I mean in the congregation.

You would probably observe the report of our temperance in the *Colonial Reformer*. The annual meeting was deferred for some weeks, that we might secure the assistance of Captain Stuart, and the result justified the delay. We have now 1200 members, including 200 total abstinence members. Drunkenness is now nearly banished from the congregation; our funerals, free villages, and social meetings, are all conducted on temperance principles; and we daily bless God for the direction he has granted us in this matter.

Extract of a Letter from J. M. Phillippo, to John Dyer, dated Jamaica, March, 1840.

MR. Knibb sailed a few days ago in the Isis for Liverpool. I hope he will arrive home in safety and do much good. Within the last few weeks the feeling against him and some others of our brethren of the western union especially, has been most virulent and bitter, probably never exceeded in these respects. I am very

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thankful that the state of things is so much better on this side the island, as to render open collision with our plantocratic neighbours unnecessary. In every instance, indeed, in this district, owing, no doubt, in a considerable degree to the facilities afforded to the peasantry for forming settlements, a mutually good understanding exists between them and their employers.

It cannot be disguised, however, owing to a want of confidence in our present governor, and to the operation of the police and other highly objectionable laws, that great dissatisfaction on the part of the peasantry very generally prevails,—to such a degree, indeed, as to excite my apprehensions of evil consequences more powerfully than ever they were excited before. It seems impossible to march the negro on the road to freedom, and then make him stand at ease within the old entrenchments of slavery. And what else are the recently enacted laws but the entrenchments of the late odious system? I most earnestly hope that Lord John Russell, with that energy and promptitude for which he is distinguished, will at once annul their iniquitous statutes, and resist with no less promptness and determination, the clamours of the West India body to do away with the stipendiary justices, or the fair prospects of prosperity to Jamaica, which freedom has opened up, will be speedily for ever blasted,—this is my firm and honest opinion. For freedom to work well here or anywhere, the laws must be just and equal, at the same time impartially and vigorously administered.

Extract of a Letter from John Clark, (Baptist Missionary) to Joseph Sturge, dated Brown's Town, Jamaica, March 25th, 1840.

THE freed people continue to prove themselves worthy of the high character they have obtained. They are sober, honest, and industrious. Cases of crime are very rare; and as regards the work of God, its progress is such as to fill the soul with joy. Although the chapel here is doubled in size, it is overflowing with those anxious to hear the word of God. A good congregation is gathering at Sturge-town. At Bethany, notwithstanding the formation of a branch station, the congregation is as large as ever. At Clarksonville, in the course of a few months, six or seven hundred people have been collected; and at Mount Zion, in Clarendon three or four hundred more have been brought under the sound of the gospel. Altogether from 4000 to 4500 precious souls have the word of life made known to them every Sabbath day at this and the subordinate stations. Upwards of 1000 children and 500 adults receive instruction in the sabbath schools, and 400 to 500 children are taught in the day schools. At present we have upwards of 500 candidates for church fellowship,—most of whom, I have reason to believe, after close examinations have passed from death unto life.

I enclose a bill of exchange for 150 dollars, or £30 sterling, from our Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. We have also sent 100 dollars to America. Were it not that we have a debt of £2000, a chapel building, and two more to build, two missionaries and three schoolmasters to support, we should have doubled the amount; but we have done what we could.

May God be with you to direct and bless in the convention. I trust you will be able to do something for Africa,—poor benighted bleeding Africa. She has long been the prey of avaricious, cruel men; but I think God is now about to bless her.

We have had a pleasant visit from your excellent friend, Mr. J. J. Gurney, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Candler of Chelmsford, I believe, and Messrs. M. Day and Alexander Taylor from America. It is delightful to meet christian friends from a far country—to hold fellowship with each other, and with our Father in heaven.

You will see, from a letter of mine in the Baptist Herald, that now and then the oppressors of other days show that they do not want the will, only the power, to renew their acts of tyranny. But thank God their power to oppress is well nigh gone. A large portion of the labourers are independent of them as regards dwellings, &c.; and if I succeed in making the purchases alluded to, 200 more will be able to obtain land on which to build houses of their own.

Extract of a letter from S. J. Prescod, to Mr. Sturge, dated Barbados, March 21st, 1840:—

On my return here, unexpected by any, I found the people less unsettled than I had expected, but yet in a state of excitement and discontent far from desirable. The operating causes I find to have been the contract law, re-enacted in January, and the endeavours of the planters generally, to tie down the people to nine hours labour for five days in the week. I do not, myself, consider this latter proposition of the planters abstractedly unreasonable, or more than the labourer might, with ease comply with; and left fairly and freely to himself, and to the promptings of self-interest to direct him, I feel assured that he would readily and cheerfully render that amount of labour for even the six days of the week. But God forbid, that he should consent to be bound to render that labour under all circumstances that may be, for even one day weekly. It is not that the labourer has an aversion to work, for he does work, more now than he did in slavery;—it is not that he is the indolent, idle being that his enslavers declared him to be—only to be driven to exertion by the dread of immediate punishment, he is really industrious—voluntarily, cheerfully industrious, and even our opponents are forced to admit this.

"It is impossible," said a leading member of the assembly to me the other day, "to look around on the state of the country, and doubt that the negros are an industrious people." Both here and in the islands I have just visited, I have had similar admissions of negro industry from almost every planter I have conversed with on the subject. The planters are blind my friend, desperately, deplorably blind to their own interests, and we who are now considered to be their determined enemies, must see for them, think for them, and prevent them from ruining themselves, along with our immediate charge by their mis-policy. They are men, and liable to err; they have been reared and nurtured in a vicious course from infancy to manhood, and they have acquired vicious habits; they have been slave masters, accustomed to wield absolute power, and knowing no other language than that of command, and we cannot be surprised to find them now unwilling to treat with their late slaves for hired service, but preferring still the means in their power to coerce. 'Tis human nature—not more the nature of the white man than of the black or brown, in the same circumstances.

The people here are determined not again to submit to any particles of their late bonds, other than they cannot help; and I trust I am but performing my duty, not only to them but to their late masters, in using my most strenuous endeavours, and exerting all the influence which I have with them, to encourage and support them in this virtuous determination.

The present plantation economy, as I have often before stated to you, was adopted and is persisted in solely for the exercise of accustomed authority it afforded the planter. Whatever of slavery he could retain he was very naturally unwilling to relinquish; and as servants attached to his property and subject to his daily, hourly surveillance and command, the negro was retained in a condition nearer that of slavery than he would have been as a labouring tenant. Some respectable planters I know profess to believe it to be their interest that the negro should be as he is in this respect; and they are willing they say, to alter his condition if convinced that it may be done consistently with their interest. But their sense of self-interest is largely qualified by their desire of command. Their habits of domination, influencing even the operations of their minds, give a false colouring to their interests, and are, of course, so many obstacles to their conviction. I shall say nothing of the reasoning by which I have been, for over eighteen months, endeavouring to convince them; they have a multitude of facts before them, all plainly tending to the same point. The abuses to which the present economy is liable; the frequently occuring excitements and disorders consequent on these abuses, all so many checks to continuous labour, to the moral and social improvement of the peasantry, and, as a matter of course, to the prosperity of the country, as well as to the immediate interests of the planters, should already have convinced these (and *would*, but for the reason assigned), that their present economy is a bad one, and cannot too soon be relinquished for the better.

CONCILIATION.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Dendy to Mr. Knibb.

Falmouth, 25th March, 1840.

MY dear brother Knibb,—I was indeed concerned to hear of the return of the Isis to Kingston. On the Monday morning I was at Montego Bay, and felt very uneasy until I obtained the letter from Mrs. Dendy, and saw brother Oughton's letter.

During last night the mails came down with two packets, which I regret, as it will only give me *one* opportunity of writing, instead of two; but without any further introduction, I will furnish you with some facts which Mr. Pickton picked up during my absence, they will most likely be published in the Herald, but it will be some time before they will get home, that I copy them for your information.

Conciliation.—Richard Atkinson, lately a carpenter on Adelphi estate, St. James's, went up with the rest of the people on the property to pay his rent. He tendered for three weeks, at 4s. 7d. per week; the overseer said that another week was due, Atkinson said he thought not, but borrowed 4s. 7d. of a friend in the room, and paid the four weeks; the overseer then said, that there was still 1s. 8d. remaining unpaid, Atkinson at once denied this, the overseer then said that he would pay the 1s. 8d. himself. Atkinson then asked for a receipt for the *four weeks* rent which he had paid, a paper was handed to him as such, but on inspection *it proved to be for three weeks rent only*, this might have been a mistake, and might have easily been corrected, but when Atkinson took the receipt back, he was met by a volley of abuse, and an order to quit the premises immediately, which he did.

Thus it is plain that £11. 18s. 4d. a year, will not satisfy these honest, humane and considerate men, as rent. No, they must be able to charge that rent over again, or their estates will be ruined. This property is under the attorneyship of W. H. Knott, Esq., on this estate as far as can be learned, the system of rent pursued is as follows; if *two* working hands are living in a house, 3s. 4d. per week is charged as rent, if *three* the rent is 4s. 7d.; if four, it is 5s. per week.

Guilsboro.—The overseer, Mr. Turnbull, takes upon himself to stop a part of the week's wages of several of the people, solely, because he did not *think* that they deserved the whole of their earnings. Among others, he stopped 7s. 11d. of the money due to Jannett Jarrett, the consequence was, that words ran very high between the people and manager. The next day, the attorney, Mr. Fry, came upon the property, and on hearing the complaint of the people, and inspecting the books, he (Mr. Fry) paid what the overseer had kept back; so far good on the part of the attorney; but instead of dismissing the overseer, he listened to a com-

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plaint made by him against Jannett Jarrett and her husband, and actually *discharged them* at a *week's notice*. At the end of that week, that is on Thursday, the 5th March, this same overseer went up to Jarrett's grounds armed with pistols, taking with him a brown man, named Bulgen, who carried a gun, and a black man, named Andrews, these three rooted up all Jarrett's yams, and carried them to Guilsborough to the *overseer's house*, where they remain.

Spring Mount.—*Lawrence* of Spring Mount Estate, St. James, has 4s. 2d. stopped out of his wages every week for rent, and his *wife* has 2s. 6d. stopped every week out of her wages, for rent of the same house and ground. And this is the plan of charging rent at Spring Mount £17. 6s. 8d. per annum for hut and provision grounds. This is *conciliation*.

I am, my dear brother, your's very sincerely,
WALTER DENDY.

WORKING OF THE NEW SYSTEM.—The following letter from J. I. Garney, to Benjamin Luckcock, Esq. has been handed us for publication.

2d. Mo. 18th, 1840.

My dear friend,—I have great pleasure in offering to thee in writing some reports of our late visit to some of the British islands to the windward.

Our visit was confined to Tortola, St. Kitts, Antigua and Dominica; but as these islands considerably vary in their natural character, and in the circumstances under which they are placed, I think I could scarcely have selected any four of our minor colonies, which would have given me a fairer view of the actual state of the emancipated negros.

The results of our observations and inquiries may be comprised under the following heads.

1. The emancipated negros are *working well* on the sugar estates.

This is an unquestionable fact in all the islands which we visited. The temporary unsettlement, which took place very probably at the time of the change, soon subsided, and the negros are in general working on the *same* estates as before. On this subject we received the voluntary testimony of many of the principal planters, whose former associations had been much in favour of the old system. The president Isaacs, of Tortola, who is attorney to Reed; Irving and Co. has 1500 free negros under his care. He assured us that they are working well, and that he has no complaint to make. We received a similar testimony from Dugald Stewart Laidlow, of Dominica, once a most *determined* opponent to the new system, who has twenty-two estates under his care or ownership.

In Antigua they realized 22,000 hogsheads last year, being at least 7000 beyond the average. Such a crop could not possibly have been raised or taken off the ground without labourers adequate to the purpose. They have fine crops on the ground, both there and at St. Kitts, and not the smallest difficulty is apprehended as to the taking off the crops in either island. In Dominica the present crop is somewhat diminished by the degree of unsettlement which took place at the period of change; but the labourers are admirably settled now, and they have a clear prospect for the future of an increased sugar cultivation. The negros who were *free before* the late emancipation are now working in Dominica, with the quondam slaves on sugar estates.

2. The planters very generally work their sugar estates more *cheaply* on the present system than under slavery.

This remark applies more especially to the dry colonies, in which much of the food allowed the slaves was imported and purchased. The grant of this advantage in favour of freedom, is the removal of the *dead weight* of slavery, and the restriction of the money payments to those who are actually engaged in labour. It appears that under the old system, only about one-third of the slaves, on most of the estates, were actually engaged in field labour at one time, leaving two-thirds, or nearly that proportion, as dead weight, to be supported with food, &c. Now the planter pays his wages only to the third actually employed; and in many cases, under the system of job or task work, this number is further reduced. Even in Dominica—in which island, for its surprising fertility, the food of the slaves costs nothing, D. S. Laidlow informed me that he should save money by the change. Besides the pecuniary saving, there is less cost of time and trouble. In most of the islands, the infirm and decrepit are now supported from the public funds.

3. The consequence of the facts already stated is, that landed property *has risen, and is still rising in value*—being decidedly of greater value now than it was six years ago.

In Antigua, it seems to be a clear point, that the property *without* the slaves, is now of at least equal value with the property *and* the slaves six years ago, or before emancipation. This calculation is in fact far below the mark.

A similar remark applies with still greater force to St. Kitts. R. Claxton, the solicitor-general there, told me that he would not take £6000 now for a property which had cost him only £2000 six years ago. Indeed, many planters spoke of what they received in the shape of compensation, as quite a gratuity.

The unfavourable reports which have been spread of the working of freedom, have generally arisen from persons who are anxious to lay hold of landed property at a *cheap* rate. A clear proof that all is doing well, is unintentionally given by a gentleman in Antigua, who cries down the system as having ruined the West Indies, while he strives to *purchase* all the landed property he can.

4. There is a decided improvement taking place in the *morals* of the labouring class. Marriage and education are rapidly progressing. We found *crime* decidedly on the decrease, especially in Tortola and Antigua.

5. The *comforts* of the negros are immensely increased. They are providing themselves with good food and clothing.

The evidence of this fact is abundant in every island which we visited. No proof of it can be stronger than the almost *doubling* of the imports within the last two years. On the whole, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the substantial prosperity of the colonies which we visited, is on the increase. New houses are building: new estates are coming under cultivation. At least six *sugar* estates, which had been given up under slavery in Antigua, are now again in course of profitable cultivation.

To us it is unquestionable, that the blessing of the Almighty is resting on that act of humanity and justice which redeemed from bondage so large a proportion of our fellow-men.

The merits of the case have now been stated wholly independent of the question of compensation. It would be irrelevant for me to enter upon that question. But, I may be perhaps allowed to express my own sincere desire—first, that nothing may be suffered to impede emancipation in this delightful island and other Danish colonies; and secondly, that the act of justice and mercy may be accompanied with such a generous and *liberal* treatment of the planters, as may render the event easy and satisfactory to all the parties concerned.

I am thy obliged and sincere friend,
J. I. GURNEY.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 20TH.

ESPECIAL attention should be given to the statements made by Mr. Knibb, at the great meeting at Birmingham Town Hall last evening, which, we understand was attended by at least 5000 persons, and of which a brief report is subjoined; particularly to those which relate to the conduct of the new governor of Jamaica, and the recent acts of the House of Assembly. The conciliation which is attempted now, is just what of old it has always been, that of sacrificing the interests of the weak to the demands of the strong. Immediate steps should be taken to procure the disallowance of these disgraceful specimens of Jamaica legislation, already in the colonial office. Surely the government at home will not lend itself to these measures.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN LONDON.

As the time for holding the Convention which has been called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society approaches, it may be proper to submit information to our readers concerning it: All the topics of discussion likely to occupy the attention of the gentlemen assembled cannot of course be stated. Many will arise while the assembly is being held, and be suggested by the information laid before the Convention. Still inquiries are perpetually occurring as to what this solemn convention will be likely to have brought before it. We have called it a *solemn convocation* advisedly—we should despair of success if the minds of those who may come together, were not deeply impressed with the vast importance—the awful, the almost overwhelming solemnity of the business they undertake. The Committee are anxious that amidst the joy and thankfulness, with which it is lawful to contemplate what has already been achieved, an entire dependence upon the guidance and help of Almighty God may be devoutly cherished. Our eyes are up unto him, for "our expectation is from him."

Next in importance to this hallowed feeling, under which it is hoped every meeting of the convention will assemble, the Committee deem it desirable that the great principle on which their operations are conducted should be distinctly recognised, as lying at the basis of all the deliberations which may be conducted. Whatever is done, or determined upon, must be in harmony with these fundamental principles. They have been stated in the circular calling the convention, and may here be quoted to secure their being borne in mind:

> "That so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings. That the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures can be resorted to by this society in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

It will be seen from this language, that the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society deem the annihilation of slavery essential to the extermination of the slave-trade,—and that in pursuing this object, it is entirely restricted from seeking the employment of an armed force, and indeed from all other means than those strictly moral, religious, and pacific. The Society says nothing on the right or wrong of resorting to arms to deliver the oppressed from the yoke; all it says is, these are not the weapons of its warfare. To the friends and protectors of the oppressed of every land, the Society offers the right hand of fellowship, entreating their co-operation. The precepts of the Redeemer, "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them. Be ye therefore merciful as your Father in heaven is merciful;" exhibit the law by which all its proceedings are guided, and the clear recognition of this law may embolden every friend of the slave to come forward and plead the cause of his oppressed, helpless, and afflicted brethren.

It is further desirable that it should be distinctly understood of whom the convention is to be composed. All who may be present, of course, will come under the general description of friends of the slave. They will compose a united, a strong Anti-slavery body. Delegates will be sent from Anti-slavery societies in almost every part of the world. The Committee has already

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received information of such delegations from different parts of the United Kingdom, from France, America, and the West Indies of more than one hundred and fifty of the pledged friends of freedom.

These delegations comprise men of every political and religious creed, men of various, perhaps of opposing sentiments on other matters, but all agreeing in this, that slavery is an evil which it behoves Christians to employ all peaceful and holy means to destroy. The Committee has been informed of delegations also from bodies not strictly in anti-slavery organization, but which from the deep interest they feel in the sacred cause of the convention are anxious to aid in its deliberations, and assist in obtaining immediate and unconditional freedom. All such assistance and co-operation will be hailed with satisfaction and delight by the Society, which has undertaken to convoke the assembly. It is desirable that the Committee should be informed of who may be appointed delegates at as early a period as convenient to those who send them. It is particularly requested that all anti-slavery bodies will send an immediate *official notification* of the appointments which may be made by them, addressed to J. H. Tredgold, Esq., at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Information will be sought on every topic connected with Slavery and the Slave-trade in all parts of the world. The results of freedom where it has been achieved, so far as they may have been collected, will be laid before the meeting—the progress made towards its achievement where the struggle for it has not yet been crowned with success—and the obstacles with which it has to contend, in any country will also be inquired into.

African bondage, and all that assimilates to it, wheresoever existing, will, it is hoped, be brought to light; and the means of endeavouring successfully to break every such yoke, and unloose every such burden, will claim the anxious and attentive consideration of the assembled delegates.

And they meet not merely to consider, but to act. The government at home, if freedom be yet imperfect in our own colonies, and governments abroad, must be respectfully and earnestly implored in this matter to "do justice and to love mercy." The "righteousness which exalteth a nation" must be urged on the attention of those who sit in the high places, and preside over the present interests of mankind: and the energies of all—of ministers of religion—of christians of every name—of the high and the low—the wealthy, the influential, and the wise—together with the poorer and less distinguished must be called to the help of the Lord—"the help of the Lord against the mighty." The motto on the shield of one of our counties palatine is "ONE AND ALL." This motto the friends of the slave, we trust, will adopt, and that, knowing nothing of dissension or discord, they will pursue their great object with undeviating, untiring steps, till the last fetter is broken asunder—and till not only in the British dominions, but in the world, a slave shall not be found.

The Society has engaged Freemason's Hall, Great Queen Street, Lincolns' Inn Fields, with commodious rooms for Committees, &c., as the place of assembly for the delegates who are expected to meet on Friday, the twelfth day of June next at ten o'clock in the morning.

It may be expedient to add that the Rev. William Knibb and other delegates from Jamaica, comprising two coloured men, members of Christian churches, and formerly slaves, representatives of the Jamaica Anti-slavery Society, have already arrived.

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq.

The venerable Thomas Clarkson, in a letter to J. Sturge a few days ago, in speaking of his intended presence in London at the approaching anti-slavery conference, says "my daughter also, the widow of my late dear son, will come with me. She has a great desire to be at the meetings, and she takes with her, her own son about nine years old, my grandson and only *representative*, whom she wishes to attend the meetings, that he may be initiated there in the sacred cause, and brought up to succeed his grandfather in the same pursuit."

THE COOLIES.—The case of the Hill Coolies is again deferred, not relinquished. After the statement of facts on this subject in our last number, our readers will unite with us in earnestly desiring that Lord John Russell had abandoned his intention. He is, however, to introduce his obnoxious measure on the 29th inst. Humanity shudders at contemplating what may be the result of success, and no effort should be left untried to secure a defeat.

THE GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(From the *Dublin Weekly Herald*, a Temperance, Agricultural, and Commercial Journal, May 16th, 1840.)

We know not that there is on record, either in ancient or modern times, a more magnificent conception of the genuine spirit of universal philanthropy, than that which is exhibited in the calling together, from all parts of the world, the friends of personal freedom, to meet in London on the 12th of next June, there and then to bind and league together for the extinction, by moral and peaceful means alone, for such only would the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society employ, of the accursed slave-trade and slavery, wherever these withering blights exist.

What great and glorious results may we not expect to issue from this "World's Convention!" The noble spirits of America will be there—those who have for years, amidst the most violent opposition, the foulest obloquy and reproach, maintained, with unflinching firmness, the right of the negro to a full participation in the blessings of personal and civil liberty; who have besieged the Hall of Congress with their petitions, till the planters and supporters of slavery, dreading the fall of that unhallowed system, have attempted to silence the voice of complaint within the walls of the legislature, by refusing to hear or entertain these petitions, thus violating the spirit of the American constitution, in the vain and futile expectation of thereby sustaining a tottering cause.

The friends of freedom from our West Indian Colonies, who have fought the Negro's battle so bravely, and now rejoice in his emancipation, will, we trust, be there.

We hope that the Free Black of Hayti will be present, to tell what freedom has done for his land, and how well his countrymen have employed it.

The venerable Clarkson is carefully nursing his feeble frame, that he may, if but for a moment, stand in the midst of this glorious assembly, and behold the giant offspring of his early labours.

We trust that Ireland will send her proportion of delegates to the "*World's Convention.*" We are most sanguine as to the results of the deliberations that will then take place; for what may not be achieved by the combined exertions of the noble philanthropists who will then assemble.

RESULTS OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

GREAT MEETING IN BIRMINGHAM.

YESTERDAY, (Tuesday) evening, one of the largest and most influential meetings ever assembled on any similar occasion, in Birmingham, took place in the Town Hall, to welcome the Rev. William Knibb, the well known apostle of freedom, in Jamaica, on his arrival in this country, and to hear from him statements, respecting the working of emancipation in the West Indian colonies. Mr. Knibb, whose object in visiting England, is to attend the great Anti-Slavery convention, about to be held in London, in the ensuing month, was accompanied by Mr. E. Barrett, and Mr. J. Beckford, two emancipated Africans, both of whom hold the office of deacons, in the church to which they respectively belong.

The meeting was called for seven o'clock, and soon after that hour, every portion of the Hall was filled by a most respectable and deeply interested audience.

On the platform, which was crowded with members of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, we observed ministers of various denominations, including Baptist, Wesleyan, and Independent.—

Capt. Moorsom, R. N., on taking the chair, was received with loud cheers, after which he opened the business of the evening in an appropriate speech. He said, that they had been called together by the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, for the purpose of giving a reception to the delegates who had arrived from Jamaica to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention—a convention, the object of which was to put down slavery of all kinds all over the world. The Rev. William Knibb, with whose name they were familiar, (cheers,) that burst of acclamation showed him that he need say no more of that gentleman, was accompanied by two men of colour, each of whom was a deacon of a Baptist congregation, and they would detail to the meeting the results of that emancipation which had been achieved by the efforts of the British people. They would learn from the statements made to them that evening, that attempts were being made to infringe the rights and liberties of the negros, and to prevent them from choosing the masters they wished to serve, and the peculiar trades they wished to follow—that attempts were being made to confine them both to place and business. It would be, however, the duty of the friends of freedom in England, to take care that no bill received the royal assent which would in any way diminish the just rights of the people, and which would be after all but a repetition of the enactments of slavery. (Hear.) The object of the convention was, as he had stated, to put an end to the slave trade which unhappily was still carried on to a lamentable extent. It had been calculated by Mr. Fowell Buxton, that the slave-trade annually consigned to misery, wretchedness and death, 375,000 of the natives of Africa, irrespective of thousands annually destroyed by Mahomedan slavery. To aid in the great work of destroying this monstrous evil, the Rev. Mr. Knibb, and his two friends, had come amongst them, and he had no doubt they would give them a hearty welcome (cheers).

Joseph Sturge, Esq., then came forward, and introduced Mr. J. Beckford to the meeting, observing, that he was deacon to a congregation in Jamaica, which he was in the habit of addressing in his own chapel. As, however, he had never had an opportunity of speaking before so large an assembly as the present, he (Mr. S.) hoped they would give him their kind attention.

Mr. Beckford, on presenting himself, was received with general acclamation by the meeting, after which he proceeded to address the assembly, but in so low a tone, that we could but imperfectly gather the substance of his remarks. He rejoiced that God had put it into the hearts of the christians of this country to intercede by their prayers, their supplications, and their united efforts to effect the liberation of his poor, ignorant, despised, and ill-used brethren. He drew a very affecting picture of the state of the negro previous to the efforts of the christian missionaries, and contrasted it with their present happy state. He recollected when a boy, about ten years old, to have witnessed a scene which made his heart bleed, and the recital of which made a deep impression on his audience. A youth without father or mother, for the crime of running off the estate on which he was worked, was retaken, tied to a ladder, and flogged until the blood oozed from the top of his head to the sole of his feet

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like sap from a tree. He arose a crippled and deformed creature. His (Mr. B.'s) own sister was taken from her mother's house, and when she escaped and returned to her home, claiming shelter and protection, her mother could not receive her; she was obliged to drive her poor child from her door, for the penalty of imprisonment, stripes, and probable death, would have been her punishment for harbouring her. He had seen his mother flogged before his eyes, the blood ran from her body "enough to melt a stone." The scene was too much for his mind. He lost his reason, and after six weeks suffering he recovered; and he now asked whether he had not reason to bless God for having relieved them from such suffering and oppression.

Mr. STURGE, next introduced Mr. Barrett, with whom, he said he had become acquainted in Jamaica. His history was rather interesting, and he should make an observation or two in reference to it. In the year 1832, when the horrors of slavery had driven part of the population of that island into a state of rebellion, the whole of the inhabitants of the Oxford estate fled from it, leaving all the property in the hands of the slaves; but, though the whites were professing Christianity, they had doomed him to interminable slavery, and in his person, had trampled on all laws human and divine. Edward Barrett, had learned from the religion of Christ, while in that bondage, that the only revenge he could take for the wrongs heaped upon him was, to return good for evil; and such was the influence he possessed over his fellow-bondsmen, that he kept them quietly at work for six weeks, till the white men ventured to return. For this act, even the House of Assembly, showed they entertained some value, by voting him ten pounds; and when the proprietor of the estate was informed of his conduct, he offered him his freedom. Now, Edward Barrett could tell them, that no one could fully estimate the value of freedom but those who had once been slaves. He however had a son arrived at the age of manhood, to whom the yoke of bondage was less endurable, and he therefore requested that his son might be liberated instead of himself. (Loud applause.) His request was granted, and he had no prospect but that of ending his days with the goods and chattels of his master. But on the 1st of August, 1838, through their efforts, and the efforts of the British public generally, the last link of the chain which bound him and others in Jamaica was broken, he trusted for ever. (Hear and cheers.) Mr. Barrett now stood before them a free man, and while he knew they would rejoice in welcoming him and his companion, as christian brethren, equal in all respects to themselves in the sight of God, he (Mr. Barrett) would rejoice to tell them what a glorious change liberty had wrought for his countrymen in Jamaica. (Cheers.)

Mr. Barrett here came forward, and delivered a short address, in the course of which he replied to some of the charges brought against the negros respecting the falling off in the production of sugar, by stating, that while the planters during the time of slavery, compelled their children and wives to work in the fields from morning to night, they now sent their children to school, and allowed their wives to fill the station for which they were intended, that of attending to their families and homes.

The Rev. Mr. KNIBB on presenting himself was received with great enthusiasm. He assured the meeting it was with no ordinary feelings of pleasure he arose on that occasion to unfold, as far as time would permit, some of those glorious scenes that had transpired in Jamaica, and which had been brought about by the united energies of the Christian Church, and of the philanthropic portion of the land of his birth. There was a fitness, (at least it so appeared to him) that one of those who had witnessed the results of emancipation, should make his first report in a town, not less renowned for its manufacturing enterprise than for its determined opposition to slavery, wherever slavery was found to exist. (Cheers.) When he remembered the different meetings that had been held in Birmingham in behalf of the slave—when he remembered the urgent appeals and glowing language used by many of those by whom he was surrounded, he felt he was discharging some portion of that debt of gratitude which he could but feebly repay, in coming forward and laying before them some of those glorious results which had taken place in the island of Jamaica, and the different colonies by which it was surrounded. *They* had heard of the abolition of slavery—*he* had seen it—*They* had caught the distant sounds of liberty from the Western Archipelago—*he* had stood amidst all their thunders and his heart had beat with joy; and never while memory held her seat or remembrance existed in his bosom, should he forget the joyous scenes he had witnessed on the memorable first of August, when things became men, and those who were before but as goods and chattels, stood in the possession of the common rights and privileges with which GOD had endowed all his creatures. These glorious results had been mainly brought about by the efforts of a band of Christian missionaries, who had only the consciousness of duty to support them, men who were frowned on by those in power, for ever the objects of suspicion by the lovers of tyranny and oppression, till under the power of Christianity, slavery bowed to its benign and sacred influence. (Cheers.) He was aware that efforts had been made, and would still be made, to impugn the character of his beloved brethren—he was aware that it had been said, that the sacred duty of a Christian ministry had been surrendered for the stormy arena of political discussion; but it was easier to make these charges than to prove them. (Hear, hear.) If to defend the oppressed against the encroachments of arbitrary power—if to watch with uniting energy the first breathing of liberty in the inhabitants of the West—if to sympathize with the wretched and the unfriended, and strive by day and by night to give them those rights of which they ought never to have been deprived—if to succour the infirm and the helpless when in distress and ready to despair—if to secure the hard-working peasant a just return for his labour—if to endeavour to disenthral his mind from the miasma and pollution of slavery, and teach him to think of his rights as a man—if to strike from the hands of a female the chain of bondage, and place in its stead the child of her affection, and tell her, that her home was her place, and not the unsheltered glare of a burning sun—if these things were political, then indeed would he acknowledge that the Baptist missionaries of Jamaica had been political. (Great applause.) He had in the city of Kingston, in Jamaica, in the town where he laboured amongst a people whom he loved, publicly challenged his enemies to come forward if they dare, and refute a single statement which he had made respecting their guilt, or the good conduct of those whom they had so unjustly maligned. He should not insult an English audience by endeavouring to refute the slanders which day after day, and week after week, had been reiterated against him and his brethren; he had brought his accusers to the bar of justice and defied them to prove a single act against them, but like cowards they had slunk from the task. (Cheers.) He hoped he should be excused if now and then he referred to official documents, as a proof that that which they had done had met with the approbation of those who were capable of judging of the rectitude of their conduct. The Rev. gentleman here read extracts from the address of the Baptist missionaries of Jamaica to Sir Lionel Smith, on his retirement from the government of that island, and the reply of his Excellency, in which Sir Lionel bore testimony to the good effected by the whole body of missionaries, and particularly to the efforts of those who had contributed to fit the peasantry for freedom amid persecutions, insults, and dangers of no ordinary kind. He (Mr. Knibb,) should not have referred to the reply of Sir Lionel Smith, were it not that the present governor of Jamaica, before he was twenty days in the colony, had dared to traduce the character of the whole body of Baptist missionaries, not one of whom he had ever seen. (Hear, hear.) He knew it was right to speak of dignitaries with respect, but the time was come when, if they were to respect those placed in authority over them, such men must at least respect themselves. The Rev. Gentleman here read extracts from a despatch of Sir Charles Metcalfe, written twenty days after he had assumed the government of Jamaica, and before (to the best of his, Mr. Knibb's knowledge,) he had visited a single estate, or come in contact with a single individual belonging to the body whom he so foully denounced, charging the Baptist missionaries with entering into political partizanship, and being influenced by pecuniary considerations, in the course which they adopted in reference to the negro population. Having vindicated himself and his brethren from these charges, the speaker glanced at the results of emancipation, which had more than realized the expectations of their most ardent friends. It had been said, and truly said, that there had been a fallling off in the produce of the sugar crop since the emancipation of the slaves; but it had also been said, and most *untruly* said, that it was owing to the influence of the Baptist missionaries, that this result was to be attributed. It had been his (Mr. Knibb's) happiness, to be called upon to form in connexion with an attorney in the island, the first scale of wages on a Jamaica estate, to which not the least exceptions were made by the people. But this was not all. They did not fix the price of wages—the planters had done this themselves. During the time of slavery, when the negros applied to their masters with the view of purchasing their freedom, the latter were obliged to swear to the value of their daily labour before the price of manumission could be settled, and this they valued at four bits per day. Now was it to be supposed that a man hearing his master swear that his labour was worth four bits a day, would be disposed to place a lower value upon his work; but yet such was the desire of the christian freemen to act justly, that they struck off one-third of the sum which their masters had sworn was their due, and cheerfully worked for two-thirds the sum (cheers). Not content with this noble concession a meeting of planters was held to see if they could not reduce the rate of wages still lower, but here the missionaries felt it their duty to protect the people and here they made a firm stand. (Hear and cheers). They told the planters if the labour of sugar cultivation was not worth one shilling a day, that it was time they turned their lands to something else. (Laughter). Another cause of the diminution of the produce of the estates in Jamaica referred to by Mr. Knibb was, that the planters refused to cultivate the land, under the impression that the negros would not work. Another cause of the diminution in the produce was the unjust manner in which it was attempted to force exorbitant rents from the peasantry; and he regretted to say, that by a law passed with the sanction of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the owner of a house had the power of raising the rent every week if he pleased, and ejecting summarily by a written notice. (Hear, hear.) To show still further the oppression to which the negros were subject, if a father wished to work on another estate, or to send his children to school, he was charged 10d. a week in the shape of rent for each child. But it might be said "we want facts to prove these things!" These facts and these proofs he was ready to produce. He held in his hand the following document, for the genuineness of which he pledged himself. It was a receipt from "John Spencer" for the sum of £1. for rent up to the 25th Jan., 1840. The receipt was signed, "Edward Sedgwick," appended to the document, was the following notice:—"Every first class labourer, who has been work-

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ing off the property, will be required to pay 1s. 8d. per week, and all above ten years old, 10d. per week, and must work five days in the week, otherwise 1s. 8d. will be charged to the first class, and 10d. to the second, for every day they absent themselves without a satisfactory reason! (Hear, hear.) Did they call this freedom! ("No, no.") This, however, was what was called freedom in Jamaica, and it was political agitation when they endeavoured to put down a system based on fraud, cruelty and oppression. (cheers.) But this was not all. Another cause of the diminution of the produce, and one which the planters could not get over was this, that the women had gone to their proper station in their families, and their children had gone to their schools.—(Cheers.) The meeting were, doubtless, well aware that in the time of slavery the mother was obliged to surrender her child when a month old to some mercenary on the estate, and return themselves to the gang in the field, where they were compelled to labour from morning till night. And did they suppose that the agents of freedom in Jamaica would have done their duty if they had not attempted to prevent this? (No, no,) every one would be delighted to answer, in whose bosoms glowed the feelings of human beings, and he confessed that he for one, delighted to find their women attending to their domestic duties, and the children hastening to their schools, to receive that instruction which he trusted would make them wise unto salvation. Mr. Knibb here referred to the rapid progress which education was making amongst the people, and added, it was impossible to deny that the amount of the sugar crop had decreased, but if they received in this country less sugar, they exported to their West Indian colonies a much larger quantity of their manufactured goods; and if they had not enough of sugar to supply the home consumption, there were other countries to get it from. (Cheers.) He would, however, mention one fact that would speak for itself, as a proof that emancipation had not operated injuriously on the cultivation of sugar. Before leaving Jamaica, he called upon a proprietor of an estate, named Daniel Hart, an Israelite, and informed him that he was going to England, and wished to know how the people got on and how his estate thrived, and the reply was, "I get on capitally—I give the people four bits a day, and I charge them nothing for rent, as I wish to keep them on the property." On Mr. Bowder's estate in St. Thomas in the east, the people received 2s. 6d. a day currency, as he could show by the overseer's book, and yet the produce had realized within the last two years, the sum of £4000, the original cost of the property. Mr. Hoskins, a gentleman residing on another estate, told him, that the manufacture of the rum paid all the contingencies, and that he was enabled to send all the sugar home as clear profit. (Cheers,) In referring to the conduct of the people themselves, Mr. Knibb said, it was above all praise. It was a fact that there was not a labouring population on the earth so free from crime, as the labouring population of Jamaica. He could prove this from the records of the courts of law in Jamaica. At the last assize court of Montego Bay amongst a population of 125,000 individuals, only 19 were charged with offence. Of this number six were white men; of the remainder, thirteen were acquitted, and there was not a female amongst them all. (Cheers.) In the parish in which he himself resided, containing a population of 35,000 persons, only one prisoner was committed for trial in the space of three months (Cheers). He went to the House of Correction at Trelawney before he left the island, to see all that could be seen, in order that he might be enabled to tell all that could be told, and asked permission to go on the treadmill, when the governor said to him, "Mr. Knibb, there is no use concealing the truth, but ever since the 1st of August we have never been able to muster hands enough to turn it, and the mill has become rusty, and is going to pieces." (Loud cheering.) At the parish of St. Anne's the gaol had been shut up for the last six months, and the keeper had been put on half-pay, till he was again required. (Laughter and cheers.) In the parish of Westmoreland, in which a deacon of his own church had been flogged for praying to God, the workhouse was in ruins, for there was no one to tenant it. These were facts which he should resound throughout England, and let his enemies deny them, if they could. Out of the whole number of those professing christianity in the Baptist church, and they had 50,000 at least, out of this number, and it was equally true with respect to the professors belonging to other denominations, only one individual had been brought to the bar of his country since the 1st of August 1838, and he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge. (Cheers.) Mr. Knibb, in conclusion, called the attention of the meeting to the vagrant laws recently enacted, by which females could still be worked in chains for sixty days, on the conviction of a single magistrate, and their magistrates were not celebrated for their wisdom or their intelligence. This iniquitous act had been passed since Sir Lionel Smith left the island, and he trusted all who heard him would join heart and hand in dinouncing these unjust and iniquitous enactments, and urging on the British government the policy and the justice of getting rid of them. (Loud applause.) The Rev. Gentleman closed his address by an able and powerful appeal to professing Christians and ministers of religion in America, to renounce the holding and traffic of slaves, and wash for ever from their hands a stain which was alike disgraceful and inconsistent to them as men and Christians.

The Rev. Mr. MORGAN then came forward and proposed a resolution which had been entrusted to him, and in doing so said, he desired to call upon them to express their sympathy with his Rev. Brother, who had just sat down. They could not comprehend the extent of his labours. They could form no idea of the dangers and difficulties to which he had been exposed. He (Mr. M.) well remembered when he was driven home to his native land by severe persecutions. He then a tale unfolded which tingled in their ears. His Rev. brother was then what he had that evening professed himself, the firm and uncompromising advocate of the unfortunate negro. Mr. M. then read the following resolution: "That this meeting gladly avail themselves of this early occasion to present to the Rev. Mr. Knibb, Baptist missionary from Jamaica, their hearty congratulations on his safe arrival in his native land, and to express, notwithstanding the reproach and calumny by which he has been assailed, and the persecution, he has been compelled to endure, their unabated confidence in his high principles, and their admiration of his steady and fervent zeal in prosecuting the welfare both spiritual and temporal of the negro race."

The Rev. Thomas Swarm seconded the resolution, in an excellent speech, which we regret, the want of room prevents us from giving. He commended in appropriate terms, the conduct of the Rev. William Knibb, and concluded by expressing a hope, that the British public would never cease agitating, until they effected the emancipation of all the slaves in the world.

The resolution was then put and carried with great applause.

James James, Esq., was then called to the chair, after which a vote of thanks to Captain Moorsom, was proposed and carried, and the meeting separated, highly delighted at the result of the night's proceedings.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT A GENERAL MEETING OF THE KINGSTON ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

Held at the Court-house, Kingston, 9th March, 1840, the Honble Hector Mitchell, Esq. Mayor, in the Chair.

I. That slavery is a system of fraud, injustice, and murder, alike opposed to the express command of God, and subversive of the natural rights of man: it is therefore the duty of every individual to attempt its abolition.

Moved by Wm. Wemyss Anderson, Esq.—seconded by Edward Jordan, Esq.

II. That the transition from slavery to freedom in this colony, has fully realized the reasonable expectations of its advocates, while it affords a practical demonstration of the fitness of the negro population to receive the boon. And that the just and equitable principles of equal rights and privileges, are not only consistent with humanity, religion, and sound policy, but also best calculated to promote the commercial interests of a nation.

Moved by Daniel Hart, Esq.—seconded by the Rev. William Knibb.

III. That this meeting deplores the continued existence of slavery in various parts of the world, as well as the aggravated horrors of the slave-trade consequent thereon. That it rejoices in the determination of the British and American Anti-slavery societies to hold conventions in New York and London, for the purpose of effecting its universal overthrow, and request William Wemyss Anderson, Esquire, the Reverend John Clarke, and William Slayter, with Captain Stuart, to represent the views of this meeting at such conventions, and aid in the accomplishment of that great and benevolent design.

Moved by the Rev. John Wooleridge—seconded by Rev. John Clark.

IV. That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to his Honour the Mayor, for his readiness in granting the use of the Court-house for this meeting, and his kindness and impartiality in superintending the business of the meeting.

Moved by the Rev. Samuel Oughton,—seconded by James Taylor, Esq.

JAMAICA ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

A meeting of the Jamaica anti-slavery convention was held in the Baptist chapel, Spanish town, on the 6th March last, for the appointment of delegates to Great Britain and America, the Hon. Thomas J. Bernard, Esq. in the chair, when the Rev. Messrs. John Clark, of Jericho, and William Slayter, both missionaries, late of Jamaica, Messrs. Joseph Sturge, Thomas Harvey, James Whitehouse and W. W. Anderson, with Captain Stuart, were appointed. At this meeting, I. J. Gurney, Esq. spoke with considerable effect, adverting amongst other topics to what he had seen during his tour among the islands.

After paying, said Mr. G., a visit to the Danish colonies, in all of which he was glad to see the spirit of true religion—his attention was directed in succession to the windward islands; among them to Tortola, St. Christopher, Antigua, and Dominica, and he was happy to report that in each of them, though under different circumstances, the free labourers, with little exception, were working cheerfully and willingly for moderate wages on the estates to which they were attached. He found that a good understanding generally prevailed between masters and labourer. He called to mind the testimony of one in Tortola employing 1500 free labourers, in the various estates under his charge, as owner or attorney, by which it appeared that all were working well, and there were no complaints. The same report was given by many high and respectable parties in the other islands, and especially by one in Dominica, having almost one half of the estates in the island under his care—one who had been accustomed to the old system, but who now freely acknowledged that the labourers were working diligently, and for moderate wages, and that the properties had saved money by the change. Now, he wished his friends to observe, and

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he hoped he should not tire them, that the circumstances of some of the islands were different from those of others, and he knew of no two (and his friend Captain Stuart would bear him out in saying so,) he knew of no two more different than Antigua and Dominica. Antigua was what is called a dry island, highly cultivated, with little or no wood-land, and also very unproductive. Dominica, on the other hand, was blessed with boundless fertility—not one-tenth part of it was cultivated, and a good portion of it in desert. Thus, in either a natural or physical point, these islands differed; and in a moral and intellectual view, their difference was still greater. In Antigua, the people had enjoyed a christian education for a great many years. 7000 (we understood Mr. Gurney to say,) were being instructed in her schools, under the influence of Methodists, Moravians, and Church of England teachers. Perhaps of all the colonies, there was not one so fairly circumstanced as Antigua. Go forward to Dominica, and the people were found under the authority of their Roman fathers, and yet the good old plan answered equally well in both islands—the plan of giving fair wages. Take the educated and the ignorant, the dry and the bountiful island, where an opportunity of squatting is offered, and the people were found labouring equally well. He would appeal to his friend Captain Stuart, (Captain Stuart, said, certainly.) Here then was proof that the principle of giving fair work for fair wages belongs to the nature and constitution of man, and he was sure from what he had already seen, that there was no part of the human race to which this observation could be applied with more cogency, than to the descendants of Africa. With respect to the question of imports, he had been delighted in Antigua and St. Christopher's, to find the imports just double what they had formerly been, and to what was that to be ascribed?—to the fondness of the people for good clothing, in preference to the oznaburghs which had been mentioned; though he was not opposed to oznaburgh, and he would wish to avoid every statement which might possibly give pain, at which offence might be taken in the present state of parties."

ON THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE WINDWARD ISLANDS OVER TRINIDAD.

(From the *Trinidad Standard*.)

The editor of the *West Indian* thus concludes his notice of the recent important change which have been made as regards the nature of the control to be exercised by the governor-general of the windward islands over the affairs of this colony:—

"It would thus appear that while Sir Evan McGregor is so far relieved from the care, the trouble and anxiety of mind attendant upon the administration of the government of Trinidad—his *authority* as civil governor is in no way lessened, and that this arrangement is more the result of those changes which had been decided upon at the colonial office, previously to the presentation of the Trinidad memorials upon the subject, than from a desire to gratify the Trinidadians, or rather that portion of them, who were ready to "move heaven and earth" to effect the separation of their island from the windward government.

"There can be no doubt, that his Excellency heartily rejoices over this new arrangement—at any rate he has no great cause to regret his partial separation from a people, who, like the Trinidadians, are so completely wedded to their own notions of right and wrong, and who prefer their own way of managing matters at home, be the system ever so bad, to a reform, which would give them an improved state of things, and secure to them a liberal, an impartial, and an enlightened government."

"Whether the change had been decided upon at the Colonial Office previously to the presentation of the Trinidad memorials upon the subject, or was adopted subsequently to "gratify the Trinidadians," matters little now, seeing, however *motived*, it has been fully carried into effect: yet, that the colonial minister should have informed us, in reply to these very memorials, that in consequence of the conflicting opinions expressed on the subject, no alteration could be made in the arrangement—whilst so very material an alteration was already "decided upon"—is a little discrepancy in our contemporary's hypothesis, which we leave him to account for as he may think proper. As to the imputation of "being wedded to our own notions of right and wrong, and preferring our own way of managing matters at home," we must admit "the soft impeachment." The Trinidadians are not the only people in the world who prefer managing their own matters at home, to seeing them entrusted to strangers:—least of all do we wish to have them mixed up with, and made subservient to, those of Barbados. What interest have we in common with her? Or rather, are not our interests and hers the very antipodes of each other. Barbados is an old country; Trinidad a new one: Barbados is an emigrating country; Trinidad an *immigrating* one. The interests of the two colonies clash in every point, and are as opposite as are their respective ratio of fertility, viz.:—"Barbados cane-pieces—three *acres* to the hogshead;" "Trinidad cane-pieces—three *hogsheads* to the acre!" Then look at the *size* of the two colonies.—Trinidad, a dependency of *Barbados!* Why one might as well seek to make England a dependency of the Isle of Wight—"*C'est le clou de girofle qui veut gouverner le jambon.*" Why will not our Barbadian contemporaries enjoy their "liberal, impartial, and enlightened government" in quiet, and not force us to say things which we would rather leave unsaid?

From the *British Guiana Royal Gazette*.—The *British Emancipator*, the last number of which appeared sometime about the conclusion of last year, has been succeeded by another journal, the constitution and disposition of which are nearly the same as those of its predecessors. It is entitled the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and the second number of it is at present before us. The animus of this journal is easily gathered from its extracts and its leading article. Its conductors, and those connected with it, seem to be as much on the alert to procure dead scandal for dissection, as were the supporters of the *British Emancipator*, to furnish exaggerated falsehoods and statements as the *pabulum* of its existence. From its tone we would not be surprised if we should be again visited by some restless demagogues, such as JOHN SCOBLE—nay, indeed, perhaps by that very man himself—and our peaceable and industrious labourers once more rendered unsettled and unhappy through his instrumentality.

The Barbadian is greatly afflicted at the falling off in the sugar crop, and of course attributes it to the overthrow of the good old system. With him drought has nothing to do with calamity, and the harsh measures of the planters are entirely innocent. Were they once again slave proprietors, and the negros their goods and chattels, no doubt the plantations would be fruitful—hogsheads of sugar would multiply, and the colony would prosper. We suspect some exaggeration in the dolorous accounts given by our contemporary, but if they be true to the letter, the following observations from the *Liberal*, on the state of things in the island deserves especial attention. They may somewhat account for the calamity.

We regret exceedingly the evils with which the country has been afflicted, for these few weeks, by the imprudent legislation and intemperate conduct of men whom self-interest, if not self-respect, should urge into the opposite course. It must be evident to every one in the least capable of reasoning, that the days of coercion—of successful tyranny—are for ever at an end in these colonies;—that, in a word, the hot-iron yoke of slavery is shattered into a thousand ungatherable and unjoinable fragments, and the sooner these are swept clean away and forgotten amongst the rubbish of the past, the better it will be for all parties concerned. Why retain them, or wish to retain them, to encumber our habitation, and be an eye sore in the sight of many?

At a moment when the colonies around us are prospering in tranquillity and, at least, apparent contentment, it is highly disreputable to Barbados—it tells of anything but the wisdom of her rulers and the virtue of her sons, that discontent and disorderly excitement should exist and be clamorous within her bounds. Could national prosperity even possibly co-exist with such a state of society, it would surely be far better to prosper without it than with it; but who doubts that ruin is a necessary consequence of such a state?

It is not our intention, in this place, to revert to the immediate causes of the evils we are deploring: they are so very generally well known, and (let us add) reprobated, that it is unnecessary to notice them here. We would rather direct attention to the primary cause, without which those others would be inoperative and of no effect, and use our endeavours to remove it. That primary cause, as we have repeatedly stated, is the injudicious system of plantation management adopted subsequently to the abolition of apprenticeship. The planters thought, that in binding down the liberated negros on their estates as plantation servants,—giving them houses and grounds, and finding them medicine and medical attendance, &c. in part of wages,—instead of settling them, at once, as tenants at a fair rent, giving them nothing for nothing, and purchasing their disposable labour at the market price;—they thought, we say, that in thus binding the people to the estates, and maintaining over them some remnant of the constraint of slavery, they would be better securing that continuous labour without which cultivation could not succeed. This is the best motive we can find for their injudicious adoption of plantation servitude, instead of the free tenantry system; it is the motive by which the planters themselves profess to have been actuated; but, so far from having effected their object, it is notorious, on their own showing, that they have completely failed;—that continuous labour cannot, for a single week together, be calculated upon anywhere, however kind and conciliatory the conduct of employers. This might easily have been foreseen. The condition of the labourers as plantation servants, and their consequent subjection to the authority and daily surveillance of the planter and his agent, bring them into frequent collision with these, and tend necessarily to perpetuate, on both sides, the continual excitements, the discontents, and bad feelings of slavery, and to beget other evils peculiar to the state of freedom. These are so many obstacles to the quiet settlement of the labouring population, and, of course, to the securing of continuous labour from them. They operate, in short, to postpone indefinitely the proper result in colonial prosperity, of the measure of abolition—if they do not, indeed, tend to produce other and opposite results.

The planters are now complaining seriously of the abduction of the labouring population from the island by emigration agents; and truly every lover of his country and his kind must grieve to witness the success of these persons. But the planters themselves are the principal agents of emigration. It is by their misconduct,—by their imprudent measures for the management of free men on principles of slavery,—by their errors in legislation and practice, that the agents of emigration have succeeded and will succeed. Like crows to a feast of carrion, they flock to those spots only on which discontent and disaffection are to be found. They are invited, lured by the disenses and rottenness of society;—upon these they feed and thrive, and the appearance of these evils anywhere is the signal for their advent in that place. A healthy state of society—a settled, tranquil, contented population possesses no charm for them, offers no field for their enterprise. They shun such as unprofitable.

If the planters would effectually check emigration, they must not hope to do it by coercive laws, trenching, in the smallest degree, on the liberty of the subject. This would be persevering in their error, and making bad worse. It would aggravate the very evil it was intended to remedy. It would have the effect, most decidedly, of bringing into the field, as their opponents, many now standing aloof, who would rather see the island entirely depopulated, than a single right of the people improperly restricted; and foremost amongst these, we pledge ourselves to take our stand with all the influence, be that little or much, which we possess. If they would effectually check emigration, let them retrace their steps,—let them reform their plantation system, correct the abuses on which emigration depends for success, and settle the population in a condition to consider dispassionately and soberly the seductive promises of its agents, and resist their evil arts, if any such are resorted to. Let the planters, for their own sake and their country's, but resolve to do this, and set about the doing of it steadily and in good faith: and we and every friend of the people are ready to co-operate with them to the utmost extent of our ability. Let them do this, and we pledge ourselves to rid the island, now and for ever, of emigration agents within one month from date.

The accounts from the generality of the Islands are favourable, as to the working of the agricultural population. At a recent meeting of the Windward agricultural society of St. Vincent, it was unanimously resolved, in reply to a question put by the president—"That a decided improvement has taken place amongst the agricultural labourers resident on estates, since January last: that they appear more contented and satisfied with their situations, and that the labour afforded by them, is more continuous." *Grenada Gazette*.

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PROSECUTION OF MESSRS. BARRETT AND REID, MISSIONARIES.

A new prosecution exhibiting the love of justice cherished by the *enlightened* courts of Jamaica has been set on foot against Messrs. Barrett and Reid, missionaries of the London and Baptist Missionary Societies. They are accused of creating a riot with the intention of assault. The facts lie within small compass. Drunkenness with its attendant evils had fearfully increased in the parish of Clarendon, and the above-named gentlemen, as it behoved them, employed every legitimate means to arrest its progress. One of them, Mr. Barrett, drew public attention by a letter to the Colonial Reformer, to the increase of rum shops, which of course gave great offence to certain gentlemen, keepers of these shops. One of them, a Mr. Anderson, lived opposite to Mr. Barrett's house. On many occasions the ill will of Mr. A. against Mr. Barrett had discovered itself, and threats appear to have been used, which we do not choose to repeat.

One evening, while Mr. Barrett was at a public service in the chapel of Mr. Reid, at some little distance from his residence, Mrs. B. (then near her confinement,) was greatly alarmed at the pointing of a pistol by Mr. Anderson, towards the house; she of course expected mischief, and dispatched a messenger for her husband to return immediately. He did so, followed by many of his friends who had been worshipping with him.

Soon afterwards Mr. Reid also followed. *Both gentlemen desired that the people should not accompany them, but remain in the chapel.* On arriving at Mr. Anderson's house remonstrances ensued, and Mr. Parker, a friend of Anderson's, avers that Mr. Reid shook a stick at him in a threatening manner, a thing exceedingly improbable. It is unnecessary to add that the evidence sustaining the charge was futile in the extreme, nevertheless the parties were found guilty. Fain would the court have fixed on one of the above missionaries the charge of riotous assault, but this of course was overruled; not less than three persons must be leagued together for such an offence.

Sentence was not pronounced; the defendants entered into recognizances to appear when called on, and a motion for an arrest of judgment, on the ground of an informality, was announced.

Such is the measure dealt out to the friends of freedom and virtue in Jamaica—all must expect to have a share of it. We are glad to extract from a subsequent paper a complete exculpation of the accused parties, by those who are most likely to know them.

"We the undersigned, missionaries of the London Missionary Society assembled at Chapelton, feeling ourselves called upon to take some public notice of the late prosecution of our brother, the Rev. W. G. Barrett, and the Rev. James Reid, of the Baptist Missionary Society, do hereby declare, that while we abhor, and should condemn in any persons, and more especially in Christian ministers, such conduct as that of which they have been accused, we have at the same time a firm conviction that they are innocent of the charges brought against them, and our confidence in the integrity of their character, is not in the least abated. We beg to offer them assurance of our cordial sympathy with them, in the trouble and pain which the proceedings in the case must have occasioned them."

JOHN VINE, First Hill, Trelawney.
WILLIAM ALLOWAY, Dry Harbour, St. Ann's.
JOHN WOOLERIDGE, Kingston.
ROBERT JONES, Chapelton.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Morant Bay.

(From the *Dominican* of March 11th.)

THE LEGISLATURE.—The assembly were to meet to-day, but owing, we understand, to bodily indisposition in the speaker, no meeting took place.

In our anxiety to be brief last week, we omitted, in the notice of legislative proceedings, a message from the lieutenant-governor, announcing the disallowance, by Sir William Colebrooke, of the vagrant and poor relief bills, recently passed by the council and assembly. The grounds given are, the specification of offences constituting "an idle and disorderly person" in the first clause of the vagrant bill, includes some belonging rather to *police* than to a vagrant bill; and the leaving of the execution of the bill to the *general*, and not solely to the stipendiary magistracy of the island—the latter point will, however, be permitted provided a suspending clause be added to the bill. The "poor" bill is refused assent, because it substitutes a relief less in value than the one now existing under the abolition act: the latter law granting 4s. 6d. per week to infirm former apprentices besides the use of their former domiciles, which the late owners are enjoined to allow them, and the bill now rejected being entirely silent as to these domiciles.

Another message was received from lieutenant-governor M'Phail, announcing the relief from prison of a man named *Christmas*, confined therein a considerable time for kidnapping a child and returning him to his owner in Gaudaloupe, and who had been fined £100, and recommending the fees due by him to be paid by the colony to the Provost Marshal.

We are sorry, says the same paper, that Sir Wm. Colebrook has refused his assent to the vagrant bill, lately passed by both the council and assembly (an event which has of late been exceedingly rare) on the ground of its not being restricted, in its execution, to the stipendiary magistracy. This bill can hardly be said to be one affecting the relation of "proprietor and cultivator of the soil;" all which measures, we have always argued, should not be left to the *general* magistracy.

We think that if a proper representation, were speedily drawn up, and sent to Antigua, in the shape of a message from the assembly, along with the new bill, it might afford his Excellency some information, and induce him to allow the bill to be in force, at least, till we can hear from England.

His Excellency we have no doubt, is sufficiently informed already, and we trust, after this enlightened procedure on his part, we shall hear no more of the vagrant and poor relief bills.

THE HANOVER MAGISTRATES AGAIN!!!

OPPRESSIVE EXCESS OF JURISDICTION.

WHEN will the labouring classes of this community have justice done them? when will they enjoy the benefit of equal laws, and the impartial administration of such laws? Will it be surprising if the peasantry, goaded to desperation by such proceedings as those of the magistrates in the case of Otty, and in that detailed in another part of this day's impression, which we have copied from the *Falmouth Post*, with the many others which every succeeding post brings to our knowledge—will it be surprising, we say, if the labourers should at length lose patience, and come to a determination to work no longer for parties, who so obstinately withhold from them the possession of the civil rights, to which they are in law, as well as justice, entitled!

If trash houses have been maliciously destroyed in Hanover, to what source is the alarming evil to be attributed, but to the insane and perverse course pursued by the magistrates, attorney, and proprietors of that ill-fated parish? If the peasantry should throw down the hoe, and altogether abandon the cultivation of the cane in that part of the island, or even emigrate in a body with their wives and children, from a quarter in which they have suffered so much injustice and oppression, to settle in some better governed district, to what cause will the absent and ruined proprietor be able to trace so overwhelming a calamity, but to such decisions as that of Otty, and this of Lewis?

We have here an instance of a BLACK man *sentenced* to THREE MONTHS' hard labour in the penal gang, for merely using an insolent expression to a *white* book-keeper—for there is not a shadow of evidence that can justify the magistrates in *convicting him of breach of contract*, even if any contract actually existed.—Reverse the matter for a moment, and let us suppose that the book-keeper, had, in the plenitude of his authority, used the expressions alleged to the labourer Lewis, and we ask Messrs. Cocking and Pullar, whether they would have dared for a moment to think of sending him to the house of correction for three months, or *even three minutes?*

Such cases of improper language are constantly brought before the magistrates, both local and stipendiary, in this town and Kingston, and in all cases, whether the offender be black or white, he is punished by the infliction of a small pecuniary fine, and in default of payment, committed to the house of correction, for a term, never, we believe, exceeding seven or eight days.

We recommend the case of this unfortunate victim of magisterial ignorance or iniquity, to his Excellency's most serious consideration; and we again call upon him to reform and purge the Hanover bench of magistrates. So long as such men as Messrs Pullar, Johnson, Dawes, and especially Cocking, are permitted to—

Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven—

there will be no chance of repose or prosperity for this distracted colony.

When will the peasantry of this country be permitted, in tranquillity and peace to enjoy the blessings of that freedom, for which, as at present extended to them, the defrauded people of Great Britain have paid far beyond its full value.

Will it still be pretended, *even in the house of assembly*, in the face of the late monstrous decisions in Hanover, St. James's, St. George's, St. David's, and Port-Royal, and in fact, in almost every other parish in the island, that the interests of the labouring population so often brought in collision with those of the planter, can be safely entrusted to a magistracy composed exclusively of the latter.

Let the British government before hazarding the rash experiment, bethink themselves of the fate of the unfortunate flock, which the silly shepherd who begrudged the necessary food to his faithful dogs, consigned to the disinterested care of wolves, who undertook to serve him *without pay*.

In conclusion, we ask, will Sir Charles Metcalfe grant effectual redress to the injured man, Lewis? Will he cause him to be released from the cruel punishment to which he has been so iniquitously consigned? And will he, on ascertaining the correctness of the report now published, dismiss the two unworthy magistrates who have so prostituted the duties of their office? We shall see.

JAMAICA MAGISTRACY.

From the *Colonial Reformer*.—We have learnt with much surprise that a large bench of overseers, located on properties in a neighbouring parish, have been recommended for commissions in the peace, and that amongst them are several former pupils of the notorious John Blair.

We would entreat his Excellency when this most extraordinary recommendation reaches him, to pause, and before he gives his assent to such appointment to cause strict inquiry to be instituted into the qualification and competence of these parties, for the important office to which it is sought to elevate them.

With the gentlemen in question, we have no sort of acquaintance; but in our view of the matter, it is quite a sufficient reason for their exclusion from the commission, even supposing them duly qualified in other respects, that they are holding dependent situations, subject to the direct control or capricious will of their employers, and are not even permanent residents in the district in which they would be commissioned to act in a judicial capacity.

Moreover, a magistracy of planting attorney, or even proprietors in too large a proportion, has been found to be attended with serious inconveniences; but the objection applies with tenfold force to one composed of overseers who would be liable to loss of situation and removal from the district, for entertaining or acting on views differing from those of their employers. In this way too, a most dangerous power would be vested in the hands of such employers.

(From the *Barbados Liberal.*)

BRITISH GUIANA.—The papers from this colony, are principally taken up with discussions on the topic of immigration, which it is supposed will greatly benefit this magnificent province; but as to the description of labourers that will best suit the climate and the species of labour to be performed, time will eventually show. Thirty thousand dollars, says the *Guiana Chronicle* of the 2nd instant, were this day placed on the estimate as "extraordinaries," to be managed, by three commissioners, for the benefit of the colony.

THE WEATHER.—The papers from the windward islands are still full of complaints of the shortness of the crops owing to the long droughts.

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From a recent number of the Demerara *Royal Gazette*, we learn that heavy rains have fallen in that colony. Some apprehensions are awakened as to what effect this may have on the crops—as yet, however, we have heard of no injury.

"Within the last thirty-six hours more rain has fallen in and about George Town, than can be recollected by the oldest inhabitant to have fallen in the same space of time during any previous year.

"The town was so inundated, that the run of water, through the opened flood gates, during the six hours of ebb tide made but a very slight diminution in its height; the entire of Leopold-street and several places aback of town, being, even then, impassable, except in coorials.

"At first we were inclined to ascribe this slowness in the fall of the water to neglected drainage of the town; but the report of a gentleman who visited the east coast this morning, set right our opinion on that subject; all along the coast for many miles, the front cultivated land of the estates is one sheet of water.

"From certain data, we have come to the conclusion, that two and a half feet of water must have fallen since yesterday morning. It is to be hoped that our own cultivation may not suffer, and that so unusual a meteorological phenomenon in our quiet atmosphere may not indicate some alarming and dangerous change in the weather of our neighbouring colonies.

The following case of oppression is furnished on the authority of an esteemed missionary in Jamaica:—

John Cross was a slave on Georgia estate; had one leg broken a long time before the Argyle war, by a cart running over it in the night; soon after the said war he slipped in getting over a wall, and broke the other leg; *neither of them was ever set*, and he is, in consequence, terribly crippled. During the apprenticeship, being unable to do estate's work, he was sent to the grounds, and employed in making ropes, of course without any remuneration. Since freedom, his wife and four children have been constantly working for the estate, and he has attended to their grounds, living in a small thatched and wattled hut not worth twenty shillings. On Saturday, the 22nd of February, the book-keeper came up and gave him a paper, telling him that it was a charge of a dollar a week for his house and grounds. Cross told him that all his family were working on the property, and he was only watching their provisions. The book-keeper replied, that if he did not pay the rent by the following week, the Falmouth constable would come and fetch him down to the court. I have given him permission to put up a hut on the mission property till he and his family can get a piece of land in the neighbourhood. As this is close to his grounds, he can attend to them as usual, so long as his family continue to work for the property. B. B. D.

ANOTHER SLAVER CAPTURED.

The Morning Journal contains the following account of the capture of a slaver, by H. M. Ship, *Cleopatra*:

"We learn that a Portuguese schooner, the *Louisa*, having 283 slaves on board, was lately captured by H. M. ship, *Cleopatra*, captain Lushington, and was brought into Port-Royal on Monday last. We are rejoiced to find so much activity in this important branch of service, amongst our vessels of war.

"The rapid succession of the late seizures of slave vessels will convey some idea of the enormous extent to which the infernal traffic has been carried, for it is probable that where one had been captured, ten would escape; but we may reasonably hope, that the frequency of these seizures, and the measures which are being taken by the British government, will at length put some check to the horrid traffic.

"We regret to learn, that the small pox has broken out amongst the poor creatures on board the *Louisa*, who have been just snatched from the jaws of slavery, and it is supposed that they will be taken round to Navy island, and there landed to undergo quarantine, in the same way that was done with the last infected cargo. We learn that a proposition is being submitted to the governor, for having them located on one of the quays in the neighbourhood of Port-Royal. If a suitable place can be found for such purpose, it certainly would be far preferable.

"We have heard some very curious particulars with respect to the distribution of the last two cargoes, at Port Antonio, and Montego-Bay; so soon as we obtain authentic details, we will lay them before our readers.

CARGO OF SLAVES LANDED AT PORTO RICO.

The following account was given me, says a correspondent, by a member of the Society of Friends, from New York, whose veracity and care are beyond question:—

"3rd Mo. 29th, 1840.

"On the night of 3rd Mo. 12th, 1840, a slaver arrived at St. John's, Porto Rico, and landed a cargo of 372 Africans, at a little village called Paloseco, situated at the mouth of the harbour.

"*Fifteen* had died on the voyage, and several were still sick. They did not look as emaciated as I had expected. They were valued at 130,000 dollars, and the expenses were supposed to be nearly 30,000 dollars.

"Labourers being very much needed, they were, no doubt, soon scattered over the country.

"The vessel was built at Baltimore, and took out American natives; she then went to Havanna, and obtained Spanish natives.

"In all cases where a vessel changes her colours, it is necessary that the old natives should be given up to the consul. In this case, however, the American natives were endorsed by the American consul, a man whose conduct in this respect has already been much censured in the United States. These proceedings enabled the vessel to sail under either flag at convenience.

"After leaving Havanna, she came to St. John's, Porto Rico, at which place she was owned, and whence she was fitted out for her destination. Bradford, the American consul, of St. John's, was absent; but Francis W. Preston, whom he had deputed to act for him, was cognizant of the circumstances, and made application to the governor for the detention of the vessel. The latter refused to recognise his authority, and he was without orders in writing.

"The vessel was thus suffered to leave; she was only absent 70 days, was on the coast of Africa half an hour, had just shipped the slaves, when an English cruizer appearing, she was obliged to leave her boats and make all sail, when she succeeded in eluding her pursuers. The negros were previously bought and made ready for them by the factors on the coast. All these vessels are built in Baltimore, ostensibly for the Havanna trade.

"For every slave landed the governor of Porto Rico receives a doubloon."

THE FIRE AT GREEN POND TRASH-HOUSE.

The Colonial Reformer having expressed its opinion, that the fire which destroyed the Trash-house of Green-pond estate was the work of an incendiary, and that it was the natural though lamentable result of the exasperated feelings of the people, on witnessing the unlawful outrage committed by their employers, in tearing off the roof from the houses of Menairn and Little—thus retracts its error, and does justice to the accused parties.

From what we have since heard, we fear we have been doing a great deal of injustice to those people. We learn that there was not the slightest evidence to justify the imputation against any one of the people—that there was some reason to suspect that the fire originated from the wadding of a pistol fired that morning from the great house.

At all events, Menairn and Little were clearly exculpated by the very evidence their accusers gave before the magistrates. Yet in the face of that evidence, at the instance of Dr. G. Senior McF. Lawson, magistrate of the parish, and assistant judge of the Assize Court, a bill of indictment was sent in to the grand jury—a Montego Bay grand jury, be it remembered. Yet that jury returned the bill IGNORED!!

We learn that the conduct of Dr. Lawson towards those unfortunate persecuted men, was scandalously oppressive and unjust, and could the aggrieved parties bring their case before a *fair* and *impartial* tribunal, we have no doubt that his ignorance and prejudice would be so clearly established, as to entitle them to ample compensation at his hands, for the injury they have sustained.

He committed them to prison in the first instance, without any legal charge of crime being exhibited against them, and without any examination whatever. He afterwards had them taken from the jail and brought before him at Green Pond estate, a distance of four miles, there to be examined and re-committed to prison for trial no doubt, had the plan not been frustrated by the vigilance of a *conscientious* magistrate.

Again—on the day of the examination at the court house, an attempt was made to secure a *pack* of magistrates of the same kidney—which attempt we believe also failed. But after all the relentless malignity of the negro-hating slavery, loving despots of St. James', with Dr. Lawson we believe, at their head, contrived to have bills of indictment preferred against the two men, before the grand jury, which providentially was composed of men rather more upright and honest than what are usually contained in those bodies, and hence, and hence only no doubt, these innocent men were saved from being victimized.

The friends of the negro, especially, W. Knibb, at more than one public meeting had maintained from the occurrence of the catastrophe, that it was not the work of the parties accused, for which they had been loaded with the accustomed abuse and reproach. Who speaks the truth now?

THE RELIEF OF THE POOR AND DISEASED.

In the *St. George's Chronicle*, the attention of the legislature is called to the condition of the poor, especially the diseased poor. We may be allowed to question whether poor laws in the colonies be the best means of affording relief to these miserable objects.—Still every man must be convinced that some effective measures are necessary. In advertising an appeal from the pulpit on behalf of these helpless victims of the slave-system, the editor says:—

We would recommend to the attention of our senators the necessity of some provision being made for the relief of the numerous poor and indigent, as well as afflicted, persons, who are to be seen daily perambulating our streets, some of whom are so loathsome in their appearance, as to excite feelings of disgust in the beholder, and who are entirely dependent for their subsistence upon the precarious assistance afforded them by the humane and liberal. We know that private charity has done a great deal towards administering to the wants of many of these miserable objects, and that the "Daily Meal" and "Alms House Societies," to the extent of the funds at their command, have, also alleviated the sufferings of many of them; but, when we state that these means are *insufficient*, owing to the great number of the aged and infirm who resort to town from the neighbouring estates—those too, for whom it should have been imperative upon the directors and proprietors of estates to have made proper provision—we do trust that some measures will be adopted, by which the wants of the necessitous may be relieved, and the maimed and diseased properly provided for. If we mistake not, a proposition was submitted to our legislature some time ago, by the home government, for the enactment of poor laws; but which, we believe, were declared either to be unnecessary, or not suited to our state of society; in arriving at this conclusion we conceive that our legislators could not have been aware of the extent of pauperism in the colony, or they would have hesitated ere they did so. It is not however, too late to alter their opinion, and the opportunity cannot be better afforded them for doing so, than when they perceive that appeals are made to the charity of the community from the pulpit, in aid of institutions which are established by *voluntary contributions*, with the avowed object of ministering to the wants of the destitute and the needy.

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DR. PALMER. [From the *Dominican*.] We avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity to tender to our esteemed friend and contemporary Dr. PALMER of the Jamaica *Colonial Reformer* the expression of our unfeigned sympathy at the untoward treatment which he has been doomed so unjustifiably to endure—in being incarcerated in the common jail by order of the house of assembly of that extraordinary country.

BARBADOS.—We rejoice to meet with our friend the editor of the *Liberal* again in "the old arm chair," in his back gallery—and with recruited health maintaining the cause of freedom and justice. Long may he be permitted to continue the honourable contest against oppression and wrong of every kind, in which he has so successfully engaged.

A USELESS TREADMILL.—A short time since W. Knibb visited the house of correction in Trelawney "to see how things were going on." The treed-mill was found so rusty that it would not move. "How is this," said he to the keeper, "why is your mill in such bad order?" "The fact is," replied the keeper, "that since the 1st of August, I have not been able to muster hands enough to put on it—criminals are becoming scarce in this vicinity."

BLOOD HOUNDS IN CUBA—FOR WHAT, EXCEPT TO HUNT THE NEGROS!

A letter from Mantanzas, (Cuba,) received in New York, mentions that the United States schooner, of war, *Flirt*, had taken on board a fresh supply of bloodhounds to hunt down the Florida Indians; but a New York paper says that the bloodhounds have been tried, and are of no use—

"An Indian warrior was captured a few days ago by the troops near Suwanne, Old Town Hammock, with all his camp utensils, and the first and only experiment was tried with these terrible bloodhounds. Thus: the dog was kept close to the Indian, to get well acquainted with the scent; then the Indian was taken some distance, and the monster let loose. He would no more trail, track, hunt, or follow, than a red heifer, and nothing could induce him. The plan is a decisive failure."

A SLAVE WHIPPED TO DEATH.

(From the *Evangelist*.)—Extract of a letter from Havana.—Six days since, a slaveholder, two miles from here, in a fit of rage, whipped one of his negros so severely as to cause his death. He then sent two other negros to bury him, but when they arrived at the yard, the old free negro whose business it is to bury the dead, discovering that the dead man had every appearance of having been killed by violent hands, refused to inter the body, and sent immediately to the captain of the district, who came and examined the body, and questioned the other slaves, all of whom testified to the facts, and had them immediately communicated to the governor, who sent a company of soldiers, and brought the slave-holder before him; and from testimony adduced, he was sentenced to prison for life, to serve an apprenticeship at breaking stones, for Macadamizing the streets!

About twenty miles from here, (some four weeks since,) a slaveholder abused one of his slaves, and the physician who attended the slaves neglected to inform against the master, and for this neglect he was sentenced to prison, nor has he as yet been able, *with all the influence of his friends and money*, to get released from his confinement. Thus you see the difference between republican and monarchial slavery, the one makes laws to protect only the master, and these laws are made by the people; while the other, whose laws emanate from the throne, are of a character to protect the slave from the abuse of the master. I have become *fully satisfied* that "Republican Slavery," of all others, is incalculably the most severe and horrid in its effects.

INSTITUT D'AFRIQUE.

WE consider it due to M. Hippolyte De Saint Antoine to insert his reply to Mr. Turnbull's letter on the Institut d'Afrique, and addressed to Galignani's Messenger of the 5th instant. Of the Institut itself, we are not in possession of much information to lay before our readers.

"SIR,—You inserted in your journal of the 2d inst. a letter on the subject of the African Institution, evidently written with the intention of bringing into disrepute this French and international establishment, founded for the purpose of protecting the African race, and, at the same time, for accomplishing the civilisation, with the general colonisation, of Africa. I lay before you letters from five presidents, which destroy a malevolent allegation by written evidence. As to the considerable sum to which the letter above referred to alludes, it amounts at this time to the sum of £21, still in the hands of our bankers. It is not with such weak resources that the Institute could support itself. I am not surprised at this attack; for it is ever the fate of great and good undertakings to attract envy and hatred. One of the founders of the Institution, and devoted as much as any man can be by my principles, as shown by my writings, to the cause of the blacks, I should have been equally wanting to my own character and personal feelings, as to the dignity of the institution, if I had not immediately taken up its defence. I shall confine my answer to this. Nevertheless I shall make it my pleasure, as it is my duty, to leave the archives of the institution open to examination. The President and Secretary's offices are at No. 7, Rue Saint Florentin. The meeting-room of the institution is at No 7, Rue Neuve des Capucines, where the sittings of the institution are held twice every month. Any person may be present, on applying for a ticket by letter. Its journal will make known all its acts, and its editors will be able to defend its cause, and, if need be, their own persons. I expect, Sir, from your well-known impartiality, the insertion of this letter in your next number, and offer you, in this anticipation, the thanks of your very humble and most obedient servant,

"HIPPOLYTE DE SAINT ANTHOINE."

ANTI-SLAVERY INTERVIEW WITH THE KING OF THE FRENCH.

Mr. Turnbull, the author of "Travels in the West," Mr. J. H. Tredgold, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the Rev. Dr. Wright of St-Germain-en-Laye, formerly colonial Chaplain at the Cape of Good Hope, had the honour of a private audience of the King on Friday, to present an address, imploring his Majesty to take the earliest and most effective means of securing the abolition of the odious traffic in slaves and the extinction of slavery itself. In the course of a long and interesting conversation, his Majesty displayed an intimate acquaintance with the subject in all its bearings, and expressed the utmost abhorrence of the system arising from the scenes he had himself witnessed in Cuba forty years ago. With regard to the continuance of the toleration of slavery in the French West Indies, his Majesty spoke with the degree of reserve rendered imperative by the position of the questions with which it is connected in the chambers, at the same time assuring the gentlemen of the deputation that he would transmit their address to his council, and recommend its humane objects to their serious consideration. His Majesty admitted that an early amelioration of the legal condition of the slaves had become indispensable, but seemed of opinion that an intermediate state, resembling that of the *adscripti glebæ* of ancient Rome, or the serfs of the north of Europe, might be a convenient preliminary to the enjoyment of complete freedom.

The following is the address:—

May it please Your Majesty,

We the citizens of a friendly nation who glory in the strict alliance which our beloved sovereign maintains with your Majesty, approach your royal person with sentiments of profound respect, beseeching Your Majesty's beneficent interposition in behalf of that long persecuted African race whose sufferings and wrongs we have severally witnessed in various regions of the world.

It is since the commencement of your Majesty's reign, that the African slave-trade has been practically abolished throughout your Majesty's dominions. If the same reign were to witness also the abolition of the state of slavery which still unhappily prevails, the glory of the double achievement would far surpass all the triumphs of philanthropy obtained by any single monarch since the creation of the world. Between the suppression of the English slave-trade in the reign of George the Third, and the final abolition of slavery in that of William the Fourth, a period of twenty-seven years was suffered to elapse.

The peace and prosperity which have blessed the auspicious reign of the king of the French, the benevolence of your Majesty's heart, the wisdom of your government, and the unanimity of your people, afford abundant guarantees that a much shorter interval will suffice to accomplish the wishes of all the friends of humanity.

We have already sufficient experience of the results of emancipation as manifested in the progressive improvement of the free labouring population of the British colonies in habits of order and industry, and in the remarkable diminution of crime, to be able to affirm that the advent of freedom has been attended with signal success.

It is to France that the world now looks, not alone for the emancipation of the handful of slaves she possesses in her own colonies; but, through her example for the practical recognition of the principle that slavery and the slave-trade are no longer to be any where tolerated at this advanced period of the nineteenth century.

We pray your Majesty's acceptance of a work prepared by one of our number, entitled "Travels in the West," in which is disclosed a new and simple plan for the prompt and peaceful abolition of the African slave-trade. This plan has obtained the cordial approbation of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, of which, another of our number is the secretary, and having been submitted to her Britannic Majesty's government, it has attracted the serious attention of several of its members, and more especially of the noble lord who negociated the existing treaty with Spain, to which your Majesty's government has since become a party.

To a measure which interferes with no existing law, the consent of the Spanish and Brazilian governments would doubtless be easily obtained, if France and England were to concur in demanding it.

It is to promote so desirable an object and earnestly implore your Majesty to take into your gracious consideration the earliest and most effective means of securing the abolition of the odious traffic in slaves, and the speedy and universal extinction of slavery itself that we now respectfully throw ourselves at your Majesty's feet.

(Signed) D. TURNBULL,
J. H. TREDGOLD,
W. WRIGHT.

Paris,
May 8th, 1840.

PROGRESS OF THE ABOLITION CAUSE IN FRANCE.

The following passages are a translated extract from a letter addressed by a leading member of the French Chamber of Deputies to Mr. Turnbull, the author of "Travels in the West."—

"The discussion on the sugar law has been exceedingly favourable to the friends of negro emancipation. Messers. Laplagne, Berryer, Duvergier de Hauranne, Duchatel, and Dumont the defenders of the colonies whom we regard as our adversaries have all acknowledged the necessity of abolishing slavery and of engaging in it, with perseverance. The president of the council also has held the same language, until the social transformation has been accomplished in the colonies. M. Thiers cannot attempt to destroy the indigenous sugar.

"I should be glad to know what passed at your audience with the king. If his Majesty has resolved to move in this question, it cannot fail to advance with rapid strides. Had my name been inscribed to speak in this debate, I should have been able with the aid of your book to have rectified the errors of a former minister of finance, who has asserted that the number of slaves in Cuba is trifling as compared with the whites, a fact which is only true of Porto Rico. M. de Toqueville is to bring forward his motion on Tuesday next, for fixing a day for the discussion of the project of M. de Tracy, unless the president of the council in the name of the government shall declare his readiness to adopt its principle."

(From an *American Paper*.)—39,056 persons have petitioned the Massachusetts legislature United States, on the abolition of slavery, and kindred matters during their late session.

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TEXAS AND FRANCE.

(From the *Emancipator*.)

The Texians are disposed to make the utmost of the hasty recognition of their nationality by the government of France. The recent arrival of a diplomatic agent is thus heralded :—

"The arrival of M. de Saligny, Charge d'affaires from the court of France to Texas, was productive of immense gratification. His visit was made the occasion of a grand display in the shape of a large procession, by which he was met in the wild and beautiful valley of the Colorado, some few miles from Austin, and escorted to his lodgings by the mayor and civil authorities, General Henderson, late minister to France and England, the hon. secretary of war, most of the heads of departments and bureaus, and a considerable concourse of citizens and strangers."

If this "M. de Saligny" can read English, and takes the papers, he must have been greatly flattered on perusing in the *Houston Morning Star*, of Feb. 17, a letter from Dr. Francis Moore, Jun., one of the Texian senators, in reply to one of his constituents, who asked him why he opposed taking the census, by which his county would have been more fairly represented. Dr. Moore says in the first place :—

"It was proved beyond a doubt that the *population of the republic was not sufficiently great to authorize a constitutional increase of the representatives*, and consequently the measures would have been useless, and the expense wasted. To those who have been accustomed to hear THE MAGNIFIED REPORTS of the population of Texas, as published in the United States Journals, this account may seem chimerical, but if any individual doubts this assertion, by turning through the files of the *Telegraph* and noticing *the votes* in each county at the annual election, he will be convinced of its truth.

"The second reason that induced me to vote against the bill, was, that it would injuriously affect our foreign relations. We are just on the point of opening communications with several foreign powers, for the recognition of our independence and the extension of our commerce. If a census were taken just at this juncture, and the result should be published to the world, SHOWING OUR POPULATION TO BE LESS THAN ONE-FIFTH of its estimated limit, England, Belgium, Spain, and other powers might be disposed to regard us as too diminutive to deserve notice. Indeed, General Henderson, when the bill was before the senate, informed me, that in negotiating with the French minister for the late treaty, he was COMPELLED TO REFER TO THE EXAGGERATED REPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES JOURNALS, in which the population of Texas is rated at from 300,000 to 500,000. Had the census been taken, and the French minister enabled to refer to the statistical tables of the republic, and found the population *less than the least* sum above mentioned, (General Henderson observed,) he might not have considered the question relative to OUR RECOGNITION OF SUFFICIENT IMPORTANCE TO ENGAGE HIS ATTENTION."

We shall transmit this statement to our European correspondents, in such a way, that it will not be lost sight of. The following recent intelligence from Mexico, which we find in the New York *Morning Chronicle*, March 24th, will be interesting to those who hold Texas stock.

LATEST FROM MEXICO.—SPIRIT OF THE MEXICAN JOURNALS.—The treaty of indemnity for claims of citizens of the United States against Mexico has been ratified.

General Santa Anna, it is said, had obtained his passports, with the view of travelling, whether in the United States or in Europe was not known.

The pension granted by a former Congress to the widow and family of the late Emperor Yturbide, had been discussed by the Congress, and confirmed.

The Mexican Congress had authorized the government to borrow 1,000,000 dollars, at not less than eighty cents. for a dollar. This loan is to be one of the ways and means for carrying on the expedition against Texas. The principal resource of the government for this projected invasion is the capitation tax, of which we have heretofore spoken. The *Gazette* of Tamaulipas alludes to this invasion of Texas in terms of confidence :—

"The campaign of Texas will achieve much glory for Mexico, and restore her name and her honour. *The slavery of the black man, which is tolerated in Texas, and which was the cause of the revolution, will arm the Mexicans to drive those usurpers beyond the Sabine. Mexico gives freedom to men of all colours, and she has her destiny to fulfil in this respect.*"

So, it seems, Mexico has her destiny, "giving freedom to all colours," as an off-set to the destiny of the Anglo-Saxons, which the Texian advocates have so much relied on—"getting possession of all the land. We have a strong presentiment that the first is the best destiny, and will stand the longest. Somebody will live to know.

TEXIAN STATISTICS.

The whole story told.—The following minute statistics of Austin are said to be correct:—On the first of January, 1840, the whole population, members of congress, speculators, gamblers, loafers, and all, amounted to 856—whites 711. White adult males 550, white adult females 61 children 100, families 75, mechanics 35, lawyers 4, physicians 6, printing offices 2, taverns 6, stores 9, grocers 9, billiard room 1, and faro banks 6—*Houston Star.*

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 11.] WEDNESDAY, JUNE 3RD, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

EXETER HALL MEETING.

In a second edition of our last number, we published a brief report of a meeting at Exeter Hall, on Friday evening, 22nd ultimo, with such extracts from the speech of Mr. Knibb on the results of emancipation in Jamaica as we were then able to obtain. We now subjoin a larger extract from that gentleman's address and refer our readers to the *Patriot* of Monday 25th, for a very full report of the meeting.

Mr. KNIBB, in rising to address the assembly, said, it is, I assure you, with no ordinary feelings of pleasure that I find myself once more in Exeter Hall. My mind recurs to the scenes by which I was surrounded when, nearly eight years ago, I stood before my brethren and sisters, and claimed for those who are dear to me as life itself that liberty with which God has endowed all his creatures. The Christian principle which was then put forth, soon reached, in all its delightful power and energetic force, the island from whence I came; and now I have not to tell of the murdered victims of despotic power; but I have the pleasing duty to perform of assuring you that the mother calls her children her own—that husbands and wives have begun to feel the full force of that relationship which in slavery could never exist, that all have free access to the throne of mercy, undeterred by the scowls of the slave-driver or the operation of unjust and iniquitous laws. Never, so long as memory holds her seat, shall I forget the delightful day which burst upon the islands of the West, when, disencumbered from the yoke which had bound, their inhabitants age after age, parent and child stood forth in the full possession of those rights which had been so unjustly and so iniquitously withheld. If there was one circumstance that more fully impressed my mind than another, it was this—when about 100 mothers came to me, with their infants in their arms, on that day, and said, "Minister, take them; for they are yours—you made them free." After having witnessed these joys, I again return to my native shores, and, ere I proceed, I claim for Christianity the glorious victory. In the reply which Sir Lionel Smith gave to our address to him on this auspicious event, he thus speaks of our conduct:—"On my assuming the government of this colony I strongly expressed my reliance on the whole body of missionaries, in their integrity of purpose, and in their loyal principles. You more than realised all the benefits I expected from your ministry, by raising the negros from the mental degradation of slavery to the cheering obligations of Christianity; and they were thus taught that patient endurance of evil, which has so materially contributed to the general tranquillity, even with the aid of a vicious and well-paid press, both in England and Jamaica, and, it may be presumed, some habitual confidence in Jamaica juries, the enemies of your religion have never dared to go to the proof of their audacious accusations against you. Gentlemen, the first year of general freedom has passed away. What were the forebodings of its enemies? Where are the vagrants? Where are the squatters? Where the injuries against properties or the persons of white men? Out of the 300,000 oppressed slaves let loose in one day to equal rights and liberty, not a human being of that mass has committed himself in any of those dreaded offences. The admirable conduct of the peasantry in such a crisis has constituted a proud triumph to the cause of religion; and those who contributed to enlighten them in their moral duties, through persecutions, insults, and dangers, have deserved the regard and esteem of the good and the just in all Christian countries." A few weeks after these addresses, one of which was in the month of August, and the other in October, it pleased Sir Charles Metcalfe, before he had come into personal connexion with any Baptist missionaries at all, to send an official despatch, in which he selected the Baptists as political agitators, and distinguished them from the other missionaries by whom they were surrounded. Now, it is not my intention to say much on that subject; but I do designate that despatch as unfounded in fact. I claim for my brethren in Jamaica a right to be heard at the colonial-office in defence. When I last appeared before you, my brother wore this collar (presenting a large iron ring) but by political agitation, as they call it, it is now trampled in the dust. And what are we now to do with these things? We do not want them in Jamaica. I have thought of sending them to America. But do my brethren and sisters in America need such trappings? Is there any necessity that they should wear them? I should not on the present occasion refer at all to the working of the system in the island of Jamaica, were it not that I think it due to myself, and to my brethren and sisters in Jamaica, as we have been foremost in the battle, and cannot recede, and we do not wish to recede—and as we are determined with Christian weapons to fight our way through, it is right and proper that this Christian assembly should have laid before it, with as much brevity as I can, the actual state of the population. I know it is asserted, and truly asserted that there has been a diminution of the cultivation of the staple produce of the island; and when you know the real state of the matter, I feel convinced you will hail this as a blessing, and not as a curse. I should like to know if any man conversant with the history of Ireland, thinks her children benefited because they eat not the pork they rear? I should like to know if her happiness is to be weighed by her exports to every part of the globe? I should not have touched on this point, had not two things been coupled together—namely, that a diminution of the produce was a proof of the idleness of the Africans. These two things are as distinct as it is possible for them to be. There are many circumstances to occasion this diminution of colonial produce; and if the planters choose to risk their property in the hands of idle men, all I ask is that you should blame the right persons. Pauperism among the negros scarcely exists. There is not a pauper in Jamaica among the lately emancipated negros in connexion with our own churches; and I have no doubt it is equally true of the churches of my esteemed brethren of other denominations. In the parish in which I reside, it was asserted at the last vestry meeting, that since the abolition of slavery the poor-rates had been doubled. I knew the inference that was intended to be drawn from this. I went to a vestryman, to whom I said, "You have told us part of the truth, now tell me the whole—how many blacks are there amongst the paupers who were once slaves?" What was the reply? "Oh, not one." We have at the present moment, in order to satisfy the West Indian's thirst for sugar, to purchase cattle, flour, potatoes, and every thing else in distant markets. Can you expect that Jamaica is never to produce what is necessary for herself? Moreover, many of our black brethren think they may as well be masters as servants. They turn to other employments than sugar-making. I had a member of the name of Hamilton, who was obliged to work for his master, but the moment he was made free, he set up for himself, and became a road-maker. He took a contract, and paid his work-people 10d. per day more than the whites said they were worth. I made out his accounts, he brought me the money, and when he had paid his men four bits a day, he himself cleared 12s. per day sterling for his work. Would he have been a wise man if he had continued to work for a master at a shilling per day, when he could get 12s by working on his own account? The planters say that the Baptist missionaries have settled the wages. They settled it themselves This is one of the few blessings—and they were very few—that the apprenticeship gave us. During the time of the apprenticeship a number of persons came to be valued. The masters universally came down, and deposed on oath to their value, and that fixed the wages. We saw how it was going on, and what would be the result. Let the planters deny it if they can; we have their words, deposing on God's eternal truth, that the labour of apprenticeship was worth so much, and can you suppose that when the people were free it was of less worth than when they were slaves? In what we have done in this matter we have really benefited the master. It was my happiness, in connexion with an estate of a gentleman in London, on which my brother Barratt has lived nearly all his life, to make the first settlement of wages; and I made it at two-thirds of what they said it was worth. Let that be denied if it can—I assert it as a distinct and palpable fact. When I had made this arrangement, a person was sent to the Oxford estate to make the people discontented; and urged on by some white men, they came and said that I had made a bad bargain. So convinced was I of the equity of the proceeding, that I called the men into the mill-yard, and said, "You have made a bargain; I know it is a good one. You have entered into a covenant, and unless you fulfil it, I will never interfere again." They did fulfil it. But this is not all; another leading cause of the diminution of colonial produce is this—the women stop at home and the children go to school. It has been asserted, that the Baptist missionaries use their influence to prevent the people working. We have recommended the children to be sent to school. Did we do right or wrong? Is it not honourable to my emancipated black brethren, that they keep their wives at home to take care of their children. We do not weigh liberty in pounds of sugar or gills of rum. We use far higher scales than these. We see in that beautiful—that God-like change which has taken place in Jamaica, the development of the human mind, the reciprocal feelings of affection sweetly intermingling with each other, and while we behold a contented and delighted peasantry, it matters little to us from whence the sugar comes. How freedom works may be seen in the diminution of crime. In the community in which I dwell, there are 125,000 individuals. At the last assizes only 19 were tried. Let us dissect them—six of them were white men, three were acquitted of the crimes laid to their charge, and there was not a female delinquent among the whole. In the parish in which I live, containing 30,000 individuals, at the last quarter-sessions only one person was tried. And when that inestimable man, Mr. Gurney, visited the jail at Falmouth, he found only one person in it, and that was a white man. When I went to the tread-mill—for I have been there—and some have said I deserved to go there every day—I asked permission to go upon it, but the supervisor said, "Mr. Knibb, it is of no use; it is rusty." The fact is, that ever since the first of August, 1838, we never have been able to muster enough hands to turn it, and down it must come. In the parish of St. Ann's where my brother Abbot, lives—to such a pitch of refinement have we got, that the jail has been shut up for six months, and the jailer is pensioned off till he is wanted again. The last time I was here, I informed you that in Westmoreland a deacon was flogged for praying—and on passing over that scene of cruelty some time ago, it was entirely grown over with thorns; the place is no longer wanted; it is shut up, and the jailer is paid off. Let these facts be sent throughout England. I mentioned them in the city of Kingston when the Mayor was in the chair; and the next day I sent a challenge through the newspapers that I would meet any gentleman that could contradict them. They contradicted me the week before, and they said they had not time to do it. Out of 24 776 members and [illegible] in the North West Union, there has been only one person brought to the bar of his country for crime, since freedom came, and he was

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acquitted. Blessings like these not only demand our grateful thanksgivings, but they ought at the same time to urge us forward to yet more energetic enterprise in the work in which we have engaged. I understand there is an individual from America who wishes to speak; I do not know who he is, but I trust there will be full liberty of speech; I pledge myself to meet any one, friend or foe, fully to discuss the subject. I have a right to speak on this topic, and why? Because the same atrocities are practised by Christians in America that were committed by slave-owners in Jamaica. I have a right to speak of it, for the American churches are identifying themselves with ours. It is time we knew the position in which we stand, because my brethren and sisters in America are degraded, robbed, are peeled, are destroyed, are flogged, are maimed, are sold by ministers of every denomination, and by members of every church. America writes liberty in chains, and fetters freedom in blood. She measures it by the colour of the skin, and while she holds out liberty to all, and tells all they are born free and equal, she takes my brethren and sisters and manacles them, binds them, chains them, flogs them, and then beseeches the God of mercy to convert the world. What I wish you to decide with respect to America is, that you will have no fellowship with it. I own that the slave-owners in America, Christian slave-owners, do not consider the African slaves as men, but as brutes. I appeal to a declaration which has been printed in New York, giving the name and date, and which ought to be read by every Christian minister throughout the country. The work is called, "American slavery as it is; testimony of a thousand witnesses." The Hon. Lewis Summers, in his speech to the Legislature of Virginia, as reported in the *Richmond Whig* of January 26th, 1832, says, "When in the sublime lessons of Christianity, he (the slave-owner) is taught to do unto others as he would have others do unto him, he never dreams that the degraded negro is within the pale of that holy communion." Again, another says—"The northerner looks upon a band of negros as so many men; but the planter, or southerner, looks upon them in a very different light." Now, either this is the case, or it is not the case; there is nothing between truth and falsehood; they both stand out prominently, and what a man says is exactly true or exactly false; and we aver that such is the language that has been used respecting them. That the slaves are treated with cruelty, that ministers of every denomination hold them, that they buy them, sell them, that they justify the practice is, in America, as clear as the noon-day sun. Again, "a Baptist clergyman in Lauren's district, South Carolina, whipped his slave to death, whom he suspected of having stolen about sixty dollars. The slave was in the prime of life, and was purchased a few weeks before for 800 dollars of a slave-trader from Virginia or Maryland. The coroner, William Irby, at whose house I was then boarding, told me, that on viewing the dead body, he found it beat to a jelly from head to foot. The master's wife discovered the money a day or two after the death of the slave; she had herself removed it from where it was placed, not knowing what it was, as it was tied up in a thick envelope. I happened to be present when the trial of this man took place at Lauren's court house. His daughter testified that her father untied the slave, when he appeared to be failing, and gave him cold water to drink, of which he took freely. His counsel pleaded that his death might have been caused by drinking cold water in a state of excitement. The judge charged the jury, that it would be their duty to find the defendant guilty, if they believed the death was caused by the whipping; but if they were of opinion that drinking cold water caused the death, they would find him Not Guilty. "The jury found him Not Guilty!" There is another case: "John M'Cue, of Augusta county, Virginia, a Presbyterian preacher"—every denomination shall have it if they deserve it—"frequently on the Lord's-day morning tied up his slaves and whipped them, and left them bound while he went to the meeting-house and preached, and after his return home repeated his scourging. That fact, with others more heinous, was known to all persons in his congregation and around the vicinity; and so far from being censured for it, he and his brethren justified it as essential to preserve their domestic institutions." Mrs Pence, of Rockingham county, Virginia, used to boast, "I am the best hand to whip a wench in the whole county." I am obliged to use slave-owners' language. "She used to pinion the girls to a post in the yard on the Lord's day morning, scourge them, put on the negro plaister, salt, pepper, and vinegar, leave them tied, and walk away to church as demure as a nun, and after service repeat her flogging, if she felt the whim. I once expostulated with her upon her cruelty. Mrs. Pence, how can you whip your girls so publicly, and disturb your neighbours so on the Lord's day morning? Her answer was memorable, hear it females, and then take a slave-owner's hand if you dare—'If I were to whip them any other day, I should lose a day's work; but by whipping them on Sunday, their backs get well enough by Monday morning.' That woman, if alive, is doubtless a member of the church, now as then. "The Rev. Dr. Staughton, formerly of Philadelphia, often stated, that when he lived at George Town, South Carolina, he could tell the doings of one of the slave-holders of the Baptist church there, by his prayers at the prayer-meeting. 'If,' said he, 'that man was upon good terms with his slaves, his words were cold and heartless as frost; if he had been whipping a man, he would pray with life, but if he had left a woman whom he had been flogging tied to a post in his cellar, with a determination to go back and torture her again, Oh! how he would pray!'" There are many horrible things, but I must read them. I do it under the solemn impression that it will do good. It is painful to my feelings, but if I had shrunk from the task, I could not die in peace. "A Methodist preacher, William Whitby by name, who married in Bucksville, South Carolina, and by marriage came into possession of some slaves, in July, 1838, was about moving to another station to preach, and wished also to move his whole family and slaves to Tennessee, much against the will of the slaves, one of which, to get clear from him, ran into the woods after swimming a brook. The parson took after him with his gun, which, however, got wet and missed fire, when he ran to a neighbour for another gun, with the intention, as he said, of killing him; he did not, however, catch or kill him; he chained another for fear of his running away also." I hope he is one of the abolitionists who is coming over, and then we will ask him whether it is true. The Rev. Charles Stewart Renshaw, of Quincy, speaking of the Presbyterian minister and church where he resided, says, "the minister and all the church members held slaves. Some were treated kindly and some harshly. There was not a shade of difference between their slaves and those of their infidel neighbours, either in their physical, intellectual, or moral state; in some cases they would suffer in the comparison. In the kitchen of the minister of the church, a slave man was living in open adultery with a slave woman, who was a member of the church, with an assured hope of heaven, while the man's wife was on the minister's farm in Fayette county. The minister had to bring a cook down from the farm to the place in which he was preaching. The choice was between the wife of the man and this church member. He brought the latter. A Methodist preacher last fall took a load of produce down the river. Amongst other things he took down five slaves. He sold them at New Orleans. He came up to Natches, bought seven there, and took them down and sold them also. Last March he came up to preach the gospel again. I am afraid of tiring you with extracts like these, but if these things are true, it is time they were known. Rev. Mr. Lewis, a Baptist minister, in the vicinity of Frankfort, Kentucky, had a slave that ran away, but was retaken and brought back to his master, who threatened him with punishment for making an attempt to escape. Though terrified, the slave immediately attempted to run away again. Mr. L. commanded him to stop, but he did not obey. Mr. L. then took a gun, loaded with small shot, and fired at the slave, who fell, but was not killed, and afterward recovered. Mr. L. did not probably intend to kill the slave, as it was his legs which were aimed at, and received the contents of the gun. The master asserted that he was driven to this necessity to maintain his authority. This took place about the 1st of July, 1838." I will give you one more case, and with that I will stop. Instances are not wanting of slaves being flogged to death because they would not deny the Saviour. "On a slave plantation in South Carolina there was a slave of pre-eminent piety. His master was not a professor of religion, but the superior excellence of this disciple of Christ was not unmarked by him, and I believe he was so sensible of the good influence of his piety, that he did not deprive him of the few religious privileges within his reach. A planter was one day dining with the owner of this slave, and in the course of conversation observed,"—what the planters always say about it—"that all profession of religion among slaves was mere hypocrisy. The other asserted a contrary opinion, adding, 'I have a slave who I believe would rather die than deny his Saviour.' This was ridiculed, and the master urged to prove the assertion. He accordingly sent for this man of God, and peremptorily ordered him to deny his belief in the Lord Jesus Christ. The slave pleaded to be excused, constantly affirming that he would rather die than deny the Redeemer, whose blood was shed for him. His master, after vainly trying to induce obedience by threats, had him terribly whipped. The fortitude of the sufferer was not to be shaken; he nobly rejected the offer of exemption from further chastisement at the expense of destroying his soul, and this blessed martyr died in consequence of the severe infliction." It will not do in an English audience to read much of this kind of matter, and it is not safe to speak of it in America. I am tainted, as they say, to the very soul, with what they call the blood-hound principle of abolition; and I will try to taint every Christian with it. I hope that soon all the churches in America will receive the contagion—I speak not in anger, but in love and good-will—I am firmly convinced that to be a slave-owner and to be a genuine Christian is impossible. Others may arrive at what conclusions they please, but this is my decided conviction. It produces, and must ever produce a breach of all the commandments of God; it strikes at the root of every principle of mercy revealed in the atonement of Jesus Christ; it is the grand preventive of the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. I knew a case where a number of slaves were put up to auction, the proceeds of which were applied for preaching the gospel, taking the elements of hell to convert the world. View it in its enormity, and to that conclusion you must come. I do hope that throughout the sitting of the Anti-slavery Convention there will be a sifting of the enemy in the whole of the churches. They would think it leprosy in New York for a black man to sit upon a platform. These things were once done in Jamaica; and I was told by my brethren, that when they first went out they were not allowed to say either brother or sister when they administered the ordinance of baptism. Christianity views man as man, irrespective of his colour, or his circumstances; it would convey, and must convey, and shall convey, that which shall elevate him in the scals of society, and place him in his right position in the temple of his God. I thank you most sincerely for having listened to me so attentively on this important subject, and I hope that one and all will join with me and say—

"Guided by our Redeemer's laws,
Of truth, of right, for suffering man,
Be it ours to fight in freedom's cause
As Christians ought, as Christians can!
Still pouring on unwilling ears,
That truth oppression only fears."

Mr. JAMES CANNING FULLER, a member of the Society of Friends, then stood forward and said:—My brother Knibb has somewhat anticipated me in the remarks I was about to make. It is what is called the church in America that keeps slavery on its legs; and how can it be otherwise, when a Baptist association could send up to a larger association this simple question—"Supposing a husband and a wife are separated, and are at a returnless distance from each other, is the man at liberty to take another wife, or is she at liberty to take another husband?" Go into the streets of London, ask the most uneducated passer-by such a question, would he not be astonished at it? But it goes up to a general association of the Baptists held in 1838. The ministers and elders assembled, cannot put a negative upon it, and they refer it to a committee. The committee reported unanimously that the parties were at liberty to marry. Yet had they had the sacred oracles in their hands. They had read the New Testament, and knew the divine institution and law of marriage. They gave four reasons:—First, that, in the eye of God, the husband was dead. Secondly, it would prevent them from falling into temptation. Thirdly, they might become liable to church censure. Fourthly, Their masters had power over them, and whatever their masters desired was right. My Baptist brethren and sisters, if you do not oppose American slavery, your silence is wickedness, and will go up to heaven. What, in the first place induced me to speak, was a circumstance which occurred at Providence, Rhode Island. A minister from Charlestown was at a missionary meeting held there, and he gave a donation of 50 dollars. The ministers in the free states are not, if I may use the expression without offence, well paid, and therefore it attracted their attention. They asked him how he could afford it. His reply is horrible to relate. He had sold a slave before he came from home for 1000 dollars—and he put 50

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dollars into the Lord's treasury. Have you not something to do with those who dwell with me on the other side of the water? Are you not bound to bear your testimony against the price of blood being put into the treasury of the Lord? I do believe the time will come when you must take the field of Christian philanthropy entirely to yourselves, and not allow the Americans to aid in evangelising the heathen, or spread the blessings of education by the price of blood. Oh that I could say the Quaker church was clear. I stand not up to reproach any community. What I say, I say in pity, and not in anger. I have been at a yearly meeting in a slave-holding state; I have seen a number of coloured women sitting in the gallery, who came to attend the first-day morning meeting. Two or three well-dressed men came in, and an elder left his seat to brush the women out, that these fine gentlemen might sit down. There is the spirit of slavery. The Presbyterian Church is no better; it has been justly said that they are all bad alike. Before I sit down I will give you one affecting anecdote. A man was introduced to a number of religious meetings, both public and private, and was considered a man of deep Christian experience. He was asked if he was a member of the Presbyterian church, and he answered in the affirmative. He was then asked if he ever communed with his church, and it struck him into a heap; the man could give no answer; but he was pressed upon the subject, and then he replied, "No." Then came the question, Why? His answer was, the church was in want of what are called the sacred vessels, and his own brother was sold; and with the price of his brother the church bought the chalice. Think of the condition of a Christian man who believes it right, in that manner, to commemorate the death of his Saviour—think of his having handed to him the chalice which was purchased with more than thirty pieces of silver. You have a great deal to do, and I believe you will do it. Slavery everywhere must be destroyed. Do you ask my reason? I reply, because British females have taken hold of this cause. I entreat of them, not only to take hold of it, but to hold it fast. God will bless them in their work.

CASE OF WILFRED JARRETT.

GROSS ACTS OF OPPRESSION ON THE PART OF CHARLES E. FRY, ATTORNEY AND OVERSEER OF ORANGE VALLEY, &c.

Communicated by Mr. Ward to Rev. W. Knibb.

Wilfred Jarrett, (formerly Bennett) an old man, and a member of the church, did sundry work upon Orange Valley estate, as follows:—

From 1st August, 1838, Wilfred Jarrett worked at stringing fences all round the estate, at *two days' labour* of each week, for the use of house and garden; and *three days* in each week for wages. He laboured on these terms for thirteen weeks, at *1s. 8d. per diem.*

Therefore he paid rent, per labour	£2	3	4	currency.
he earned, BUT WAS NOT PAID	3	5	0	do.

Finding that he was not paid the amount for which he laboured, he, from 1st November, 1838, worked but *two days* in each week to pay his rent regularly, and otherwise employed himself the remaining days of the week.

In consequence of this, he was charged an additional sum of 1s. 8d. per week rent, from the 1st August, 1839, i. e. 5s. per week, currency.

On this account he remonstrated with Mr. Fry, who promised to lower the rent again at the end of the quarter.

Finding that neither Mr. Fry, nor the book-keeper would lower the rent, or pay him his former dues, he ceased to work on the property. For this Mr. Fry threatened to sue him under the petty debt act, for the amount of rent accrued since his cessation from work.

Jarrett not wishing to have any recourse to law said to Mr. Fry:—

"Well sir, you owe me money, and I owe you money:—I did not sue you at the law, but you now sue me. I'll tell you fair sir, I do not want law, law only makes bad worse; if you'll forgive me, I'll forgive you—so let the matter drop. In future, I'll pay you rent, and when you want me to work, you'll pay me wages."

Mr. Fry said:—"very well, go to work and pay rent as usual."

"No sir," said Jarrett, "you promised to lower the rent to 3s. 4d. per week, as formerly."

"You must settle that with the book-keeper," replied Mr. Fry.

W. Jarrett went to the book-keeper and stated what had occurred; but the book-keeper said, "you must settle that with Mr. Fry, I must obey my orders."

In February, 1840, a summons (of which the following is a copy,) was served upon W. Jarrett.

Wilfred Jarrett,

To Orange Valley estate,

1839, December 30.	To 14 weeks' rent of a house and garden on this estate from September 23rd, 1839, to date at *5s.* per week.	£3	10	0	

Jamaica Street, Trelawny.

To Wilfred Jarrett of the parish of Trelawny.

"You are hereby required to appear either in person or by agent, before me, and Daniel W. Kelly, Esq., or any other two or more justices at the court house, in the town of Falmouth, on Thursday, the 13th day of February next, at the hour of ten of the clock, in the forenoon of that day, or on any subsequent day on further notice, then and there to answer the claim of Charles E. Fry, touching a certain debt, *for fourteen weeks' rent of a house and garden on Orange Valley estate*, at 5s.—£3 10 0, otherwise that judgment shall pass against you by default.

Given under my hand and seal this 3rd day of February, 1840.

(Signed) H. W. Danson,
S. M. (L. S.)"

(Endorsed)	Copy.			
Fry, Charles E.	Debt	£3	10	0
versus	C. Peace	0	1	3
Jarrett Wilfred.	Constable	0	1	8

The case was tried *in March* (several weeks after the demise of S. M. Danson) and judgment obtained by plaintiff: the defendant not being allowed (under the petty debt act) to make the set off for £3. 5s. 0d. due to him, but he was told that he had a right of action against Mr. Fry.

The defendant further exhibited a receipt of which the following is a copy.

"Received rent from Wilfred Jarrett, for house and garden, on Orange Valley estate.

				£	s.	d.
August	19th,	to one week's rent, at	5s.	0	5	0
„	26th,	do. do.	5s.	0	5	0
September	2nd,	do. do.	5s.	0	5	0
„	9th,	do. do.	5s.	0	5	0
„	16th,	do. W. K.	. .	0	5	0
„	23rd,	do. „	. . .	0	5	0
„	30th,	do. „	. . .	0	5	0
October	7th,	do. „	. . .	0	5	0
„	14th,	do. „	. . .	0	5	0
„	21st,	do. „	. . .	0	5	0
„	28th,	do. „	. . .	0	5	0
November	4th,	do. „	. . .	0	5	0
„	11th,	do. „	. . .	0	5	0
„	18th,	do. „	. . .	0	5	0

Notwithstanding the above receipts acknowledged by Mr. William Kerr, the book-keeper, whose initials (W. K.) appear to each sum of five shillings, the bill and summons embraced charges from "September 23rd, to December 30th, 1839," so that the man was *literally robbed* of £2, paid from 30th September, to 18th November.

What is thus stated, is proved by the following copy of receipts:—

"Received rent from Wilfred Jarrett, for a house and garden, on Orange Valley estate.

				£	s.	d.
November 18th, I received fourteen weeks rent to date, at *5s.* per week,	W. K.	.		3	10	0
November 25th, one week's rent	. . . .			0	5	0
December 2nd,	do.	do.	. . . . .	0	5	0
„ 9th,	do.	do.	. . . . .	0	5	0
„ 16th,	do.	W. K.	. . . . .	0	5	0
December 23rd,	do.	. . . . .		0	5	0
„ 30th,	do.	W. K.	. . . . .	0	5	0

This is the situation in which Wilfred Jarrett is placed, not being allowed to show *a set off*, he will be compelled to prosecute his employer, who has manifestly wronged him.

	£	s.	d.
In the first instance of	3	5	0
In the second of	2	0	0
In the third instance, of the balance of . .	1	10	0

Besides which, he is ordered to quit the estate:—an old man with many infirmities, but one who was entrusted with the guardianship of others, by H. N. Jarrett, Esq.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Ward to Mr. Knibb.

At the court of quarter sessions held at Falmouth, in February, 1840, only *one* conviction took place, (in a population of 30,000,) and that person was *Edward Arthurs*, a notorious scamp, who had been tried several times within the last nine months, and even made his escape out of the House of Correction, by breaking a hole through the wall.

WRONGS OF THE BLACK POPULATION OF JAMAICA.

(From the *Colonial Reformer.*)

1.—The system of charging rent, not by the value of the tenement, but separately by the poll on every member of a family, man, woman, and child!

2.—The mixing up of the question of rent and wages, for the purpose of defrauding the labourers.

3.—The practice of charging the labourer double rent, not only when absent from work himself, but any of his family, even when such absence is unavoidably occasioned by sickness. This, it is to be observed, is in addition to the lawful withholding of his wages during such absence.

4—The ejecting of labourers without any notice from their houses and grounds; not according to the forms of law, but at the will and caprice of the landlord or his agent, by unroofing or pulling down their cottages, and by turning the estate's cattle into their provision grounds.

5.—The adjudication of proprietors, attorneys and overseers, in *propriâ personâ*, in cases of rent and wages, at issue between themselves and their labourers.

6.—The usurpation of judicial functions and sentencing the labouring population to fine and imprisonment, by persons having no legal authority whatsoever vested in them.

7.—Illegal sentences passed by planting magistrates, and others in their interest.

8.—Oppressively severe sentences passed by the same parties.

9.—The renewed liability of females to be chained in couples, and worked in fetters on the public roads and highways, as during the darkest periods of slavery, for the space of sixty days, by the order of one magistrate—perhaps an overseer. This, be it kept in mind, is sanctioned by a law passed during the recent sessio

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by the very parties themselves who wish by the removal of the stipendiary magistrates, to have sole jurisdiction in all cases of dispute between themselves and their late slaves.

10.—The truck system, in practice on many estates; by which the labourers are defrauded of their wages, by having them paid to them in commodities 30 or 40 per cent. above the market price, instead of cash.

11.—The difficulty, or rather impossibility of the labourers protecting his provision ground from trespass, owing to the iniquitous requirements of the new pound law, and the consequent impunity with which the proprietary may trespass on and destroy the provision grounds of their poor neighbours. *This is also an act of the last Session.*

12.—The prohibiting under heavy penalties, to fish in the rivers, creeks, and even the open sea, unless the land on both sides, in the former instance, and the shore in the latter case, belong to the party so fishing, by which vast numbers of poor and industrious persons are liable to be thrown out of the employment which they have followed without disturbance from time immemorial. *An act also of the last Sessions.*

13.—The prohibiting persons to sell articles of their own, preparing and manufacture (a great resource to the aged and infirm) such as water jars, ropes, baskets, and even provisions, without a license, the cost of which, in some parishes, amounts to £10. *Likewise, an act of the last Session.*

14.—The virtual exclusion of the black population from the enjoyment of the elective franchise, by the high rate of qualification imposed; owing to which the power of legislation remains vested in the hands of those who have shewn themselves the most unrelenting enemies of the black population, and the most determined opponents of the British government. The former members of the colonial church union, and the framers of the celebrated protest of 1838.

The whole catalogue of the laws passed during the last session, manifest plainly enough that the late slave will never enjoy anything but the name of freedom, so long as the late slave owners shall be permitted exclusively to legislate for his civil rights and obligations.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 3RD.

In our second edition the following paragraph was inserted:—

It has been suggested to us that the phrase "The Society says nothing on the right or wrong of resorting to arms to deliver the oppressed from the yoke" is liable to misconstruction, as if resorting to arms were a matter of indifference to the Society. Nothing is further from what was intended. The Society cannot sanction a resort to arms under any circumstances, either directly or indirectly, as may be clearly seen from its avowed and above quoted principles.

THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE

Will commence its sittings at Freemasons' Hall, London, on the 12th of June, 1840. A book is prepared for entering the names and other particulars of the delegates who may be appointed by anti-slavery bodies, both at home and abroad. In a case of such singular interest and importance, the committee earnestly hope, and fully expect, that the friends of the cause in the United Kingdom will not be backward, either in the appointment of delegates, or in their attendance as delegates when appointed. It is particularly requested that all anti-slavery bodies will send an immediate *official notification* of the appointments which may be made by them, addressed to J. H. Tredgold, Esq., at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

We are requested to state that a sub-committee has been appointed to assist such friends as may attend the conference in procuring suitable accommodation. Letters addressed to 27, New Broad Street will be attended to

THE CONVENTION.

The appointment of delegates to the great Anti-slavery convention, whose sittings will commence on the 12th instant, is proceeding most satisfactorily. The Committee are daily receiving intelligence which shows the deep interest that is felt in this momentous subject, and they have only to repeat their desire that all bodies electing delegates, will be kind enough to transmit the information to their offices, 27, New Broad Street, with the least possible delay. A ticket of admission will be issued to every delegate on application to the office, from the 5th to the 11th instant.

The Committee are desirous of affording accommodation as far as the room will permit, to their female friends, to whose exertions the cause of freedom is already so much indebted, and who may wish to be present. For this purpose, a ticket will be given at the office to any delegate requesting it, admitting one lady as a visitor to the galleries of the Hall, and such other space as is not necessarily occupied by members of the convention.

The delegations already reported, comprise besides those sent by societies in direct anti-slavery organization, deputies from several religious bodies, as the Congregational and Baptist Unions of England, Scotland, and Wales, together with members of district associations of Christian churches, ; and it is especially gratifying to observe that individuals of all political opinions, and of every shade of religious belief are uniting in the holy attempt to extinguish slavery and the slave-trade by peaceful, moral, and religious means exclusively.

HILL COOLIES.—We were glad to find that Lord John Russell again deferred his motion on Friday last, respecting the importation of Coolies to Mauritius, and we are still further gratified that this delay was afforded to give an opportunity for the House to consider certain letters which have arrived on that subject. We are aware of the arrival of these papers, and hope they will be considered; if in the mean time, the production of them shall be moved, and further delay, which we trust will be allowed, shall give us the opportunity, we will furnish our readers in next number with some deeply interesting details on this subject. Meanwhile let no man suppose that he need not exert himself to avert the threatened danger. The Cerneen says, that in Mauritius it is believed by many, Lord John has intimated to Messrs. Irvine and Barclay, that Madagascar and Mozambique can furnish labourers more easily than India. We can scarcely credit such a statement, but the subject will require to be watched.

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION SOCIETY.

On Monday, the 1st inst. the above society was organized at a great public meeting held in Exeter Hall, His Royal Highness Prince Albert, in the chair, supported by a brilliant array of noblemen among whom were the Marquesses of Northampton and Breadalbane, the Earl of Ripon, the Earl of Chichester, Lords Howick, Teignmouth, Worsley, Eliot, Ashley, Howe, Robert Grosvenor and Sandon; the Bishops of Exeter, Chichester, Gloucester, Winchester, Lichfield, Ripon, Hereford, Norwich, Salisbury, and Nova Scotia; Sirs Robert H. Inglis, Robert Peel, T. D. Acland, Henry Hardinge, George Murray, Barts.; Dr. Lushington, Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., William Ewart Gladstone, Esq., M.P., E. Baines, Esq., M.P., Mr. Irving, M.P., &c. &c. Our limits forbid our insertion of the details of the meeting, as well as all comment on its proceedings, we therefore merely state that the resolutions were moved and seconded by T. F. Buxton, Esq., the Bishop of Winchester, Sir Stephen Lushington, M.P., the Archdeacon Wilberforce, Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., the Bishop of Chichester, Samuel Gurney, Esq., the Earl of Chichester, the Hon. C. Langdale, M.P., Lord Ashley, Rev. George Clayton, the Marquis of Northampton, Viscount Howick, M.P., Viscount Sandon, M.P., Rev. John Dyer, Rev. J. W. Cunningham, Rev. Dr. Bunting, Sir George Murray, and Sir T. D. Acland. His Royal Highness was most cordially greeted by the immense assemblage within the walls of the vast hall; and on leaving the chair, was succeeded by the Earl of Ripon.

MEETING AT DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, HOUNDSDITCH MAY 30TH, 1840.

A VERY numerous meeting, consisting principally of members of the Society of Friends, was held at Devonshire House, Houndsditch, on Saturday the 30th ult. to hear from the Rev. W. Knibb, further details on the results of negro emancipation in the West Indies; and on the necessity of female education. Messrs. Beckford and Barret were also present and several delegates from America. William Allen, Esq., occupied the chair.

Mr. BECKFORD and Mr. BARRETT, each briefly addressed the meeting, imploring that aid might be given in educating the females lately emancipated.

After which, Mr. KNIBB, in a calm, eloquent, and feeling manner, exhibited the blessed results of this deed of justice and mercy. We must be content with but a brief outline of his address. He said, I will refer with as much brevity as I can to some of those scenes, which testify the truth of holy writ, "that righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is the reproach of any people." A reference to the past history of Jamaica is necessary in order fully to comprehend the advantages of negro emancipation. The licentiousness ever connected with slavery; the brutality and crime ever connected with ignorance; the superstition that was connected with the whole of the rites; and with the supposed religious worship of those who were once held in slavery, have now almost totally disappeared throughout the length and breadth of the West India islands. Though it is a fact which we do not wish to deny that there are numbers yet unacquainted with the saving truths of the gospel, I assert it with a feeling of the conscicusness of its truth, that there is not in the whole of this world so far as my information extends, a population so moral, so peaceable and so industrious as the maligned, traduced, emancipated sons and daughters of Africa in the west. So fully am I convinced that this is the case, not only by personal observation, but by all the official despatches which have been transmitted to the mother country by those in power in Jamaica, that nothing would give me greater pleasure than at the proper time, and on the proper occasion, meeting any one who would controvert the truth of this statement, and

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shewing that the friends of liberty in England have not been disappointed in their highest expectations. I know that there are many who suppose the contrary; and the great argument put forth is, that there is a diminution in the staple commodities of the island; but that there is not the least disinclination to work for fair and equitable remuneration, I hope in a short time to have an opportunity of proving before a Committee of the House of Commons.

The general conduct of the people has vastly improved; there is in Jamaica, at the present time, a greater absence of crime than is to be found among any population with which I am acquainted. During the first year of freedom—and I mention this because I fully concur in the sentiments which have been advanced by Mr. Sturge, that an armed force, wherever it is employed, is not only unscriptural, but that it does more harm as an expedient than it ever can do good. During the first year of freedom in Jamaica, when 300,000 beings, who were said to be savages, were in one day set free from all restraint, except moral restraint, without the aid of any weapons at all, there was not, so far as I could ascertain from the reports, a single individual that committed himself so as to be taken up for a breach of the laws; and during the whole of that time, though we had no police, there was not one negro who lifted up his hand against his former oppressor, or who was brought to the bar of his country charged with a crime of that nature. Mr. Knibb then referred to reports of special magistrates on the state of crime. These reports, said he, there is most indubitable proof that the present governor has issued an order to suppress. During the governments of Sir Lionel Smith and the Marquis of Sligo, monthly or weekly returns were ordered to the king's house of the state of the island; and these documents contain such incontrovertible proofs of the willingness of the people to work for fair wages, and of the exorbitant charges made for rents, and other enormities practised upon them, that Sir Charles Metcalfe has, for reasons best known to himself, ordered the special magistrates to send up no returns at all.

Another source of improvement has been found in the rapid purchase of land. It is right for the friends of freedom to know that the moment the negros ceased to be slaves, they were almost universally at the mercy of their former masters for huts in which to shelter themselves. The people are frequently charged more for the rent of a hovel, and Mr. Sturge knows that it is frequently but a hovel, than their wages will come to for four days per week. In one of the last papers which have arrived from Jamaica, we have the following account:—

"1839, Dec. 31st.

Mr. W. Wordsworth — To W. Hassach, proprietor of Buff Bay, River estate, Dr.

	£.	s.	d.
For use and occupation on said estate, for one year to date, of one garden and one house at 1s. 8d. each per week	8	13	4
For four cocoa-nut trees at 5d. each, per ditto	4	6	8"
These trees grow in the man's yard, the fruit is used for the sake of the milk, and sometimes for the purpose of feeding fowls. But there is another charge.			
"For one ground feeding self and children at 1s. 8d. per week	30	5	8
	43	7	8

The last item is after the man has been charged for his garden, his house and the four cocoa-nut trees. The people have no desire to leave the estates where they are fairly treated. This the Rev. gentleman illustrated by facts within his own knowledge.

The improvement of the people is also shown in the absence of pauperism. In my own congregation, said Mr. K, including altogether, 6000 persons, we have not ten who come to the church for relief. Old persons are supported by their relations who plant a few extra yams for them. I have not seen three black beggars since freedom came, but there are plenty of white.

Another improvement is manifest in the instruction of the young, and this is a subject which I wish deeply to impress on the minds of my respected friends. Instructing the young in the time of slavery, was perfectly impossible, we could not, we dare not instruct them. When I went some years ago, at the request of Mr. Hankey, on his estate, for the purpose of conveying religious instruction, I was forbidden by his attorney to teach the children or adults the alphabet. Oral instruction was all I was permitted to give. Yes, freedom has increased the schools in a delightful manner. We have schools now wherever we can obtain a master to instruct them. We have in connexion with our own society, and other societies are labouring in the same cause, 29 day schools, containing 5097 day scholars, 378 infant scholars; in the evening schools there are 965 scholars; and in the sabbath schools 9864 making a total of 16,313. In the whole of the schools no catechism of any kind is admitted, and I believe that is the case generally, with the exception of the Mico schools, and those of our Presbyterian friends; but respecting the latter I am not certain. In the whole of the schools connected with us, the bible and the bible alone is taught. For every child, something is paid by his parents, because we hold that it is their duty, however poor, to contribute towards the education of their children; and that free education, like free anything else, leads to a pauperised spirit which I hope Jamaica will never have resting upon her. But there is not yet what we wish to see, an intense feeling of the value of education. With the members of our churches, and the population generally, it is almost an act of faith—we tell them that it is a good thing, but they cannot realize it. We have not yet the complete apparatus which we desire in this important department. By a recent order of council regarding captured slavers, young females from Africa are brought to the West Indies about every month. I have seen them on board the slave ships; I have seen them in the yards when they have just been rescued from slavery; and it is my most anxious desire that a plan should be adopted to receive them and bring them under instruction, and not to allow them to roam through the country and become the prey of vice as they now do. I have two interesting little girls in my own family who have been stolen from Africa within the last six months. Their history is this—their father was murdered before their eyes, and also their two brothers and two sisters; they know not where their mother is. In one week they learned the alphabet; they soon acquired our language, and in a letter which I lately received, Mrs. Knibb says, "Oh, that their mother could see how happy they are." And if we had but the means, numbers could be rescued from that vice which awaits them if they get on the sugar plantations of Jamaica. The reason why they are brought to Jamaica is this—it has been discovered that when they were captured and sent to Cuba they were made slaves, in Jamaica they are free. It is true, they suffer hardships, but while the missionaries are there they are partially protected. They are indentured to some of the planters.

Allow me to press on your attention that if there is anything casting the least shade on the bright prospects of Jamaica, it is the degradation of the negresses. Slavery has spread its awful night over their souls; and while we have men fitted to engage in the work of instruction, we have not females. We have those rising up, who will do for common schools in Jamaica, but if Africa is to be blessed by native school-masters and school-mistresses, in connexion with the ministers of the gospel, there must be schools in which to train them. I am happy to say that females of intelligence and piety in this country, have offered themselves to engage in this work, if we could raise the necessary funds, and we are willing to take one-half of the expense upon ourselves. It is my desire to have schools established in connexion with every missionary station, for girls from ten to fourteen years of age, that they may receive that instruction and have those examples of virtue placed before them which alone can fit them for the important stations they will soon have to occupy. In referring to Africa, I do not wish to divert attention from any kindred association which may be formed; but I am bound to state, that not only are the principles of the gospel opposed to all war in attempting to do good, but from conversations which I have had with officers in her Majesty's navy, who have been on the coast of Africa, I am convinced that every attempt to suppress the slave-trade by force will prove a miserable failure, and every attempt to check it while slavery continues will prove abortive. Beckford's mother was sold by her own brother for a musket, and while they fetch from 500 to 500 dollars each, it is impossible that anything but the principles of the gospel can arrest the dreadful traffic. However wise, however good, may be the first agents in colonizing Africa, we have no guarantee that their successors will imitate their example. Every place where a colony has been formed has been the scene of spoliation and blood. If we can go on an errand of love to Africa, trusting in the arm of Omnipotence, there will be bright days for that country; but I could not conscientiously lend myself to any other enterprise, because I feel persuaded from past experience, that it would end in a miserable failure, and prove a laughing stock to those beings who still prey on human blood. I have seen a slave captain laughing when he was caught, and saying with composure, "This was my eighth voyage, and in eight months I shall be free again." When he gets to Cuba he is condemned to imprisonment for life, but gold procures his release. He is reported as dead, carried out in a coffin, and is on board a slave-ship in a few days, and off to his guilty work again. Just prior to my leaving Jamaica, a large vessel was hailed by a cruizer. The captain answered in English, and said he was bound for Kingston. All looked well, and she passed. The next morning she landed 530 slaves in Cuba, and the captain sent his compliments to the cruizer, and hoped they would keep a better look out in future. The cupidity of man will defeat every expedient you adopt. If the gospel cannot effect the object at which we aim nothing can. This gospel has never yet been tried; let us take it in its simplicity. I trust that, in a few months, I shall again be back among the people whom I love, and that you will continue to receive those accounts of their good behaviour, which will justify your highest expectations. But I entreat you to think of the laws which are now being passed. More has been done by Sir Charles Metcalfe and the wicked House of Assembly within the last three months to upset freedom than we can undo for ten years. He has sanctioned a law by which females can be worked in chains, at the fiat of one magistrate for being a disorderly person, with many other laws almost equally bad. I do hope that our friends will go to the colonial office and endeavour to prevent these iniquitous laws from being sanctioned, surely we have had oppression enough. The Rev. Gentleman then concluded by expressing his decided attachment to the principles of peace, and reiterating his conviction that the slave-trade never could be suppressed by force of arms.

Other gentlemen addressed the meeting, among whom were three of the delegates from America to the approaching Convention; but our limits will not allow even a brief reference to what they said, and after a few sentences from the venerable president, the meeting separated.

THE WORLD'S ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

From the Dublin Weekly Herald, May, 30th, 1840.

It was our lot not to be amongst the inactive spectators during that great struggle in 1838, which ended in the complete emancipation of the negro in our West India Colonies, by which he was disenthralled from the shackles he had so long and so grievously worn. That auspicious event we firmly believe to have been the commencement of an era which will only attain its consummation when,

"Slavery shall cease, and cease for ever,
And man shall wear a chain no more."

It was our lot, too, to stand in the last assembly of Anti-slavery delegates; amongst that noble band, who three times in the space of a few months, left their homes, and all their pressing cares of business, to aid in the redemption of their country from the foul iniquity of upholding slavery. It was ours, too, to stand within the walls of the House of Commons when the glorious majority of THREE was declared for the full liberation of the enslaved; and although an unworthy, a miserable attempt was made to nullify that noble decision, yet we felt it was final. It was borne on the wings of the wind to the oppressor, and to the oppressed. It told the one that the days of oppression were over—the other, that he was to be free.

It was ours too, to feel vexation and disappointment at the pertinacious and continued refusal of the ministry to accede to the demands of justice and humanity; thus protracting that struggle at an expense of time, and an amount of pecuniary outlay to many of the friends of the negro, that they ill could bear. But in the midst of all this, we saw that there was an important end in progress of attainment; that each succeeding discussion, each opposition, was throwing fresh light on a great principle; that the

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question of abolition was travelling, by means of the press, throughout the world, and thus was obtaining a publicity, that it could not otherwise obtain; that tyrants every where were trembling at the protracted, but in its results, certain contest; and lastly, though not least—that every fresh delay was drawing additional labours into the field to fight the battle of freedom. We felt too, that as philanthropy is ever expansive in its nature, the labours and energies of its votaries would not cease when the then struggle was over, but would be turned into other channels of benevolent enterprise. Has not the zeal manifested in exposing the infamy of the opium war—in advocating the cause of British India—and in promoting that great source of the regeneration of our own country, Total Abstinence from infoxicating liquors, proved the correctness of our feeling. It is this feeling, too, which makes us anticipate glorious results from the approaching Anti-slavery convention—which will not permit us to set limits to what it may not ultimately achieve.

Yes, when we consider, that with the cool determined spirit of the English abolitionists, there will be associated the self-denying, unquenchable zeal of their American brethren those stern upholders of human rights; that the noble minded missionary, Knibb, will be there who has in the very domains of slavery fought the good fight of freedom, accompanied by his sable brethren, whom as an instrument of God, he has released from their bonds; that the liberated black of Hayti may perhaps be there, and the swarthy Indian to tell of his right to freedom; that the continent of Europe will send her noble spirits to declare their common sympathy for the rights of all mankind; that amongst the strong and vigorous, the aged Clarkson, the early and untiring friend of the oppressed will stand forth; and, that over all, may we not humbly trust the blessing of the Omnipotent will rest—we cannot, again we say, set limits to the results. Angels will rejoice over such a scene: while the demoniac man-stealer—the lordly cotton planter—the purse proud American cotton grower—the rice cultivator of South Carolina shall tremble in the midst of their ill gotten riches, and feel that the canker worm has assailed them. The negro, whether he toil under the burning sun, or suffer the agonizing horrors of the slave-ship, or be lacerated by the iron collar and blood hounds of Cuba, or the deadly lash of the *Free American Republican*—wheresoever, under whatsoever form of misery he may be, shall feel, if the glad tidings reach him, that there is a spirit at work, which if it do not accomplish his release, will at least, effect the deliverance of his offspring from bondage and suffering, and restore them to that liberty, which is the Creator's inalienable gift to every one of his rational creatures. And oh! may they reach the ears of the poor Carolina mother, to tell her that her stolen daughters may yet be free— that their days of suffering—working up to their waists in water, from before day-light in the morning, till darkness stops their dreary toil—"in the rice-swamp dank and lone,"—are numbered.

Will it then be asked any longer—what is the object of the "World's Convention"—what does it propose to effect?

It will bear from the American abolitionists of the glorious progress of the principles of freedom in America, of their fears, their difficulties, and their hopes. It will hear from the West Indian missionary, how the great measure of Negro Emancipation has worked in our West Indian Colonies. The indefatigable Buxton will be there to tell of the 1000 sons of Africa that are daily torn from her; slaughtered on the native battle field, or, perishing in their march to the coast, or in the middle passage, or by the monstrous sixteen hours labour system, inflicted not only on men, but on weak, defenceless women. From the philanthropists of the continent it will gather intelligence as to the intentions of the continental governments, to give liberty to the negros of their colonies, or still to hold them in bondage. To all it will give counsel, aid, and sympathy, to carry out the grand design of effecting a universal emancipation throughout the world. It will unite all by the common bond of human brotherhood. They will return to their homes and their countries, with their love of liberty strengthened; and they will engage with renewed power, to carry forward the great work in which they are all engaged.

It is with no light feelings, we express our anxious desire, that Ireland may be well represented at the approaching World's Convention. She has an important part to act in the struggle for human freedom. An intelligent traveller (Doctor Madden) has informed us, that if the Irish who abound in America, were sound abolitionists, they could almost everywhere turn the elections, and give the death blow to slavery—that foulest of all foul stains on her free institutions; but that from going to the States in utter ignorance of the subject, they too generally become inoculated with the spirit of the slave-holder. Shame on us for having been so remiss in not instructing them better! But let the time past suffice; and let us hope that this convention is the commencement of an energetic effort which will make every Irishman an uncompromising abolitionist, and cause him to carry with him the genuine spirit of freedom wherever he goes.

ANTIGUA.

[Extract from a letter dated Antigua, April 14, 1840, to JOSEPH STURGE, ESQ.]

UNDER the 14th clause of the act for consolidating and amending the laws relative to malicious injuries to property. The magistrates have the power to send to prison for ten days, as a trespasser, any person who may visit a plantation for legitimate purposes, or otherwise; the magistrates are divided in their opinions, as you have been already informed, and the whole subject has been laid before the government by the governor, still to a certain extent, the system is carried on, in the following manner, notwithstanding every effort of Sir W. C. to prevent it:—

A. B. is committed to prison by C. D. and E. F. magistrates, for a breach of the law, G. H. the marshal without loss of time, acquaints the governor of the fact, say the same day; an inquiry is instituted, and the next day the governor, demands an explanation of C. D. and E. F. the magistrates in the country; C. D. may not be at home, or may not find it convenient to communicate with E. F. for some days, consequently no answer can be sent in reply to the governor's requested explanation, thus an individual visiting a plantation for legitimate business, may be confined to a prison for five or six days improperly, notwithstanding the desire of the governor to release him, which he could not consistently do, pending the inquiry. It is due to the magistracy generally, to state, that it is only by some few that the law is thus construed, and that the majority are of opinion that persons visiting plantations for legitimate purposes are not trespassers.

DECREASE OF CRIME IN JAMAICA.

Extract of a letter from Rev. W. E. BARRETT to JOSEPH STURGE, ESQ.

IT is oftentimes asked, whether crime is on the increase or not, since the abolition of the apprenticeship. The following facts relating to this parish will be interesting to those seeking information on this subject, and if of any service to any one, you are quite at liberty to make any use you please of them: they will certainly shew the decrease of *punishment*, if not of crime. What I am about to state is on the authority of Mr. Hall Pringle, one of our inspectors of prisons, and a stipendiary for Lower Clarendon.

The population of Clarendon is 20,188, by the Census. In 1837, the number of committals to the house of correction, at Chapelton, was 381 males, 82 females, total 463: in addition to which, there were committed as run-aways, 73 males, and 26 females, that is 99 more, making in the whole, 562 persons committed to jail in twelve months, equal to one in 35 of the whole population.

In 1838, the number of committals to the house of correction at Chapelton, was 170 males, 46 females, 25 run-away males, and 9 do. females, total 250, besides the *jail return* which is thus, 133 males and 22 females, which is equal to 1 in 52 of the whole population. Now for the seventeen months immediately supervening the abolition of apprenticeship. From the 1st of August, 1838, to the 1st of January, 1839: there were 134 committals, and out of these, 87 convictions; the committals equal 1 in 149 of the whole population, and the convictions 1 in 230. This statement is for a period of seventeen months, others but for a year. The above does not include those offences which are settled by fine. The planters are always complaining they get no justice done them, and so on. If the above statement is compared with English, Irish, or Scotch returns, it will appear that there are far more convictions in this country than even in Ireland. In Scotland in 1836, the committals were, as 1 in 1090 of the whole population. In England, in 1831, as 1 in 1005. In Ireland, in 1834, the committals as 1 in 371½, the convictions as 1 in 557. I think the above a very remarkable and deeply interesting statement: highly creditable to the black and coloured population of this country, and showing whether the planters *have justice done them or not, they get* 1 in every 230 of this parish and population *convicted* of some offence or other; real or imaginary: while in Ireland, with all her popery and ignorance, but 1 in 557 of the whole people is *convicted*.

ON THE RECENT LEGISLATION OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

JAMAICA papers down to April 20th have been received, from which we learn that the session of the house of assembly terminated on the 11th of that month with a speech from the governor, as one sided and contradictory, as it has ever fallen to our lot to record. We shall extract all that is material from it, with a few observations in a separate article. Here it may be right to notice the acts of the house—from which it will be seen how it has improved its *locus penitentiæ*. We confine ourselves to those acts which affect the rights and internal relation of employers and labourers, and of these we can only touch upon a few matters. In a future number we may resume them.

One of these acts creates constructive crimes, and directs the infliction of penalty as often as the existence of a certain intention shall be—not proved, the case will not admit of proof—but alleged. Who will doubt the effect of such a provision to involve the innocent with the guilty, should he by any means have incurred the dislike of an official, deeming himself competent to decide upon intentions. We refer to the act for preventing cruelty to animals, which makes it "penal to *attempt* to catch with the *intention* of riding any horse, &c." Certainly no man should ride another's horse without consent of the owner, he ought not to *intend* to do so—but are Jamaica magistrates the men to ascertain and punish intentions? A horse in our own fields will run from a man quietly walking in the path across them. Such a thing in Jamaica may lay the man open to a charge of *attempting* to catch—the *intention* to ride will be very easily found. The negro suffers, according to this law for the animal's natural timidity.

Another act, the judicial bill, seeks to deprive the labouring population of the protection of the stipendiary magistracy, and to place all questions that may arise between the planter and the labourer for adjudication in the hands of those who lately were slave owners. The appointment of chairmen to the quarter sessions, as our correspondent who signs himself "a friend" has shewn, is a mere blind. They cannot attend the courts and secure such an adjudication as shall be fair and right to all parties. The cases calling for summary decision which occur throughout the island are innumerable, not to mention other and not less important duties of the magistracy, such as issuing summonses, warrants of apprehension and distress; holding to bail, &c. Under these heads, great wrongs may be perpetrated with impunity, especially upon the poor and unprotected negro. And who that remembers the doings of planter magistrates, irresponsible and not very well-disposed towards the peasantry, can imagine that very great care will be taken against such wrongs?

We have not room now to examine the act for determining the powers of the justices, but in anticipation of the removal of the stipendiary magistrates, new and hitherto unheard of powers are vested in the hands of the island and planting magistracy who are expected to take their place, so that the negro population may again be placed bound hand and foot at the mercy of their former masters. In addition to this, a new 'prisons' bill' has been passed, which exhibits no signs of a disposition to take properly the *locus pœnitentiæ* afforded by the British legislature to the haughty and contumacious law-makers of Jamaica. Their right of super-legislation on the laws passed by the imperial parliament is again asserted. We wait with some anxiety to ascertain what the house of Commons will think of this impertinence.

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A law, called the pound law, is also very justly complained of by the local papers which advocate the rights of the negro. According to its provisions no cattle straying may be impounded, without a written order from the party on whose land they are found. The negros cannot write, so that their provision grounds are wasted by stray cattle with impunity; but the grounds of the planter, whose overseer writes the order immediately, are protected, and heavy is the fine the owner of such trespassing cattle must pay. We do not complain of this care to protect the grounds of the planter. If he be injured through the carelessness or the wickedness of the labourer, by all means give him redress, but do the same thing with the labourer also. It is the very essence of injustice and tyranny to distinguish between the rich and the poor—the white man and the black—in either legislating or administering law.

Our correspondent disposes of the infamous vagrant law which authorises anew the chaining of females in couples, and working them so chained, for sixty days on the public roads and highways. Will it be believed, that legislators, whom Sir Charles Metcalfe flatters as "kind-hearted and humane men, conscientiously labouring for the public good;" that magistrates who, he says, administer justice "in general faithfully and honourably," have made themselves parties to so monstrous an enactment? The pro-slavery papers of the island, we observe, extenuate this enactment or altogether deny that it has taken place — with what regard to truth will easily be determined by those who will take the trouble to look at the clauses of the law.

A hawkers' and pedlars' act deprives the aged and infirm who can no longer work on estates, of the opportunity of earning a subsistence by making water jars, baskets, ropes, &c. at home. They may not sell in any other parish than their own, without as many licenses as parishes, and these at a moderate expense, though Jamaica legislators are not moderate in such charges, a poor negro cannot procure. Does it annoy the planters that there are no pauper negros? The 'Fisheries Bill' prevents a negro from fishing in a stream that may run through his own land; in the open sea; or, indeed, anywhere else. The 'Registration of Fire-arms Bill,' forces open his hut to domiciliary visitation and search whensoever it may suit the planter to intrude upon his privacy, and invade his domestic quiet.

The Tenements', the Combinations', the Petty Debt Acts, and the Act for encouraging immigration, all parts of the same system have evidently been framed, to bring back, as far as possible *now*, the absolute control on the one side, and helpless dependence on the other, to which planters formerly manifested so strong and tenacious an attachment. What may *next* be attempted in this way we will not predict. We trace in legislation such as this, the one great defect of utter impracticability without the total ruin of those interests which it is exclusively meant to protect. In theory it seems beautifully calculated to accomplish its especial object. In practice, should the home government be so far infatuated as to permit the hazardous experiment to be tried, it will be found to turn out in its consequences, infinitely worse than a total failure.

The question to be decided has been, the readiest and most effectual means of establishing a new condition of society calculated to bind and coerce a labouring population by all the essential realities and obligations of slavery, under the delusive name and deceitful exterior of freedom. Will the authorities in Downing-street—will the House of Commons, prompt and determined as that body has showed itself in maintaining its intentions to confer a *bona fide* freedom upon the slave, permit a few planters and attorneys in Jamaica,—albeit, with a conciliating and complaisant governor at their head,—again to reduce the negro to anything like the bondage from which he has but just begun to taste deliverance? At all events, we turn with entire confidence to the pledged friends of the negro in every direction. They will not slumber while his chains are being re-forged and fixed upon him. We admonish them in the words of our friend the editor of the *Colonial Reformer*, after enumerating the acts we have adverted to: "Let the above links of iron be riveted together, and be once safely and securely put on—(for there, as in belling the cat lies the only difficulty,) and we will answer for their being long enough, strong enough, and heavy enough to hold the negro fast for half a century to come.

To the Editors of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Jamaica, 20th April, 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—Since my last, a vast change has taken place for the worse, what then was only apprehension has now become certainty, our governor has declared his pro-slavery sentiments so unequivocally as to leave no room for further doubt. He had clearly made up his mind as to the course which he had determined to take, before he set foot on these shores. He has carried his scheme of conciliation far beyond the extent recommended to him in the weak and vacillating despatch of Lord Normanby, the instructions contained in which, his Excellency alleges in explanation and defence of his present measures. His lordship certainly did not intend to confine the conciliatory operations of Sir Charles Metcalfe to one class only, that is to the conciliation at any cost, of the pro-slavery faction and its organs the house of assembly towards the British government. This is, however all that has been done, and but incompletely; for gratified as the party is by the submission of the ministry, and the flattery of the governor, and puffed up as it is by success, be assured that the first step taken in sincerity by government for the amelioration of the lately emancipated, or the assertion of their rights, will be a signal for again unloosing "the dogs of war." Yet for this shallow and pretended reconciliation, at the imminent risk of the future safety of the colony have the infant liberties of the black population been, if not altogether sold, yet placed in extreme jeopardy. A long list of laws ingeniously contrived to prevent the negro from stirring hand or foot, without becoming liable to some of their oppressive provisions has been passed, and they are now in operation, answering their intended purposes beyond the expectations of the most sanguine of the advocates and admirers of slavery. The Vagrant Act and the Police Act are a two-edged sword and cut the poor peasantry on both sides with wonderful effect. Whilst there was no vagrant law, there were no vagrants; and the law would even now be a dead letter on the statute book, but for its sister enactment of the police, which makes a kind of vagrancy of its own, in order to afford the inspector-general and his myrmidons, a conscientious plea for taking their salaries. Were it not for their own ingenious construction of the law, their appointments would be sinecures. Will it be believed in England that black men, for white offenders of the same kind are exempt from such visitations, have been taken up as vagrants for smoking a cigar, dropping the rind of an orange, and stopping to talk to a friend in the streets, and committed to prison? To such lengths has the assembly carried its audacity, that it has re-enacted and embodied into the vagrant act, an old clause of the slave law authorizing the working of females in irons, and chained together in couples, on the public roads and highways, for the space of SIXTY days, by order of ONE magistrate. What with these, and the pound law, and the registration of fire-arms, the fisheries, the tenements, combinations, and atrocious petty debt acts, there are, at this instant, in the different gaols and houses of correction of the island, full three times the number of prisoners contained in them at the time that Sir Lionel Smith left the island. It is a common thing now, when an overseer defrauds or assaults a labourer, for the former to tell him in derision to go to the king's house if he likes, and see what he will get. There is no Sir Lionel Smith there now, but a friend of their own, they say. If the British government do not promptly interfere, the most fatal results may be anticipated. The labour on estates is daily diminishing, for no labourer is certain that the whole amount of his wages will not be stopped on Saturday night, for double, triple, or quadruple rent charged to him for a day's absence, perhaps on his own or his wife's part. It is impossible things can go on much longer at this rate. Instead of granting the people leases of their cottages and grounds for a twelvemonth, so as to insure them the fruits of their labour, they are, on the slightest cause of complaint, driven off the property by the summary process of unroofing or demolishing their houses, and turning the estate's cattle into their provision grounds. A tenant cannot receive a friend, nor a brother a brother, nor even a father his son, into his house, without being charged a full additional rent for his guest. Such are the means by which Sir C. Metcalfe has succeeded for a season in quieting the planters. The oppressed, abused, and defrauded negro is altogether out of the pale of his conciliation; to gain his good will would be to alienate that of his late owner. He therefore does not attempt it. In fact, the whole administration of Sir C. Metcalfe has been hitherto one continued series of blunders. His suspension of the reports of the stipendiary magistrates, the appointment of Mr. M'Leod to the inspectorship of the police, his extravagant praises of the House of Assembly, his sanctioning of all its unjust and oppressive laws, his intimacy with the most violent of the pro-slavery faction, his omission to supersede the Hanover magistrates, his conduct on his tour, his censure of Sir Lionel Smith, and last, not least, his indiscreet and unjustifiable attack on the Baptist clergy. The disgraceful bill for the better administration of justice has, to the surprise of all parties, been passed, and highly lauded by Sir C. Metcalfe. It is nothing more than a bare-faced scheme to saddle the country with an enormous expense, with the view, instead of purifying the current of justice, of rendering it still more turbid and corrupted, by carefully excluding all principles by which a healthier spirit could be infused into it, and providing for the admission of the old taint and leaven of slavery, by limiting the selection of the judges to the Jamaica bar. The office of vice-chancellor is destined for the speaker of the assembly, Mr. Panton, whose violent and seditious conduct, during the apprenticeship compelled Lord Glenelg to deprive him of his gown as Queen's advocate. In place of the present stipendiary body, it is proposed to substitute nine lawyers as chairmen of quarter sessions, which is just doing nothing as regards the protection of the peasantry. How are these chairmen to get through all the multifold duties of the present stipendiary magistracy? and if they could, it is certain that the labouring population would place no confidence in them. Now mark the impracticability as well as the absurdity of the scheme. There are on an average, it has been observed in the papers, two courts of petty sessions held every week by each stipendiary magistrate, by some even more, in addition to his duty at quarter sessions, making at least 4368 courts during the year, for the purpose of adjudication on matters in dispute between employers and labourers. If nine attorneys are, as proposed, to fulfil all these duties, each will have to attend at 485 petit sessions of the peace during the year, at the rate of nine weekly, or 1½ per diem, the court-houses at which they are held being twenty, sometimes thirty, miles distant from each other, a good day's journey in itself. To these must be added the *ministerial* duties of the magistracy, still more important, as regards the protection of the negro, than even the *judicial*, as for the due performance of the former there is no official control whatever, no public check upon the partiality or oppression of the magistrate, all this kind of business, such as issuing summonses, warrants of apprehension, and detention, levies, &c. they may transact in the private recesses of their own houses. Who is to redress the wrongs thus inflicted? The law, it may be answered. Such a reply would be a shameful mockery, adding insult to injury. The court and juries are composed of planters and their friends, and if they were as celebrated for their justice as they are for the contrary, where, I ask, is the unfortunate labourer to procure £150, the cost of the simplest law-suit in this country, before he can obtain justice?

If the British government is really anxious that the cultivation of the staples should be successfully continued in Jamaica, it will entrust the sole jurisdiction on all laws affecting the mutual interests of employer and labourer, to the hands of the stipendiary magistracy, whom also it will take care to pay more adequately than it has hitherto done. This is the only chance of safety for the island. The assembly is prorogued. The governor's speech has not mended matters. More oppressive laws have been passed, and the house, to crown its infamy, has voted £300 sterling of the public money each to the Editor of the News and the notorious Dr. Binns, for their services against the British government and the public at Jamaica.

A FRIEND.

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Extract of a Letter from Mr. Phillippo to Mr. Sturge.

I am authorized by our St. Catherine's branch Anti-slavery society to forward you by this packet, £100 sterling, (out of between two and three hundred, currency, which we have collected towards the general purposes of the society) in order that our efforts in aid of the great cause may assist in stimulating others by an announcement at your convention.

(From the *Liberator*.)

SONNET,

ON THE DEATH OF JAMES CROPPER, A DISTINGUISHED PHILANTHROPIST OF ENGLAND.

CROPPER! among the wise, the great, the good,
The friends of man, whate'er his caste or clime,
Thy memory shall be hailed with gratitude,
Thy labours honoured to the end of time!
Thine was a soul with sympathy imbued,
Broad as the earth, and as the heavens sublime;
Thy godlike object, stedfastly pursued,
To save thy race from misery and crime.
Mourn, England! for the loss thou hast sustained,
And let the nations of the earth lament,
With spirit broken, and with grief unfeigned—
And to her tears let LIBERTY give vent;
A star of glory has in darkness waned—
No more on earth survives the good man eloquent.

W. L. G.

EXTRA NUMBER.

Our present number is too full to admit many articles that have come to hand, and also much intelligence furnished by the colonial Papers last West India mail, including the prorogation speech of the Jamaica governor. An extra number will therefore be issued next Tuesday.

Several subjects of very painful interest in relation to what is now going on in the colonies, particularly in Jamaica, are unavoidably deferred till next week.

TEXAS.—We have noticed in American papers an account of a terrible carnage in Texas, the particulars of which we shall be able to give next week. War, Slavery, and Murder, are closely united.

BARBADOS.—Considerable uneasiness prevails in this island on the subject of emigration. The planters do not like to lose their labourers. Their best means of preventing this inconvenience is, not laws restricting them from going where they find the best market for their work, but to pay them fairly and treat them well.

The island had been favoured when the last accounts left, with refreshing showers.

SLAVE SHIPS.

THE following horrible details are taken from the Cape of Good Hope shipping list, of date March 17th, 1840.

PORTUGUESE SLAVERS.—*Further captures.* The brig *Amazona Constante*, of about 200 tons was captured in the Mozambique Channel, February 23rd, by H. M. S. *Modeste*, and sent into Simon's bay. Original number of slaves embarked six hundred and fifty, of which, about fifty are supposed to have died during the voyage.

Another vessel with four hundred slaves on board has also been captured by H. M. S. *Modeste*, and was hourly expected to arrive at Simon's Bay.

THE SLAVE-TRADE ON THE EAST COAST.—The Portuguese Whaler Eliza, Lopez master, while lying at Mocamba (twelve miles south of Mozambique harbour) had smuggled on board two hundred slaves, the duty of seven Spanish dollars per head being evaded, upon which intelligence, the acting governor at Mozambique despatched two armed boats after her, but these being without ammunition were kept off, and the vessel sailed with her cargo, October 1st, bound to the Brazils.

QUILLIMAINE.—The slave-trade there was carried on with the greatest activity; during the four months ending December last, no less than 12,000 slaves have been exported from that harbour alone.

LOSSES AT MOZAMBIQUE HARBOUR.—January 24th during a hurricane from the south-east.

Two slavers, a ship and a brig, wrecked, but the crews of both and two hundred slaves on board the brig, saved. The ship had arrived the preceding day and not taken in any slaves. It was reported of the brig, which was commanded by a Spaniard, that she originally had on board nine hundred slaves; but during a hurricane in the prosecution of her voyage, the hatches were battened down, and on opening them it was discovered that *three hundred* of them had died from suffocation and want of food. The gale continuing the hatches were battened down a second time, the consequence of which was, that an additional *three hundred* perished from the same causes, and *one hundred* of the remaining three hundred, died on the passage to Mozambique harbour whither she had returned *for the purpose of getting a fresh supply*!

BRITISH GUIANA.

FROM the speech of his Excellency the governor, at the opening of the court of policy, we extract a few sentences which fully sustain what our columns have affirmed as to this important colony.

There has been I regret to say, a considerable decrease in your produce, but not such as should excite despondency. It is notorious that for three or four months of the past year, not only were the canes unproductive, but in many parts of the country, the means of conveyance from the field to the sugar works, were arrested by the want of water in the trenches.

The decrease cannot therefore be entirely ascribed to the change in our social system. I trust the produce of the present year will, by its proportionate increase give reason for congratulation, the receipts of import and internal duties, have far exceeded their estimated produce, and the civil list has been nearly covered by the surplus customs alone.

In the mean time it is consolatory to observe, that such is the confidence in the permanency of property, that the price of those estates now in the market, is far from low, and I rejoice to say, that generally speaking the proprietors exhibit no inclination to part with their properties.

I cannot advert to this subject, and to the confidence which all have in the permanency of our system, without bearing testimony to the conduct of your labouring population; that they are less constant in their industry than when coerced, was to be expected—that they are so industrious is a subject of gratulation. Their cheerfulness and contentment dissipate the fears of many, and exceed the hopes of all. Men whose ambition is not limited to mere freedom from coercion, who aspire to become landholders, and who know that by industry they can obtain their object, will not be idle—we have convincing proofs that in the acquisition of land, there has been no wish to quit the precincts of civilization.

Your colony is remarkable for a small amount of crime, and there are but few cases of an aggravated nature. Your peasantry are submissive, obey the law, and respect authority. At these latter qualities we may marvel—and my opinion will find its way to the mother country—when we consider the bad example systematically set, by those whose station in society ought to restrain them, and in whom reason ought to check the desire for personal influence amongst a small portion of the community, by reflecting that the mass in this colony neither sympathise with them nor can ever participate in their views.

The efforts that have been studiously made almost from the period of emancipation until the present moment, to revile those in authority, to lessen their influence, and to bring their power into contempt—that have not been checked even by the respect due to Majesty itself, in the person of our Most Gracious Sovereign—have luckily for this province, failed to affect the multitude. Long may that multitude remain uninfected by such examples.

Advertisements.

CAPTAIN CHARLES STUART.

It is with much pleasure we are able to state that an admirable likeness of this highly esteemed philanthropist has just been engraved by Mr. J. J. Penstone, from a painting by Mr. E. Kilvert of Bath, in the possession of W. T. Blair, Esq., of that city. Proofs on India paper at 10s. each—and prints at 5s., may be procured at the office of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, or at Mr. Edmund Fry's, No. 4, Bishopsgate Without. We feel assured many of our friends will be glad to avail themselves of the opportunity of possessing a portrait of so zealous and indefatigable an advocate of the rights of the oppressed, and the more so, as it is intended that the profits arising from the sale shall be devoted to the cause of abolition.

THE DUBLIN WEEKLY HERALD.
THE ORGAN OF TEMPERANCE IN IRELAND.

Published every Saturday morning by the Proprietors, DOWLING and SHEA, at their office,

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Quarterly,————	3	3
Single Copy,——	0	3½

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 12.] WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE'S SPEECH ON PROROGUING THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, APRIL 11TH, 1840.

By the despatch from Sir Charles Metcalfe to the Marquis of Normanby, under date of October 16th, and printed in the columns of our last number but one, none of our readers will be surprised to learn, that Sir C. Metcalfe is regarded by all parties in Jamaica, as the planters' governor. He speaks, and writes, and acts to their hearts' content. The St. Jago de la Vega Gazette, describes his speech on proroguing the assembly, as statesman-like, elaborate, and judicious :—"Not a man, says the *Morning Journal*, "quitted the council chamber, with other than feelings of the deepest gratitude to God for having favoured our island with such a ruler." "His Excellency's speech," says the *Despatch*, "will for ever last as a monument of his honesty and good sense: seldom has Jamaica boasted of such an able state paper." Similar and even more fulsome adulation is offered, which we shall not quote.

It will be more useful to exhibit the speech itself—omitting only that part of it which is not relevant to the object of this journal—and to subject it to such examination as we have now room for. It will doubtless be adverted to in future numbers.

"I congratulate you on the happy termination of a session, during which you have eminently manifested your approved loyalty to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, an earnest desire to meet the views of her Majesty's confidential advisers, uninterrupted harmony and co-operation among yourselves, and zealous devotion to your public duties.

"I have great satisfaction in assuring you, gentlemen of the council, and Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the assembly, that her Majesty's government regard with sincere gratification the progress of your proceedings, and accept them as the best pledge of your disposition to adapt the institutions of the island to the altered condition of society, an endeavour in which you may rely on whatever assistance it is in the power of the ministers of the crown to afford.

"Since I last addressed you on the opening of the session, I have taken advantage of an interval, afforded by the state of public business, during the period of your recess, to make a tour of this lovely island; in the course of which I have experienced unbounded hospitality and attention from your kind-hearted countrymen, and have had many gratifying opportunities of observing their loyalty and attachment to our queen and country.

"Two very important circumstances in our condition have forcibly attracted my attention; the one a source of great joy, the other of deep regret—the former the comfortable state of the peasantry, the latter the generally deteriorated condition of properties.

"The easy and independent circumstances of the peasantry, as compared with those of our own countrymen at home, are very striking. Probably no peasantry in any quarter of the globe have such comforts and advantages. So far the great work of freedom has been accomplished with the most beneficial results. I am very happy to add, that in most respects they appear to deserve their good fortune. They are, I understand, generally orderly, sober, free from crime, much improved in their moral habits, constant in their attendance at public worship, solicitous for the education of their children, and willing to pay the requisite expense. For these inestimable traits in their general character and conduct, and the consequent benefits to the community, we are indebted in some degree, no doubt, to their naturally good disposition, but chiefly I apprehend to these ministers of religion, of all denominations, who have devoted themselves to the religious and moral instruction of the peasantry, and to the education of their children. Our obligations on this account to all who have rendered this immense service, are immeasurable.

"The completion, however, of the general happiness and harmony that might be expected to flow from this promising state, is interrupted by agitation and ferment, unhappily kept alive among us, to which I shall not particularly allude, for I will not abandon the hope that the leading parties in these proceedings, will, on reflection, become sensible, before it be too late for any remedial purpose, that nothing but mischief can arise from discord; that it is more easy to excite than assuage the passions of a multitude, and that it must much more conduce to the happiness of a people to inculcate charity and contentment, than to instigate distrust and disaffection against their employers and their rulers.—I have touched on this feature in our condition with reluctance, but it is too marked and prominent, and too indicative of serious evil, to be passed over unnoticed, without shutting our eyes to our real state.

"The deterioration of properties proceeds from want of continuous labour, which is the natural effect of an insufficient population, and of the means possessed by the peasantry, of rendering themselves in a great degree, independent of going out to labour in the service of employers. The peasantry cannot be blamed for taking advantage of a state of things favourable to themselves, for the same would be done under similar circumstances in any country in the world, where the same freedom is enjoyed. But they are blameable, when they refuse to perform their engagements, or act capriciously, and desert their work without reason, at the moment when their doing so must be attended with great injury to their employers.

"You have done all in your power to provide relief for the evil alluded to, by passing an act to encourage immigration, with proper precautions for the health and immediate accommodation of those who may be induced to come among us. I shall heartily co-operate with you in this very necessary measure, but I cannot say, that I at present entertain any sanguine expectation that it will afford much immediate relief to our difficulties. It is satisfactory to reflect that whatever number of immigrants is likely to come from any part of the world, there is room for all, and spare land of the greatest fertility in abundance, so that any probable multitude can be provided for without diminution of the comforts of our present population.

"Your public duties, gentlemen, I conceive do not terminate with the session.—You have still important functions to perform when you return to your homes.—You may be as instrumental to the welfare of Jamaica, by your conduct and influence there as you can be by legislative enactments.

"There are some particular points to which I would earnestly invite your attention.

"One of these is the rent question.—During my tour I was made sensible of general dissatisfaction among the labouring population, on account of the arrangement of the terms of rent, with a view to the exaction of labour. My own opinion, I acknowledge is, that this system is injurious to properties, as well as harassing to tenants, and as it appears to me to be nearly the sole cause of litigation between employers and labourers, and the only vexation of which the latter complain. I should have great hope, that if it were discontinued, and a different system adopted, the good feeling so desirable between those two classes, which include, in fact, the bulk of the inhabitants of this island, might be established with beneficial effect on the happiness and prosperity of both. Nothing can be attempted without their mutual consent, but I trust that your influence will be used to draw others into the course which you may on conviction believe to be the best calculated to promote the public good by increasing the happiness of the bulk of our population.

"Another point is the administration of justice by the magistracy. I believe that justice is administered by the magistrates in general, faithfully and honourably; but there are not wanting those who accuse them of partiality, and the charge of partiality is made by different parties against both classes of the magistracy. I am not of opinion that intentional partiality exists in either class, but the mutual accusation which occasionally occurs is distressing; and as instances do sometimes present themselves of great error in judgment, which, although unfrequent, and ascribable only to the individuals concerned, are nevertheless made the ground of reproach to the whole body, it is exceedingly desirable that extreme caution should be observed by the magistracy, lest they fall into the errors of which they are accused, and that both classes should co-operate cordially, as I trust they generally do, to render equal justice to all parties without reference to the position of any. I recommend this subject to your attention, both as regards the more important consideration of the administration of justice, and as it affects the reputation of our island, which, though a secondary consideration in comparison with essential justice, is still one of great importance, for much depends upon it.

"The third point which I would press on your attention, is the working of certain laws passed during the present session of the legislature. These laws are reprobated by some, unjustly I believe, but it is desirable that we should watch their operation, lest there be any truth in the opinion expressed regarding them. If you find that these laws are in the slightest degree oppressive, or vexatious, you will, I am sure, be anxious to rescind or amend them, and I shall in that case gladly co-operate with you to that effect. At present I am not aware that they need alteration, or that they are in any respect objectionable.

"Let me also invite your attention to the desirableness of terminating, if that be practicable, the party spirit which still impedes the establishment of perfect harmony among all classes. There are not now any real grounds of difference. All honest men must desire the same end, the general happiness of the community, and this would surely be more promoted by friendly co-operation, than by hostile feelings and dissensions. I am aware, that owing to the frailties of human nature, it is much more easy to recommend than accomplish such an object—nevertheless I will not despair of its being attainable.

"I should not have troubled you, with some of the remarks which I have addressed to you on the present occasion, were I not anxious that our island should be rescued, by the unexceptionable conduct of its inhabitants, from the imputations cast on us both here and at home, where you have to encounter much prejudice operating against you. There are many who cannot believe that those who have once been the owners of slaves can be kind-hearted, humane men. Your best intentions and endeavours are consequently misunderstood and distrusted by a considerable proportion of the public in the mother country. While you are conscientiously labouring for the public good, you are deprived by prejudice of the credit and honour due to your exertions. This is a hard fate, but you will, I have no doubt, patiently and manfully bear it, and finally overcome it. By perseverance in wise legislation, and kindness, you will show that the reproaches cast upon you by the ignorant or designing, are unfounded, and by winning the applause of the unprejudiced, you will eventually put to shame the prejudiced and hostile."

Among the topics adverted to by his Excellency, there are some, in respect of which, we have no quarrel. Thus we know that the peasantry are "orderly, sober, free from crime, much improved in their moral habits, constant in their attendance at public worship, solicitous for the education of their children, and willing to pay

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the requisite expense." We always said, make the negros free and such a result is certain. We unite with Sir Charles in attributing this excellent state of things among the peasantry mainly to the "immense" services—performed with persevering diligence and assiduity, by men who, in proportion as they were the friends of the negro, have been despised and vilified. Moreover, the uniform language of those who have espoused the negro's cause has been, "Do not return wrong for wrong—give no occasion of offence in anything." They have always censured the labourer, who refuses to perform his contract, or who capriciously deserts his work to the injury of his employer. We have deprecated, and still do deprecate quite as much as his Excellency, or the assembly he was addressing, the "differences" that have unhappily prevailed amongst the respective classes in Jamaica. At almost any righteous expense, at the sacrifice of any thing which it is lawful to sacrifice, we would fain terminate "the party spirit which impedes the establishment of perfect harmony among all classes." Sir Charles' method of terminating these differences, we would never adopt, and we will venture to predict that if he persists in it, the party spirit complained of, will burn with fiercer fury than ever. We doubt indeed if it can be allayed, except with the establishment of absolute power on the one side, and entire succumbency on the other.

In his Excellency's speech, great stress is laid upon the zealous devotion of the assembly to their public duties, on their loyalty and desire to meet the views of her majesty's advisers, as well as on the sincere gratification with which the government regards the progress of their proceedings. High compliments these, though even Sir Charles has to hint at certain symptoms of contumacy—he found it easier to recommend, than to secure, an oblivion of hostile feelings and dissensions. The planters, as his Excellency must have seen, do not readily forget, or even forgive those who were chiefly instrumental in destroying their irresponsible power. The acts so highly lauded in the governor's speech, had not then been laid before the colonial authorities at home, so that the gratification awakened by them, had to be ascertained. We earnestly hope that the disallowance at least of some of these acts, will shew that the Queen's government are not quite so easily pleased and gratified as his Excellency imagines.

Sir Charles censures strongly the leading parties, who, he says, "instead of inculcating charity and contentment, instigate distrust and disaffection among the labourers, against their employers and rulers." If there are such men, we unite with Sir Charles in censuring them, but he must allow us to doubt whether in even the smallest degree this charge can be sustained. Is it unreasonable to demand that the parties so guilty should be distinctly pointed out. His Excellency probably had in mind certain ministers of religion, and yet in the immediately preceding paragraph, these very men are commended as contributing to render the peasantry "orderly, sober and free from crime—in most respects deserving of the good fortune which they enjoy."

If Sir Charles does in this paragraph refer, as we suppose he does to the Baptist missionaries, who in his despatch of October 16, are directly charged with being a "political party," we should like to know if he had answered the appeal made to him by those maligned men, either to prove by sufficient evidence his former allegations against them, or to retract those allegations. We have reason to know that they have made such a request, and we are not a little anxious to learn what reply it has received.

The agitation and ferment of which his Excellency complains have been produced by the conduct of the planters, as Sir Charles seems, reluctantly indeed, and in measured terms, to acknowledge in his references to the rent question, and to the "*great errors in judgment*," which the magistrates sometimes commit.

It is a little remarkable—we wonder his Excellency is not struck with it—that these errors always occur on one side; they injure, not the planter, but the labourer, who therefore is likely to regard them as arising, not so much from deficiency of clear understanding—though even that would not be likely to calm ferment and agitation,—as from the notorious partiality which island magistrates have always shown.

His Excellency's admission is plainly to the effect that the magistrates are either incompetent or partial. He prefers the former. Their errors are "errors of judgment," but for these incompetent and suspected magistrates, his Excellency is concurring with the planters to get rid of those to whom the negros do look with confidence and hope. Should we in England be quiet under the infliction of an admitted incompetent magistracy? Are the people in Jamaica likely to be more quiet? If they are, all we can say is, their patience, their orderly conduct, their virtue is greater than even their most sanguine friends supposed. Yet would we most seriously call upon the planters and the "planters' governor" not to try this patience too far.

And will Sir Charles tell us how his despatch of October 16th, last, his notorious adulation of the plantocracy of the island during his recent tour, his permission of men to usurp the magisterial bench without acknowledgment of wrong, though they had been dismissed from it; will he tell us how his one-sided conciliation, his suppression of the only means of making known in the proper quarter the thousand wrongs of the enfranchised population, above all, how his ill-timed, we had almost said his insolent, flattery of the pro-slavery faction, both in and out of the house of assembly, is likely to subdue or allay the agitation and ferment of which he complains! Did he not know when giving utterance to this ill-timed flattery, that the bills which had just passed, the ink of which was scarcely dry, would go far towards bringing back some of the worst evils of slavery! What is slavery but compulsory labour without fair remuneration! The whip, the collar, and the workhouse are but the accidents of slavery—bad enough, we know, but the thing itself consists in compulsory, unrequited toil. Now to what does the tenements' bill tend, if not to compel just such toil! What else can be the effect of the provisions of the police bill, the vagrant act, and of several other of the disgraceful laws, which his Excellency accepts as "the best pledge of the disposition of the house to adapt the institutions of the island to the altered condition of society." "AGITATION AND FERMENT"—why he has set these elements in motion, from Point Morant to Negril Bay, they will rage with a fury hitherto unprecedented, unless, as we fervently pray, the negro, better instructed than formerly, shall learn to commit his "cause to him that judgeth righteously," and to confide in the wisdom and firmness of the British government, over which, we trust, the principles of righteousness will so far prevail, as to quash all such flagrant attempts at regaining the power of perpetrating wrong. We can tell Sir Charles that his evident party bias, amidst the most studied appearances of neutrality; whatever view we take of it, is as impolitic as it is unjust. It will do no good on either side, whilst it cannot fail of becoming a source of extreme embarassment to himself. Confidence in him the people have lost, and we fear, will never regain. He is not in the same condition with his immediate predecessors, they were governors when the island was in a state of absolute or modified slavery, and each had something to concede when slavery gave way—he has nothing to concede by which he can enlist the sympathies of the people hereafter. He found the people free, and notwithstanding every attempt to the contrary he must leave them so—but will they take this from him as a boon! How long shall we have to deprecate the doctrine of one-sided conciliation. It has been a more fruitful source of mischief to Jamaica than almost anything else; and now as Sir Charles is again trying it, notwithstanding that it has so often been weighed in the balances and found wanting, nothing is left to the friends of peaceful and entire freedom, but to renew their efforts, until truth and justice stand forth in simple majesty, and those rights be extorted which despotism will never willingly concede.

It were easy to continue these animadversions. A speech more richly deserving them—more loudly calling for them, has not for many a year been delivered within the walls of the house of assembly. The following remarks of the *Colonial Reformer* must close our present notice of this afflictive document:—

> The "magistrates in his Excellency's view," are pure and spotless—and administering the laws "*faithfully and honourably*," rarely committing errors even in judgment!!! And even the atrocious wrongs so generally practised on a poor and helpless peasantry, by charging each and every member of a family with the full amount of rent for the occupation of a single tenement, Sir Charles Metcalfe softens down into "AN ARRANGEMENT *of the terms of rent, with a view to the exaction of labour.*" If this be a correct mode of designating a deliberate and bare-faced fraud, it overturns all our pre-conceived notions of moral truth and justice. His Excellency is surely not unaware of the fact, that such "*arrangements*" are not only to exact labour, but to pay for labour—that is to rob the labourer of his hire!
>
> The legislative proceedings of the Assembly are of course applauded to the echo! This we looked for, but we were altogether unprepared for his Excellency's pointed peroration—we hardly expected to see the governor of this island sit in judgment on the anti-slavery party on account of their condemnation of the turbulent, disloyal, and contumacious conduct of the Assembly in times past:—little did we expect to hear him speaking of "*the imputations cast on the House, both here and at home*," and the *prejudice* operating against them!" still less did we anticipate that we should ever see any governor so far sacrifice consistency and sound policy as to tell that house after all its past misdeeds that "*their best intentions and endeavours are misunderstood and distrusted in the mother country!*"—and that while they are "CONSCIENTIOUSLY LABOURING FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD THEY ARE DEPRIVED BY PREJUDICE OF THE CREDIT DUE TO THEIR EXERTIONS!" But that "*by* PERSEVERANCE *in wise legislation, and by steadiness in the paths of benevolence and kindness, they will show that the reproaches of the* IGNORANT *or* DESIGNING *are unfounded, and will eventually put to shame the* PREJUDICED *and the* HOSTILE."

The convention about to assemble, we do not doubt will look into the matters contained in this planters' state paper, and doubtless the colonial office will hear the sentiments it awakens in the bosom of every friend of the threatened and oppressed negro.

MAURITIUS—HILL COOLIES.

SINCE the former articles on this subject appeared in the columns of the *Reporter*, additional information has been laid before Parliament. The papers printed by order of the House of Commons on the 28th ultimo, confirm the previous allegations respecting the mal-treatment of the Indian labourers transported to the Mauritius. These documents, transmitted by the late governor, Sir William Nicolay, came to hand through Mr. Special justice Anderson, whose testimony as to the extreme wretchedness of the Coolies in that island, the frauds and violence practised on them in India—the privations and sufferings they endured on the passage to the scene of their labour, and the fearful mortality that hurried thousands of them from their earthly sorrows, we have before noticed. From the past conduct of that gentleman we should have supposed, that he would have appeared in this country as a witness against the men, whose injustice and cruelty he had faithfully exposed. We are unable to account for his presence at the colonial office, on leave of absence from Sir William Nicolay, as an *advocate* to plead their cause. In the

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face of his own recorded conviction and testimony, he now stands forward to throw the weight of his influence, and counsel, and sanction, into the scale of Mauritian oppression, by soliciting permission for the fresh introduction of bands of Asiatic victims, on behalf of a colony that has been notorious for its pre-eminence in resisting the claims of British humanity, and the demands of British law.

To facilitate the designs of these disloyal and insatiable colonists, Lord John Russell has invoked the sanction of Parliament, by bringing forward a measure for the extension, to the Mauritius, of the "Colonial Passengers' bill." The object of this procedure is not concealed. It is avowedly the means whereby the planters are to possess themselves of increased multitudes of the natives of India. Such being the case, the proposals of the noble lord, demand the closest investigation.

Though the representations of their condition are by him declared to be very highly coloured by many parties, and many facts connected with the question very much distorted, by various publications in the country; yet no distinct denial, not to say disproof, has been given of any one of them, so as to invalidate the grounds on which we rest our opposition to the scheme. Further, the papers just published, abundantly confirm them; and exhibit a state of things, if possible, worse than has been hitherto disclosed. It is manifest that the authorities instead of exposing the injustice they have discovered, prefer to apologise for the guilty; and instead of affording relief, or demanding protection to the injured, satisfy themselves with recommending "a change of system." The dependence that is to be placed on their reports, may be estimated by the fact, that in the abstract of a judicial inquiry in "Grand Port," the parties appointed to institute it, say, "in conclusion, we beg to state, that although, in *some few instances*, dissatisfaction has been manifested, and maltreatment complained of, yet we hope that the *general result of the inquiry will prove satisfactory:*" whereas, the columns of remarks in the return to which this statement is appended, show, that out of 30 estates, there were 22, on which serious complaints were made. Testimony such as this is of the greatest weight, when adduced against the system which it is intended to uphold.

Notwithstanding the decided sentiments expressed a few months ago by Lord John Russell, and previously by his predecessor, the Marquis of Normanby, in despatches to British Guiana on the subject of immigration from India, and the evidence presented in the two parliamentary papers on the Mauritius, as to its injustice and impolicy, his lordship deliberately proposes on behalf of the latter colony, to withdraw the restrictions which in 1838 were imposed, as an act of imperative and grave necessity. It is clear that no amendment has been exhibited in the conduct of the planters, and it remains to ascertain what change is proposed in the system, so as to secure the prevention of the manifold evils that have occurred.

1. His lordship it appears, intends to employ the services of protective agents. We are anxious to know from what class these agents are to be selected! By whom are they to be appointed and paid! By the planters of the Mauritius! What are to be their duties, and how are they to be defined and enforced! What will be the extent of their responsibilities and powers! Will their decisions be left for appeal! And will their whole proceedings be faithfully and fully made known to the public! These are questions of vital moment, on which nothing has been declared.

We are desirous of being informed, whether the order in council of September the 7th, 1838, will be maintained or remodelled, or nullified, by the present measure; if justice is to be executed, this must not only be preserved inviolate, but it must be rigidly enforced.

2. As to the shameful disproportion of the sexes, we are not informed if their numbers will really be equalized by family arrangement; or whether as the women are decidedly opposed both to field labour and emigration, they may not be obtained by illegitimate means. On this point the requisite security is entirely withheld.

3. The prevention of gross frauds and criminal violence, employed by agents in India, to get hold of the natives requires no ordinary attention. It is in evidence before the courts of police in Calcutta, that great numbers of them were decoyed by false promises or apprehended by force, and confined in the prison houses of the kidnappers. Before the magistrates they prayed earnestly for their release, and for protection from going on ship board, or "to Mauritch."

Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot, and Co., in a letter to a correspondent in this country say, "they are perfectly ignorant of the place they go to." We, therefore, desire information as to the effect of the proposed measure on the prohibitions now in force,—and the regulation to be observed by the officers under the control of the governor-general of India. It is certain, that the incalculable amount of misery sustained by the labourers at the hands of the Duffadars, &c. before they came under the notice of the magistrates in the places of deportation, was not prevented either by the stringency of the regulations, or the vigilance of the officers. Indeed their inefficiency led to the very restrictions whose removal is now required.

Prior to the withdrawment of those restrictions we therefore demand, that good cause be shown for believing that others of indubitable and certain efficacy shall be brought into honest and universal operation. Until this is done, we protest against any relaxation of that strict prohibition, inasmuch as that alone has proved successful, according to Lord John Russell's own showing, in a despatch to governor Light, for preventing the threatened horrors in Coolie traffic of "a new system of slavery."

4. But if all these arrangements be perfected in the most satisfactory manner, provision is yet to be made for preventing the wrongs and the privations of the Indians on the passage. That they have suffered severely from the crowded state of the vessels in which they have been embarked,—from great scarcity of food and water,—from the want of medical aid,—and from personal chastisement on the voyage to Mauritius, is affirmed by many of the ill-fated men who have fallen a prey to the nefarious system, and corroborated by Mr. Anderson and the authorities generally. Mr. Hugon, of the Bengal civil service, in a letter to the governor of Mauritius, dated Port Louis, July 29th, 1839, notices among some "horrid abuses," as he well denominates them, "a great evil in Coolie trading—in the deprivation of comforts to the native passengers. * * * * The regulations regarding accommodation were easily eluded, without the possibility of remonstrance, on the part of the traders, being of any use; for they run the risk of losing the opportunity of despatching their Coolies, others being at all times ready to take advantage of difficulties to despatch their own; the consequence has been, that on board of some vessels the men were so crowded, that where, from favourable circumstances, no very great mortality took place on board, they arrived in such a debilitated state as to remain for months unable to perform any work. Native passengers have sometimes been made to suffer from the absence of definite regulations regarding quarantine; they have had to remain for a fortnight and more on board vessels, where they had not sufficient room. This happened on my arrival in a Coolie ship, where four hundred and twenty-five men were confined in a space less than fifty feet in length, by thirty-five in breadth. After eighteen days' detention, I could perceive that many of the men had suffered considerably from this protracted confinement. Such terrible consequences to the colony follow the admission of vessels with contagious diseases on board, that too great caution could not be used regarding those on board of which deaths may have taken place. The passengers, European and native, should be questioned about the number, time, and manner of those deaths. This may have been done generally! but it was not the case with the ship I came in, nor one of those that immediately preceded her, else the latter had not been so readly admitted."

We desire to be informed of the guarantee that will be afforded for the protection of these emigrants! With whom shall rest the selection and appointment of the protectors and surgeons; and what means shall be taken to secure the proper discharge of their duties! The requisite details on this important subject, have not been introduced either to the notice of parliament or the country.

5. Taking it for granted, however, that these are all equitably and permanently settled, we ask what provisions are made to secure substantial justice to the labourers in the colony! In reply to this inquiry, the only reference that we can make is to the proposed plan of a committee, who have applied to the government on the subject; as the plans of the colonial secretary have not been developed. This committee, self-constituted, and "really" (as they say) "a private body," have sent Mr. Anderson to this country, under sanction of the late governor, to urge the adoption of those plans. They agree to furnish, "ten days lodging and food upon their arrival in Mauritius, if" (the emigrants are) "not employed before that time, that they may be enabled to choose employment without being hurried into any forced engagement."

Applications are to be lodged at *their office*, and though the lists may be forwarded to "the governments either of India or the colony," the power will remain largely in their hands. What security is there that, secretly, by false representations, harsh dealings, and various other means, an influence will not be exerted on the labourers, either to delude or impel them to make engagements, which if free from such influence, they would not undertake! If their reasonable desires are not complied with, and no engagements be made with them in those ten days, or if this arise from their being sick and weakly, what is to become of the ignorant and timid outcasts in a strange land! Are they to starve without employ, or as vagrants to be doomed to penal servitude!

What also are to be the terms of their agreements, so as to check exorbitant demands in the kind, the amount, the time of labour, both in and out of crop; and to compel the employer to fulfil all that he stipulates! Will the contracts be voided by violation! No such step has hitherto been taken in any one instance, though the laws have demanded its enforcement. Will just and necessary complaints be dismissed with a tame and insignificant remonstrance against such ill-treatment for the future! Again, we say, all this is unrevealed by the Committee, —and by the government. Until the specific and veritable nature of these arrangements be made known, and fully discussed, we declare the steps that are taken, hasty and suspicious; and are entitled to demand the further suspension of the proposal to withdraw the restrictions on the importation of the Indians into Mauritius.

6. But though this were settled, with due regard to justice, the proposed wages are far from adequate. The minimum (which will no doubt, be the general rate) of five rupees, Mr. Anderson has himself declared insufficient; bearing no proportion, even

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with the allowances, to what they ought to receive. The deductions that may be made from these are nowhere stated. Is their pay to be stopped when sick and under medical treatment? Are they *as now* to be mulcted of *two days wages* for *one day's absence*, however necessary that absence may be? Is lost time to be made up at the expiry of the contract? These are matters demanding mature deliberation in connexion with the prosperity and satisfaction of the Indians, to which no attention has been called by the statements now before parliament.

7. How are they to be lodged? Are the miserable and unhealthy abodes, of which such strong and repeated complaints have been made, to be continued? Or have they to provide for the improvement of their own dwellings? The want of hospitals, or their unsatisfactory state, has been severely condemned by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Hugon. Some of the labourers have declared that they were left there unattended, locked up all night, or confined as in a prison, through the whole time of their sojourn in the places provided for this purpose; and what means are to be adopted for securing to them more fair and humane treatment in this respect? None have transpired.

8. Again, what are the rations of food to be served out to them? At present complaints are frequent of their inadequacy—and yet, this committee propose, while Mr. Anderson comes forward to urge their proposal, to reduce instead of augmenting them:—*e. g.*

Rations at present given.	lb.	oz.	dwts.	*Proposed in future.*	lb.	oz.	dwts.
14 chattocks rice	1	12	0		1	10	0
2 „ dholl.....	0	4	0		0	3	12

If they become dissatisfied with any of these modes of treatment, are they to be exposed to personal chastisement by arbitrary agents on the estates? What prohibition is to be issued to prevent this crying abuse, which is affirmed by the inspecting officers to be of no unfrequent occurrence? On all these matters the utmost silence is preserved, and mere general and vague statements of the intentions of government left before the house.

9. The greatest abuses have arisen in the transfer of labourers to different masters. Mr. Hugon is constrained to admit the necessity of "preventing the transfer of men's services being a 'SALE,' by its being done with a *pecuniary profit!*" It appears on the authority of the same gentleman, that they have been worked under "orders conveyed to them through creole '*gardes de police*,'" armed for their work, and paid by the planters, and that by the too rigid discipline of most plantations, the Indian labourer is subjected, without the smallest advantage to the master (quite the contrary) to the obligation of being provided with a "billet de passe" to go beyond the boundary of the estate during out-of-work hours; a "tracasserie" to which an Indian has never been used in his own country. It is an abrogation of personal liberty to which he would never consent, and has not subscribed to, by merely engaging his services; if the ex-apprentices were exempted from it, the subjection of the Indian to it can never be defended." These are features of a system of slavery too palpable to be mistaken, and we have yet to learn by what means they will be destroyed.

10. The mortality on the passage and in the island has been appalling. Mr. Anderson declares it to be on the estates ten or eleven per cent per annum. He says, "early in 1836, the permission of the local government of Mauritius for the introduction of free labourers from India was obtained, under certain regulations, and by the commencement of 1839, about 25,000 were introduced."

How many had been previously imported cannot be accurately ascertained, and yet, this is his report on their present dreadfully diminished numbers. They "cannot amount to 18,000," and this diminished number is daily decreasing. How many more than the 7000, whose deaths are here recorded in less than four years, have perished we cannot tell. The lowest possible supposition increases the estimate to an awful extent. These are weighty considerations, demanding the closest and most scrutinizing attention, the opportunity for which has been carefully, and unhappily, with too much success, denied to the legislature.

The haste with which the decision of the "Extension of the Colonial Passengers' Bill to Mauritius" was taken, before these papers could have been examined by the members of the House of Commons, indicates an anxiety to thrust forward the measures, without regard to their propriety or otherwise, which makes us fear the result as pregnant with mischief,—which entitles us to protest against committing the parliament of Great Britain by tacit and implied consent to principles and measures they have not the full means of investigating with the minutest accuracy. We deprecate this attempt to thrust forward the projects of the Mauritius, and earnestly implore all our friends to appeal at once to their representatives, that no relaxation of the restrictions heretofore existing, may be allowed, till the fullest satisfaction on the subject of what a Mauritian officer denominates these "*horrid abuses*" be obtained.

GRENADA.—Colonel Doyle, lieutenant-governor of Grenada, has left on leave of absence for England, the Hon. Matthew Davies administering the government *pro tempore*. Before his Excellency's departure in the *Ranger* packet, respectful addresses were presented to him by both houses of the legislature.

ANTIGUA.—From Antigua and the adjacent islands we continue to receive the most gratifying accounts of the conduct of the peasantry

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 10TH.

THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE

Will commence its sittings at Freemasons' Hall, London, on the 12th of June, 1840. A book is prepared for entering the names and other particulars of the delegates who may be appointed by anti-slavery bodies, both at home and abroad. In a case of such singular interest and importance, the committee earnestly hope, and fully expect, that the friends of the cause in the United Kingdom will not be backward, either in the appointment of delegates, or in their attendance as delegates when appointed. It is particularly requested that all anti-slavery bodies will send an immediate *official notification* of the appointments which may be made by them, addressed to J. H. Tredgold, Esq., at the office of the Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

We are requested to state that a sub-committee has been appointed to assist such friends as may attend the conference in procuring suitable accommodation. Letters addressed to 27, New Broad Street will be attended to

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ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(From the Globe of June 6th.)

THIS assembly will commence its sittings on the 12th of this month. Delegates are already coming in from various quarters, and announcements of more, arrive every hour. America, the strongest hold of slavery, sends the greatest number of representatives. This is as it should be. Amongst the American delegates are the following: James Gillipsie Birnie, Esq., of New York, Counsellor at law, a native of Kentucky, (a slave state), and formerly a holder of slaves, whom, on embracing the principles of abolition, he immediately emancipated, at the sacrifice of many thousand dollars; such a man gives proof that he is in earnest. Henry B. Stanton, Esq., of New York, the secretary of the American Anti-slavery Society. James Deane, Esq., late professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the university of Vermont. Colonel Miller, a member of the State legislature, who during the Greek revolution carried the contributions of his country, and gave his own services to the assistance of the Greeks. George Bradburne, Esq., of Nantucket, Massachussets, member of the State legislature. James Mott, Esq., a member of the society of Friends from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Rev. E. Galusha. The Rev. Nathaniel Colven, pastor of the first Baptist church in Boston that admitted coloured men to sit down among whites, whilst they worshipped God; this example the other Baptist churches are silently and quietly following. Messrs. Dawes and Keep, from the Oberlin Institute, one of the most remarkable institutions of modern times. From Jamaica there have arrived the devoted and truly heroic William Knibb, the Baptist missionary, and W. W. Anderson, Esq., a member of the legislature of that island. From Barbados, S. J. Prescod, Esq., a gentleman of firm anti-slavery principles, and editor of a liberal newspaper there. From every part of the United Kingdom the friends of the negro are coming in a noble phalanx. France is sending some distinguished advocates of liberty, who, with like generous spirits from other European countries, will assist to carry on this peaceful and noble enterprise.

Our readers will be glad to know, that in addition to the above and many other foreign delegates to the convention which will commence its sittings on Friday next, representatives from Anti-slavery friends in the following places, among others, have been appointed—Aberdeen, Alton, Belfast, Boston, Banbury, Bradford Yorkshire, Bristol, Bath, Birmingham, Brighton, Brompton, Bernard Castle, Bridgewater, Chatham, Cirencester, Colchester, Carlisle, Chelmsford, Durham, Darlington, Devizes, Dublin, Doncaster, Derby, Edinburgh, Exeter, Farnham, Fenwick, Ayrshire, Glasgow, Gloucester, Hitchin, Hereford, Horncastle, Herts and South Beds, Ipswich, Kendal, Kingsbridge, Kettering, Leeds, Leighton Buzzard, Liverpool, Leicester, Lewes, Louth, Leominster, Margate, Manchester, Maidstone, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nottingham, Norfolk, and Norwich, Oxford, Pontefract, Paisley, Rochester, Ross, Staines, Salisbury, Street and Glastonbury, Swansea, Staffordshire, Sheffield, Strood, Stroud, Southampton, St. Ives Roxton, Stockton, Spilsby, Tewkesbury, Taunton, Truro, Worcester, Witham, Whitehaven, Woodbridge, Wisbeach, Wellingborough and York.

We trust it will not be too much to ask that each delegate will be kind enough TO APPLY PERSONALLY at the office of the society, 27, New Broad-street, for his card of admission, not later than Thursday evening, it being desirable that he should subscribe his name and address, both in town while he remains, and in the country—in a book provided for that purpose. The observance of two or three simple regulations which the committee have deemed it right to make, will ensure regularity and convenience in all meetings of the convention; these regulations, therefore, the committee have to request all their friends kindly to observe.

M. Isambert, in a letter of the 5th instant, to Mr. Tredgold, says, "I have not yet obtained leave of absence from the court of Cassation. Nevertheless, I would rather immolate myself than leave my country unrepresented at your solemn abolitionist convention. I hope to have some friends with me."

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BARBADOS.

OUR accounts from this island are of a painfully interesting character, and call for the immediate attention and active interference of the friends of the negro in this country. They clearly indicate the wilfulness of the colonial despots, and embody evidence which leaves it no longer questionable that the aim of the Barbados planters, encouraged and supported by Sir Evan MacGregor, is to destroy the proper fruitfulness of the abolition measure, to rob the poor negro of so much as they can of the liberty we have purchased for him, and to rivet again on his limbs the fetters of a soul-destroying slavery. This has all along been the aim of the planters in our colonies, since the first passing of the abolition act, by parliament, in 1833. It has been manifested in their conduct as a proprietary body towards their labourers, and as legislators, in the spirit and tendency of their acts. In none of the colonies, Jamaica not excepted, has it been carried to greater length than in Barbados; and the unblushing effrontery with which it now rears itself there, making open inroads upon even those social rights which tyranny in every age has respected, will find no parallel even in Jamaica.

Some of our readers may not be cognizant of the fact, that Barbados has an abundant, if not (as some assert) a superabundant, population, and that the price of labour is consequently low—but barely equal to the support of the labourer. Previously to the abolition of slavery, the negros of Barbados were frequently sold by their masters to the planters of Demerara and Trinidad, in both which places labour has always been scarce and dear. If the planters did not anticipate, as one of the consequences of emancipation, that labour, when free, would naturally flow to those places which paid best for it, it must have been because of their belief that the free negro would not work at all. If he did consent to work, he would certainly carry his labour to the best market; and the planters of Demerara and Trinidad were so convinced of this, and so little doubtful of the free negro's intention to work, that they lost no time in appointing agents to engage his services. But so great is the attachment of the negro to the place of his birth, and so contented in general with his little, if suffered to enjoy it in quiet, that the mere offer of higher wages in Demerara and Trinidad was insufficient to induce him to emigrate. What that offer wanted in efficacy was, however, made up by the conduct of the Barbados planters, from whose injustice and inhumanity, emigration afforded a ready, and indeed, the only means of escape.

"It is well known here," says our friend Mr. Prescod, in a private letter on this subject, "that I am not an advocate of emigration; and, until the present movement of the planters, I have endeavoured as much as possible to keep myself clear of it. It is better, I think, for the people to remain here, if suffered to remain in quiet enjoyment of their own, then go to Demerara or even Trinidad to earn thrice their present amount of wages; and I *know* that they themselves are generally of this opinion. With very few exceptions, those who are emigrating are driven to it by the bad treatment—the numerous acts of oppression, and what in your country would be called fraud, to which they are subject on plantations, and from which emigration presents the only means of escape. It is for this reason, therefore, if for no other, that I would have, and will have, the undoubted right of the free labourer to remove from the island, not only acknowledged in theory, but unrestricted in fact. In the peculiar circumstances of the colony, and with the present disposition of the planters, the well being of the country no less than the particular interests of the labourers require this. As I had occasion to tell the solicitor-general at the private interview to which I have already referred, and again at the public meeting of the 23rd ultimo, emigration is with us what the cheap waste lands are in Jamaica and some of the other colonies—a safety valve for carrying off and dispersing those popular discontents, which, pent up in the colony, would endanger the peace of society."

There can be no doubt that it is the interest of the Barbados planters to prevent this emigration, not only to preserve labour cheap in the island, but also to enable them to maintain what is called "their authority" over the people,—in other words, to perpetuate every sort of abuse. It were needless to enumerate, in this place, all the unjustifiable means resorted to for this purpose:—to show that the labourer, about to emigrate, had been legally required, out of his small earnings, to make "satisfactory provision," (planter-magistrates and planter-church-wardens being the parties to be satisfied,) for his aged, slavery-worn, and infirm grandfathers and grandmothers, father and mother, in addition to his wife and children; that he had been called upon to prove the negative, viz., that he had no such destitute relations to leave behind him, a burthen to the parish; that a certificate of baptism had been demanded of him; and that, in short, whatever amount of delay and obstruction the magistrates, the church-wardens, and other interested officials might choose to impose, had been imposed. Suffice it to say, that the planters, finding these restrictions insufficient to prevent emigration altogether,—that some of the people were still able, with the assistance of their friends, to overcome these obstructions and escape from their iron grasp;—the planters finding this, and apparently driven to desperation, have summed up their aggressions on the liberty of the people, in an act to punish with fine and imprisonment any one who shall be found advising or assisting a "labourer or artificer to go out of the island to any other colony or place." This precious piece of colonial legislation, we extracted at length from the *Times* newspaper, in the *Reporter* of the 6th ultimo, to which the reader is referred.

We cannot trust ourselves to comment either on the unblushing effrontery of the Barbados assembly in passing this act, or on the unprincipled, time-serving policy of the governor who could give his assent to it. The following observations, extracted from a circular letter of our indefatigable co-labourer, Mr. Prescod, addressed "to the freemen of Barbados," and published in the colony shortly after the passing of the act, will supply our deficiency, and give a full length view of the tendencies of the act. The sentence which we have put in italics will be fully understood, on reference to the previously existing restrictions on emigration, already noticed in this article.

"I have shown," says Mr. Prescod, "in the commencement of this letter, that every free man has a right to go whithersoever he pleases;—to take himself and his family, his capital and his labour, to what country or place soever he pleases; and that to deprive him of this right is to make him a slave. Now, this is so clearly understood a right of every free man, and the possession and unrestricted exercise of it is so essential to his freedom, that even the planter legislators of Barbados dare not deny it to be a right of the free labourer of this island, nor openly and directly restrain him in the exercise of it. *But, taking advantage of his timid ignorance and extreme poverty, they just as effectually deprive him of it by prohibiting all persons, under severe penalties, from giving him any advice or assistance in the matter!* They admit that he has a right to go, if he chooses, and that it is just he should be allowed to go; but they make it highly criminal in any person to advise him about going, or to give him assistance to go, or to agree to find him employment in the place to which he is going! The law admits of no qualifications, no exceptions. The father may not advise or assist his son, being a labourer or artificer, 'to go out of the island to any other colony or place;' nor may the mother advise or assist her son or her daughter,—the husband, his wife,—the brother, his brother,—or any man or woman the nearest relation or the dearest friend! All such advice and assistance are made highly criminal by this law; and are punishable by a fine of fifty pounds or three months' imprisonment for the first offence, and by six months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for every subsequent one!

"If you have not yet read this iniquitous law for yourselves, my friends, you will perhaps think that I am hoaxing you! But get it and read it, and you will see that their is no hoax about it. For my own part, I am beginning to think that I am residing in one of the southern slave-holding states of America, and that the law is a law to prevent people from enticing away the miserable slaves of that state! I can scarcely be certain that I am in a British colony, under the government of a British officer! I tell you that this law would make us all slaves!—all except the planters, and those who have, with them, an interest in keeping the labour market full, and wages low. It takes from every other person in the island,—from every man, woman, and child, who have not an interest in keeping the labourer here against his will;—this law takes from every such man, woman, and child, the right of freely advising and assisting, on any occasion, a fellow-subject to do that which may be for his benefit, and which the law says he has a right to do, and it is just he should be allowed to do! It takes from every labourer and artificer the right of asking and receiving advice and assistance from his relations and friends, and of hiring himself to any person, 'to go out of this island to any other colony or place!' By this law, it will be scarcely possible even to give an opinion on the subject of emigration, without criminating one's self; for that opinion may be, at times, fairly construed into indirect advice!

Referring to the preamble of the act, and the reasons therein given for the passing of it, Mr. Prescod says:—

"And what do you think, my friends, is the reason given for passing this law? It is, that 'certain persons have been carrying on a traffic in labourers to emigrate from this island to other Colonies, such persons have by wicked devices endeavoured to dissatisfy the labourers with their state and condition, and they have greatly unsettled the minds of the labouring population by their false pretensions, and have practised great fraud and deception upon the labourers to prevail upon them to emigrate.' We are not told what those 'wicked devices,' those 'frauds and deceptions' are, but only that 'it is proper to provide against the ignorance and inexperience of the people being practised on by interested parties.' We may very well, however, infer what have been the 'wicked devices, great fraud and deception' practised by those parties, from the fact that, to get at and punish them, it was found necessary to prohibit, under severe penalties, one free man's advising or assisting another free man to do what the law admits the latter has a right to do! Are not those who pretend that this law is intended to guard the people against 'fraud and deception,' themselves practising 'fraud and deception' upon the people? Are not they the 'interested parties,' who, by bad laws and worse conduct, 'have dissatisfied the labourers with their state and condition, and have greatly unsettled the minds of the labouring population;' and who now, by 'false pretensions' and 'wicked devices,' would impose upon the people, and reduce us (all but themselves) to slavery—if we were fools enough to let them?"

The reader will see from this, how things are working in our colonies, and what amount of freedom the liberated negros are likely to enjoy, if left to the protection of such governors as Sir Evan MacGregor, against the daily aggressions and determined inroads of the planters. We will not say that, under an honest and efficient colonial government, his Excellency would not be suffered to discredit, a single day longer, the commission which he holds; we go further, and say, that under such a government,—a government determined to carry out in good faith, the principles of the abolition act, and taking proper measures to let this determination be seen,—such an outrage upon common sense, and social right, and British constitutional liberty, as the planters and Sir Evan MacGregor have committed in this act, would never have been committed.

If anything were wanted to complete the turpitude of Sir Evan's conduct in this affair, it would be found in his deliberate attempt to mislead the public judgment by writing and publishing a commentary, rather in commendation of the act, than in explanation of it, and in which its principles and tendency are carefully concealed or laboriously mis-stated. This, we hope, will not be overlooked by the colonial secretary. It is just possible that Sir Evan MacGregor might inconsiderately, in the hurry of business, have

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assented to the act, without having properly understood its tendency; but to set about deliberately and with labour to deceive the people whom he was bound to protect, into the belief that a law to enslave them was intended to do them good, will admit but of one opinion among honest people.

We are happy to observe that there co-exists with the liberal press of the colony, and no doubt called forth and sustained by that press, a growing spirit of liberty, from which we augur the most important results. Immediately on the passing of this infamous enactment, the committee of the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, very properly denounced it in a set of resolutions, which we publish as an advertisement* and a "numerous and respectable public meeting," at which Mr. Prescod presided as chairman, was held by requisition a few days after, and suitable resolutions adopted, which we subjoin to this article. The proceedings of the meeting are reported at length in the *Liberal* of 15th April.

There is one feature of Sir Evan MacGregor's general policy, which we would notice here, inasmuch as we find a manifestation of it in the papers before us. As often as the planters by their "bad laws and worse conduct" produce excitement and discontent among the people, his Excellency, most considerately, issues a commission to certain of said planters, or their accredited tools, to inquire and report on the causes of those discontents, &c. These, of course, always find every other cause but the true one; and it is scarcely possible that his Excellency should yet be in ignorance of this very obvious fact. In the instance before us, Messrs. Tinling, Sealy, Austin, and Cummins, were appointed by his Excellency to inquire into the causes of the "misunderstandings" which had "arisen between the labourers and their employers on certain estates in the parishes of Christ Church and St. George, in consequence of the introduction of the Contract Act." The report of these gentlemen is a very lengthy affair, and possesses all the usual characteristics of similar Barbadian documents. The emigration agents and the liberal press are charged with being the cause of all the differences—all the want of "harmony and good feeling"—that arise between the planters and their labourers; the former by tempting them with offers of high wages, and the latter by using its efforts "to unsettle the minds of the peasantry, and to keep up excitement among them, by representing their employers as tyrants, and the acts of the legislature, even when framed according to models sent from the mother-country, as grinding, oppressive, and dangerous to liberty." At the same time, the complaints of the labourers that they are harshly treated by their employers, and that they find it difficult to get their wages after having earned them,—these complaints are very candidly spoken of as "exparte statements," from which nothing is to be inferred to the detriment of planter character, or they are slightingly excused as no doubt resulting from "temporary embarrassment" and bad seasons. No doubt this is very comfortable, and a most ingenious way to get through difficulties—in Barbados; but if Sir Evan MacGregor and the planters of that misgoverned colony are yet to learn with what feelings these things are viewed by the people of this country—and particularly their reiterated denunciations of the liberal press, (the only protector, at this moment, of the liberated negro) we would assure him and them, that they find neither sympathy nor respect with any one class here; but are set down as the contemptible ravings of an unprincipled faction, who would fain be without any check to their abuse of power.

The following are the resolutions of the public meeting to which we have referred. We beg particular attention to the fifth, as containing the whole secret of the evil which now afflicts the colonies, with its remedy. Take from the hands of the little faction of slave-holders the exclusive power they enjoy, and fairly and equitably distribute it over the several classes qualified to exercise it, and we at once put an end to that system of abuse which now threatens ruin to the colonies.

Resolved, 1.—That it is essentially a part of the liberty of every free man, and consequently of every member of the community of this island, without exception, to carry himself, his capital, and his labour, to what country or place soever he pleases, and to take such counsel and enter into such arrangements with other parties for this purpose, as he pleases. And, that whilst it is the duty of the government of this and of every other country to protect, by proper laws, properly administered, all classes of the inhabitants against practices of fraud and deception, tending to injure them either in their persons or their properties, no estimate or opinion of the advantages or disadvantages to result to individuals, from their voluntary act of leaving the country, can be a valid and sufficient reason for interfering, otherwise than by advice, to restrain them in the exercise of their right to do so.

Resolved, 2.—That the third clause of the act recently passed by the legislature of this island, to amend two certain acts, previously in force, to regulate emigration from the island, interferes unnecessarily and oppressively with the said right of the people of this island, and, in the opinion of this meeting, is a wanton and mischievous infraction of their liberties as free British subjects.

Resolved, 3.—That whether emigration be injurious or not, and how great soever the amount of injury to those who voluntarily emigrate; and whether the parties engaged in directing such emigration be interested or disinterested, and guilty or not of evil practices to seduce persons into this voluntary act of emigration; are questions entirely distinct from, and not necessarily connected with, the subject before the meeting. For, were such evil practices and their injurious consequences to persons emigrating proved to demonstration, such proof would furnish no just or reasonable ground for a law to punish parties guilty of such practices, and to prevent such emigration, at the sacrifice of the liberty and rights of the people.

Resolved, 4.—That this meeting deeply regrets that his Excellency Sir Evan MacGregor, by giving his ready assent to an act so unconstitutional in its principles, so iniquitous in its tendency, and having obviously only the partial object of maintaining a full supply of labour, and a low price for the planting proprietors of the island, should himself have furnished to the great mass of the people indubitable evidence that whatever of confidence his daily professions of liberality and respect for their liberty and rights had disposed them to repose in his government, was misplaced. In the other branches of the legislature, the people cannot have been deceived, nor could any measure, however unjust and oppressive, emanating from those bodies, as at present constituted, give them the least surprise. But, for his own credit sake, they could scarcely have expected that a British officer representing her Majesty's government in this island, and, in particular, one professing the principles and sentiments which his Excellency has always professed, would have lent himself, and his authority, to the enactment of a law such as that referred to.

Resolved, 5.—That the people of this island cannot hope that their liberty and their rights will be respected and their weal promoted, so long as the legislative and administrative powers of the government are exclusively in the keeping and direction of the little distinct party who held them during the existence of slavery in the island, and who continues still to hold them. The passing of such a law as that referred to in the second of these resolutions, affords clear and indisputable proof of the existence of a disposition on the part of the said dominant party which cannot, with safety to the interests and peace of the country, be longer trusted with exclusive, and, for the most part, irresponsible power.

Resolved, 6.—That the well-being of the country requires that an address to her gracious Majesty the Queen, and petitions to the two houses of imperial parliament, be immediately prepared on the basis of the foregoing resolutions; calling their attention to the present very restricted enjoyment of the civil and political franchises, the exclusive and arbitrary character of the legislature, and the partial and defective administration of the laws. And that these petitions be entrusted to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for presentation, with an earnest request that their prayer be supported with the influence of the society.

Resolved, 7.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the committee of the Barbados Auxiliary British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, for its manly, zealous, and decided stand, taken at an early period on the subject before this meeting. And, that it is the opinion of the meeting, that, in thus manifesting the sincerity of its professions, and that the Auxiliary Society is really, in principle and in deed, and not merely in name, Anti-slavery, the committee has entitled itself to the respect and gratitude, the confidence and support, of the people of this island, as a proper guardian of their liberty and rights as free men.

On behalf of the Meeting,
SAMUEL J. PRESCOD.—Chairman

* We have been compelled to omit this and other articles for want of room.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

HILL COOLIES.

On Thursday last, June 4th, Lord John Russell brought forward his long pending motion for removing the restrictions imposed upon the transportation of the Hill Coolies of our eastern possessions to Mauritius.

His lordship in moving his clauses, said, that those clauses were intended to bring before the house the general question, as to whether, under any restrictions which might be devised, the prohibition now existing might be removed, in reference to the exportation or removal of Hill Coolies from India to Mauritius. He thought that the prohibition which had been imposed last year (looking to all the horrors which had accompanied the importation of Coolies) was the best measure which could have been resorted to, to remove the evil until further legislation should take place. But some time had now elapsed, and the question had caused much discussion, and he thought that the house would now be enabled to frame sufficiently stringent restrictions to prevent those gross abuses which had formerly been found to prevail. He thought it would be necessary in the first place, to take care that the agents to be appointed in India, should be so appointed by the governor-general of India, or by some other person holding superior authority in India, who (from their position) would not allow any of those abuses which had been complained of to take place again. In the next place, he held it to be absolutely necessary to maintain the principle of the order in council with respect to the colonies—namely, that when those persons arrived in the Mauritius, they should be free to make such contracts as they should think fit for their own benefit, for periods of one year, and no longer. He thought that there should be certain provisions made for the introduction of females as well as for the men, with a view to prevent the recurrence of those frightful scenes which had occurred, but which he hoped would not again take place in any future emigration. With restrictions of this kind, backed as they would be by orders in council, by instructions to the governor of Mauritius, by instructions from the Board of Control, and to the governor-general of India, he thought this emigration might be allowed. The clauses were very general, but he thought that the papers which were on the table were sufficient to show, that when these restrictions were placed in the hands of those who would be appointed by the English authorities, they would be duly carried into effect. He thought they might safely rely upon the conduct of those persons in whom it was intended to place the power of appointment. He thought that there was a great difference between allowing Hindoos from India to emigrate to the Mauritius, and allowing them to migrate to the West Indies, because there would always be a strong objection to introducing into the West Indies a new race, a third race of men—amongst the natives of the soil, men of totally distinct habits And they were to consider the comparative distance of India from the West Indies as compared to the Mauritius, and the difficulty, in the former case, of the Coolies being returned to their own country. He thought that these were sufficiently strong reasons for the prohibition of the importation of Coolies into our West Indian possessions. He must add that the papers which had last been presented to the house were sent home by the governor of the Mauritius, with his strong recommendation, that a committee of gentlemen, proprietors of estates in the-

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Mauritius, who entertained the wish to use free labourers (the Coolies) well, and to locate them comfortably, and to pay them good wages, had chosen Mr. Anderson, a gentleman who was well known, to make their case known to the government.

Sir EARDLY WILMOT, Mr. BERNAL, Mr. HOBHOUSE, Mr. C. BULLER, and other hon. members took part in the debate. We have room, however, for only the material parts of the debate.

Dr. LUSHINGTON deeply regretted the question had come in such a form before the house. It had been charged against the opponents of the introduction of Hill Coolies as labourers, that they were opposed to the introduction of all free labour into the colonies. That was not true, for one of the principles the opponents advocated was, that when there existed a want of labourers on one hand, and a superfluity of labourers on the other, the deficiency ought to be supplied on terms of mutual benefit. Again, it had been said the opponents were inimical to the sugar market; that they also disregarded the numerous petitions on the subject, and the high price of sugar which the consuming population were likely to be obliged to encounter. It was singular, however, that this outcry had arisen so soon. This deficiency had not yet become so alarming. There was as yet only a deficiency of one-tenth compared with last year, and thus there appeared no real grounds for assuming that the deficiency would be so great as to create inconvenience to the community. In answer to the remark that the deficiency of labour would create a still larger deficiency of produce, he had only to observe that all rational men must be agreed in the opinion, that it was a wise course to increase, as much as possible, the produce of sugar by the help of free labour. But the difficulty he had on the subject was from other and different considerations. As to the clauses, they were ostensibly to enable government to carry into effect the importation of Hill Coolies into the Mauritius. So far so good. But what he wanted to know was this—government had already made the experiment, the Indian government had tried all that lay in their power to prevent abuses, and government had been repeatedly told that the authority exerted to the utmost extent had utterly failed to repress abuses —(hear). From day to day, and hour to hour, men were kidnapped and sent away from India; he had the fact from a report, and from papers which he held, and this in addition, that when 250 individuals, from diseases, were found to be incapable of work, they were made one single shipment of, and all sunk, in spite of the opposition of the authorities—(hear, hear). He asked his right honourable friend if he was going to arm government with greater powers if he succeeded in carrying his resolution? There was a report, but government had never produced it.

Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE—The report never arrived.

Dr. LUSHINGTON—That was very extraordinary, for he found the report in the very paper he held.

Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE said there was another report.

Dr. LUSHINGTON—It had been asserted that he was arguing on a report never made or sent, but that a report was made he ascertained from the paper. The committee appointed to search into the subject had made a report, but that report had, as yet, not yet been produced. Now it was an important point to have this report. He wanted the report, because the report would enable him to see if the exportation which had taken place was neither deceptious nor oppressive. The house ought to be satisfied on that head before it proceeded further with the affair. The report on the subject, which had obtained publicity, was from a gentleman, who declared that the frauds which had been committed were beyond conception, and utterly beyond the power of the government to prevent. The noble lord might state, in defence of his plan for exporting labourers from the East Indies, that he would bring forward an effectual and perfect remedy against those frauds and that injustice which had hitherto taken place; but even if the noble lord did so, what was to become of the exportation from territories which did not belong to the British crown?

Sir J. HOBHOUSE—There is no prohibition now.

Dr. LUSHINGTON—What he intended to convey was, that there was no safeguard of any kind against fraud and injustice. He would now advert to the middle passage. What were the regulations? At present they were as stringent as possible, but yet they were baffled, and they afforded no real protection against wrong. He referred to past experience, and he wished to know what was the security the noble lord could offer for the enforcement of any one order in council he might obtain. He would defy contradiction of these facts. In 1810 we had the colony. In 1814 it was made a capital felony to import slaves. The report stated that out of the 30,000 slaves, 25,000 felonies had occurred. Subsequent to this, there was a registration, and it turned out the law had been so disregarded that of the total number of slaves, 30,000, there were 20,000 cases of fraud. In all the departments there existed fraud, and, with the exception of one officer, Sir Lionel Smith, no reliance was to be placed on any functionary. Justice was poisoned in the Mauritius from the top to the bottom. He (Dr. Lushington) presented a petition from some merchants, who declared they could not any longer carry on business if a better system of justice was not adopted in the Mauritius. What arose from this? Why, that make what ordinance the house pleased, in the present state of things in the Mauritius, it would become a mere dead letter, and would never be carried into effect. (Hear.) In page 36 of the letters relating to the Hill Coolies, it was asserted that the labourers were overworked, and were subjected to personal chastisement. (Hear.) In case of sickness culpable neglect was exercised. From what he had remarked, he hoped it would not be inferred that he was opposed to voluntary emigration. On the contrary, if an effectual system was brought forward, so as to prevent those evils which existed, he was entirely in favour of the principle. But look how emancipation worked in the West Indies. The so-called free labourers worked under the notice of a police inspector. Those manumitted men were slaves, to all intents and purposes. (Hear.) They could not leave their work or estate for even a short period without a ticket of leave. (Hear.) This was a mockery of freedom. And, though the munificent grant of £20,000,000 was destined to liberate the slaves, it was nothing less than a mockery and a fallacy to call them free labourers. (Hear.) He called attention to the mortality, which amounted to 8 or 9 per cent. yearly; this alone ought to serve to show that the present system was the worst which could be adopted. The practice which had prevailed tended to degrade human nature, and to destroy human peace and prosperity. Although, in a vast number of cases, it was clearly proved that contracts had been violated, yet not one instance could be brought forward of justice having been done. In the Mauritius there were 30,000 males imported into a population of 60,000—(hear). It had been asserted that the planters were in distress, and that they were decreasing their growth of sugar. Precisely the reverse was the case. In 1823 the produce was 93,000 hogsheads, and this year it was 612,000—(hear, hear). From this, argued he, there was no immediate necessity for the present measure, and that, in fact, it could not be carried into operation with justice to the other colonies—(hear). He wanted, however, to know what consequences were to follow—were the same evils as heretofore to exist? He wished to see the whole subject before the house. He wanted the regulations to be well considered by the house, and to be established by the house. He wanted the executive principle to be so applied as not to be a dead letter, but to be carried into execution in every quarter of the globe. He had no hesitation in declaring his firm belief that the present diminution of the sugar produce would be less from time to time. He wished to extend the comfort of sugar to all classes, provided, in so doing, the principle of slavery was not furthered under pretence of encouraging the system of free labour. With the exception of the governor going out, he knew of no individual connected with the Mauritius, in whom confidence could be placed. If additional powers were not conferred, the noble lord might make an order in council, but it would not be executed. If a better system were contained in the clauses than the one which now prevailed, he would have given them his support; but as in his judgment this was not the case, he must withhold his support from them.

On the division the numbers appeared,

For the motion.....79
Against it.....44
Majority .....—35

JAMAICA.—MR. J. J. GURNEY.

OUR attention has been called to a pamphlet, entitled, 'Conciliation, a Letter addressed to the Planters of Jamaica,'—an extract or two, from which we give in our present number. We shall have occasion to recur to it. After a few words on the duty of *every* one of the Queen's subjects, to abstain from all contravention of the law bestowing absolute freedom at once on those in bonds Mr. G. proceeds:—

"Now the very essence of slavery is compulsory labour.—I apprehend that I can make no mistake in asserting that all attempts to *compel* labour, be they weak, or be they stringent, be they temperate, or be they violent, are opposed to the true meaning and purpose of the act of emancipation, and to the principles of justice as they bear on the circumstances of the case.

"One of the methods which has been resorted to in this island, for compelling work, is the mixture of the question of tenure, with that of labour; and I am confident that a little calm reflection will serve to convince any man, that such a mixture is not only at variance with the common-place rules of political economy, but also with the rule of right. It is a system which classes under slavery, and is in its nature opposed to that law of liberty in which, I trust, we all now rejoice.

"Allow me to explain myself. A planter of Jamaica, at the close of the apprenticeship—the date of full freedom by law—finds himself in possession of a number of cottages and provision-grounds, occupied by certain freemen, who, I suppose, in such a case, might be regarded as tenants-at-will. Allowing some short interval for the almost inevitable temporary unsettlement, it must soon become evident that *something* is due to the planter, in return for such tenancy.—Now, what is that something, according to the universal principles which regulate the relations of landlord and tenant? Certainly not labour—much less a personal restriction to work on a particular spot—but a fair rent—such a rent as represents the true money value of the property tenanted.—This is the only *quid pro quo*, as I conceive, which justice can demand on the occasion.

"To require of the tenant the regular payment of such a rent, and *legally to eject*, in case of the non-payment of it, are neither of them proceedings to which any reasonable objection can be urged. But to require not merely that the tenant should pay rent, but that he should work on a certain estate, at a certain rate of wages, and for a certain number of days in the week, and to eject him if these latter provisions are not complied with—appears to me to be unjust in principle—a recurrence, as far as it goes, to the old system of slavery. *It is the compelling of labour by a penal infliction.*

"I presume that ejectments from tenements on the grounds now mentioned, cannot be legal; and it appears that the object has, in many cases, been effected by manual force. Cocoa nut and bread-fruit trees have been felled—cottages have been unroofed, and sometimes demolished—pigs have been shot—provision-grounds have been destroyed—the pleasant fruits of God's earth, uprooted by the rude hand of violence, or trodden under foot of oxen. I conceive that *such acts of spoliation are, in point of fact, nothing more or less than substitutes for the cart-whip.* Notorious as the facts are to which I have now alluded, I mention them, because necessary to be mentioned, and with no other than Christian feelings towards those who have perpetrated them."

Mr. Gurney supposes, what we wish were true, that the planters dislike this mode of compelling labour quite as much as he does. We fear that many of the highest and proudest of them are guilty of these deeds of wrong.

He proceeds:—

"Another method of compelling labour has been the arbitrary increase of rents, with distraint, imprisonment, and ejectment in the train, in case of their not being paid. A labourer on a certain estate is under an agreement with its manager, to pay two shillings sterling per week as rent for his house and ground. Some cause of dispute and dissatisfaction arises with regard to his labour, and the rent is immediately raised, by way of penal exaction, to twice, thrice, or four times the amount; or *strange to say*, it is demanded for his wife and each of his children respectively, as well as for himself. He of course is unable to pay it. Complaint is made against him by the overseer to some of the magistrates in the neighbourhood; the debt is adjudicated to be a valid one; his goods are distrained; and if there be a deficiency, in the amount thus levied, to pay the debt and the fees, he is imprisoned for ten days. But this is not

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all; after he has been discharged, the remainder of the debt still hangs over his head, and whenever his petty articles of comfort and convenience again accumulate, he may be exposed to another distraint. In case of his removing any of his goods to avoid the effect of this second seizure, he is liable as a fraudulent debtor to imprisonment, at the discretion of the magistrates, for any term not exceeding three months: and any members of his family who assist him in so doing, may be subjected to the same punishment. Now all this is monstrous. It is a screw of prodigious power, of which the obvious application is to *compel labour*, or in other words TO REDUCE FREE MEN, A SECOND TIME, TO SLAVERY.

THE LATE MEETING AT EXETER HALL.

From the *Morning Chronicle* of June 5th.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

SIR,—I think the public ought to be informed that the "African Civilization Society," which held their first meeting in Exeter-hall last Monday, is not in any way connected with the "British and Foreign Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World." The two societies are quite distinct and different in every respect.

I hope the public will also distinguish between the meeting, which was most anxious to hear Mr. O'Connell, and the professional committee, which had determined beforehand, to prevent him from obtaining a hearing.

The British and Foreign Anti-slavery society maintains "that so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect that the slave trade will be suppressed," and it therefore aims at the extinction of the slave trade by the extinction of slavery itself.

It is now in active co-operation with abolitionists in most parts of the world, and in furtherance of its great objects, in the spring of 1839, it invited the friends of abolition to a conference to be held in London on the 12th of the present month. Delegates to this convention, from various quarters, now arrive daily. The offices of the society are at 27, New Broad-street; but the Freemasons' Hall and committee rooms have long been engaged, for the accommodation of what an American poet has well styled "The World's Convention."

To recur for a moment to the late meeting, I would ask, is it to be borne that an old and consistent labourer in the Anti-slavery cause is to be set aside and insulted by bishops and other Tory partizans, who, all through the arduous struggle for freedom to the British slaves, ranged themselves invariably on the side of the slaveholder and his abettors in oppression?

I have been long engaged in the cause, and well remember that, when it was proposed to abolish the brutal practice of flogging women in our colonies, not one bishop could be prevailed upon to go and vote against that barbarous and unmanly practice.

I ardently hope the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society will pursue its course free from all the little motives of party men, and never relax its exertions, till the last vestige of these iniquitous distinctions of colour and caste shall be destroyed, which have so long cursed many of the fairest portions of the world.

AN OLD FRIEND TO AFRICA.

P. S. It is intended that the Convention shall conclude with one or more public meetings at Exeter-hall.

In the same paper we also find a letter from Mr. O'Connell, who was present at the above meeting, but was not called upon by the committee to take part in its proceedings. The meeting repeatedly called for him, but their wish was not to be gratified. We make room for a few sentences from Mr. O'Connell's letter:—

"I also attended the meeting, that Ireland might, in the presence of the illustrious Prince, be represented, at least by silent acquiescence, in the great work of annihilating slavery. I still think the voice of Ireland ought not to have been excluded from such a meeting. If I were not deemed a suitable advocate, some other, and a better, Irish advocate might have been selected. But I *do* say it was an occasion on which Ireland ought to have been represented, and her voice heard. The accents of that voice might be rude and uncouth, but her heart would have been upon her tongue, and, there would have been no hypocrisy in the ardour of her aspirations in the cause of liberty and religion.

"I therefore insist, on behalf of my despised, but, blessed be God! still undegraded country, that she has been wrongfully despoiled of her share in the glorious struggle. I proudly say that the anti-slavery cause is deeply indebted to Ireland.

"When that cause was first introduced by the venerable Clarkson, and afterwards taken up by the venerated Wilberforce, they made no way in parliament—that is, they were in continual minorities, until after the whigs came into office, in 1806; when the majority in favour of the abolition of the slave-trade was literally Irish, all the Irish in the house having voted for it. From that period until after the restoration of the whigs to power, in 1830, the emancipation of the negros stood still. It was opposed by every grade of tory administration. It was after that year, that the emancipation of the negros was carried, and on that occasion *all* the Irish members, no matter of what religious or political opinions, voted for the measure.

"I do, therefore, repeat that Ireland was treated ungratefully and insultingly, when she was excluded from her just participation in this effort of humanity. Truly we had as good a right to be heard as even your right rev. prelates, who never, I believe, voted for negro emancipation; or, as Sir Robert Peel, who, I am convinced, never voted for it, but on the contrary, belonged for more than twenty years to a party, and a party in power, that constantly opposed the striking off the negro's fetters, and would not even take the lash from the back of the negro female!!!

"The question is, whether so great, so sacred, so awful a cause can be safe in the hands of men, who, however high their titles and their dignities, cannot perceive how low, how grovelling—how, in short, ungenial to such a cause, must be the paltry littleness of sectarian, or national, or personal malignity. Are the managers fit to manage such a cause, when we find them playing off the dexterity of exhibiting to the illustrious Prince who filled the chair, the opposition would-be-premier—in the new character—a first-appearance in the character, of friend to the African race, and of leader in the cause of pure benevolence to coloured man? Fie upon it! oh, fie! It smells rank, and gives to the celestial glow of charity the dark hue of worldly policy and political craft.

"For my poor part, I can only say that the more so great a cause is mismanaged, the more do I feel it incumbent on me to use all my humble exertions to disembarrass it from its mistaken, misguided, and misguiding managers, and to give it a fair impetus before the honest and single-hearted portion of the British and Irish community. I bless God that there is still another Anti-Slavery Society in existence, in which the purest motives and the most untiring zeal ornament and strengthen the holy cause of universal emancipation. As a selected delegate of their really important convention, I trust that even I—scanty as my abilities may be—shall be found not a useless servant in the work of pure and permanent philanthropy."

TESTIMONY OF SIR C. T. METCALFE TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR LIONEL SMITH.

"In addition to the enthusiastic attachment of this class of the population, (the emancipated) Sir Lionel Smith carries with him, as far as I at present understand, the respect of all unbiassed persons who are sensible of the difficulties which he has had to contend with; and although a large class who conceive themselves to have been injured by his measures, are in a state of irritation against him, the time will, I have no doubt, come, when better feelings towards him will prevail amongst them, and his administration be remembered with the universal respect due to his honourable, upright, manly, and unflinching conduct.

Despatch of October 1st., from the Right Honourable C. T. Metcalfe, to the Marquis of Normanby.

Advertisements.

AT A MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held at 27, New Broad Street, on Friday, June 5th, 1840,

It was unanimously resolved,

"That this committee regard the decision of the government to relax the prohibition on the exportation of Indian labourers to the Mauritius, with the greatest regret and alarm.

"That they are surprised at the precipitancy with which this measure was pressed to a division in the House of Commons, last evening, before papers which were presented only a few days since, bearing directly upon the question, could receive that patient and careful attention, which their importance demanded.

"That the appalling facts recorded in these parliamentary documents, establish, beyond contradiction, the representations which have been made respecting the general severity of the treatment of, and the dreadful mortality among, those already imported. That they have no grounds for believing that the measures contemplated will have the effect of preventing the repetition of frauds, violence, and cruelty.

"That the stringent regulations issued by the governor-general of India, relating to the export of Coolies, subsequently confirmed by both houses of parliament, and by the government of this country, having completely failed, they feel bound by every consideration of humanity and justice, to condemn and protest against the course pursued by Her Majesty's government on a question of such vital importance.

J. H. TREDGOLD,
Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THEIR MISSIONARIES, and Sir C. T. Metcalfe's dispatch of OCT. 16th last, passed at a special meeting, JUNE 3rd, 1840.

That this committee having read and considered the dispatch of Sir C. T. Metcalfe, of the 16th of October last, cannot but express their surprise and extreme regret, that after having assumed the government of Jamaica less than three weeks, his Excellency should have allowed himself to cast such grave imputations on their missionaries as are contained in that document, in which they are described as a political party, and currency is given to the unfounded charge that the influence which they exercise is prejudicial to the peace and good order of the community.

That they feel it incumbent under a sense of what is due alike to their missionaries and to themselves, to avow their unabated confidence in the integrity of their beloved brethren their conviction that with prudence, diligence, and zeal, they have prosecuted the special duties of their mission, and that to their influence must in great measure be attributed, under God, the quiet manner in which the recent transition from slavery to freedom was effected, together with the subsequent exemplary conduct of the peasantry, and the present general prevalence of virtue and obedience to law.

That in adopting this view of the conduct of their honoured missionaries, the committee are amply sustained by the unsolicited and repeated testimonies of preceding governors, and especially by the following language of Sir Lionel Smith, in answer to their address presented to him on December 20th, 1839.

The ministers of your society in Jamaica have not only deserved well of the oppressed negros, but have been of the strongest support to her Majesty's government in that colony, by giving effect to those measures of amelioration which ultimately terminated in freedom.

It was my duty there to see that great measure, so dearly purchased, completed in all its objects; but it was the constant endeavour of the planters, notwithstanding compensation, to preserve to themselves the advantages of slavery.

The calumnies so industriously circulated by the planters against the ministers of your church have been proportioned to the good they have done in exposing oppression, and guiding the negros in their moral and religious improvement."

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 13.] WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY for the abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade throughout the world.

The ANNUAL MEETING of this Society is to be held in Exeter Hall, on Wednesday the 24th instant,

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX,

IN THE CHAIR.

The Meeting, it is expected, will be attended by many distinguished philanthropists from various parts of the world, who are to take part in the proceedings.

The doors of the Hall will be opened at Ten, and the chair will be taken at Eleven o'clock, precisely.

J. H. TREIDGOLD, Secretary.

Tickets of admission may be obtained on application to Messrs. Harvey and Darton, Gracechurch Street; Edmund Fry, Bishopsgate Street; Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly; J. Nisbet and Co., Berners Street; J. Clarke, 13, Moorgate Street; Joseph Sterry and Son, 156, High Street, Borough; and at the Society's Offices, 27, New Broad Street.

BRITIS AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CONVENTION—June 12th, 1834.

President.

THOMAS CLARKSON, ESQ.

Vice-Presidents.

W. T. BLAIR, ESQ. | J. G. BIRNEY, ESQ.
JOSEPH STURGE, ESQ. | R. K. GREVILLE, ESQ. L L. D.

Secretaries.

JOHN SCOBLE, ESQ. | REV. W. BEVAN.
HENRY B. STANTON, ESQ. | WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.
REV. THOMAS SCALES. | WILLIAM MORGAN, ESQ.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

	NAMES OF THE DELEGATES, &c.	FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATED.
1	Dr. S. Lushington. D.C.L.	Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
2	Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.	Ditto
3	William Allen, Esq.	Ditto
4	George Stacey, Esq.	Ditto
5	William Ball, Esq.	Ditto
6	Robert Forster, Esq.	Ditto
7	Josiah Conder, Esq.	Ditto
8	Richard Peek, Esq.	Ditto and delegate from Kingsbridge.
9	Robert Howard, Esq.	Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
10	Henry Tuckett, Esq.	Ditto
11	John Beaumont, Esq.	Ditto
12	George Bennet, Esq.	Ditto and delegate from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.
13	Josiah Forster, Esq.	Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
14	Rev. John Howard Hinton, A.M.	Ditto
15	Henry Sterry, Esq.	Ditto
16	Joseph Cooper, Esq.	Ditto
17	Stafford Allen, Esq.	Ditto
18	Richard Barrett, Esq.	Ditto
19	Samuel Gurney, Esq.	Ditto
20	Rev. John Woodwark.	Ditto and delegate from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.
21	Rev. John Young, A.M.	Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
22	William Taylor, Esq.	Ditto
23	Samuel Fox, Esq.	Ditto
24	Lewis Celeste Leceane, Esq.	Ditto
25	Robert Russell, Esq.	Ditto
26	Rev. Thomas Price, D.D.	Ditto
27	Jacob Post, Esq.	Ditto
28	George William Alexander, Esq.	Ditto (Treasurer)
29	John Harfield Tredgold, Esq.	Ditto (Honorary Secretary.)
30	Thomas Clarkson, Esq.	Honorary Corresponding Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
31	Joseph Sturge, Esq.	Ditto and delegate from Birmingham and Spanish Town & St. Katharine's, Jamaica.
32	Sir John E. Eardley Wilmot, Bart., M.P.	Hon. Cor. Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
33	Sir George Strickland, Bart., M.P.	Ditto
34	Joseph Pease, Jun. Esq., M.P.	Ditto and delegate from Darlington.
35	Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.	Honorary Corresponding Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
36	Rev. Joseph Ketley.	Demerara.
37	R. R. Madden, Esq. M.D.	Hon. Cor. Mem. and delegate from Dublin.
38	Rev. James Mirams.	from Berbice.
39	Rev. H. S. Seaborn.	„ Ditto
40	Rev. Giles Forward	„ Ditto
41	D. Turnbull, Esq.	Hon. Cor. Member.
42	Mons. S. Linstant,	
43	Mr. Justice Jeremie.	
44	J. H. Berguin, Esq.	Hon. Cor. Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
45	M. Dupois.	Ditto. Ditto.
46	Rev. R. Moffatt.	Ditto Ditto.
47	Rev. John Kennedy.	Aberdeen.
48	Thomas Hodgkin, Esq., M.D.	London. Isleworth. from the Aborigines
49	Edward Beck, Esq.	London. Protection
50	S. Bannister, Esq.	Ditto. Society.
51	Robert Bell, Esq.	Ditto
52	Rev. James Morgan.	Belfast.
53	James Standfield, Esq.	Ditto
54	Samuel J. Prescod, Esq.	Barbados.
55	Rev. Thomas Harwood Morgan.	Boston; King's Lynn; Bourn; Leake; Gosberton; and Lincolnshire Association of Baptist Churches.
56	Richard Edmonds, Esq.	Banbury.
57	Samuel Beesley, Esq.	Ditto
58	Caleb Clarke, Esq.	Ditto
59	William Bigg, Esq.	Ditto
60	Alfred Beesley, Esq.	Ditto
61	R. Goffe, Esq.	Ditto
62	Henry Martin, Esq.	Brompton.
63	William Busfield, Esq., M. P.	Bradford; York.
64	Ellis Cunliffe Lister, M. P.	Ditto
65	Rev. James Acworth, A. M.	Ditto
66	Rev. C. E. Birt.	Bristol.
67	Joseph Eaton, Esq.	Ditto
68	James Whitehorne, Esq.	Ditto and Jamaica.
69	Joseph Reynolds, Esq.	Bristol.
70	Rev. John Jackson,	Bath.
71	George Dillwyn, Esq.	Ditto
72	W. T. Blair, Esq.	Ditto
73	Captain C. R. Moorsom, R.N.	Birmingham.
74	Rev. Thomas Swan.	Ditto
75	William Boultbee, Esq.	Ditto
76	Rev. Thomas Morgan.	Ditto and Midland Baptist Association, and Pembrokeshire Baptist Association.
77	Richard Tapper Cadbury.	Birmingham.
78	Rev. T. M. M'Donnell.	Ditto

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	NAMES OF THE DELEGATES, &c.,	FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATED.
79	William Morgan, Esq.	Ditto, and corresponding Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
80	John Sturge, Esq.	Birmingham.
81	Rev. John Angell James.	Ditto and Jamaica.
82	Thomas Pinches, Esq.	Birmingham.
83	Sir T. W. Blomfield, Bart.	Brighton.
84	Isaac Bass, Esq.	Ditto.
85	Daniel Pryor Hack, Esq.	Ditto
86	Joseph Sams, Esq.	Barnard Castle.
87	Rev. William James.	Bridgewater.
88	Francis J. Thompson, Esq.	Ditto
89	Rev. W. G. Lewis.	Chatham.
90	Rev. P. Thompson.	Ditto
91	Joseph Young, Esq.	Ditto
92	Rev. H. T. Austen.	Colchester.
93	Thomas Catchpool, Esq.	Ditto
94	John A. Fullarton, Esq.	Congregational Union of Scotland.
95	Rev. William Lindsay Alexander.	Ditto and Edinburgh.
96	Rev. Thomas Pullar.	Congregational Union of Scotland and Glasgow.
97	Rev. Daniel White.	Cirencester.
98	John Dixon, Esq. (Mayor)	Carlisle.
99	George Head Head, Esq.	Ditto
100	Thomas Sheffield, Esq.	Ditto
101	Joseph Ferguson, Esq.	Ditto
102	John Little, Esq.	Ditto
103	Captain Wauchope, R.N.	Ditto
104	Rev. Joseph Gray.	Chelmsford.
105	Joseph Marriage, Jun., Esq.	Ditto
106	Charles S. Gray, Esq.	Ditto
107	John Copland, Jun., Esq.	Ditto
108	William C. Wells, Esq.	Ditto
109	Rev. John Burnet.	Congregational Union of England and Wales.
110	J. B. Brown, Esq., LL.D.	Ditto
111	John R. Mills, Esq.	Ditto.
112	Rev. W. H. Murch, D.D.	Baptist Union and Frome.
113	Rev. Edward Steane	Baptist Union.
114	Rev. Charles Stovel	Ditto
115	Rev. Timothy Moore	Baptist Churches, of Shakspeare's Walk, and Little Prescot Street.
116	William Bowser, Esq.	Ditto Ditto
117	James Cunliffe, Esq.	Blackburn
118	Professor Johnstone.	University of Durham.
119	Jonathan Backhouse, Esq.	Darlington.
120	Joseph Pease, Sen., Esq.	Ditto
121	Henry Pease, Esq.	Ditto
122	Robert Longdon, Esq.	Derby.
123	William Williamson, Esq.	Ditto
124	John Steer, Esq.	Ditto
125	Rev. J. H. Johnson, M. A.	Devizes
126	Rev. Richard Elliott	Ditto
127	George W. Anstie, Esq.	Ditto
128	Daniel O'Connell, Esq. M P.	Dublin and Glasgow.
129	William Torrens M'Cullagh, Esq.	Dublin.
130	James H. Webb, Esq.	Ditto
131	James Haughton, Esq.	Ditto
132	Richard D. Webb, Esq.	Ditto
133	James Webb, Esq.	Ditto
134	Thomas Webb, Esq.	Ditto
135	Richard Allen, Esq.	Ditto
136	Rev. Samuel M'All	Doncaster.
137	Rev. Christopher Anderson	Edinburgh.
138	William Cairns, Esq.	Ditto
139	John Dunlop, Esq.	Ditto
140	R. K. Greville, Esq. LL.D.	Ditto
141	William Sommerville Esq.	Ditto
142	George Thompson, Esq.	Ditto and Glasgow.
143	John Wigham, Esq.	Glasgow.
144	William Lee, Esq.	Exeter.
145	Thomas Truslade Sparkes, Esq.	Ditto
146	William P. Paton, Esq.	Glasgow.
147	Robert Kettle, Esq.	Ditto
148	Henry Langland, Esq.	Ditto
149	Anthony M'Keand, Esq.	Ditto
150	William White Esq.	Ditto
151	Rev. Dr. Heugh	Ditto
152	Rev. John Graham	Ditto
153	Rev. William Anderson	Ditto
154	John Murray, Esq.	Ditto
155	William Smeal, Esq.	Ditto and Paisley.
156	James Francillon, Esq.	Gloucester.
157	Samuel Bowly, Esq.	Ditto
158	Rev. J. W. Wayne	Hitchin.
159	W. Langford, Esq.	Ditto
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162	Henry Lawson Esq.	Hereford.
163	John Benbow, Esq.	Ditto
164	Thomas Evans, Esq.	Hereford.
165	Rev. John Pain	Horncastle
166	Rev. William Upton	Associated Churches, Herts. and South Beds.
167	Rev. F. W. Gotch, A. B.	Do. do.
168	Rev. John Charlesworth, B. D.	Ipswich.
169	Rev. James Sprigg, A. M.	Ditto
170	R. D. Alexander, Esq.	Ditto
171	Shepherd Ray, Esq.	Ditto
172	Isaac Wilson, Esq.	Kendal.
173	William Dillworth Crewdson, Esq.	Ditto
174	Francis Fox, Esq.	Kingsbridge.
175	W. E. Forster, Esq.	Ditto
176	Rev. Thomas Scales	Leeds and Corresponding Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
177	N. P. Simes, Esq.	Leeds.
178	Robert Jowitt, Esq.	Ditto
179	William West, Esq.	Ditto
180	Edward Baines, Esq. M. P.	Ditto
181	John Dollin Bassett, Esq.	Leighton Buzzard
182	Rev. Edward Adey	Ditto
183	Isaac Hodgson, Esq.	Leicester.
184	John Ellis, Esq.	Ditto
185	Thomas Dicker, Esq.	Lewes.
186	Burword Godlee, Esq.	Ditto
187	John Cropper, Jun., Esq.	Liverpool & Corresponding Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
188	Alderman Thos. Bulley	Liverpool.
189	William Kay, Esq.	Ditto
190	Richard Rathbone, Esq.	Ditto
191	Rev. Fielding Ould	Ditto
192	Rev. William Bevan	Liverpool & Corresponding Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
193	Joseph Larder, Esq.	Louth.
194	Samuel Southall, Esq.	Leominster.
195	John Hamilton, Esq.	Margate.
196	George Fife Angas, Esq.	Newcastle on Tyne.
197	William Beaumont, Esq.	Ditto
198	Thomas Cargill, Esq.	Ditto
199	James Finlay, Esq.	Ditto & North Shields.
200	Michael Longridge, Esq.	Newcastle on Tyne.
201	William Maude, Esq.	Ditto
202	Jonathan Priestman, Esq.	Ditto
203	George Richardson, Esq.	Ditto
204	Samuel Fox, Esq.	Nottingham.
205	William Wilson, Esq.	Ditto
206	Rev. William Brock	Norfolk and Norwich.
207	William Forster, Esq.	Ditto
208	Thomas Bignold, Esq.	Ditto
209	Jeremiah Colman, Esq.	Ditto
210	Thomas Bartlett, Esq.	Baptist Church, Oxford.
211	Rev. B. Godwin	Ditto
212	Francis Barker, Esq.	Pontefract.
213	Edward Ross, Esq.	Rochester and Chatham.
214	Robert Styles, Esq.	Ditto
215	William Tatum, Esq.	Ditto
216	John Barfitt, Esq.	Salisbury.
217	Rev. Alexander Harvey	Relief Synod of Scotland.
218	Rev. Robert Govett,	Staines.
219	Rev. Rippon Porter,	Ditto.
220	Rev. Gregory Hawson,	Ditto.
221	Thomas Ashby, Jun. Esq.,	Ditto.
222	William Fairbank, Esq.,	Sheffield.
223	Edward Smith, Esq.,	Ditto.
224	Frederick Wheeler, Esq.,	Rochester, & Chatham.
225	Samuel Wheeler, Esq.,	Ditto. Ditto.
226	W. C. Horsnaill, Esq.,	Ditto. Ditto.
227	Henry Wyatt, Esq.,	Stroud.
228	A. R. Fewster, Esq.,	Ditto.
229	Joseph Clark, Esq.,	Southampton.
230	George Laishley, Esq.,	Ditto.
231	Joseph Metford, Esq.,	Ditto.
232	Edward Palk, Esq.,	Ditto.
233	Rev. Bourne Hall Draper,	Ditto.
234	Thomas Dennis Paul, Esq.	St. Ives, Herts.
235	Joseph Goodman, Esq.,	Ditto.
236	Potto Brown, Esq.,	Ditto.
237	Chas. James Metcalfe, Jun., Esq.,	St. Neot's.
238	Frederick Backhouse, Esq.,	Stockton-on-Tees.
239	William Bayley, Esq.	Ditto
240	Henry Holland, Esq.	Spilsby.
241	Rev. Jesse Hewitt,	Tewkesbury.
242	Rev. James Cottle,	Taunton.
243	John Young, Esq.,	Ditto
244	John Budge, Esq.,	Truro.
245	Rev. Enoch Williams, M.A.,	Worcester.
246	Edward Evans, Esq.,	Ditto.
247	Stanley Pumphrey, Esq.,	Ditto.

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250	Thomas Butler, Esq.,	Ditto.
251	Jacob H. Pattisson, Esq.,	Ditto.
252	Joseph Miller, Esq.,	Whitehaven.
253	Rev. Hugh Anderson,	Ditto.
254	Rev. John Graham,	York.
255	Samuel Tuke, Esq.,	Ditto.
256	Joseph Johnson, Esq.,	Farnham.
257	Francis B. Beamish, Esq., M.P.	Cork.
258	William Martin, Esq.	Ditto.
259	Honble. J. T. Norton,	Connecticut, U.S.A.
260	Professor William Adam,	Massachussetts, U. S. A.
261	James Canning Fuller, Esq.,	New York State.
262	Gerrit Smith, Esq.,	Ditto.
263	T. S. Wright, Esq.,	Ditto.
264	A. Stewart, Esq.,	Ditto.
265	B. Green, Esq.,	Ditto.
266	J. McCune Smith, Esq.,	Ditto.
267	Rev. Elon Galusha,	Baptist Convention, America.
268	Rev. Cyrus Pitt Grosvenor,	Ditto.
269	Rev. Nathaniel Colver,	Ditto and Massachusetts Abolition Society.
270	Col. Jonathan P. Miller,	Vermont.
271	Professor James Dean,	Ditto.
272	James G. Birney, Esq.,	Amer. Anti-Slavery Society and New York
273	Henry B. Stanton,	ditto.
274	Dr. Thomas Rolph,	Upper Canada.
275	Rev. Wm. Knibb,	Baptist Western Union, Jamaica.
276	Mr. Edward Barrett,	Ditto.
277	Mr. Henry Beckford,	Ditto.
278	Wm. Wemyss Anderson, Esq.,	Kingston & St. Katherine's, Jamaica.
279	Captain Charles Stuart,	Jamaica Anti-Slavery Society.
280	Rev. John Clarke,	Kingston & St. Katherine's, Jamaica, and Berwick-on-Tweed.
281	Abraham Crowley, Esq.,	Alton.
282	Wm. Curtis, Jun., Esq.,	Ditto.
283	Stephen Unwin, Esq.,	Coggeshall, Kelvedon and Colne.
284	Samuel King, Esq.,	Cork.
285	Wm. Connell, Esq.,	Ditto.
286	Arthur Atkins, Esq.,	Coventry.
287	Norton S. Townshend, Esq., M.D.	Anti-Slavery Society, State of Ohio.
288	Dr. John Bowring,	Exeter.
289	Wm. Robinson, Esq.,	Kettering.
290	John G. Whittier, Esq.	Eastern Pennsylvania.
291	James Mott, Esq.*	Ditto.
292	Rev. H. Grew,	Ditto, and Amer. Free Produce Society.
293	J. Motley, Esq.,	Street and Glastonbury.
294	Geo. H. Stuart, Esq.,	Philadelphia.
295	Geo. Bradburn, Esq.,	Massachussetts.
296	J. D. Burder, Esq.,	Braintree.
297	Joseph Balfour, Esq.	Ditto.
298	Rev. John Jefferson,	Stoke Newington.
299	Cornelius Hanbury, Esq.,	
300	Bayley Kingdon, Esq.,	
301	Robert R. R. Moore, Esq., B.A.,	Dublin.
302	Robert Grahame, Esq.,	Glasgow.
303	Thomas Grahame, Esq.,	Ditto.
304	George Thorburn, Esq.,	Ditto.
305	Hugh Brown, Esq.,	Ditto.
306	Walter Buchanan, Esq.,	Ditto.
307	Francis C. Brown, Esq.,	Ditto.
308	Alexander Johnstone, Esq.,	Ditto.
309	James Hutcheson, Esq.,	Ditto.
310	Henry Dunlop, Esq.,	Ditto.
311	John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P.	Ditto.
312	James Oswald, Esq. M.P.	Ditto
313	Rev. John Birt.	Manchester and Salford.
314	Rev. John Waddington.	Ditto
315	Isaac Crewdson, Esq.	Ditto
316	Joseph Crewdson, Esq.	Ditto
317	Peter Clare, Esq.	Ditto
318	Thomas P. Bunting, Esq.	Ditto
319	William Brand, Esq.	Paisley.
320	Nathaniel Morgan, Esq.	Ross.
321	Rev. William Jones.	Swansea.
322	Joseph T. Price, Esq.	Ditto
323	Rev. Dr. Matheson.	Staffordshire Association of Congregational Ministers.
324	Rev. Charles Edwards Lester,	Bleeker Street Church, Utica, U.S.A.
325	Rev. R. J. King, B.A.	Wisbeach.
326	Henry Leach, Esq.	Ditto
327	William Holmes, Esq.	Ditto

* Erroneously stated in a former number to be a member of the Society of Friends.

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328	Herbert Beaver, Esq.	
329	R. H. Schomburgh, Esq.	
330	Isaac Winslow, Esq.	Massachussetts.
331	W. H. Ashurst, Esq.	Darlington.
332	Mr. Commissary Wemyss,	Edinburgh.
333	John Fulton, Esq.	Fenwick.
334	Edward Briggs, Esq.	Maidstone.
335	Richard Moorsom, Esq.	Ditto
336	Matthew Shepperson.	Bungay.
337	Charles Hill, Esq.	Wellingborough.
338	William Bearn, Esq.	Ditto
339	Edward Baldwin, Esq.	Dublin.
340	Andrew White, Esq., M.P.	Sunderland.
341	Rev. James Hoby, D.D.	Aberdeen.
342	Alexander M'Donald, Esq.	Ditto.
343	Rev. H. H. Dobney.	Bucks Association of Baptist Churches.
344	Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D. LL.D.	Mare Street Chapel Congregation.
345	Henry Gamble, Esq.	Ditto
346	John Middleton Hare, Esq.	Ditto
347	Rev. William Groser.	West Kent and Sussex Association of Baptist Churches.
348	Rev. P. J. Saffery.	Ditto Ditto.
349	William Pryor Read, Esq.	Maldon.
350	Francis Donaldson, Esq.	
351	Richard Davison, Esq.	Newark.
352	John Scoble, Esq.	Ditto
353	William Foster, Esq.	Westerham.
354	John Gibbard, Esq.	Ditto
355	Henry George, Esq.	Ditto
356	John Edgar, Esq.	Ditto
357	Robert Douglas, Jun. Esq.	Philadelphia.
358	William Lloyd Garrison, Esq.	Massachussetts.
359	Wendell Phillips, Esq.	Ditto
360	Henry G. Chapman, Esq.	Ditto
361	John T. Hilton, Esq.	Ditto
362	Ellis Gray Loring, Esq.	Ditto
363	Francis Jackson, Esq.	Ditto
364	Samuel Philbrick, Esq.	Ditto
365	Andrew Robeson, Esq.	Ditto
366	Samuel Rodman, Esq.	Ditto
367	Rev. Samuel J. May,	Ditto
368	Seth Sprague, Esq.	Ditto
369	George P. Davis, Esq.	Ditto
370	Nathaniel Barney, Esq.	Ditto
371	Benjamin B. Wiffen, Esq.	Woburn, Beds.
372	David Lee Child, Esq.	Massachussetts.
373	William Bassett, Esq.,	Ditto.
374	Amos Farnsworth, Esq.,	Ditto.
375	J. N. Barbour, Esq.	Ditto.
376	N. B. Border, Esq.,	Ditto.
377	John Smith, Esq.,	Ditto.
378	David Shaw, Esq.,	Huddersfield.
379	Rev. George Evans,	London Itinerant Society.
380	Thomas Livesey, Esq.,	Ditto.
381	Sir C. E. Smith, Bart.,	Corresponding Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
382	Richard Musgrave, Esq.	
383	Zinna Hyde, Esq.,	Bath, Maine, U. S. A.
384	Henry Crowley, Esq.,	Alton.
385	William Bowly, Esq.,	Cirencester.
386	Thomas Sheppard, Esq., M.P.,	Frome.
387	John Ridley, Esq.,	Ipswich.
388	Rev. J. Bennett,	Northampton.
389	A. V. Hittie,	Mauritius.
390	John Wilkinson, Esq.,	Whitehaven.
391	Rev. Charles Darkin,	Oxford Association of Baptist Churches.
392	Rev. Manoah Kent,	Shropshire do. do.
393	Monsieur Claude Faure,	
394	Dr. F. Tritten,	
395	William Leatham, Esq.,	Wakefield.
396	William Henry Leatham, Esq.,	Ditto.
397	Charles James Metcalfe, Sen. Esq.	St. Neots.
398	—— Jukes, Esq.,	Ditto.
399	Jeremiah Spencer, Esq.,	Cockermouth.
400	Rev. J. H. Muir,	Spalding.
401	Joseph Rutter, Esq.	Uxbridge.
402	Isaac Braithwaite, Esq.,	Kendal.
403	Hon. Seth Sprague,	Massachusetts.
404	Edward S. Tobey, Esq.,	U. S. A. Abolition Society.
405	Edward A. Crouch, Esq.,	Penzance.
406	Thomas Fisher, Esq., M.D.,	Dublin.
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408	William Brown, Jun., Esq.,	North Shields.
409		
410	Thomas T. Clarke, Esq.,	Uxbridge.
411	Sir W. S. Wiseman, Bart.,	Ditto.
412	Peter Bedford, Esq.,	Croydon.
413	Henry Aggs, Esq.,	Ditto.
414	S. H. Lucas, Esq.,	Ditto.
415	Richard Sterry, Esq.,	Ditto.
416	James Clements, Esq.,	Bishop Stortford.

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420	Captain Dougall, R.N.,	Montrose.
421	George Gull, Esq.,	Ditto.
422	Rev. Thomas Binney,	Congregational Ministers and Churches, Isle of Wight.
423	James Midgeley, Esq.,	Rochdale.
424	Dr. George K. Prince, (of Jamaica,)	Chesterfield.
425	Rev. John Keep,	Ohio, U.S.A.
426	William Dawes, Esq.,	Ditto.
427	Rev. J. K. Holland,	St. Ives.
428	Joshua Wilson, Esq.,	Congregational Union of England and Wales.
429	J. F. Walters, Esq., M. D.	
430	Mark Moore, Esq.,	Glasgow
431	Senor Luis de Usosy Rio,	Madrid
432	Robert Crewdson, Esq.,	Manchester.
433	B. R. Haydon, Esq.,	
434	Thomas Spencer, Esq.,	
435	Rev. Jonah Reeve,	Wigton.
436	William M'Murray, Esq.,	Edinburgh.
437	Robert Barclay Fox, Esq.,	Falmouth.
438	Rev. William Gray,	Northampton Baptist Association.
439	John C. Gotch, Esq.,	Ditto
440	George Cave, Esq.,	Ditto
441	Richard Darby, Esq.,	Colebrook Dale
442	William Struthers, Esq.,	United Associate Synod. of Scotland.
443	Richard Sorton Darby, Esq.,	Colebrook Dale
444	James Oliver, Esq.,	Ditto
445	John Burtt, Esq.,	Sutton in Ashfield
446	Rev. G. B. Kidd,	Macclesfield Congregational Churches.
447	Rev. Edmund Hull,	Watford Congregational Church.
448	Isaac Stickney, Esq.,	Scarborough.
449	William Brooks, Esq.,	
450	Lieut. Charles Lapidge, R. N.,	
451	Lieut. Charles Fitzgerald, R. N.,	
452	M. M. Isambert, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Judge of the Court of Cassation, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, Secretary of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery.	Paris.
453	MM. Alcide Lauré, Member of the French Society,	Paris.
454	Senor de Sismonde,	
455	Rev. W. F. Poile,	Baptist Church, Keppel Street.
456	John Jowitt, Jun., Esq.	Leeds.
457	John Whitwell, Esq.	Kendal.
458	J. J. Wilson, Esq.	Ditto
459	Edward Crewdson, Esq.	Ditto
460	Abraham Beaumont, Esq.	
461	Rev. James Carlile	Bradford, Wilts.
462	Rev. Charles Ingle, A. M.	Osbaldwick.
463	Colonel Campbell	
464	Arthur T. Holroyd, Esq.	
465	Edward N. Buxton, Esq.	Weymouth
466	Rev. J. M. Trewell, Esq.	Ditto
467	Captain Cook	Ditto
468	R. J. Mackintosh, Esq.	
469	Captain Washington, R. N.	
470	Robert M'Curdy, Esq.	Temperance Anti-Slavery Society.
471	William Oxley, Esq., M. D.	Ditto ditto.
472	Isaac Lloyd, Esq.	Dorchester
473	Josiah Messer, Esq.	Tottenham
474	Thomas Thompson, Esq.,	Taunton.
476	Peter John Bassett, Esq.,	Corresponding Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
476	Joseph Phelps Robinson, Esq.,	Dublin.
477	Joseph S. Brown, Esq.,	Isleworth.
478	Robert Stock, Esq.,	Baptist Church, Keppel Street.
479	David Allan, Esq.,	United Associate Synod of Scotland.
480	John Crosfield, Esq.,	Liverpool.
481	Rev. John Campbell,	Tabernacle & Tottenham Court Road Chapels.
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483	Rev. M. Davis,	Haverfordwest.
484	M M. de St. Authoine,	Paris.
486	M M. Cordier, Member of the Chamber of Deputies.	Ditto.
486	Rev. James Atkins,	Northampton.

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487	Sir Chas. Style, M.P.,	
488	William Ewart, Esq., M.P.,	
489	J. Brotherton, M.P.,	Manchester and Salford.
490	Rev. James Edwards,	Brighton.
491	Charles Fox, Esq.,	
492	Rev. J. Burton,	Falmouth, Jamaica.
493	Thomas Wilson,	Kendall.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12th, 1840.

THE convention pursuant to announcement, commenced its sittings at Freemason's Hall, this morning. The internal arrangement of the Hall was most judicious, and reflected the highest credit on the committee to whom it was confided. A few minutes before eleven o'clock, the body of the hall was fully occupied with the delegates, the attendance of whom was very numerous; while the upper end and one side of it were appropriate to ladies, a considerable number of whom were present, and among whom several female abolitionists from the United States were conspicuous.

W. T. BLAIR, Esq. (of Bath) rose and said, Our venerable friend—Thomas Clarkson Esq. will shortly enter the room. I am requested to suggest, in consideration of the infirm state of his health, that there would be no feeling of popular approbation on his entrance. Perhaps the most acceptable way in which he can be received, will be by the company standing.

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq. then entered the room, leaning on the arms of W. D. Crewdson, Esq. and J. Sturge, Esq. and accompanied by his daughter-in-law and grandson.

WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq. said, I have been requested by the committee to propose to this numerous and respectable assembly, that our venerable and venerated friend, Thomas Clarkson, Esq., be chairman of this convention.

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq. (of New York) seconded the motion, which was put and agreed to, after a short pause of silence.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq. then rose and said, Those who have known our dear friend who sits in the chair only by the unimpaired vigour and intellect which he exhibited in the cause of the negro in former years, can little estimate his present bodily infirmities. But it was the earnest, the unanimous wish of the committee, that he should be present on this interesting occasion, and preside over us. I am sure it is only those who are acquainted with the indisposition he has suffered for the last few years, who can duly feel the cause we have for gratitude, that we are favoured to have him amongst us, even for a short period, now that he has arrived at upwards of eighty years of age. On the last occasion on which he appeared in public, except the one when he received in Guildhall the freedom of the City of London, he was so overcome by the heat of the room, and the applause of the audience, that he was unable to proceed with his address. But I hope the kind and delicate manner in which our friends have avoided all expressions of approbation, will prevent him suffering from the same source on this occasion. He will feel that he is surrounded by his friends. The committee who have had the management of the meeting, were particularly anxious to afford every warm friend of the cause, an opportunity of being present at this convention; nevertheless they have found it necessary to be very particular in adhering to the rule by which they issued the tickets, lest they should give offence. But I am sure they will not be accused of improper partiality, in having made an exception in one or two particular cases at the request of the chairman. I allude to one exception, for the purpose of introducing to the meeting my young friend who stands beside me, and who is the only living representative of our venerable chairman who bears his name. I hope I shall not be wounding, in the slightest degree, the delicacy of his widowed mother, in saying, that it is the dearest wish of her heart that her beloved and darling child should devote his life to the cause in which our dear friend has now worked for more than half a century. It is an interesting fact, which I did not know till last night, that this is the birth-day of the youthful Thomas Clarkson, who is now nine years of age. I believe that in venturing to give expression to the prayer of my heart that the blessing of God may rest upon him, and that with the descent of the mantle of his venerable and venerated ancestor, a double portion of his spirit may rest upon him, it will be responded to by my friends who surround me. When many of us are removed to that bourne, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest, and where the distinctions of clime and colour will be swept away for ever, may he see that the Divine blessing has rested upon our exertions, and behold that happy day when the sun shall cease to rise upon a tyrant, or set upon a slave!

The venerable chairman then rose and said, my dear friends I stand before you as a humble individual whose life has been most intimately connected with the subject which you are met this day to consider. I was formerly *under providence* the *originator*, and am now unhappily the only surviving member, of the committee which was first instituted in this country in the year 1787, for the abolition of the slave-trade. My dear friend and fellow labourer, Mr. Wilberforce, who was one of them, is, as you know, dead; and here I may say of him, that there never was a man either dead or living to whom your cause was more indebted than to him. My dear friend and fellow labourer, William Smith, the late member for Norwich, who was another of them, is dead also, by whose indefatigable exertions for nearly fifty years, both in and out of parliament, it was most vigorously supported. As to the rest of the committee, Samuel Hoare, William Dilwyn, George Harrison, Richard Phillips, and the other dear friends whose names I am sorry that I cannot at this moment recollect, these also are all dead, and gone no doubt to their eternal rest. My dear friends, I was invited many months ago to be at this meeting, but old age and infirmities, being lame and nearly blind, and besides being otherwise seriously affected at times, gave me no hope of attending. At length I have been permitted to come among you; and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in this place, in reference to your future labours: Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I myself can say with truth, that though my body is fast going to decay, my *heart* beats as warmly in this sacred cause, now in the 81st year of my age, as it did at the age of 24, when I first took it up. And I can say further with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same

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object. So far for your encouragement and perseverance. My dear friends, you have a most difficult task to perform; it is neither more nor less than the extirpation of slavery from the *whole world*. Your opponents who appear the most formidable, are the cotton and other planters in the southern parts of the United States; who, I am grieved to say, hold more *than two millions of their fellow-creatures in the most cruel bondage*. Now we know of these men, that they are living in the daily habits of injustice, cruelty, and oppression, and may be therefore said to have no true fear of God, nor any just sense of religion. You cannot therefore expect to have the same hold upon the consciences of these as you have upon the consciences of others. How then can you get at these so as to influence their conduct. There is but one way; you must endeavour to make *them feel their guilt in its consequences*. You must endeavour by all justifiable means to affect their temporal interests. You must endeavour among other things to have the produce of *free tropical labour* brought into the markets of Europe, and undersell them there, and if you can do this, *your victory is sure*. I have only now to say, may the supreme ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may *He* in his abundant mercy, guide your councils, and give his blessing upon your labours.

MR. W. D. CREWDSON said, It is of very great importance to the comfort of our venerable president that the solemn feeling which has been over the meeting should be continued whilst we are favoured with his presence. I trust, that by the exercise of this feeling he may be permitted to remain with us longer than he now anticipates. I should be sorry if he stayed to weary or oppress him, but for a few minutes it may be interesting to him to see what is the course which this meeting intends to pursue in the prosecution of its important labours. In the first place, I have to introduce to the meeting a communication from Lord Brougham, on whom two gentlemen with myself waited yesterday to inform him as an old, a very active, and a powerful friend of the cause in which we are now interested, of what was going forward, and to request of him if it were possible, even for a few minutes only to give his attendance at this meeting. I am sorry to say, that the state of his health and the depression of his spirits consequent on domestic affliction are such, that he thinks it necessary to decline; but he sent a letter last night, addressed to me, which I will request our friend the Rev. T. Scales to read to the meeting.

The Rev. T. SCALES then read the following letter:—

House of Lords, Thursday.

Gentlemen,—I am much honoured by the request which you have made to me through your deputation this morning, that I would attend the meeting of delegates to-morrow; and I assure you that it is very painful for me to be under the necessity of refusing. But the state of my health has been such for some time past that I am barely able to discharge those duties in this place from which I cannot withdraw, and I have been compelled to lay down a rule against going to any public meeting whatever. Of all the instances in which I have been obliged to follow this rule, there is no one which has given me greater pain; for I need hardly say how deeply I feel interested in whatever concerns the great cause which brings you together. I earnestly hope that all your proceedings may be guided by the same wisdom and animated by the same zeal which have from the earliest period of the controversy been displayed by the friends of humanity and justice; and I trust that, under the blessing of Providence continued to their exertions, our earnest desires may finally be crowned with success. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your faithful and humble servant, BROUGHAM.

To the committee of management of delegates.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON resumed. The next subject which I have to bring before the meeting is the appointment of vice-presidents, in order to relieve our venerable chairman. It was thought necessary in this early stage of the business to be provided with those who should efficiently occupy the chair, and considering the extent of labour which is likely to rest upon them, the committee have thought it expedient to propose four gentlemen, whose names I shall now submit to this meeting for their consideration, and I trust, their adoption. I beg leave, therefore, to move—

"That William Thomas Blair, Esq., of Bath, Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, James Gillespie Birney, Esq., of New York, and Robert Kaye Greville, LL.D., of Edinburgh, be requested to become vice-chairmen of this convention."

Mr. G. BRADBURN, (of Massachusets) seconded the motion, which was put and agreed to.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., announced that Mr. Henry Grew, was commissioned to present a book to their venerable chairman, which he was anxious to fulfil before they proceeded to other business.

Mr. HENRY GREW said, It is with emotions which no language can describe, that I proceed to the discharge of a duty very interesting to myself, and I trust to all who are present. I have to present to our venerated and respected chairman, a memorial of the high regard which the friends of liberty in the western world entertain for his benevolent services in a cause dear to humanity. It consists of a book, containing a history of the Pennsylvania Hall. The hall was erected by the friends of liberty, for the advocacy of the general principles of free discussion on all subjects, but especially on the great topic of human rights. On the 14th of May, 1838, it was opened and consecrated to virtue, liberty, and independence. We hoped that it would have stood till the jubilee of universal emancipation should have cheered a regenerated world. But in the inscrutable counsels of infinite wisdom, it was otherwise ordained. On the evening of the 17th of the same month it was destroyed by a mob, instigated and infuriated by that demon spirit of slavery which has cursed the world. I am charged by my friend, Samuel West, of Philadelphia, one of the managers of Pennsylvania Hall, to present this volume. Considering the state of health of our dearly beloved and venerable friend, and the value of your time, I shall not now enter into a detail of the circumstances of this catastrophe. I will only express a hope, in which I shall be joined by millions of kindred spirits in the old world and in the new, that the declining days of our venerable friend may be crowned, and blessed, and consummated by the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, and that he may then have an abundant entrance ministered unto him into that temple into which the powers of darkness shall never be able to enter, but where the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb shall be the glory.

The Rev. W. KNIBB, at the request of Mr. Sturge, next addressed the meeting. I will only claim your indulgence for one moment. I beg to present, on behalf of 300,000 emancipated slaves in the island of Jamaica, the only tribute which they have to give, but which I am sure is the best tribute they could give—to my venerated father, Thomas Clarkson, Esq., namely, the propriety of their conduct since they have been made men. I did not expect that I should have been permitted to address the assembly and thus publicly to return thanks to one whom I shall ever respect and admire. I have an engraving of a view of one of our chapels in Jamaica, in which the first anti-slavery meeting was held in that beloved island. If I had been aware of this opportunity, I would have presented it publicly to our venerated chairman, but I shall now forward it privately on behalf of those whom I formerly knew as slaves, but whom I now know as free men, rising in intelligence, and exhibiting to the world that propriety of conduct which has won for the emancipated sons and daughters of Africa universal admiration.

Mr. J. TREDGOLD then read the summons of the convention.

Mr. GEORGE STACEY (of London,) said, I have been unexpectedly called to move the following resolution:—

"That the following gentlemen be invited to act as secretaries during this convention, John Scoble, Esq., Henry Brewster Stanton, Esq., Rev. Thomas Scales, Rev. William Bevan, Wendell Phillips, Esq., and William Morgan, Esq."

The Rev. J. BURNET, in seconding the resolution, said,—It is of great importance that we should have efficient, devoted, and persevering secretaries. No society can go on well without such secretaries, and the individuals that are now proposed have proved their perfect competency to carry on the work which is to be committed to their hands. I have been very much pleased with the way in which this meeting has opened—its proceedings augur well for the future circumstances connected with the movements of this society. I have been pleased with the readiness with which they have taken the hint thrown out to them respecting your own feelings, sir, and your own age. I have been pleased to find that in the midst of all the ardour and devotedness which they feel in common with myself to the anti-slavery cause, they are yet able so to control that ardour, and that devotedness, as to prove that they can act with the cool deliberation of men; while they can, at the same time, when need requires, display all the emotion of individuals whose every feeling is enlisted in this great cause. I trust that this great mark of self-control will pervade all the proceedings of this convention to its close. I trust that there will be found no individual who will not be ready to feel that he is embarked in a great cause, in the presence of which every personality must sink, and every passion must die, except the passion of a well directed, a burning, but a wisely controlled zeal for the great object we have in view. I do trust that we shall have reason at the close of this convention, to congratulate ourselves, and to congratulate you, that at the evening of your life, you have come surrounded by the recollections of many long years to give the sanction of your presence and your opinions to such a great and interesting object. I trust that the meeting at large will take a lesson from the appearance you have made here to-day —associating with your weakness of body all that energy of mind which has long distinguished your career, and which, I trust, will long distinguish those to whom you have commended a similar course.

The resolution having been put and carried unanimously.

The REV. THOMAS SCALES rose and said, I feel that the office to which in common with several other gentlemen, you have been pleased to call me, is one of considerable labour, but of still greater responsibility, and I feel exceedingly anxious that we may be assisted with all that is requisite to enable us rightly and faithfully to discharge its duties. One of our members, Mr. Scoble, to whom the cause owes so much, is prevented by severe, personal, and domestic indisposition from being with us this morning, but I hope that in a day or two he will unite with us in our important engagements. I am also to intimate that of the secretaries which have now been appointed by you, two of our friends are from America. Mr. Stanton is known as the secretary of that great society which is acting there under the blessing of heaven with so much order and such promising results; and Mr. Phillips is well known as a devoted advocate of this great cause who has consecrated the energies of his heart and mind to the great object for which we are associated. I hope that by your forbearance and sympathy, and assistance from on high, we shall discharge the duty committed to us in such a way as to subserve the great end for which we are come together in this convocation.

Mr. J. MOTT (of Philadelphia,) moved that the following gentlemen be appointed a press committee to superintend the publication of the reports of the convention. Messrs. John Beaumont, J. H. Tredgold, Joseph Cooper, and Henry Tuckett.

The REV. J. A. JAMES, (of Birmingham,) in seconding the resolution said, this is a motion of mere formal business, which precludes me, even if I were disposed and able, from addressing the meeting at any length. I cannot, however, avoid expressing the ineffable honour which I really feel it, to second a resolution on such a subject as this, which has been moved by one of the delegates from America, and which places me in juxtaposition with the friends on that side the Atlantic in this great and noble cause. I also feel it an honour to second a resolution which is to be put to this meeting by yourself. I would simply express my prayer that this society, which I rejoice you have lived long enough to witness, may be the evening star of your life, and the morning star of that dear youth, who, I trust, will stand before the public as your representative in this cause long after you have gone to your eternal rest.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON rose and said. However my heart may throb to give expression to those sentiments, which the grand objects of this meeting, and the presence of the champions of human rights from all sections of the globe, and those irresistibly touching scenes upon which our eyes have gazed to day, for the first and for the last time, are calculated naturally to inspire in my bosom, and in yours, this is not the stage of the proceedings of this convention at which it would be good taste to occupy much time in the submission of any resolution, because the resolutions are at present quite preliminary, and have reference to that business which will afford us the opportunity, by and by, of largely expressing our views upon all those topics that are connected with the interests of that cause in which we are embarked. But for the information of the venerable chairman, I would say he has before him on this occasion, not only the tried and trusty friends of human liberty in this kingdom, but he has before him, on either side of him, and in the distance, those who have not only laboured, but

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suffered and sacrificed more than language can express, in this same cause in the western hemisphere of our world. Ere he retires, I am anxious that he should feel that his advice, his counsel, and his energy are appreciated most deeply by those who have been permitted this day to behold him for the first time. I am sure that our friends on the other side of the Atlantic would depart inspired and encouraged by the words of comfort which have been addressed to them from the chair. I trust that the example which you have set us, of dedicating our children and our grandchildren to the cause of freedom, will be followed by all who have wept tears of emotion over the scene we have witnessed this day. I heartily unite in the expressions which have already fallen from the lips of preceding speakers, hoping that our future deliberations, while they are characterised by the highest principle, and by the greatest fervour, may at the same time be characterised by good taste, and christian forbearance, and that wisdom which is profitable to direct. (Mr. Thompson then submitted a series of resolutions, which were seconded by the Rev. N. Calver, but as some of them were not fully approved of, it being thought that they would tend to limit the freedom of discussion, they were amended and carried in the following form.

That the following regulations for conducting the business of this convention be now adopted :—

"1.—That this convention do sit twice in each day, commencing at Ten o'clock in the morning, and at Four o'clock in the afternoon, and that the vice-chairmen be requested to preside alternately, in the absence of the president.

"2.—That all original papers, propositions, and resolutions be submitted in writing to the secretaries, the day before it is proposed to introduce them, and all amendments and propositions arising out of business under discussion, be submitted to the chairman in writing at the time.

"3.—That the secretaries be instructed to report at the close of each day to the chairman, the subjects upon which it is proposed that information shall the next day be communicated to the convention, and that such subjects shall be regularly disposed of before any other matter be introduced.

"4.—That as occasions may arise, Committees shall be appointed to draft addresses, prepare resolutions, &c. &c., to be passed through the hands of the secretaries to the chairman.

"5.—That no member of convention shall be allowed to speak twice on the same subject, except in explanation ; or the opener, by way of conclusion in reply.

"6.—That all documents shall be signed by the chairman.

"7.—That all letters and documents addressed to this convention or to the chairman, be referred to the secretaries.

"8.—That no fresh business be introduced after Two o'clock, P. M."

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M. P. at the desire of the chairman, next addressed the meeting. I feel, said the honourable and learned gentleman, that it would be impossible to resist such a request. It is to me a sacred command. I should not detain this highly respectable meeting many seconds, if one idea were not impressed on my mind. It is this,—Much has been done by Great Britain in the cause of our coloured brethren. Their emancipation was a great and majestic act, and it has been followed by consequences, which, if you looked at them alone, have been of the utmost value to humanity. Under the British flag, with the exception of the East Indies, slavery no longer exists ; and those who were compelled heretofore to labour for the advantage of others, now labour for their own, their wives, their children, and their families. It would be quite impossible to exaggerate what has been done. You have struck off the fetters from 800,000 human beings ; from the rank of slaves you have made them free ; but then you have not done all—there remains much yet to be effected. Even your benevolence and humanity has left a larger blot than before upon the escutcheon of human nature. You have left behind you the slave-trade, and emancipation has multiplied it. You have come together for the very purpose of doing away with the injury inflicted on Africa, not by your efforts, but by the avarice of others. You are not responsible for it—they are. But the fact I rose to impress upon you is this—that this convention is more important than any which has yet assembled on the face of the globe. Men have come more than 5000 miles in order to attend it. They have come here not from selfish motives, not to advance their own interests, not to acquire pride and glory from participating in your objects ; but from higher and more ennobling motives—from a desire to serve the cause of humanity. You have representatives from the neighbouring kingdoms of Europe—you have them from every portion of the British isles—and no portion of the British isles ought to be exempted from our meeting. You have at this convention the patriarch of the cause of liberty, and I am delighted that that venerable gentleman has lived to see a conclusion which, when he commenced his labours, the fervid imagination of his youth could not have conceived. He has been the prime moving cause of that majestic operation of British justice. It is delightful that he has lived to witness the purest of all fame. This is a powerful assembly ; but in proportion to its importance, so is the awfulness of the duty imposed upon it. Are you met to teach morals, to display talent, and to show a good disposition ? Yes, you may meet for all these purposes, but they are totally insufficient for your work, and without some great movement in favour of humanity, it would have been better that you had never met : for instead of doing good, you will create a re-action favourable to the foes of the human race, and will assist, in fact, those nations that, from political considerations, have pledged themselves to the British crown to assist in putting an end to human slavery, and are yet practising all manner of deceit, redoubling the horrors of the middle passage, and committing thousands of murders more than were perpetrated in the worst period of our slave-trade. The only reason why I rose to obey the call was the opportunity it furnished of raising my humble voice in earnest solicitations, that this meeting should not break up until it has made a movement forward—until it has made those arrangements which in your wisdom you may think most fit, in order to establish co-operating societies in every country in the world. I am proud to see gentlemen present from Massachusets, because in point of law, the Massachusets legislature have decided that the first paragraph of independence, the charter of American freedom, was so inconsistent with slavery, that upon the construction of the first clause alone they have determined that no slavery shall exist in that state. I come back to my only point—that it is the duty of every one of us to work out our principles, to take care that something permanent results from our operations, and that they shall not prove transitory. It does not become me to suggest what they should be, but I am ready, as a man of business, to adopt measures which shall produce an effect in every portion of the civilized world. You should throw a glance beyond the ocean ; you should commence a correspondence with the place where the worst slavery exists—with the East Indies. It is not only the actual bondsman who is a slave there, but every occupier is under the basest of tyranny, and the East India Company have unlimited power to tax him to the utmost amount which they can possibly grind out of him. Nothing can be more glorious to America than the number of anti-slavery societies already established in that country, and we should make a perfect brotherhood of affection with them. I have been blamed for phrases untruly attributed to me, as if I had attributed to all Americans that which I applied only to slave owners. I can never speak but with indignation of monsters who claim liberty to themselves, and yet inflict on the backs of their slaves the vilest marks of their tyranny. I hail with delight the approach of meetings at which there will be associated with us the honest citizens of America, who come here at so much expense, so much peril, so much sacrifice of time, and in spite of the prejudices of their countrymen—men who will raise the knife where they fail in argument. I am obliged to the meeting for giving me an opportunity of throwing out my sentiments. I hope that every gentleman will join with me in the conviction, that we are under an imperative duty to operate forwards, or we shall drive the cause of humanity backwards. Would it not be a lamentable thing for such a convention to meet without forwarding the cause which they have come together to promote ? If we are to work well, we must make sacrifices of individual opinion to public sentiment. Honest men are often those who are the most stubborn ; for having no improper motives in their own minds, but being actuated by pure conviction, they are frequently unwilling to yield. There are some places, which shall be nameless, where a man is never angry with another for differing from him in public. Though they often agree in private, they take adverse views when they come before the world. I rejoice to have had an opportunity of seeing you in the chair, and of seeing the representative of your family, of the glorious name you will leave to posterity. I rejoice that we cannot be accused of a wrong motive. I defy the entire press of England, admitting its ingenuity, but paying it no other compliment, to impugn our motives. The efforts of the convention are beyond reproach. You have nothing to fear. I trust that God who has told us that charity is the greatest of all, will smile propitiously on our efforts, and that the convention will do some mighty work, which shall make efficient progress in raising men all over the globe from a state of degradation to a state of freedom, as the only real preparative for the reception of the truths of christianity, and the blessings of civilization.

Mr. J. C. FULLER, (from New York,) said, there are no men in the room whom I am more happy to see than yourself and Mr. O'Connell. We have been told that there must be an influence go out of this meeting that shall tell upon the nations of the earth. I was glad to hear it. Mr. O'Connell has talked to us, I now want to talk to him. There is a charm about his name all over the universe. I believe he could do more to put down slavery in America than the convention can effect. Some of our Irish brethren there are the principal supporters of slavery, and if he would issue an address to them, we should soon have powerful coadjutors. I hope he will do something of that kind. There is a charm in his name which slavery cannot tarnish.

Mr. O'CONNELL, replied, I only beg you to be assured of this, I want no additional stimulant to induce me to carry into effect that which I have long had in contemplation. Before the convention breaks up, I will show to that gentleman if he will permit me, and to other American delegates that address, in order that I may know whether they deem it suitable to the country or not.

Mr. BRADBURN, I rise not without considerable embarrassment. I felt that I could do no less than advert to the allusion which has been made by the distinguished individual who has just sat down (Mr. O'Connell) to my own native state. He has referred to the constitution of that state, and has truly told you that its adoption struck a death-blow to slavery in the state of Massachusetts. But not until very lately has that state, I regret to say, done what it was obliged to do in consistency with its own constitution, with regard to slavery in the national district of Columbia, to the continuance of which in that district she was, in virtue of her belonging to the Union, a party. It gives me great pleasure to say, that at the last sitting of her legislature she did perform her duty in this respect, and did through the voice of that body, pronounce slavery to be not only a heinous crime against God, but a virtual violation of human justice, and of the fundamental principle of the constitution of the country ; and, furthermore, she declared it was the duty of congress immediately to abolish slavery in that district. She has also expressed her opinion, as she had a right to do, of the unconstitutional character of certain laws which exist in the slave-holding states. Our constitution makes no distinction on account of colour, neither does the constitution of the United States ; yet in consequence of certain laws in the slave-holding states, our own citizens who may go in to them for business, or may be driven there by circumstances of adversity, over which they have no control, are seized upon by certain human hyenas and presumed to be slaves ; and if they cannot prove themselves to be free men, or proving themselves to be such, have not money enough to pay the expenses which those hyenas have saddled upon them, they are sold into perpetual slavery. Thousands of cases of this kind occur yearly in the country. Massachussetts has pronounced these laws to be unconstitutional, and will, I doubt not, soon take measures to bring the subject before the supreme court of the nation, and impose upon the national government the duty of seeing that they are not enforced. I congratulate Englishmen that these laws are not enforced against the subjects of Queen Victoria. A friend of mine some years ago had occasion to visit the principal city of a slave-holding state, Charleston, South Carolina. On board the vessel there was a coloured man. On arriving at Charleston, an officer from the port boarded the vessel, for the purpose of ascertaining if there was a coloured person on board, and if so to take him to prison, and keep him there during the continuance of the ship in the port, when, if the captain pleases he may be taken, and returned home. When the officer came the captain understood his object, and feeling a peculiar regard for his coloured mariner he put him in a boat, and sent him on board a British ship. There, under the red cross of your own flag, he found that protection which the

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wings of our own American eagle were not broad enough to extend to him. If any other free state would do as Massachusetts has done slavery would be abolished in the national district; for the free states do in reality hold the power of the nation if they would but exercise it. I am incapable of expressing the gratitude I feel on this occasion, in seeing before me such an audience, and especially, that I am permitted to behold the venerated chairman of this body. I feel scarcely less grateful that I am permitted to behold also that veteran in the cause of emancipation who sits at the chairman's right hand. They are two men whom I have often said I would go farther to see than any other persons in the universe. I will not introduce any exhortations. We need no pledges from this gentleman (Mr. O'Connell), with regard to his perseverance in the work of emancipation. I know that his creed has no regard to colour or clime. I know as certainly, as though it were proclaimed from the blue vault above by an angel's voice, that he will persevere in this great and glorious cause. *His* country I believe to be the world, and all mankind his countrymen. He has alluded to the subject of his rebukes of the American people; it has done my heart good when I have read them, for I know them to be Christian rebukes. It has made many a slave holder tremble in his shoes, as his eye has run over the reports of that distinguished gentleman's speeches, in which he has referred so frequently to the inconsistent republicans of North America.

The Rev. T. SCALES then read an admirably written document on the object of the convention, and the principles of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society; which, as it will soon appear in print, we omit here.

E. BAINES, Esq., M.P., said, I have nothing to address to the meeting, except to move that its cordial thanks be given to Mr. Scales for the very lucid exposition he has just made of the objects of the meeting, and to express my earnest desire that those objects he has so well described, and the importance of which I hope we all earnestly feel, may be attained. I have also to express, and I do it with great gratification, the pleasure I have in once more seeing my venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson. I am happy also to be surrounded by a great number of influential men from all countries, who have come to promote this god-like work. I hope they will continue to exercise that spirit of benevolence which has been so well expressed by my honourable and learned friend—that they will make a movement in advance, and that that movement will never cease till it has effected the liberty of all mankind. That such a result will be accomplished I have no doubt, though it may not be realized in our time. Who would have expected when our venerable friend first entered on his labours, that so much would have been effected as has already been attained? Who would have expected to find the slave trade abolished, and slavery itself, so far as England is concerned? Who would have expected that all the men of consequence and of influence, would have been animated by the spirit they now exhibit, and have come forward, and declared themselves the friends of that civilization in Africa, which I hope is to be the foundation of universal liberty. I saw with some surprise—I do not inquire into the motives—the prelates of the land standing forward, and declaring that they conceive it to be the duty of their fellow-men, and those they instruct in religion. If there was any slight put upon any one the other day, that was the only cause of regret which occurred. I do feel that it was an indignity which was not deserved, and ought not to have been inflicted. I know, however, that his great mind can rise superior to it. But I do not much regret it, so far as the individual himself is concerned, I only regret it on behalf of those who could originate an affront to such a man. I will not further detain the meeting, except by proposing—

"That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Rev. Thomas Scales, for having prepared the valuable paper setting forth the objects of this convention now read."

The Rev. J. H. JOHNSON, vicar of Tilstead, said, It is with feelings of very great pleasure that I rise to second the motion which has just been made. As a warm and sincere friend to universal liberty I feel peculiar gratification, not only because there appears to be one unanimous feeling that the slave shall always meet with your sympathy and assistance so long as he is in bondage, but also because I see here persons of every political shade of opinion and of various religious sects. I hail it as one of those delightful signs of the time when men shall learn to love as brethren, and to spend their short remaining lives not in bickering—not in quarrels, but in one grand effort to remove from the face of the earth one of the greatest scourges which has ever afflicted mankind. I feel pleasure, because I am assured that the divine counsel must ever attend efforts of this description, and because we have entered on the business of the day by first imploring, each one for himself, the direction of Almighty God, without whom nothing is strong and nothing is holy. Vain are all the contrivances of slave owners to keep the prey within their grasp, if we can get the God of love to interpose on our behalf. He has promised that if, whatever our hands find to do, we do it with all our might, he will be with us in exercising it in works of piety and mercy. So long as there shall be a child of Adam in sorrow, or a child of man in the grasp of tyranny and oppression, it is our duty to go on in this cause. As christians professing to feel for the spiritual welfare of the world, we have much to do ere the gospel can be received by them. Let the African look at a christian and know him to be animated by feelings like ourselves, and then we can expect a patient hearing. But what has he generally seen in the white man? Appropriately has he styled him "a white devil," having everything but kindness, and love, and mercy on his lips and in his heart. Is this the way to send the bright beams of gospel light on that benighted land? Is it to be by oppression, by wrong, by robbery, by murder, that we are to teach him the lessons of Jesus? Oh no. It is by going amongst them, taking nothing of theirs, but giving them all we can: by laying out our lives and all we possess in order to do them service. When they see white men cease to wrong them they will listen to them. When they see hearts of benevolence, then we may expect that they will throng to the missionaries of the cross, and hear the gospel of Christ. When I see Africa, that large part of the world, covered with paganism, I cannot help thinking that it is owing to the conduct of christians that it is so benighted; still I trust the time will not be long, ere through the length and breadth of Africa the gospel of love and mercy shall be spread; and men be taught there, as we have been taught here, that with God there is no respect of persons—that whether a man be covered with ebony or ivory, he is equally acceptable to him. Animated by these considerations, let us bind ourselves together—not by vows, but as one whole family, going forth under the blessing of Jesus to conquer the bad habits of bad men, to show them that it is to their interest, both here and there, to let the oppressed go free. With these sentiments, and apologising for the length of time I have occupied you, I beg most cordially to second the motion.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq. begged before the chairman withdrew to introduce to him and to the meeting Henry Beckford, who three years ago was himself a slave.

MR. HENRY BECKFORD.—I pray God to look down in mercy upon the labours of this society, which has been formed in this country to deliver us from bondage. I rejoice to see the kind gentleman who, as the root of this society, relieved my body from suffering. I rejoice to tender my thanks to the British ladies from one end of the land to the other. I have seen the blood run down the negro's back; I have seen the poor creatures confined in chains; but how shall I rejoice when I return to my native country, to tell my friends that I have seen those gentlemen who delivered us from the accursed system which was the ruin of men's souls as well as the body! Slavery brought men down to the level of four-footed beasts; but now, when I return, no man can ask me where I have been. I came here as a free man, and I shall return as the same. I was a slave for twenty-eight years, but look at me, and work on. There are other parts of the world where slavery now exists, but I trust the negros there will soon become freemen as I am to day. We hope, however, that you will assist us till we become more thoroughly established in the blessings we now enjoy, and we will assist you by our prayers till slavery is abolished throughout the world. I hope that this assembly will enjoy the blessing of God, and that great benefits will result from your deliberations. It is good to be the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to be engaged in promoting his cause.

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq. then retired from the chair, and on the motion of G. W. Alexander, Esq., seconded by George Bennett, Esq., W. BLAIR, Esq., was called to occupy it.

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said, In being called on immediately to succeed our venerable and respected president, I cannot but feel and express how undeserving I am of the distinction which has been conferred upon me. I can truly say without any affectation that there are very many in the assembly who possess far stronger claims and better qualifications than myself to occupy such a position. In bowing, however, to the decision of the convention, I have only to throw myself on the kind consideration and indulgence of the assembly, and to solicit for myself and my respected colleagues your united support in our endeavours to maintain that good order and harmony which is essential to the credit of our proceedings. This meeting having been opened in the usual way, by the speech of our respected president, it would be unsuitable and unnecessary for me to detain you by any observations of my own. But I will just hazard one remark which may not be altogether unimportant in reference to the harmony of future proceedings. It must be obvious to every one present, that this meeting is composed of gentlemen entertaining a great diversity of sentiment upon political and religious subjects, as well as others, though cordially united, I trust, as one man in the great object which brings us together. I trust that no opinion or expression will escape in the progress of discussion that can possibly wound the feelings or offend the innocent prejudices of any one, that a spirit of forbearance and conciliation will be maintained throughout the proceedings, and nothing will be suffered to clash with the paramount object we have in view. (Cheers.)

Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS said, Those who may have watched the proceedings of this convention during the presence of Thomas Clarkson, Esq., will have observed, that we have not yet provided for the formation of any roll of membership. There is no body constituted emanating from this convention to receive the credentials of delegates, and inscribe their names. Several friends who are interested in the matter have proposed to make a motion to that effect, in the regular course of business, but it was suggested that as it might lead to discussion, it would be better to delay it till after the retirement of our venerated friend. I make these remarks to apologise for the seeming inappropriateness of the motion which I have to submit to the meeting It is as follows—

"That a committee of five be appointed to prepare a correct list of the members of this convention, with instructions to include in such list all persons bearing credentials from any Anti-slavery body."

It may be necessary before I sit down to state the reason of making that motion, when to all appearance there exists on this table a list of delegates. I do it because, coming from the state of Massachusetts, there are several of my co-delegates, who though in this hall, have not received an entrance as members of the convention by the authority of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, who have undertaken to settle the qualifications of membership of this body. Under their control the list before me has been formed—a list very useful for the purposes of reference or communication between the various members who have arrived in this city. But some of us feeling ourselves—shall I use too harsh a term when I say aggrieved?—by this act of the committee, have thought it our duty to bring the subject before the convention. I allude to the refusal of tickets of admission to the women of Massachusetts. When the call, which was read by Mr. Tredgold, reached America, we found that it was an invitation to the friends of the slave of every nation and of every clime. Massachusetts has for several years acted on the principle of admitting women to an equal seat with men in the deliberative bodies of Anti-slavery societies. When the Massachusetts anti-slavery society received that paper it interpreted it, as it was its duty, in the broadest and most liberal sense. If there be any other paper emanating from this committee limiting to one sex the qualification of membership, there is no proof, and as an individual I have no knowledge, that such a paper ever reached Massachusetts. We stand here in consequence of your invitation, and knowing our custom, as it must be presumed you did, we had a right to interpret "friends of the slave" to include women as well as men. (Applause, and loud cries of no, no.) In such circumstances we do not think it just or equitable to that state, nor to America in general, that after the trouble, the sacrifice, the self-devotion of a part of those who leave their families, and kindred, and occupations in their own land, to come 4000 miles to attend this world's convention, they should be refused a place in its deliberations. The meeting will observe that I have purposely introduced into the motion language which brings the question before the convention.

PROFESSOR ADAM (of Harvard University) in seconding the resolution said, I shall merely state that I have great pleasure in expressing my

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entire concurrence in the sentiments that have now been stated to the meeting. I will only add, if the ladies who have come from America are not deemed entitled in consequence of the credentials they bear to a place in this assembly, I feel for one that I am not entitled to occupy such a position. My credentials proceed from the same persons, and from the same societies, and bear the same names as theirs. I have no other authority to appear amongst you, to take a place in your proceedings, and give a voice in your deliberations, than that right which is equally possessed by the ladies to whom a place among you has been denied. In the society from which I have come, female exertion is the very life of us, (applause) and of all that we have done, and all we hope to do. To exclude them, therefore, would be to affix a stigma upon them. (Cries of no, no.)

Mr. GEORGE STACEY, I feel that any one is placed in a very invidious position in having to speak a word in reference to this proposition. It is inconsistent with our natural feelings to take a part which shall at all throw a stigma or shade of unfavourable opinion upon the conduct, exertions, influence, or power of our female friends in this cause. I believe no persons are disposed to estimate more highly than the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, the bright example and philanthropic efforts of our female friends. But the custom of this country is well known and uniform. In all matters of mere business, unless females are especially associated together and announced as such in the promotion of the objects in view, they do not become a part of the working committees. Having been a member of the society from which that invitation issued, and having taken a constant part in its proceedings, I feel myself in some degree qualified to bear testimony to the meaning of such documents as it has issued, and I do take the liberty of saying that, to my knowledge, the document calling the convention had no reference to, or ever contemplated including females as a part of the convention. (Hear, hear.) We did become aware in the progress of this business that there was a disposition on the part of our American brethren, and that with the best intention, to construe that call as it might have been construed had it been issued by themselves—that is, that it might include females as well as men. The earliest moment that this circumstance came to the knowledge of the committee, that committee issued another circular, which bears date the 15th of February, in which the description of those who are to form the convention is set forth as consisting of gentlemen. (Hear, hear.) We thus felt that we had done all we could to prevent inconvenience to our American friends on this subject, and supposed that we should not have been brought into difficulty with this question. But as this point has been introduced, I take it for granted, that sooner or later the opinion of the convention must be taken as to whether or not ladies are to become a part of the convention. I would waive some points with respect to its operation; for I think that the sooner the matter is brought to a conclusion, the better.

Dr. BOWRING—I think the custom of excluding females is more honoured in its breach than in its observance. In this country sovereign rule is placed in the hands of a female, and one who has been exercising her great and benignant influence in opposing slavery, by sanctioning, no doubt, the presence of her illustrious consort, at an anti-slavery meeting. We are associated with a body of christians, who have given to their women a great, honourable, and religious prominence. I look upon this delegation from America as one of the most interesting, the most encouraging, and the most delightful symptoms of the times. I hope that a committee will be appointed to consider this question, and to report on the facts of the case. I cannot believe that we shall refuse to welcome gratefully the co-operation which is offered to us.

The Rev. J. BURNET—I feel that, if there ever was a time when it was necessary for this convention to be calm and self-collected this is that moment. I have no hesitation in saying, that I feel that the convention itself is perilled in this discussion, and whilst I have the highest regard for the ladies of America and England, and whilst neither for the one nor for the other, can I entertain for one moment any feeling but a feeling of the highest respect, I must at the same time claim your indulgence and that of the meeting, while I take a calm and deliberate view of the question, one of the most important that can be discussed in connexion with the mere forms of this convention. We must be calm, and we must be firm; and I shall be as firm in the maintenance of my sentiments, as I shall be calm in the statement of them. (Cheers.) The gentleman who has proposed the motion, which is now before you, stated his case very well and very calmly, and very fairly stated the claims which the ladies have to the kind consideration of all for their works of usefulness, and their energy in these works. We hail the continuance of their work of usefulness; we thank them for the past, we trust them in the present, and we anticipate great things from them in the future. (Applause.) I would apply this to England as well as to America. The ladies of England are active and diligent in all the works of benevolence—(applause)—they have frequently stimulated to the creation of such institutions as this, when the lords of creation did not think of creating them. (Applause.) The ladies have carried them on when the gentlemen would have found it impossible, from the multiplicity of demands made on their time by the business in which they are engaged. In one thing said by the gentleman I cordially concur. He contended for putting an American interpretation upon American phraseology; certainly, so he ought, but he ought also, upon the same principle, to put an English interpretation upon English phraseology.—(Cheers and laughter.)—I must be allowed to say that it never did occur to the society that it was inviting ladies from any part of the globe; it never was contemplated that the resolutions of the committee could be so construed. It has come upon us by surprise, without any anticipation. Is it fair that we should be called upon now to discuss such a question, when we never for a moment anticipated even such a contingency? I must say, that it is unfair that we should be called upon to do so, that no indignity was offered, or intended to be offered, to the ladies—they were placed on a level with our own wives and daughters—(cheers)—and if they are placed in such a position, it is impossible to say that any insult or indignity was offered, or could be offered, to them. I would welcome those ladies to this hall with pleasure—to that part of it to which they may be admitted with propriety. I would treat them with all attention, with all respect, but I would not clothe them with the character of officers of the convention. It would be better that this convention should be at this moment dissolved, than that the resolution should be adopted. (Cries of "No, no.") Some gentlemen say no, no, I wish them to think upon it seriously and gravely. If this convention should take the course proposed by the mover and seconder of the resolution, I am convinced, that it will sincerely regret it. I should say that our American friends would add another laurel to their brow. were they at this moment to say, let us not at this moment make shipwreck of our vessel, let us not even put her in a perilous sea. (Applause.) As we are in England, let us act as England does.

The Rev. Mr. GREW said, the invitation was understood by many in the sense to which reference had been made, but the admission of females to form a party of the convention did not accord with his views of propriety.

The Rev. Mr. COLVER felt bound to say that there was a very large portion of the brethren in America who upon this question thought as the English did, and had it not been understood that the English principle would be acted upon, many of them would not have been there.

Mr. STACEY thought that it would not be advisable to go into the abstract question. It was time to have a substantive resolution before them. He would therefore move as an amendment,

"That this convention, upon a question arising as to the admission of females appointed as delegates from America to take their seats in this body, resolve to decide this question in the negative."

The Rev. Mr. GALUSHA, of New York, in seconding the amendment, said, he was a delegate from an exceedingly numerous constituency in America, and amongst them the ladies took no part in the business of societies. He could say that it was a very small minority of the abolitionists who had allowed the innovation, and it ought not to be acted upon here. He had no objection to women being the neck to turn the head about, but he had no wish to see them assume the place of the head.—(Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Dr. ROLFE, (from Canada,) approved of the amendment. The question was one on which America was not decided. Why then should this convention be called to the invidious task of deciding between the two contending parties?

Mr. G. BRADBURN, of the legislature of Massachusetts, hoped that the original motion would have been agreed to without any discussion. He did not anticipate any difference of opinion upon such a question in that which was a world's convention. That was a convention of abolitionists from all parts of the world. Then were the delegates of Massachusetts to be debarred the privilege—the right of sending the delegates of their own election? It would no longer be a world's convention, if such freely-chosen delegates were to be excluded.—(Hear.) It had been said if the women were admitted they would take sides. Why had they not as good a right to take sides as the men?—(Hear, hear.)

Colonel MILLER then rose to address the meeting, but

The CHAIRMAN suggested that it would be advisable to have the second letter of invitation explaining the basis on which the convention had been called, read, which was accordingly done by the Secretary.

Colonel MILLER then proceeded. He fortunately belonged to a state in America that had never been troubled with the woman question.—(Hear, hear, and laughter.) The women were among their primeval abolitionists, and had been merely seconded by their husbands. This question ought never to have come here to have been settled, but ought to have been decided on their own shores. The women had been duly delegated in the cause of humanity. He did not claim for them pre-eminence over man, but would merely observe that they were first in their attendance at the cross, and first and last at the sepulchre, and that from that day to this they had taken the van in the march of civilized liberty.—(Cheers.) He only wanted a fair and honourable expression of the opinion of the meeting, and to, that opinion he pledged himself that the delegates from America would bow.—(Hear, hear.)

Captain STUART was persuaded, having been in the United States and being largely acquainted with the great body of abolitionists, that in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, the most uncompromising friends of liberty and of the slaves were against the reception of lady delegates, as recommended.

Mr. WILLIAM ALLEN urged the assembly to consider the value of the cause they were all met to promote, and he regretted that a question of this sort had ever been mooted.—(Hear, hear, hear.) It might be a subject of grave and proper consideration at another time and in another place, but he thought the introduction of the question into that assembly would merely prove an apple of discord.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON claimed the attention of the convention for a few moments, because the present question was one upon which he thought the fate of the convention, for all good purposes, hinged.—(Hear, hear.) He had deprecated most sincerely the introduction of the question into the convention. He had anticipated it with dread; and although they were not in a situation to retrace their steps, yet they had it in their power to avert the consequences that must inevitably ensue, if they became partizans in this matter; and if, in consequence of their recorded votes, they should regard their friends, with whom alone they could associate or be useful, as enemies. He had listened attentively to the arguments of Mr. Burnet, one of our best controversialists, and what were those arguments? First, that English phraseology must be construed according to English usages; secondly, that it was never contemplated by the Anti-slavery committee of that society, that ladies should occupy a seat in the convention; thirdly, that the ladies of England were not there as delegates; and fourthly, that neither he, nor any other individual, had a desire to offer an affront, still less an insult to the ladies. Those, he presumed, were the strongest arguments Mr. Burnet could urge, and in opposition to them, he (Mr. Thompson) would observe, that there were present ladies who presented themselves as delegates from known societies—the originators of all the other societies in America. He had expected that Mr. Burnet, if he had intended to offer a successful opposition to their introduction, would have grappled with the constitutionality of their credentials—would have gone to the question of title, and disputed the right of the Pennsylvania assembly to send ladies to the convention. Those ladies came as the representatives of two millions and a half of slaves, and he would implore gentlemen in voting upon this question to remember that in admitting or rejecting them, they acknowledged or despised their constituents. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) The grand objection that had been taken was, that, if admitted, the ladies would be placed upon a footing of equality with themselves, and that that equality would be contrary to custom, usage, and principle. That was a flimsy excuse for their exclusion. They had advocated the cause of th epoor slave, and suffered much for his sake, before their opponents

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were known as abolitionists. (Cheers.) He could not understand the ground upon which they were to be excluded It could not be on the ground of intellect, principle, or discretion. Their conduct in the anti-slavery cause had been above all praise, and while they had carried their flag in the van, the men had most humbly and obsequiously followed in the rear. (Cheers and laughter.) The state of Massachusetts had heard Angelina Grimké, the female delegate of the anti-slavery society, and she was commended for that course. The most useful societies in America were those conducted by women. As to the propriety of the thing he had his own opinion, and had laboured to the eleventh hour to prevent the question being mooted here. (Loud cries of Hear, hear.) Even now he should be glad if it were thought proper to withdraw it. (Hear, hear.) It was said that if they rejected not the ladies they would regret it. Why? On account of magnanimity or gentlemanly feeling? (Hear, hear.) He yet apprehended the greatest difficulties from a division—(hear, hear)—and perhaps the sense of the meeting could be taken without, and a protest entered. But upon the question coming thus distinctly forward he thought he should be recreant to all that was generous had he forborne to say what he had. For the appearance of some of the ladies he was answerable—he had written, inviting them, but he confessed he did not then anticipate that they would come as delegates. (Hear, hear.) He earnestly requested his American friends to withdraw their motion.

Mr. G. STACEY withdrew his amendment, trusting that the original motion would also be withdrawn; and if not the convention would have to decide it, yea or nay.

Mr. W. PHILLIPS could not take upon himself the responsibility of withdrawing the resolution. (Loud cries of question and divide.) It was with him a matter of conscience.

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Phillips having exercised his right of replying, he was now about to put the question.

Several delegates here rose together to protest against the question being now put.

Mr. PHILLIPS said he had not risen to reply, but merely to explain.

The CHAIRMAN said that such being the case the discussion must be allowed to continue.

Mr. CAINES, of Edinburgh, then rose to address the meeting, and said that he had to propose an amendment, which he hoped would have the effect of settling this question, without offending the feelings of any party. The amendment he proposed to submit was to the following effect:—

"That this convention finds itself placed in a state of great perplexity by the claims of the female delegates from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, to be received as delegates to the convention. That it regrets that, according to the terms of the invitation, it cannot receive them as such; whilst at the same time it takes this opportunity of expressing its admiration of the zeal which has induced them to undertake a voyage of 4000 miles, in order to be present on this occasion." (Cheers.)

Mr. ASHURST said it did not matter what were the intentions of the committee in issuing the invitation; the question was as to what their intentions ought to have been. This was a convention met together on the principles of universal benevolence, and they ought to welcome all who came there for the purpose of carrying those principles into effect; and from such a meeting assembled on such principles they were now about to exclude the women of America, and this they called acting on principles of universality. They professed to act on principles of universality, and were about to commence their proceedings by disfranchising one-half of creation. Women were as competent as men to understand, and to guard everything connected with Christianity, and to bring forth the best qualities of our nature. Let them look at the argument on the other side; it was contended that the invitation of the committee should be construed according to the customs of the country in which they were to assemble. Now what would have been the case if the convention had assembled in Virginia? It would be said that by law and custom slavery existed in that state, and that, therefore, they had no right to set themselves in opposition to the prejudices and customs of society, by attempting to put it down. (Cries of "No, no.") The Anti-slavery cause was under the greatest obligations to the exertions of women, and yet they were going to begin their first convention by disfranchising their constituency, as one-half of creation.—(Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. HARVEY, of Glasgow, regretted that the question had been brought before the meeting. The convention was now called upon not to come to a decision as to the slavery question, but to come to a decision on the question of the rights of females.—(Cheers.) He would yield to no man in the high estimation he felt for the female character. No man appreciated more highly than himself the kindness, the zeal, and the disinterested benevolence of the female character, none had laboured more effectively than they had done in the anti-slavery cause. (Cheers.) But he doubted whether in such a meeting as the present females were in their own proper sphere—(Cheers)—and if the question of the admission should be pressed to a division, he would certainly give his most decided opposition to it—(Cheers.) It had been stated by some of the delegates from America, that this was with them a question of conscience—why, it was a question of conscience with him too. He entertained certain views on this subject, with regard to the word of God, and he thought and conscientiously believed that, if he gave his vote for admitting females to vote and speak in such an assembly as the present, he should be acting in opposition to what he considered the word of God—(cheers)—But while he said this, he at the same time must express his admiration of the devotedness, the heroism, and the enlightened zeal which they had exhibited in their endeavours to ameliorate the unhappy condition of the slave, and he would hold them up as an example to the women of Britain for the devotedness which they had displayed to effect this object. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. A. JAMES, of Birmingham, had not been an indifferent nor an inactive spectator, so far as he could observe the cause from the shores of his own country, of the progress of the cause of the abolition of slavery in America. Such had been the impression formed upon his mind of the exertions of those females of whose names America might be justly proud, that he would willingly have undertaken a journey to town had it been only to see such women as Mrs. Chapman and Mrs. Weld. But he was quite sure that, in that assembly that morning, the moving the question of their admission had been prejudicial to the cause. He was sorry the abstract question of the rights of women had occupied so large a share of their attention. He regretted that the question had been brought from the other side of the Atlantic. (Cheers.) It would have been better to have settled it there first—(loud cheers)—and have allowed them to pursue their own course without embarrassing them on the subject. (Loud cheers.) Several expressions had been made use of by the gentlemen from America in the course of the discussion, which he had been delighted to hear. He was pleased with the declaration of Col. Miller, that, whatever might be the decision of the majority of the convention, to that he was prepared to bow; and though, as Mr. Phillips could not conscientiously consent to withdraw his resolution, the question must go to the vote, yet he thought, however, they might give their votes, it would occasion no divisions among them; but that they would all be prepared to go forward in the great and good work which they had undertaken with perfect confidence in each other's motives, though they had not the same confidence in each other's opinions. (Loud cheers.) They had never before heard a single word on the question of the right of females. It was a question perfectly new in this country. They were not prepared for its discussion. It had never before been mooted, and they were therefore not prepared to jump to a conclusion. The question involved in this country far wider considerations than even the question of slavery itself—(hear, hear, and cheers)—and he trusted they would not gratify their enemies by quarrelling on the threshold. (Loud cheers.) He was sure the American delegates would stand acquitted at the bar of their own country of any imputation of lukewarmness on this question. (Cheers.) The females could never reproach them with having deserted their cause, and they would go back honoured by all those who had sent them there—and should they one day agree with their American friends in opinion on this subject, then would they welcome those females within the bar who were now placed a little beyond it, but whom he could not think disgraced by being so placed. (Cheers.) No man could have read "The Martyr Age," which to him possessed more than the charms of romance, without forming the highest opinion of the devotedness, the talents, and the heroism of the women of America. (Cheers.) America was the only country in the world which could boast a very extensive martyrology to this cause, and they would add another laurel to their wreaths by conceding the point under discussion. (Cheers.) They would still continue to appear in this first meeting of the sort which had ever been assembled since slavery first existed, and be with them and around them, although they could not be amongst them. He hoped that all that had occurred on this question would be only like what sometimes was introduced into the most melodious music, a discord only to make the harmony the sweeter. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Caine's amendment not having been seconded, it fell to the ground, and the Chairman was about to put the original resolution, when

Mr. STACEY said, that he had only consented to withdraw his amendment, upon the understanding that Mr. Phillips would consent to withdraw his original motion! but that gentleman having declined, it was not competent for him to do so. He (Mr. Stacey) would not withdraw his amendment.—(Loud cries of "question, question; divide, divide.")

The CHAIRMAN said, that as the great majority of the meeting seemed to wish to come to a decision on the subject, he would now put the question.

Dr. Cox protested against this peremptory decision of the chairman. It was not competent for any number of gentlemen to demand of the chairman that he should come to a prompt decision on this subject. (Cheers.) Gentlemen on the other side of the question were entitled to be heard, and if they were not heard, he should move an adjournment.

Mr. J. CANNING FULLER said, that he represented as large a constituency as any one present, and he was surprised that an attempt should be made to prevent persons from speaking. It had been said that the question ought to have been settled on the other side the Atlantic. Why it had been settled in favour of the women a year ago; and with regard to the terms of the invitation, there was nothing about gentlemen in the first invitation, and the women had been elected before the second notice had been received.

Captain WALKER said, that in whatever country an institution was formed, something should be given up to the feelings and prejudices of the country in which it was formed. (Cheers.) The ladies across the Atlantic had exerted themselves nobly, (cheers)—and he trusted they would continue to do so, (loud cheers.)—but he intreated the ladies not to push this question. (Cheers.) They did not perhaps fully comprehend the feeling existing in this country on the subject. (Cheers.) The question reduced itself to this. Were the Americans willing to cast off England altogether? England had given a proof of her sincerity in the anti-slavery cause by paying twenty millions to get rid of the abomination of slavery, and were they now willing to cast England off? If the society had been established in America he should never have mooted the question of the exclusion of females; he would do nothing to offend the prejudices of the country in which they were, and he trusted they would do nothing calculated to cripple the great cause in which they were engaged. (Cheers.)

Mr. BIRNIE, secretary of the National Anti-Slavery society of New York, said that he rose for the purpose of correcting an impression which might be produced upon the minds of the convention, by what had fallen from some of the preceding speakers from the United States, and also from Mr. G. Thompson. Those gentlemen had made use of expressions calculated to produce the impression that the woman question, as it was called, was considered settled in the United States. Now, such was by no means the case. It was still a moot question, and a question which, since he had left America, had led to a split in the Anti-slavery society, and to the organization of a new one, from which females he had no doubt would be excluded. It was true the question had been decided in their favour last year, but that decision had been come to, by no means by a large majority, and a portion of that majority was made up by the females themselves. Again, in Massachusetts, this principle had been a principal ground of separation between the societies. On both sides the question, however, were to be found good abolitionists and true. In Massachusetts a separation had taken place—one society admitted females, the other did not. Since he had left New York, he had heard from his friend, Lewis Tappan, on the subject. In a committee of which he was a member, the name of a distinguished abolitionist, Mrs. Child, had been placed on the committee. She was at a distance from the place, and consequently unable to attend, and Mr. Tappan had moved that the name of her husband, Mr. Child, a most talented man, should be substituted. This proposition, however, was negatived, and another lady, Miss Kelly, elected in the room of Mrs. Child. In consequence of this Mr. Tappan and several of his friends had come to a

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resolution to separate from the society on that ground. Besides, most of those who were for the rights of women were also in favour of what was called the no-human government system. (Hear, hear.) He had only given this account in order to enable the convention to come to an intelligent decision on the subject. (Cheers.)

Mr. BIRNIE and Mr. THOMPSON severally explained.

The Rev. C. STOVEL said the whole question was now rather one of order than of anything else. They were assembled there together from all parts of the world to consider questions relating to negro slavery; but whilst they were discussing the powers of the delegates, they were called upon to decide a question of a totally different character—a question of which they had never before heard anything—the question of the rights of women. He would not withhold from them any of their rights—he would give them more than their rights—he thought men and women too would be but poorly off if they had *nothing* but their rights. If that question was tearing the societies in pieces in the United States, why should they introduce it to tear in pieces this convention?—(Loud cheers.) He considered the introduction of the question was decidedly out of order, and he should vote for the confirmation of the list of delegates as handed in by the committee, and henceforth he hoped they would entertain this question no more.—(Cheers.) Were they not met together pledged to do something against slavery, and they suffer the tide of benevolence to be stopped by a straw? They had assembled for the destruction of slavery, and they ought not to expose themselves to ridicule through the whole length and breadth of the land. He should move as an amendment, that the list of delegates, as taken by the committee, should be adopted.—(Cheers.)

Mr. PRESCOD, of Barbados, rose, not for the purpose of discussing the question, but of stating a fact. The ladies themselves had not come over with any very certain expectation of being received among them.—(Cheers.) He had had that fact from the ladies themselves. The ladies had been elected conditionally, if their reception should be in accordance with the customs of the country; and if it were not so, they were absolved from all responsibility.

The Rev. Mr. BEVAN protested against private conversations being repeated before a public assembly.

Mr. PRESCOD resumed. The conversation which took place last night was not a private one; they had had a preliminary meeting, at which persons not delegates were present. He stated this in the presence of the American delegates, and of the ladies themselves. (Loud cries of "order, order.")

The Chairman said the speaker was decidedly out of order in giving the details of private conversation; he had clearly no right to do so. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. MORISON said they were already on the brink of a precipice. The discussion of this question had already given rise to feelings not only adverse to the object for which they were assembled, but to that christian spirit by which all previous anti-slavery meetings had been actuated—(Cheers)—for whatever had been done in this country in the anti-slavery cause had been done under the guidance of Christian principles. There were firm-minded men on both sides of this question. It was a question of conscience between the two parties, but he would say it was a question of conscience between a small minority on one side, and a mighty majority on the other. He might discuss this question until the convention was boken up—but would their American friends indulge any hope of carrying this question, if it should be put to the vote of the meeting?—(Cheers.) He believed if their American friends could be induced to withdraw the motion unanimity would be secured. They had assembled to discuss the question of anti-slavery, and they were now asked to discuss another, and that a minor question, as to the admission of female delegates from a small section of the American continent. He besought them calmly to consider the position in which the discussion of that question was placing them that day.—(Hear.) The present was unlike any meeting that had hitherto been held in England. All former anti-slavery meetings in England had been unanimous. (Cheers.) Would their American brethren keep them in their present position? Besides, he thought it improper that this discussion should be carried on in the presence of the ladies, for whom he entertained the most profound respect. (Loud cheers.) He knew the feelings of the Americans on this subject. He knew how anxious the discussion of this question in their own country had made them, and now they were making the friends of the anti-slavery cause as anxious on the subject on this. (Cheers.) He was convinced they did not admire the position females occupied in this country, or they would never have mooted this question. He urged them to proceed immediately to the division in a spirit of christian charity, and to abide by the decision. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said the hour was so late, that he should now call upon Mr. Philips to reply.

Mr. PHILLIPS would not enter on a reply. He would simply deny the truth of the assertions of Mr. Prescod, that the women did not expect to be received when they came there, or that they had any liberty left them of choice. The women of Massachusetts had no such liberty of choice left them, and they would have been coming to that convention with a lie in their mouths, and have been guilty of the grossest deception if, having such liberty, they had come before the convention in the way they had done. The particulars of that conversation had been greatly exaggerated. It was not true that the rent in the American societies had been owing to the introduction of the woman question; his friend, who had made that assertion, had been misinformed on the subject. It was political action which had occasioned that split, and not the introduction of the woman question. He, for one, was not a favourer of the no-human government plan; and he knew many strenuous supporters of the rights of women who, like himself, were by no means favourble to that scheme. (Cheers.)

The question was then put, and Mr. Stacey's amendment carried by a large majority. The announcement of the result was received with loud cheering.

Mr. G. THOMPSON hoped, that as the question was now decided, it would never again be brought forward, and that the convention would proceed with the same good feeling as if nothing had occurred to disturb their unanimity. (Cheers.)

Mr. PHILLIPS said he did not doubt but that the supporters of his motion would co-operate with the convention with just the same cordiality as it it had been carried All they asked was an expression of *opinion* on the subject, and having obtained that, they would go on with them with a perfect feeling of cordiality. (Loud cheers.)

PROFESSOR ADAM would co-operate with the gentlemen around him, with as much zeal and earnestness as if this question had never been started.

On the motion of Mr. STURGE, the convention then adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

SATURDAY, JUNE 13TH.

The convention met on Saturday morning, according to adjournment, at Freemasons' Hall, at ten o'Clock.

Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said that before commencing the business of the day, he was anxious to offer to the meeting a few observations on some of the occurrences of yesterday, which might have appeared at the time a little irregular Their excellent friend, Thomas Clarkson, had been anxious to escape from all unnecessary excitement. He was glad to say that their venerable friend had not suffered in consequence of his exertions; he had seen him last night, and he was glad to say that he was even better then he had been in the morning, and he hoped they would see him amongst them for a short time to-day. (Cheers.) It being the desire of the committee to spare their venerable friends all causes of excitement, had induced them to make arrangements that he should be moved, seconded, and voted into the chair before he entered the room. He (Mr. Sturge) was in ignorance of the fact that this had not been done when he accompanied his venerable friend into the room yesterday; but he scarcely thought it necessary to put the question, as no doubt could exist that their venerable friend would be voted into the chair by acclamation. He hoped the meeting would excuse the irregularity which had, in consequence, been occasioned, but his object had been in putting himself forward as he had done, to save the time of the meeting, and the feelings of their venerable friend from agitation. One or two of their friends who had been elected as office bearers had only arrived the preceding evening, and were scarcely cognizant of their rules. This also might have occasioned some little irregularity in their proceedings of yesterday, which he hoped would not again recur. In order to avoid any irregularity, however, it was necessary that they should act in strict accordance with the rules which they had laid down for the regulation of their proceedings, as in that manner only they could save time, of which they all well knew the value. He hoped they would now go on in a spirit of love, unanimity, and Christian charity, and he was rejoiced to see those dear friends who on the question which had occupied their time during the latter part of the preceding sitting, were then present, prepared to co-operate with them in the spirit of sincerity and cordiality—(Cheers.)

The following gentlemen were then introduced as delegates from France, —M. ISAMBERT, the secretary to the French Anti-slavery society, and a member of the Chumber of Deputies, in whose honour medals had been struck by the coloured inhabitants of the French colonies; and M. LAURE, also a distinguished member of the French Society. They were received with loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN then said he hoped he should not be violating the conscientious scruples of any one, if he requested that they might be allowed to sit a minute or two in silence before the business of the meeting commenced.

It was shortly afterwards announced that it was the intention of those who wished to join in devotion before the commencement of the meeting, to meet in the adjoining room for that purpose at half-past nine.

The minutes of the proceedings of yesterday were then read by the secretary; and after a few observations from Mr. J. C. Fuller, and one or two other members of the convention, confirmed.

At the conclusion of the programme,

Mr. O'CONNELL entered the room, and was received with loud cheers.

Before the business commenced,

The Rev. B. GOODWIN, of Oxford, having been called upon by the chairman, proceeded, in a very low tone of voice, to read a paper on the essential sinfulness of slavery, and its direct opposition to the spirit and precepts of christianity.

It was here announced that the venerable Clarkson had arrived, and he forthwith took the chair, it having been previously arranged that all expressions of applause should be desisted from, to avoid flurrying him by any noise or excitement.

The Rev. C. STOVEL felt anxious that something practical should be devised on that religious view of the subject to which the essay just read was directed. He had several resolutions which he wished referred with the essay to a committee, to be thrown into a practical form, as a recommendation to all christian denominations to make slavery a matter of church discipline—(hear)—otherwise never would the church assume on this subject its true position. Why should not the church apply its principles to the errors pervading society? If slavery were a curse, those cursed by it ought to be delivered from it, and no friends of the gospel could be relieved from their responsibility till they had taken the ground christianity justified towards all implicated in the accursed thing. The outline of his statement was that the meeting regarded participators in slavery, and all legislative protectors of it, as acting directly contrary to the principles and spirit of christianity, and therefore earnestly entreated all christian churches through the world to consider whether incorrigible offenders of the following classes should not be excommunicated, viz.:—those who voluntarily brought men into slavery, either Hill Coolies or negros; those who took part in laws keeping up slavery; those who knowingly gave a pro-slavery character to religious bodies; those who voluntarily participated in the license given by slavery protecting laws, either by wronging them in person, liberty, property, or life; those who refused slaves equal rights in the churches of God, or rejecting their evidence in any matter with no other reason than their colour; those who possessed slaves without any merciful right to hold them; that the meeting regarded all kinds of injustice guilty before God, and as deserving of reprobation by christian churches, when committed on a black as on a white man; and therefore entreated all their fellow-christians to recollect that God would hold them responsible for any protection of, allowance to, or connivance at slavery. (Hear.) This sketch he wished to be maturely considered in a sub-committee, to be by them, in a well-digested shape, brought before the convention.

The following resolution was then proposed and seconded:—"That the

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paper read by Mr. Godwin be referred to a sub-committee, consisting of Rev. N. Colver, George Thompson, Esq., Rev. W. Knibb, Rev. B. Godwin, Rev. J. A. James, with the mover and seconder, with instructions to prepare resolutions thereon, of which it is recommended that the paper now read by Mr. Stovel form the basis.

Several delegates expressed themselves of the opinion that the question would more maturely be considered after it had been digested by the Committee.

The Rev. J. YOUNG said he could not agree to the principle of the resolutions. The convention was composed of members of all religious parties—Church of England-men, Baptists, Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists, Catholics—(hear, hear)—and ought not to participate in church discipline; for some of these denominations had no church discipline like that of others, as the Catholics. All that the convention should do was to declare their strong disapprobation of slavery, and their sense of its sinfulness, leaving it to the particular denominations to take such measures as they thought fit. He moved, as an amendment thereon, "That the last clause be omitted."

The Rev. E. TAYLOR, of Woodbridge, said, as a protestant dissenting minister, he never heard a set of resolutions of which he more cordially approved than those of Mr. Stovel. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that, by the integrity of their faith as christian men, they would pass them. They did not interfere with church discipline by recommending all christian men to consider gravely if any persons supporting slavery should sit with them in christian fellowship. (Hear.) He had seldom been more grieved and astonished than when he heard a well-known dissenting minister disapprove of this, which he held to be the soundest practical measure ever devised on the question. They came here to DO. (Hear.) He would so far abide by that as to cease speaking now—(a laugh)—concluding by earnestly recommending the adoption of the resolutions.

Mr. O'CONNELL—I really think we are agreed in principle. There is no difference between our friend Mr. Stovel and the majority of the meeting as to this: That nothing is more complicated in sinfulness than slavery—(Hear, hear)—that it is a violation of all private morality—that it is a robbery in its principle, and carries multiplied murder in its effects.—(Hear, hear, hear.) There cannot be a christian man among us who does not abhor it from the bottom of his heart. Now, for what purpose are we come here? Not to interfere with church discipline.—(Hear, hear.) I would not presume to vote on any question touching the church discipline of any of the churches to which you belong—the Baptist or Independent, for instance. Liberality does not consist in giving up what we believe ourselves, that is latitudinarianism. —(Hear, hear, hear.) Liberality consists in giving to others what we claim for ourselves—free independent judgment in religion. We are not called upon to interfere in church discipline by these resolutions. We are only asked to *recommend*. And will not any proposition have additional weight with any church because it carries with it the sanction of this convention?—(Hear.) I am sure that in my church we should gladly have the aid which such a recommendation would afford us in carrying out measures against the accursed system of slavery which have already been suggested in the eloquent directions of the head of our church, and begun to be carried out by our clergy.—(Hear, hear.)

Several delegates strongly advocated the resolutions, particularly

The Rev. W. KNIBB, missionary from Jamaica—where he said he had found the immense advantage of carrying out the system laid down in these resolutions, of making slave-holding inconsistent with religious fellowship, and he believed that such a system truly carried out would soon be the death-blow of slavery.

Mr. FRANCILLON, of Gloucester, also supported the resolutions.

The churches in former days did not excommunicate, for probably that would have exceeded their powers; but there was an influence exerted by the clergy, and, one after one the villeins were emancipated, and slavery was abolished in these free lands. He understood that an important object of the convention was to diffuse among themselves information of the most full and complete kind of the abominable nature of slavery, of the arguments to be used against it, and the proper measures to be used for its overthrow. Now, a brother had made use of the phrase, "That the church should deal harshly with all the sinners holding slaves, with the exception of those who held them in consequence of any reasonable necessity." Now, as he believed that slavery was an abomination, and could not be recognized by any man who respected the will of God or reverenced his word, then were not those words inconsistent with the notions of the vast multitude in the assembly? No christian or good man could possibly recognize any merciful reason for one man retaining property in his fellow-creature. He asked the question with respect, but he must contend that whatever resolutions they might come to, slavery was a great crime, and ought to be overturned by every means in their power.

The Rev. Mr. STOVEL.—One reason for using these words was to give the friends of slavery an opportunity of giving a good and a christian reason for the abominable practice, if it was in their power. Another was, because he was informed that in some cases where a slave was about to be restored to freedom, mercy to him would dictate that he should be manumitted in one state in preference to another, and he meant his words to apply to the transition state.

Mr. COLVER of Boston.—The Rev. gentleman who moved the proposition, seemed to have a delicacy about him in respect to the question, in which he (Mr. C.) did not share. A short time ago, there was a disturbance in Canada, chiefly fomented by American citizens, who were fond of commotion and trouble, and were more inclined to meddle with other persons' affairs than to mind their own. Whenever they were chased by the British authorities, they ran and took shelter in the states. Now England sent a minister to our government, and asked that they would prevent the marauders from sheltering on their territory, to which the American government at once acceded; now, would any one say that this was an interference with the American government by England? Of course it was not, and that is what we want; the moment we get the track of a slave-holder, and he takes refuge in the church of God, we want to say to the church, out with him, give him no refuge, withdraw your protection from him, for he is a sinner. Was that any undue interference with church discipline? He thought not, and cordially supported the original resolution.

Mr. BOULTBEE, of Birmingham, supported the resolution, inasmuch as it was merely a recommendation to the committee to consider.

Mr. YOUNG explained that his objection to the resolution was this. He did think, although all of them were agreed that slave-holding was a sin, and was therefore inconsistent with church membership, still the convention was not a body that had a right to interfere with a church and its discipline.

After a desultory conversation between many members—

Mr. BLAIR strongly supported the resolution. He had long been anxious to see such a resolution adopted, for he conceived that the greatest stronghold of the slave-holder was the aid and sanction given to the practice by churches.

Dr. K. GREVILLE supported the resolution, because he conceived that every christian church ought to exercise church discipline in a case of such aggravated sin.

Mr. J. G. BIRNEY, of New York, said he must deny that there could be any sinless holder of a slave according to the law of God. That was a rock upon which they must not split—they must not give the slave-holder any such loop-hole, for they would most gladly avail themselves of it; no one found such easy excuses for his conduct as the slaveholder, whether he were a cruel one or a mild and gentle master. (Hear, hear.) He had made himself acquainted with the facts as they stood in New York respecting slavery—he went to all churches, and in none but the Roman Catholic church did he find they had put down the negro pew. Even in the churches where ministers preached who called themselves abolitionists he found it. (Hear, hear.) The resolution did not dictate, they only called upon the churches to carry out their own principles—they did not dictate new modes of action.

The Rev. Mr. SWAN, of Birmingham, supported the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. ROBINSON, of Kettering, would like to see the committee appointed unfettered, when they would well consider the matter, and bring forward matured resolutions.

Rev. Mr. HARVEY, of Glasgow, supported the resolutions. Although as a strict presbyterian as he ought to be, he saw nothing in them to offend any church—they were recommendations, not dictations.

Rev. Mr. JAMES, of Bridgewater, supported the amendment. He thought strong and stringent resolutions might be framed to effect their object without at all meddling with church discipline.

Mr. W. D. CREWSDON supported the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. BINNEY did not understand what was meant by the principle. His own impression was, that if they declared a certain thing to be a great sin and a violation of christian duty, they could not avoid drawing the inference that those who were guilty of that sin might be subject to church discipline.—(Hear.) Such a conclusion was as clear and logical as possible. But the difficulty of the point was not in the resolutions themselves of Mr. Stovel, but in the preamble to those resolutions. That preamble did not refer to the characteristics which distinguished the slavery of the present day from that species of slavery which existed at the time of the primitive church. Was there any gentleman present who would deny that slave-owners had been members of that primitive church?—(Yes.) Could any one deny that under the eyes of the apostles men had held property in their fellow-men? He believed there were slaves and masters in the times of the apostles, and that those masters had not become subject to church discipline. He had, however, no objection to such a resolution as that which had been proposed, if they were to have a preamble to it clearly and and distinctly stating the characteristics which distinguished modern slavery from that which existed when the primitive church was formed. He thought that if, instead of this course, they denounced slavery in general terms as unchristian, they would create much perplexity in many minds.

A DELEGATE said that there was no account in the scriptures of such slavery as we had now.

The Rev. Mr. BINNEY—Exactly. There were circumstances of peculiar atrocity in slavery as it existed now, and it assumed a totally different aspect from that which it bore at the time of the apostles. But if they used the word slavery generally he thought they would involve themselves in great difficulties.

Mr. W. DAWES, of the Oberlin Institution, called on the meeting to act cautiously as regarded the question then before them, but not to temporize. They could not denounce the unchristian character of slavery too strongly, and they were bound to take every means in their power for its suppression.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES, began by expressing a hope that the convention would not come to a decision on the question then before them without the fullest deliberation. They were then touching the main spring of the whole subject—(Hear, hear, hear.) Their object was the extinction of the slave-trade, and in order to effect that object they should put an end to slavery in America; and in order to put down slavery in America they should remove it from the church of America—(Hear, hear,)—and in order to remove it from the church of America it appeared to him that the strongest recommendations on the subject should go forth from the convention. The church was the main prop of slavery in the United States.—(Hear, hear.) The demon of slavery had found a haunt, a shelter, and a defence, not so much he believed under the presidential or the professorial chair, as under the altar of the Lord and in the house of God. It was, therefore, their duty to do something which would tell on the church.—(Hear, hear.) The question was a moral one, and they all knew that the church of God professed to be based on moral grounds, and that a moral influence perpetually proceeded from it either for evil or for good. It appeared to him therefore that they should do something which would act on the professors of religion, and he did not know anything more likely to effect that end than a temperate but firm and uncompromising recommendation, such as that alluded to in the resolution then under the consideration of the meeting. He belonged himself to a denomination proverbially sensitive as to its rights as a church—a denomination which would allow no invasion of those rights, and which would set at defiance that convention, or any other body which might attempt to dictate to its members the terms of communion: but they were prepared to listen to recommendations, and especially to recommendations emanating from such a body as that which he then addressed. He would still say that the suggestion of Mr. Binney deserved the grave and serious consideration of the committee when it came before them. The slave-holders sheltered themselves under the pretended sanction of the scriptures, and would tell them that there were slave-holders in communion with the primitive church. He would meet them on that ground, by showing that modern slavery bore no analogy to

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that which prevailed then; and besides there was not the same light to reveal its enormity as now. He thought that it would be wise to take up that suggestion. Their object should be to produce an impression on the public mind, and to convince parties that slavery, as it existed at the present day, was a sin, and such a sin as ought to exclude its authors from communion with their fellow-men. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. THOMPSON was anxious to notice the fact to which the Rev. Mr. Binney had alluded—that there had been slave-holders among the primitive christians, and in the time of the apostles: and to allude to the statement of another gentleman, that specific directions had been given by St. Paul to slaves to obey the precepts of their masters. He did not think that either of these observations should be permitted to escape notice in a meeting like that before him, lest any individual who had not given the same consideration to the subject as others among them had been obliged to do, should depart without that information which might enable him to come to a satisfactory conclusion on that very difficult and oft-debated point. He granted that there had been slave-holders among the professors of christianity in the time of the apostles—he admitted also with the Rev. Mr. James, that the characteristics of slavery at the time of the apostles differed in many important points from the characteristics of that slavery which they were now denouncing; but it appeared to him that there were other circumstances of equal or even greater importance to be taken into account. The first of these was, that if St. Paul had not denounced slavery specificially, and if he had not authoritatively enjoined on masters the liberation of their slaves, he was silent on that subject, as he had been silent on many others respecting which there had never been any doubt from the time that christianity had been first propagated in the world. St. Paul was not sent to be an anti-slavery lecturer; he had been appointed to preach a new religion, or at least a religion which, in the fulness of time, had been developed for the regeneration of men. But he thought that they should bear in mind that the precepts of Christianity, including the precepts of St. Paul, gave lessons above all for the general conduct of mankind. St. Paul did not go about denouncing specific sins, and prescribing specific penalties for them, but he laid down great principles according to which we might safely act on any particular occasion. It was so with the teachers of other doctrines. Sir Isaac Newton, when he developed to the world his system of astronomy, did not at the same time refute in detail every other system which the ignorance, or the superstition, or the vanity of men had formed, but he laid down great principles drawn from an accurate observation of the laws of nature, by which he overturned every system which previous philosophers had established. He (Mr. Thompson) was still prepared to teach with St. Paul, that slaves should not effect their liberation by violence, or by the application of physical force; and he did not know an abolitionist who would not be ready to tell slaves, in the language of the apostle, that being slaves, they should not care for it, for that they had a master in heaven who had smitten from their limbs the fetters of a baser bondage, but that if they could purchase their freedom they might do so. He thought that the lessons of St. Paul to slaves offered a striking illustration of the peaceful spirit of christianity. But on the other hand, did the apostle give no instructions to masters? Mr. THOMPSON was proceeding when

The venerable Chairman left the meeting, apparently overcome by fatigue.

Mr. J. STURGE then took the chair, and

Mr. THOMPSON then continued. He had said that the apostle Paul had addressed precepts to slaves providing for the safety of their masters and their property, but he had also addressed precepts to masters. And here he (Mr. Thompson) would take the opportunity of complaining of the modern practice of appealing to the scriptures in America. He knew that there were hundreds of preachers in the south, who were exceedingly fond of searching the writings of St. Paul wherever he might refer to the duties of slaves, but who seemed to have completely forgotten the other precepts of the apostle. What did St. Paul say to masters? What was involved in the words, "The labourer is worthy of his hire!" What in the words, "Let no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter, for the Lord will be the avenger of all such?" What, again, in that grand christian rule, that drunkards and other bad characters, including extortioners, should have no place in the church? He contended, that if the teachers of christianity acted on those principles, they would be bound to break the fetters of the slave, and he found an illustration of the manner in which those principles were understood by the primitive christians, in the fact that, three centuries after the establishment of christianity, slavery was unknown throughout the west of Europe. He had made those remarks in consequence of the statement of Mr. Binney, that slavery had existed in the early church. He would next pass to the matter more immediately under the consideration of the meeting, namely, the propriety of nominating a committee for the purpose of drawing up certain resolutions recommending christian churches to make slave-holding a matter of church discipline. Such a recommendation would be no novelty to the church on the other side of the Atlantic. They already exercised such a power on many subjects by no means so important in his (Mr. Thompson's) estimation as slave-holding. Many of them exercised church discipline in reference to persons who distilled or vended ardent spirits, and they excluded such parties from their communion. (Hear.) Many of them would not allow gamblers a place in their church, nor would they allow it to those who dug up and sold the bodies of the dead; and yet they would receive among them those who ran away with and sold the living men. (Hear, hear.) Their respect for the inanimate corpse of the negro was greater than their respect for the animated and intelligent being who might stand before them. (Hear, hear.) It would, he repeated, be no new thing to the churches of America, to receive such a recommendation as that to which he had referred, for they had already received similar recommendations from assemblies far less august than that which he had then the honour to address. Some denominations had acted on those recommendations. The Reformed Presbyterians, so early as the year 1801, had agreed to exclude from their body those who were guilty of slave-holding; and the Free-will Baptists had more recently adopted a resolution to the same effect. Since he (Mr. Thompson) had left America, the cause of abolition had been winning its widening way there down to the present time, when they had met together from so many various parts; and now the eyes of the churches of America were on them. Slavery in the abstract had already been denounced by many of those churches, but they had still continued in this world of abstractions to permit the slavery of their fellow-men. Let them, then quit the world of abstraction, and come to the world of every-day life. Let them cease to discuss principles which were admitted in the abstract by their adversaries in common with themselves. Let them descend from that sublime region, in which their adversaries were ready to accompany them. Let them stigmatize as unchristian the act of slave-holding, bearing with them, like thunder-bolts from the clouds in which they had so long dwelt, those principles which might smite the enemies of the rights of man. (Cheers.) They would have to deal with a large body of Christians in America, who were misled by those to whom they looked up for counsel and example. There were multitudes of the common people there who were content to be slave-holders, because Dr. A. or Mr. B. were slave-holders too, and because those gentlemen, after flogging their slaves well at home, went to church and preached equally well. (Laughter.) They had their representatives from all the great Christian denominations, and, if they followed the course which was then proposed, they would extort a respect for their opinions not only from the common people, but from those who moved in higher spheres. One word more about St. Paul. Suppose the apostle had gone into an American church, and found his own writings spread out on the desk from which Christianity was preached, would he, after his precepts had been so long reverenced, and after they had been raised to the highest place in the judgment and the veneration of men, have gone back to first principles, and contented himself with merely laying the foundation of true morality? No, he would "lay righteousness to the line, and judgment to the plummet," and he would overturn the whole fabric of slavery, from its summit to its lowest foundation. (Hear, hear.) The question before them was the most important, he considered, that could be brought under their consideration. (Hear, hear.) They would, by adopting the resolution, pronounce slavery to be essentially sinful. They should also call on every Christian to abandon it, and on every Christian denomination to exert its prerogatives over those who had neglected the weightier matters of the law, "judgment, justice, and mercy;" and if they did so, his own impression was that they would direct the attention of thousands on the other side of the Atlantic to the subject, and that they would convert the pulpits of America, now the most successful pedestals from which the demon of slavery exerted its influence, into fitting receptacles for those who were representatives of that great Master, who came to preach deliverance to captives, and the opening of their prisons to them that were in chains. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. C. BIRT said, that the slavery of the present day, was unquestionably of a totally different character from that of former times; and the apostle had no doubt laid down principles which were calculated in their progress to overturn slavery of every kind. In the city of Bristol, the members of the communion to which he belonged had framed a formal resolution to the effect that they would not extend their fellowship to any Americans who might come among them, unless they were ready to profess, not only their abhorrence of slavery in the abstract, but also their determination to use all their influence for its extinction in America, and throughout the rest of the world. He was certainly most anxious that the subject then under their consideration, should go before a committee, and he would give his cordial support to the resolution.

It being then two o'clock—

Mr. TURNBULL moved that the meeting should adjourn till four, with an understanding that the subject should come under discussion again.

After a short conversation, the question of the adjournment of the meeting was put, and negatived by a large majority.

A discussion then arose as to whether the meeting should immediately proceed to divide on the main question.

The CHAIRMAN said that he had certainly put the question of the adjournment with the impression that, if it were not carried, the meeting should immediately divide on the other question.

Several delegates wished to know if there would be a further opportunity of discussing the subject when the report of the committee was brought in.

The CHAIRMAN said that he apprehended there would be an opportunity for such discussion.

Mr. G. THOMPSON was also of opinion that the principle would again come under their consideration.

Mr. BROOKES said that there could be no doubt, as he thought, that slave-holders were not entitled to be received into communion with their fellow-christians; but it was another question to decide whether such a declaration should come from that meeting.

The Rev. Mr. STOVEL thought that all objections might be met by denouncing the system of modern slavery only, according to the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Binney.

Captain STUART said it should be observed that the primitive christians were but subjects, while they were legislators. The primitive christians submitted to slavery, while the christians of the present day created it. He thought that was a distinction which should not be forgotten.

The CHAIRMAN then put the amendment on the main question, which had but few supporters; and the original motion, on being put, was carried with only a few dissentients.

The resolution was then agreed to, and the meeting adjourned till four o'clock.

On the re-assembling of the delegates in the afternoon sitting,

Mr. SCALES observed that a dislike had been expressed to the reading of papers. It was proposed that remaining papers should be withdrawn; but from the good which had resulted from the reading of the paper by Mr. Godwin, it was important that some of them, at least, should be presented to the convention. The meeting would now proceed to the subject of slavery in British India.

PROFESSOR ADAM, of Harvard University, Massachusetts, then stated that, knowing the purpose for which he had come to that meeting, and calling to mind that the purpose for which they had come, was to act, and not to speak, he had made it his purpose, in the document which he was about to present to them, to condense as much as possible the statements of facts in reference to the present state of slavery in British India.

The learned Professor then read the document, which was full of deeply interesting statements, and which produced a powerful impression upon the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN observed that the document to which they had listened, was rendered more interesting by the fact that the Professor had himself resided many years in British India.

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Professor ADAM wished to suggest two or three remarks, on the general bearing of the subject. The English have visited India: the English have taken possession of India—by what means I will not now say—but they have taken possession; and they have subjected to themselves a vast amount of the population of India. And what is the condition of that population? As to religion—their state is the most degrading. As it regards their general condition—the general state of society; we see from the document which has been read, upon the truth of which you may depend, that they are also in a state of deep degradation. The English found the population in that condition. But was it to have been expected that the English government, of all the nations in the world, would have legalized the two systems of slavery which they found in existence? Was it to have been expected that Hindoo slavery, which had ceased to exist under the Mahometan government, should have been called into existence, have been reduced to form, have been legalized, by the British government? Was this to have been expected from our countrymen—from those who had carried their conquests—who had conveyed their science, their religion, to India? Surely such a course was not to have been expected; and other countries, and after ages, will at least declare that it was highly inconsistent—(hear, hear)—especially considering her loud boasts of freedom. But not only did the British government legalize Hindoo slavery, she has also retained in chains those whom she found in chains imposed upon them by preceding conquerors! Does it not become us who are now assembled from all parts of the world, to declare our belief that such a system should no longer be tolerated? (Hear, hear.) Is it not time that we, as a christian slavery-hating people, should express our determination that a system shall no longer exist—a system of slavery established by Hindoos and Mahometans? Surely you will do so. You will cause your voice to be heard; and it will be heard; it will go further, not only to the ends of this island, but to the very ends of the earth, and the results will be that we shall no longer be disgraced by such a system. (Hear.) Nor is this all. The British government is already pledged to do this. It has been so pledged for several years; but it has not redeemed its pledge. In the act of 1833, it was determined that slavery in India should be abolished; it was also provided that inquiry should be made as to the real condition of the slaves, and that such measures should be adopted as would lead to the extinction of slavery. The East India Company was desired to send home from time to time such laws and regulations as would lead to the abolition of slavery. The directions and provisions contained in the act of 1833 have hitherto proved a dead letter. Nothing has been done to mitigate the condition of the slaves, or to lead to the extinction of slavery. You have, therefore, strong, clear, defined ground upon which to proceed, and I earnestly hope that you will proceed, in spite of any obstacles which may be presented to your course—(Cheers.)

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER, I have been informed, on authority upon which I can rely, that an act was passed some years ago in the House of Commons, which had it been acted upon, would have caused slavery long ago to have ceased to exist in the East Indies; but that on its being carried up to the House of Lords, a clause was struck out, at the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington, which rendered the bill comparatively null and void so far as slavery was concerned. That omission it seems was not noticed by Mr. Buxton, and hence he made no attempt to supply the deficiency. Perhaps some friend present could confirm that statement—(Hear.)

MR. PEASE, of Darlington, said he believed that such a clause had been omitted in the way just stated. That slavery existed in British India, and that it existed to a considerable extent and under very painful circumstances, there could be no doubt whatever. They had abundant evidence to prove that fact. But what was the remedy? They had long talked of the evil; but what had they done to remove it? What had they accomplished? And why had they not accomplished all that they wished? One plain reason might be assigned, namely, that the government of this country had profited by the continuance of the system. (Hear.) Something more must be done. Daniel O'Connell was about to bring forth a motion in reference to slavery in British India. (Hear.) It was a fact that one-third of the land in British India was in the possession of wild beasts; a portion, which, if cultivated, would yield a sufficient quantity of food for the supply of the people's wants. The governor-general of India had declared that to be the case, namely, that one-third of the land was actually in the possession of wild beasts. Let petitions therefore be sent forth from every part of this country, that the natives of India may henceforth have possession of the soil, and be assisted to cultivate it for the supply of their own wants. Sufficient evidence upon the subject was taken in the committee of the House of Commons: it was proved that the land tax was most oppressive, leading to want and starvation, and compelling millions to become slaves for a long series of years. Mr. Pease said that he had stated these things before the directors of the East India Company; and he now hoped that the statements he had made would go forth to the country, and that abundance of petitions would be sent in to Parliament, praying that the one-third of the land, which was now in the possession of wild beasts might be brought into cultivation, that the wants of the human population might meet an adequate supply. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Mr. JOHNSON said, he had been much struck with the accounts which he had recently heard as to East Indian slavery. He was anxious that the whole question might be brought fairly before them, that they might furnish their constituents with the true state of the case when they returned home. In order to promote the cause of slavery abolition he had been in the habit of inducing persons to abstain from the use of all articles which were produced by the labour of slaves. Such advice was very galling to those who were concerned in upholding slavery, and he had reason to believe that it told much upon the system. He took no sugar at all himself; but to those of his friends who took it, he recommended the practice of taking only sugar which came from the East Indies; because he thought that the East India sugar was the produce of the labours of free men, now if it should go forth to the world that the larger portion of the labourers in the East Indies were under slavery, would not he, and those who acted as he did, appear as traducers? Was the sugar which was said to be the produce of free labour, really so? or was it the product of slave labour? He hoped that some gentleman present would be able to explain that point. (Hear.)

Mr. G. THOMPSON said, he believed it would be found on inquiry that the sugar in question was not the result of coerced labour. It (the sugar) really came from Bengal, it was not the produce of forced labour.

Professor ADAM said, as far as my observation has extended, the sugar sent from the East Indies to this country is produced chiefly in Bengal, and by free labourers. (Hear.) The principal portion of predial and aggrestic slavery in India is in the southern part of India.

Captain STUART said, that all his experience and the evidence which he had obtained went to prove the correctness of the statements made by Professor Adam, and by George Thompson. The evidence which was given before the houses of Lords and Commons was complete to him, as proving that the sugar sent to this country from the East Indies was not sugar obtained by aggrestic slavery, but by free labour. (Hear.)

Mr. J. EATON, of Bristol, said that there was a publication which might easily be obtained, a letter addressed to W. Whitmore, and to their late esteemed friend Zachary Macaulay, from which it would appear that the sugar sent from India to this country was the produce of free labour.

Mr. MOORE read some extracts from a work recently published by Mr. Peggs, illustrative of East India slavery. He was persuaded that the friends of emancipation would not relax their efforts until slavery in the East Indies was entirely abolished.

Mr. GEO. THOMPSON, begged to second the resolution. This was a very interesting question, and one on which he should take a future occasion of making some observations. He thought it highly proper that the subject should be referred to a committee.

Mr. R. PEEK, said that in a conversation which he had with a gentleman who had been thirty-four years in the East India Company's civil service, that gentleman admitted that slavery did exist in the East Indies to a considerable extent; but a committee had been sitting for the last two or three years, (laughter); and perhaps when they had sat a few years longer, and got sufficient information before them, something would be introduced gradually to remove it. He also stated that one great source of slavery in the East Indies was that of parents selling their own children, in consequence of the famine prevailing there, to preserve them from starvation. In one district the governor prohibited parents from thus disposing of their offspring, and thousands had died for the want of the necessaries of life.

The Rev. Mr. COLVER hoped that the committee would turn their attention to that source of slavery which arose from the grinding oppression of the inhabitants of India.

Mr. JAS. SANDS thought that great benefit would result from the consideration of the advantages of free labour.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. Mr. BEVAN then read a paper on the moral influence of slavery on the character of the enslaver and the enslaved, and its opposition to the advancement of civilization, education, and christianity.

Mr. MORGAN read a letter from Dr. Channing, on American slavery.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER, said that in the autumn of last year he had visited Denmark, and while there, he took an opportunity of inquiring into the state of slavery in the Danish colonies. The only work which had thrown any light on that subject was published by Sylvester Hovey, Letters on the West Indies. Slavery in the Danish West India colonies had been attended, as in all others, with a fearful loss of human life. In the island of St. Croix, during twenty-six years terminating in the year 1836. the population had diminished 7,000. The island of St. Thomas contained about 5000 slaves, was frequented to a considerable extent by those engaged is the slave trade, and this tended to perpetuate it. In the island of St. John's there were about 2000 slaves. It was considered that slavery in the Danish colonies was administered in the mildest manner, but the loss of human life showed the essential evil of the system. Moral and religious instruction was to a very great extent neglected. Even the Moravian mission, which had been established a century, (the missionaries having made themselves slaves in order to afford them an opportunity of carrying out their religious designs), had produced but little fruit. While in Denmark he met with the governor of the Danish West India Islands, who told him that, England having liberated her slaves, he had felt it was necessary to pomote the better treatment of their own slaves, lest they should make their escape to the English Islands. During the time he (Mr. A.) was in that country the first anti-slavery society was established. He believed that the persons of whom it was composed were capable of serving the cause in no unimportant degree. While at Copenhagen, he was informed that certain measures were under the consideration of government, which would in various ways promote the benefit of the negro race. It was proposed, however, that the system of slavery should be guaranteed for twenty years.—(Hear, hear.) He wrote an address to the King of Denmark, which, through the kindness of one of the members of the committee, he had had an opportunity of placing in the hands of the then princess, now Queen of Denmark, and she was very likely to take a deep interest in the question. To the present King of Denmark he had endeavoured to point out what had been the results of abolition in the West Indies, and which were different to those which had been previously represented to his majesty. On the whole, he hoped, that something had been done in promoting the abolition of slavery in the Danish colonies. One circumstance which rendered it extremely probable was, that Denmark was the first European nation which abolished the slave trade.—(Cheers.)

Mr. D. TURNBULL, stated his opinions regarding the comparative severity of slavery in Denmark, America, and the French West India Islands. He also called attention to the anomalous position of Crabb Island. It was not defined whether it belonged to England, Denmark or Spain.

Mr. PRESCOD thought that Crabb Island belonged to England, and therefore that the slaves were entitled to their freedom.

After a few observations from two or three delegates on the diminution of life in slave colonies

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER moved,

That Wm. Forster, George Stacey Esqrs., and the mover and seconder be appointed a committee to take into consideration the facts stated by Mr. Alexander and others with regard to the Danish Islands, and report on the same.

Mr. D. TURNBULL, seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to.

The Convention adjourned until Monday.

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MONDAY, JUNE 15TH.

THE proceedings commenced under the presidency of Robert K. Greville, L.L.D.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. F. BUXTON called in to give a friendly visit; and it was stated that he would return as soon as he had fulfilled a previous engagement. (Hear, hear.)

Sir E. WILMOT also appeared, and was well received.

Mr. FORSTER addressed a few observations to the convention, as to the order of their proceedings.

The Secretary then stated the *programme* of the business.

Mr. BOULTBEE said, he was anxious to adopt the advice of their zealous friend, Mr. O'Connell, to follow practical measures. He felt the great importance of diffusing full and correct information as to the immense benefits which would result, even to the planters, from the abolition of slavery. With that view he moved—

"That a committee consisting of Messrs. John Cropper, Josiah Conder, and John Sturge, be appointed to collect and arrange facts on the advantages of free over slave labour, and to report thereon, such report to detail the most effectual means for securing the adoption of free labour."

Mr. WILLIAM KAY seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

S. BOWLEY, Esq., moved—

"That a committee be appointed consisting of Messrs. Knibb, Prescod, Capt. Stuart, Messrs. W. Anderson, and W. W. Morgan, with power to add to their number, to obtain and arrange evidence on the results of emancipation in the British colonies, and that they report a resolution thereon, and that they consider and report the measures now necessary for securing and rendering permanent freedom in said colonies."

J. G. BIRNIE, Esq., of New York, was then called upon to introduce the subject of American slavery. He had been one of the committee appointed to digest and prepare the question, but they had not had time to produce it in the most compact form. They would, however, detail the principal points on which they wished the action of the convention, and the whole might be a pretty fair view of American slavery. He would state as succinctly as possible the different relations of the American Central and State Governments, the various orbits, so to speak, of which were often confounded—(Hear, hear.) The 13 colonies, before the declaration of independence, acted under incorporations; they then adopted each its own form of State Government. In 1788, the second year after the struggle for independence, there were articles of confederation, the experiment of which satisfied the people that it was not sufficient for all government purposes, and with the advice of General Washington, a more compact union was adopted, for the States could each make war or peace, coin money, &c., without reference to the whole. The attempt was made to form what was now called the constitution of the United States. To this end there was a convention in 1789, composed of delegates selected by the people at large. They were to confer such powers as they thought proper on the general government, the remaining powers being reserved for the local governments. Thus so far from the constitution of the United States being the original, it was merely secondary, and could only carry out the powers which had been conferred upon it. For instance, as to collecting revenue, the power was conferred, the means, though not defined, following, as far as necessary. Now, complaints had occurred of the central government not sufficiently repressing abuses, as of slavery; but the reason was that the requisite power had not been conferred upon it. From 1787 there was a general opinion that slavery should not be of long duration; hence slavery was not mentioned in the constitution. (Hear, hear, from Mr. O'Connell.) He would not dwell minutely on the present state of public feeling, or the conduct of congress for past years on the subject, but on the reason why the influence of slavery had so far guided and governed powers intended for the preservation of liberty. Prior to 1787 the cotton manufacture had not advanced to any great extent, so that the demand for slave labour had not been large. Massachusetts alone had adopted a glorious principle of freedom, which eventually triumphed over slavery. In the other states, no obstacle had been then interposed to what it was unwisely hoped would have been the gradual extinction of slavery. Hence the inutility of yielding to expediency in opposition to principle. (Hear, hear.) Such minds as Franklin had been deceived by the delusion, and were not prepared for the event which upset all their expectations, namely, the invention in 1793 of the cotton gin, which greatly increased the productive powers of labour—the labour of 1000 hands being performed by one. This opened a door to a prodigious demand for what otherwise would have been a slight article of trade. From that moment might be traced the influence of slavery on the public mind, and the general government. (Hear.) This did not of course allow of any excuse to the Government for not acting when they could, particularly for not preventing the re-delivery of slaves escaped to free states. Congress had also the right (though not undisputed by slave holders) of abolishing slavery in Colombia, where there were 6,000 or 7,000 slaves. So, also, in the territories, as they were called, in opposition to the states—as in the territory of Florida. No excuse could be offered for the neglect of congress on those subjects. Now for the immediate object to be presented to the convention. The slave-holding interest in America was to be distinguished from the great mass of public opinion, which was opposed to them—(hear, hear, hear)—and this interest was greatly alarmed at the agitation upon the subject, but trusted to the influence of self-interest on the government of America to maintain the system. To this end the slave-holders were always endeavouring by every means to commit the Government to the maintenance of that system. In the prosecution of this design, they had tried to commit the Government to a claim for compensation against the British Government on account of slaves liberated through their having been thrown by stress of weather on the coasts of British settlements. Negociations had accordingly been carried on between the two Governments on this subject, which had terminated thus;—In cases before the emancipation act the British government agreed to give proper compensation. In another case, which occured since the act the British Government refused, declaring that they would not recognize any property in human kind.—(Loud cheers.) In this state of the case Mr. Calhoun moved, in the American senate, the following resolution: "That ships on the high seas, in the time of peace, engaged in lawful traffic, are, according to the laws of nations, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the State to which they belong, as much so as if constituting a part of its own dominion, and that if such ships be cast by stress of weather or other unavoidable cause into the port of any friendly power, they are under the same laws, and the persons and property on board are under the protection of those laws: and further that the brig Enterprise (the slave-ship in question, the last of those negotiated about,) having been forced into a part of the Bermudas, while on a lawful voyage from an American port, is embraced within the principle laid down in these resolutions, and that the detention of the negros on board that vessel, and their subsequent liberation, were in violation of the laws of nations, and unjust to American citizens." These resolutions were substantially agreed to, March 13, 1840, with no dissenting voice.—(Hear, hear.) The object of these resolutions was not so much the expectation (which could hardly be entertained) that foreign States would bring the rights (so called) of slave-holders into the laws of nations, as to commit the American Government to the support of slave-holders' claims. Now it was a most important thing that this convention should admonish England and the world of the real design and effect of the doctrines set forth in these resolutions—(Hear, hear, hear,)—and expose the flagitious principles involved in them.—(Cheers.) With this view he should move a preamble and certain resolutions, to express the sense of the convention upon the subject. He would here state that congress did really possess the power of preventing the carrying on of the infamous slave trade; for though the power to abolish internal and domestic slavery had not been conferred in the congress, there had been expressly reserved to them the power of regulating commerce, not only with foreign states, but with other states of the union. And the best jurists of America held that this enabled them to put down the traffic in slavery by their own citizens. Now, in respect to the means of influencing the pubic mind to the suppression of slavery in America, he wished to observe that the main difficulty was in bringing before the public the real state of the question; and the diffusion by the press of information, and appeals upon it, was one of the most powerful influences that could be brought to bear on behalf of the abolition cause.—(Hear, hear.) The legislative body of the union was completely under the dominion of the slave-holders, who, by a refinement of criminal ingenuity, were actually entitled to the elective franchise in proportion to the slaves they possessed that is, five slaves gave three votes.—(Loud expressions of surprise and indignation.) Thus in the Senate there was a slave party of twenty-four that could turn any of the great state questions of policy. (Hear, hear, hear.) A very important element in the consideration of this subject was the proposed annexation of Texas—(hear, hear)—an attempted act of violence and wrong, which, if it had been successful, would have rendered the abolition cause less hopeful than ever. Blessed be Providence, however, that the project had not succeeded; and this was one among the many proofs of the greatly beneficial results which followed from the exertion of the influence of other nations on the side of justice and humanity, and sound policy. Let it be effort of this country, then, who would be followed by France in the noble example—(cheers)—and then by other European states, to exert all possible influence on the American people to induce the abolition of the slave system. That system was only to be reached by the influence of external appliances; for the result of a long experience in American abolition exertions enabled him sorrowfully yet confidently to state, that, unaided by such external influences, the exertions of the American abolitionists would be hopeless. (Hear, hear, hear.) How then was this external influence to be exerted on our part? Let us exhibit to America the glorious spectacle of our emancipated negros in the British colonies—especially the West Indies—supplied with all the advantages of education, and right moral training, and religious instruction—peaceful, prosperous, happy communities; and when the noble example should have been imitated by other European states, the principles of freedom carried out with worthy emulation in all their colonies, and the beneficial results indisputably demonstrated, then indeed would the system of slavery even in America begin to tremble under the mighty force of puplic feeling, and the crisis would not be far distant when it would for ever fall.—(Loud cheers.) This was the crisis so ardently desired by the abolitionists, and to bring it about it was necessary to influence the mind of England here, which would produce action on the part of its Government. That could not fail to tell powerfully on the mind of France, and she would influence Spain; and so the mighty and the noble spirit of freedom would travel through the globe.—(Loud cheers.) In this view he begged to propose to the convention the consideration of the following resolutions:—

"Whereas, since the termination of the negociations of the American with the British Goverment, under which the British Government refused to grant indemnity for certain slaves who, on their passage from certain ports in the United States to other ports within the same, where providentially cast on the Bahama and the Bermuda Islands, and, therefore, made free by the operation of British law, the slave holding interest in the United States is attempting, in the congress of the United States, to stir up the American Government to resist the principle on which such indemnity was refused. And whereas, in the prosecution of this attempt a resolution was recently received in the house of Representatives of the United States, urging that Government to insist on an arrangement with the British government, by which slaves escaping from their masters in the United States into the British dependencies on the American continent should either be delivered up to their masters, or a full indemnity paid for them. And whereas, in the further prosecution of the said unjust object the Senate of the United States, by a resolution passed in April last, declared in effect that if an American ship or vessel carrying on the slave-trade from one of the ports of the United States to any other port within the same should be forced, by stress of weather or any other unavoidable cause, into the port and under the jurisdiction of a friendly power, she and her cargo, and the persons on board, *with their property, and the rights belonging to their personal relations as established by the laws of the State to which they belong*, would be placed under the LAWS OF NATIONS extended to the unfortunate under such circumstances. Wherefore,

"RESOLVED,—As the sense of this Convention, that the proposition embodied in said resolution, viz., to sustain by the sanction of public law, which is founded on the principles of natural justice and right, the pretensions of the slave system, which exists only by disregarding justice and annihilating right, is not only unchristian and absurd, but disrespectful to the common sense of mankind.

"RESOLVED,—That this, the first attempt known in the history of nations to convert the pretensions of slave-holders into *rights*, and as such to engraft them on the system of public law by which the intercourse of

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nations is regulated, ought never to have emanated from the Senate of the people who, from a period of time coeval with their independent national existence, have asserted before the world, and in the most solemn manner, that all men are created equal, are entitled to *their liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness.*

"RESOLVED,—That to allow such a proposition as the one referred to, would be inconsistent with the honour and dignity of Great Britain, and of such of the other nations of the world as have either abolished slavery within their respective limits, or are, in good faith, proceeding so to do; that it is hostile to the avowed principles of that people among whom it has originated, and to the cause of humanity, with which, under God, all governments are solemnly charged."

Sir E. WILMOT and Mr. O'CONNELL rose together—the latter honourable and learned gentleman courteously gave way to the honourable baronet, who was cordially received. He said if anything could have induced him to interpose before the learned gentleman, who doubtless would soon address the convention, it was the satisfaction he felt at seconding an American. (Cheers.) From the time (said the honourable baronet) when I opposed the apprenticeship system—(cheers)—to the time when I placed the government in a minority of three on the apprenticeship—(cheers)—and the yet more recent time when I resisted them on the Hill Coolie question, (Hear, hear,) I have been hearty in your cause, and shall deem it my greatest honour to be a participator in your holy struggle.

Mr. O'CONNELL then rose and was greeted with the loudest and most general cheering. He said, after repeated mute acknowledgments of his reception, I have two excuses for my intrusion upon you,—first, I was alluded to by the hon. baronet—a more sincere friend of the cause does not breathe than himself—(cheers)—and next, as he said, he was happy as an Englishman to second an American, I am anxious to obtrude an Irishman upon you. (Laughter and cheers.) But I have another more important reason. The subject mooted by the hon. judge (for he is a judge) who has just addressed you, is one of international and constitutional law, and perhaps, as I am a lawyer, you will allow my experience in the subject to compensate for my want of ability. (Laughter and cheers.) The proposition of the American senate is inadmissible. It is an outrage on common sense—it is a violation of public honesty. (Cheers.) They claim—a property in man! Why, that is inconsistent with not only all constitutional law—and their own constitution above all—but with the eternal principles of justice. (Cheers.) How would they like that the blacks should do unto them as they delight to do unto the blacks? (Hear, hear.) I have not the heart to wish any man a slave; but really I am tempted almost to do it for once, and wish Calhoun a slave. (Laughter.) It would not, perhaps, be an inappropriate retribution for his infamous disposition to act with injustice, iniquity, and inhumanity, to subject him to the lash, which he would inflict on others. Oh how indignantly and pathetically he would plead on behalf of his outraged nature! (Laughter and cheers.) Why, some of you may recollect the case of the American Adams, who having been enslaved a few years in Africa the natives said he was only fit to be a slave! he was evidently inferior to their race—the whites were good for nothing but slavery—(roars of laughter)—to which he had been consigned four years. So you see how the rule would work if equally applied. (Hear, hear.) The proposition of Calhoun is untenable, even as an American proposition. (Hear, hear.) The resolutions of our friend, the worthy judge, set forth its inconsistency with the first clause of the American charter of Independence, which declares all men born equal; but there is a stronger word—it declares that all men have the same inalienable right to liberty;—yes, *inalienable* is the word. (Cheers.) That is the sacred basis of American independence—it is not confined to caste, colour, sect, or creed. (Hear, hear.) And from this spot I wish to rouse all the high and lofty mind of America. Republicanism necessarily gives a higher and a prouder station to the human mind than any other form of government. (Hear.) I am not comparing them as anything else at present, but history shows there is a pride of manliness about republicans, which, perhaps, is a consolation to them for many other things in which they may possibly be inferior. (Hear, hear.) But from this spot, I repeat, I wish to rouse all the honesty and pride of American manhood, and would that the voice of Europe would aid me in the appeal, and swell my feeble voice to one grand shout of indignation; and when these Americans point to their boasted Charter of Independence, exclaim, "*Look at your* PRACTICE!" But can there be held faith in man, when we find that to their vaunted principle of equality they solemnly pledge their lives, fortunes, and "sacred honour?" (Hear, hear.) Here is all the solemnity without the profanity of an oath, in sanction of a principle thus directly, dreadfully, diabolically violated. (Hear, hear.) America must know that all Europe is looking to her. (Hear, and cheers.) She must know that the world considers that her senate, her Calhouns, are, while attempting to assert their infamous claim of property in human kind, incurring the blackest of all stains, because carrying with it the imputation of personal dishonour—shall I say perjury—in the practical violation of a principle they have so solemnly sanctioned. (Loud cheers.) France and England without any violation of principle, might adopt such a resolution; but, in the case of America, it doubly dyed her in disgrace. He felt proud to say that they might pass and adopt as many such resolutions as they pleased; they would be all idle, all useless, because the British government had no power to acquiesce in any one of them. (Cheers.) The British government had no funds out of which they could grant compensation. No party in the state would ever propose a grant for such a purpose—the resolution was therefore idle. England had nobly paid twenty millions for the purpose of redeeming their black brethren; and now, wherever England's flag floated upon the breeze, there was glorious freedom. (Hear, hear.) The moment the foot of a bondman touched the shore of England, or any of her dependencies, his slavery vanished. (Loud cheering.) There is now no such thing known to the British law as that one man might have a property in his fellow-man—there was an act of parliament against such a crime. It had been often laid down that an act of parliament which was notoriously against justice and humanity was void—he was afraid, however, that in practice that maxim was not cared for. (A laugh.) But no man, not one of any party whatever, would dare to come down to the House of Commons and propose a grant for the purpose of making compensation; if one could be found of any party whatever, he would be shouted down and scouted from society. It was impossible it could be done, because it was totally inconsistent with our law. All the states of Europe had now admitted the great evils of slavery; it had been admitted in France, and the cause of abolition was deeply indebted to a gentleman whom he had the pleasure of seeing present (M. M. Isambert, of the Chamber of Deputies of France.) The French were a glorious nation, they were very fond of glory, they were inferior to none. He wished to see no rivalry between them and us, except a rivalry to do good; it was a glorious rivalry, and although we might now good-humouredly taunt them and say, "You have not gone so far in the glorious cause as we," he trusted the day was not far distant, when our French neighbours might return the taunt and say, "We have gone before you now, and done better!" (Cheers.) Well, then, the government had not the power to pay the compensation, unless indeed they agreed to do so out of their own pockets, or out of their salaries—a thing that was not likely. (Laughter.) How, then, was it to be paid? There was but one way in which it could be done—that was, by a vote of the House of Commons; and God help the minister who made the proposition. (Cheers and laughter.) The senate of America showed an excessive desire to put forth a wicked claim for a horrible injustice, but it was one which it was lucky could not be carried into effect. No man detested war more than he did, for even war that was justifiable, and in its best form, was accompanied by thousands of murders and robberies. He hoped such a calamity would be spared them; but if anything short of the honour of the nation could justify recourse to such an expedient, it was the resolution read to the convention by the hon. and learned judge. He was truly rejoiced to hear from that able and excellent gentleman that the present agitation was striking terror into the hearts of the slave-mongers, and was calculated to do much good. They were a detestable race of aristocrats, who wanted to have property and ease also—who would not labour themselves, nor pay others for doing so; therefore they seized upon their fellow-men, and dared to call them their slaves. Even in Colombia, at the foot of the temple of freedom itself, the wretched negro was writhing under the lash of a brutal taskmaster, the negress was doomed to all the horrors of slavery, and the poor infant hanging at its mother's breast, good God! it also was a slave; that mother looked upon its smiling face in agony, and was almost tempted to wish it in a premature grave, because it was not a man, but a slave. Yet this happened in America! He said it with all respect for his American friends present, but he felt bound to say it, that upon the American escutcheon there was written in characters of blood, "We are patronizers f slavery, the necessary result of which is that we are perpetrators of robbery and murder." They might say, they had not the power to emancipate the slaves; but he would refer them to the Declaration of Independence and the constitution of 1787, and he would defy them to point out one single mention of slavery in either of the documents. (Cheers.) No man could deny the personal courage of the American people—there was not a braver nation upon the face of the earth; but there was not one man in the convention of 1787 who had the moral, he had almost said the immoral, courage to mention the word slavery. (Loud cheers.) Was slavery then to exist as a thing when they did not dare to pronounce its name? (Cheers.) Undoubtedly they met with the phrase of "persons held to labour" in those documents; but dare any one say that under those words slavery was meant? Any man entering into any contract for work, any one who gave his labour for an equivalent, was "held to labour," but did that make him a slave? But no, that was as near as they dared approach to slavery. There was nothing in the constitution but what was fair and just. Had they meant to acknowledge and sanction the existence of slavery, they would have done so boldly; they dared not, and as there was no mention made in the declaration of independence or the constitution of 1787, they must hold that it was not acknowledged by the constitution.—(Cheers.) Slavery was a deep crime which multiplied robbery and murder, but the Americans added hypocrisy to their other accomplishments. He flung it upon America that she stood in this predicament. They say they have no power to emancipate the slaves. He would whisper in their ears—Colombia.—(Cheers.) Colombia was not bound by any constitution—there they had the power if they pleased to use it. Then why come down upon him with such hypocrisy? They said they were the first gentlemen and the most enlightened legislature in the world.—(Laughter.) He would whisper Colombia to them. "You have the power to remove this foul blot—you have the authority—you have everything, in fact, but the will—that alone is wanting." He would now turn to a subject of congratulation—he alluded to those noble-hearted men and women in America, who through difficulties and dangers were hearty in the cause of abolition.—(Loud cheers.) He held them all as friends. He implored them to think him as one of their body.—(Cheers.) He wanted no higher station in the world, but he did covet the honour of becoming a brother among the American Abolitionists. Here the Abolitionists were in safety, and more honoured for their exertions by the good; here they were encouraged and cheered by the smiles of the fair; they were bound together by godlike truth. But far different was it with their friends in America; there they were vilified and insulted. Very lately did not a body of so called gentlemen—men who would call any one out to try rifle shooting who denied them that cognomen—break in upon the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, and assault them in the most cowardly manner? And where did this happen?—why, in Boston, enlightened Boston, the capital of a non-slave-holding state. The abolitionists here had nothing to complain of. In America they are met with the Cowie knife and lynch law. There had even been martyrs in the sacred cause, and their blood cried out, not for vengeance, but for mercy. The friends of the cause in which it was shed should not relax in their endeavours. No human being could be placed in a more glorious position than those Americans who are friends to the negro. He was delighted to be one of a convention in which so many of those brave and good women were—he trusted that their reception

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would be such that their zeal would be strengthened; it was a noble struggle they were engaged in, and they would yet raise a shout of liberty that would make their enemies tremble. Those brave and glorious women ought to have their names immortalised—(Cheers.) The habits of this country had forbid them from receiving female delegates, because of the ridicule which ignorant people would have thrown upon their proceedings; but although they had not received them as delegates were they the less to be esteemed or the less respected on that account, or at his age, he might be allowed to say, less loved? They all remembered Angelica Grimké, and her zeal in the cause of abolition, for which they owed a deep debt of gratitude. The societies in America were deeply persecuted, and were therefore deserving of every encouragement they could bestow upon them. Had he the ability he would tell them how deeply he loved and honoured America and the Americans; he loved their institutions, but he denounced the anathema of civilized Europe upon them as slave-holders; they ought not to be received in society. Even the American minister at our court was a slave-holder; whether he bred them for sale was still a disputed point, which he would not then enter into. The government of this country should refuse to have any dealings with him, and tell America that they would not receive any slave-holder or recognize him. He would tell them an anecdote. Last year a very well-dressed gentlemanlike person addressed him in the lobby of the house of commons, and said he was from America. He begged him (Mr. O'Connell) to afford him the means of hearing the debate. He said, with pleasure; but first let him ask him a question—from what state was he? Alabama. Was he a slave-owner? Yes. Then he (Mr. O'Connell) bowed and left him. (Laughter.) Now that was an example that ought to be followed. Hold no intercourse with a slave-holder. They might deal in business with him, but even then they must be cautious—(a laugh)—but they ought to be very scant of courtesy towards him until he had cleared himself of the foul spot. He wanted a declaration of that kind from the convention; they ought to proclaim to the slave-holders that as long as they were engaged in the accursed traffic they held them to be of a different race. Such a declaration from such a body would make the slave-holders tremble. He knew the bravery of the American nation, but still he wanted to frighten them by the powerful force of public sentiment. (Cheers.) In order to do so, they ought to lay hold of all that would assist them. The learned and hon. judge who had addressed them had himself set a splendid example to all the slave-holding world. (Cheers.) He had called their attention to Texas. It was only a few days ago that he met with a Texian newspaper, and, blessed be Heaven, it most cordially abused him. (Laughter.) He was as well abused in it as he had ever been in any one in this country. He read with delight in it that that "monster, O'Connell, had been the means of preventing the English government from acknowledging the Texas." (Laughter.) He, on reading it, took off his hat, and made a low bow, saying, "You do me too much honour, Mr. Texian." He would most cheerfully submit to any such attacks in such a cause. No party in England would dare to acknowledge such a nest of plundering pirates. (Cheers and laughter.) They actually stole the land, and their first act was to introduce slavery, which had been abolished by the Mexican congress, and they made a law by which it is impossible for any one to stir the abolition question for six years; and when they expired, no person could do so, unless he had the authority of three-fourths of the people. This put him in mind of a story told as having happened in chivalrous times. A knight was placed upon the top of a church, where he was to remain seven years. On the opposite end to him was placed a sheaf of wheat, and in the middle a needle, and he was to be fed by the wheat which the wind blew through the eye of the needle. (Laughter.) This man had as much chance of getting fat, as any person had of obtaining the consent of three-fourths of the Texians to consider the question of emancipation. The first acts of the robbers were to murder, systematically, all Indians, and to enslave the African. Only lately, seventeen chiefs had been induced, by some means to enter their town, and all of them were barbarously murdered. They might call him monster as long as they pleased, but so long as he had a tongue he would call them foul robbers and murderers; and he would never vote with any ministry who recognized them. (Cheers.) He felt deeply grateful for the attention they had been pleased to afford him. It was a glorious struggle they were engaged in—it was a holy cause; let them persevere, and sacred freedom's banner would soon float over emancipated America, and they would rejoice in the good work. (Loud cheers.)

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Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 17TH.

SINCE our last publication the Anti-slavery Convention has met, and at the moment we write it is engaged in its deliberations. Large as those anticipations were, we can truly say that its assembling has not disappointed any of the anticipations which were formed of it.

The list which we publish to day, and to which additions will yet be made, exhibits the names of nearly five hundred constituent members, and comprehends not only men of various climes and colours—for men as black as ebony, and men *once slaves*, are there—but men of the highest distinction in various countries for virtue, talent, and philanthropy. The Hall was densely occupied with delegates, and a considerable number of ladies (including a band of distinguished female abolitionists from the United States,) as spectators, before the appointed hour on Friday and shortly after it the venerable CLARKSON entered, supported by William Allen, Joseph Sturge, and an American delegate, to open the convention, and to be installed as its president. The sight of this hoary champion of freedom was deeply affecting. Bowed down and trembling beneath the weight of years, he seemed to claim the sympathy due to the feeble; while the remembrance of his unbending principles and unfailing constancy strangely blended with this feeling the admiration due to a hero. The convention received him standing, with reverence rather than applause. A lady and a child accompanied him to the platform. And who were these? The former was the widow of his son, the latter his grandchild, the sole inheritor of his name, and representative of his house. With beautiful simplicity and pathos Mr. Sturge presented the lad to the convention, and said,

"I hope I shall not be wounding in the slightest degree, the delicacy of his widowed mother, in saying, that it is the dearest wish of her heart that her beloved and darling child should devote his life to the cause in which our dear friend has now worked for more than half a century. It is an interesting fact, which I did not know till last night, that this is the birth-day of the youthful Thomas Clarkson, who is now nine years of age. I believe that, in venturing to give expression to the prayer of my heart that the blessing of God may rest upon him, and that with the descent of the mantle of his venerable and venerated ancestor, a double portion of his spirit may rest upon him, it will be responded to by my friends who surround me. When many of us are removed to that bourn where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest, and where the distinctions of clime and colour will be swept away for ever, may he see that the Divine blessing has rested upon our exertions, and behold that happy day when the sun shall cease to rise upon a tyrant, or set upon a slave."

There was not a heart in the assembly that did not respond to this aspiration, and scarcely an eye that was not suffused with tears. It was a scene of thrilling domestic interest. For a moment the convention was like a family, and its members recollected only that they were husbands, parents, and children.

Mr. Clarkson's address on opening the convention was highly appropriate, and delivered with much energy. He called affectingly to mind that he was one, and the only survivor of the little company who formed the committee for promoting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the year 1787. And truly did he address to the assembly sentiments worthy of that noble band. Most heartily would the whole of them have joined in the language so fervently utttered by their venerable representative;—

"I have been permitted to come among you, and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in this place in reference to your future labours. Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I myself can say with truth, that, though my body is fast going to decay, my *heart* beats as warmly in this sacred cause now, in the 81st year of my age, as it did at the age of 24 when I first took it up. And I can say further with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same object. So far for your encouragement and perseverance."

At an early stage of the proceedings entered Mr. O'Connell, as delegate for the Dublin Anti-slavery Society. He made some useful and important suggestions the first day, concerning the practical issues to which the deliberations of the convention should be conducted; but his principal effort hitherto, has been made on the subject of American slavery. This speech, in which his power of rebuke was exercised without restraint, will be found in the morning session of Monday, the 14th, and will be read with interest on both sides of the Atlantic. The speeches of the American delegates also on this occasion were highly creditable to them, and fully sustain the character for high principle and unflinching boldness which they have brought with them to this country. But we need not further particularize, as doubtless all persons interested in the great subjects under discussion will peruse the entire proceedings. On the whole we have much reason to be thankful, that the convention has begun and is proceeding well—well for those who have planned it—well for those who have taken so much pains to come to it—and well for the cause of freedom and humanity throughout the world. May the same kind providence which has shed blessings on its commencement, crown it with mercies till it close!

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No 14.] WEDNESDAY, JULY 1st, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Anniversary Meeting of this Society took place on Wednesday, June 24th, at Exeter-Hall, his Royal Highness the DUKE OF SUSSEX, in the chair. The doors were opened at ten o'clock, and immediately the whole area of the immense hall, and the galleries surrounding it, were crowded by well-dressed persons, many of whom had been waiting at the doors for some hours. Amongst the numerous and highly distinguished company on the platform we noticed the following :—Her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland; the Countess of Brunswick. Mrs. Fry, and Mrs. Clarkson, the widowed daughter of the venerable Thomas Clarkson, with her son, the only male descendant of the revered originator of anti-slavery effort? M. Guizot, French Ambassador; M. Isambert, judge, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, and honorary secretary of the French Anti-Slavery Society; M. Alcide Laure, Vice-Judge of the Court of Premier Instance; Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; C. Luter, Esq., M.P.; W. Busfield, Esq., M.P.; Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P.; George Pryme, Esq., M.P.; D. Roche, Esq., M.P.; Lord Charles Fitzroy, M.P.; Andrew White, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. C. Lascelles, M.P.; Sir James Duke, M.P.; Sir Eardly Wilmot, Bart., M.P.; R. A. Slaney, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.; J. H. Lowther, Esq., M.P.; F. B. Beamish, Esq., M.P.; G. W. Wood, Esq., M.P.; G. Wilbraham, Esq., M.P.; A. Sandford, Esq., M.P.; J. H. Lowther, Esq., the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington, M.P.; Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.; Samuel Gurney, Esq.; W. T. Blair, Esq., of Bath; Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham; and Dr. Bowring.

The distinguished American and Colonial guests were as follows: R R. Madden, M.D., from Cuba; Thomas Rolph, M.D., from Canada; J. G. Birney, Esq., of New York; G. Bradburn, Esq., of Massachusetts; Houtite Seth Sprague, of ditto; H. B. Stanton, of New York; Mr. Justice Jeremie, of Ceylon; Mr. W. Wemyss Anderson, of Jamaica; Reverends William Knibb, of ditto; Elon Galusha, of New York; Nathaniel Colver, of Boston, U.S.A.; C. P. Grosvenor, of Massachusetts; Colonel J. P. Miller, of Vermont; Professor Dean, of ditto; Professor Adam; Norton S. Townsend, M.D., of Philadelphia; Wendell Phillips, Esq., of ditto; and a very great number of Dissenting ministers.

Before the commencement of the business of the meeting the Rev. T. Scales, the secretary to the Society, came forward and announced that the venerable and venerated father of the great and noble cause in which they were engaged, Thomas Clarkson, intended to be present for a short time at the meeting—(loud cheering)—but the state of his health was so infirm, that the display of any strong feeling would be too much for him; he had therefore to request that when he made his appearance the utmost stillness might prevail.

Shortly afterwards, his Royal Highness the DUKE OF SUSSEX, came upon the platform. On his first appearance his Royal Highness was mistaken by many of those present for Mr. Clarkson, but when he came forward and was recognised, the shouts of applause with which he was received were absolutely deafening. The Duchess of Sutherland rose to receive his Royal Highness, and her example was followed by all present. His Royal Highness shook hands cordially with her grace, who sat on the right of the chair, and also with M. Guizot, who took his seat amidst the loudest applause and waving of hats and handkerchiefs from all parts of the immense assembly.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., then came forward and said, he proposed that the meeting should accept the great favour which had been offered them by his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, who had kindly consented to take the chair on the present occasion.

M. GUIZOT, the French Ambassador, rose to second the resolution, and was received with most enthusiastic cheering. He spoke in English as follows:—I have the honour to second this motion—(cheers)—and I congratulate myself as being honoured with it. (Loud cheering.)

His Royal Highness the Duke of SUSSEX then rose and was received with loud cheering which lasted several minutes. When the applause had somewhat subsided his Royal Highness addressed the meeting as follows: —It is with extreme pleasure that I accept the situation you have conferred upon me by placing me in the chair on this important occasion. (Cheers.) At the same time I regret that other duties which call for my presence elsewhere will oblige me to retire before the conclusion of the business of this day. I have duties elsewhere to perform which cannot be executed without my personal attendance, and having fixed this day by public announcement, it will be impossible for me not to appear on that occasion. But when certain gentlemen, most worthy and excellent members of this society, requested my attendance, I readily acceded to their request to come here, in order, first, to prove by my presence, the deep interest I take in what may be called this most religious cause—(Loud cheers)—and to prove by my act and by my deed that I am hand and heart with you on this occasion. (Loud cheers.) It certainly is a most extraordinary circumstance that this numerous congregation of individuals assembled for so righteous a purpose should be nearly coming to the temporary conclusion of their work here by the celebration of the anniversary of this institution. If I understand their object, it is by all peaceable—(Cheers)—religious, and moral means, to carry into effect the total abolition of slavery throughout the world. (Cheers.) I may therefore use an expression which I have frequently adopted in other places as well as here. This is a catholic cause. It is a cause which combines all nations—all religions—and all colours—and it is right that it should be so; for that all-merciful power which presides over this meeting and this cause, as He does over every religious and good cause, looks down equally on the lowest as on the highest, on the black man as well as on the white—(Loud cheers)—and while interested and speculative men deny this, the Divine power, which blends mercy with justice, regards the black equally with the white man, and has created and endowed him with the same powers of mind as any of his fellow-creatures with whom the world is peopled.—(Loud cheers.) How is it he has not risen then? Because it is by education only that he can improve his mind, and work those materials which the Almighty has given his creatures for the benefit of mankind, and the salvation of themselves. I say that a meeting like this is a catholic one, and it ought to be carried out with feelings of charity, combined with orderly habits, and submission to the executive powers, on whom the task of carrying out effectively the objects of these meetings must ultimately devolve. Our duty is to enlighten the public mind—to create an interest in that mind on this subject; and having created such an interest in the public mind, it becomes then our duty to guide it, and place it in such a form as will carry weight with those who negociate between nation and nation. I have no hesitation in saying that the communication of feeling between nation and nation, such as this, is attended with the utmost advantage; but when it comes to a great executive measure, which, by being too hastily or eagerly pursued may affect seriously the interests of different countries, it is the duty of a body like this to appeal to their feelings, and fairly, firmly, and manfully to persevere in persuading them to assist us in fully carrying out our objects. I say this sincerely. I have a strong impression on my mind of the necessity of submitting to the executive the exact manner in which we are to carry out our ulterior objects. Let us look back to history. It is lamentable to see how great and ennobling feelings have been perverted by politicians for the purpose of exciting in different nations a national feeling one against the other. History proves that this has been the case in the greatest, and most ennobling, and sacred of all causes—the cause of religion. I need not advert to the crusades, when, under the pretence of the name of the Almighty, christians set themselves against their follow-men, and the cause of war was sanctioned by the name of the God of peace. (Cheers.) Let us take care not to fall into the same error, and let us not, while we are working for the benefit of mankind, suffer speculating individuals to turn our righteous cause into one of mischief. (Loud cheers.) Are you prepared, in this great cause, to carry such questions at the risk of war and bloodshed? (Cries of "no, no.") I believe you are not, most certainly. I expected such a response, and I am most happy to hear it; and I hope that gentlemen who come here will make their statements of the cruelties and horrors they have witnessed without attempting to cast a slur upon any nation. (Cheers.) It will thus come to the knowledge of those whose duty is to report the circumstances in the quarter in which they ought to be reported, and those persons will eventually be satisfied—first, as to the morality of the cause; and, secondly, that the destruction of a trade so horrid as the slave-trade must be for their own interest and ultimate benefit. (Hear, hear.) Following with other countries which still employ the labour of the slave, the same principle which we have already carried out, we must labour to prove to them that it is for their interest to make him free, to inspire him with religious and sober habits, and, by improving his mind, to improve the felicity of the society and the welfare of the country in which he resides. By pursuing such a course, you have every reason to expect that the opinion of the world at large will be with you. So truly known is the power of the respectability of this country, which you have with you, that it must give you additional weight and confidence; and, when I see myself surrounded, as I am, not only by the nobility and talents of this country, but that the representative of the king of the French—(cheers)—whose talents are so well known—whose knowledge of the history of this country is so extensive, as has been manifested by a recent publication which must hand down his name to posterity—(Loud cheers)—I feel confident that our operations must thrive, and that we must succeed in a cause so righteous as this. (Immense cheering.)

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE came forward and said that their venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, was in an adjoining room, and as it was probably the last opportunity he would have of meeting the friends of the cause, he was desirous of saying a few words at the conclusion of the reading of the report. The delicate state of his health had rendered it desirable that he should remain outside until the royal chairman had delivered his address, and he would take that opportunity of informing the royal chairman, that at his first entrance into that meeting, some little mistake had occurred, many of those present having imagined that their venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, had then entered.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Clarkson, accompanied by his daughter-in-law and grandson, entered the room, and took his seat on the left of the illustrious chairman, who shook him cordially by the hand. The most profound silence was observed, and the venerable gentleman and his orphan grandchild appeared to be objects of the deepest interest and sympathy to all present. Although feeble, we are happy to state that the general appearance of the venerated father of the anti-slavery movement betokened that he was in the enjoyment of as good health as at his advanced period of life commonly falls to the lot of a human being.

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Mr. SCOBLE then read the following—

ABSTRACT OF REPORT.

However interesting or desirable it might be to sketch the history of the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery by the legislature and the people of this country, as preliminary to the proceedings of the day, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society feel that it would be trespassing too much on the time and attention of this great meeting to take even the most rapid glance at it, and will therefore content themselves for the present with merely stating, that in the facts connected with that history, as well as in the actual state of the anti-slavery cause at the present moment, they find the most ample justification of the formation, the extension, and the support of the institution to which it is their honour and their happiness to belong. In the brief statement of particulars the committee propose to make, they would call attention, 1st. to the origin of the society;—2nd. to the fundamental principles on which it is based, and the means by which it proposes to accomplish its objects;—3rd. to the labours of the past year;—and 4th. to the questions which press most on their attention at the present time.

1st.—On the 27th February, 1839, in compliance with an invitation issued by their devoted fellow-labourer in the cause of human freedom and happiness, Joseph Sturge—a small body of gentlemen who deeply sympathised with him in the great object he had in view, met at the Guildhall Coffee-house, London, to take into consideration the propriety of forming a society for promoting the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world by moral and religious influence, and such measures only as will not, directly or indirectly, sanction the employment of an armed force for its prevention or suppression. At this meeting a series of resolutions were passed recommending the formation of a society based on those principles, and a provisional committee was appointed to take the necessary steps to secure its accomplishment.

The committee thus appointed having entered upon their duties, they issued a circular embodying the resolutions which had been previously adopted, and sent it to each of the anti-slavery delegates convened in London in 1833, and at subsequent periods, and likewise to each of the two anti-slavery committees then existing in London, and to other friends of the cause throughout the country, inviting their attendance in London on the 17th of April following, for the purpose of considering the propriety of forming the society which had been recommended.

Upwards of 1100 circulars were sent throughout the country; and on the day appointed friends of the anti-slavery cause from various parts of the United Kingdom met at Exeter Hall, and after two days of careful, serious, and deliberate consideration of the whole subject, the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society was formed, and office-bearers appointed to carry out its principles and plans. For details the committee beg to refer to the circular issued on the

containing the resolutions and address of the society.

2nd.—Among the resolutions passed at that meeting the committee deem it important to call particular attention to the second and third, which develope the objects which the society proposes to aim at, and the principles which should govern them in prosecuting their great enterprise. They are as follows: "That the objects of the society be the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves;" and "that the following be the fundamental principles of the society—that so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character and that no measures be resorted to by this society, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

3. In pursuance of the duties devolved upon them, the committee have been earnestly and actively engaged during the past year in diffusing the principles of the society, both at home and abroad; in collecting information from various and authentic sources, on all points connected with their immediate duties; in the formation of Auxiliary Associations in different parts of the kingdom, or of securing the co-operation of those which previously existed in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Birmingham and Liverpool, and other important places; in sending deputations to France and Holland, and availing themselves of the willing service of members of their committee, among whom they would particularly mention their treasurer, who not only accompanied the deputations to France and Holland, but has visited Denmark and Sweden in furtherance of the objects of the society; in petitioning parliament on subjects intimately connected with the cause of humanity and freedom; in memorialising the government, and securing interviews with the heads of the Foreign and Colonial departments, on various important subjects connected with the rights and welfare of the emancipated bondsmen in the late slave colonies of this country—on the injuries inflicted on the Hill Coolies, nefariously introduced into the Mauritius and British Guiana, and against their further export from British India—on the degraded condition and sufferings of the liberated Africans in Cuba and the Brazils—on the precarious situation of the fugitive slaves who have sought refuge in Canada from the oppression of their masters—on the duty of protecting the negros found on board the Amistad, and now detained in the prisons of the United States, contrary to every dictate of humanity and international law—on the necessity of refusing to acknowledge the independence of Texas—and various other subjects of kindred interest and importance.

The Committee have also directed their attention to the consideration of such plans as were likely to promote the objects of the society, to the schemes of emigration into the British colonies now so earnestly pressed on the attention of parliament, the government, and the people of this country, by the West India body, and the state of the laws in the British colonies, in so far as they are calculated to abridge the rights of the enfranchised negros, and to obstruct the successful working of the free system.

The committee would also state, that, in addition to various circulars issued by the committee, they have published and circulated an address to the women of England, and two pamphlets, one an examination of the claims of Texas to be recognized as an independent power, and another on the cruel treatment of Coolies imported into Mauritius and British Guiana. They have also issued every alternate week, and oftener as occasion has required, as the official organ of the society, the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in the form of a newspaper, which they trust will obtain an extensive circulation amongst their friends in every part of the empire.

The great anti-slavery convention called by the committee has nearly terminated its important sittings; the results of its deliberations will, in due time, be given to the world. The committee are grateful to the friends of the oppressed who have so nobly responded to their call, and, without pledging the society to the adoption of every measure proposed to the convention, or holding themselves responsible for all its acts, they rejoice in believing that its solemn testimony against slavery, as opposed to the eternal and immutable principles of natural justice, and the spirit and precepts of the christian religion, will be felt throughout every branch of the church, as well as throughout every portion of the civilized world and that immediate emancipation, without restriction and without price, unanimously recognized as the duty of all persons and governments implicated in the support of slavery, will be the watchword of abolitionists throughout the world.

4. Upon British abolitionists the duties which press most heavily at the present moment are the abolition of slavery in British India, the necessity of watching over the legislation and purifying the administration of justice in the colonies, and of resisting the enactment of any schemes of emigration into them the result of which may be injurious to the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men. But their efforts will not be confined within these limits; wherever there is a human being subject to slavery or the victim of the slave-trade, thither should their eyes be turned, their sympathies directed, and their help afforded; and, in conjunction with the abolitionists of other lands, they trust by the steady persevering dissemination of knowledge on the subject, the frequent but well-timed remonstrance, as well with authorities at home as those abroad, the intrepid exposure of slavery in its real character as odious to man and offensive to God, the calm but resolute denunciation of its supporters and the countenance and protection of its victims, to hasten the glorious day when not a slave shall wet the soil which he cultivates with his tears, or crimson it with his blood.

The committee would have felt delighted to have referred particularly to the gigantic efforts made by the abolitionists of the United States of America to purge their institutions from the stain and their people from the guilt of slavery, and to have dwelt on the general advance of the sacred cause of human freedom on the continent of Europe, but their limits forbid. They cannot, however, avoid expressing an earnest hope that France will soon accomplish the great work of abolition in her colonies, and secure to herself the honour of perfecting at once, and for ever, a great work, by giving immediate and entire emancipation of her slaves, and thus set a noble example to other nations of the earth.

In conclusion, it is not for the committee to say what amount of good they may have been enabled to accomplish during the past year. They rejoice to think, however, that they have not laboured in vain. At all events, they have endeavoured to lay the foundation for the future operations of the society both broad and deep; and now, in humble dependence upon Him whose blessing alone can give their best efforts success, and without which, whatever be their character, they must fail, they commend the great cause in which they are engaged to the christian sympathies, the ardent prayers, and the generous support of this great assembly.

Mr. GEORGE W. ALEXANDER read the financial statement of the committee from the 1st April, 1839, to the 31st May, 1840.

The meeting having, with no small difficulty, "hush'd" itself into silence,

Mr. CLARKSON said—May it please your Royal Highness, and ladies and gentlemen, I come to you in very advanced years, and in a feeble state of health—for which you must make an allowance. But it cheers my heart—it does me good—to see such a respectable assemblage of individuals on such an occasion. I congratulate you on having his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex in the chair. To him I have been long attached for his liberal sentiments, but particularly for the readiness which he has shown to come forward on all philanthropic occasions. It gives me great pleasure to think that another illustrious member of the Royal Family has distinguished himself in the same way on another occasion, when I am sorry I was not able to attend. Ladies and gentlemen, I have been greatly gratified during the meetings of the anti-slavery convention, to see so many good men met together from various parts of the world—men selected for their moral worth. To the moral man such a sight is a beautiful picture of itself. But when I consider that those good men met together for the heavenly purpose of breaking the chains of the oppressed, and of generously assisting those whom they have known only by their sufferings, and who, moreover, have no means whatever of assisting themselves, the gratification which I have felt has been turned into admiration and delight. Surely these meetings must have been acceptable to God. Has he not said in the old testament, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice?" That is, I prefer the warm and tender affections of the heart, when they break forth into practical benevolence, to the mere observance of the most important ceremony of the Jewish religion. Has he not said again in the same book, with reference to another religious custom of those times, "The fast that I have chosen is to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke?" Is not the New Testament also full of the same delightful sentiments? Such meetings as these, therefore, cannot but be acceptable to God; and as they must be acceptable to him, so I hope we may look upon them as happy omens of our ultimate success. Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to take this opportunity before I return home, for I shall have no other, of thanking those individuals, many, very many of whom are now sitting with you, for the kind attention and respect which they have shewn me during the last fortnight. I must, however, in point of fairness, put down all this kindness, not to myself alone, but to my connexion with the great and good cause in which I have been engaged. It must be borne in mind that I could have done but little in it as an individual. What could I have done without the powerful assistance of my dear and revered friend, Mr. Wilberforce? And what could he and I have done together without the assistance of thousands of others? I take no particular credit to myself for having taken a part in it, more than others who did the same. Each was actuated by his own view of the subject, and the feelings which this view of it occasioned. As to myself, I was literally forced into it. I will relate in a few words how this happened. I was thinking one day, in a more serious and solemn manner than I had ever done before of the multiplied injuries which the unhappy people who are now the objects of your sympathy were made to underg

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in Africa, on their passage, and in the colonies. All the tragical scenes which occurred in these their different situations passed in horrible review before me, and my compassion for their sufferings was at that moment so great, so intense, so overwhelming, as to have overpowered me, and compelled me to form the resolution, which I dared not resist—it was at my peril to resist—of attempting their deliverance. Thus I was forced into the great work. I did, therefore, only what it was my duty to have done, under such circumstances—I had only the merit of obeying the extraordinary impulse on my mind. I have often indulged the belief, that this feeling might have come from God; to him, therefore, and not to such a creature as myself, you are to attribute all the honour, and all the glory.

As the venerable gentleman resumed his seat, the Duke of Sussex shook him cordially by the hand, and a murmur of applause, with difficulty repressed, spread through the meeting.

Mr. J. STURGE came forward, and explained that his venerable friend (Mr. Clarkson) had risen to move the first resolution, but had forgotten to make the motion. He (Mr. Sturge) had also to explain, that as Mr. Clarkson had concluded his address there was no longer any objection to the meeting expressing its feelings as it pleased.

The meeting being thus loosed from restraint, received with a most vehement and enthusiastic burst of cheering and applause

M. ISAMBERT, who was introduced by Mr. Scoble as a member of the French chamber of deputies, judge of the court of cassation (Paris), and secretary of the anti-slavery society of France. The hon. gentleman, whose address (in French) was translated by Dr. Bowring, spoke at considerable length. He wished they should not receive an erroneous impression from reports in the public newspapers as to what had passed in the commission which had been lately nominated in France, in order to determine what steps should be taken for the abolition of slavery. It was true, that every member of the commission was not an abolitionist, but still he was bound to say that none of its members advocated the slavery principle; and in the various discussions on the subject its injustice had been acknowledged by all. (Hear, hear.) In many of the discussions which had taken place he merely recognised a desire on the part of the members to ascertain the state of public opinion, and he did not anticipate any evils from the labours of the commission. He thought he might announce to them that whatever else might happen—whatever project might be adopted, the system of apprenticeship would be repudiated—(cheers)—and that although the time at which slavery would be abolished might be retarded for ten or twenty years, its complete abolition was in futurity, and that the only question of embarrassment and difficulty would be the question of indemnity. The last project presented to the commission was one which had been submitted by an illustrious friend of his—and he (Dr. B.) might add, of his also—M. Tocqueville, to that body. He was bound to call their attention to the fact, that in the commission were to be found some of the most distinguished advocates of abolition; and its president was the illustrious Duke of Broglie—one of those who went farthest towards effecting a complete emancipation, and who was particularly distinguished by his great and constant exertions in the cause. (Cheers.) He also wished they should know that in France the emancipation question was not a party one. It was to him a source of great consolation to find the subject removed from the region of party dissensions. (Hear, hear.) Men of all opinions had concurred in the necessity of effacing the great national stain of slavery; and on that question M. Berryer, M. Odillon Barrot, M. Lamartine, M. Dufaure, M. Paisy, M. Sauzette, M. Delaborde, M. Tocqueville, and M. Beaumont were all agreed, while even those who looked on the question in a merely financial point of view were coming forward with their co-operation and concurrence. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. T. SCALES wished to make an observation on one point. In the report to which they had listened, a reference was made to the constitution, the principles, and the objects of the society. It was important that those principles should be kept constantly in view. The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, as its title bore, had been established for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. His Royal Highness in the chair had asked whether, in seeking those objects, the society would be ready to embroil nations, and to expose them to the evils of warfare? He would answer of course, that they would not; for however monstrous might be the evils which they endeavoured to remove, however wide might be their spread, and however strongly they might be entrenched—though the traders of the earth might unite to uphold them, and though potentates should throw over them their protecting shield—the society would not, and dared not, use any other means for their suppression, than those which were moral and religious—(Cheers)—than those means which they believed to be warranted and sanctioned by the lessons of the Lord Jesus Christ. (Loud cheers.) The society wished not to use carnal weapons, but those spiritual influences which were "mighty through God;" and, under the blessing of God, those enlightened principles which christianity inculcated must eventually succeed. He moved the second resolution.

His ROYAL HIGHNESS then vacated the chair, and left the hall amidst great cheering.

Sir E. WILMOT took the chair, and

Judge BIRNEY of New York, came forward. He was well received, and proceeded to say, that in no other country could such an assembly as that be held, and it was fit that it should be so—this was the land of freedom. His own country, he grieved to say, was debased and degraded by slavery—slavery which deprived the labourer of his hire, and stripped sacred marriage of all its rights. It was thus that they were replied to on the free state of America, when they attempted to discuss the subject of slavery, to induce them to abandon it; they were told that they knew nothing about it. Why, were not the wages taken from the slaves, was not education denied them, was not his soul robbed of the joys of a future state, were not all these known, and did these, he would ask, constitute nothing?—(Cheers.) If these were nothing, what he would ask, was the system of slavery itself, when it was disclosed in all its abhorrence? How was this system to be abolished. Why, by the action of the present convention, representing many other countries as well as their own.—(Cheers.) He would barely allude to the fact that Great Britain had done great things against slavery by the emancipation of the West Indian colonies.—(Cheers.) He had reason to hope that France would soon imitate this noble example; and he trusted from the representations they had made there and elsewhere, that she would not be long behind this country.—(Cheers.) If that was done, could Spain, he would ask, hold out much longer; and if that country gave way, the other slave-holding states in the West Indies must follow their example.—(Cheers.) It was said that the slave was happy, and therefore it was asked why should such a system be abolished? How could a man be happy, who was, as a slave, deprived of all the rights which his fellow-man enjoyed? Was that a state of things that ought to continue? Could the slave be happy when the slave trader tore his wife and children from him, exposed their beauties to enhance their price, and ultimately disposed of them to the best bidder?—(Cheers.) The worthy gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

The venerable Mr. Clarkson here withdrew from the meeting amid much cheering.

Dr. LUSHINGTON then rose to address the meeting, and upon coming forward was most enthusiastically cheered. He congratulated them that they had in the presence of the people of England, not privately or clandestinely, but openly and publicly, heard a judge of the United States, declare his conviction of the iniquity and cruelty of the continuance of slavery. They owed that individual great and sincere thanks, not simply for his energy and resolution in crossing the ocean to attend upon the present occasion, but as an American, dissipating the prejudices that prevailed in that country, having also the courage to declare the truth, and setting an example which he would venture to say, would soon be followed by the people of that country. (Great cheering.) The people of this country, in his opinion, ought to deal most kindly with their American brethren, for this country had left them the legacy of the slave-trade. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) In France, the future prospects were a matter of great rejoicing; for though he well knew the many difficulties which were to be encountered when they came to speak of vested interests in human beings, and though he recollected the outcry with respect to the rights of property, he never could believe that that great and enlightened nation, led on by wise and illustrious statesmen, when the iniquity of slavery was shown to them, would permit it any longer to exist there. (Cheers.) What had happened in other countries on this subject? Why, if his information did not mislead him, the spirit was awakening in Denmark, and the people of that country were becoming aware of the injustice and horror of slavery. (Cheers.) When first his venerable friend, Mr. Clarkson, (here Dr. Lushington was greatly affected) began to advocate the abolition of slavery, and with whom, he was proud to say, he had acted for so many years, it was nothing but a conviction of the truth and justice of the cause—nothing but a humble hope in the final dispensations of an all-wise and merciful providence that could have induced them to persevere against the scorn and contumely of the world. (Cheers.) Others had gone to their long home whose efforts must ever be remembered in meetings like the present; he might mention the name of one who never flagged in the great cause, whom no danger intimidated, or threats prevented from proceeding with his great exertions, and whose whole heart and soul, from the rising of the sun to its setting, was expended in the greatest services to the cause—he meant the late Mr. Macaulay.—(Cheers.) He trusted that all those whom he now addressed, would themselves, and would induce others over whom they had influence, to contribute to the great end of the present meeting, namely the final extinction of slavery and the slave-trade; and as a Christian, he would call upon all present to recollect, that in so doing, they were not acting under the impulse of their feelings, but in obedience to the commands of their God. —(Great cheering.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and declared by the chairman to be carried unanimously.

Mr. O'CONNELL was then introduced to the meeting, and received with enthusiastic and protracted cheering. He said, we have to congratulate England, in the face of the world, in having set that mighty and magnificent example of the emancipation of nearly one million of human beings, and having consented, in addition, gratuitously to compensate those who were not entitled to any compensation—(Hear, hear)—entitled to no compensation, but punishment for long and atrocious villany. (Hear, hear.) I voted against that compensation, (hear, hear) but I should not be sorry it was granted if I saw a reciprocal spirit of kindliness and benevolence on the part of those who received it. It is, sir, a mighty and magnificent example we have given, and it tells well to the rest of the world in its immediate results; for what were we told when we were struggling for the emancipation of the negros? Did not the planters assert, the moment they were emancipated, violence, turbulence, slaughter, and massacre would be the consequence? (Hear, hear.) Did they not say—"do you want us to have our throats cut? It is not whether we shall let the negros loose, but whether they shall outrage our wives and daughters, and slaughter ourselves." What do they say now? (Hear, hear.) Has there been one single riot? (Hear, hear.) Has there been one single outrage? (Hear, hear.) Has there been one single assault? (Hear, hear.) Has anything approaching to spoliation of property, or to the murder of a single human being, been committed? Humble as I am, I stand here the triumphant advocate of the negro race. (Loud cheers.) The negros have much to forgive. Even the planters of Jamaica, boasting of their high spirit as English gentlemen, still kept the lash to the female negro's back to the very last moment. (Hear, hear, and shame.) Even the chivalry of their character as gentlemen would not let them relax the power of torture even to that sex whom they said they respected. (Hear, hear.) The negro had much to forgive. He had to forgive the cruely to his wife—the horrible treatment of his daughter—the torture of his son. He had to forgive the stripes that were still marked on his back by the lash of his tyrant master. Did he take revenge? No; blessed be God, he forgave all. (Tremendous cheering.) I stand here triumphantly, then, with this great experiment completely worked out, that it is perfectly safe to emancipate the negro race. (Cheers.) But have we not something to fear from the planter? (Hear, hear.) I cannot leave Jamaica without announcing to you that in the last session of the legislature of that country abominable slavery laws were passed amid the congratulations of Sir Charles Metcalfe—(Hisses) —who, with a fatal facility, has given in to the views of the planters, and given up that generous protection which my esteemed and admired friend —how proud I am to call him so—Sir Lionel Smith showed. (Loud cheers.) As yet those laws have not received the royal assent in this country, and by the blessing of God, the name of our Queen will never be subscribed to them. (Tremendous cheering.) I know they are in operation in the meantime, that is the worst of it; and therefore no time should be lost in calling on the secretary for the colonies, and

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remonstrating with him upon the subject. There is another portion of the British dominions where slavery still spreads its horrid influence We were told, sir, when the Emancipation bill passed that the government of the East Indies would take measures to abolish slavery there. I believe they have taken none—I know of none—it may be my ignorance; but this I know, that there are hundreds and thousands, and hundreds of thousands of slaves still in our East Indian dominions, and when we proudly boast that the flag of our Queen waves over none but freemen, we are obliged to make a distinction which has no difference, for the flag of the East India company waves over hundreds and thousands of slaves. (Hear, hear.) If we look to other countries, what are our consolations? We have heard an able and eloquent French advocate of universal liberty. But, sir, I was very sorry to hear from him what they were going to do. I was sorry to hear him talk of the French probably postponing for ten or twenty years the emancipation of the negros—it is like what the Latinists call *paulo post futurum*—(Laughter)—the prison counts by the hour, slavery reasons by the minute. (Cheers.) Talk not to me of regulations, and rules, and laws; commit them to the hands of the planters and masters, it is no matter what the law is, the parties will inflict punishment and suffering on the unfortunate negro. I do not wish to discourage them, but I laugh to scorn their efforts, I despise their exertions, if they attempt anything but total and immediate emancipation. (Loud cheers.) But we must cast our eyes further, and what do we there find? Why, countries bound by the faith of treaties observing none of those treaties, for I am reluctantly, but by the force of truth compelled here to declare, that this mighty sacrifice of twenty millions, this great and glorious act of emancipation of 800,000 slaves, has been followed by what? By a most atrocious and enormous augmentation of the worst of crimes attending slavery—the slave trade. We have treated with the Brazils, with Spain, with Portugal. The treaties are fine pieces of parchment to look at, emblazoned with the arms of monarchs; but in the mines of Brazil, for instance, a great quantity of British capital is employed, and there are British slave-holders surrounding us to the present moment. He then come to the Texas—that nest of banditti. The Mexican government had nobly done away with slavery—it no where existed in that country. All at once a band of land-pirates took their slaves and rifles, and robbed the Mexicans of their land. He blushed to say that the king of the French had acknowledged those robbers as a nation. It was useless to talk of, or to hope for, the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, while the king of France encouraged wholesale robbery, murder, and slavery in the Texas. By the constitution of the country they had debarred themselves from even discussing abolition for a number of years, and even when they had expired, it could not be done unless three-fourths of the people were in favour of it. They might just as well hope to get three-fourths of the people to cut their throats as to agree to annihilate slavery. (Laughter.) Another principle of their constitution was, that they would cut the throats of every Indian in the territory—they would not allow one of the aborigines to remain alive in the land. That meeting and that society must speak out trumpet-tongued, in order to deter the British government from committing so foul a crime as to recognise them as a nation. Let the governments of Europe acknowledge one slave-holding state, and all would be overrun, and slavery would acquire a fearful increase. Oh! God forbid that they should ever be admitted into the scale of nations. He then came to North America, and there, thank God, he found much reason for congratulation. There were now forty representatives of Abolition Societies in London, to aid them in the great struggle for human liberty. (Cheers.) They had heard a learned and able judge describe the horrors of the internal slave-trade of North America. (Cheers.) Did they know who that learned and noble man was? He had been the proprietor of slaves himself, but he had given them all their liberty. (Loud and continued cheers.) He not only did that, but a a second batch came into his possession by patrimonial descent. He was again the proprietor of slaves, but he emancipated them. (Cheers.) American abolitionists might indeed be proud with Judge Birney of New York, at their head. Let them be honoured in proportion as the slave-holders are execrated. Oh! they had a hard battle to fight. In place of being honoured as they were in this land, they had to encounter calumny and outrage: the bowie-knife and lynch law threatened them; they were abolitionists at the risk of their lives. (Cheers.) Glory to them! A year or two since he made some observations upon the conduct of the American minister; he charged him with breeding slaves for sale; he denied it; and, in order to prove who was right, he sent him (Mr. O'Connell) a challenge to fight a duel. (Laughter.) He did not accept it. Nothing would ever induce him to commit murder. God had forbidden it, and he would obey him. (Cheers.) The American minister denied the charge, but he admitted that he had slaves, and he admitted that he did afterwards sell some; so let him have the benefit of such a denial. (A laugh.) He added, however, that he did not believe that slaves were bred for sale in Virginia. Now, he would read some few extracts from Judge Jay's book, published in New York, in 1839. He would call Mr. Stevenson's attention to page 88 of that book, and that would prove to him, not only that slave-breeding existed in Virginia, but within twenty-five miles of his own residence. (The hon. gent. read several extracts proving the practice; also several advertisements of lots of slaves wanted for ready-money, for shipment to New Orleans, and one dated in Richmond, the very place of Mr. Stevenson's residence.) He had established against the ambassador that slave-breeding did exist in Virginia—yet all these things took place in a civilised country—a civilised age, advertisements of human flesh for sale, and written in even a more contemptuous manner than if the subject of them were cattle, The traffic in slaves from the north to the southern states was immense. In the latter, they were put to the culture of cotton, a horrible culture, that swept off the whole in seven years—every seven years there was a new generation wanted. This was in a community calling themselves civilised—why they were worse than the savage beasts of the desert—they only mangled when driven to it by hunger; but this horrible practice is carried on by well-fed Americans for paltry pecuniary profit—for that low and base consideration they destroy annually their tens and twenty thousands. These scenes took place in a country, which in all other respects, had a fair claim to be called civilised—in a country which had nobly worked out its own freedom—in a country where the men were brave and the women beautiful. Among the descendants of Englishmen, even amongst such was to be found a horrible population, whose thirst for gold could only be gratified at the expense of such scenes of human suffering. A population that were insensible to the wrath of God, who were insensible to the cries and screams of mothers and children torn from each other for ever, but there was one thing they would not be insensible to—they dare not they could not be insensible to the contempt of Europe.—(Loud cheers.) While they embraced the American abolitionists as friends and brothers —let none of the slave-owners dealers in human flesh, dare to set a foot upon our free soil.—(Cheering.) Let them call upon the government to protest to America, that they would not receive any slave-holding ambassador.—(Loud cheering.) Let the people of Europe say to slave-owners, "Murderers, you belong not to us—away to the desert, and herd with kindred savages."—(Cheers.)

Mr. W. ALLEN supported the resolution, which was then put and carried with acclamation.

Mr. W. D. CROWDSON then read the following letter:—

"Grafton-street, June 23, 1840.

"Sir,—I am extremely sorry that the state of my health renders my attendance at the meeting of which you have given me notice quite impossible. I need hardly assure you that no one who attends it can feel a deeper interest in its objects, or more heartily desire their successful attainment.

"I beg of you to present my humble duty to his Royal Highness the chairman, and explain the reason why I cannot do myself the honour of attending his Royal Highness upon this occasion.

"I am, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) BROUGHAM.

"To J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Sec.

Mr. C. L. REMOND, of the United States, a man of colour, then came forward, and said he would offer no other apology for his appearance there than the simple fact, that for the first time in his life he stood upon the soil which a slave had but to tread upon to become free—that for the first time he now breathed the atmosphere that an American slave had but to breathe and his shackles fell. He rose more particularly to corroborate the statements made by the hon. and eloquent gentleman who had lately addressed that large, intelligent, and highly respectable auditory, and he regretted that he had taken occasion to leave the room before he (Mr. Remond) had borne his testimony in favour of the great benefit which his language and sentiments, and influence had had in America. (Great applause.) Perhaps the citizens of London were not aware that the English people had it in their power to emancipate every bondsman in that country, and nothing other than that belief could possibly have induced him to leave a beloved family and cross the water in view of the sacrifices and sufferings which it was necessary to undergo in order to do so.—(Hear, hear, hear.) He thanked God however, that it had been allowed him to stand there and utter his condemnation of that system which was carried on in America of enslaving their fellow men—of that system which they had been given to understand was a system of lust and cruelty and blood—of that system which shut out the coloured man in America from heaven, and drove him headlong to perdition.—(Great cheering.) That system withheld from him the privileges which the American constitution and the declaration of independence guaranteed.—(Cheers.) The very descendants of some of those men who assisted in securing that independence were at the present day driven into the fields; and it was a fact that the knapsacks had been taken off the backs of some of the soldiers, and the musket had been taken from their arms, that the lash had been applied and the hoe had been put into their hands, and they had been driven into the fields as slaves, after all they had suffered and sacrificed to secure that independence.—(Loud and vehement cheering.) He wished to say that it was not only the bondsmen in the United States that were enslaved, there was not upon the soil a free man of colour, as he understood the term.—(Cheers.) The humble individual now before them was not able to trace any of his ancestors in slavery, but if he happened to go into the district of Columbia within sight of the flag under which their independence had been secured, he was liable to be seized, and bound, and thrown into prison. For having committed crime? No, For being an infidel? No. For being a convict? No. Why then was he liable to such outrage and indignity? For no other reason than this, that African blood flowed in his veins. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) If it should be his lot to be imprisoned in the district of Colombia, which had been erected by the taxes which his fathers had paid, and the officers of which had been supported by the same taxes, and after having remained there two or three months, if they were not able to prove that he was a slave, and that he was allowed the poor privilege of going forth free, with perhaps a stripe or two, a kick or two, or perhaps a few cuffs, to whom could he look for redress of the wrongs and grievances he had endured? Their national code of laws recognised no redress for crimes so high and infamous. (Loud cheers.) He wished to ask, if these things were the fruits of civilization and christianity, what sort of a system had been introduced among the heathens and barbarians of different parts of the globe? (Hear.) He hoped, before the meeting left that house, that a declaration would go forth similar to that which had been called for by the hon. and learned gentleman. He entertained not the slightest wish to stand there and traduce his country, but he was anxious to have the truth, and the whole truth made known, and to express his abhorrence of the system which was driving to misery and death thousands every year; for, as had been well remarked, it was a system of legalised murder, and he trusted that the voice of every friend of this country would go forth for the abolition of that most iniquitous system. He would conclude in the words of one of the poets of his own country:—

Go back, haughty southern; thy treasures of gold
Are dim with the blood of the hearts thou hast sold,
The sky of the south may be brighter than ours,
And greener thy landscapes, and fairer thy flowers;
But dearer the blast which round our mountains raves,
Than the sweet summer zephyrs which breathe over slaves.
Full low, at thy bidding, thy negros may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel;
But know that the Yankee girl sooner would be
In fetters with them, than in freedom with thee.

Mr. Remond concluded amidst loud and general cheering.

The Rev. W. KNIBB, missionary at Jamaica, then rose amid loud cheers, to propose the next two resolutions. He said that it was with feelings of the deepest interest, and at the same time of the deepest sorrow, he had risen to propose to the assembly

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the first of these resolutions. He had hoped that ere this, information would have been received and communicated to that assembly, that laws so entirely unjust and iniquitous in their character as those to which it adverted, had been at once rejected by her Majesty's ministers. (Cheers.) Of the laws to which he adverted, and which he would pass over in rapid succession, the first he would mention was the Fisheries Bill, and he mentioned this that they might see how, step by step, the House of Assembly had attempted to obliterate every vestige of liberty. In the time of slavery, the poor and old were permitted to fish in the rivers and on the brink of the sea, but no sooner did the act of emancipation arrive than this liberty of the poor and aged was taken away. (Shame, shame.) The next act was called the Hawkers' and Pedlars' act. During the time of slavery every man was allowed to sell whatever he had manufactured himself without obtaining a license for so doing, but as soon as freedom came, or rather as soon as a succumbing governor was found—(cheers)—the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act passed through the House of Assembly, rendering it necessary for a man to take out a license before he could sell his own goods—the jars and other small commodities (not provisions,) by the sale of which he could obtain an honest and peaceable livelihood. The amount necessary for obtaining this license for every parish amounted to £5. or £10. of our money—and thus this law, which was known to tell against the free system, most sensibly affected the poor and old inhabitants, to hundreds of whom the Baptist missionaries had given a home—into which the tyrants could not enter—who hated the thought of going to the parish, and determined to struggle to be free. (Hear.) Next was the Pound Law. In the time of slavery there was a law of this kind, which enacted that every person taking up stock upon his grounds might take it to the pound, where it was retained until he was recompensed for the damage it had done; but now, when the negro refused to work for the planters, they turned stock upon his grounds, and he was forbidden to take it to the pound without a written document, to prove that they were there—a sufficient instance of the hardship and iniquity of this law. (Hear, hear.) The next was the Rum Law. A law had been enacted which he deemed would have a most detrimental effect, by which on every estate rum might be sold without a license by a white man, so that though the black man could not sell the useful product of his honest industry, the white man could distil his poison and sell it without a license. (Hear, hear.) There was another law (and they would think it impossible that anything bad could be concealed in that) to prevent cruelty to animals, and what mischief could the anti-slavery man suspect lurked there? Why, by that law it was made a penal offence for any person to attempt to catch a horse or ass with intent to ride it, and for doing so he was subjected to thirty days' imprisonment, or to the penalty of £5. The object of the slave-owner in all these restrictive laws being to bind the peasantry, and prevent their having beasts to go to market, to prevent their purchasing land and cultivating it on their own behalf. (Hear, hear.) But there were others of a more stringent nature still—among those the Petty Debt Act, by which, if an employer owes his slave or servant so much money, yet, if he have not sent in a written account two days before the trial comes on (and it is not necessary to allow more than three days for it to come on) he cannot bring it as a set off, but he must apply for a new trial, and if he does not appear, judgment then goes by default. And added to this, double rents were continually inflicted, and the attorney-general had stated that in his opinion they were lawful; so that a man was charged, his wife and his children charged, and he could prove that when they had charged for the land, they could charge also for the trees upon it. When he had applied to the special justices respecting them, the only answer he could get was, that the law had given them no appeal, and that, if a man's conscience would let him swear the charge was just, they had nothing to do but to award it to him. Another law was that for the recovery of tenements, by which five-sixths of the whole population of Jamaica might be turned out of their houses at a week's notice! And the attorney-general had declared that it did not need a second notice before the ejectment took place. In this law it was enacted "That when a landlord at the time of issuing such warrant as aforesaid has a lawful right to the possession of the premises so held as aforesaid, neither the landlord, nor his agent, nor any person or persons acting under the authority of this act, shall be deemed to be a trespasser by reason of any irregularity or informality in the mode of proceeding for obtaining possession as aforesaid! but the party may bring an action on the case for any damage that he may have sustained by reason of such irregularity or informality." Thus, whatever violence a man might commit in executing a warrant of ejectment, he is not to be deemed a trespasser, but the negro must go through the expense of a court of law to obtain redress, which, however, he might just as well try to get from the advocates of oppression in England as from the juries of the island of Jamaica. (Hear, hear.) The next law to which he would refer was the Vagrant Act, and on this he was sure the assembly would allow him to expatiate a few minutes. (Hear.) They had already seen how the negros were amerced in damages—how they were, at a week's notice, turned out of their houses, and, whatever violence might be used, were without redress, except by appealing to an expensive court. He would now show them how, having got the negros out of their houses, and turned them unprovided for upon the world, they came with a vagrant act to catch them, and enacted, "that any person shall be deemed a rogue and vagabond who shall be found wandering abroad, and lying in any outhouse, or shed, or any deserted or uninhabited building; and that it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace to commit such offender, on his own view, or by the confession of such offender, or on the evidence of any one or more witnesses, to the house of correction, or to the public streets or highways, there to be kept to hard labour for any time not exceeding sixty days." (Shame, shame.) Bad as were the laws, they were rendered still worse by their administration. (Hear.) Whatever laws were made, if the planters were to administer them, gross and palpable injustice would be the result. (Hear, hear.) He was about to return to Jamaica, and to face the plantocracy. (Cheers.) He was not going to oppose them by war or by violence. But there were two millions of acres of waste lands, and the friends of humanity had determined that their purse-strings should be opened for the cultivation of those lands by the negros. (Applause.) He did not ask them to give their money, but only to lend it—and let the blind-minded proprietors of Jamaica in this country look to the consequences if they adhered to the present system. (Hear, hear.) He would desire to preserve their estates, and to see them flourishing; but if he could not have freedom in valleys, where slavery had been abolished, he would seek it in the hills, which God had left for the people. (Cheers.) He would conclude by declaring that he wanted freedom for the people, and he would not rest until he had obtained it. (Loud and long continued cheering.)

Mr. ANDERSON (who was greeted with renewed and universal applause) said he had great pleasure in supporting, as far as he could, the resolution which he held in his hand. He had spent seven years in Jamaica, and he had had ample opportunities of observing the operation and administration of the laws. (Hear, hear.) He would entreat those who were interested in property in Jamaica, if any such were present, to believe that, if the present laws were persevered in, or if the administration of any laws were to be left to the planters, the consequence must be the destruction of that property. If the stipendiary magistrates were done away with, (and that was an object at present eagerly sought for in Jamaica,) the consequence would be ruinous to the proprietors of estates there. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN here rose and expressed his regret at being obliged to retire from the meeting, in consequence of a pressure of other business. He wished, before leaving, to congratulate them on the proceedings of that day.

WILLIAM EVANS, Esq., M. P., was then called to the chair, amidst the cheers of the meeting.

Mr. JAMES STANFIELD, of Belfast, rose to move the next resolution.

Mr. STANTON, a delegate from New York, came forward to second the resolution.

The resolution was then put and unanimously agreed to.

Dr. MADDEN, late of Cuba, moved the next resolution—

The Rev. J. KENNEDY, of Aberdeen, seconded the motion.

The resolution was then put, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. WAYMOUTH moved, and Mr. Justice JEREMIE seconded the resolution.

The resolution was put, and unanimously agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN said he concurred with them in the vote of thanks to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and he thanked them for their vote to Sir Eardley Wilmot and himself. He hoped that the meeting of that day would be attended with results which would rejoice them all. His heart was with their cause, and he had given every assistance in his power to the society from its first formation up to the present hour. (Hear, hear.)

The meeting then broke up.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, JUNE 22.

THE HILL COOLIES.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL moved the third reading of the Colonial Passengers' Bill. His lordship dwelt on the beneficial results of the emancipation of the slaves in the high moral conduct of the negros, and the tranquillity of the colonies. Having alluded to the effects he expected from the expedition to Africa, he proceeded to allude to the difficulties experienced by the colonists in obtaining labour:

"They said, 'Slavery is now abolished—every labourer who works in the colonies is free to make his own contract—the price of labour is regulated by competition. We do not complain of this, but at least let us have the benefit and the advantage of inducing labourers from other countries to come to our assistance, in order that we may see whether free labour can compete successfully with slave labour in the markets of Great Britain.' This was one of the principal objects of the present bill."

Lord HOWICK hoped that the act of the legislature of Jamaica, on which so much had been said of late, would not receive the assent of the crown.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL did not think all the provisions of the act free from objection; but he conceived it to be most desirable to give some scope to free labour in our own colonies.

Lord HOWICK expressed his full concurrence in that opinion; but he considered indentured labour as slave labour.

Sir ROBERT PEEL hoped the noble lord (Lord John Russell) would consider well before he fell in with the argument of the noble member for Northumberland. The right honourable baronet dwelt on the mischief which must result from discussing in that house the propriety of the government refusing assent to acts of colonial legislation.

"The responsibility of deciding on the propriety or impropriety of recommending acts passed by the provincial legislatures of the colonies to the approbation of the crown, would be shifted from the government to the House of Commons [hear, hear.] He (Sir Robert Peel) hoped, therefore, that the noble lord, before he produced this act, would make up his mind as to the advice he intended to offer to the crown with respect to it [hear.]

The bill was read a third time.

On the motion that it do pass, Dr. LUSHINGTON moved that the clause relative to the emigration of the Hill Coolies be omitted. He admitted the benefit of emigration from countries with an overwhelming population to others like Guiana that had an abundance of land. He, however, deprecated the attempt to remedy the de-

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crease of the production of sugar in Jamaica, and some of the other West India colonies, by the introduction of Hill Coolies. He would prefer taking the supply of sugar from the United States. He contended that the captured slaves should not be left in a state of slavery in Cuba or elsewhere, but carried to the British dominions, and treated as British subjects. The right honourable and learned gentleman adverted to the results of the attempts to introduce Hill Coolies into the Mauritius, and he said he saw no reason to think that the exportation of these people would not be attended with a repetition of the disgraceful scenes that had already taken place.

"Were it not," he said, "for the middle passage from Hindostan to Guiana, he believed that it would be better to transfer the Coolies to British Guiana than to Mauritius. The climate and the people were better suited to their nature, and the mortality was much less in the West India islands; but before consenting even to this, he must see some measures securing laws for the protection of those who were unable to protect themselves [hear."]

He concluded with moving the omission of all the clauses.

Sir ALEXANDER GRANT hoped that the honourable member would introduce a more specific amendment.

The SPEAKER having stated in what manner the amendment could receive effect.

The honourable Mr. ELLIOTT bore testimony to the fact that the Hill Coolies were not backward in appealing to the tribunals of the Mauritius. He had been in the Mauritius, and contrasted the situation of the labourer in the East Indies and that colony.

"He had been employed to inquire into the condition of the labourers in the east, and he found that in Bengal, the remuneration of the labourer was from two to two and a half rupees per month. Would they, then, in such circumstances, prevent a man like this from emigrating to a place where he would be much better paid? But this difference in his wages would not be the only advantage. His country was subject to inundations, and the inhabitants to famine. In 1806 he was at Madras, when the dreadful famine existed. He had seen mothers tottering feebly along, scarcely able to carry their infants, and men dying by the road side by thousands, on their way to the coast to obtain some relief from the rice which the government had shipped. Would they, then, prevent men subject to the chance of such misery from emigrating?"

He said he was not a West India proprietor, and looked only to the happiness of the people for whom they were about to legislate. He was surprised that a petition should have been presented from the Court of Directors of the East India Company against the emigration of Hill Coolies.

Mr. HOGG hoped the noble lord would not press these clauses, but give time for inquiry. If he should persevere, and the bill should pass that house, then it would be the duty of the East India Company to oppose each and every measure by petition and request, to impede the progress of these clauses as they now stood.

Mr. GRANTLEY BERKELEY contended that the proprietors of West India property were in a most distressed state for want of labourers.

Mr. IRVING thought the West India colonies could only be saved by a system of general emigration.

Lord HOWICK supported the amendment.

Mr. LABOUCHERE defended the clauses.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM, though favourable to a free circulation of labour, was opposed to the clauses as they stood.

Mr. O'CONNELL recommended postponement till they had more perfect information on the subject.

Mr. V. SMITH pointed out the mischief that would result from this.

Sir A. GRANT defended the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

On a division, the amendment was carried by a majority of 158 to 109, after which the bill was passed.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

On Lord JOHN RUSSELL moving the order of the day for the house resolving itself into committee on the Sugar Duties Bill, Mr. EWART presented numerous petitions praying for a reduction of the sugar duties.

The House having gone into committee,

Mr. EWART moved, as an amendment to the first clause, the reduction of the duties on sugar and coffee. He said the situation of the poor and labouring classes ought to be the first consideration with the members of that house. The foreign artisan paid 4½d. a pound for his sugar, while the English workman for the same article paid twice that sum. So scarce had sugar become in the households of the poor, that most of them were driven to the use of treacle. The grocers who were in the habit of selling to the poorer classes had begun to cease to sell.

"The house," said the honourable member, "was probably not aware of the great deficiency in the import of sugar for the last few years. In 1832 the import of sugar was, in round numbers, 220,000 tons, while, at the close of last year, after an interval of seven years, with all the increase of the population, the import had fallen to 193,000 tons. That decrease was not temporary, but had been gradual and steady. The returns laid upon the table of that house showed that the import of West India sugar had decreased 40,000 tons on an average of ten years from 1830 to 1839. In the present year the diminution appeared to be in a larger proportion. He believed that he was justified in saying that already the import into London was less than at this time last year, by the extraordinary amount of 12,000 tons. It might be supposed that they had a stock in hand to meet the deficiencies. So far from that, the amount was extremely low. The weekly delivery of West India sugar in May last amounted to about 1540 tons. Now what had they to meet that? The stock at that time amounted to no more than 3870 tons—a stock only sufficient for a few weeks. Extending their view from the West Indian to the entire weekly delivery of West India, Mauritius, and Bengal sugars, it amounted to 2180 tons, and to meet that, the stock was only 8300 tons, so that all the sugar available would only last them a single month."

The price of British sugar in bond was 22s. per cwt., and it therefore appeared that the British paid 123 per cent. more for colonial sugar than might be paid for the foreign sugar. The honourable gentleman, in order to trace the connection between price and consumption, went into a history of the duties on that commodity. Suppose the duty reduced from 63s. to 34s., and the population increased at the ordinary rate, the increased consumption would be 30,000 tons, which would give an increase of £1,000,000 to the Exchequer. He concluded by moving that the duties on foreign sugar be reduced from 63s. to 34s. per cwt.

Mr. THORNLEY seconded the motion, and observed that in the case of the Corn-laws they had at least the advantage of the sliding scale, whilst, however inadequate the supply of sugar from the colonies might be, the same advantage was not extended to that produce.

Mr. LABOUCHERE was not at all disposed to deny that there was at present existing a state of things with regard to the sugar trade which could not be looked to without apprehension. Our colonies till lately not only supplied the markets of this country, but produced a large surplus for exportation; but they had fallen off to such a degree as to render them incapable of supplying the wants of the British merchant. The consequence was, that the distress in the sugar trade was great, and the injury inflicted on the consumer very considerable. The right honourable gentleman proceeded to show that the question was not merely of a financial nature, for in that case there would be no difficulty. He instanced the treaties with Brazil and various sugar-producing states of South America, and with respect to free labour competing with slave-labour—

"Ultimately," said the right honourable gentleman, "that might be the case. He (Mr. LABOUCHERE) hoped it might; but considering that they were now legislating only for a single year, he thought no man could say that the effect of his honourable friend's resolution, if carried, would be to let in any great quantity of foreign sugar from those distant countries where the labour was free. No one, he thought, could entertain a doubt that within the limited period to which this measure would extend, the great mass of the foreign sugar imported into this country would be from the Brazils—a country which was comparatively near to us, and with which we carried on a large and valuable trade. In the Brazils no sugar was produced except by slave labour. He confessed that it would be a very painful duty to oppose this motion; but the question he had to ask himself was this, whether he would this year consent to give such a stimulus to slave labour in the Brazils, and other countries where slaves were employed, as would be produced by throwing open the market of this country to the reception of their sugar. He owned he was not able to make up his mind that that was a course that he ought to recommend to the house."

The right honourable gentlemen proceeded to analyse the accounts respecting the supplies of sugar. The diminution was confined to the West Indies, for the quantity imported from the East Indies and the Mauritius had considerably increased.

Mr. HUME entirely concurred in the motion of his honourable friend.

Mr. HAWES would support the motion, though he had voted against the Colonial Passengers' Bill, because he thought they needed more information on that subject. The interests of the consumer were entirely neglected in that house.

"The price of sugar abroad was from 20s. to 22s., while in this country it was 48s. per cwt. Why, then, were the people taxed to that amount? The only reason was that the government sought to confine the growing of sugar to our own colonies, but he contended that that was adverse to the interests of the people of this country."

Dr. LUSHINGTON observed that the honourable member for Lambeth had thought fit to assume an opinion for the consumers, and that it was in favour of the present proposition, but he doubted this.

"He was satisfied that the public feeling which had brought about the abolition of slavery would not fail them now. He saw no reason to fear for the future increase of the sugar crops. Looking to the various occupations which of necessity opened themselves up to the negro when his slavery was at an end—looking also to the necessity of his securing some produce for himself—they could not expect, when the shackles were just struck from his limbs, that he would persevere in the same amount of toil as he was compelled to do in his state of slavery. He would show that the reduction had arisen from different causes, wherever sugar was grown—causes beyond the power of man to control. That difference was 961,128 cwt.; but it had arisen from no deficiency of labour. To use the words of Governor Light, 'under the most coercive system of labour that difference must have existed.'"

He proceeded to show that the falling off in the sugar last year was owing to accidental causes. He concluded with declaring that—

"He was himself in favour of the principle of reduction of duties, but never at the sacrifice of another principle dearer to the hearts of men than any that could be conceived (cheers.) He remembered, when the slave trade was proposed to be given up, and when it was argued by the opponents of that measure that the trade was a nursery for British seamen, and that it produced millions of pounds of capital to this country, and tended to augment its national resources, the father of the noble lord opposite used this expression—'I dare not weigh gold against blood.'—(Cheers.) Such was the expression used by the Earl of Harrowby on that occasion. (Cheers.) He entreated the government to persevere in their present line of conduct until a departure from it should become absolutely necessary. And certain he was, from his long experience of their feelings on this point, if a fair appeal were made to the people of this country, that the great majority of them would deprecate nothing on earth so much as the adoption of a measure which was certain to tend to the perpetuation of slavery, and sure to aggravate the misery of the slave. (Cheers.)

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Mr. A. CHAPMAN did not believe that any measure which involved the breach of treaties and the perpetuation of slavery could be advantageous to the shipping interest.

Mr. O'CONNELL never gave a vote with a greater conviction of its propriety than the vote he should give against the motion of the honourable member for Wigan.

No! The people of England had already made their choice. He would warrant that there was no man who would call a public meeting to petition upon this subject. (Cheers.) Let them appeal to the public, and tell them how many farthings they would save in the pound of sugar grown by slaves beyond what they would pay for sugar grown by free labour, and then let the public take their choice. This great experiment ought to be properly carried out. It was the duty of the government, day and night, to make the experiment complete; and the planters on their side ought to aid the government.

Mr. C. P. VILLIERS supported the motion of his honourable friend, and asked if there never was to be any sympathy with the people of England.

Mr. W. GLADSTONE, in an able and eloquent speech, exposed the inconsistencies of the honourable members for Wigan and Wolverhampton.

Mr. EWART replied.

On a division, the motion was lost by 122 to 27.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

WHITES AND BLACKS.—From the *Pittsburgh Christian Witness* of the 9th of April we copy the following act of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana.

An Act to prohibit the Amalgamation of Whites and Blacks.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, that hereafter no negro man, mulatto, or any man having one-eighth part of negro blood, shall be permitted to marry any white woman of this State, nor shall any white man be permitted to marry any black woman, mulatto, or any woman having one-eighth part of negro blood.

Sec. 2. No Clerk of this State shall issue any marriage license to any such persons named in the first section of this act, under pain of a fine of not less than five hundred dollars, nor more than five thousand, for each ofence, to be recorded by presentment in indictment in the proper Circuit Court, and said offence shall work a forfeiture of his office.

Sec. 3. All such marriages as are prohibited by this act shall be null and void.

Sec. 4. Each and every person who shall aid, consult, abet, or in any manner be known to assist in any such marriage as is by this act prohibited, shall be subject to a fine of not less than one hundred, nor more than one thousand dollars, to be recovered as aforesaid.

Sec. 5. Each and every person who shall marry in contravention of the provisions of this act shall be subject to a fine of not less than one thousand, nor more than five thousand dollars, and be confined in the State prison for not less than ten nor more than twenty years.

Sec. 6. Any officer of this State or minister of the gospel who shall celebrate the banns of matrimony in cases prohibited by this act, shall be subject to a fine (if a minister) of not less than one thousand, nor more than ten thousand dollars, to be recovered as aforesaid; and if an officer, he shall be subject to a fine of not less than five hundred nor more than five thousand dollars, to be recovered as aforesaid, and such offence shall work forfeiture of his office.

Sec. 7. This act shall be in force from and after its publication in the Indiana Journal and Democrat, and it is hereby respectfully requested that each and every newspaper in this State publish this act free of charge, that the world may know our law upon this subject.

JAMES G. READ, *Speaker of the House of Reps.*
DAVID HILLIS, *President of the Senate.*

Approved Feb. 24th, 1840.

DAVID WALLACE. INDIANA, to wit.

I, William J. Brown, Secretary of State for the State aforesaid, do certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original bill now on file in my office.

In testimony whereof, I have hereto set my hand and affixed the seal of State at Indianapolis, this twentieth day of February, 1840.

W. J. BROWN.

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY ORGANIZATION.—The last papers inform us that the American Anti-slavery Society has suffered a division. Dissatisfied with some of its proceedings, several of its most distinguished members have seceded from its ranks and organized themselves anew, under the designation of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. Among its officers we observe the names of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, James G. Birney, Henry B. Stanton, and other eminent men. They have originated, as the organ of the society, a periodical entitled the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*, in size and appearance the very copy of ourselves. We hope in our next to be able to give the address of the Society contained in the first number of the *Reporter*.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION AMONG THE PRESBYTERIANS.—The *Scottish Guardian* contains an account of the proceedings of the assembly of New School Presbyterians, which met in Philadelphia, on the 21st of May. We extract the following:—

Overture No. 2, on the subject of slavery was called up, and Rev. Mr. Leach, of Virginia, gave notice that he should move the following as a substitute for the preamble and resolution reported by the committee, viz.—

"Whereas slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a subject over which the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church has no control or power to legislate, and which was, after a thorough discussion by the last assembly, referred to, and declared to belong to the inferior judicatories of the church whose local and relative business it is to inspect the moral and religious character and conduct of their own members; therefore Resolved, That henceforth, all memorials and petitions on the subject be considered as inappropriate to the functions and relations of the general assembly."

The following resolution was then moved and adopted:—

"Resolved, That the further consideration of this subject be postponed until Tuesday morning next."

This motion was reconsidered, and Dr. Cox opposed fixing a time for the discussion of the subject. It would create unnecessary excitement, and call together a multitude to hear the debate.

Rev. Mr. LEACH, of Virginia, said, that in offering the substitute which he had proposed, he had no design to go into the discussion of the subject of slavery. In his own state and in his own synod, he had freely expressed his views on the subject; but this was not the body to legislate. Let those who believed that the general assembly was a legislative body, go and cast in their lot with those who hold that doctrine. But he held, and so did his brethren at the south, that this was a subject over which this body had no control, and there was no alternative left but for the assembly to put an end to the discussion of the subject of slavery here. It was the only way by which the south can be prevented from a separate organization. They are about to take this step, and he wished the assembly would act immediately on the matter and dispose of it, that he might write to his friends from Virginia to Floriada, that they need not hesitate to send commissioners to the assembly, as this subject was now put at rest. He entreated his brethren, as they valued the union of the church, to desist from distracting it with this subject. The abolition movements had put back the cause of religion at the south twenty years.

Mr. Leach was reminded that he was wandering from the question, which was simply on postponement, and he desisted. The motion was then put on postponement, and lost.

This subject was discussed for several successive days. The following extracts will show the tone of the debate:—

Mr. LEACH of Virginia resumed. He said that the assembly had just decided, in the case of the complaint against the Synod of Genessee, that a man had no right to circulate reports injurious to the character of his brother without bringing the charges against him in a regular way, that he might prove his innocence. Such reports the assembly had just decided are slanderous. And it was slander to charge Christians at the south with being such grievous sinners, without arraigning and trying them according to the constitution. Brethren ought to bear this in mind, when, in their memorials, and speeches, and prayers, they charge the south with flagrant sin. Some of the memorials that have been read ask that slave-holders may be excluded from the communion of the church. But have those who make this request reflected that they are proposing a new test—a new basis. By the introduction of new tests unknown to the constitution, our once wide-spread church has been reduced to a small fragment: and will this assembly go on and reduce it still lower, and lop off other branches. The south asks that you will cease to come here to agitate this subject. What is the use of coming here every year to tell the church and the world that the south are great sinners? We have our bibles and our confessions of faith, and know what is right as well as you. You only irritate and exasperate, without doing anything for the remedy of the evil. There was a remedy in progress, and had we not been interfered with, we should have been twenty years in advance of our present position. Mr. Leach extended his remarks, and assured the assembly if they continued from year to year to agitate this subject here, Mason and Dixon's line must divide the church. The very least that would satisfy the south, would be an assurance that when they came here, they would not be assailed on this subject.

Mr. WELLS, of the Presbytery of Oneida, entered into a long and warm discussion of the abstract question of slavery, and the duty of immediate emancipation; and in the course of his speech referred to the remarks of Mr. Leach, that the south would not send delegates to the assembly, unless this subject was let alone. Mr. Wells said he had no wish to make any threats, but he knew the north and the west, and if this assembly did not take ground on this subject, and speak out against the sin of slave-holding, he knew Presbyteries that would not be represented here again. His mind, he said, had come to the deliberate conclusion that this was to be the test question in the church and in the nation, and that men must take their places as anti or pro-slavery. Mr. Wells went on to say, that the Presbyterian church was the stronghold of slavery, and charged those in the assembly who were disposed to give this subject the go-by as fearing man more than God. The Moderator here called Mr. Wells peremptorily to order as reflecting on the motives of members. After a few remarks, at the request of several of his friends, Mr. W. sat down.

Mr. PARKER of New York—The question is asked, is slavery a sin? It is a foolish question; just as foolish as it would be for a man on the confines of Prussia to inquire, is despotism a sin? There would be no use in agitating the question there, if liberty to preach the gospel were not allowed. Slavery in all its horrors existed in the Roman empire in the time of the apostles. A man would kill slaves to feed the fishes in his pond, but the apostles did not agitate the question. We may as well ask, is not abolition a sin. He heard a lecture on chemistry a short time since. The meaning of the word antimony was given. It was discovered that this substance was good to fatten hogs, and it was proposed to give it to the monks, who were a poor lean set of men; and when the monks took it for that purpose it killed them, and they called it *anti-moien*, i. e., against a monk. Thus the word antimony was introduced, which means nothing like the thing. It is so with the word abolition. It don't mean opposition to slavery, it means opposition to ministers of the gospel. Mr. Parker then introduced extracts from anti-slavery publications denouncing ministers of the gospel; seeking to unsettle them, and spreading divisions in the church, and asked if this was not sin. This was as much the spirit of anti-slavery as to hold up a whip, and say that this is for our poor brothers and sisters at the south. What has abolition, the real Abby Kellyism of anti-slavery, done for the cause? It has made our young men impudent; it has set up our once humble coloured members to teach their ministers. It has made systematic attempts to injure men's characters, and in

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accomplishing this work has been as cruel and wicked as the spirit of those who sell their brethren. Mr. Parker said that, rather than take the ground which these abolition memorials proposed, he would prefer that the assembly should warn all the churches under its care to have nothing to do with these anti-slavery societies. He knew that some would go away and say that he was the apologist for slavery, but they would not say that he was the apologist of anti-slavery societies, and he did not mean they should.

Dr. HILL, of Virginia, said that he did not like the terms anti-slavery or pro-slavery. Though born in a land of slavery, it was an abomination to his feelings; it was a grief to him when he was a boy, and it was a grief to his heart this moment. He was left an orphan when five years old, with a patrimony of a few slaves and a little land. He never increased the number of his slaves, and outlived them all. When he married the wife of his youth, with whom he still lived, her father knew his feelings on the subject, and wishing to give his daughter some servants, they were secured to her, so that he had no control over them; but his wife holds a woman and her four children as slaves. Again and again, said Dr. Hill, we have offered them their liberty and means to settle in Africa, but they have refused to leave us, and prefer to remain where they are. Thus we are slave-holders, and it seems we must be cast out of the church, and are called abominable sinners in the sight of God. Dr. Hill then went into the Bible argument on the subject of slavery, and read various passages, and expounded them as not condemning slavery as in itself sin. He said that the manner of the abolitionists in trying to make an impression on the hearts of slave-holders, raised a protuberance instead of making an impression—it was like taking a man by the button of his coat and slapping him on the side of the head to make him attend. He entreated the brethren to pause in their career, and not drive off the south from the church by their course.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The *Baptist Herald* furnishes the following correspondence:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR CHARLES THEOPHILUS METCALFE, GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,—We have read with feelings of astonishment and regret a despatch from yourself to her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonial department, dated 16th October, 1839.

You have, in that despatch, made some charges calculated to injure our character as christian ministers in the estimation of her Majesty's government and of the British public, charges which we feel fully capable of refuting to the satisfaction of all unbiassed and honest men. The charges to which we refer are contained in paragraphs 13 and 14. [Here the clauses are cited at length.]

Now, sir, reserving for the present our opinion of the despatch generally, and of the degree of credit to which your opinion of affairs in this colony, given after twenty days' residence in it, is entitled, we beg leave respectfully and urgently to request you to supply us with the specific facts upon which you denounce the Baptist missionaries as a "political party," and as "evincing a partisanship" to which their having "greater influence than any other sect in the island" is to be attributed.

Awaiting your reply, we have only to add that we fear no scrutiny, that we are willing and desirous to have our conduct inquired into before an impartial tribunal; and we fully expect that, in justice to ourselves, our congregations, and the society whose agents we are, you will be prepared either to substantiate or retract the charges which, without knowing us, or waiting to judge for yourself, you thought proper to prefer against us.

We have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and humble servants,

T. BURCHELL, Montego Bay.	JOHN CLARK, Brown's Town.
WALTER DENDY, Salter's Hill.	DAVID DAY, Port Maria.
B. B. DEXTER, Stewart Town.	E. J. FRANCIES, Lucea.
JOHN HUTCHINS, Sav.-la-Mar.	T. E. WARD, Falmouth.

Baptist ministers connected with the Baptist Western Union.

By THOMAS F. ABBOTT,
Secretary to the Baptist Western Union."

St. Ann's Bay, April 13th, 1840.

THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY.

King's House, April 20th, 1840.

Sir—A letter dated the 13th instant, but received on Saturday the 18th, bearing your signature, with eight other names subscribed, seemingly in the same hand-writing, has been received and laid before the governor.

His Excellency directs me to inform you that the tone assumed in that letter would alone preclude a reply; but further, that even if the tone and contents were unexceptionable, he could never with due consideration to the office entrusted to him, render it amenable to individuals for any communications designed to elucidate the state of affairs in this island, which he might at any time, in the discharge of his public duty, submit to her Majesty's ministers.

His Excellency has deemed it right in courtesy, that you and the gentlemen concerned with you in the letter adverted to, should be apprised of the reasons which prevent your receiving any other reply than the acknowledgment which I am now instructed to convey.

I have the honour, to be, sir, your obedient servant,
J. M. HIGGINSON, Sec.

The Rev. T. F. Abbott, St. Ann's Bay.

The missionaries connected with the Baptist Western Union felt it to be a duty which they owed to their friends and supporters to call upon his Excellency, Sir Charles Metcalfe, for a statement of the facts upon which the accusations against them in his despatch of October 16th 1839, were grounded.

They certainly had no reason to suppose that their request could be complied with, feeling confident that no such facts could be adduced; and those who judge between the accuser and the accused according to the strict rules of equity will, we think, decide that it would have been quite as manly and christian-like had his Excellency shown that the reproach which he had heard uttered, and which he circulated against the Baptists, had its foundation in truth, instead of taking shelter beneath the privilege of office.

The course he has adopted is, without doubt, the one most likely to raise him higher in the estimation of those who have been accustomed to oppress the poor, and to utter reproach against the Baptists, but it is questionable whether this will compensate him for the loss of the respect and confidence of the bulk of the population.

Conscious of the rectitude of their conduct, the Baptist missionaries intend to take little further notice of his Excellency's unsupported accusations against them. He has deliberately defamed a body of men because he heard reproach uttered against them, but they forgive him for this wrong. They neither fear his censure, nor desire his praise; and he may be assured that, while they will yield to none in subjection "to the powers that be" in loyalty, or obedience to the laws, they hope ever to be found the steady, unflinching advocates of civil and religous liberty, and to feel themselves honoured by whatever censures they may incur through their determined opposition to injustice and oppression. Happy, indeed, would they be to hail the day when party spirit should be unknown, and when mutual confidence and good will, the surest safeguards of the liberties of the people, and the basis of true prosperity, should be cherished by all classes of the community. They deeply regret that his Excellency should have retarded its reproach, and rendered it extremely improbable that a consummation so devoutly to be wished will be rejoiced over during his administration.

BARBADOS.—EMIGRATION seems to be becoming here a very serious matter, and the planters are beginning to reckon it "no joke."

The *Liberal* of the 25th of April, after mentioning the embarkation of a party the day before, adds, "the number embarked each day we believe to be very large." Notwithstanding all the studied obstructions to their removal, "the labourers are going, and seem determined to go for all that has been said or done as yet to prevent them." The editor justly says, that "the proprietary body have committed a grand *faux pas*" in the ill-treatment of the labourers, and they are getting in return just what they deserve. They seem, however, to be rendered frantic rather than wise. Under the late audacious law, they have prosecuted Mr. Day, of British Guiana, for acting as an emigration agent; and Mr. justice Applewhaite has inflicted on him the extreme penalty, a fine of £50. In passing sentence, this sapient judge with great naivete adds the following remark:—"The reason why I have put the law into *full* execution, by imposing the sum of £50. is because *I have been greatly annoyed by persons coming to my office to sign certificates.* I have intimated the same officially to his Excellency the governor, and trust the fine imposed will put a check to the emigration system, which is increasing more and more." The court of appeal has reduced the fine to £25., but Mr. Day intends to carry the matter before a still higher tribunal.

On the 10th of April, a public meeting was held "to consider the steps to be taken on the new act to prevent emigration." The meeting, of which Mr. Prescod was chairman, is represented as "decidedly the most numerous and respectable political meeting ever seen in the island." "A rather inconsiderate proposition to petition the local legislature on the subject," we are told, was rejected with "a burst of indignant feeling." The measur eresolved on was a petition to the Queen.

DOMINICA.—The *Dominican* of the 29th of April informs us, that lieutenant governor Macphail had suspended from the council Mr. Blanc, the senior resident member, and had accepted the resignation of Mr. F. H. Garraway, another member of that body. It will be in the recollection of our readers, that these gentlemen had distinguished themselves by a virulent opposition to the measures recommended by the government. Their places are filled up by the nomination of W. T. Rainy, and James Garraway, Esqrs.

THE same paper furnishes the following gratifying account of the state of things in this island:—

"The near approach of the second anniversary of entire FREEDOM forcibly induces the anxiety of all concerned in that glorious event as to the results of the period that has followed the 1st of August, 1838, not merely with respect to the cultivation of the late slave owner's secret and source of all happiness—his *sine qua non*, which to him gives the very spice and essence to life—the *sugar cane*, but also as regards the good order, general industry, and morality of the liberated population. There exist, we are happy to state, satisfactory grounds for believing that not only have all the gloomy forebodings of ruin and devastation and woe, so confidently predicted by the Anti-abolitionists, been falsified by the events that have happened, and things thereby become no *worse*; but that in almost every point of view they have been rendered better, and the interests of industry, good order, and morality, placed on a more secure and permanent basis, and exemplified to greater advantage. Aided by the information of persons upon whose accuracy we can rely with perfect security, we find that it has turned out that the *sugar* raised and exported in 1839, is about the same as that of the years immediately preceding. The crop of 1840 it is estimated, will be on some estates less than last year's, whilst some places expect no variation and others an increase. The present cultivation, notwithstanding, as well as the very general willingness of the labourers to engage in work by contract, or task-work, has invested every party with the most cheering prospects as regards the crop of 1841, which is expected to exceed considerably that of this year. Never was any expectation on this head more general, we understand, or expressed with more confidence. Indeed we see no reason to doubt in a progressive increase of our agricultural prosperity. The good order and subordination of the labourers, are attested by the quarterly trials of crime carried on in this town, which, notwithstanding the absence of any summary jurisdiction amongst the magistrates, are proverbially few and trifling, almost to ridicule. Taking into consideration the little public or private encouragement afforded by those connected with the government, or with properties in this island, the morality of the labourers, though yet lamentably deficient, deserves a far greater share of praise than might at first appear their due. Every one must allow that general freedom has done much for this branch of our subject."

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BRITISH GUIANA. Mr. Carbery is pursuing his work as immigration agent in the United States with much diligence and effect. The following extract of one of his letters, which we take from a late number of the *Guiana Chronicle*, will exhibit one of the grounds on which he is encouraged:—"*I am glad to state, that the legislature of Maryland has introduced a bill giving permission to persons to liberate their slaves, on condition of their emigrating to Guiana and Trinidad; formerly this could not be done unless the slave consented to go to Liberia.* You are no doubt aware, that in all the slave states the increase of free coloured population is looked upon with dissatisfaction, and many of them have passed laws forbidding owners to manumit their slaves unless they removed them from the state at the same time. But for the detestable infernal slave-trade, which is carried on between Virginia and Maryland and the cotton and sugar planters in the south and west, those states would no doubt long ago have followed the examples of their northern neighbours and abolished slavery; not from any compunctious visitings of conscience, but because, from the impoverished state of the soil, slave labour is not in the majority of cases profitable. Mr. Randolph, a distinguished American senator, told the Virginians long ago, that instead of their slaves running away, the time would come when (they the Virginians) would be glad to run away from their slaves. This prophecy would long since have been accomplished, had not the perpetually increasing demand in the sugar and cotton states for slave labour enabled the planters to adopt, with great profit, the honourable vocation of 'slave breeding.'—But among the planters there are many persons who are restrained by moral considerations from selling their slaves to the 'dealers,' and who would willingly manumit them if no obstacles were offered by the legislature. I entertain no doubt at present, that I shall succeed in procuring the liberation of many slaves on condition of giving them a passage to Guiana, and I hail the proceedings of the legislature of Maryland as highly auspicious to my undertaking."

It appears from this statement, that Mr. Carbery's mission is looked upon as acting in a similar way to the American Colonization Society. Yet the *Liberator* (Mr. Garrison's paper) encourages it; and so does Dr. Channing—adding the very significant words, "Depend upon it, Mr. Carbery, *the abolitionists must do it.*" We hope the abolitionists will see what they are about.

A great show is now made of liberality and indulgence to immigrants, and it has its effect; but its genuineness may be doubted. It is not all gold that glitters, nor is it safe to accept matters as indulgences which ought to be secured as rights.

Much pains has been taken by the government to induce the court of policy to pass a satisfactory civil list. If they would do this, there was scarcely anything that Lord John Russell would not grant them, copious means of encouraging immigration included. The combined court, however, have attached to the civil list impossible conditions; one of which is, that they shall have unrestricted permission to obtain immigrants from all parts of the world! The *Guiana Chronicle* bewails their fatuity.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The subject on which AN ENGLISHWOMAN has written to us will not be discussed in our pages.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 1ST.

AT the period of our last issue we announced that the Anti-slavery Convention was sitting; we have now to announce that its session has closed. From day to day—the sabbath alone excepted—its deliberations were continued, until late in the evening of Tuesday the 23rd ultimo. Ten complete days were thus spent in its business, and certainly they were spent in a most business-like manner. The attendance of delegates and the interest of the proceedings were sustained to the last. If it was felt difficult in anticipation to understand what the Convention might find to do, it was not long before all such difficulties vanished away. Foreign delegates have expressed noble and uncompromising sentiments, the reports of which will be of incalculable influence in the countries from whence they came—of which the speeches of the American delegates present an eminent example. Treasures of information have been acquired, by the kind and invaluable communications of gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with the several departments of the vast subject the Convention had before them, a sample of which may be cited in the admirable paper of Dr. Madden on the slavery of Cuba. Principles have been discussed and laid down which have important practical bearings, and the enunciation of which will go far towards moulding the attitude of society into an express condemnation of slavery—as in the case of denying christian communion to the slave-holders. And, finally, measures have been determined on for awakening the attention of both sovereigns and people to the obligation and necessity of liberating the millions who are still held in bondage—as an illustration of which we may quote the resolution to address all sovereigns whose dominions comprehend slaves. After citing these examples, however, we beg to observe that we have cited them as examples only; and to add that they do not stand out all prominently among the numerous proceedings of which we can here make no mention. The conviction, indeed, has been universal among those who have witnessed its proceedings that the Convention cannot fail of producing much good, and an amount of good very far exceeding—although these have been great—the trouble and expense incurred by it. That an assembly of four hundred men, collected from such diverse quarters, should have addressed themselves to so much important business without some deviations from perfect regularity, or should have got through it without an occasional ruffle, was not to be expected; but on the whole, the proceedings have been conducted with admirable temper, wisdom, order, and unanimity—so much so, as to afford eminent reason for thankfulness to Him who has all hearts in his hand, and just ground for believing that he has vouchsafed his merciful blessing. One painful event only occurred. On the fourth day of the Convention, during the afternoon sitting, a waiter who had gone to close the windows against rain, was, by the rebound of one of them, precipitated from the cornice of the hall, a height of nearly thirty-feet. We deeply regret to state, that his fall, (which created of course a deep and most painful sensation) although not immediately fatal, has been productive of fatal results. It is matter of gratitude, however, that it did not occasion the loss of more lives than one, and that those upon whom the falling servant was thrown have suffered, as may at present be hoped, no permanent injury. Subject to this affecting occurrence, every providential circumstance connected with the assembly has been favourable. The sittings of the Convention during the two last days were, on account of the pre-engaged state of Freemasons' Hall, conducted at the Friends' Meeting House in Gracechurch-street, which was found well adapted to the purpose. They were closed by well-merited expressions of thanks to the vice-chairmen and secretaries, upon whom so large a portion of labour have fallen, together with the publication committee and the gentlemen of the press. After the business of the Convention had been concluded, the Rev. Mr. Woodwark, with a few serious and suitable remarks, presented the following sentiments, which the assembly received in devotional silence.

That this Convention desires to offer reverend thanksgivings to ALMIGHTY GOD, for his gracious providence in permitting the assembly of so many christian philanthropic men from different parts of this country and from other nations to deliberate on the best means of effecting the utter extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, for the harmony which has obtained among its members as to fundamental principles of action, and for the cordiality and general unanimity which have distinguished their proceedings. And that, re-calling to mind those pacific, moral, and religious principles upon which as a Convention it is agreed to act, it would conclude its important deliberations by expressing its entire dependence on the blessing of Him who has given us command to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and by recording its solemn sense of the necessity for every friend of the cause not to relax in their efforts in this great undertaking, until unconditional freedom shall be secured to every slave.

We have made the preceding statement as a matter of fact, and not of eulogy. If it were proper for us to speak the praises of the Convention, we might easily find topics of commendation. We might say much and truly of the purity of motive, the singleness of heart, and the willing self-denial by which the assembly was actuated, and the noble consecration to the cause of freedom by which all its proceedings were animated and sustained. We might place it beside other gatherings, whether of crowned heads, of statesmen, of merchants, or of philosophers; and we might challenge pre-eminent distinction for it in comparison with them all. In disinterestedness, benevolence, and comprehensiveness, in enlightened views, in hallowed feeling, in lofty sentiment, in determined perseverance, it has had not only no superior, but no equal. It is unique, and has neither likeness nor companion in the history of the world. We check ourselves, however. Too closely are we connected with this matter to be at liberty to enlarge in such a strain. Others of no mean name and eloquence have said such things, and may again say them. For ourselves, we have only to add, let our works be our eulogy.

On Wednesday, June 24th, was held at Exeter Hall the first Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, of which we have given some account elsewhere. It was altogether a splendid and powerful meeting, and a worthy finale to the proceedings of the Convention. Particularly gratifying was it to see on the right hand of the royal duke who presided, M. de Guizot, the French ambassador to this country; inasmuch as his presence on this occasion may be considered as a public pledge of the determination of his government to accomplish the abolition of slavery in the French dominions.

These matters have far outrun our capacity of immediate reporting. We shall, however, continue to give double numbers of this paper, until we have fetched up the whole of our lee-way, and placed the entire proceedings on record in our pages. We believe we may state that they will subsequently appear in a still more complete and authentic form in a separate publication, which will deserve no mean rank among contributions to the instruction and welfare of mankind.

THE question of reducing the duty on foreign sugars has been discussed in the House of Commons, and negatived by a large majority. The deficiency in the supply of sugar from our colonies has given rise to the demand for the admission of the foreign article; and were it possible to bring into the British market only sugar the produce of free labour, we should be far from regretting it. This, of course, has not been contemplated by the parties agitating the subject, neither would it be practicable if attempted. The admission of slave-grown sugar into the home market could not be viewed without the deepest concern, since it would occasion a most lamentable aggravation both of slavery and the slave-trade. In the proceedings of the anti-slavery convention, Dr. Lushington founded on this circumstance a strong appeal to Mr. Knibb to encourage the emancipated peasantry in the cultivation of the sugar estates. Mr. Knibb replied to this with the best feeling

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and gave assurance that, if the peasantry should be justly treated, he would use his influence to promote the cultivation of sugar but he added, with his characteristic emphasis, "If they are to suffer such oppressions as are inflicted by the laws lately enacted, we will go to the mountain; and, even if England be ruined, Jamaica shall be free." There is something in these words deserving the attention of more parties than those who heard them.

We have to congratulate the friends of humanity that the Hill Coolies are saved for the present. On the question that the bill (the Colonial Passengers' Bill) do pass, Dr. Lushington moved the omission of Lord John Russell's clauses, and the motion, we rejoice to say, was carried by a majority of forty-nine. This result is to be ascribed principally, no doubt, to the interposition of the East India Company, who, at the late quarterly court of proprietors, adopted a petition hostile to Coolie exportation, and thus gave the *coup de grace* to the noxious scheme. We see it stated, however, that the issue is owing in part also to the tenacity with which Lord John Russell has withstood the importunities of the West Indians to share the spoil. If he will not let the Coolies be taken to British Guiana, he shall not export them to Mauritius. Such are the elements of legislation! Of course now, before anything more is attempted in this direction, we shall have the East Indian documents, which are all important on this matter, and which have hitherto been wanting. From them there can be no question we shall derive ample materials for further, and we hope successful opposition to this new slave-trade.

THE last West India mail further acquaints us with the state of agitation into which this island of Jamaica has been thrown by the measures of the governor. At almost all the Baptist missionary stations, public meetings have been held on the subject of Sir Charles Metcalfe's dispatch of the 16th of October last, and a very liberal use has been made on these occasions of the new-born privilege of freedom of speech. The tenor of the resolutions passed at these meetings may be judged of from those which appear in our columns as advestisements. The energy thus evinced by the Baptists (who, in addition to the public meetings, have addressed a letter to the governor, calling upon him to justify his despatch by facts) is galling, of course, to the old plantocracy, and has brought down upon them a storm of malignant invective, unequalled since the memorable period of 1831. To the previously existing matters of contention the Baptists have now added a religious question, by making some pretty severe attacks upon the church. This step appears to have occasioned them the loss of some friends, and to have inflamed beyond all bounds the rage of their enemies. At one of the meetings the quotation of an expression which has become sufficiently celebrated in this country—the church destroys more souls than it saves—so wrought on Mr. Castello, the Editor of the *Falmouth Post*, that he started up to denounce it as "a lie," and, in order to defend the assaulted church, exhibited the carnal weapons of a heavy stick in one hand and a large open knife in the other, thus bidding "defiance to the Baptists" and all their crew. On the point of dispute thus raised we shall express no opinion. We should have thought that the Baptists in Jamaica would have found enough to do under present circumstances, without augmenting either the number or the vehemence of their controversies; but of this, of course, they must judge for themselves. It is due to them to say that they exhibit no signs of fear, and in the multitude of their adherents they have an undoubted tower of strength. Another occasion of vehement denunciation has been found in the declaration of one of the missionaries, that, there being now a considerable number of free-holders among them, "they did intend to influence the elections." Of course they do; and so does every man in this country, or anywhere else, who has a vote. And so they ought; they would be traitors to the cause of liberty if they did not. Is it possible that the little knot of attornies who have hitherto had the power of returning the members of assembly should have been supposing that black men would acquire votes as free-holders *and not use them?* We are sure they will be sorely disappointed. The elective franchise is a privilege of far too great and obvious value for the young freeholders to despise; and let them know that the influence on an election which any man can exert by his vote is a just and legitimate influence, which he not only may use without fault, but cannot refuse to employ without a dereliction of his duty. Let them be deterred from it by no outcry, and by no intimidation. In concluding this article, we make a short quotation from the *Baptist Herald*, to show the present feeling of that body:—

> The Baptists (says the governor) are a political party; the Baptists (says the mercenary and needy press) have proved themselves by their late meetings to be what his Excellency has represented them to be. That the Baptists have formed opinions, and that their views of the conduct of his Excellency are widely different from those of the pro-slavery press, we are ready to admit: but that the Baptists "have done evil," or are doing evil, we most strenuously deny. The fact is, the influence of this body of Christians is the terror of the slavery faction; their numbers constitute a formidable phalanx on the side of freedom; their public meetings exhibit their growing ascendancy; and their righteous principles form the most powerful obstacle to the encroachments and inroads of a policy fraught with the malignity, and armed with the machinery, of an accursed system of oppression. They have, however, nothing to fear. Their cause is the cause of justice, of humanity, and liberty; and greater is He who is for them than all they who are against them.

ANOTHER scene is now in course of exhibition in the drama o Grant *versus* Stainsby and Oughton. Our readers cannot have forgotten the action brought by this notorious person against the Rev. Messrs. Stainsby and Oughton for defamation, or the verdict of a Jamaica jury, amercing these faithful ministers in four thousand five hundred pounds damages, with ruinous costs. Under legal advice this iniquitous decision was carried into the court of error, with a view of bringing it, if necessary, before the privy council. It appears, however, to have been necessary, in order to carry out this design, that the amerced parties should give security for the payment of the damages and costs, in case of the decision being ultimately against them. As they were resolved never to pay these damages, they refused to give this security. Grant has consequently obtained judgment for the amount, and these admirable and persecuted men are now suffering under this process. Mr. Oughton, with whose proceedings we happened to be more fully acquainted than Mr. Stainsby's, has made use of the little time afforded him to pay all his just and lawful debts; and, abandoning the rest of his furniture and books to the process of law, has gone to prison to take the benefit of the Insolvent Act. His determination in this matter is noble, and we think wise. The principle is, that, if the West Indians, who can easily enough get verdicts for large damages, can also get those damages paid, there will be a bounty on malicious prosecutions, and no limit to the multiplication of them. They may, perhaps, be repeated out of sheer malice; but at all events, they must not be allowed to become profitable speculations. On this ground Mr. Oughton, who in his own person is nearly worthless as a pecuniary victim, has preferred suffering an incarceration of some months in order to take the benefit of the law as an insolvent debtor, to purchasing his liberty and ease by expending the funds of British and Christian benevolence in rewarding his detestable persecutor. His affectionate flock will minister kindly to his wants while he is in prison, and the sympathy, admiration, and prayers of the wise and good will everywhere be engaged on his behalf. We earnestly hope that a kind Providence may watch over his life, and preserve it amidst the perils of so critical a situation.

We have further learned that, upon the examination of this trial at the colonial office, orders were sent to the attorney-general of Jamaica to take depositions respecting the conduct of Grant, and, if in his opinion they warranted such a measure, to institute a public prosecution against him. The depositions thus taken, as we are informed, make out a worse case against this infamous debauchee than that exposed by the prosecution of Stainsby and Oughton; but, upon their being submitted to the governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, (who has received Grant at his table) he declined to sanction a prosecution, on the ground that "they were too horrid to be true!" They are therefore sent to Downing Street for further instructions. Are we to imagine it possible they should be cushioned there? We know that Chief Justice Sir Joshua Rowe, who tried the case, and who afterwards welcomed Grant, as one of his associate judges, to sit on the bench by his side, is in England, and it may be part of his object to smother the rank impurities of his friend; but we trust Lord John Russell will never lend himself to such a scheme. A state of morals so awfully polluted and polluting as this case of Grant's brings to light, requires all that can be done by the government and by all its officers to contribute to its purification.

A MOST serious crisis has been produced in Jamaica by the inconsiderate (to use the mildest possible term) conduct of the governor, in giving his sanction to some of the laws enacted by the assembly during their late session, together with the unqualified applause with which he thought proper to take leave of that body. That applause we are sorry to say has been echoed at home; and the noble secretary for the colonies has stated in parliament that the government are highly gratified with the conduct of the house of assembly. He has further informed the country that he does not mean to advise her Majesty to disallow any of the laws complained of, but that he is about to content himself with making representations to the island legislature, which he trusts will not be uninfluential for their improvement. Now it is ascertained beyond all doubt, and indeed is manifest on an attentive view of the laws in question, that there are inserted into them most unrighteous and cruel clauses, directly denying justice and working oppression; and that they constitute a series, so connected one with another as by their combined operation to produce, what was no doubt intended by the framers of them, a state of practical slavery under the name of freedom. Yet it is such laws that Lord John Russell will not recommend her Majesty to disallow. It is for the passing of such laws that Sir Charles Metcalfe, (whom Mr. O'Connell has justly designated "an unworthy successor" of Sir Lionel Smith), has eulogized the assembly of Jamaica, and the secretary of state for the colonies has repeated the disgraceful praise on the floor of the British parliament. His lordship has been long regarded as the friend of liberty and social improvement, and there is not one of her Majesty's ministers from whom there might have been expected a more firm front against the restoration of planter tyranny under the name of conciliation. It will be a severe mortification and disappointment if his hands, beyond those of all other men, are to be employed in rivetting anew the chains of the slave, and in wresting from nearly a million of British subjects the freedom which the British people have so dearly purchased for them. As to the representations which he believes will be so influential with Jamaica planters to extract the poison out of their

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new laws, not the slightest expectation of good can be founded on them. Even if they should ultimately lead to any beneficial change, which is in the highest degree improbable, it can only be through a series of delays extending, perhaps, through several years, during which time the oppressive laws will continue to be in operation, as they now are, and within which time they must have accomplished incalculable mischief, if they will not even have effected the whole of their design. Most earnestly do we call on the noble lord at the head of the colonial department to give his serious attention to this important matter; and most emphatically do we affirm our own conviction that nothing but the exercise of the royal prerogative in this instance can secure either freedom for the negro, or prosperity for the planter.

To the prosperity of the planter, indeed, the laws in question are as unequivocally hostile as to the liberties of the negro. No error more egregious can they have fallen into, than to have supposed that oppressive laws will augment their command over labour. However they may operate in this method for a time, their effect in the long run, and very shortly too, will be directly the reverse. They will give greater vehemence and impatience to the desire which already extensively exists among the peasantry to acquire small plots of ground, and to become independent. The planters know very well that considerable portions of land have already been purchased by the missionaries, and that free villages are rising on every side. Such laws as they have lately passed are directly adapted to give strength and magnitude to this course of things. Land is too frequently in the market for the missionaries to be prevented from buying it to any extent they please; and the multiplication of free villages is the plan upon which they have determined. We hail this determination with the greatest delight; since we are convinced, not only that the system presents the only escape for the peasantry from the rod of oppression, but also that it is the unequivocal germ of social happiness and improvement, without being in any degree hostile to the cultivation of sugar. We could even find it in our hearts to thank the house of assembly for enacting laws which have so direct a tendency to force onward a system so full of benefit to the negro, to violate his deeply rooted but foolish local attachments, and to drive him by despair to a change he would have done well to adopt from choice. But what are the infatuated planters about *for themselves?* Do they not see that such dreadful pressure upon men who can escape from them is but leaving themselves every day more destitute and helpless! They say they want labourers to remain; and they proceed to furnish them with cogent reasons to depart! It is true they cannot all go at once; but many can go, and the rest as soon as possible will follow. Already is one of the Baptist chapels turned into a barracks—that is to say, it is divided into small apartments for the temporary accommodation of families who are waiting for free allotments—and the missionaries are resolved to devote every one of their chapels to a similar use, rather than there shall be wanting an asylum for the cruelly ejected tenant, or the houseless wanderer wickedly hunted as a vagrant. It is madness for the planters to persevere in such a course. Sugar cultivation must be destroyed by it. All the branches of agriculture, but especially this, are already feeling the ruinous effects of it; and it is only by adopting a different course that the productiveness of the estates can be saved.

There is yet another point of view in which the subject may be regarded. The Jamaicans, like the planters of Guiana and Trinidad, are crying out for emigrants; yet at the same time they are making the condition of the labourer there oppressive beyond endurance. In this respect the planters of Trinidad and Guiana have shown much greater sagacity. Without making the laws what they should be, the managers of estates in these colonies have begun materially to mend their manners, and have adopted indulgent courses toward immigrant labourers. The consequence is that they are receiving large additions to their labouring population, and are deriving an immediate reward from their wisdom. But who do the planters of Jamaica think will emigrate to the isle of springs under the system they are now pursuing? Not the veriest wretch on earth will knowingly place himself within the reach of their oppressions. They may as well "call spirits from the vasty deep." If, therefore, they neither fear God nor regard man—both of which conclusions we might, perhaps, be constrained to admit—for their own interest they should stop in their career of folly.

We congratulate the island of Dominica on the decisive measure which has at length been taken by the government, in order to destroy the factious and virulent opposition which has long and effectually been presented to every salutary proposition by the majority of her Majesty's council in that island. Mr. Blanc, the president of that body, as its senior resident member, has been suspended by the lieutenant-governor, and the resignation of another member, Mr. F. H. Garraway, has been accepted. Major Macphail and the government deserve great credit for this resolute proceeding, which has long been imperatively demanded. Things will go on better now in Dominica.

There is advertised in our columns to day, at a very moderate price, a very pretty medal, commemorative of the Anti-slavery Convention just held. On the principal face is the head of Mr. Clarkson, executed in bold relief, with a border inscription, "Thomas Clarkson, president of the Anti-slavery Convention, June 12, 1840." On the reverse is the now well-known figure of the kneeling African in chains, with the motto, "Am I not a man and a brother?" This figure is executed with great spirit.

A DREAM OF THE FUTURE.

TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

In the deep midnight solitude
A vision o'er my spirit came;
Methought upon a mountain stood
A mighty angel, rob'd in flame,
Who, with a voice that shook the sphere,
Call'd to the nations, every one,
To gather at his feet and hear
That a new era had begun.
And lo! he wav'd his giant hand,
And forth they came, from every land
Illumin'd by the sun.

Thick as the dust o'er deserts driven
In clouds by the Sirocco blast,
From every region under heaven
Th' innumerable millions pass'd.
Methought upon a boundless shore
Before my eyes outstretch'd they stood,
Sublime and vast, and evermore
Moved like the green leaves of a wood,
When storms amid their branches blow,
Roaring and shaking to and fro,
A fearful multitude.

With visage that outshone the sun,
So bright with heavenly love to men,
When they had gathered every one,
Methought the angel spoke again.
O'er all the listening earth his voice
Roll'd like the thunder passing by,
And bade the suffering lands rejoice
And praise their God that rul'd on high,
That Strife had drunk her fill of gore,
And Peace should reign for evermore
On earth as in the sky.

The people bowed their myriad knees,
And the deep murmur of their pray'r,
Like the conflicting roar of seas,
Broke forth upon the silent air.
He spoke again, and all was dumb
While peal'd the words o'er land and sea,
"Rejoice, O man, the hour has come,
When slavery must cease to be;
The cry has risen from the sod.
From suffering millions up to God,
And all mankind are free!

"No more shall mother slaves give birth
To babes for traders to trepan;
No more shall tyrants rule the earth,
Or man be enemy of man.
From West to East—from South to North,
The voice of rivalry shall cease,
And both the white man and the swarth
Shall see their mutual love increase,
And still, while plenty crowns the sod,
Shall both enjoy the gifts of God
In freedom and in peace!

"No more shall war affright the day,
Or rapine smoke obscure the sun,
The olden age has pass'd away,
And the new era has begun!"
He said—and in a stream of light
Methought he vanish'd to the sky,
While all the people at the sight
Bowed low their heads in ecstasy.
And call'd each other to rejoice
And shout with one triumphant voice
Praise to the Lord on high.

The Vision fled!—O dreaming heart!
And shall the hope in slumbers given
Droop in the waking, and depart?
Forbid it, O relenting heaven!
Experience may obscure the beam
That hearts enthusiastic see;
But were perfection all a dream,
How cold and dark this world would be!
Hopes of the just—if ye increase,
The strife begun shall never cease
Till all mankind are free!

CHARLES MACKAY.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Continued from our last.)

MONDAY, June 15th.

The resolutions proposed by Mr. Birney having been unanimously carried, the convention entertained a motion on the influence of British literature.

Mr. STANTON, the Secretary of the Abolition Society of America, said it was on account of some sentiments advanced by the gentleman who had supported Mr. Birney's resolution, he wished to pass to what he said with regard to the operation of the American constitution with reference to slavery. They admitted that at the outset their fathers had sinned, and that they, their sons, had sinned also, with regard to the constitution of America. He begged, therefore, to make a plain exposition of one or two principles of the constitution as they bore upon slavery, and he would take an opposite course to Mr. Birney, to show what the general congress could do indirectly for the extinction of slavery. The hon. member for Dublin had alluded to the district of Colombia. It was true, the general congress of the United States

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had not power to abolish slavery through all the states, but they had the power to do it in this district. Did they ask what could be the benefit of abolishing slavery in so small a district? In the first place the occasional discussion of the whole question must take place, and all the various objections of the slave holders must be met, and must be, as they would be, completely answered. Now, in his country, as in this, it was the habit to report speeches at length; these reports were printed in their newspapers, and carried into every part of the slave-holding states, where an anti-slavery delegate could not venture but to meet certain destruction by lynch law, or the yet more summary jurisdiction of the bowie-knife. Thus they would bring the subject home to the planter's bosom, and thus sooner or later they might operate upon his heart. (Hear and cheers.) Again, with regard to the district of Colombia, not only would it be the subject of discussion by the highest legislative body in his nation, but by their abolition of slavery in that district this body would say to the nation that it was a system that was not fit to live. It would be a declaration by the highest authority in the land that slavery ought to be exterminated. (Hear, hear.) It was in allusion to this that senator Preston in South Carolina, who strongly resembled the hon. and eloquent gentleman (Mr. O'Connell) beside him, not only in personal appearance, (laughter) but also in the use of the argument *ad hominem*—had said, "We must resist the abolition of slavery in Colombia." And why? "Because it is the gateway of American slavery." On this ground the American congress had refused even to receive petitions on the subject, in defiance of the right of petition, in defence of which, when refused by the British throne, his fathers went to battle and to death; and thus—(I am, said the hon. gentleman, an American, and you will pardon me for saying so)—wrung from it that independence which they regarded as their birthright. (Cheers.) Yet this same people for five successive sessions have denied this right. (Hear, hear.) Again, congress had the power not only to abolish slavery in Colombia, but *indirectly* to exterminate what is called the internal, but what Quincy Adams rightly called on the floor of the senate, the infernal slave-trade. (Cheers.) It is admitted generally that congress has the power to exterminate this, the *main* pillar of American slavery. He had called it the main pillar—if permitted he would vary the figure, and call it the jugular vein of the system, without which it would cease to live. The northern states were the breeding states, while the southern states were the consumers. The northern slave states reared slaves, whom the southern states worked into premature graves. (Hear, hear.) The former were the Congos and Guineas of American slavery to the extreme southern states. In raising hemp and tobacco at home they did not need slave-labour. Slavery, therefore, was made profitable in the northern states by raising men and women for sale, (hear, hear) and he would only say, with regard to their ambassador to this country, that while he was a slaveholder, if he did not traffic in human flesh, he was an exception to the great mass of Virginian slaveholders, and he thought it incumbent on that gentleman to prove that he came within the exception instead of the general rule. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL—He denied any knowledge of such practices in America.

MR. STANTON—Then I say he is too ignorant to represent the American people here, (loud cheers) or too dishonest; for there lies on this table a document from the press of his native state, which says, that in 1806 twenty millions' of dollars worth of slaves were sold from Virginia to the other states. (Hear, hear.) Virginia not a slave-breeding state? In what else is her prosperity but in human flesh? (Hear, hear.) Now what would be the effect of the extermination of the internal slave-trade? The answer was—It was profitable there in the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and molasses, to urge men to labour beyond what human nature could bear. The slaves in the cotton fields were worked into their graves in seven years—a system which, if universally carried on, would depopulate the world in a century. How was this vacuum supplied? By slaves from Virginia and other breeding states. (Hear, hear.) He would mention a fact, by way of illustrating this, which had been told him by a Baptist minister who attended the convention from Virginia. He said that he had asked a Baptist slaveholder, a member of his congregation in Virginia, whether he was not apprehensive lest the slaves should rise in insurrection against their masters? and the answer was, that there had been sometimes apprehensions of it, but that God, in his providence, had opened for them a safety valve in the extreme southern states, which purchased their slaves, and worked them to death in seven years. (Great sensation.) Therefore he (Mr. Stanton) asserted, that if congress took up the sword of constitutional power and cut this jugular vein, slavery would turn pale and gasp at the southern end, and die of apoplexy at the northern end. (Hear, and laughter.) There was another way in which this might be accomplished, namely, by the non-admission of what were called free states to the Union. At the period of the passing of that splendid declaration, that all men were created equal and entitled to equal rights, there were thirteen states in the union, of which six were free states, or just on the point of being free, and seven were slave states. Since the American confederacy was formed thirteen other states had been admitted to the Union, eight of which were slave, and five free states. But this admission was voluntary on their part, and thus they had swelled the numbers of slave-holders in congress both of senators and representatives. Yes, like him of old, they had sold their birthright, but they had not, like him, obtained for it a mess of pottage, for they now ruled them with a rod of iron. These slave states now controlled the nation. But there was hope for freedom even yet. In the north-western section of the republic there was a most splendid country now rapidly filling up with the free population of the United states. This formed what was called the north-west territory, the land of which was of the most fertile kind, which steam-boats traversed for upwards of three thousand miles, and which was fertile in towns and cities. (Hear.) The population of the United States flowed over, not into the slave states, but into this district; and now there were two new territories ready for admission to the union. If these states were admitted to the union, they might by-and-bye give the anti-slavery party the preponderance, for the south had nothing wherewith to counteract them but swamps and Indians. Here then was the reason why Texas wished for admission to the union. These far north-west states were rapidly making New Englands, and the southern states would not be able to withstand them, unless Texas were admitted to the union. Was it asked, Is this the situation of America? Even so. The general government had no power to abolish slavery, but in the indirect manner of which he had spoken. They had the power to alter the constitution, but it would require the assent of two-thirds of the whole states to accomplish this. Hence the necessity for reliance upon moral power; and when he spoke of moral power he meant also political action, (Hear, hear,) and hence the resolution he had the honour to submit. They relied on external application; the civilised world must erect a wall of exterminating fire around American slavery, that would melt the hard heart of the slave-holder. (Hear, hear.) The abolitionists were feeble as a body, but strong in power. (Cheers.) As yet their numbers were contemptible, though, thank God, they were growing in strength. Therefore they fell back for assistance on the civilised world. One great power they desired to bring to bear for this purpose was the literature of the world. He thought he was paying a compliment to his nation when he said they were a reading people. He had travelled from Torquay to London, and had hardly seen a newspaper; but everybody read with them—everybody in America was a politician—everybody had a title to nobility—everybody was heir apparent to the throne, (Laughter) hence they were politicians from necessity. Every mechanic had his summary, and every gentleman his broad sheet; the former was to be seen in every workshop, and the latter in all the saloons of their aristocracy, for such they had. The Americans were a reading and a discussing people, but he took pleasure in saying the fountain head of their literature was Great Britain. (Cheers.) It was from the land of Shakspeare and of Milton, of Bolingbroke and Pope, of Hume, and Robertson, and Mackintosh, they gathered all the gems which sparkled in their literary diadem. He came then to England, and said, give us an anti-slavery literature. (Hear, hear.) He would state some facts on this subject, which might be thought amusing. He had already alluded to the effect of British literature upon America, and such was the case with its theology. Their theology was that of Hall and Baxter, of Warburton and Paley, of Tillotson and Taylor. Their law was derived from that of Coke and Blackstone, and others down to Mansfield, who made judicially the glorious decision, that the moment a slave set his foot upon British ground that moment he was free. Their histories were those of England, from Hume to Mackintosh. The politics and eloquence of America were derived from England. It was on those great principles which, previous to the revolution, had struck so deep, and thrown up their trenches so high, which were to be found in the works of Burke and the other distinguished men who then thundered in the senate, and which had made the hearts of the Americans burn within them, on which the eloquence of America was founded. Why, from the days of Chatham to O'Connell (cheers) the eloquence of the British senate had found attentive listeners in America. The eloquent denunciation of the scalping knife by Chatham had not only been thundered in the British senate, but in every city in America. It was recited in every school; and when a lad at school, he had ofttimes repeated it. And even now, in Boston, the denunciations of American slavery by O'Connell were repeated amid enthusiastic plaudits. Therefore British eloquence was the eloquence of America. There was another portion of her literature by which England might reach the American mind, namely, by reviews. Ten or fifteen thousand copies of reviews published in this country were circulated in the United States. An American house had ten or twelve thousand subscribers for those reviews, who subscribed on condition that they should be reprinted entire. An article in one of them, "The Martyr Age," excited so great a sensation there, that the publishers were obliged to apologize for its insertion. In the southern states a man must run the gauntlet, if suspected of entertaining anti-slavery principles. If such a one attempted to go into the birth-places of Rush, Jay, Franklin, and Washington, he must also take his winding-sheet with him; but these men would read these publications; they might feel di-turbed by it, and put it down; but the next day they would feel perhaps some shame at being thus disconcerted by a book, and take it up again, and thus these principles might strike into their hearts, and take root downwards, and branch upwards. (Cheers.) He asked them on behalf of the American abolitionists that England would saturate her literature with abolition principles, (hear, hear) that her periodicals should join with them. There were novel readers in America as well as here, and they asked Edward Lytton Bulwer to introduse these principles into his works, they asked Dickens, who was read and honoured throughout America for his deep insight into human nature, to do so also; and they asked the newspaper press which, though of less importance, was also read in America, to assist in the great work, and if this were done, as slavery was abolished in the West Indies, so would American slavery fall. They had heard of resistance to moral power. The American people were a brave people, they had this moral power, but they would be unable to resist the influence of the literature of this country. This was his last hope. He spoke as one who had stood up against slavery amid strife and opposition, with those who had bared their breasts to the bowie knife in defence of their principles. (Cheers.) They fell back for assistance on British sentiment—on O'Connell, on Buxton, and on Clarkson, to reach forth their hands in their support, and cheer them on. Send us, concluded Mr. Stanton, I will not say a purified, but a vivified literature, instinct with the principles of freedom. Let it come in your literature, your periodicals, and your newspapers, and speak for freedom—and thus reach the ears of men whom the voice of the abolitionist cannot reach, until they shall feel a pleasure in the knowledge of the truth of our principles, and unite with us in their dessemination until slavery shall cease. (Loud cheers.) He concluded by moving—

"That while the literature of Great Britain exercises so vast an influence over the public opinion of America, we deem it the duty of British abolitionists individually, as well as collectively, to make systematic efforts to secure a frequent, clear, and full expression of the sentiments of the nation, through its leading political and literary periodicals on the subject of slavery and the anti-slavery enterprise in the United states; to fix the attention of the world on the successful results of the West India experiment, and to spread before the American public evidence of the deep indignation of the civilised world against a slave-holding republic."

The meeting then adjourned till four o'clock.

EVENING SITTING.

The chair was again taken at four o'clock by the Rev. R. K. Greville, LL.D., when the discussion of Mr. Stanton's motion was resumed.

Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS, upon being called upon by the chairman, rose to second the resolution which had been proposed previous to the adjournment by Mr. Stanton. He had but a fact or two to add to the statements which had been made by Mr. Stanton, and, as he had gone through the ground so thoroughly, it was not necessary to detain the con-

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vention any length of time. What he wished to call the attention of those present more particularly to, was the fact of the southern portion of the union being shut against all the efforts of the abolition press, and the north itself had also laid an embargo upon all anti-slavery proceedings. If anything issued from the anti-slavery society of New York, what became of it? Why, it died there. (Cheers.) They could not even persuade any of the great leading newspapers of the north to insert their publications, or the facts they stated with respect to the West India experiment, and it was utterly impossible for many of those present to imagine the ignorance that pervaded the northern public with respect to the question of slavery; and in spite of that ignorance they would not be instructed. Though there was no room in any portion of the American press for the advocacy of slavery abolition, or the statements of their proceedings, yet full latitude was given to the distorted calumnies of the Jamaica press. (Hear, hear.) There was, in fact, no attention paid to any anti-slavery publication in the United States, with the exception of some of the slave-holding portion of the community, who occasionally alluded to them because their feelings were harrowed up by them, and they were told truths which they did not like, and could not deny. Now in order to show the manner in which those who advocate the abolition of slavery were treated in Boston, he would advert to a circumstance which took place. In that city they had an athenæum, in which was a very extensive library. Lydia Maria Child, an individual who must be known to all present for her literary productions, was some time since allowed the use of the library there, but since she had written works against slavery, that permission had been recalled. She had been told that her works had been thrown out of the window by the solicitor-general of Massachusetts, and the greatest indignity had been used towards her. Several similar cases had taken place in other parts of the United States, and the fact was, that unless some different course was adopted, the anti-slavery society might just as well bottle up their publications, and place them under the corner-stones of the great buildings in America, as attempt to give them circulation through the whole community of the United States. The voice that was put forward in this great cause, and which spoke so loudly in England—was in America only a whisper, which was drowned in the discussion of parties. Mr. O'Connell had told them that morning that the flag of England floated in every sea, and its voice was heard in the remotest parts of the world. He agreed with that honourable gentleman in all that he had stated upon this important subject, and he trusted that this country would make its voice heard in America in behalf of those who were in bondage there. (Hear, hear.) They had been asked if they had not agitated the anti-slavery question in America, as Wilberforce did in England? They were doing so, and all they wished was that the English people, through the press, should state that they were doing so—(hear, hear, and cheers)—as that would effectually silence the malice of those who call the advocates of the abolition of slavery fanatics. (Cheers.) When he went back to America, and told them that he had seen the white man and the black man walk arm in arm, he should not be believed. Why? Because he was an abolitionist. (Cheers.) He wished to have it recorded by the British press, that the coloured man was to be received in the same manner as the white—that they were to be considered as brothers, deriving life and health from the same beneficent Creator. That was the principle, and the true principle, of the abolitionist, the man who was so despised and so little heeded in America. All the publications of the anti-slavery society were discarded in America; and he would venture to say, that even the tract of Mrs. Weld would not be read by one in a thousand persons in America. But if these things were noticed in the *Edinburgh*, and other publications in this country, they would be read in America with the greatest avidity. (Cheers.) Their wish was to raise the man who was a slave to a level with his fellow-man. They wished to do that by education, and also by exciting the sympathy of christians in his behalf. That was only to be done by the expression of the public sentiment—the religious public sentiment of England in their behalf. (Hear.) To show again the spirit which existed in America against those who advocated the abolition of slavery, he might just mention that the *Emancipator*, a publication the object of which was to be known from its name, had frequently been returned from the south to the north, because the post master would not send it forward; and such was the height to which prejudice was carried on this subject in America, that if they were told in the pages of the *Emancipator* that such and such and such was the case, they would not believe it, but would say it was an anti-slavery lie. (Cheers.) But if the same things were only told them by a portion of the British press, they would believe every word of it. The fact was, that it might be said in America of this country that the sceptre had not departed from Judah, (cheers) that though the connexion had been dissolved between this country and America, as far as holding its own parliaments and directing its own affairs, yet they were in its vassalage, as far as talents and genius were concerned. The abolitionists had eloquent and devoted men in their cause, but the American public would not listen to them. England, and England alone, was the fulcrum by which American slavery was to be uprooted for ever. (Hear, hear.)

The worthy gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. STANTON wished, before the question was put from the chair, to state one or two facts showing the palpable ignorance in America of the proceedings of those who advocated the abolition of slavery. In one instance, a senator of Connecticut had stated to him that he did not know the fact that Great Britain had emancipated the slaves in its colonies. —(Laughter.) Another fact was with respect to a member of the congress of Ohio, who had stated that he did not know that Great Britain had put an end to slavery in her West Indian colonies.—(Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. BRADBURN of Massachusetts, wished to make a few observations before the resolutions were put. He agreed with the statements of his friend who had preceded him with respect to the ignorance of the Americans as to the proceedings in this country of those who advocate the abolition of the slave trade. He was, however, afraid that that ignorance was not genuine. He believed that they knew the truth well enough, but they were not willing to admit it; and the only way to make them do so, was by publishing the exertions of those who endeavoured to put an end to slavery in the publications of this country.—(Hear, hear.) The Americans called themselves a republic. Now he thought that it might be as well to try those who were against the abolition of slavery by their own theory. What was the meaning of the term republic? Why it meant a state governed for the interest of the whole community. Was the interest of the whole community, he would ask, considered by any state, whether a republic or not, when slavery was allowed to exist? Yet such was the state of things in republican America. Why even the autocrat of Russia, who held his authority from God alone, admitted that the government should be carried on for the benefit of the people; and he would venture to say that the government of Russia was far more like a republic than the government of America, for in the latter country they did not profess to carry on the government for the benefit of the whole, for there it was said that all men were born equal with one another with the exception of negros.—(Laughter.) They had not the liberty of the press in America, neither had they religious liberty, for a man in that country could not avow his religious conviction with respect to slavery, unless that conviction was that it was patriarchal. He hoped the periodicals of Great Britain would take some pains to hold up in their true character, a large number of persons in America, who called themselves abolitionists. Some who did so, were the very worst enemies the anti-slavery advocate had to deal with, for they called themselves abolitionists, because they did not wish it to be known how hostile they were to the just principles of humanity. It was one thing for them to call themselves abolitionists, and another to be so in reality. It was upon record, and history would therefore prove it, that at the time of the adoption of the American constitution it was stated, that not half a century would elapse before every State in America would put a total and entire end to slavery, and but for these terms it was his firm belief that that instrument would never have received the sanction of the states. The truth was, that every state in America was by that instrument placed under a solemn obligation to put an end to slavery. He trusted that the British people would labour to convince the clergy of the necessity of this great work, for hitherto he must confess that the British clergy were more in favour of emancipation than they were in America.—(Cheers.) He trusted that the people of this country would send forth the voice of earnest but affectionate remonstrance among the clergy on this subject, in order that they might impress upon the American clergy what their duties really were; and he would venture to say, that if they only put the 17,000 clergy of America right upon this subject, they would deal such a blow upon the monster slavery as would send him staggering to his own dark hiding place. It had been proved that emancipation was not only practicable but profitable, and the slave-owners must therefore either admit themselves wrong or assert that slavery was a christian institution. They had chosen the latter, and they must abide by the decision. The worthy gentleman sat down amidst much cheering.

Colonel MILLER wished to make a few observations before the resolution was put. He was sorry to say that in America every species of christian, the baptist, the wesleyan, the presbyterian, and all other denominations, were owners of slaves. This was alike disgraceful to the parties concerned, and the country in which it took place.

After a few words from Captain Stuart, Dr. Cox, the Rev. Mr. Keep, Mr. Forster, the Rev. Mr. Colver, Mr. Galusha, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Lester, the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BACKHOUSE moved a resolution to the effect, that the documents which lay on the table, relating to the state of slavery in America, should be referred to a committee to consider and report thereon, with a view to their publication.

The motion was agreed to, and the convention adjourned till ten o'clock the next day.

A committee on free labour was appointed, consisting of Messrs. John Cropper, Josiah Conder, John Sturge, William Boultbee, and William Kay; also a committee on the results of emancipation in the British colonies, consisting of Messrs. Samuel Bowley, Knibb, Joseph Eaton, Prescod, Captain Stuart, W. W. Anderson, and W. Morgan.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16th, 1840.

The proceedings commenced under the presidency of J. G. Birney, Esq.

The SECRETARY then read the minutes of last meeting, which were confirmed.

FRENCH SLAVERY.

The SECRETARY having announced that the business of the day would be the discussion of French slavery, proceeded to read the credentials of the French delegates.

Dr. BOWRING then introduced the French deputies, who were received with loud cheers. M. D'Isambert and his colleagues, he said, had honourably distinguished themselves in the French legislature by their efforts on behalf of liberty generally, and the abolition of slavery in particular.—(Cheers.) There was also here Monsieur Cremieux, a distinguished French barrister, who, though an Israelite, had defended the protestants of the Garde from cruel persecution.—(Loud cheers.)

Monsieur. D'ISAMBERT then rose, and was greeted with the most cordial cheering, which having courteously acknowledged, he proceeded to address the convention in French. As he finished every passage Dr. Bowring translated it to the convention. His version, however, had better be given in a collected form. "Our friend (said the Doctor) begun by expressing the embarrassment under which he found himself. He regretted that the French abolitionists had not the power of gathering round them such assemblies as these. But their government was so constituted that it was apprehensive of the outbreak of popular enthusiasm, and, therefore, the consideration of the subject of slavery had been delegated to small bodies, selected by the government, generally composed of persons of high influence and rank. Hence the friends of abolition had been deprived of many of the means of action possessed in this country. There was one single society of them—in Paris—with no provincial branches, so that its power was but slight. Still the government had done much for the great cause by the formation of these committees. He entreated the convention not to be too hasty in condemning the government for having done no more. It had been one of the errors of French governments to undertake too much. Thus, in 1830, the government took upon itself, not one, but many, momentous questions connected with public liberties, and had, in consequence, to a great degree failed. Hence the proceedings of the French government might bear upon this question the appearance of hesitation. But he entreated the British public to remember, that the French were the first nation that abolished slavery, and abolished it in their own land.—(Cheers.) He said it had often been stated in foreign States

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that the English had been actuated by selfish motives in carrying emancipation, and that it was because they found or fancied it to be their own interests. If this should be said in the French legislature, he would tell them that they were mistaken—(Cheers.)—that he had found this convention extending their views from West Indian to East Indian slavery, and expanding their generous philanthropy into every part of the world—and in the chamber of deputies his voice should not be wanting in their cause.—(Loud cheers.) He had found that when in that chamber he had mooted the question of slavery, he had been, as was usually the case, assailed with violent vituperation, and covered with the obloquy and opprobrium of a *salaried* press.—(Hear, hear, hear.) Notwithstanding this, he and his friends of the negro would persevere, as they had persevered.—(Cheers.) The effect of their representations had already awakened public attention to the subject, and made some progress in ameliorating the condition of the slaves in French colonies.—(Hear, hear.) The reason, he said, why the abolition question had not been so much advanced in France was perhaps the want of some master mind that would devote mighty energies with untiring perseverance to it. There had arisen in the chambers no Wilberforce—(Cheers.)—nor out of them no Clarkson.—(Cheers.) Still France had seen men truly zealous in the cause of liberty, and could boast of Condorcet, and Mirabeau, and Lafayette.—(Cheers.) One thing he could state, that in France there had never been any legal recognition or establishment of slavery.—(Cheers.) It had been permitted, not sanctioned, and introduced only by particular treaties into the colonies. It was as early as 1325 that a monarch of France declared that it ought to be the kingdom of the *free*—(Cheers)—and it was not until Louis the Thirteenth's reign that slavery obtained organization, under the merchants, who, with the pretence of colonization, availed themselves of slave services.—(Hear, hear.) Even the Code Noire as it was called (the black law), established for the slaves certain ameliorations, privileges, and protection—(Hear)—it asserted this great principle, that no disability attached to particular colour respecting the possession of civil rights—(Hear, hear, hear.) Slavery was the offspring of arbitrary power. Even before the revolution, however, it had been struck down in France, and when the liberties of the nation were resuscitated in the national assembly, Neckar addressed them as follows:—"The time will arrive when you will carry your views further—when you will extend your regards to your colonies—when you will *have* compassion on the unfortunate victims of your barbarous avarice there."—(Cheers.) But what nation was more called upon than France to promote the amelioration of the condition of the slave population? No nation knew better the evils which were inseparable from the slave-trade, and which had produced desolation and misery in all parts of the globe. What more glorious work could she join in, than to extend a friendly hand towards all those who endeavour to promote the same objects? Already had one distinguished nation given the signal of enlightened compassion to the world. The great cause of liberty must be eventually brought before the tribunal of nations, and what higher satisfaction, what greater glory could there be, than to obtain a pre-eminence in the glorious work? But woe! woe to France, if she did not recognize the importance of her position, and if such ambition was too great for her capacity. He would now refer to the great impression which had been produced in the national assembly by the few words which had been uttered by the celebrated Lafayette. They were to the following effect:—"You have declared that all those who are domiciled, who possess a dwelling, who pay the taxes, and against whom you can urge none of the incapacities which are declared by the constitution—that these men can be citizens. And are not the negros men?—(Cheers.) The question is concentrated into this. For me, I believe no doubt can be raised on this point, and it was to proclaim this simple truth that I mounted the tribune." The declaration was received with shouts of applause, and produced a profound impression in the assembly.—(Hear, hear, and cheers.) But unhappily, the revolutionary torrent which soon afterwards succeeded carried away all attention from the subject. Afterwards, indeed, upon the flag of St. Domingo there was inscribed the words "Brave blacks! the French recognize your rights and your liberties."—(Loud cheers.) After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte, who had not then experienced the reverses and adversity which he afterwards endured, re-established slavery and the slave-trade; and at that time public opinion was so little represented in any of the bodies nominally called representative, that they made no efforts to control the will of the sovereign. However, after the fall of Napoleon and his second rise, during the hundred days of his government, one of the acts that distinguished him, and probably which most honoured him, was his decree abolishing the slave-trade.—(Cheers.) The misery and sufferings of the slaves at St. Domingo, and the temporary freedom they enjoyed at Guadeloupe, had much advanced the question. In 1814, during the reign of the Bourbons, a law exceedingly unfavourable to the slaves was passed, prohibiting marriage between the black and white population; and it was urged, in a motion for this absurd legislation, that the marriages between the Moors and the Christians in Spain had degenerated the Spanish blood. (Hear, and a laugh.) In 1823 and 1824 some progress was made on the question, in consequence of public discussions that took place, and the question was again introduced into the Chambers; but in 1830, in consequence of the last revolution, the slave-trade was utterly and formally abolished. He anticipated the abolition of slavery as the necessary consequence of that step. They had been menaced with the consequences of agitating the question, and they were told that if it was mooted in the French chambers, there would be outbreaks, and violence, and revolutions in the colonies themselves. But the answer to that might be found in the fact, that the colonies had never been so tranquil as since the period when the agitation had commenced.—(Hear, hear.) Of late two very interesting reports had been drawn up on the social condition and present position of the slaves. These reports had been laid before the chambers—one of them had been prepared by M. Remusat, the present minister of the interior, and the other by M. de Toqueville, the author of democracy in America. These reports established principles, the development of which could not but lead eventually to the overthrow of slavery. These reports stated, that although they were not unwilling to consider the question of indemnity, yet they would not recognize the claim to indemnity as a right—(Cheers)—or that they could possess any property in man. The principle appeared to him to be already triumphant, and he considered the cause as already gained. Even in the colonies themselves public opinion had made great progress, and General Bertrand, who accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, and who was himself a great West India proprietor, had informed him that matters could not remain as they were, and that hereafter the great cause must have a victorious issue. No doubt there would be great resistance to such a step in Martinique, but he anticipated great results from the growing influence of the free black population in Guadeloupe. The deputy now in Paris was sanguine in his anticipation of the final and complete overthrow of slavery. In French Guiana, though they were incapable of offering a long resistance, and although in the island of Bourbon the slave proprietors were very influential, still he did not believe that when the voice of France spoke out, that that voice would not be heard, and that the voice of France, proclaimed by her legislature, could by any possibility be resisted by her colonies.—(Loud cheers.) He was very anxious to introduce to the convention his friend M. Cremieux, who belonged to a body whose civil rights had been lately recognized in France, and who were now upon a perfect equality with their Christian brethren.—(Hear, hear.)

(To be Continued.)

G. W. ALEXANDER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE BRITISH & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

From the 1st of April, 1839, to the 31st of May, 1840.

DR.				CR.			
To Amount received in Donations, from the 1st of April, 1839, to the 31st of May, 1840. . . .	£887	14	6	By Cash paid for Furniture of Offices, and fittings up of Premises, Painters, Carpenters, Ironmongery, Mason, Coals, Candles, Groceries, &c. &c.	£ 268	11	6
To Amount received in Annual Subscriptions, from the 1st April, 1839, to the 31st May, 1840.	189	19	0	By Cash for Rent of Premises, Salaries of Housekeeper, Clerks, Messengers, &c.	195	1	3
To Cash received for Copies sold of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and a few other publications.	22	2	5	By Cash for Home and Foreign Postages, including several extensive issues of Circulars.	94	11	6
				By Cash for Stationery, Printing, Books, Advertisements, Newspapers, &c.	427	12	0
				By Cash for Travelling Expenses of Agent of the Committee	65	0	0
				By Cash for Carriage on Parcels, Coach Hire, Minor Expenses connected with the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and disbursements at the Office	29	15	2
				By Cash in hand, May 31st, 1840 . . .	19	4	6
	£1099	15	11		£1099	15	11

the undersigned have examined this account with the Vouchers, and find it correct.

Signed JOHN BEAUMONT.
HENRY STERRY.

No. 27, New Broad Street,
31st May, 1840.

In making all the necessary arrangements for the Anti-Slavery Convention, the Committee beg to remind their friends that a serious amount of Expense has been unavoidably incurred, amounting to upwards of One Thousand Pounds, independent of other outstanding liabilities.

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Advertisements.

AT A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE FALMOUTH SOCIETY, FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Convened at the particular request of its officers, and held at the baptist chapel in this town last Wednesday, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted. Moved by the Rev. W. Dendy, and seconded by the Rev. B. B. Dexter.

That the Rev. T. F. Abbott be requested to preside on this occasion. The chair was then taken by Mr. Abbott.

Moved by the Rev. B. B. Dexter, and seconded by the Rev. John Clark.

I. That this meeting desires to repeat and record its thanks to Almighty God, the sovereign ruler and supreme governor of the universe, for the great measure of tranquility and prosperity with which he hath graciously favoured this lovely island, more particularly since the complete emancipation of 300,000 of her people from unrighteous bondage.

Moved by the Rev. E. J. Francies, and seconded by Mr. Richard Brown.

II. That this meeting deeply regrets the appointment of a governor to this island who should have hazarded such opinions as are expressed in the dispatch of his excellency *Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe* to the colonial secretary, bearing date 16th October, 1839, before he could have had reasonable time to have formed any correct idea of the state and conflicting views of the different parties over whom he is appointed to rule; and that it considers his censures on the labouring population and on their esteemed ministers, the baptist missionaries, are founded only on prejudice, injustice, and party bias.

Moved by the Rev. H. J. Dutton, and seconded by Mr. John White.

III. That in consequence of the singular and extraordinary despatch of his Excellency the governor having been written within, or about, three weeks after his arrival, and before his Excellency had the opportunity of obtaining any knowledge whatever of the character and conduct of the labouring population generally, or of the denomination in particular to which they are attached, but in which his Excellency has been pleased to heap wholesale odium upon them, and on the baptist missionaries,—it is the opinion of this meeting, that his Excellency, by throwing the whole weight of his official station into the *oppressor's scale*, has not only retarded the progress of that liberty which was purchased at so costly a price by the British Parliament, but has also awakened such distrust and suspicion that this meeting cannot have any confidence in the administration of his Excellency, Sir. C. T. Metcalfe.

Moved by the Rev. T. E. Ward, and seconded by Mr. Andrew Dickson.

IV. That this meeting considers the attempt to do away with the stipendiary magistrates, together with the oppressive acts recently passed by the legislature and sanctioned by the governor, fraught with evil to the best interests of this colony, and that every proper and constitutional means should be resorted to of counteracting such invidious and injurious attempts.

Moved by the Rev. W. Dendy, and seconded by Mr. John Wallace.

V. That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the chairman, be forwarded severally to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonial department; to his Excellency Sir Lionel Smith; to his Excellency Sir Charles T. Metcalfe; to the Rev John Dyer, secretary to the baptist missionary society; and to the Rev. William Knibb, treasurer of this society, at present representing its interests in Great Britain; and that they be twice published in the Baptist Herald, the Colonial Reformer, the Patriot, and the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT A PUBLIC MEETING, held at the Baptist Chapel, Jericho, St. Thomas in the Vale, on Saturday April 11th, 1840. Dr. A. L. Palmer, in the chair.

That part of Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch respecting the baptist missionaries, having been read and commented on by the chairman, it was moved by Mr. James Clarke, seconded by Mr. John Howell, and unanimously resolved,

I. That we consider it our imperative duty to give expression to our sentiments on that portion of Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch to the colonial secretary, dated October, 16th 1839, which affects us as a society of christians.

Moved by Mr. —— Henry, and seconded by Mr. Edward Campbell.

II. RESOLVED,—That, so far from thinking that the intervention of the baptist missionaries has prevented a favourable settlement between the planters and labourers, it is our firm persuasion, that if it were not for the timely, prudent, and christian advice and consent of our own ministers, neither the planters nor ourselves would have been circumstanced as we are this day.

Moved by Mr. —— Thomas, and seconded by Mr. ——— Cato.

III. RESOLVED.—That we do not think the influence exercised by the baptist missionaries is an evil. On the contrary, we know from experience, that their influence is of the most wholesome and loyal nature, and directly calculated to promote the best interests of all classes of the community.

Moved by Mr. —— Campbell, and seconded by Mr. Phillip Reid.

IV. RESOLVED.—That we regret that Sir Charles Metcalfe, in proposing a remedy for diminishing the influence of the baptist missionaries, should have cast such unmerited reflections as he has done on the whole body of our ministers, as well as on ourselves.

Moved by Mr. Francis Dennis, and seconded by Mr. Samuel Clarke.

V. RESOLVED,—That for the information of his Excellency the governor and the public at large, we deem it our duty to state that the subscriptions given by us for the support of our church establishment are willingly contributed, and that our ministers have always impressed on us the necessity of contributing what we do from gospel motives, and with a ready mind.

Moved by Mr. Richard Hamilton, and seconded by Mr. Alexander Bell.

VI. RESOLVED,—That so far from "not liking the amount requisite for the support of our church establishment," it would afford us the greatest pleasure to be able to increase our contributions; and instead of becoming weary in well doing, we feel it our duty to augment our gifts as God prospers and blesses us.

Moved by Mr. George Davidson, and seconded by Mr. Edward Shaw.

VII. RESOLVED.—That we sympathise with our much-loved ministers whose churches have been reflected on in Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch, and hope that in the midst of oppositions they will walk in the same course which they have hitherto pursued; a course which we feel persuaded will ultimately prove as beneficial to the planters as to ourselves.

Moved by Mr. ——— Harris, seconded by Mr. ——— Flowers and supported by Mr. James Steel.

VIII. RESOLVED.—That we view the proposed dismissal of the stipendiary magistrates as a most impolitic and alarming measure, directly calculated to injure the labouring population, and to revive practical slavery in the island under the name of liberty. That we trust her Majesty Queen Victoria will never sanction a measure so fraught with injustice to the majority of her subjects.

Moved by Mr. C. N. Palmer, and seconded by Mr. Thomas Williams,

IX. RESOLVED,—That the resolutions adopted at this meeting be inserted twice in the Colonial Reformer, the Baptist Herald, and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Dr. Palmer having left the chair, Mr. John Howell was called thereto, when the usual vote of thanks to the chairman was carried.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEDALS

Sanctioned by the British and Foreign Society for the Total Abolition of Slavery throughout the world, by J. Davis, Medallist, Birmingham. Sold wholesale by H. Painter, Agent, 5, Gough Square, Fleet Street, London, at 4s. 6d. per dozen.

AT the particular request of the deacons and officers of the Baptist church, assembling at Waldensia, baptist missionary station, in the parish of Twelawny, a meeting of the Society for the protection of Civil and religious liberty was convened at the above station on the 17th instant, when the following resolutions were unanimously carried:—

Mr. Richard Barrett in the chair. Moved by the Rev. T. E. Ward, seconded by Mr. Thomas Gardner.

I. That the singular despatch of his Excellency the governor to the Marquess of Normanby, dated 16th October 1839, be now read and taken into consideration.

Moved by Mr. J. Mc Laughlin. Seconded by Mr. T. Elliston.

II. That, in the opinion of this meeting, his Excellency the governor---by gratuitously aspersing the character of the labouring population of this island, and condemning the conduct of our beloved ministers, whilst totally ignorant of both,—has proved himself to be a prejudiced man, and, therefore not worthy the confidence of the population of this island over whom he is appointed to rule.

Moved by Mr. J. Grant, seconded by Mr. R. Oliver, and supported by Mr. John Chrystie.

III. That this society conceives it due to its members, and to the public at large, that publicity should be given to this expression of their decided and unqualified protestation against the unjustifiable accusations of his Excellency Sir C. T. Metcalfe; and that these resolutions be printed accordingly in "The Baptist Herald" and Colonial Reformer," in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," and "The Patriot" Newspapers.

BARBADOS.

AT a special meeting of the Committee of the *Barbados Auxiliary British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society*, held on Tuesday evening, March 24th, 1840,—present: Messrs. Edmund C. Haynes, S. B. Arthur, Henry Pinheiro, Edward W. Archer, Henry Hawkesworth, W. R. Hayes, Joseph Kennedy, L. Bourne, Samuel J. Prescod, Joseph Hamilton, Anthony Barclay, and Joseph Thorne. The following resolutions were adopted,—the first unanimously, and the second, third, fourth, and fifth, by a majority,—Messrs. Thorne, Bourne, and Kennedy dissenting, and Messrs. Pinherio, and Arthur declining to vote.

Resolved, 1.—That this committee have witnessed, with extreme regret, the emigration of large numbers of the labouring population of this island to British Guiana; and believing as they do, that it is neither to the true interest of the people themselves nor of the country, that this emigration should continue, they cannot but deplore the existence of those causes which have led to it.

2.—That this committee have read with much alarm and sorrow, the third clause of an act which has just passed the legislature for checking this emigration, in words and effect, as follows:—

"Clause 3rd.—Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of "this Act, it shall not be lawful for any person, unless under the sanction of "her Majesty's government, to act as an emigration agent in this island "without such sanction, and every person counselling, aiding and "abetting any such offender, and every person who shall contract with, "entice, persuade, or endeavour to seduce any labourer, or artificer to go "out of this island to any other colony or place, shall, on conviction thereof "before any police magistrate of this island, forfeit, and pay a sum not exceed-"ing fifty pounds, nor less than ten pounds, for every labourer or artificer so "contracted with, enticed, persuaded, or attempted so to be, and in default "of payment, shall be committed to the common gaol of this island, there to "remain without bail, or mainprise, for the space of three calendar months, "unless the forfeiture so incurred shall be sooner paid, one half of which "forfeiture shall go to the informer, and the other half be paid into the "public treasury of this island, for the public uses thereof; and if any per-"son so convicted shall, after such conviction, be guilty of any such offence "and be thereof convicted before any such police magistrate, every such "offender shall be imprisoned in the common gaol of this island, with or "without hard labour, for the space of six calendar months."

3.—That this committee consider it a duty which they owe to themselves, to their labouring brethren, and to the country, unequivocally to deprecate and condemn this enactment, as encroaching unnecessarily and oppressively on the undoubted right of the people to receive counsel and advice from any persons whom they may choose to consult, or confer with, as to the disposal of themselves and their services by emigration or otherwise; and also on the right of every such person to give such counsel and advice, without incurring legal penalties.

4.—That such an enactment is, in the opinion of the committee, eminently calculated to cherish and increase the excitement existing in the public mind at present, and to strengthen the hands of emigration agents, by enlisting on their side the sympathies and influence of the friends of the labouring population, and the advocates of human rights.

5.—That these resolutions be published in the newspapers of this island, and in the (London) *Anti-slavery Reporter*.

On behalf of the committee,

EDMUND C. HAYNES, Chairman.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay

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These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

COMMITTEE.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq. Treasurer.

Charles Lushington, Esq. M.P.
T. F. Buxton, Esq.
William Allen, Esq.
Rev. John Dyer.
George Stacey, Esq.
G. W. Alexander, Esq.
Rev. I. J. Freeman.
Robert Forster, Esq.
W. B. Gurney, Esq..
Joseph Cooper, Esq.
John Scoble, Esq.
Jacob Post, Esq.
Rev. J. Woodwark.
Thomas Clarkson, Esq. Playford Hall, near Ipswich.
Joseph Sturge, Esq. Birmingham
J. T. Price, Esq. Neath.
James Whitehorne, Esq. Bristol.
Rev. Thomas Scales, Leeds.
William Chapman, Esq. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Isaac Bass, Brighton.
J. B. Pease, Esq. Darlington.
R. D. Alexander, Esq. Ipswich.
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Wm. Wilson, Esq. Nottingham.
John Cropper, Esq. Liverpool.
Rev. John Birt, Manchester.
G. H. Head, Esq. Carlisle.
Joseph Eaton, Esq. Bristol.
Richard Rathbone, Esq. Liverpool.
J. Marriage, jun. Esq. Chelmsford.
Henry Sparkes, Esq. Exeter.
Jon. Backhouse, Esq. Darlington.

27, *New Broad Street.*

Amount already advertised	£	1466	13 6
Robert Benson, Esq., Liverpool		25	0 0
Mary Greenwood, Chelmsford		5	0 0
Susanna Greenwood, ditto		5	0 0
Wells and Perry ditto		5	0 0
W. and T. Johns, ditto		2	0 0
Elizabeth Greenwood, ditto		2	0 0
Joseph Marriage, Jun. ditto		1	0 0
Robert Sanderson, Glasgow		1	1 0
John Barr, ditto		1	0 0
W. P. Paton, ditto		1	0 0
Donald Macintyre, ditto		0	10 0
George Watson, ditto		0	10 6
H. Brown, Jun., ditto		0	10 6
D. and J. Anderson, ditto		0	10 6
Robert Kettle, ditto		0	10 6
James Anderson, ditto		0	10 6
J. and C. Risk, ditto		0	10 6
Samuel Wilson, ditto		0	10 6
Anthony McKeand, ditto		0	10 6
James Watson, ditto		0	10 6
John Fleming, ditto		0	10 6
Semple and Co., ditto		0	10 6
Finlay and Neilson, ditto		0	10 6
Robert Laing, ditto		0	10 6
William Smeal, ditto		0	5 0
George McKinlay, ditto		0	5 0
Thomas Birland, ditto		0	5 0
Archibald Brown, ditto		0	5 0
William Ferguson, ditto		0	5 0
M. Smith, ditto		0	5 0
John Fyfe, ditto		0	5 0
William Chisholm, Jun., ditto		0	5 0
John McLeod. ditto		0	5 0
Andrew Howie, ditto		0	5 0
A. McKirkland, ditto		0	5 0
H. T. Brown and Co., ditto		0	5 0
Thomas Binnie, ditto		0	2 6
A Friend, ditto		0	2 6
D. Boyd, ditto		0	2 6
John Edwards, ditto		0	2 0
James Standfield, Esq., Belfast		1	0 0
William Naish, Esq., Bristol		1	1 0
Richard Fry, Esq., ditto		2	0 0
J. P. Sturge, Esq., ditto		1	0 0
A Friend, per Rev. T. Scales		3	0 0

Subscriptions will be received at the following places:—
Samuel Gurney, Esq., Treasurer, Lombard-street.
Messrs. Herries, Farquhar, and Co. St. James's-street.
Messrs. Drewett and Fowler, Bankers, Princes-street, City.
Messrs. Hanburys, Taylor, and Lloyd, Bankers, Lombard-street.
Baptist Missionary Society's Office, Fen-court, Fenchurch-street
J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, or by any of the Members of the Committee, and by

HENRY STERRY, Sec.
42, *Trinity Square, Borough.*

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING of this Society was held in EXETER HALL, on WEDNESDAY, the 24th of June, 1840.

His Royal Highness the Duke of SUSSEX in the Chair:

The Report of the proceedings of the Committee for the past year having been read, and the Treasurer's Account presented, the following Resolutions were adopted:—

Moved by Thomas Clarkson, Esq.; seconded by Mons. Isambert; supported by the Rev. Thomas Scales:

1. "That the report now read, together with the Treasurer's Account, be approved and adopted by this Meeting, and printed under the direction of the Committee."

Moved by the Hon. J. G. Birnie, from the United States; seconded by the Right Hon. Dr. S. Lushington:—

2. "That this Meeting, in reviewing the proceedings of the society during the first year of its existence, feels called upon to acknowledge with gratitude in which it has been enabled to promote the purposes for which it was established, especially in awakening attention, both in this and other countries, to the dreadful enormities of slavery and the slave-trade."

Moved by D. O'Connell. Esq., M.P.; seconded by W. Allen, Esq.—

3. "That while this Meeting rejoices in the rapid progress of the cause of abolition in the free states of the United States of America, and deeply sympathises with those of our American brethren who are struggling in the maintenance of that cause against the inveterate prejudices and sordid interests of their fellow-citizens, it greatly deplores and indignantly reprobates the existence and extension of slavery in the southern parts of that great republic, by which a sixth portion of the whole population is degraded into the condition of chattels and brutes, and that an internal slave-trade, to an enormous extent, is carried on to supply the demand for human beings in the slave markets of that country, under circumstances as disgusting as they are barbarous, by all which the rights of humanity are trampled under foot, the sacred principles of justice and benevolence violated, and the holy claims of religion outraged and contemned. This meeting would therefore call on the American people, in the name of the Christian and civilized world, to renounce those great iniquities and the flagrant inconsistency of upholding them in direct opposition to the solemn recognised rights of humanity as set forth in their Declaration of Independence.

Moved by the Rev. W. Knibb; seconded by W. W. Anderson, Esq.:—

4. "That in the opinion of this Meeting the laws which have recently been passed in the islands of Jamaica and Barbados comprehend numerous enactments of an unrighteous and cruel character, productive at once of intolerable oppression to the emancipated classes, and of severe obstruction to agriculture, and put in imminent hazard both the welfare of the colonies and the successful results of the great Act of Emancipation, and that this Meeting, therefore, most respectfully and earnestly implore the Queen's Ministers to recommend to her Majesty in Council the immediate disallowance of those laws, and not to withdraw upon any consideration whatever the stipendiary magistracy, which is at present indispensable to the protection of the coloured labourers. That this Meeting derives great encouragement from the formation of numerous Auxiliaries not only in Great Britain, but also in the British West Indies, upon the principles of this Society, viz.:—"That so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings, that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

Moved by James Stanfield, Esq.; seconded by H. B. Stanton, Esq., from the United States:—

5. "That this meeting, contemplating the extent and importance of the objects of this society, would urge upon the friends of the enslaved of every clime the great necessity which exists, and which, in the recent sittings of the general convention, has been made still more apparent, for renewed and vastly-increased efforts to bring slavery itself and the slave-trade, which so necessarily depends upon it, to a perpetual end. That this meeting is greatly animated by the response which the friends of the cause, the abolitionists from other countries as well as from all parts of the United Kingdom, have made to the call of this society to the general convention which has just closed its highly interesting and important labours."

Moved by Dr. R. R. Madden; seconded by the Rev. Mr. Kennedy:—

6. "That the Treasurer, Secretary, Honorary and Corresponding members and the committee, be appointed for the ensuing year, subject to a provision, that any member of the committee not attending it six times between this annual meeting and that of next year, be not re-elected in 1841.

"That this meeting would strongly urge the formation of Auxiliary Societies where none are already in existence, and earnestly recommends to all auxiliaries to promote (Ladies') Associations within their respective districts."

Moved by H. Weymouth, Esq.; seconded by the Hon. Justice Jeremy.

"That the warmest and most respectful thanks of this meeting be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, for kindly accepting the chair, and for his readiness on this and all occasions to promote the advancement of the cause of humanity and freedom. And that the cordial thanks of this meeting be also given to Sir Eardley Wilmot, Bart., and W. Evans, M.P., for presiding at this meeting, subsequently to the retirement of his Royal Highness."

27, New Broad-street.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 15.] WEDNESDAY, JULY 15TH, 1840. [PRICE THREE PENCE.

TO THE BRITISH AND IRISH ANTI-SLAVERY DELEGATES.

GENTLEMEN—Allow me, who have been one of your silent companions during the sittings of the recent Anti-slavery convention, to call your attention to a subject to which I felt then much inclined to advert, had a suitable opportunity presented itself; but more mature deliberation has suggested the propriety of thus committing the same to your cooler consideration, now that you have retired to your respective homes.

We were more than once reminded we were met *to do*. Let us silent ones consider that *we* must go home *and do*, for there is much to be done. Let us remember there is a place for us all, if we are disposed to occupy it, and that it is not in the power of one man, or of one class of men, to move the ponderous machine. It is by the division of labour that our great end is to be attained. We must one and all put our shoulders to the wheel, and not expect all the work to be done by those who are now standing forth as our champions, in that apparently paradoxical position of waging a peaceful warfare against the twin abominations of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. Let us bear in mind we cannot carry the paradox into the financial department. We cannot carry on the war, my friends, without considerable cost; it is then in providing the sinews of this war. That many of us who have hitherto been drones in the hive may become industrious bees.

With this view I would invite your attention to the list of recorded delegates, upwards of five hundred in number; from which suppose we deduct one hundred as foreigners, who may have sufficient to occupy their financial abilities in their native land. To the remaining four hundred I would then say—consider yourselves each pledged during the ensuing year to raise amongst your friends annual subscriptions to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society to the amount of ten pounds; this you will readily perceive will produce an income of £4000 per annum, which I doubt not they will find ample means of disbursing in carrying out their mighty object.

You may, perhaps, consider that I have gone too far; but experience has proved to me that in such matters we know not our own strength until we exercise it, in fact. It is only to set about it in right earnest, and say we will raise such a sum, and our hopes will be more than realised; every success will only stimulate to redoubled exertion.

A query may naturally arise in the mind of the reader, whether the writer has acted on the advice he gives to others; and as I do not intend this to be any other than an anonymous communication, I may reply in the affirmative without incurring the charge of egotism. A year ago I determined on the plan alluded to, with the intention of raising ten guineas annual subscriptions to the funds of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, and very soon succeeded to my fullest expectations, and have since doubled, and I humbly trust have not done yet.

I remain, gentlemen, yours truly,

July 6th, 1840. A. B.

EMPLOYMENT OF BRITISH CAPITAL IN THE SLAVE-TRADE.

[From the Proceedings of the Convention.]

The committee appointed to inquire,

1.—Whether manacles for slaves are manufactured in this country.

2.—Whether large quantities of inferior fire-arms are manufactured in Great Britain, to be sold to the Africans for their slave-wars.

3.—Whether cotton goods of a particular fabric, and to a large amount, are manufactured in this country, with the sole intention of being used in barter for African slaves.

4.—Whether persons in England hold shares in Brazilian or other mines which are worked by slaves.

5.—Whether any British Joint Stock Banks have branch establishments in countries in which the slave-trade prevails—and,

6.—What are the quantities of gunpowder exported from any port or ports in Great Britain to Africa and other parts of the world respectively; and to report thereon.

REPORT AS FOLLOWS.

1.—The committee are credibly informed that, previously to the year 1838, negro collars and manacles were manufactured in Birmingham so openly, that the dealers in those articles publicly announced them in their shop bills and invoices of sale; and that the same articles are still manufactured there with but a small measure of concealment. They have it also upon indisputable evidence, that the casks of shackles which are continually seen passing through the custom house at Havanna, in the island of Cuba, are universally held and reputed in that island to be of British manufacture.

2.—With respect to the manufacture in Great Britain of fire-arms for the African slave-wars, although the fact seems to be notorious, the committee have not been able to obtain any specific information. Fire-arms of British manufacture are positively stated to be among the articles constantly on sale in Cuba for the purpose of the slave-trade.

3.—Of equal notoriety is the asserted fact that there are cotton fabrics of a peculiar kind adapted exclusively to be used in the purchase of slaves, and that these fabrics are manufactured extensively at Manchester and Glasgow. The value of the exports in this department from British warehouses is asserted to be not less than half a million sterling annually.

4.—The Mining Companies in action in Brazil, are six, and in Cuba, three. In whole or in part the mines are all wrought by slave labour, and the committee have been able to ascertain that the entire number of slaves employed in them is no less than 3325. Of these, 415 are employed by the Brazilian Imperial Company, and 441 by the Cata Branca; and this number, however large, cannot exceed the average employed by the companies respectively. There can be no doubt but these companies are to a great extent actual holders of slaves. A recent balance sheet of one of them presents the fearful item of £45,000, as cost incurred for "live stock." This would be sufficiently painful if it were to be supposed only that in this item, men, women, and children were indiscriminately mixed with the beasts of burden; but it has been ascertained that, in the practice of this company, all brute help is hired, so that the whole of this sum of £45,000 has been laid out in the purchase of slaves. It is perfectly notorious that the great majority of shareholders in these mining associations, are British subjects.

5.—Among the British Joint Stock Banks there is one which has extended its business where the slave-trade prevails. The Colonial Bank has for some time had a branch at Porto Rico, and has been making strenuous efforts to establish another at Havanna.

6.—To ascertain the quantity of gunpowder exported from the various ports of Great Britain to Africa and to other parts of the world respectively, although not difficult, requires more time than it has been competent to the committee to employ. They have been put into possession, however, of a document extracted from official sources at Liverpool, by which it appears that in the year 1839 there were shipped from that port 19,369 barrels of gunpowder; of which 17,581 barrels were shipped to Africa, and 681 barrels to Brazil, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Maranham; while to all other parts there were sent only 1106 barrels. In this respect Liverpool may probably be taken with safety as a sample of the British ports in general.

The Committee thus arrive at the revolting and melancholy fact, that, notwithstanding the costly endeavours of the British Government and the unwearied efforts of British philanthropy to extinguish the slave-trade, British hands and British capital are yet employed in forging the instruments and nourishing the sinews of it. The value of British goods, including cotton fabrics, muskets, gunpowder, shackles, &c., annually sold to be employed in the slave-trade in Cuba alone, is stated to amount to £200,000 sterling.

Although beyond the immediate limits of their inquiries, the committee beg permission further to state, that British subjects resident abroad are not unfrequently compelled, as claimants on bankrupts' estates, to receive and hold shares in slave-ships, and that they are found too often voluntarily to enter more or less deeply into slave-trading speculations. It is even affirmed by Mr. Turnbull in his recent work, "that there are men of large capital at this hour resident in London, and in the full enjoyment of the rights and franchises of Englishmen, who do not scruple to enrich themselves under cover of a foreign partnership, by supplying the actual slave-dealer with the means of carrying on his ruthless war of extermination against the African race." He speaks of it also as a fact, within his knowledge, that other persons "to all intents and purposes, British subjects," and resident in this metropolis, not content with risking their money to secure a high rate of interest, have actually stipulated on becoming sleeping

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partners in one of the most notorious slavingho-uses at the Havanna."

The committee cannot better express their sentiments after this affecting recital, than in the words of the writer they have just quoted.—

"These, it must be admitted, are grievous blots on the national escutcheon. As long as a single vestige of them remains, to justify either the taunts of our enemies or the honest regrets of our friends, we can never afford to sit down with tranquillity or composure under the disgraceful imputation. Every man of us is bound to exert himself in the cause as if his personal reputation were at stake. From all this pollution there is but one way of escape. It is by the suppression of the trade, finally, absolutely, irretrievably."

The committee recommend the adoption of the resolutions annexed; and trust the important inquiries referred to them will be further prosecuted by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Resolutions adopted by the Convention:—

That this Convention learns, with profound regret, that there are British subjects who render immediate support to the slave-trade—some by supplying the articles necessary for conducting it—some by furnishing as bankers, the capital employed in it—some by holding shares in mining associations, the purchasers of the victims of the traffic; and some even by actual manufacture and exportation of the arms and manacles employed in the abduction of these victims.

That the employment of British subjects, and British capital, directly or indirectly, in support of slavery or the slave-trade, is not only deeply to be deplored, but strongly to be reprobated, inasmuch as it involves a grave moral responsibility—a flagrant dishonour to the British name, and an outrageous inconsistency with the avowed desire, the strenuous endeavours, and the costly sacrifices of Great Britain, for the suppression thereof.

That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be requested to consider the propriety of remonstrating in a spirit of kindness and firmness, with the directors and shareholders of any British companies, having establishments in countries, where slavery or the slave-trade is carried on, with reference to the tendency and effect of their operations in those places, and of the employment of British capital, in directly or indirectly sustaining the slave-trade.

ADDRESS OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause throughout the United States and the World.

THE American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was organized in the city of New-York, by about three hundred members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on the 15th of May, 1840. Many of you are familiar with the history of the peculiar difficulties which have embarrassed the anti-slavery cause in the state of Massachusetts during the last two years; and the efforts which were made, a year ago, in the business-meetings of the American society in this city, to procure the sanction of that institution to the new sectarian views with respect to the part which it was assumed that females had a right to take in those meetings. Though those efforts were partly successful at the anniversary meeting in 1839, it was nevertheless hoped that time would relieve the cause of the down-trodden slave of this extraneous burden, and convince those who had introduced this difficulty into our meetings of the great injury which it must inevitably inflict on the cause we all profess to love. Our confidence in the integrity of those who had engaged with us in the momentous struggle against slavery led us to hope, that whatever might be the *private* opinions of individuals as to the inherent sinfulness of human government, and the sphere in which females ought to act, yet, that the American society could never be identified with these views, or that its official sanction could by no means be obtained to principles so evidently foreign to anything contemplated or set forth in its Constitution. And, especially, as these new views were confined principally within the limits of the single state of Massachusetts, many were not prepared to believe, that their advocates could possibly gain a sufficient number in our ranks to carry the National Society in their favour, even should they be disposed to do so. That they should have done so at the late annual meeting in this city, is to be accounted for by the fact that the National Society is not a representative body. Hence it will be easily seen, that a *party* in such a society having any peculiar object to gain, could command every desirable facility for carrying their purpose, however foreign it might be to the original design and practice of those who originated the American Anti-Slavery Society.

It is well known that the convention which formed that association was composed of men only, and that it was not at first a mixed society of men and women. And it is equally well known, that it was then designed and understood that its business should be conducted by men *as is usual in the other benevolent societies of the age;* while, at the same time, it was expected and desired that females should form auxiliaries, in the usual way, to the Parent Institution. And this interpretation of the constitution, and the consequent practice, continued for six years, up to the annual meeting in 1839, without the least interruption. Hence it is evident, that those of our numbers who have recently assumed to bring females into the business-meetings to vote and speak, and also that they should be appointed *officers* of the society, as they were at the late annual meeting, are responsible for the difficulty which has produced division in this society. It is true, the fourth article of the Constitution says, that "any person," who consents to its principles, &c., may become a member of the society, and be entitled to vote at its meetings. But, that this provision was not designed to signify anything more than is implied in similar provisions in the constitutions of the other benevolent societies of the day, is proved.

1. From the understanding of those who took a part in forming the society in 1833. No one then assumed, that the word "person" was to be understood out of the common way of interpreting constitutions.

2. From the uniform practice of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for six years from the time when it was organised.

3. From the manifest absurdity of the contrary doctrine. For, if the word "person" in the Constitution is to have the indiscriminate application contended for, then it must of course, include, not only women, but *children* also, thousands of whom have been in the habit of contributing to the funds of the society.

It would, perhaps, be a sufficient refutation of this new interpretation of the word "person" in the Constitution to know, that at the convention in 1833, which formed the society, two or three women, members of the Society of Friends, were present, with other female spectators, and asked permission to offer a few remarks, and leave was accordingly granted. Agreeably to the recommendation of that convention, separate female societies were extensively formed; thus proving that no one originally claimed it as a right that females should debate in the public meetings, and much less that they should be appointed officers of the society. And yet, in view of all these well known facts, at the recent meeting of the society the acting president nominated a woman on the business-committee, associated with eleven men. On a division of the house on the question of her appointment, it appeared that 1008 members were present and voted; of whom 557 voted in her favour, and 451 in the negative, being a majority of 106 in her favour. Had the men only voted in this case, the decision would have been reversed. This was considered a test vote of the relative strength of the "woman's rights" and constitutional parties, assembled; and it was believed that the act of placing a woman on the business-committee was merely an initiatory step to the introduction of other measures, FOREIGN to the original principles and designs of the Anti-slavery enterprise, all tending to divert the minds of abolitionists from the cause of the slave, and the rights of the free people of colour. It was thought that it would be in vain to attempt a reversal of this decision, or to expect a change for the better; that meetings thus constituted would not consent to alterations of the constitution defining the word "person" to mean men, or to substitute a representative system for the usual collection of members in a disproportionate number from one locality, thus leaving the door open (as was done this year) for a packed delegation; that persons of such different moral affinities could not advantageously labour together; and that providence seemed to indicate that it was a duty, for peace sake, as well as for other considerations, to separate from those who seemed to be rendering the anti-slavery cause an object of dislike to a large number of influential and excellent citizens. Several men, nominated to serve on the business-committee, immediately declined serving, in consequence of the act of the majority, and others afterwards withdrew. They stated that the innovation seemed to them repugnant to the constitution of the society—that it was throwing a fire-brand into anti-slavery meetings—that it was contrary to the usages of the civilised world—and that it tended to destroy the efficiency of female anti-slavery action.

But the question of "woman's rights" is not the only matter of difference between the adherents to the old society, and the friends of the new association; nor is it the chief cause of the difficulty, though it happened to come up first and prominently at the late annual meeting. At the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society the lawfulness of human government was recognized, and it was a fundamental principle, that political action was both expedient and proper. Recently, however, the same persons belonging to the anti-slavery ranks who are contending for what they call "woman's rights"—the civil and political equality of women with men—deny the obligation of forming, supporting, or yielding obedience to civil government, and refuse to affirm the *duty* of political action; and they contrived to bring to the late annual meeting of the society a sufficient number of men and *women* to compose a majority of all the members present, to sustain their views and measures. Of the whole number present this year, *four hundred and sixty-four* were from the single state of Massachusetts! Styling themselves "non-resistants," and professing to be opposed to all physical force, either of offence or defence, but not disclaiming in theory or practice the use of the tongue and pen as weapons—weapons that often inflict wounds as really as any other weapons could do—with which to assail those who are for maintaining the primitive objects of the society, they seem determined to carry forward their favourite theories and practices at all events, even if the great moral enterprise in which they and we originally embarked should retrograde, and be justly offensive to those who might otherwise join the Anti-slavery ranks, and help on the cause of impartial liberty to a glorious consummation. We wish for the support of every good man, and we wish all to understand distinctly that it will be no part of our

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design to break up existing organizations in church or state, but only to wake up and give impetus to the usual forms of social action; and one special object will be, by light and love, to secure appropriate church action in the several religious connexions. With regard to political action, while we recognise the rightfulness of government, and shall urge political action as a duty, we shall not go *as a society* with the machinery of party political arrangements, but leave that for the action of individual citizens. Neither shall we denounce those as recreants who may differ from us in regard to the *best mode* of such action. It will also be our endeavour to promote the "equal security, protection and improvement of the people of colour," a duty that has been greatly neglected—to which we have not sufficiently attended—and which should be a leading object with every Anti-Slavery Association.

On the evening of May 13th, a preliminary meeting was held of some of those who were dissatisfied with the recent action of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to consider the subject of forming a new association, as reconciliation, or a change of policy, or a suitable amendment of the Constitution, appeared to be impracticable. And after prayerful consideration, it was unanimously resolved, that it is best to separate from the old society, and to organize a new association on the same great fundamental principles, with enlarged objects—and for this purpose to call a meeting of those who voted in the minority. On the next day a general meeting was notified, and numerously attended. About three hundred members of the American Anti-Slavery Society enrolled their names, and organized a convention, which held its session during three days. A draft of a constitution was reported by a committee, its provisions fully discussed, and the same was finally adopted with great unanimity. Officers were then chosen. This constitution is now submitted to the abolitionists of the United States and of the world, in the hope that individuals will become members, and auxiliary societies will be formed in towns, counties, and states. It will be seen that the constitution contemplates enlarged action with reference to the slave-trade, and especially co-ordinate action with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This was a prominent motive in assuming the designation of the new society. We wish to embrace within our operations the cause of the enslaved throughout the world, and to co-operate with our brethren in Great Britain, France, &c., in wise and judicious plans for the abolition of the slave-trade, and *the system that produces it.*

Donations, for general or specific objects, are earnestly solicited, and can be sent by mail or otherwise, directed to Lewis Tappan, Treasurer, at 131, Nassau; or 122, Pearl-street.

Let it not be imagined that the society has any desire to wage war upon any other association. Far from it. It has been a source of grief to the true friends of the slave—and of exultation to the enemies of human rights—to see a denunciatory spirit towards brethren engaged in the sublime cause of emancipation, and to witness those who, formerly endured unjustly so much reproach together estranged, or hostile. But our objects, being simply the peaceful deliverance of the slave and the restoration of our fellow-citizens of colour to *the same* rights and privileges with the rest of the community, do not require the adoption of any such policy. An enforced uniformity of action, a subjugation of the wide spread anti-slavery hosts to the decrees of one central power, a necessity to follow the footsteps of any earthly leader, or to spend our breath in glorifying any man of like passions with ourselves, form no part of our plan of operations. So far as our own conduct can influence the future, the two divisions of the anti-slavery body will henceforth plead the cause of the slave without criminating or recriminating each other; both will labour for the speedy and peaceful triumph of humanity and freedom; and God, and not man, will receive all the glory of the universal triumph of liberty. Should this, happily, be the case, all concerned may hereafter look back upon the circumstances that brought about a separation with devout gratitude, as an occurrence that accelerated the progress of the cause. Let the eyes of all be directed to those great systems of iniquity for the extinction of which we have associated together, beseeching the God of all grace to smile upon our efforts, and crown them with His blessing. Such was the spirit of the convention that originated the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

In conclusion, the Committee recommend the observance of the Monthly Concert of Prayer for the enslaved and free people of colour, on the last Monday evening of every month—the practice of remembering the slave and the victims of caste in the closet, at the family altar, in the social circle, and in the sanctuaries of the Most High. They urge upon abolitionists throughout the land to organise themselves into efficient auxiliary societies, to form anti-slavery depositories, to scatter anti-slavery publications, to collect and transmit funds to the treasury, and, in a spirit of christian boldness, tenderness, and fidelity, to arouse the conscience and sympathy of the people on behalf of their down-trodden and insulted fellow-men. The committee earnestly request the prayers of christian abolitionists, that they may have wisdom from above, profitable to direct, and they invite all their fellow-citizens who pity the enslaved, who desire to promote the best interests of the slave-holder, who love their country, who respect the rights of man, and reverence the law of God, to unite with the society in the great work of bringing about the extinction of the slave-trade, and slavery, in this land and throughout the world.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, President.

S. W. BENEDICT, Recording Secretary.

We present a list of the officers of the society for the current year.

President.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, New York.

Vice Presidents.

F. J. LE MOYNE, M. D. Pennsylvania.

JOHN T. NORTON, Connecticut.

Secretaries.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, New York.

HENRY B. STANTON, New York.

Treasurer.

LEWIS TAPPAN, New York.

Executive Committee.

Arthur Tappan,	New York.	Jonathan Curtis,	Pittsfield, Ohio.
J. G. Birney,	do.	C. L. Knapp,	Montpelier, Vt.
S. W. Benedict,	do.	George Storrs,	do. do.
S. S. Jocelyn,	do.	William Jackson,	Newton, Mass.
Theo. S. Wright,	do.	J. G. Whittier,	Amesbury do.
L. R. Sunderland,	do.	George Putman,	Boston, do.
Wm. Church,	do.	Orange Scott,	Lowell, do.
H. B. Stanton.	do.	J. S. Eddy,	Providence, R. Island.
Lewis Tappan,	do.	J. Chapin,	do. do.
Wm. Smyth,	Brunswick, Maine.	J. G. Baldwin,	Middletown, Con.
Calvin Newton,	Thomaston, do.	S. Deming,	Farmington, do.
J. Perkins,	New Hampshire.	A. G. Beman,	New Haven, do.
Gerrit Smith,	Peterboro' N. York.	Wm. H. Brisbane,	Cincinnati, O.
Wm. Jay,	Bedford, do.	J. P. Cleaveland,	Marshall, Mich.
Joshua Leavitt,	Bloomfield, N. J.	Charles Hastings,	Detroit, do.
Samuel Aaron,	Burlington, do.	William Twining,	Indiana.
S. E. Cornish,	Newark. do.	Edw. Beecher,	Jacksonville, Ill.
Albert L. Post,	Montrose, Penn.	David Nelson,	Quincy, do.
Thos. Morris,	Cincinnati, Ohio.	Samuel F. Phenix,	Wis. Ter'y.

THE ALLEGED DEFICIENCY OF LABOUR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

SIR,—The clamour which the West India planters and their advocates both in this country and the colonies, are industriously making on the subjects of labour and wages, for the purpose of imposing upon the government, and winning them over to their designs upon the liberties of the emancipated classes, deserves more than a passing notice from abolitionists, and especially those who are immediately interested, as I confess I am, in the well-being of those classes, and the prosperity of the colonies. The high price of sugar in the market at this moment, affords these clamourers a favourable opportunity, as they think, to put off their wicked misrepresentations upon the injured consumers; and statements are now boldly made, which, in other circumstances, the most reckless of the party would scarcely have ventured upon in public. Will British consumers, sir, in addition to their present wrongs, submit to be made the gulled instruments of these unprincipled men, for the effecting of their designs upon the poor oppressed negro? I trust not! What I have seen of the British people convinces me that all their sympathies are enlisted in the anti-slavery cause; and they only require to be made acquainted with the real state of things in the colonies at this moment, to be wholly with us in the good work of securing, on a permanent basis, the liberty which they have purchased for their black brother. With us lies the obligation to bring before them this real state,—it is our duty to correctly inform them at every turning; and if we neglect this duty, we shall be responsible for any damage which our cause shall sustain in consequence.

In the city article of the *Times* of Friday last, I read certain statements, said to be from the letter of a correspondent. Grosser falsehoods I have seldom seen even from the pen of a pro-slavery advocate! Amongst others, the planters were said not to be deriving one per cent on their capital, nine-tenths of the estates were not clearing their current expenditure, wages had been doubled since the time of the apprenticeship, and the majority of the freed men had become hucksters and small shop-keepers. The story was wound up, as usual, with the demand for immigration, as the only thing to save the colonies from ruin. I sent the *Times*, in the afternoon of the same day, a brief notice of these falsehoods, with a statement of the *facts* of the case, and a challenge to its correspondent, to meet me either in public print, or before any assembly on the subject. No notice has been taken of my communication, although subscribed with my real name and address, and the falsehoods are honestly left, by the editor, to run their course upon the public.

"It is," sir, as was stated in a leading article of the *Patriot* a few days ago, "the most impudent fallacy imaginable, to represent the price of sugar at the present moment as having any connexion with the rate of wages in the colonies." The *true* causes of "the shortness of the supply," to which the present price is to be attributed, are, as stated in that paper, the *bad* "seasons" and "the disputes between the planters and the labourers"—or, more accurately, the unremitting, dishonest attempts of the planters to coerce the labourers in direct contravention of the abolition act. I shall confine myself, in this communication, to show the extent to which these two causes have operated to produce the present short supply of sugar in the market, and its consequent high price; and I would earnestly entreat your readers, each in his proper station, to exert their entire influence for the removal of the one which is in man's power.

I would observe, in the first place, that the falling off in the crops, since emancipation, has not been general throughout the colonies. It is confined to a few; and in those it has not been shared equally amongst the proprietors of estates. Some of these have escaped it altogether, and made excellent crops, whilst their neighbours have been lamenting over very deficient ones. In Barbados, the crops, since the abolition of slavery in 1834, and until the present year's, have greatly exceeded the average of the preceding ten years of slavery. I have been unable to obtain the statistics in the colony, but the planters themselves usually state this average, in round numbers, at 23,000 hogsheads. The crop of last year, the first of free labour, has been stated at 30,000—being a deficiency, as compared with the average of the two preceding years, of

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more than 2000 hogsheads, caused by the severe drought, which just then began to be felt. That drought, the severest that had been, for many years, experienced in the island, lay upon the land, scorching vegetation to its source, from the planting of the present crop to its reaping. This crop will scarcely realise more than 15,000 hogsheads. The planters, *in* the island, universally admit that this immense falling off has been caused by the drought; and the governor in his opening speech to the legislature, in November last, refers to this, on the authority of the police magistrates of the parishes, all planters, as the cause.

In Antigua, since the emancipation in 1834, there has been no falling off, as far as we may judge from the incomplete returns. The total crops for the last six years of slavery, as appears by a local treasury return now before me, was 82,009 hogsheads; the total of the first four years of free labour, to which the return extends, was 47,463. The return for last year was not completed when I visited the island in February last, but it is stated in a note to the paper before me, as "generally considered to be pretty much the same as that of 1838," which was 18,251; and the crop of this year, which was then being reaped, was expected, by all the planters with whom I conversed, to equal, at least, those of the two preceding years. If these two crops of 1839 and 1840 be fairly taken, on such authority, at 18,000 each, (which would be below expectation,) the total of the six years of free labour will be 83,463—or, 1454 more than the total of the preceding equal period of slavery. And it must be observed, that, in the first place, the hogshead is now, throughout the colonies, generally larger by some cwts. than it was during slavery; and secondly, that Antigua, in 1837, was visited with so severe a drought, that water for domestic uses had to be imported into the island. The sugar crop of that year was, in consequence, only 5324 hogsheads, being a falling off from the average of the preceding eight years, of 7913 hogsheads.

The more hopeful colonial writers on the side of the planters are accustomed to give Barbados as affording a probable exception to the general failure of cultivation by free labour,—on account, they say, of its having an abundant labouring population and no waste land. Neither of these causes operates in Antigua; the population is not abundant, and land (although the price has doubled since emancipation) is easily obtained at less than a fourth of the cost at Barbados. And in Antigua, which has been for six years under free-labour cultivation, whilst the other colonies have been only two, we find, notwithstanding one unprecedented bad season, the sugar crops have not diminished, but are rather on the increase.

But then the *ruinous wages!* What immense sums of money the Antigua planters must have paid as an inducement to the free negros to give their continuous labour for keeping up the cultivation! So perhaps some chance readers, who have no better authority on this subject than Sir Edward Cust and the writers of that stamp, may be disposed to think. Let me disabuse their minds of this impression. On the emancipation of the negros in 1834, the Antigua planters entered into combined agreement to give only 6d. sterling a day, in addition to house and ground and medical attendance, as the wages for able bodied labourers; and in a despatch to the colonial secretary, dated in September, 1838, I find Sir William Colebrooke deprecating the smallness of this sum, which was *still* the price of labour, as "inadequate," and *the cause of so many women being engaged in field labour,*—for that worthy governor, like Sir Lionel Smith, considers such labour morally and physically injurious to our women. When in Antigua, in the early part of this year, I found wages at 6d. to 8d. sterling.

Trinidad has also made good crops since emancipation; but not having been able to obtain the returns, I can give no comparative statement. The history of the last year's crop will give some general idea of the manner in which "bad news" is manufactured in the colonies, for the city articles of the leading journals in this country. Before the crop commenced, it was confidently predicted, in the most approved ruination style, that there would be a falling off, to the amount of at least 5000 hogsheads, from that of 1838. The predicted deficiency grew gradually less bulky, as the reaping proceeded, and at the close, instead of a deficiency, there was an increase of several hundred hogsheads, which, *for want of shipping*, were left over for this year's exports. When I visited this island in January, I everywhere found the planters anticipating, with good weather, an excellent crop this year. The labour afforded by the emancipated negros, at a rate of wages which, with the present price of sugar, leaves the planters (on the showing of respectable members of their body) at least 30 per cent. profits on the invested capital,—the amount of free labour now afforded for such wages, is fully adequate to the keeping up of the cultivation as it was during slavery and the apprenticeship. The clamoured "deficiency of labour," as regards this island, is true only with reference to the virgin waste lands, which the planters are desiring to take into cultivation.

The sugar crop in Tobago, last year, (the first of freedom,) was over 1000 hogs. more than that of the preceding year, which was also a good one. St. Kitts has increased its production since emancipation; and when I visited the island in March, the crop which was then being reaped was expected to be a good one. Grenada, last year, had a falling off of nearly a third, from the crop of 1838. A joint committee of the council and assembly, reporting on the subject, referred it, amongst other causes, to the facility with which the more industrious labourers could obtain land allotments cheap, and settle down as small farmers; and also to the greater rate of wages, which these small farmers could afford to pay for labour. When the reader bears in mind, that the cultivation of the cane, where the land is at all fit for it, is more profitable than that of any other tropical production, he will be at some difficulty, perhaps, to understand how the small negro farmer, with no capital beyond his stock, could possibly compete with the planter capitalist; and, not only that, but could also *afford* to give higher wages for labour. The fact is, the one is satisfied with such a fair and reasonable amount of profit as will enable him to maintain his family in comfort, *in the colony*; the other is looking to make a fortune rapidly, to spend in this country among black-legs, jockies, and ladies of a certain quality: and I venture to predict, that wherever these two classes of cultivators can be brought fairly into competition,—that is, wherever land is cheap, and readily obtainable in the colonies, the latter will be found complaining of deficient crops, although everybody else around be rejoicing in abundant ones!

Taking all the Windward and Leeward islands together, as a whole, I think, Sir, it will be seen in reference to the statistics, that notwithstanding bad seasons in some, and bad management (not to call it by a worse name) in all, there has been no falling off in the total amount of produce for the period since emancipation, as compared with the preceding equal period of slavery. The deficiencies of some of the islands will be found to have been made up by the increased production of others, and the short crops of one year by the surplus crops of another.

The principal deficiency (and on this view the only deficiency,) will be found to refer to Jamaica and British Guiana. In both these colonies, the falling off in the crops has been very great; and it would be but common honesty in those who are clamouring about the short supply of produce from our colonies under the free labour system, to confine themselves to these two, whence the short supply has in fact proceeded, and let their hearers into a knowledge of its causes. Is it because "the colonies," and "our West India possessions," are more indefinite, and as such afford them a better field in which to mislead and bewilder the understanding of the common reader by their gross misrepresentations and falsehoods,—is it for this reason, that they show so decided a preference for these general terms as the ground of their strictures on free labour cultivation? To Jamaica, to Guiana, and even to the less important shores of Grenada, the poor consumer of dear sugar might be able successfully to follow them with knowledge. His inquiries, having a specific bearing, might, from one quarter or another, meet a ready and accurate response. He might learn, if previously ignorant of the facts, that, from the abolition of slavery in 1834 to the present moment, the planters of Jamaica have been sedulously and unceasingly aiming to contravene that measure of Christian justice and British philanthropy, and to re-establish slavery in spirit and in fact under the name of freedom; that the most oppressive laws have for this purpose been enacted, and a course of conduct infamously inhumane and dishonest pursued with unvarying regularity; that the cruelties, frauds, and perjuries, systematically resorted to for the accomplishment of this object, have opened up to our astonished view new features of colonial depravity, which throw all that was before seen and abhorred into shade! These things the honest inquirer might learn; and instead of being surprised at the small supply of produce which has been shipped from that "distracted country," his wonder no doubt would be that any at all had been produced. He would wonderingly inquire for the influencing and restraining cause, which had preserved the people from rebellion under such treatment, and maintained the cultivation to some extent; and he would be pointed to the pious and patriotic exertions of the calumniated, and persecuted, and suffering Baptist preachers, and other friends of peaceful freedom,* powerfully aided and inspirited, under God, by the even-handed justice of a Mulgrave, a Sligo, and a Lionel Smith. This would at once solve the mystery; and thus made acquainted with the true facts of the case, he would no longer be liable to be deceived and misled, as respects Jamaica, by the pro-slavery clamours against free cultivation by the emancipated negros.

And then as regards Guiana,—the sincere inquirer after truth would quickly learn, that the chief cause of the falling off in the crops of that colony, since emancipation in 1838, has been the excessive drought upon the land, for which the free negros cannot be blamed, without impiously attributing to them, virtually, a power which, with the right to exercise it as He pleases, belongs only to God. The public journals of the colony in the interest of the planters—private correspondents writing from the colony—the magistrates in their reports, and the governor in his speeches to the legislature, and in his despatches to the colonial secretary; all agree in stating that this drought was of intense severity, parching the land, which everywhere opened up in thirsty cracks, and impeding cultivation in all its branches. In a published document, upon which I cannot now lay my hand, governor Light states, that a third (if I remember a-right "*at least a third*") of the crop of last year, the first of freedom, was lost upon the ground, because of the drought. Not for want of labour to carry out the cultivation, for there it was growing,—and ripe ready for the reaping,—nor for want of labour to reap it, was it lost; but *for want of water in the trenches to float it, when reaped, to the mill, for the manufacturing process.*

Your readers are not, perhaps, generally aware, that the estates in Guiana are all intersected with canals, locally called *trenches*, which serve the double purposes of drainage and carriage. Up these trenches, the canes, when cut, are carried in punts (a sort of flat bottomed boat) to the mill to be ground, &c. Whatever obstructs the free working of these trenches, necessarily obstructs, in so far, the manufacture of sugar; and the principal labour of the estates,—the most difficult, severe, and, indispensable,—is the cleaning of these trenches, and keeping them in a navigable state. During the severe drought of last year, there was not generally a sufficient depth of water in the trenches to render the carriage of canes from the fields to the mill as easy and expeditious

* One word, in justice to these slandered men. Their language has been said to be somewhat too strong, and bordering too much on invective. Some indeed have not foreborne charging them with sedition, &c. I should not attempt to justify every expression that has fallen from the lips of every Baptist minister in Jamaica, nor every act of theirs; I would not justify every one of my own. But this much I will say—as one acquainted with the state of society in the colonies, and the characters of the men opposed to us—that the soft, set phrases of genteel society in this country would be lost upon them. To speak, to preach, to write, against the prevalent abuses with any degree of efficiency, the plain, unadorned truth must be told,—things must be called by their proper names, however harsh and offensive to the ears accustomed to more polite society. The prophets of God, the apostles of the Redeemer, and He, our Lord himself, were all considered by the wicked generations among whom they dwelt, as preachers of sedition; and so it must be as long as wickedness reigns, and honest men are found to rebuke and denounce it. They cannot use *mild*, inoffensive language for this purpose—for the use will not admit of it; and if there should be one amongst your readers, who has ever had an idea that such language might, with any good effect, be used on these occasions, I wish him for one month in the colonies, to convince him of his lamentable error! Of course, nothing I have here said, must be understood as applying to any kind of abusive terms. I am not aware that any such have been used by our Baptist friends, although they have been made the subject of a great deal of this abuse, in its grossest forms. It is "strong language" not abusive language I am defending. The latter is never necessary or proper, and weakens the cause which it is used to support. He is a bad advocate or has a bad cause, who needs the aid of abuse.

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as was necessary to ensure the reaping of the whole crop; and thus it was that a third, as the governor states, was lost *upon the ground*. The want of labour had nothing to do with the falling off in the crop,—unless it be said, that had there been labourers enough to carry the canes in handfuls to the mill, none would have been lost. The want of labour had nothing to do with it, and wages—the price of labour in the colony—less than nothing, if less can be. The same rate of wages continued to be paid through the drought as had been paid before, and the same is generally paid to the present day,—namely, one guilder, the third of a dollar, equal in sterling money to 1s. 4¼d. nearly.†

The drought having partially dried up the trenches, and, as a consequence, left a large portion of the available labour unemployed in the cane fields, the planters were enabled to turn that labour into the trenches, and so to clean and deepen them, that they are now said to be in a better condition than they had long been known to be; and my latest advices from the colony, just before I left Barbados, led to anticipate a large crop this year, partly on this account.

I have already, sir, trespassed at much greater length on your columns than I intended when I commenced; and as I have now reached a breathing point, I shall close here, reserving for another paper the few facts and observations I contemplated on the other branch of my subject—viz., the obstructions which the planters themselves, by their conduct since emancipation, have raised to the full cultivation of the estates, and their greatest amount of production. I would merely observe, for the benefit of the consumer, that the planters are not the losers to the amount of the deficiency; as the difference in the price makes up in some measure for the short quantity, and then again the cost of production must be deducted from the quantity deficient, before we arrive at the actual loss which the planters' misconduct entails upon themselves. Those who make full crops, or even average ones, *are reaping all the benefit of the high prices*, and these are most interested in keeping up the present state of things. It is for the British people to say, whether they will maintain the planter's monopoly, which enables him, at little cost to himself, to obstruct the fair working of the free labour system, by his wicked attempts upon the liberties of the labourers. Give him plainly to understand, that that monopoly will only be kept up to a certain extent—that foreign sugar like foreign corn will be admitted into the British market on a discriminating scale of duty—that in other words, his struggle with liberty, his endeavours to contravene the abolition act, must henceforth be carried on at his own proper cost and expence, and not at the cost of the British consumer. Let him plainly hear this warning in a vote of parliament, or in thunder tones from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, and one step will have been taken, and an efficient one, to ensure good crops in future, without the aid of a single Cooly immigrant.

I am Sir, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. PRESCOD.
Editor "*Barbados Liberal.*"

6, *Queen St. Place*,
London, July 13th, 1840.

† The dollar being valued at 4s. 2d. sterling, the exact third is 1s. 4¼d. By a late paper from Barbados, I see that labourers emigrating from that island to Guiana are offered ten dollars per month, or about 1s. 7d. per day. Whether native labourers are now allowed the same or not, I cannot tell.

Home News.

THE LATE ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

THE MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER'S LETTER TO THE DUKE OF SUSSEX.

THE following most interesting letter from the Marquis of Westminster to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, was intended to have been read at the late anniversary meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held in Exeter Hall, on the 24th ult.; but it did not reach his royal highness in time for that purpose.

(Copy.)

"Moor Park, June 24th, 1840.

"Your royal highness will allow me, I am sure, on such an occasion, to trouble you with a few lines this morning, as I am unable to attend the meeting at Exeter Hall, over which, I understand, your royal highness is to preside; and I have no doubt you will do so with a glow of satisfaction I should have been most happy to witness, in an assembly met for so hallowed a purpose. I have the more to regret at not being able to be present, as I cannot conceive a more magnificent spectacle than that of thousands of people met together for the express purpose of endeavouring to devise means of putting an end to the stupendous evils that necessarily arise out of slavery, the most gigantic curse that ever afflicted the human race.

"Even in the heathen world, 'Nil humani a me alienum puto,' was a standing and venerated maxim; much more stringently ought it to be the device of a christian community. Your royal highness must be satisfied, I am sure, that it is quite impossible the noble assembly now before you of delegates from various parts of the world can have met in our metropolis without producing a great sensation. Would to God the report of such a scene may make so deep and lasting an impression on the minds of our American brethren especially, as may influence their hearts in speedily removing from their fine country a taint so disgraceful as a traffic in their fellow-creatures! What a picture of our fallen nature is this ascendancy of bad over good feelings!

"From what I have read in the reports of the papers, much good, I conceive, must arise from the many interesting discussions that have taken place among the delegates; they have cast their bread on the waters, and though it may not return to them immediately, it must, and most abundantly, ere long.

"Your royal highness will be convinced that free labour ought to be encouraged in all ways and at all hazards, and slave-labour in the same proportion discountenanced; and we must not be disheartened, should success not equal our ardent hopes and expectations. The question, your royal highness knows full well, is beset with many and great difficulties, open and unrelenting enemies, pretended and lukewarm friends. You will also regret doubtless with me, that there should be any uncertainty as to the effect of the law with regard to the entire destruction throughout the British dominions. When slavery was bought out at such an enormous cost, would any one have doubted that the entire destruction of this accursed thing was by law fully accomplished? I trust, if there should be the slightest ground for these apprehensions, no time will be lost in removing them.

"In regard to free labour, there is an unbounded scope for it in our East Indian possessions, as well as in the West, and the unshackled slave may now go on his way rejoicing, if not impeded by the sordid obstructions of monsters in human form.

"Praying that all this good may speedily be accomplished, to the honour of our country and of all mankind (triumphs more glorious than any earthly conquests.)

"I have the honour to subscribe myself your royal highness's very faithfully,

"WESTMINSTER."

To his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, K. G.
&c. &c. &c.

"TO WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ., &c., &c.

"I enclose you by this evening's post a letter which I have received from the Marquis of Westminster, and which his lordship intended should have been delivered to me at our glorious meeting on the 24th inst. Unfortunately it never came to hand until late in the evening, and therefore I was unable to communicate it to the body assembled on that occasion; but as I am sure that its contents will gratify the friends of anti-slavery, and that it will further the cause, I transmit a copy of it to you, that you may make the best use of it you can, in disseminating sentiments so highly honourable to the noble writer, and so completely in accordance with the general opinions of a numerous and highly respectable body of persons throughout the country.

"E. AUGUSTUS, F. D. S.

"Kensington Palace, June 27th, 1840."

THE FRENCH ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE have addressed a letter of acknowledgment to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, of which the following is a translation:—

GENTLEMEN—We have been apprised by the London newspapers, and by the report of M. M. Isambert, the chief of the deputation sent by us to you, of the cordial reception which your convention has given to this deputation, and of the distinguished honour extended to it in placing our representative next after your venerable president, Thomas Clarkson, in the list of speakers who addressed the great final meeting held in Exeter Hall on the 24th June, 1840, under the presidency of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.

Before giving to these matters the proper degree of publicity, we wait for the address to the French nation, resolved on by the convention on the 16th June: the preparation of which was devolved on a committee.

At the moment when our deputation was bringing us the expression of your ardent desires in favour of an oppressed race, and was identifying itself with the homage you were rendering to the memory of your friends, Smith, Macauley, and Wilberforce; Strasburg, one of the great cities of France, was inscribing on the monument she is raising to the memory of the inventor of printing, and at the foot of the statue, on the emblem of Africa, the name of Wilberforce, and of your president, the venerable Clarkson, as liberators of the blacks, who were associated in the impulse which was given to the cause in our country by Condorcet, Brissot, Lafayette, Mirabeau, and Gregoire, the illustrious founders of our first Societé des Noirs.

It is with pleasure that we recall this recollection, and that we are enabled to state to you the favourable progress that public opinion is making in France towards the prompt abolition of slavery.

Already we are enabled to certify from the unanimity with which the French press has reported the proceedings of your convention, and of your great public meeting on the 24th, that they have exercised the happiest influence on the public opinion of this capital.

Paris, at a sitting of the committee held 1st July, 1840.

(Signed) ALEXANDRE DE LA BORDE,
LAISNE DE LA VILBERNIQUE.

SUSPENSION OF THE ROYAL SANCTION TO THE JAMAICA ACTS. The Rev. W. Knibb has addressed the following letter to the editor of the *Patriot*:—

Sir,—The deep and universal interest felt in the present state of Jamaica, as it respects the recent laws passed by the house of assembly in that island, and transmitted to the colonial office for the approval of her majesty, will render any apology for my trespassing upon your columns unnecessary.

An answer which I have received to a letter sent to the colonial office on this all-important subject, informs me that lord John Russell has communicated with Sir Charles Metcalfe respecting those acts; and that her Majesty's decision is withheld until a reply shall be received at the colonial office.

It is right that the friends of the negro should be made acquainted with the true state of the case, and that they should know that each of these unjust and partial laws is in operation, though not sanctioned at home, Sir Charles Metcalfe having passed them without a suspending clause.

As these laws have not, however, been yet confirmed by the home government, I would earnestly implore the different anti-slavery associations not to lose a moment in fully acquainting themselves with their nature, and in manifesting such a demonstration of public opinion as shall fully support the colonial office, should they desire their disallowance, or relieve themselves of all responsibility, should there, unhappily, be a disposition to confirm them.

The abolition of slavery in America depends in a great measure on the successful working of freedom in Jamaica. The present attempt of the disgraceful and degraded house of assembly to destroy liberty is as base as it is unjust. They are as unfit to legislate for freemen as the tiger is to care for the lamb; and I do hope that the inhabitants of Great Britain, who have purchased freedom at such an immense sacrifice, will not allow themselves to be swindled out of it, or the peaceful and industrious peasant again to be oppressed by a set of men, whose every action for the last twenty years has proved that they are totally incapable of passing any laws (except as they are forced) at all tending to extend or confirm the liberties of man.

A determined stand may save Jamaica from semi-slavery. If these

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laws in the hands of a corrupt local magistracy are confirmed by the home government, liberty is destroyed.

I am, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM KNIBB.

REV. MESSRS. STAINSBY AND OUGHTON. The Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society have passed the following resolution.

"That this committee hereby express their admiration of the conduct of their esteemed brother the Rev. Samuel Oughton, and his fellow-sufferer, the Rev. John Stainsby, Rector of Hanover, under the very painful circumstances in which they are now placed, and their entire approval of the steps which have been taken in the whole affair; and beg to assure them that the fullest confidence is placed in their integrity, and that it is the earnest prayer of the committee that they may be sustained in this affliction by the gracious presence of God, and permitted at no distant period, to resume their important labours."

Fen Court, July 4, 1840. JOSEPH GUTTERIDGE, Chairman

We hear that Mr. Turnbull's plan for the extinction of the slave-trade, has become matter of official communication between Lord Palmerston and the Spanish government.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—THE RENT QUESTION.—The papers contain the following official document on this subject.

(CIRCULAR.)
King's House, April 30th, 1840.

SIR—I am directed to transmit for your information and guidance, and that of the magistrates of your parish, both local and stipendiaries, the subjoined series of queries with answers thereto by his honour the attorney-general.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,
J. M. HIGGINSON, Sec.

The Hon. ————

QUERY. 1st.—Can rent be recovered under the petty debt act without proof of some agreement to pay? If not, what constitutes an agreement?

Answer—It can be recovered on proof of use and occupation. An implied agreement.

2nd.—Where the people have been told only generally, and in the mass, that a certain rate of rent will be charged, does their remaining in possession without any other mode of assent bind them to pay that rate of rent?

Answer.—The possession of the tenant after such notice would make a *prima facie* case, by strong implication of agreement to such rent. In use and occupation actions, the value of such use and occupation is, however, eventually to determine the question of rent recoverable where no such strong implication has ground of existence, or where the justice doubts as to a full understanding by the parties of the meaning of the notice.

3rd.—Should notice have been given to the people individually, in writing or otherwise, that from and after the date of delivery of such notice, a certain amount of rent will be charged; will their holding over merely, without any distinct agreement to pay, subject them to be sued for rent so accruing (being below £10.) under the petty act?

Answer—It will so subject them, unless some equity militates much with the amount of rent attempted to be enforced; if the term of the tenant had determined and it was explained to him clearly and positively that he could only hold on at a certain rent, a very strong case would be necessary to be made out by him in order to show he had not by his occupying agreed to pay the rent demanded.

4th.—Where a notice of this kind proposes to make the tenant of the house not only liable to pay rent for the house he occupies and the ground he may cultivate, but in the event of his being married, charges him on account of ground for his wife, without any evidence to prove that there are two grounds, or that the one is of larger extent than usual; can the tenant be sued under the petty debt act for such extra charge, in the absence of an agreement to pay it?

Answer.—The manner of payment may be declared by the landlord in general cases, and if the tenant holds on after such declaration, and after his term has expired, he will, in my opinion, subject himself to the declared rent.

5th.—But if being unmarried, it is attempted to make him liable for his reputed wife's ground, no evidence being adduced to show that she has a ground upon the property, but the case being rested merely upon the notice; can such charge be legally enforced, where no agreement to pay exists?

Answer.—The previous answer suffices for this query.

6th.—If a given amount of rent imposed by a notice, and not an affair of agreement, cannot immediately take effect;—after what period, if at all, will the tenant holding over be liable to pay it?

Answer.—If the tenant had notice of such rent before the determination of his term, he will be obliged to pay such rent after that determination.

7th.—After what period of notice can a person who has been admitted as tenant, and paid rent, be ejected?

Answer.—This depends on his tenancy, and the manner of ejectment.

8th.—Can a person who has remained on sufferance merely (not as a trespasser), and paid no rent, be ejected summarily?

Answer.—He will become a trespasser after notice to quit.

9th.—When ejected, can either of these parties claim the produce of any garden or ground they may have had in cultivation on the property, or compensation for it?

Answer.—A tenant at will, ejected against his will, has a right to emblements.

10th.—If a person quits voluntarily giving up possession of his house, can he take up, as they become ripe, any provisions remaining in his ground, or claim to be paid for them?

Answer.—He cannot do either the one or the other, if he himself determines the will.

11th.—Where people are hired by the year or quarter on terms exempting them from the direct charge of rent, but which they pay indirectly in a lower rate of wages, does this arrangement subject them to a summary ejectment on the expiration of such period of agreed service?

Answer.—This is a case of mixed agreement, labour and rent. When one part of the agreement ceases so does the other.

12th.—Is charge for double rent, under any circumstances, legal?

Answer.—In my opinion the charge of double rent is not illegal, and it may be recovered by action at law, varying as to the court according to the amount, either before two justices under the petty debt act, or in the superior court in cases greater than the amount for which the petty debt court gives remedy.

THE CONDUCT OF THE LOCAL MAGISTRACY must have been very bad, to have drawn from their pet governor the following courteous, but very significant rebuke.

King's House, 24th April, 1840.

SIR,—Circumstances have, at various times come under the governor's notice, which induce him to request your attention, and that of the magistrates of your parish, local and stipendiary, to the following remarks. You will be pleased to communicate them to both classes of the magistracy in the manner most convenient.

2. The magistrates ought to maintain towards each other at all times the utmost courtesy. The appearance of wrangling or any uncourteous language or demeanour on the bench must be unseemly, and ought to be cautiously avoided. There may and will be differences of opinion, but these differences ought to be expressed without any deviation from entire respect towards those who may entertain opposite sentiments. Mutual reproaches, or accusations of partiality on account of disagreement in judgment, ought never to be hazarded. The conduct of the judges in the higher courts ought to be imitated, who, when they differ in opinion, express their differences without any overbearing manner, and with perfect courtesy and respect.

3. It behoves every magistrate to guard himself against the bias to which, from his position, he may be liable, and to discard from his mind every consideration but the desire to render strict justice between the parties before him. The notion of supporting one class or another ought never to actuate him in his judicial proceedings; because it is obvious that such a notion is likely to affect his impartiality.

4. His impartiality may also be affected by previous communication with either of the parties whose case may be before him, especially if he should have acted as the adviser of either party. It will be hard for him to decide with perfect impartiality in a case which he must in a great measure have prejudged as an adviser. In cases, therefore, in which a magistrate has advised a party in his proceedings, or has obtained an intimate knowledge of one side of the case by previous communication, it would be right that the magistrate should abstain from adjudicating in that case, as it is always desirable that the court should form its judgment from what comes before it alone, and not from any prejudication or fore-knowledge.

5. The senior magistrate present, in the absence of the custos, ought to preside in the court; and as chairman, after receiving the opinions of the other magistrates, ought to deliver the judgment of the whole, or, in the case of difference, of the majority, as the judgment of the court. Separate addresses from the other magistrates to the parties or the bystanders are not suitable to the order and dignity which ought to be upheld in a court of justice.

6. The objects of these remarks are to prevent any departure from regularity and decorum, and to promote the equal administration of justice to all parties without distinction. The governor trusts and believes that they are generally unnecessary, but instances having occurred in which the obvious and proper course appears to have been deviated from, he has thought that it might not be amiss to make known his sentiments on the points herein noticed.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,
J. M. HIGGINSON, Sec

The Hon. ————

BARBADOS.—By a private channel we have received a file of *the Liberal* to the 16th of May, from which it appears that the acts for restraining emigration, and for punishing those who may aid and abet it, were still causing great agitation. The popular meeting of the 10th of April had become the occasion of a counter-meeting of planters, who assembled, to the number of fifty-seven persons, in the parish of St. Philip, on the 25th of the same month. The meeting commenced its proceedings by passing unanimously the following most liberal resolution:—

Resolved 1.—That it is essentially a part of the liberty of every free man, and consequently of every member of the community of this island, without exception to carry himself, his capital, and his labour, to what country or place soever he pleases, and to take such counsel and enter into such arrangements with other parties for this purpose, as he pleases. And that, whilst it is the duty of the government of this and every other country to protect, by proper laws properly administered, all classes of the inhabitants against practices of fraud and deception tending to injure them either in their persons or their properties, no estimate or opinion of the advantages or disadvantages to result to individuals from their voluntary act of leaving the country can be a valid and sufficient reason for interfering, otherwise than by advice, to restrain them in the exercise of their right to do so.

Nothing can be better than this. Yet they immediately resolve also, that the law which enacts that

"Every person counselling, aiding and abetting any such offender, (emigration agents,) and every person who shall contract with, entice, persuade or endeavour to seduce any labourer or artificer to go out of this island to any other colony or place, shall on conviction thereof before any police magistrate of this island, forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding fifty pounds, nor less than ten pounds for every labourer or artificer so contracted with, enticed, persuaded, or attempted so to be," &c.

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"does not interfere unnecessarily or oppressively with the rights of the people of this island!" In the course of the meeting Mr. Justice Applewhaite undertook to explain "the chief causes" of the present eagerness for emigration, and we have from him the following edifying confession:—"It is owing," he says, "in some measure to ourselves. The system pursued towards our labourers is *totally wrong*. The exacting of a bitt, and in some instances more, from free men for absent days at their labour *looks something like oppression*; and they never will consider themselves freemen, until they can dispose of their labour when and where they please." This is good anti-slavery doctrine, and is promulgated on the best authority. On a subsequent resolution, which sets forth the benefit of the labouring class as the chief reason why the planters are so earnest in opposing emigration, we extract from the *Liberal* the following remarks:—

The planters care no more about the labourers, generally speaking, (except as regards the getting them to work their estates) than we do about the inhabitants of the moon! They wish to obtain their labour at the lowest possible price, and judging that emigration will cause the price to rise, they are opposed to it, and of course, will do all they can to prevent it. Do these men believe that all their canting pretensions about the 'welfare of the labourer' being their 'sole object,' just now when they find it to be their interest to put a stop to emigration, can deceive any person here or elsewhere? Where was all this feeling when the system of '*starving* the labourers to make them work,' was put in operation? Really we are sick of such hypocrisy. If they feel so much annoyed at an emigration agent for British Guiana being in Barbados, let them send one there in return, and let it be seen whether the Barbados emigration agent can by 'flaming descriptions,' &c., &c., entice, seduce, or persuade a few of the Demerara labourers to come to us! This will be all perfectly fair, and then the labourers will very shortly have it in their power to determine absolutely on *which side* the advantage lies. This will be a means of bringing things to their level directly; and come to its level or fair average price labour must and will, let the planters write, speechify, legislate, or do what they will on the subject. Labour throughout these colonies must and will find its level; and it is perfect folly in the planters of Barbados, or any where, to seek to prevent it. We are only surprised at their ignorance in this respect. The price of labour must, from natural causes, be equalised, or brought to something like an average; but that is no proof that Barbados will be depopulated. That she will lose a portion of her population we believe, but not sufficient to prevent a fair and proper cultivation of the soil. Labour will be higher no doubt, and this must be the case as long as the profits from the cultivation of the soil in our neighbouring colonies give a return sufficient to enable the planter to pay higher wages. With these causes operating, emigration cannot be put a stop to, without the enactment of laws which must reduce the labourer to the condition from which the generosity of the British people has just redeemed him. This will not be sanctioned by the home government, and it is certainly rather surprising that the first attempt at bringing back slavery, in the shape of the emigration act, should have been sanctioned by the governor. It will show the great influence which the proprietary body of the island have with his Excellency, and the great interest which he feels for their pecuniary advantage.

In the meantime the outrageous laws are in operation, and frantic planter-justices are enacting freaks for wonder almost beyond all precedent. Let our readers edify themselves by pondering the following sample, extracted from the *Liberal* of May 20th:—

Mr. Day was cited before Philip Applewhaite, Esq., P. M. of St. Philip's parish, on Monday last, and fined 6 months imprisonment without hard labour, for a breach of the late emigration act. The punishment awarded in this case is that laid down for the *second* offence in the above-mentioned act; and this judgment of Mr. Applewhaite's is made while his first decision remains to be confirmed or reversed by an appeal preferred against it by Mr. Day to the governor and council!

Mr. Brown was brought up on the same day, and charged before Mr. Applewhaite with aiding and abetting Mr. Day, by hiring a certain cart or waggon for the conveying sundry articles of household property, belonging to intended emigrants, to Bridge-town. Well may the *Mercury* be ashamed to state what breach of the immigration act Mr. Brown was charged with! Here is a man who earns his living by keeping carts and horses for the purpose of hiring out. A person sends and offers to hire his carts on a certain day to take some articles to Bridge-town. Mr. Brown hires his horse and cart as he has been accustomed to do: he is cited before a magistrate, and fined £50. for so doing! And this is the act which does not 'unnecessarily interfere with the rights and liberties of the subject!' This is the act the meaning of which has been 'grossly perverted for party purposes.' This is the *unrestricted* freedom which the people of this colony enjoy. This is the enjoyment of the 'acknowledged right' of the labourer to 'carry his labour to the best market,' and this is the *means adopted to enable him to do so*!! Shall we extend our remarks on this subject? No! Mr. Day and Mr. Brown have both appealed.

UNITED STATES.

THE BAPTIST ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION have issued the following *Address to the Baptist Slave-holders of the Southern States.*

Fathers and brethren,

We have assembled to the number of one hundred and ten persons, at the written call of seven hundred Baptists from thirteen of the United States. Of this number, about four hundred are accredited ministers of Jesus Christ.

A conviction of duty, which, we humbly conceive, is based upon the fear of God, and the love of our fellow-men,—whether bond or free, oppressors or oppressed,—constrains us to submit a few thoughts for your special and candid consideration. In doing so, we appeal with the firmest confidence to the Omniscient God, for the rectitude of our intentions. We solemnly profess a prayerful and submissive reverence for the principles of his recorded will. We feelingly avow a tender sympathy, not only for the *slave*, but also for you, upon many of whom slavery is entailed by heritage and enforced by law; while inexorable habits, formed in the passive state of infancy, as well as universal usage, impose bonds upon yourselves scarcely less strong or less oppressive than the fetters of the slave.

Hear us, then, with patience and kindness.—It is our firm conviction that the whole system of American slavery, in theory and practice, is a violation of the instincts of nature—a perversion of the first principles of justice—and a positive transgression of the revealed will of God. For man instinctively seeks happiness and repels outrage; while slavery compels him to forego the former and endure the latter, for himself and his posterity, until the end of time.—Justice, in its very nature, assumes the existence of free moral agents, mutually bound by established principles, and acting towards each other with perfect reciprocity. We do not speak of justice towards a "chattel personal," a horse, or a swine. But the statutes of the south pronounce a slave "a chattel personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever;" and thus set him beyond the pale of justice, as utterly disqualified to assert a right or to redress a wrong.

Divine revelation, as committed to Moses and expounded by our Lord, teaches that pious self-love is the only proper measure of our love towards others. Does slavery,—especially its laws which quench or smother in the slave the light of the mind, which tear from his agonised bosom the dearest objects of his natural affection—conform to that rule of holy writ?

We believe that God only has the right to take away the health, the wife, the children, or the life of men guilty of no social crime. When man, single or associated, uses his power for such ends, he appears to us to arrogate to himself the prerogatives of the Almighty, and to assume a responsibility under which an archangel would stagger.

God, it is true, made use of the Jews to exterminate certain heathen tribes, and to inflict upon others a mild servitude, carefully defined and restricted. To employ this mode of punishment, or any other that he chose, was his unquestionable right. But where is the scripture warrant to apply this special license of Jehovah for the extirpation of the human race at large, or the enslavement of any nation in particular? This specific direction to his peculiar people is but *an exception* that confirms the *general rule* of his Son, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The heart of the blessed Jesus was, indeed, an overflowing fountain of the tenderest sympathy for human woe. Food, health, and life, were his boon, never withheld when solicited; and the gospel preached to the poor was the peculiar and characteristic proof of his being the Son of God and the Saviour of the world. No evidence exists that he ever witnessed a scene of slavery. It is not shewn that the Hebrews of that day trafficked in human flesh. The chained coffle—the naked gang of the cotton field—the exposed female reeking under the lash—the child torn for ever from its mother's breaking heart—these, and worse acts of slavery's tragedy, were not performed, so far as history speaks, before the face of Jesus. But his warmest, almost his only burst of indignation, is against those who devoured the helpless widow's substance, and, for a pretence, made long prayers and liberal contributions to the cause of God.

His itinerant inspired followers were too busy in draining off the universal deluge of idolatry, explaining the nature of the one living God, and establishing the claims of Jesus as the true Messiah, to define, or to condemn, in form, every species and variety of crime, in every age, that hell, fruitful of inventions, might suggest, and fallen human nature perpetrate. Hence, horse-racing, gambling, piracy, the rum traffic, and the African and American slave-trade, remain ungraduated in the scripture scale of human sins. Paul, however, exhorts the servants of *heathen* masters to respectfulness and patience, for the reason that the name of God be not blasphemed; and advises them, while patient under bondage, to prefer freedom. He enjoins *christian* masters to give their servants what is just and equal. Do the slaves of American Baptists obtain justice and equity? He implores his brother Philemon to receive again the converted fugitive, not, as he probably had been, the heathen vassal of a heathen lord, but as a beloved brother in Jesus Christ. Thus *we* behold, in all the scriptures, a virtual and total condemnation of American slavery.

Besides, American Calvinistic Baptists, as a whole denomination, have been hitherto regarded by the Christian world as *responsible for the sins of Baptist slave-holders, and the sufferings of one hundred thousand Baptist slaves.* And it we fail, as many do, to testify our abhorrence of a system that allows a fellow-christian to sell his brother, or his brother's wife or child, or to dissolve the marriage tie at pleasure, we see not how to escape the merited contempt of mankind, the reproaches of conscience, or the displeasure of God. For the followers of Jesus are ordained the light of the world, and *his witnesses of the truth* until the end of time.

Further, in the exhaustion of your once teeming soil,—the non-increase and, in some parts, diminution of your white population—the depreciation of your staple products, and the competition of British enterprise in India—the jubilee shout of West Indian emancipation, rousing the dormant spirit of your slaves to assert the rights of man—your intrinsic incapacity of self-defence in case of foreign aggression—your constant exposure to servile insurrection and massacre—and in the general reprobation of republican slavery throughout the rest of the civilised and christian world—we behold indications that God attests by earthly signs the precept of his heavenly oracles, to "let the oppressed go free."

Again, if you have heard us thus far with candour, you may perhaps inquire, "What would you have us do?" We answer,—at once confess before heaven and earth the sinfulness of holding slaves; admit it to be not only a misfortune, but a crime; remonstrate against laws that bind the system on you; petition for the guaranty to all of "national and unalienable rights." If your remonstances and prayers to man are disregarded, cast yourselves on the God of providence and justice; forsake, like Abraham, your father-land, and carry your children and your households to the vast asylum of our prairies and our wilderness, where our Father in heaven has bidden our mother earth to open her exuberant breast for the nourishment of many sons.

Finally,—if you should (which Heaven avert!) remain deaf to the voice of warning and entreaty,—if you still cling to the power-maintained privilege of living on unpaid toil, and of claiming as property the image of God which Jesus bought with precious blood,—we solemnly declare, as we fear the Lord, that we cannot and we dare not recognise

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you as consistent brethren in Christ; we cannot join in partial, selfish prayers, that the groans of the slave may be unheard; we cannot hear preaching which makes God the author and approver of human misery and vassalage; and we cannot at the Lord's table, cordially take that as a brother's hand, which plies the scourge on woman's naked flesh,—which thrusts a gag into the mouth of man,—which rivets fetters on the innocent,—and which shuts up the Bible from human eyes.—We deplore your condition; we pray for your deliverance; and God forbid that we should ever sin against Him by ceasing so to pray.

ELON GALUSHA, *President.* O. S. MURRAY, *Secretary.*

Poetry.

[During the recent sittings of the Anti-slavery convention, an earnest wish was expressed that the poets of America might consecrate their talents to the sacred cause of freedom. This idea was happily taken up by Dr. William Beattie, who speedily produced the following spirited address to the trans-atlantic bards. On occasion of the soiree given to the foreign delegates at the close of the convention, a copy of this address was read to the assembled delegates; and the chairman was instructed to "convey the most cordial thanks of the meeting to the author, Dr. Beattie, and respectfully to request the manuscript with a view to its publication." This resolution was conveyed to the author, whose kind compliance was not only immediately given, but conveyed in terms, evincing an ardent and devoted attachment to the cause of the immediate and universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. The address will we trust, awaken the sympathies and command the energies of those American poets to whom the gifted writer makes his emphatic appeal.]

TO THE POETS OF AMERICA.

BARDS of Freedom's boasted land!
Brothers!—foremost of the free!
Ye, who with impassion'd hand
Sweep the chords of Liberty—
Ye, to whom the boon is given
To win the ear and melt the heart!
Awake! and, waking earth and heaven,
Perform the minstrel's noblest part.

Why stand ye mute? when on the ear
A thunder peal from sea to sea—
A peal earth's darkest haunts shall hear—
Proclaims, *The Slave shall now be free!*
Long has he drain'd the bitter cup!
Long borne the scourge, and dragg'd the chain!
But *now* the strength of Europe's up—
A strength that ne'er shall sleep again!

Your GARRISON has fann'd the flame!
CHILD, CHAPMAN, PIERREPONT, catch the fire!
And, roused at Freedom's hallow'd name,
Hark! BRYANT—WHITTIER—strike the lyre!
While *here* hearts, voices, trumpet-toned—
MONTGOMERY—COWPER—CAMPBELL—MOORE—
To Freedom's glorious cause respond,
In sounds that thrill through every core!

Their voice has conjured up a power
No foes can daunt, no force arrest;
That gathers strength with every hour,
And strikes a chord in every breast:
A power that soon on Afric's sand,
On Cuba's shore, on ocean's flood,
Shall crush the oppressor's iron hand,
And blast the traffickers in blood.

O! where should Freedom's hope abide,
Save in the bosoms of the free?
Where should the wretched negro hide,
Save in the shade of Freedom's tree?
And where should minstrel wake the strain
That cheers Colombia's forests wild?
O! *not* where captives clank their chain;
For POETRY is FREEDOM'S child!

The minstrel cannot, must not sing,
Where fetter'd slaves in bondage pine;
Man has no voice, the muse no wing,
Save in the light of Freedom's shrine.
O! by those songs your children sing—
The lays that soothe your winter fires—
The hopes, the hearths to which you cling—
The sacred ashes of your sires!
By all the joys that crown the free—
Love—Honour—Fame—the hope of Heaven!
Wake in your might! that earth may see
God's gifts have not been vainly given.

BARDS of Freedom's favoured strand!
Strike at last your loftiest key!
Peal the watchword through the land!
Shout! till every slave is free!—
Long has he drained the bitter cup;
Long borne the lash, and clanked the chain:
But *now* the strength of Europe's up—
A strength that ne'er shall sleep again!

Park square, June 24th. W. B.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 15TH.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society desire respectfully to represent to their friends throughout the country, their present situation.

Their first annual meeting has been just held, and has met with that countenance and public support which encourages them to enter upon the business committed to them with renewed and increased alacrity and confidence. An account of its proceedings is to be circulated without delay.

Much important business has also been entrusted to the committee for deliberation and execution by the convention lately terminated. This convention which has been closely occupied for ten successive days, has been attended by delegates from the principal towns in this kingdom, from Scotland and from Ireland and also from various parts of the world. It has been engaged in deliberating upon measures in immediate connexion with the great object of the society, *the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, by means of a moral, religious, and pacific character.* A detailed account of its proceedings is intended to be prepared for publication as soon as this can conveniently be done. In the meantime the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, issued by this society, is embodying a brief report of the proceedings of the convention.

This committee in the immediate prospect of increased expenses in consequence of the enlarged sphere of its operations, and with a full persuasion that there is a wide field to labour in for the benefit of the lately enfranchised negros in the British colonies, and for the early termination of slavery and the slave-trade in European colonies, and in other parts of the world, does earnestly solicit the aid of the friends of the oppressed in promptly procuring liberal annual subscriptions, and remitting the same to George William Alexander, Treasurer to the society, at No. 40, Lombard Street; or to J. H. Tredgold, Secretary, No. 27, New Broad Street, London.

The *Reporter* is published once a fortnight, at threepence per number, and may be had by ordering it through the newsmen: the regular purchase and perusal of it is recommended to the friends of the slave everywhere.

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

London, June 30, 1840.

A SPECIAL public meeting of the Baptist Union was held at New Park Street Chapel, Southwark, on the 8th instant, for the purpose of receiving the rev. Messrs. Galusha, Colver, and Grosvenor, who have been deputed to this body by the Baptist Anti-slavery Convention in the United States. James Low, esq., the treasurer, took the chair, and introduced the American brethren to the meeting. The rev. gentlemen then spoke successively, and at considerable length, on American slavery, as most fearfully polluting the church of Christ in that country. They stated that not a few of their brethren had felt the evil so intensely as to resolve, that amidst all difficulties something must be attempted for its cure; and that in consequence they had met in convention in April last. They had then determined to hold no religious communion with slave-holding professors; a measure in which they wished for the concurrence of their British brethren. They had taken their present stand in the midst of many difficulties, both from avowed enemies and professed friends, and they wanted support in a holy effort which as much concerned English christians as themselves. "Here we expected," said the rev. Mr. Colver, in concluding his address, "to have a response both loud and long; and here I stand, in hope that such a response is to come from the hearts of my brethren. When I go back and tell them that the brethren respond here, and tell them that their hearts are with us, we shall feel our hands strengthened, and our hearts cheered; we shall thank God, and take courage." The rev. gentlemen spoke with much force, and were greeted with expressions of applause which demonstrated that the feeling of the meeting was entirely with them. This concurrence were formally manifested, however, by the unanimous adoption of the following resolution, which was moved by the rev. C. Stovel, and seconded by the rev. J. H. Hinton.

That this meeting have heard with great satisfaction of the measures which have been taken by those of their brethren who have constituted themselves into the Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention in the United States, and cheerfully declare that the most cordial endeavours shall be made on their part to sustain the exertions of their transatlantic brethren in the anti-slavery-cause.

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To this account it may be added, that the Baptists are the first religious body in the United States, among whom the anti-slavery spirit has been thus vigorously displayed. The members of that body who have come forward on this occasion have done themselves great honour; and we cannot but express our earnest hope, that in the movement they have made they will be speedily joined by the remaining portion of their own denomination, and followed by the other religious connexions in the Union. Appalling but unquestionable are the two assertions—first, that the countenance of christian churches is the principal support of American slavery; and secondly, that consistent action among christian churches would speedily accomplish its overthrow.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Continued from our last.)

Judge JEREMIE from Ceylon said that Dr. Bowring had omitted one point in M. D'Isambert's address, namly, that in Martinique the free coloured population now go hand in hand with the slaves.—(Hear, and cheers.)

M. CREMIEUX, the president of the Jewish Consistory of Paris, then rose and addressed the convention in French, which was afterwards translated by Dr. Bowring. He said—In rising to address you, permit me to say, that I do not regret that I speak to you in French. The translation which Dr. Bowring will give you of my address will adorn it with that eloquence which in itself it wants, and, submitted to you by that skilful interpreter, my observations will be more favourably received.—(Hear, hear, and cheers.) I cannot express to you, gentlemen, the emotions which I feel at this moment—the most overpowering feelings penetrate my heart, and entirely overcome me. First, I feel the most profound admiration for those English customs and manners, which have given to the spirit of association such irresistible power of proclaiming its objects nobly and in the face of the world—objects the most liberal and most worthy of the enlightened age that has approved and adopted them—a spirit of association, which our laws, I am sorry to say, prohibit, to the sorrow and despair of all those generous men who in France call loudly for the abolition of such restrictive enactments.—(Cheers.) I feel also overpowered by the thought that an Israelite should appear in this assembly, where he has been received with so much favour, to demand, with an enthusiasm equal to yours, the abolition of slavery. Gentlemen, all liberties are united, and all persecutions hold together. Persecute, and you will make slaves; proclaim the equality of all, and you create citizens.—(Cheers.) It is thus that your O'Connell—(Loud cheers)—whom we should envy to England, if the glory of England at this moment was not amalgamated with that of France in this great work, in demanding complete equality for Ireland, proclaimed at the same time the principles of humanity and justice, and has rendered for the future all persecution impossible against men who conquered equality for themselves.—(Loud cheering.) I feel great pleasure in joining this convention, because I am a descendant of those Hebrews who were the first to proclaim the abolition of slavery, and I this day only repeat what the Jews have always admitted in principle. Indeed, it is not without interest that I now recall to your recollection, that it was the sect of the Essenes which first declared slavery to be a crime, and that it was, to use the expression of Josephus, a perpetual cause of perturbation for the state Gentlemen, in this assembly this must entitle them to the highest glory and, I may add, that Jesus Christ himself, considered as a great legislator and moralist, has derived the principles of Christian charity from the mild and pure rules of the sect of the Essenes; and yet, gentlemen, these very Jews, who proclaimed the abolition of slavery, who have conferred on christianity one of its most worthy titles to glory—these very Jews have themselves, in more recent times, been held as slaves even in christian countries. What emotions must not I experience in coming here to join my voice to those which are raised to demand the abolition of slavery; and permit me, gentlemen, without digressing from the subject of my discourse, to add, that the Jews were the first to abolish human sacrifices, and to turn away with horror from the shedding of human blood in their religious ceremonies; and yet at this moment in the east, in those very countries in which their religion, the basis of every other, was first proclaimed, a horrible calumny, resuscitated from the barbarian ages of the west, accuses them of shedding christian blood as a matter of religious duty, to moisten the unleavened bread of the Passover. It is true gentlemen; and I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging it, that in this country—civilized England—the nation, the press, the government, have shown themselves indignant at this base calumny—(Loud cheers)—and I perceive from the approbation which you now manifest that you repudiate it with the contempt it deserves. Yes, persecution engendered slavery. Yes, all persecutions are akin to one another, and this was well understood by that venerable Bishop Gregoire, who, while he raised his voice in favour of the emancipation of the blacks, at the same time demanded the emancipation of the Jews Well, gentlemen, in this assembly of christians, here is a Jew who demands for the blacks the complete abolition of slavery. His enthusiasm is equal to yours, and his words have been listened to by you with the most truthful sympathy. (Cheers.) Besides, is there a cause more worthy of public favour? When God created the first man and woman, after he had laid the foundations of a future society in these words, "increase and multiply," he said to man, displaying the whole of nature before him. This is thy patrimony, this is thy kingdom—earth, and all its animals, are submitted to thy power. But where do we find that the Creator has said, Upon this earth which I deliver over to thee; two races of men shall exist at the same time, the one absolute and master, because it has a white skin; the other a slave and obedient, because it has a black one? Two classes of the same creature shall be spread over the world, the one shall be called the class of the oppressors, the other the class of the oppressed. All shall possess the same life, and the same breath of life shall animate your bodies; but among you the one class shall cast the other's fetters, and shall sell their brethren in the public markets as brute beasts! (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the slavery of man by man is a perpetual crime against humanity. (Loud cheers.) Cast far from you those absurd accusations which would degrade one part of the creation. Persecutors are ever fertile in arguments to give a colour to their oppression. (Hear hear.) The blacks, say they, are of a degraded nature—their degenerate race can never be raised to an equality with us—(hear, hear,)—they cannot understand liberty—a maxim as false as it is immoral. It is slavery which degrades human nature, because liberty is its law, its patrimony; instead of keeping the blacks in a state of degradation, open for them the career which providence has given to all men; raise them to an equality with yourselves, and they will know how to preserve their level. Servitude occasions vice—it is not vice that is the cause of servitude. Would you wish an historical example in proof of this? Look at the country of the arts, of civilization, of letters. Look at Greece. (Loud cheers.) Oh how noble, how grand, was she in her sacred times of liberty! What has she become in a state of servitude? Say, gentlemen, can you recognise in the Greek slave the descendant of Leonidas or Pericles? (Loud cheers.) Abolish slavery, proclaim equality, it is a noble and glorious mission. This glory, this mission, henceforth belongs to the alliance of two great nations, who, long divided by war, are now united in the cause of the civilisation of the world. With what eclat, gentlemen, will the words of England and of France be received by the nations of the world! (Hear.) How sublimely have they been already re-echoed from that very continent of America where so many private interests oppose the emancipation of the blacks, and where so many generous hearts attend only to the sacred interests of humanity! See with what transport their representatives unite themselves in this hall to their brethren of England and France! Yes, we shall attain this glorious object by our holy alliance. (Cheers.) I say not this from vanity, but from a just, and honourable, and proud confidence. It is an incontrovertible truth. The united will of France and England proclaiming the equality of mankind, who could now resist? The united will of France and England, proclaiming the abolition of human slavery, what power could oppose an obstacle? Here, gentlemen, I pause. I will not trespass further on the attention you have so kindly extended to me, and I shall ever consider as the happiest day of my existence, that in which I have been permitted to give utterance to my sentiments in such an assembly as the present. I shall dwell with delight on the recollection; from this moment my life will acquire in my own eyes more consistence and more real importance than it has hitherto possessed.

M. ALCIDE LAURE, a member of the deputation from the French society, then addressed the assembly in French, Dr. Bowring, as in the former instances, translating it to the convention. M. Laure said that after the illustrious orators they had just heard, and whose sentiments and sympathies had been explained to the convention with so much talent and intelligence by Dr. Bowring, it perhaps might be deemed presumption on his part to be desirous of occupying that place from whence, for the last two days, so many of the illustrious men, both of Great Britain and America, had addressed the convention. But he felt the necessity imposed upon him in the name of the young magistracy of France, of which he was the organ, of addressing a few words to the convention to express the great interest he felt in the question. Yes, the time of the abolition of slavery was at hand. (Cheers.) The present memorable manifestation of the opinion of the world must at length affect the conscience of the governors of that world; and those who had now neither name, nor family, nor nation, would be reinstated in their name, their family, and their freedom; and that to the eternal honour of England it would be recorded to the remotest ages of the world, that that great assembly which had so nobly discussed the important question of slavery, assembled in 1840 in her metropolis—(Loud cheers)—and that the emancipation of the black and coloured races was accomplished in the 19th century, as the work of God through the progress of civilization.

Mr. Justice JEREMIE said, that now that the subject of French slavery, or rather of slavery in the West India colonies, was before the meeting, he proposed to address a few words to them on the subject. From having held office for some time in colonies formerly French, he had been closely connected with them, and was perfectly well acquainted with their laws and regulations, and he had no hesitation in saying that every reason which existed for the abolition of slavery in the British dependencies existed in equal force in the colonies of their neighbours.—(Loud cheers.) M. Isambert had said that the code now contained clauses for the benefit of the negro; but this was even an additional argument for the abolition of slavery, because these clauses had almost all been repealed by subsequent enactments, and those which remained had been rendered of no effect by popular prejudice. It was true the Code Noir allowed of the marriage of whites with blacks, but this enactment had been repealed by popular opinion. Even after the peace of Amiens—after opinions in favour of the rights of the negro had made considerable progress in France—a clause was inserted by which coloured people were permitted to leave property to the whites, but whites were prohibited from leaving property to coloured people.—(Cheers, and cries of Oh! oh!) The preservation of any distinction of colour, or of race, or the attempt to bolster up slavery by regulations under pretence of producing any amelioration in it, was vicious and erroneous.—(Loud cheers.) He knew that, because he had assisted at the introduction of such measures into our own colonies, and had witnessed their utter failure.—(Loud cheers.) The manufacturer of sugar in our colonies in which emancipation had taken place, was at a low ebb it was true, but why was it so? Because the labouring population found they could be more profitably employed in other ways. He would relate to them an instance which had come to his own knowledge of the effects produced by emancipation. He knew a gentleman in England, a slave-holder, and a supporter of the system of slavery; but this gentleman had acuteness to perceive that the system of slavery must eventually give way to public opinion; accordingly he prepared in time for the change which he knew was inevitable, and seven or eight years ago he went among the agricultural population of this country, and hired steady, industrious labourers, most of whom had certificates of character from the clergyman of the parish in which they resided, and many of whom had obtained prizes from different agricultural societies, he engaged these men as servants for seven years, and sent them out to his estates in the West Indies. He (Mr. Jeremie) had met him about ten days ago and asked him the result of his experiment. He replied that now two men did with the plough what it formerly took ten men to do with the hoe.—(Cheers.) This was one of the effects of immediate emancipation. (Cheers.) Before emancipation took place the advocates of it had acknowledged, had foreseen, had foretold, that one of its immediate effects would be the diminution of the sugar cultivation in the colonies. And why was this? Why, before the emancipation took place, how was the working population of the West Indies composed? One half of them consisted of women; and if these persons

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were fit for freedom, they never, of course, would permit women to be employed in the labours of the field.—(Loud cheers.) The old system moreover was one of complete monopoly. Sugar was cultivated there for exportation; but shoes, chairs, tables, every household article, was obtained from home. This monopoly was now done away with. The negros could go now where they thought it most for their advantage to purchase the articles they stood in need of. Although the exportation of the produce had diminished, everything that conduced to the interest, well-being, and comfort of the people had increased. That produce alone which was the result of coercion had diminished.—(Cheers.) He begged to bear his humble testimony to the efforts of M. Isambert. Never could he forget the effect produced by the able and eloquent address of M. Isambert. All that could be said on the subject had been said by him.—(Loud cheers.) It was only delicacy, he was convinced, being a distinguished member of a French court of judicature, which had prevented M. Isambert from stating to the convention, that while in England the name of Granville Sharpe was looked up to with veneration, as that of the first man who had proved that slavery could not co-exist with the British laws, forty or fifty years before that the French courts of judicature had established the same fact with regard to France. A negro had arrived in Paris in 1712; he applied to the courts of law as to his right of freedom, and the courts of France, after solemn deliberation, affirmed the right which he claimed.—(Loud cheers.) M. Cremiux, an Israelite, had addressed them, who yet had proved himself a Christian in every word that he had uttered, and in every sentiment he had expressed, distinguished as he was by his liberality and his splendid philanthropy.—(Loud cheers.) In him they had heard the author of some of the most splendid specimens of oratory of modern times.—(Loud cheers.)

Mr. O'CONNELL then rose and said, the kind indulgence he had experienced yesterday was an imperative reason why he should trespass as shortly on the attention of the convention as the duty he had to perform would permit. His purpose in rising was to propose that it should be referred to a committee to consider the proper form of an address to the French government and the French nation, on the subject of negro slavery. The learned and distinguished gentleman on his left had told them the condition of the negro was greatly ameliorated in the French West India colonies, and that there remained behind only one thing—the emancipation of the negro. He (Mr. O'Connell) thought that "one thing" was a rather considerable one—(cheers)—and that if they could get that they might easily forgive all the rest.—(Hear.) He had also told them that the French government had framed the most salutary regulations respecting the treatment of the negros. There was a fable of Æsop which showed what that amounted to; for when the wolves were appointed protectors of the lambs, although the most salutary rules were framed, the wolves eat them.—(Hear, hear.) And this must really be the case with all regulations put into the hands of slave-holders. It was employing two-legged wolves to take care of lambs.—(Cheers.) The French colonies required one great thing—the emancipation of the negros; every thing else was idle and nugatory. (Cheers.) Let them emancipate, and they will do all. Without it, if they did everything else, they would do nothing. He would now just advert to the situation of these colonies with respect to the slave population. He would first take Martinique. It was quite true, as had been stated, that the negros there were emancipated during the French revolution; but it was rather on account of the absence of power to restrain their freedom than from any legal recognition of it. Bonaparte, after the treaty of Amiens, sent a large force to the West Indies to reconquer slavery, and compel the free to be enslaved again. There was a mighty charm in these military names: but he (Mr. O'Connell) could not help protesting against the praise of those who waded through slaughter to a bad eminence. Such men might swell the military glory of their country, but, in his opinion, they were the greatest enemies of civilization. (Cheers.) He mentioned the conquest of Martinique only to state this fact. The negros, being freemen, were unwilling again to submit to slavery, and, as freemen should do, they defended themselves to the last. When about only 500 survived, these retreated to a mountain fort, which they defended until a French battalion had made a breach, and when they entered, the negros blew up themselves and the battalion. (Hear, hear.) This showed they were quite safe in leaving to the negros the protection of their own liberty. In Martinique they were, in 1837, 26,346 males, 39,666 females; yet the number of marriages in that year was only fifteen. The number of births was 2303. The number of deaths was 2592. Many of them knew that in Europe the population increased about 15 per cent. every ten years; but in this place there was a decrease of 289 in one year. Thus all those who in a proper state of society would have been born and brought up, in the West Indies were murdered in the womb, or strangled in the birth. (Hear, hear.) In Guadeloupe the number of males in the same year was 45,606, of females 48,985; of marriages 19; of births 1857; and of deaths 1883, being a decrease of 26. In Cayenne or Guiana the number of males was 8523; of females 7617; of marriages 43; of births 297; and of deaths 628, being a decrease of 331. In Bourbon the number of males was 43,763; of females 24,432; of marriages none; of births 1001; of deaths 2359, being a decrease of 1358. Being on the whole of these colonies a total of males 134,238; of females 120,700; of marriages 77; of births 5458; of deaths 7462; and of decrease in population of 2004. (Hear.) The French nation were a great nation—great in arts and arms, in science and in literature. The French people were naturally a proud people—we perhaps thought them a little vain also—(Laughter)—but they had much to be proud of. (Hear, hear.) He wished to place these facts in the presence of the French people—to show them these details—to show them the disgrace of continuing this system, and to call on and conjure them in the name of that passion for glory which they cherished to excess, and still more in the name of human nature and humanity, to terminate a system that produced abominations so disgraceful to a civilized people. (Loud cheering.) He would not trespass much longer on their time, but he could not help remarking, that the increase of the free population in these colonies in one year was 835; and this was still more remarkable, because there was not a child of a black woman in that increase; and this showed what the increase would really be, were all in a state of freedom, in the numbers of human beings enjoying life and liberty—of heirs to the same eternal redemption, who might do honour to mankind, and to the glory of God. (Hear, hear.) Oh, let France hear of this fact—no crime had followed emancipation, no riot, no disturbance. The pen of calumny itself had not dared to charge them with a single outrage. The lash was scarcely dry with gore from the bleeding back of the negro when he was emancipated. Did he take it up and say, "My day is come, and now you shall endure what you have inflicted?" (Cheers.) No. He cast a generous and Christian oblivion over the crimes of white men, and stood emancipated, respecting the female sex, and with his soul free from the slightest taint of blood. (Loud cheering.) It was most consolatory to them, even to him, the humblest of them all, to witness this result. What had they not been threatened with? Oh! (it was said) don't emancipate the negro—he will violate our wives and daughters, and slaughter ourselves; we shall not be able to walk safely in the streets, or sleep securely in our beds. But it was now only that they slept in safety. He challenged the enemies of negro emancipation to point out to him a single instance of outrage. The imports of Jamaica were equal now to what they were previous to emancipation. What, then, was the excuse for France in continuing slavery? (Hear, hear.) Let her listen to this. Did it not prove that the French planter would be as safe as the English—that there would be no insurrection, no outrage—that property would be safe, as it now was, if she granted emancipation to her slaves? (Cheers.) He said this not from any selfish motive. The consequence of emancipation was greater comfort to the negro and greater security to the planter. (Hear, hear.) He wished that we had more sugar, but sweet as it was, it was sweeter still to reflect that if the negro did not make sugar for another, it was because he made something better for himself; but though this country required a greater supply, they would not consent to take that supply from the slave owner, or to be the consumers of the slave produce. (Cheers.) It would be a monstrous anomaly if they did. We should have given twenty millions for the purpose of encouraging other miscreants in the slave-trade. It would not be done. (Hear, hear.) But this was the proper moment for France to act. Let her emancipate her negros, and then we would take French grown sugar. It would open another market for the produce of their colonies the moment they emancipated their slaves. But so long as they sowed injustice they must reap its bitter fruit, though the moment they took the position of justice and humanity, they would participate in its blessings. (Hear.) He thought that if they could but convince France they had made out their case, she would speedily join them and co-operate in the cause of humanity, and thus they would have gained another great and mighty nation to assist the cause. The slave-trade never could be abolished so long as slavery existed—(cheers)—human cupidity would break through every law—they would abolish the slave-trade not by combinations among themselves, by excluding one and taking another, but by combinations of great nations. It was this alone which could abolish the horrid trade of the miscreants of Cuba and Brazil, and of the greater monsters, the American slave-dealers. All these would sink into their native nothingness, before the combined majesty of the British and French nations, uniting in the great names of humanity, and combining for the liberation of the human race. (Loud cheers.) The honourable and learned gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That an address from this convention be transmitted to the French people, earnestly impressing upon them the impolicy of any longer tolerating the existence of slavery in their colonies; and that the following gentlemen form a committee to prepare such address—M. Isambert, Messrs. Alexander, Turnbull, Josiah Forster, and Dr. Bowring, with the mover and seconder."

Mr. L'INSTANT, a native of Hayti, who had resided for the last two years in Paris, then addressed the convention in French. His address was subsequently translated by Dr. Bowring. He said that he wished to lay before the convention a short account of the causes which led to the freedom of Hayti. At the commencement of the French revolution in 1789, the rights of man were proclaimed. The free coloured population of St. Domingo, which at the time was not known by the name of Hayti, demanded an equal participation in those rights. This was refused them. He would not now enter into a minute detail of the efforts of the colonists to render their claims abortive; suffice it to say that the collisions consequent upon them frequently produced scenes of bloodshed. A man whose name would be ever held in respect, Ogee, went to Paris for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain for them their rights. All the colonists, however, opposed his efforts to obtain them their liberty. He was refused what he sought for, and on his return the colonists seized him and racked him on the wheel. This act of oppression raised a spirit among the people of colour that nothing could extinguish, and true liberty broke out. During the course of this war the colonists had made arrangements to deliver the island into the hands of the English, because by their assistance they hoped to be enabled to continue the system of slavery. But the coloured men assembled together and drove out the English, and preserved the island as part of the French dominions. At that time Touissaint L'Ouverture, the greatest black man who had ever appeared, governed the island. At that time Napoleon Bonaparte, forgetful of the principles by which he had risen, sent out a navy and a fleet to reduce the inhabitants again to slavery. The negros took arms to repel slavery, and not to escape the domination of the mother country, which they had no desire whatever to throw off. Dessalines then arose; he conferred on the men of colour the right of land-owners and of citizenship, and introduced such laws as the times required. Petion succeeded him, and in 1825, France, despairing of reducing Hayti to subjection, and actuated by the liberal views and principles she then entertained, acknowledged their independence. His principal object in addressing the convention was to show that the Haytians had taken arms by the necessity imposed upon them of repelling force by force, and not for any purposes of rebellion, and that all that had occurred was solely owing to the attempt of the French empire to deprive them of the liberty which they had before enjoyed.

M. D' ISAMBERT, for the honour of his country, was desirous that the French people should not be confounded with the French Government of that period. In 1789, the French nation had proclaimed the liberty of the blacks, and had sent out directions to the governor of Guadaloupe, Guiana, and the other colonies, to adopt measures for the regulation of that liberty. Napoleon, however, notwithstanding the resistance of the French people, who were always opposed to the St. Domingo expedition, seduced by his desire of imitating the example and the faults of England, attempted the conquest of St. Domingo, and in the attempt sacrificed one of the finest armies France had ever possessed—the army which had effected the conquest of Italy. France protested against this expedition, and by way of making reparation for the wrongs which her government had committed

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since the restoration, she had settled a pension on the widow and children of Toussaint L'Ouverture.—(Cheers.)

Mr. SCOBLE said it was a fact which should not be lost sight of in connection with Hayti, that while the French government had recognised its independence, Great Britain at that moment had not done so.—("Shame.")

Mr. TURNBULL—We have a consul-general there.

Mr. SCOBLE was aware there was a representative of that kind, but at the present moment we were engaged in a treaty of commerce, and until this was ratified by both powers, their independence could not be said to be recognized by this country. Indeed, Lord Palmerston had admitted that such was the case, and explained it by saying that England had entered into a secret treaty with France not to recognize its independence till France should think fit.—(Hear, hear.)

Colonel MILLER said the only excuse of the American government for not recognising the independence of Hayti was, that if they did so they should have a black ambassador at Washington.—(Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The convention re-assembled at four o'clock, Mr. BIRNEY Chairman.

SLAVERY IN THE COLONIES OF HOLLAND AND SWEDEN.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER.—Little was known in England of the state, the prospects or the amount of slavery in the Dutch colonies; it was only known, and that not to all, that slavery existed to a considerable amount in one colony, Surinam, and that it existed in a peculiarly severe manner. The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society determined to obtain information upon the subject, and within the last three months they had deputed him and Mr. James Whitehorn to proceed to Holland for that purpose. They laboured under considerable difficulties, because in the first place, they were unacquainted with the language of the people amongst whom they were to make inquiries; and those persons were very little, if at all acquainted with the subject upon which they wished to obtain information, and the subject itself created very little interest. Their first stay was in the city of Amsterdam; there they had considerable difficulty in obtaining information even of the number of slaves in the Dutch colonies, but they arrived at something like a close approximation to the truth at last. They were informed that the probable number of slaves in Surinam was about 50,000, but from more recent information, upon which he had every reason to rely, they amounted to 60,000 or 70,000. No doubt the truth was known to the Dutch Government, and he trusted some of their friends would arrive at the real truth. It was still more difficult to obtain the number of those in slavery in the other West India colonies of Holland, but it was probable the whole number might be from 100,000 to 120,000. It was a most interesting inquiry to enter upon to know what were the actual circumstances of that large slave population; upon that point he was obliged to confine himself to that in the island of Surinam. One of the most striking circumstances respecting that colony was, that it was generally understood that the average decrease of the slave population was not less than five per cent. per annum. (Hear.) A very small portion of that decrease might be attributed to running away, but from good authority he was assured that it was an extremely small portion; neither could the colonists say that the slave-trade had been recently abolished there. He found from inquiries that ten years ago the number of male and female slaves was very nearly equal, as those of younger years, and they remained so. The immense decrease was to be mainly attributed to the essential murderous nature of the system pursued in the slave cultivation of sugar, and particularly during the crop season. (Hear hear.) The excessive labour during that period was of such a nature that no human being could endure it without shortening his existence. (Hear, hear.) Another circumstance was the treatment suffered by the females while placed in a situation which required the utmost attention, and to the large number of children who died in early youth, doubtless from the want of that care which a mother only could supply. He regretted that they had been unable to obtain information respecting the means used for coercion in the colony, for no doubt they would do much towards hastening the abolition of slavery if they could have an exact account of all punishments, such as used to be kept in the English colonies. It was, however known, that the whip was used to both males and females, and he was informed that no slave in the colony was allowed to wear shoes; he only mentioned that in order to show the state of degradation in which the slave was kept. Lately there had been some ameliorations made in his condition. They were no longer to be separated from those whom they consider as their wives. But with respect to marriage it was hardly known—it would be sufficient for him to say that in 1830, in a slave population of 50,000, there were only two marriages—there was no legal marriage for slaves in the colony, it was not recognized. Then with regard to instruction, very little had been done—at least, if any, it was very little—and as regarded religious instruction, there had been a Moravian mission established for a long period, but for 40 years after they were allowed to establish themselves they had no opportunity of instructing a negro. At the end of 100 years they had made some progress, but it was very little, for then they were allowed to visit only 14 out of 500 plantations. Lately there had been established at the Hague a society for preaching the gospel amongst the slaves, and that society had access to 100 plantations; but to them they had only access monthly, and then great difficulties were thrown in their way with respect to their seeing the negro. Thus very little had been done for the population. In the society to which he had alluded at the Hague, he was sorry to say there was some proceedings to which he could not lend his sanction. Amongst their preachers they had 18 slaves, many of themselves belonged to the colony, and were proprietors of slaves; and he was afraid that very little would be done to carry their object into effect. All other ministers of religion were prohibited from visiting the island. The people in Holland, especially in Amsterdam, were very far from being in a satisfactory state in respect to the abolition question. He had met with a very few instances of cordial support in a population exceeding 200,000. He was most sorry to say also that on the part of some ministers of religion there had been a most striking unwillingness to take any part in the good work. It was true, the subject was perfectly new, and let them hope that when it became better known and more studied, their consciences would tell them what their duty was. The next place they visited was Utrecht, and in that city he only saw one gentleman who took any interest in the question—that gentleman was professor Tiedman, and he indeed took a lively interest in the matter. He then went to Leyden, and among the few he saw there, he was most happy to say there was no difference of opinion whatever as to what their duty was with respect to the abolition of slavery. They then proceeded to the Hague, and there, he had an opportunity of meeting about thirty persons of distinction, to whom he had explained the principles and objects of the society, and he fully believed that considerable good had been done. They then went to Rotterdam, and there found some very zealous friends of the cause of abolition. They consisted of the Episcopal minister, the Independent minister, and two Scotch ministers. Through their instrumentality a meeting was held, which was numerously attended. He addressed the meeting, and pointed out to them the very beneficial results which had followed the abolition of slavery in the English colonies. After the meeting the junior Scotch minister said he was very sorry the proceedings were over, because he would have had much pleasure in proposing to form a society in connexion with the British and Foreign abolition society of London. He (Mr. Alexander) said if they wished to form a committee it was not then too late. A committee was instantly formed and the work begun. He had heard frequently from Holland since his visit, and the general impression on his mind was that the subject of slavery had made considerable progress—that it would receive the attention of the people of Holland, with a view to its abolition. At the same time he did not conceal from himself that great doubts existed as to the propriety of immediate emancipation; and he was extremely anxious that the public mind in Holland should be enlightened on the subject. Still he looked at that land with great hope, notwithstanding all he had said, and he had no doubt that many would be raised up to perfect the great work, as had been the case in England. That was all he had to say in regard to Holland. The society were anxious to extend their inquiries into the slave system as related to Sweden. Within a few weeks after returning from Holland, knowing that the diet was then sitting, and that its sittings occurred once in five years, he thought that that was a good opportunity for carrying out the objects of the society, and immediately set out for Stockholm. Very little had been known with respect to the slaves supposed to be held under Sweden. On inquiring in Stockholm, he was informed that the general belief was that they amounted to from 2000 to 3000; but many people in Stockholm believed that there were no slaves at all in St. Bartholomew's island; however, before he left, he had good reason to believe that the numbers were between 800 and 900. Of course, his statement showed that the question had excited very little attention in Sweden; but upon his informing them of the objects of their society, a great deal of what he might call English feeling was immediately excited with reference to slavery. He was present at the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society, and he had the positive promise of a professor there, that the question should immediately be brought before the diet, and he had very good reason to believe that the Crown Prince was decidedly favourable to their cause, so also was the Archbishop of Sweden. There was, however, one peculiarity about the island, for although nominally belonging to Sweden, it was the actual property of the king. The diet, therefore, had no power in the matter, but, no doubt, if they were heartily engaged in the cause, and if they were willing to promote any plan for carrying out the principle of abolition,—no doubt that would have great effect upon the king's mind. The convention would readily apprehend that he had but very little information to give as to the condition of the slave, but, as in all other cases, they were exceedingly neglected. He could not boast much of his efforts, but still his humble opinion was, that those visits abroad had been of very great good to the cause of abolition. He believed that the period was fast approaching when slavery would cease throughout the world. The exertions of the abolitionists would be crowned with success, assisted as their cause had been by the glorious abolition of slavery in England. (Hear, hear, hear.) A slave-holder told him that formerly they were afraid of the blacks, but now they were afraid of the whites, and good reason they would have. Believing that the blessing of God would continue to rest upon their labours, he could not join in the despondency expressed by some of their members. He firmly believed that the period was fast hastening when slavery would cease, and an immense amount of human happiness be the result. Then pure morality, and that religion in which they all believed, which was the root and foundation of their proceedings, should be no longer tarnished by the stain of cruel and inhuman slavery, which for centuries had disgraced it. (Hear, hear.)

J. WHITEHORNE, Esq., of Bristol, said he would not have troubled the convention, had his respected colleague not seemed to have forgot one or two points. No such relationship subsisted amongst the slaves in Surinam as marriage created—it was not recognised by law at all. The Moravians had been there 100 years, but the greatest difficulties were thrown in their way, and during the whole 100 years not a single slave had been converted. (Hear, hear.) They must not blame the ministers, but the masters. One thing was most important—from forty to fifty of the plantations in Surinam belonged to Englishmen resident in this country. They had a hold then upon forty or fifty persons in England who were slave-holders. Let them bring public opinion to bear upon them, and they would act practically and at once. (Hear.)

Mr. SCALES said, it was important that the convention should know that the gentleman who had just sat down was formerly a resident in Jamaica, and a slave-holder, He believed it was a fact, that instead of putting into h s own pocket the compensation money for those who were in bondage, he gave it to those who had been slaves. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. HOLLAND wished to know whether the slaves in the Dutch colonies had any of them obtained their manumission, and whether there were in those colonies any free persons of colour?

Mr. ALEXANDER said that there were free persons of colour there, but with regard to the manumission he could not speak.

Captain MOORSOM, R N of Birmingham, then rose to propose the next resolution, which was as follows:—

"That a committee be appointed to prepare a report of the present state of slavery in the Dutch colonies, together with an address to the people of Holland upon the duty and advantages of seeking its immediate abolition." Committee to prepare the address—G. W. Alexander, Esq., the Rev. John Keep, and James Whitehorne, Esq.

The Hon. Mr. SPRAGUE, of the Massachusetts legislature, seconded the resolution.

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MAHOMEDAN SLAVERY.

Dr. BOWRING then rose to call the attention of the convention to the state of slavery in Mahomedan countries. His first feeling and desire was to appeal to the candour of all present, and to ask them to deal indulgently with them while he led them into lands into which, perhaps, less than any other, attention to the abolition of slavery had been directed—into lands where that which existed forty centuries ago existed now, and where would be found those beautiful and faithful stories of holy writ, palpable to the touch, and visible to the sight.—(Cheers.) If they went into Syria, Arabia or Egypt, in the desert they would find many a patriarch, with his houses, his camels, his servants, his bondmen, and bondwomen.—(Hear.) Among those who accepted some of the highest official situations in the east, there were many who had reached them through the door of slavery, and many a Joseph existed there whose history would be well worthy of study. It was true that Babylon had been swept away, and that in Tyre and Sidon the only activity that existed was in the lizard, and the newt, and the scorpion; but still there was Jerusalem, and Damascus, and Antioch, and Nazarus, and Alexandria, and Smyrna, and Sychar. They were as great and as illustrious as ever.—(Cheers.) The Mahomedan law recognized the law of Judaism, and he was bound to say, in reproach of the christian character and conduct, that the Mahomedan oppression was not so severe upon the slave as that of the professing christian. —(Cheers.) The law of the Koran recommended the slave to the humanity of the Musselman, and inasmuch as it did honour to that people, he trusted that he might be allowed to refer to that which was stated by him whom they called the prophet. What did they say? Why, show kindness to your parents, friends to orphans, the poor, the stranger, the traveller, and the captive, for Allah loveth not the pride of vain-glory. In another passage he opened the door to the manumission of Mahomedan slaves. He says, that unto such of your slaves as desire a written proof that they may redeem themselves from it, if you have found them faithful, give them of your wealth which God has given you. Again, marry those whom ye possess, who are true believers. Ye are of common origin. Marry them with the consent of their masters, and give them their dower according to justice; and if they sin, let them be only punished with half the punishment inflicted on the free—this, because the slave was not supposed to have had the same benefits of instruction. He was willing to admit that what was right and what was elevated in the Mahomedan law was first taken from Christianity and Judaism; but he was also compelled to acknowledge that the Mahomedans obtained more influence by their directions than those did whose authority was higher and sanction nobler. If they would allow him, he would refer to a beautiful tradition among the Mahomedans, which had a great effect upon their temper and conduct. There was a verse in the Koran which said, "Paradise is prepared for those who bridle their anger, and forgive men; Allah loveth the beneficent." (Cheers.) The story which every Mahomedan child had heard from his youth, was to the following effect:— "Hassan-ben-Ali had a slave, who threw over him, at table, a dish boiling hot. Fearing his master's resentment, he threw himself on his knees before him, and said, 'Paradise is for those who bridle their anger.' Hassan answered, 'I am not angry.' The slave added, 'And who forgive.' I forgive you,' said Hassan. 'Allah loveth the beneficent,' continued the slave. 'I give you your liberty,' said his master." (Cheers.) Was there not, he would ask, in that tradition, instruction of the most eloquent and beautiful description? There was one circumstance connected with the east that was peculiarly interesting, and that was—that there they knew of no distinction of colour, they had no nobility of skin. (Cheers.) White men of the highest rank married black women, and black men frequently occupied the highest social and official situations. At the present moment, the Scherif of Mehemet Ali was as black as a raven. He had over and over again, on the Nile, seen the Nubian commanding the white men of northern Egypt, and again and again he had seen in the east the black men domineering it over their white dependents, and he recollected on one occasion, a black man in an Egyptian regiment, having had his leg amputated by Clot Bey, and when he expressed his surprise at not hearing any exclamations of pain, his answer was, "Do you think that a black man can bear pain no better than the white man can?" (Cheers.) The slavery of the east was not the slavery of the field, but the household. In the dispensations of providence in those countries where slavery formed part of the social organization, the Divine Being had tempered the wind to the shorn lamb. (Cheers.) The slaves were cared for with affection and tenderness in those countries where the people were swept away in thousands by pestilence of the most cruel character. He knew himself the case of a Mahomedan governor, who, of seventy children had lost sixty-nine; and the result of such occurrences often was the cause of the affections of the Mahomedans being placed upon the children they bought, who became part of their household. (Cheers.) The slave there was not regarded as a degraded being, inasmuch as slavery was no impediment to his reaching the highest social elevation. (Cheers.) He believed that three-fourths of the divan of Constantinople consisted of men stolen in their youths, and who were wholly unacquainted with their early history, the scenes of their childhood, or even the place of their birth. Such was the state of things in the east, and very different indeed was the condition of the slave there to those who were dependent upon christian masters. But they must not suppose that from what he had stated, that the state of slavery was not deplorable in the east. It was the great impediment to civilization, instruction, and civil liberty, and he believed it might be shown that the present condition of the Caliphat, whose race was run, and its destinies accomplished, might be traced to the pollution, the degradation, the misery, and the ruin which the principles of slavery everywhere introduced. He had spoken of the weakness of the Caliphat, because, he thought out of that weakness a good opportunity was offered to them of doing great good in the Levant. (Cheers.) The Mahomedan influence, represented by the sword and the book, was passing away, the Christian powers were sovereigns of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire, and not the Sultan, and he trusted that some appeal would be made by that meeting in order to show them the influence they possessed and exercised, and if there was, he believed that influence would be found not to have been exercised in vain. He was quite convinced that if, at the present moment, the influence of the Christian powers was properly used at Constantinople, something might be obtained. Throughout the whole of Syria, children were constantly lost, their parents were robbed of them by one perfidious pirate or another, who sold them to slavery, and the Jews—the unfortunate Jews were always branded with the name of the robbers. When a child was lost in that country, it was immediately referred to some unhappy Jew. Christian and Musselman both agreed that the Jew was the child robber, and it was in consequence of those charges that the persecution of the Jews at Damascus had its origin.—(Hear, hear, hear.) But then what was to be done? Was such a state of things to continue in the Holy Land? Were those usages which probably were in existence before the time of Abraham never to be removed? Did it not become the Christian powers to do something to put an end to such abominations—something to elevate the tone of the Mahomedan mind—something to show, that in the abolition of slavery, all nations and religions had a common interest, and were bound and determined to unite in common co-operation for so holy a purpose? His belief was, that much might be done if the proper means were resorted to. When he was honoured by a mission to the east, by her majesty's government, he had to bring the whole question of slavery to the notice of the present ruler of Egypt. He need not describe the slave-trade to the meeting. He need not tell them how much of money or how much of blood was scattered over every track over which the slave passed. He had seen slavery at its birth-place, and he believed that it might be checked there, if that society directed its energies aright. It might be attacked in its cradle, and if it were, he was sure that the society would be found to be a Hercules strong enough to strangle the serpent of slavery. (Cheers.) He looked upon eastern Africa with peculiar interest, because he believed the means of action there were far greater than in the western states; and while he earnestly desired that every effort should be made in the west, he could not but think that the east presented greater facilities and greater promise of important results. One portion of eastern Africa, as they were aware, was Christian, and a large portion of it was Mahomedan; but Christian and Mahomedan as they were, he was bound to say that the christianity was that of a barbarous nation, and that if they wished to see christianity in its higher excellence, they must assist it with all the development of mind and intellect; and that country certainly offered some elements to work upon. He had occasion to represent to the viceroy of Egypt, accompanied by Colonel Campbell, that it would do his Highness much honour, and elevate his name among European nations, if he would endeavour to check the atrocity committed by troops who owned him as their Sovereign.—(Cheers.) He held in his hand a report which, as Lord Palmerston had had the kindness to permit it to be communicated to Mr. Fowell Buxton, with reference to his own exertions, he might be permitted to read at the present meeting. He would only call their attention to a fragment of that report, which represented what took place at the interview between Mehemet Ali, Colonel Campbell, and himself. The worthy doctor then read part of the report of this interview with Mehemet Ali. In another part of that report, he had stated, that he was confident it would be possible, by direct negociation, to obtain the concurrence of the Pascha of Egpyt, the most influential of Mahomedan sovereigns, and the only one rising in influence. He had no doubt whatever that it would be possible to obtain his concurrence and aid, to co-operate for the abolition of slavery in eastern climes.—(Hear, hear, hear.) The sufferings of the blacks in eastern Africa were beyond all description. Again and again he had seen the caravans coming over the desert, the slaves naked and exhausted, and telling tales of those who had perished in the way. In fact, the slave trade in that country was the curse of the human race there, but he trusted by the exertions of the society, and the good sense of the rulers of the different nations of the earth, the time was not far distant when its name would be remembered no longer (Cheers.)

Mr. JOSEPH SAMS, of Darlington, proposed the next resolution. Having sometime ago visited the whole of the interesting countries to which his friend, the worthy doctor, had alluded, he begged to unite with him in the statements he had made, as to the state of slavery in eastern Africa, and to corroborate what he had said with respect to it not being carried on in that cruel manner, in which it was in the dominions of the christians. He believed that the blacks were a greatly maligned race, for in all his travels he had always met with the greatest kindness from them, while, on the other hand, the Arabs had shown themselves to be treacherous in the extreme. The worthy gentleman concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

"That a committee take into consideration the best way of contributing to the suppression of slavery in the Mahomedan states, and that Dr. Bowring, Rev. James Carlisle, Rev. James Ackworth, A. M. and Rev. J. Bennett, (Northampton) be such committee.

The Rev. J. BURNET, of Camberwell, seconded the resolution.

WEDNESDAY, June 17th.

J. BLAIR, Esq., in the chair.

At the commencement of the proceedings this day

J. SCOBLE, Esq., said, he had been requested to introduce the subject of foreign slavery. It was unfortunately too true, that since the abolition of the slave-trade by this country, it had greatly increased in other countries, as in Brazil and Cuba. He entered into a variety of minute calculations to exhibit the extent of the traffic.

Dr. MADDEN then brought before the convention, in an elaborate and deeply interesting paper, the subject of Spanish slavery. Having read the document, Dr. Madden begged to introduce to the convention a gallant officer, who had been the first to take upon himself the responsibility of detaining vessels under American flags, engaged in the slave-trade. (Loud cheering.) He then introduced

Lieutenant FITZGERALD, R.N., who was received with the most cordial cheering, and proceeded to state that, having found at the Havanna two vessels under American colours, he sent a boat with an officer aboard, who took possession of one for the night, but they had great doubts as to seizing her, from the extreme tenacity of the American government on the subject. Another officer, however, thought differently, and took the vessel to the mixed court, which refused to deal with it. He found, however, circumstances of so suspicious a nature, that he determined to take the vessel to New York, and have it dealt with by the American authorities. (Cheers.) Whereupon the captain confessed that she was in every respect Spanish, and that he had only been hired to give it an American colour. (Hear, hear, hear.) In another week this American captain stated he should have had 350 negros on board, and would the convention believe that the vessel was one of 38 British tons, and that the space between decks was but two feet six inches. (Loud expressions of horror.) In another case he found that many

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negros had been shot like dogs—(hear, hear)—and he took the miscreants to New York, where, he was bound to say, the attorney-general issued warrants for their arrest, but after a delay of four months, he (Lieutenant Fitzgerald) had been forced to leave New York, where he had been treated with the greatest cordiality by the friends of abolition, and, of course, assailed by every abuse from the slave-owners. (Hear, hear.) He had waited upon the head of the American government, and on informing him how he had taken upon himself the vindication of the American flag, he thanked him.

Mr. STURGE just wished to state, that Dr. Madden, who had just read such a valuable paper on the horrors of slavery in Cuba, was about to return thither in an official capacity, as protector of liberated Africans. (Cheers.) Could there be a stronger instance of devotion to the cause? (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. KENNEDY moved:—

"That Dr. Madden be respectfully requested to place the statement now read in the hands of the following gentlemen, who are hereby appointed a committee, to translate it into the Spanish language for circulation; Dr. Madden, Mr. G. W. Alexander, and Mr. D. Turnbull.

The venerable Mr. Clarkson took the chair for a short time in the course of the morning.

Mr. FOWELL BUXTON said he was anxious to assure the convention of the cordiality with which he regarded their proceedings. Far be from him the littleness of mind which should view with jealousy their exertions, because he was connected with the other society for the extinction of the slave-trade; on the contrary, he considered that both societies were directed to the same object; and though pursuing different lines, might yet materially assist each other. (Cheers.) The diminution of the supply of negros had a close connexion with the suppression of the demand—(hear, hear)—and the extinction of slavery would go hand in hand with the abolition of the slave-trade.

Mr. J. G. BIRNEY begged permission to ask Mr. Buxton to put an end to the impression which he was aware prevailed, that he was favourable to the scheme of the colonization society—(hear, hear)—which was most detrimental to the abolition cause in America. (Hear.)

Mr. FOWELL BUXTON said he was surprised that it should be necessary for him to state that to the plan of the colonization society he was directly opposed. (Cheers) He considered it a gross delusion; at the same time he must in candour state that the interior of Africa presented great facilities for colonization. (Hear.)

Lieutenant FITZGERALD wished to say, that of the advantages of colonization by free negros he thought great use might be made under some circumstances. (Hear.)

A MEMBER wished to ask of Lieutenant Fitzgerald whether it was not the fact that slavers were refitted at Liberia, and whether they were not provided there with whips and shackles. He wished to ask whether it was not the fact that the most notorious of the slave dealers on the western coast of Africa had an establishment at Liberia to facilitate the carrying on of this nefarious traffic. (Hear, hear.)

Lieutenant FITZGERALD said he had never heard of slavers being refitted at Liberia, or obtaining supplies there; but he should not be surprised if that were the case, in consequence of the weakness of the colony. But he was satisfied that a slaver would have as little chance there as at Sierra Leone. (Hear, hear.) He had never heard of shackles being supplied there to slavers. He had never heard of the establishment of De Suza; but such was the rapidity with which the system of slavery was now carried on, that it was impossible for the governor of that colony to prevent it in every instance. He knew of a case in which a slaver from Cuba got on board a cargo of 450 slaves in four hours. He himself had once been out with his boats four days, looking after some slavers, whom he understood were on the coast. Seeing some vessels in the mud he landed, and having proceeded some distance he was soon surrounded by 40 or 50 natives, amongst whom was the king's brother He asked them for information, respecting the slavers, and they refused to give him any. He asked the king's brother (who spoke as good English as he, Mr. Fitzgerald, did) whether he was not ashamed of himself for screening such atrocious traffickers? To which the prince answered—"that he was not all ashamed of it, that he owed no allegiance to Queen Victoria, and there were no laws against it in Africa." It was a fact, that from the river Bonny above 30,000 slaves were sent out last year.

Mr. BUXTON wished to explain that what he had said was, that the colony was injurious to the coloured population of America, although it might be useful to the people of Africa.

Mr. J. G. BIRNEY disliked as much as any one to occupy the time of the meeting, but he had some information to communicate on the subject before the meeting. He believed that the governors of the colony of Liberia were clear of every connexion with the slave-trade. But they had not been able to keep the colony equally exempt from the stain. In proof of this, he read an extract from a pamphlet entitled "the colonization scheme considered, in its rejection by the colo ured people—in its tendency to uphold caste—and in its unfitness to christianise and civilise the aboriginal inhabitants of Africa," &c. The tendency of the extract was to show that slavery was to a great extent supported or connived at by a portion of the colonists.

Mr. J. J. PRICE said, that before the question was put he wished to make one or two observations respecting the state of slavery in the island of Cuba. He had considerable acquaintance with the copper manufacturers of South Wales, and he believed that such of them as were proprietors of copper mines in Cuba persuaded themselves that they were not slave owners. The manner in which their mines were worked was this: the slaves were hired from their owners at the rate of ten dollars per month each. He had received that information from a Cornish miner, who had been employed in superintending those slaves; and told him that he was shocked to see the way in which those poor creatures were treated. He once saw a woman receive two hundred lashes with a long whip, which drew the blood at every lash. He also knew an instance of a man who was threatened with a flogging, and hanged himself to avoid the punishment. The British owners of copper mines had a fine opportunity of putting down the practice of employing slaves in Cuba. They could at the same expense of £25. a year, (besides food and clothing) for each person, surround themselves with free labourers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOHN STURGE wished to ask Dr. Madden a question in reference to the condition of the free coloured population of Cuba. He found it stated in Admiral Fleming's evidence before the house of commons that free labourers and slaves were employed together, and that the planters found it equally their advantage to employ either.

Dr. MADDEN replied that it was not the fact that free labourers were employed in the growing of cotton or sugar in Cuba. Some few of the country people were employed in the tobacco plantations on the sea coast, but certainly not in the interior of the country. (Hear, hear.)

At two o'clock the meeting adjourned till four.

Shortly after the chairman had resumed his seat at four o'clock, in consequence of a heavy shower of rain falling, one of the waiters of the tavern, named Nunney, was sent round to close the windows, in the upper part of the hall. Mr. Turnbull had just risen to address the meeting, when the unfortunate man, in endeavouring to pass round one of the buttresses, lost his footing, and was precipitated to the ground, a height of nearly thirty feet. In his fall he struck Mr. Isaac Bass, of Brighton, who was sitting close to the spot. The accident created an appalling sensation in the hall, which at the time was extremely crowded, most of the delegates having taken their seats. The unfortunate man, Nunney, was carried out in a state of insensibility, and Mr. Bass, who was able to walk between two friends, was removed to another room.

The CHAIRMAN said it would be impossible to proceed to business immediately, in consequence of the lamentable accident that had just occurred, and he should therefore take the liberty of suggesting that they sit in silence for a few minutes.

AFRICAN SLAVERY.

Mr. TURNBULL said he came forward for the purpose of continuing the discussion of the morning, and to propose for the adoption of the convention, a plan for the suppression of the African slave-trade. Soon after the appearance of his work, the Secretary of State for foreign affairs had done him the honour of addressing a letter to him, requesting him to lay before the government, the plan which he proposed to adopt. In consequence he had done so, and he did not think he could pursue a better course than to read it to the meeting.

He was sure that he need not go further into the details; but he would, with the permission of the meeting, just advert to what was said of his suggestions in the *Westminster Review*, a work of high authority. In that work, there was an article on Mr. Buxton's book, in which that *Review* tore both Mr. Buxton and himself to pieces; but he had admitted that if his (Mr. T.'s) plan could be brought into operation, it would be effectual; and the only objection he had to it was, that he thought the Spanish government would not agree to it. Now, though the authority of that *Review* was high, he could not agree with it, for he was convinced that Spain would adopt it; and if it did, the reviewer admitted that by it the value of the slave would be destroyed, and that encouragement to deal in them would be done away with. He had a collection of reviews, which had been furnished him by his bookseller; but he would not trouble the meeting by reading them, as it would be sufficient for him to say they were all favourable to the plan he had brought forward. If it was consistent with the views of the convention, he should propose three things; first, an address from the convention to the Spanish government and people, pressing the plan upon their attention. He should next propose an address to the French government, asking them to press the subject on the Spanish government. (Hear, hear.) He had spoken with the king of the French with respect to it, and he was happy to say he was very much disposed to forward it. Thirdly, he should propose an address from that convention to the government of the Queen of this country, praying that it would direct that the foreign office, which it was difficult to move, should consider the subject. He could not understand from Lord Palmerston whether he approved of the plan or not. (Cheers.)

Judge JEREMY felt extreme reluctance to appear before them two days successively, but he felt called upon to say a few words on the subject. Mr. Turnbull's intentions all present viewed to be excellent; his talents were eminent, and his zeal was surpassed by none; it was, therefore, with great regret that, while he acknowledged the importance of the plan, he felt bound to doubt its success. Now what was that plan? Why, precisely the one they had at the Mauritius, which did not succeed. In that country they had excellent judges, of the public prosecutor, they might judge for themselves.—(Loud cheers.) And yet they had not succeeded in abolishing slavery, for all the public officers there must shut their eyes to what was going on. How therefore could it be possible to adopt there the plan proposed by Mr. Turnbull? There was another objection he entertained, which was to the principle of the plan, and there perhaps rested the objection of the foreign office. What were they aiming at by the present proposal? Why, to induce the Spanish Government to allow foreign judges to determine rights of property arising within their own territories.—(Cheers.) The king of the French Mr. Turnbull had said seemed inclined to favour his plan. Now how did they stand with respect to them? Why, the king of the French would not allow foreigners to try French subjects on board French vessels, indeed, he would not even allow them to be tried by a mixed commission. —(Cheers.) Although he admired the principle developed in the plan of Mr. Turnbull, looking at what had taken place in the Mauritius, he felt bound to say that it did not deserve the name of a panacea for the abolition of slavery over the whole world.—(Cheers.)

Mr. STURGE felt bound to say a few words on the proposal of his friend, Mr. Turnbull, believing that it was perfectly consistent with the principles of that society to take it up.—(Cheers.) Whether it could be carried out or not, was another question; but he did think that the convention was bound to endeavour as far as possible to get the principle asserted, either by English or foreign authorities.—(Cheers.) As he understood the purport of Mr. Turnbull, it amounted to this, that a system of registration should be adopted in slave countries which would throw the *onus probandi* upon the owners of slaves, to show the slave was his, and not that the slave should be obliged to prove his freedom.—(Cheers.) That, in his opinion, was a great point to be accomplished; but he would carry it further. He thought that the treaty with Cuba ought to be carried out to the letter, and that whenever a master could not prove a man his slave, he should be set free.—(Cheers.)

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON was afraid of sacrificing principles to something like expediency, which would afford a shelter under which their enemies might entrench themselves. He thought the proposition of Mr. Turnbull was one which ought to be considered well before it was rejected.

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Dr. BOWRING could not but consider that the convention was not at that moment prepared to address the governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain, on so important a subject, but thought however, that the subject was one well worthy of the consideration of a committee. With respect to Spain, he could not forget that twenty years ago there was a great desire in that country to abolish the slave-trade. He was present when several resolutions were passed in that country, declaring the necessity of abolishing slavery; but those resolutions were passed by as the idle wind which was not regarded.—(Cheers.) He did not think they would do their friend Mr. Turnbull justice, unless they lent an attentive ear to his proposal, and examined it in all its bearings. He should therefore move that the plan of slave-trade suppression submitted by Mr. Turnbull be referred to a committee, consisting of Mr. Joseph Sturge, Mr. Birnie, Mr. Jeremie, Mr. Josiah Conder, Dr. Bowring, William Forster, Dr. Madden, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Price, to consider and report thereon.

Mr. JOSIAH CONDER thought the proposition of Mr. Turnbull, as a subsidiary measure, was well worthy the attention of the convention, and on that ground he should second the resolution for the appointment of a committee to consider the subject, and to report thereon.

The Rev. Mr. HARVEY thought if they left the high ground and principle they had assumed, and consented to adopt a plan that only went to alleviate slavery instead of its total extinction, they would lose the moral influence they now possessed to put an end to the system altogether. (Cheers.) He would therefore give no countenance to any plan that recognized the existence of slavery at all. (Cheers.)

Mr. STURGE would have been sorry indeed to have given his assent to any proposition which might have the effect of impeding or injuring the great object they had in view, namely, the total extinction of slavery over the face of the whole world. He believed that Mr. Turnbull's plan would have no such effect, and he therefore thought it their duty to consider it well before they either adopted or rejected it.

Dr. MORRISON said that there was a great principle in the movement itself. Such propositions as these, were what he expected to come out of the convention, and he thought, therefore, they ought to be well considered. He considered that the moral influence of the convention would be felt more by foreign powers than any of the protocols that had been issued by the government. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SAMUEL SOUTHALL, of Leominster, was afraid if they took the course now proposed, they would in some degree be listening to expediency. If he understood the proposition it was to adopt a system of registration by which slavery would be modified, and if that was so, he could not but think they ought to do nothing to compromise their principles.

The Rev. N. COLYER agreed with Mr. Harvey that if they adopted the plan proposed by Mr. Turnbull, they would lose their moral influence, as they would sanction slavery by it for a season. Now what they wanted was immediate emancipation, and that alone. (Cheers.)

Dr. BOWRING said that the reference of this proposition to a committee did not pledge the convention to its approval.—(Cheers.) All he desired was, that the committee should be charged with the duty of inquiring whether the proposition was consistent with the great principles the convention acted upon.—(Cheers.) Many whose opinions he respected, thought there was a great deal in the plan, and therefore he considered that they ought not to reject it hastily. The committee would have to report during the sitting of the convention, and therefore the whole subject might be brought before them.

FRANCIS BARKER, Esq., of Pontefract, thought they ought to stick to the great principles they had set out with, and not enter into subjects of minor consideration.

The Rev. J. KENNEDY, of Aberdeen, said that it had struck him in the course of the present discussion that two mistakes existed in the minds of those who had opposed Mr. Turnbull's plan. They had at first considered it as one for the abolititon of slavery instead of the slave-trade. Now his plan was to render the slave-trade of little value, by making the possession of them insecure, and thereby making the traffic less profitable.

The Chairman then put the resolution to the meeting, and declared it to be carried unanimously.

The report of the committee on American papers was brought up, and on the motion of John Backhouse, Esq., seconded by W. D. Crewdson, it was resolved, that the replies to the queries of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society on slavery in the United States, furnished by the committee of the American Anti-slavery Society, containing most valuable and very important information, be now received, and referred to the publication committee to publish the whole or such parts as they may deem expedient.

It was then proposed and resolved,

That a committee be appointed consisting of the following gentlemen, William Forster, Esq. and J. T. Price, Esq., to prepare a memorial to Government deprecating and strongly reprobating the holding of slaves by British functionaries abroad.

On the motion of Dr. BOWRING, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Scales, the following resolutions were also agreed to:—

"Resolved—That this meeting has learnt with deep interest the measures adopted by the viceroy of Egypt for the suppression of the abominable slave-hunts by his highness' troops, and especially the declaration of his wish to aid in bringing about the extinction of slavery. That the thanks of this meeting be communicated to him, with the assurance that the friends of civilization throughout the world will hail with delight every step taken by the viceroy on furtherance of his just and generous purposes, whether by impeding the importation of and the traffic in slaves, by the encouragement of agricultural productions in central and eastern Africa, by the abolition of the slaves-market in his dominions, or by any other legitimate and pacific measures which may facilitate the manumission of slaves and the entire overthrow of slavery.

"That the present moment, when the European governments are exercising so great an influence in the affairs of the Ottoman empire, is peculiarly favourable to their intervention for the suppression of slavery in the regions of the east; and that a memorial be presented to lord viscount Palmerston, entreating his lordship's assistance in obtaining such declarations from the Sultan as are likely to lead to the entire suppression of slavery in the countries subjected to his government."

On the motion of Mr. R. ALLEN, seconded by the Rev. J. H. HINTON, resolved:—

"That the Rev. T. Swan, Captain Moorsom, Dr. Madden, Peter Clare, I. Crewdson, J. H. Tredgold, R. Peek, J. G. Birney, W. Forster, W. Smeal, G. Bradburn, D. Turnbull, J. C. Fuller, and J. Murray, Esqs., be appointed a committee to inquire, whether manacles for slaves are manufactured in this country; whether large quantities of inferior fire arms are manufactured in Great Britain to be sold to the Africans for their slave-wars; whether cotton goods of a particular fabric, and to a large amount are manufactured in this country, and solely intended for being used in barter for African slaves; whether persons in England hold shares in Brazilian or other mines, which are worked by slaves; and whether any British joint stock banks have branch establishments in countries in which the slave-trade prevails. Also, into the quantities of gunpowder exported from any port or ports in Great Britain to Africa and other parts of the world respectively.

The convention then adjourned, it being half-past eight o'clock, till Thursday, at ten o'clock.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18.

J. STURGE, Esq., in the chair.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES, of Birmingham, read the following report on church discipline as connected with slavery:—

The committee to whom was referred the paper of Mr. Godwin "On the essential sinfulness of slavery," with instructions to propose resolutions thereon, taking the resolution of the Rev. Charles Stovel as the basis, take leave respectfully to recommend to the convention the adoption of the following:—

Resolved—That the paper of the Rev. Benjamin Godwin "On the essential sinfulness of slavery" be recommended to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for publication.

Resolved—That it is the deliberate and deeply-rooted conviction of this convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of christianity; and is, therefore, a sin against God, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

Resolved—That this convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed, in a great degree, to the countenance afforded by many christian churches, especially in the western world; which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion, without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

Resolved—That this convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submit that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures; or holding them in slavery a sin by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

Resolved—That it be recommended to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to furnish copies of the above resolutions in the name of the convention to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various christian churches, throughout the world.

The report was received with cheers.

The Rev. J. JOHNSTON, in proposing the adoption of the report, read a letter from Judge Jay, of New York, to J. G. Birnie, Esq., which want of room alone obliges us to omit; and said he was horrified to find that a pretence had been made of scripture sanction for slavery, when the apostle expressly includes "man-slayers and man-stealers" alike in his catalogue of crimes. (Hear, hear.) Let the authorities of the episcopal church discountenance those of her ministers who dared to countenance such a system. (Cheers.) Let the doors of the arch-episcopal palace of Canterbury be closed to the slavery-sanctioning dignitaries of the church that might come from America. (Hear, hear.) He for one would not hold out the right hand of fellowship to the owner of a slave—(loud cheering)—and if his bishop were to enjoin him to do so, he would say, "No, my lord." (Tremendous cheering.)

J. G. BIRNIE, Esq., begged to state that Judge Jay, the author of the letter just read, was the son of a most illustrious individual of the name, and the friend of Washington, and both father and son had been eminent abolitionists. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. COLYER, in supporting the adoption of the report, said, to extend any species of protection to slave-ownership was to go as far as a slave-owner desired. The vice of slavery was inherent in itself; it was impossible to introduce any essential modifications into slavery. Even the education of slaves was impossible, for enlightenment was incompatible with slavery; with such a system, therefore, there could be no compromise; there must be an unconditional denouncement of its supporters; their entire separation from church fellowship. (Cheers.)

J. STANFIELD, Esq., of Belfast, said that, as a member of the Church of England, he rose with mixed feelings of pleasure at the christian sentiments which had been expressed by Mr. Johnston, and of shame—and, if he might say so, of indignation—against his brethren of the episcopal church of America, for lending their sanction to the abomination of slavery. (Hear, hear.) He was sorry his brethren of the protestant church of Ireland had been so slow in coming forward on this subject. On one occasion he had spoken to a distinguished member of that church at the period of the agitation of the apprenticeship system, and who said he knew nothing of the question, upon which he (Mr. S.) supplied him with documents, on perusing which, he said he had no idea that such crimes could be perpetrated under that system. He thought he had made a convert of him, but a few days after, on waiting on him with a learned friend, to ask him to take part in an anti-slavery meeting, he declined, and on his friend saying, then he supposed he would have the apprenticeship system die a natural death, he answered in the affirmative. Another gentleman of his acquaintance in Ireland admitted slavery to be a bad thing, but because Lord Brougham and Mr. O'Connell had taken part against it, refused to do anything for its abolition. He, therefore, approved of the resolutions being as strong as they could be made, for the

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purpose of shaming ministers of the English and American episcopal churches. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. T. BINNEY said he had carefully looked into the Greek Testament since he made the observations which had the misfortune to be so unfavourably received on Saturday, and he was still as much convinced as of any truth in religion, that there were owners of slaves in the primitive churches; but though this was his conviction, he yet held it in connexion with considerations that induced him to give his support to the resolutions. (Cheers.) He believed there were persons in the early christian churches who had two wives, but he did not believe there were officers in those churches who had. The law of Moses was directed to the mitigation of the evil thing, and we were not to draw a sanction of the thing from it. He therefore thought these resolutions took the proper ground, and he should give his support to them. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ROBINSON, of Kettering, and Mr. BRADBURN, of Massachusetts, also intimated that they concurred in the resolutions for the reasons now brought forward

Mr. HENRY B. STANTON (of New York) said, the convention was composed chiefly of British abolitionists, and the resolutions, though not directly, yet indirectly, would have the effect of turning out of the pale of the church about nine-tenths of his American brethren. He did not say they were about directly to excommunicate, but they were about to take measures, which, if carried out in America, would certainly, unless resistance took place, have that effect. He was aware it might be said they were not a church court; but he would ask were they not to declare what it was the duty of man to do with reference to moral principles? For what did they sit there? To lay the corner-stone of the fabric that slave-holding was a sin against God. He wished the meeting to listen to two or three facts; and, first of all, he would state it was considered in America that two or three questions they had been discussing that morning were entirely settled. The first was, that holding men as a property was under all circumstances sinful. Another question that was settled in America, at least settled so far as impregnable argument could settle it, was, that servitude sanctioned by God did not recognise the right of one man to hold his fellow-man as property. Theodore D. Weld had published an argument on that subject, which the doctors in America had not dared to touch with their heaviest weapons. Another fact they were about settling in America was, that the New Testament gave no sanction to the claim of man over his fellow-man as property. An argument on that subject had just been published by a distinguished gentleman, the president of one of their colleges, and no answer had been attempted to be given to it on the part of any American divine who pretended to hold that slavery was recognized in the New Testament. When he saw that convention about to take measures which would at least throw the American church into a delicate and peculiar predicament, he felt bound to ask his brethren to be aware what they were doing, and that when the American clergy, who had acted in the manner to which he had referred, came to this country, they would not hold out to them the right hand of fellowship. He trusted they were not going in that convention to vote for one thing and do another. He was sorry to say that, in the southern portion of America, slavery had increased to a most enormous extent. (Cheers.) What he wanted was, that the principle, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," should be established in America, and that the ministers of that country, pointing to the downcast and ill-used slave, should exclaim, "That is my brother." (Cheers.) So much for statements. Now for facts. He had no doubt that every person there would denounce the holding of slaves for gain. They might say that holding them for their good would be allowed; but holding them to make money of them was a disgrace to humanity and derogatory to mankind. Now, he would just read a statement to them which would show to what extent professing christians were engaged in actual holding of slaves. The person who gave this evidence was a minister of high standing in the Presbyterian denomination in the south, and had been for many years the stated clerk of a presbytery in Mississippi, and what he stated was this:—"If slavery be a sin, and if advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters is a direct violation of the divine law, and if the buying, selling, and holding slaves for the sake of gain is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in eleven States of the Union are of the devil." He would therefore advise those present to be careful what they were about. (Loud laughter.) But he went on to say—"they hold, if they do not buy and sell, slaves; and, with few exceptions, they hesitate not to apprehend and restore runaway slaves when in their power." Such was the statement of a Presbyterian of high rank in the south, and he could refer to several such, but he would pass them by and call the attention of the meeting to the opinions unequivocally avowed by the Charleston and the Carolina Union presbytery. They avowed their opinions as follows:—"That in the opinion of this presbytery the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his holy word—(Cries of "Shame,")—that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles—that it is compatible with the most paternal regard to the best good of those servants whom God may have committed to our charge; and that, therefore, those who assume the contrary position, and lay it down as a fundamental principle in morals and religion that slavery is wrong, proceed upon a false principle." He might multiply such extracts as these indefinitely, for there was hardly an ecclesiastical body of any note throughout the slave-holding states which had not repeatedly given its sanction to the system of slavery. But what said the synod of Virginia, which covered the entire of that country? Why, the synod passed a resolution to the following effect:—"Resolved unanimously,"—Unanimously!—"that we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by the abolitionist associations, that slavery, as it actually exists in our slave-holding states, is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished, and the conclusions which naturally follow from that dogma, are directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God." (Hear.) The Edgefield Baptist association in South Carolina had also come to similar resolutions, and they had appointed a day of fasting—not to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, but "to give to our brethren and all others in the north, who are embarked in the unscriptural cause of the abolition of slavery among us, right views of the course pursued by our Lord and his apostles under a similar state of things when they were upon the earth, in imitation of whose example they should be found, that instead of scattering fire-brands into the southern provinces of the union, and stirring up a servile war, they may endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." (Cries of "Shame, shame.") Surely this was to unite fasting with the deeds of wickedness. He would now read to the meeting some few testimonies from the *Southern Christian Herald*, one of the periodicals of the south. In that paper they were told that at a large meeting assembled in Lancasterville, South Carolina, which was addressed by the Rev. J. H. Thornhill and the Rev. Mr. Carlisle, resolutions were passed to the following effect:—"First, that slavery as it exists in the south is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion—(Cries of "shame, shame")—that all opposition to it arises from a misguided and fiendish fanaticism, which we are bound to resist in the very threshold—(Cries of "shame")—that all interference with this subject by fanatics is a violation of our civil and social rights, is unchristian and inhuman, leading necessarily to anarchy and bloodshed; and that the instigators are murderers and assassins." (Shame, shame.) But that was not all. A clergyman of Virginia, one who was bound to teach the principles of "peace and good-will to men," in a letter, in the year, 1835, addressed to the West Hanover Presbytery, concluded it as follows:—"If there be any stray goat of a minister among us, tainted with the bloodhound principle of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, and excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of in other respects. Your affectionate brother in the Lord, Robert N. Anderson." (Cries of "Shame.") Now, he must say with regard to the latter part of this letter, it had a bloody meaning. The finger that pointed that letter pointed to the use of the bowie knife, or any other weapon of murder. That was in 1835, when violence, and outrage, and blood, were going through the land; that was in the year when Reuben Carrundel went to Columbia, and because an anti-slavery tract was found in his luggage he was imprisoned for eight months. (Cries of "Shame, shame.") His life's blood was taken from him by degrees, consumption seized him, and because he could not visit the south he was obliged to fly to Jamaica, and there seek protection under the shadow of a monarch's throne. The language he had referred to, it was to be remembered, was that of a minister of the gospel, and in his (Mr. Stanton's) opinion it ought to have been written in blood, for it had a bloody meaning. But now with respect to the Methodist clergy, he would read to the meeting the extract of a letter from the Rev. George W. Langhorne, a Methodist minister, to the editor of *Zion's Watchman*, a Methodist anti-slavery paper, published in New York. The rev. gentleman stated as follows:—"I, Sir, would as soon be found in the ranks of a banditti, as numbered with Arthur Tappan and his wanton coadjutors"—that Arthur Tappan, the meeting would allow him to say, whose name was connected with every thing that was noble and philanthropic. (Great cheering.) "Nothing is more appalling to my feelings as a man, contrary to my principles as a christian, and repugnant to my soul as a minister, than the insidious proceedings of such men. If you have not resigned your credentials as a minister of the Methodist episcopal church, I really think that, as an honest man, you should do so at once. In your ordination vows, you solemnly promised to be obedient to those who had the rule over you, and since they have spoken, and that distinctly too, on this subject, and disapprove your conduct, I conceive that you are bound to submit to their authority, or leave the church." Then, at a public meeting, held at Orangeburgh, in South Carolina, in July in the year 1836, which had been called for the purpose of considering what should be done with the copy of *Zion's Watchman* which had been sent to the Rev. J. C. Postell, a member of the South Carolina conference of the Methodist church, that gentleman received an address of the citizens of that place, in which were the following statements:—"From what has been premised, the following conclusions result,—First, that slavery is a judicial visitation. (Laughter.) Secondly, that it is not a moral evil; thirdly, that it is supported by the bible—(Cries of hear, hear.)—fourthly, that it has existed in all ages," and they should have added, so had lying and stealing. (Great laughter.) Then the address went on to say, "it is not a moral evil. The fact that slavery is of Divine appointment—(Cries of "Oh, oh.")—would be proof enough with the christian that it cannot be a moral evil. So far from being a moral evil, it is a merciful visitation—"it is the Lord's doings, and marvellous in our eyes"—(cries of "Shame, shame,") —and had it not been for the best, God alone, who is able, long since would have overruled it. It is by Divine appointment." (Cries of "Shame.") His co-secretary, Mr. Scales, said that that was not true; if he came to America, he thought that he would find it so. (Cheers.) Now to show who this Mr. Postell was, he would read to the meeting a letter addressed by that gentleman to the editor of *Zion's Watchman*. It was as follows:—"Did you calculate, Mr. Sutherland, to misrepresent the Methodist discipline, and say it supported abolitionism, when the general conference, in their late resolutions, denounced it as a libel on truth? O, full of all subtlety! Those children of the devil! "All liars," saith the sacred volume, "shall have their punishment in the lake of fire and brimstone." I can only give one reason why you have not been indicted for libel. The law says, the greater the truth the greater the libel; and as your paper has no such ingredient, it is construed but a small matter. But if you desire to educate the slaves, I will tell you how to raise the money without editing *Zion's Watchman*. You and old Arthur Tappan came out to the south this winter, and they will raise 100,000 dollars for you. New Orleans for herself will be pledged for it. Desiring no further acquaintance with you, and never expecting to see you but once in time or in eternity, which is at judgment, I subscribe myself the friend of the bible, and the opposer of abolitionism.—J. C. Postell." (Cries of "shame, shame.") He then refers to the judgment, and when he comes before the judgment-seat of Christ, and when Christ said to him, "I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was naked, and ye clothed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; for inasmuch as ye did it not to these, ye did it not to me"—In answer to this he would say, "when saw I thee hungered?" And the answer would be, "you saw it in the down-trodden slave." (Loud cheers.) The treatment of the slaves in America was hard in the extreme, and that treatment, he believed, was enhanced, rather than decreased, by the ministers of the gospel. He had heard that one Baptist minister, when his slave ran away, shot him dead, and another took an

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axe, and cut off his fingers. (Cries of "shame, shame.") A third, whose slave was accused of stealing sixty dollars, whipped him most severely, and he was found dead the next morning. (Shame.) The book from which he had read teemed with such facts as these, but he would not at the present moment detain the meeting by adverting to them. He must, however, be allowed to detain the meeting a short time, while he read some parts of the resolutions of the harmony presbytery of South Carolina, in order to show how they perverted the scripture. "Resolved,—That slavery has existed from the good old slave-holders and patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, (who are now in the kingdom of heaven,") this was a parenthesis—(Cries of shame, shame,)—"to the time the Apostle Paul sent a runaway slave home to his master Philemon, and wrote a christian and fraternal epistle to this slave-holder, which we find stands in the canon of the scriptures, and that slavery has existed ever since the days of the Apostle, and does now exist. That as the relative duties of master and slave are taught in the scripture, in the same manner as of parent and child, and husband and wife, the existence of slavery itself is not opposed to the will of God; and whoever has a conscience too tender to recognise this relation as lawful, is righteous overmuch, is wise above what is written, and has submitted his neck to the yoke of man—sacrifices his christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men." (Shame, shame.) He would not now stop to read any more of such testimony; it was sufficient for him to say, that he trusted the time had now arrived when a strong rebuke would be given by all religious bodies in this country to those who entertained such doctrines. The abolitionists of this country were held in high estimation in America, and if they would only speak out, he felt convinced that slavery would soon be at an end. (Cheers.) They needed christian rebuke; but above all, they needed from them that when their distinguished clergymen came among the people of this country, they should be told that, until they put away the evil of slavery, the right hand of fellowship would not be held out to them.

Rev. W. BROCK, of Norwich, said—We are bound, I think, to respond to Mr. Stanton's appeal, and to make our resolution as decided as possible. (Hear, hear.) In justice to the slave-holders themselves, we should be firm. Not rude, sir, nor offensive, but firm. We should tell them manfully that we deem them wrong. It is not dictation to do this. If a man tells me he thinks I am not a christian, I am not thereby offended, but say, "Prove it, and I will listen to your proof." Now, we submit to the slave-holding churches and ministers that they are sinful—certainly sinful; and we offer to them the proof, as we have to-day. It is a painful duty thus to act; but doing it in kindness, we expect to be candidly heard. (Hear, hear.) Moreover, in justice to the abolitionists, we should be firm. Shall we, sir, treat the men who buy and sell, and murder their fellow-men, as we treat those who regard them as brethren? Shall we behave to Calhoun as we behave to Garrison? (Hear, hear.) Shall we, when Americans come to our land, welcome them to our pulpits and our sacramental tables without inquiring concerning their views of abolition? (Loud cheers.) No, sir, Breckenridge shall not be to us what Colver is. (Cheers.) The latter, with all who act with him, shall be always welcome. The former, never. This we say for the encouragement of our brethren from America. We all say this—(Loud and general cheering)—and we desire it to go forth as the determination of the christians of Great Britain. We will not welcome to our pulpits or our sacraments any man, however talented, who is not an out-spoken abolitionist, not only here, but at home. (Great cheering.)

After a short discussion, in which Mr. Josiah Forster, the Rev. Thos. Swan, and Mr. Fewster suggested several amendments.

The Rev. Dr. Cox concurred most heartily with the resolution. He had not always gone to the full extent of the opinion which now led him to this full concurrence but deep reflection—repeated reflection upon the subject, had brought him to the conclusion at which he had now arrived. (Great cheering.) Having come to that conclusion, he felt it his duty to take the first opportunity of stating it, and he was sure that the gentlemen of that convention, knowing how he had been situated—knowing that he had gone to America as a delegate, from a society different, however, in its special purpose from that which constituted this convention, and knowing also how he had been situated there, he was sure that they would feel that he was not obtruding when he stated that he fully and heartily concurred with every sentiment and word contained in the proposition which had now been introduced to the meeting. (Great cheering.)

The resolution, with the amendments added, were then put by the chairman to the meeting, and carried unanimously.—The convention then adjourned.

(To be continued.)

Advertisements.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plantiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

COMMITTEE.

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Amount already advertised.....£1533 18 6

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Baptist Missionary Society's Office, Fen-court, Fenchurch-street.
J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, or by any of the Members of the Committee, and by

HENRY STERRY, Sec.
42, *Trinity Square, Borough.*

AT A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE FALMOUTH SOCIETY, FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Convened at the particular request of its officers, and held at the baptist chapel in this town last Wednesday, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted. Moved by the Rev. W. Dendy, and seconded by the Rev. B. B. Dexter.

That the Rev. T. F. Abbott be requested to preside on this occasion. The chair was then taken by Mr. Abbott.

Moved by the Rev. B. B. Dexter, and seconded by the Rev. John Clark.

I. That this meeting desires to repeat and record its thanks to Almighty God, the sovereign ruler and supreme governor of the universe, for the great measure of tranquility and prosperity with which he hath graciously favoured this lovely island, more particularly since the complete emancipation of 800,000 of her people from unrighteous bondage.

Moved by the Rev. E. J. Francies, and seconded by Mr. Richard Brown.

II. That this meeting deeply regrets the appointment of a governor to this island who should have hazarded such opinions as are expressed in the dispatch of his excellency *Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe* to the colonial secretary, bearing date 16th October, 1839, before he could have had reasonable time to have formed any correct idea of the state and conflicting views of the different parties over whom he is appointed to rule; and that it considers his censures on the labouring population and on their esteemed ministers, the baptist missionaries, are founded only on prejudice, injustice, and party bias.

Moved by the Rev. H. J. Dutton, and seconded by Mr. John White.

III. That in consequence of the singular and extraordinary despatch of his Excellency the governor having been written within, or about, three weeks after his arrival, and before his Excellency had the opportunity of obtaining any knowledge whatever of the character and conduct of the labouring population generally, or of the denomination in particular to which they are attached, but in which his Excellency has been pleased to heap wholesale odium upon them, and on the baptist missionaries,—it is the opinion of this meeting, that his Excellency, by throwing the whole weight of his official station into the *oppressor's scale*, has not only retarded the progress of that liberty which was purchased at so costly a price by the British Parliament, but has also awakened such distrust and suspicion that this meeting cannot have any confidence in the administration of his Excellency, Sir. C. T. Metcalfe.

Moved by the Rev. T. E. Ward, and seconded by Mr. Andrew Dickson.

IV. That this meeting considers the attempt to do away with the stipendiary agistrates, together with the oppressive acts recently passed by the legislature and sanctioned by the governor, fraught with evil to the best interests of this colony, and that every proper and constitutional means should be resorted to of counteracting such invidious and injurious attempts.

Moved by the Rev. W. Dendy, and seconded by Mr. John Wallace.

V. That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the chairman, be forwarded severally to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonial department; to his Excellency Sir Lionel Smith; to his Excellency Sir Charles T. Metcalfe; to the Rev John Dyer, secretary to the baptist missionary society; and to the Rev. William Knibb, treasurer of this society, at present representing its interests in Great Britain; and that they be twice published in the Baptist Herald, the Colonial Reformer, the Patriot, and the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 16.] WEDNESDAY, JULY 29TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE ALLEGED DEFICIENCY OF LABOUR.—No. II.

To the Editor of the Anti-slavery Reporter.

SIR,—In my former communication I endeavoured to show, *first*, that the falling off in West India produce since emancipation does not extend to all the colonies, but is confined to a few; and, *secondly*, that in great part, it has been caused by bad seasons in those few. In resuming the subject to-day, I intend to show to what extent the planters themselves are to blame for any diminution of the staple productions; and in doing this, I shall place before your readers such evidence as the case at present will admit, to show that instead of a deficiency of labour in consequence of emancipation, there is, in fact, a greater amount available to the planter, whenever he shall please to employ it, than there was during slavery. This is doubtless very high ground; but you will see whether I can maintain it or not. I shall begin at this point.

There are two modes in which labour in the colonies, or elsewhere, may be increased or diminished. The first and more obvious is, by increasing or diminishing the *number* of those who labour; the other and quite as effectual mode is, by increasing or diminishing the *effective power* of those who labour—making them able to do more or less work than before. You will observe that our opponents, whether alleging deficiency of labour or clamouring for immigration to supply it, generally confine themselves entirely to the former mode as the only one. It is their interest to do so.

I admit at once that, since emancipation, some of the negros formerly engaged in field labour have withdrawn themselves to other occupations; but I deny that, in any one of the colonies, this has been in the proportion, or anything like it, which the planter advocates would have people believe. Mr. Burnley of Trinidad, in his letter to Lord John Russell, which was copied into the *Reporter* of 22nd April, writes eloquently about a middle class of shopkeepers and traders which has sprung up from the wreck of slavery to supply the wants of the emancipated slaves, no longer dependent upon the supplies of their masters; and he infers from this, as a thing of course, that a diminution of labour equivalent to the number of persons composing this middle class, has taken place. In theory, perhaps, this may be all very fine; but did the experienced Mr. Burnley not happen to know, that the former free people, possessing to some extent that capital which the emancipated slaves generally wanted, were the more likely persons to step in and compose this middle class, and that, in very fact, they do principally compose it?

But some of the emancipated negros have become shopkeepers and traders; the plantation tradesmen, who were also occasionally employed in agriculture, have almost to a man taken entirely to their trades; some have purchased or leased small allotments of land, and settled down independently; several mothers of families (*principally* in Jamaica) have retired from the field to the duties of home; and the young children, instead of picking grass or tending cattle, are now in great numbers at school. All these have, in so far, diminished the *number* of labourers engaged in cultivation of the staples; but it does not necessarily follow, as a consequence, that the *amount* of available labour is diminished in the same proportion, or indeed diminished at all. An increase of labour may be quite consistent with such diminution of number. For, sir, is it not very reasonable to suppose—does it not accord with all we know of human nature and the laws that govern it, that the free man, working for a fair hire, will work more cheerfully and effectively—will do more work, than the beaten slave, who is driven to work for nothing? Did not abolitionists always maintain, from the commencement of the struggle with slavery to its close, that hope is a better stimulus to continuous exertion than fear; and that the freed negro urged by his wants would do twice as much work as could be flogged out of him in slavery? And is not this sound abolition doctrine to this day? If our emancipated colonies do not afford us facts to bear it out, it is time we should blot it from our creed as a delusion!

But it is fully borne out by facts! Throughout the colonies, the effective powers of the labourer have been greatly increased by his emancipation; and he can now do double and occasionally treble the quantity of work, which he was thought capable of doing when a slave!

In almost all the colonies (I am not prepared to say all), at the commencement of the apprenticeship, the planters themselves adopted certain scales of labour by which to regulate the work of the apprentices. These scales showed the quantity of every kind of work, which should constitute a fair day's task. The abolition act had left them only a definite portion of the negro's time daily, beyond which they could not command his services; and it was an object with them to make the best use they could of that time, and get all the work they could out of him during the legal hours of labour. I am not accurately informed of the mode in which the scales of labour were got up in the other colonies; but if you look into Sherlock's Jamaica Almanack, you will find that, in the several parishes of that island, they were adopted at public meetings of the planters—the labourers having no part therein. The Barbados scale was formed by a committee of three planters, Messrs. Hewitt, Marshall, and Sharpe, appointed by the governor, at the advice of his council, for that purpose, and was laid before the council (composed of planters) and approved by them previously to its promulgation. It was then, without the formality, but with all the force of law, directed in circular to the special justices, to guide their decisions on all questions of labour arising between the apprentices and their employers.

Those who are at all acquainted with human nature, and especially West India planter's nature, will not for a moment imagine that these scales so formed unduly favoured the negro, by exacting from him a less amount of labour than long experience had shown he was capable of rendering.

This scale work, when undertaken as a task, the free labourer now commonly does in half the day, and I have known the Barbados labourer do three of these tasks in one day. In September, 1838, *the whole first gang* (men and women) on Lemon Arbour estate, St. John's parish, completed these three tasks in a day; and Mr. Christopher Massiah, a respectable planter, to whom, some days after, I was mentioning the feat, informed me that the same had been performed at Sunbury estate. This is not confined to Barbados. In Trinidad the same remarkable fact appears: the free negro commonly performs two tasks in a day, and has occasionally done three. This I learnt from good authority among the planters themselves, in the island; and the delegates sent over to that island by certain of our free coloured brethren of America, with a view to their emigration, report this fact on the authority of the planters. Messrs. R. Semple and Co., who hold property in British Guiana, in a letter to Lord John Russell, dated 25th November, 1839, bear evidence to this fact as regards that colony:—"many of the labourers on our estates," they say, "have occasionally performed treble the quantity" of a day's task; and the advertisements put forth in Barbados for emigrants to that colony and to Trinidad, uniformly state, in substance, that the day's task may easily be performed in half the day.

I have conversed with many hundred labourers, men and women, in Barbados on this subject—frequently with whole gangs at once; and they have all agreed in affirming their ability and their willingness, "if kindly used and encouraged," to do two tasks generally; and I am perfectly satisfied, on the evidence, that, not only in Barbados, but in every one of the colonies, the freed negro can do *continuously*, and under a judicious management and such treatment as human beings have a right to expect from those who employ their service, would readily do, for fair wages, at least half as much more work than they did in slavery; —that is to say, two labourers of every class would now perform the work, which it then required three of the same class to do. This, without the introduction of a single immigrant, would at once increase the effective labour in the colonies by half its amount in slavery; and those who are clamouring for immigrants to supply an alleged deficiency, are required either to refute what I have here advanced, or to show that more than a third of those engaged in cultivation during the periods of slavery and the apprenticeship, have now withdrawn themselves.

In Barbados, Trinidad, and the smaller islands, the number who have so withdrawn themselves, I know to be remarkably small in proportion to the whole labouring population,—I venture to affirm, not one in twenty. How the case stands in Jamaica, I am not sufficiently informed to be a competent witness. It is principally in that island that women have retired from the field, the number in the other colonies being, I regret to say, very few. In Guiana, which affords, perhaps, greater facilities, generally, for independent settlements than any other colony, I find by an official return embodied in a despatch of Governor Light to the colonial secretary, dated, 12th November, 1839, that the number of new shops for the sale of goods, and of "free settlers' cottages (*almost* exclusively from the emancipated class) erected and established in the rural districts since the 1st of August, 1838," was to that date,—shops 74, cottages 267. "*Many of the labourers*," Governor Light states, "who have purchased the land on which they have erected cottages, *do not abandon field labour*."

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The negro is too fond of comforts to neglect working when he can for the money which will enable him to purchase them!

I maintain, sir, on the evidence I have here stated, that, after making all proper allowance for those who have withdrawn from the cultivation of the staples since emancipation, there will be found nearly one-half more labour now in the colonies, and available to the planters whenever they shall employ the proper means to turn it to their uses, than there was during the state of slavery. The people are far from being indisposed to labour, and they have no aversion, as some pretend to believe, to labour in the cultivation of the staples. Throughout Barbados, they voluntarily cultivate those staples in the allotments which they rent on the estates. I have never seen, in that island, a negro allotment on which the cane was not growing; and one of the complaints now regularly brought against them, by public writers and others on the side of the planter, is that they neglect growing provisions (which causes their scarcity) to grow this plant;—it happens to be the most profitable! At least a thousand hogsheads of sugar are annually raised by them on their rented grounds;—I have seen it stated, by planter advocates, at 3000, which is no doubt an exaggeration; and were the same facilities afforded the labourers in other colonies for manufacturing their canes into sugar, &c., they too, would grow canes on their grounds:*—they now grow what is profitable.

I am bold to assert, sir, that there is not, on the whole, a more cheerfully industrious and easily satisfied people in the world, than the emancipated negros in our colonies; but there is also not one, perhaps, possessing greater self-esteem, and more sensitive to whatever savours of disrespect, and tends to degrade them in the opinion of their fellows. A kind word, an approving gesture, a look of encouragement, will often have more weight with them than money, and influence them where money would fail. I never knew one, however vicious and worthless in everybody's eyes but his own, who had not some idea of self-respect, and who could not be moved and swayed by kindness; and, sir, you must come to the colonies to learn to what lengths devotedness to the person and family of a kind and considerate *old* master or mistress can be carried!

These, you will see at once, are not the characteristics of a people who, for every trifle and for nothing, as the whim takes, may be stormed at, and cursed, and abused,—called names which would be unbecoming to the veriest wretch in human form, and treated as if they were dogs;—these, I say, are not the characteristics of a people who can be contented, and cheerful, and industrious under such vile treatment!

I might, in this place, state a multitude of individual cases, to show that the planters have, in effect, been endeavouring to discourage and check the industry of the labourer, rather than to avail themselves of it to the utmost. I prefer, however, to direct your attention to the system itself, of which these are so many excrescent evils springing out naturally. If we see wherein the system is faulty, and can correct that, we shall probably have few such cases in future to complain of.

When emancipation had left the labourers to dispose freely of their services, it was at the option of the planter either to settle them permanently upon the estates as tenants, paying a fair rent for their respective holdings, and receiving the fair market price for their labour,—or to employ them as servants, occupying their dwellings &c. in consideration of such service, and receiving a less amount of wages on that account. Minds uninfluenced by the habits of previous slavery, would doubtless have chosen the former as the better mode. The planters to a man chose the latter. It retained the freed negro in a condition approaching nearer to slavery, and would afford greater opportunities to indulge old habits of domineering. These were its only apparent advantages; and in these you see the germ of all the abuses and evils which have to this moment distressed the colonies, and retarded the developement of their prosperity under freedom!

Throughout the colonies, the planters, with scarcely an exception, have to this day maintained the old cumbrous and unwieldy establishments of slavery on their estates. An immediate consequence of this is, that the spirit of slavery and many of its inconveniences and disadvantages are also maintained in necessary association with these establishments; and are constantly jarring with the free condition of the people, producing endless contentions between the two parties, whose minds they indispose for that state of mutual satisfaction and good understanding which would conduce to the benefit of both.

Industry has, and can have, no proper encouragement in this state. Continuous labour, which it seems, at first sight, well calculated to ensure, it really tends to obstruct, by exposing it to other than those natural influences which should regulate it; and it is a lamentable fact, on the admission of which our opponents may triumph, if they please, that there is scarcely an estate in the colonies, the proprietor of which can reckon with certainty upon having continuous labour for a week together! I know but a single exception—the Union estate, in the island of St. Lucia; and that exception to the general uncertainty of continuous labour, *affords also the only exception I know to the system of establishments.* The present proprietor, Mr. Melcher Todd, who had been manager of the estate for several years before he purchased it, had the good sense, shortly after emancipation, to abandon that system as vexatious and unprofitable, and to adopt the rent system instead. When I visited the estate in February last, he had eighty-seven contented, industrious, and orderly families, settled on leases of one to three carriés, (the French carrié is about 3⅓ English acres,) and for terms of from three to nine years. There was not, he told me, a reputed idler among them; besides cultivating their own grounds, they afforded him all the labour he wanted, and had some to sell to his neighbours; his estate was in better cultivation, *at less cost*, than under the former system, and in addition, he was receiving over a thousand dollars annual rent for land, which had before been a waste.

These "establishments" also interfere with the production of the respective colonies by preventing the free circulation of labour in them, and withholding it from those spots where, at particular seasons, it is most wanted. They entail upon the proprietor the necessity, as in slavery, of maintaining at all times and seasons, such a supply of labour as shall ensure the full quantity at any moment it may be needed. The greatest jealousy is felt and manifested, lest the labourers be inveigled over to the neighbouring estates; and where the establishment is, in the first instance, deficient in number, or an unusually abundant crop or other circumstance renders it for the time insufficient, the unhappy proprietor may experience the greatest difficulty in obtaining the required amount of extra labour, although abundance of it be lying in all directions around! His employment of a dozen hands for two or three days in a week, may unsettle the whole district!

So much for the system in its general bearings. To show how it sometimes affects individual proprietors, and give you some general idea of its expensiveness, one instance will be as good as a dozen. On the Thicket estate, in Barbados, there were more than a hundred labourers, last year, for whom there was no employment on the estate, and who were therefore suffered to work out—retaining their cottages &c., as part of the regular establishment. This was found not to work well, and the attorney (the Honourable F. Clarke) directed that these hundred labourers should be called in, and work found for them on the estate. My informant was a gentleman well acquainted with the estate and with the attorney; and I learned from him that the estate was in good cultivation, and did not need this additional labour. It was done merely to preserve the integrity of the establishment! Here then was the proprietor, in this instance an absentee, saddled with an additional expenditure of about twenty pounds sterling a week, not to promote the cultivation of the estate and make a single hogshead more of sugar, but merely for the maintenance of a vicious, and to some extent a ruinous system! When we hear proprietors complaining of the immense sums paid for labour, it will be worth while to inquire how much of this was necessary to the proper cultivation of their estates, and how much must be charged to the keeping up of "the establishment."

To render the available labour in the colonies (increased, as I trust I have shown it to be, by emancipation) effective to its full amount, and proportionately to increase the production, we require two things.

First, a better system of plantation economy, which should leave labour entirely free and unshackled to find its proper level, and be regulated by those local circumstances which, operating by immutable laws of divine appointment, may safely be relied on as the best in the case. This may at any time be effected without the smallest difficulty,—nothing more being necessary than to require of the several heads of families, occupying holdings on the respective estates, that they pay a fair rent (estimated as in ordinary cases) as tenants by the year, leaving them free to dispose of their labour how and where they best can. A fair market rate would quickly be established in every district;—the labourer would expect no more, the proprietor could have no good reason to offer less; and he must be a very bad landlord whose tenants leave his fields, at their very thresholds, to go elsewhere in search of work at the same wages. A thousand advantages would result, almost immediately, to both parties and to the country generally, from this mutual independence in so far. The labour would circulate to the spots where it was most wanted, and when it was wanted; and no one would be under necessity to employ more of it, at any time, than he actually wanted at that particular moment. Continuous labour at any given spot and to any given amount, no longer depending on a particular set of individuals, and subject, more or less, to their discontents or caprices, would be ensured to proprietors; and the cultivation of estates and the manufacture of produce would not be liable, as now at every moment they are, to be suddenly checked at the most critical junctures. The labourer no longer annoyed, and held back by vexatious restrictions on his liberty, and attempts (which he cannot help perceiving are dishonest) to huckster him, and get his labour for

* There has always been a large number of small proprietors in Barbados, holding from ten to thirty acres of land. Being, for the most part, unable to erect works, or having too little land to make a good return on the necessary expenditure, these have always had their canes ground and manufactured at neighbouring estates, at a cost of one third, or thereabout, of the gross produce. The freed labourer has found and availed himself of this advantage. He grows canes on his ground, and pays the estate a third to manufacture them into sugar. This circumstance, with the small proprietorships in which it originated, is, I believe, peculiar to Barbados. The manufacturing for a third (or even a fourth) is profitable, and would well repay any small capitalist, in the other colonies, who should purchase the ground and erect a small set of works in the midst of several of these allotments, affording on the whole, say, 50 acres of good cane land. This would give, on an average, 70 hogsheads of sugar; the manufacturer's share of which would return the outlay for works in less than three years. A few of the small proprietors in Barbados have lately erected such works, and manufacture for their neighbours along with themselves.

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less than its proper value, would exert himself to the full extent of his effectiveness, and render, for adequate hire, all the labour of which he is capable. I have shown that this is at least half as much more than he could give in slavery.

Barbados is the only colony in which there is no waste land to extend the cultivation by this additional amount of effective labour. Even as the case stands at present, there is difficulty to find employment for all the labour; and the planters generally refuse to give task work, which the labourer might perform, as I have stated, in half the day. They require him to work nine hours doing what he can do in five, and will not even consent that he should do it in eight.* This is one of the disputes which agitated that island in the early part of this year, led the people to emigrate, and the legislature to pass their tyrannical law to prevent it. In Barbados, two-thirds of the present labouring population being able, under a better system, to do the work of the whole,—the other third, unable, in the absence of waste lands, to find employment in the island, would necessarily emigrate to those neighbouring colonies where land is plentiful and labour dear. This would further lead to extended cultivation and increased production in those colonies. To this inter-colonial emigration, I would observe here, abolitionists cannot possibly have any valid objection. It is liable to not a single one of the abuses and miseries, of which the immigration of the Coolies and other foreign labourers is so prolific; and I am happy to find that Judge Jeremie is of the same opinion.

I said we require two things in the colonies, to render the available labour effective to its full amount, and proportionately to increase production. One of them you have seen is a better system of plantation economy. The other is, good government.—An honest, impartial, searching revision of existing laws, with a view to adapt them to the changed circumstances of society; an equitable adjustment of the civil and political franchises, so as to secure to each class its proper amount of influence in the state,—this would go a great way towards ensuring at least impartial legislation in future; and lastly, a reformed administration of justice through all its branches, and especially in the magisterial courts. The poorer classes are at present without proper protection, either in their persons or their little properties; and the emancipated negro, and those who like him have to labour for their daily bread in the rural districts, are given over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of every one of a certain grade, who pleases to take advantage of their defenceless state. The poor people, thus hourly exposed to aggressions without any hope of redress, are in a state of continual disquiet, requiring only a passing rumour to unsettle and throw them into excitement. Good government—honest laws honestly administered, would soon reassure them, and take them out of this "*tichlish* state"—as it has properly been styled. It would do more than this. It would also go a long way, particularly in Barbados, to force the planters into that better system of plantation economy, which I have been recommending. When their present vicious system had no longer the support of partial laws made by themselves to be partially administered by themselves, it would be found to lie so heavy on their hands, and all its inconveniences and disadvantages would show out so prominently, that self-interest, now blinded by prejudice, would soon prompt them to change it for the better.

I have now, sir, stated what I proposed on the subject of alleged deficiency of labour in the colonies. For the correctness of the facts, where they rest on my sole testimony, I must ask you to stand my surety with your readers in this country;—in the colonies, whither I am returning in a few days, I am better known; and to your readers there, my name will carry sufficient credit with it. Of the propriety and conclusiveness of my reasoning, every one will judge for himself; and to that judgment I am contented to leave it. I have trespassed at great length on your columns, but as I shall not have an opportunity to trouble you again for two or three months to come, I hope you will forgive it.

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. PRESCOD,
Editor *Barbados Liberal*.

London,
July 27th, 1840.

* I think it proper to notice here, that in a letter which I wrote to Mr. Sturge from Dominica, and an extract from which was published in the *Reporter* of 8th April, I mis-stated this dispute—the subject being then new to me, and my letters from Barbados not very explicit.

SLAVERY, COTTON, AND CORN.

A late number of the *Liverpool Times* contains the following announcement:—

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.—VISIT OF THE CHAIRMAN AND DIRECTORS TO LANCASHIRE.—We understand that the chairman and other members of the court of directors of the East India company will visit this county in the course of the present week, for the purpose of witnessing a number of experiments in the cleaning and preparing of cotton wool. We are informed that the intention of the company is to take immediate steps for extending the cultivation of cotton in the East Indies, and for bringing it to the English market in good condition, after having been thoroughly cleaned by the best machines. The object of the chairman and directors in visiting Lancashire is to ascertain what kind of machines will do it most thoroughly.

This intelligence has brought forth the following observations from our contemporary the *Patriot*.

The journey of the chairman and directors of the East India company to Lancashire, for the purpose of witnessing experiments in the cleaning and preparing of cotton wool, and of inspecting the latest improvements in the machinery used in the process, is a very remarkable occurrence in itself,—perhaps the most remarkable in the domestic annals of Leadenhall-street. It is an event as much out of the routine of ordinary occurrences as a Pope's crossing the Alps, or a Sultan's going on shipboard. And if it may be hailed as an indication of the company's being about to undertake the cultivation of cotton in Bengal, upon a scale that shall enable the Indian free-labour cotton to compete with the slave-labour cotton of America, then indeed it will be impossible to estimate the beneficial results of this newly awakened spirit of enterprise in these merchant-kings of the east.

The cultivation of cotton is the only employment of slave-labour in the United States which admits of profitable extension. Upon the high price of cotton the existence of slavery in the southern States absolutely depends. Exertions have been making for some time by British cultivators to improve the quality of Indian cotton; and the quantity worked up by British manufacturers has been steadily increasing. "When we recollect," says an American writer, "how completely the indigo-planters in India succeeded in destroying the cultivation of indigo in the United States, which was once a very considerable business, by producing a superior article at a less price, the competition of the Indian cotton-planters, however some ignorant persons may ridicule it, is by no means to be despised." We trust that events will speedily verify this anticipation. What does India want, in order to the development of its vast resources, so as to render it quite unnecessary for Hill Coolies to emigrate to the Mauritian paradise, or to take a trip in search of high wages to the other hemisphere? What but British capital, which would soon flow into it, provided there were sufficient inducements, free scope, and proper security for its profitable employment. Hitherto, these have not been presented. The growth of sugar has been discouraged in favour of West India produce. Cotton has been less attended to than indigo or *opium*. No encouragement has been given to British settlers. We have conquered India, but have not begun to colonize it. The mercantile monopoly has pressed with the weight of an iron despotism upon the productive powers of the most fertile country in the world. We rejoice at the faint dawn of happier days for India; and they will be better days for England and for America too, when the slave-labour cultivation of the west shall be destroyed by the free labour of the east, and new and widening markets shall give a fresh impulse to unrestricted commercial enterprise.

But what, it may be asked, will the Americans have to give us in exchange for our manufactures, if we cease to consume their cotton? Repeal the corn-laws, and there will be no difficulty in answering the question. Upon this subject, we cannot resist the temptation to transcribe part of a private letter from a highly respected American correspondent, whose name, if we felt at liberty to give it, would command the affectionate respect of our readers. "At present," writes our esteemed friend "your country prevents the introduction of CORN from the United States, which is raised almost entirely by *free labour*. At the same time you admit our COTTON, and TURPENTINE, and RICE, the products entirely of *slave-labour*. Thus, in order to pay for the goods needed for the United States, your present laws compel our merchants to purchase cotton, &c., and to remit them to England, where slave produce brings a better price than the produce of free labour. So long as the merchants can obtain the prices they do for cotton, they will purchase it of the south, and send it to England. And so long as the merchants will pay the prices, so long the slave-holders will make money out of slave-labour, and will in spite of all appeals to consistency or conscience, continue to hold men in slavery. But, if, on the other hand, your government should permit our corn to come in, either free or on low duty, the result would be:—

"First, that your bread consumers would be furnished much cheaper than they now are.

"Secondly, the free states would plant more, much more than they now do, and would calculate upon sending it to your country; which would keep the price low.

"Thirdly, this being an article in which merchants could invest a remittance, they would send corn rather than cotton.

"Fourthly, cotton would fall much in price; and then it would cost the planter more to support his slaves, than he could realize for his crop.

"Now why should not Abolition England—England which has done so much in talent and treasure to free her own slaves—encourage the introduction of our corn rather than our cotton? Why not allow us to pay her for her manufactures in the *free man's* labour, rather than in the *sweat and blood of the slave*.

"So long as your prohibitory duties shut out our corn, and an open door is presented for the reception of our cotton, so long will slavery continue in the United States. Practically, with the great mass of merchants and slave-holders, it is a question of *profit*, and not of *conscience*. It is always hard to get at the conscience through the thick scales of profit. This you know to be true in the great Church establishment question, and others of great moment now agitating England. *If England desires America to be freed from slavery, England must receive the products of our free labour instead of the products of our slaves.* Believe me, my dear brother, the price of cotton in England regulates the price of the slave in all the plantations. I write with great freedom to you, and not with the least desire of either accusing England or excusing America. I state the common-sense view of the subject—the plain matter-of-fact statement, which the slightest reflection must commend as in strict keeping with the acknowledged principles on which human nature acts.

"Let, then, every abolitionist in England consider that view, and strive in every lawful way to open your ports for the corn of our country, which grows upon *free soil*, and is cultivated by *free men*.

"When our merchants and enterprising worldly men at the north have the same motive to grow corn for the English market that the slave-holder at the south has to grow cotton, you will see a rapid and vast change of sentiment on the present vexed question of slavery. It is in the power of England, by one single act, to destroy the whole system of slavery in America, and to give freedom to three millions of slaves. Open, O open wide your ports; invite the labour of the free, and take away the present virtual premium on slave-labour, and you will work a certain and blessed revolution in this land. As your country was deeply concerned in the introduction of slavery to this land when we were colonies, so now will, with noble disinterestedness, do all in her power to wipe out this dark blot upon our national character."

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We wish this earnest appeal could obtain a wider circulation than we are able to command for it, so as to sink deeply into the minds and hearts of all right-thinking Englishmen. How striking and instructive is the fact, that, in the circle of a vicious system of selfish yet short-sighted monopoly, evils are so concatenated, that our bread-tax in England is connected with the support of slavery in America, while our sugar-bounties in favour of West India slave-owners have retarded the prosperity of India, with a population more than a hundred and twenty times as large as all the blacks and whites in the West Indies put together!

GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE following documents were presented to Lord Palmerston on Saturday last.

To the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The memorial of the undersigned, the chairman, on behalf of the General Anti-slavery Convention, held in London the 20th June, 1840.

Respectfully sheweth,

That this Convention has learnt with feelings of surprise and regret, that British functionaries in the Brazils, Cuba, and other slave-holding countries, hold slaves; that they purchase them in the public slave-market and elsewhere; work them in mines and on sugar plantations, employ them as domestic slaves, and sell them or dispose of them as necessity or caprice may dictate.

This Convention, under a strong impression of the utter injustice of slavery in all its forms, and of the evil it inflicts upon its miserable victims, and of the necessity of employing every means, moral, religious, and pacific, for its complete abolition, feels it to be no less than an imperative duty to submit to the principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, that, the British parliament having declared it "just and expedient that all persons held in slavery in the colonies of Great Britain should be manumitted and set free," and that slavery should be utterly and "for ever abolished, and declared unlawful throughout the British possessions" abroad—functionaries of the British government holding, hiring, buying, or selling slaves in foreign countries is not only an open violation of these just and equitable principles, but is an example which gives countenance to the perpetuation of slavery, and to the continuance of the clandestine importation of slaves, and that it materially contributes to prevent the extinction of slavery in those countries and throughout the world at large, an object most dear to the members of this convention, and for the consummation of which they are especially assembled.

This Convention, therefore, earnestly solicits the early attention of Viscount Palmerston to the subject, and that he will be pleased to issue a declaration that the holding or hiring of slaves, directly or indirectly, is incomptaible with the functions of any individual officially engaged in the service of the British government.

On behalf of the convention,

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON, *President.*

MY LORD,

I have the honour to communicate an appeal to your lordship unanimously agreed on at a meeting of the General Anti-slavery Convention, held at Freemasons' Hall, on the 17th of the present month.

Associates for the great object of abolishing slavery by means solely of a moral, religious, and pacific character, they have not been inattentive to the course of events in the oriental world; and while they breathe an earnest prayer that the crimes and calamities of war may be prevented by the friendly intervention of the powers of Europe, they would humbly and earnestly implore your lordship to use your high authority for connecting the overthrow of slavery with the consolidation of peace.

In considering the situation filled by the Grand Seignor as the representative of the Caliphat, the Convention feel a strong conviction, that if a declaration could be obtained from his imperial highness condemnatory of slavery in any, or all of its forms—encouraging the manumission of slaves—and calling the attention of the mussulman world to the state of opinion among civilized nations and governments—such a declaration could not but produce a happy influence throughout the Ottoman empire. And the Convention respectfully suggest to your lordship, that the friendly interposition of Great Britain could be employed for no nobler purpose, and that its success would reflect high honour on the head of Islanism, and be eminently instrumental in strengthening the foundations of the Turkish government, and in diminishing the fearful amount of degradation, wickedness, and misery, which everywhere accompanies slavery.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's obedient servant,

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON, *President.*

To the Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, G. C. B. M. P.

THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS at Newhaven, U.S., have resolved:—

That the system of American slavery is in the opinion of this body inconsistent with the principles of the gospel, and its immediate abolition by those who have the legal power, is a duty in the discharge of which the blessing of heaven may be expected.

That we recommend to the churches under our care a prayerful consideration of this important subject, and the exertion of their appropriate influence for the emancipation of all the enslaved in this land, and throughout the world.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

Two laws have been enacted by the New York legislature, in compliance with the petitions of abolitionists, highly beneficial to people of colour. The first secures the right of trial by jury to persons claimed as slaves, and the other protects free citizens from being kidnapped or reduced to slavery. The governor is authorized to employ an agent at the expense of the State, to effect the restoration of any free citizen of this State who may be kidnapped or held in slavery in any of the states or territories of the United States. These acts, so honourable to the legislature of New York, make the "servile" Bill of Ohio appear still more infamous by contrast.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

THE state of Maryland at its late session, passed a most tyrannical, and, as it seems, unconstitutional act with reference to free people of colour of that and other states. The principal section (the first,) imposes a penalty of 20 dollars on any free negro or mulatto coming into Maryland from any other state, whether to settle there or not; and for coming in a second time, having been once arrested under this law, or for remaining in the state five days after paying the 20 dollars, a penalty of 500 dollars—one half to the informer, and the other half to the Maryland COLONIZATION SOCIETY. Any free negro or mulatto refusing or neglecting to pay the penalty, in either case, is to be *sold as a slave*, the proceeds to go, in case of the smaller penalty, to the sheriff, and in case of the larger, one-half, after deducting charges, and ten per cent. for the sheriff, to the Colonization Society!—*Ibid.*

Munroe Edwards, Esq., of Iberville Parish, Louisiana (about eighty-eight miles above New Orleans, on the Mississippi,) has taken 163 slaves to Cincinnati, Ohio, and there given them all full deeds of emancipation. He then distributed the whole proceeds of the last two years' crop of his plantation (upwards of 20,000 dollars,) among them. He could have sold these men, women, and children for upwards of a hundred thousand dollars, but nobly preferred giving them their liberty. These joyful emancipated persons have gone, some to Kentucky, some to Illinois, some into the interior of Ohio, and some have returned to Louisiana among their relations. We have a full account of the particulars of this most interesting occurrence, but have no space at present to enlarge. Laus Deo!—*Ibid.*

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—MISDOINGS OF THE MAGISTRACY. The following circular issued by Sir Charles Metcalfe tells tales frightfully, in spite of its courtly style, and is said to have caused great soreness.

SIR,—Instances having been represented to the governor of commitments by magistrates in cases in which they were themselves the real prosecutors or complainants, the injustice complained of having been done to themselves or to the properties under their charge, and the commitments having been made on the depositions of their own servants, or of persons employed under their own authority, I am directed by his Excellency to communicate to you his sentiments on this objectionable practice.

2. His Excellency is not sure that the practice is positively illegal, but he is convinced that every one, on reflection, will perceive that it is improper and unbecoming. He is satisfied that it is of rare occurrence, but instances of this kind having come under his notice, it is considered that they are possible, and I am consequently instructed to call your attention to the subject.

3. His Excellency requests that you will communicate his sentiments to the magistrates of your parish, and express his reliance on their good feeling and sense of propriety, for abstaining at all times from either the trying or the committing of persons who may be accused of offences against properties in which they, the magistrates, are individually interested, as owners, or managers, or overseers, and, generally, from any magisterial interference in any case in which they may be personally interested.

4. I am desired further to remark, that the indirect interest which the magistrates generally have, as belonging to the class of land-holders, in cases between land-holder and labourer, imposes on them a peculiar obligation to be extremely circumspect and cautious, lest in the administration of justice they should from that cause be susceptible of a bias, the yielding to which would incapacitate them for the impartial performance of their duty.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. M. HIGGINSON, Sec.

To the senior magistrate
of Trelawney.

Upon this circular the *Colonial Reformer* furnishes the following comment:—"We inserted in our last a circular which his Excellency the governor has been under the necessity of issuing, in order to put a check to the infamous practice, prevailing in many parts of the island, of proprietors and managers, when they happen to be magistrates, taking their seats on the bench, and actually adjudicating in cases at issue between themselves and their labourers or tenants. This is one of the most crying iniquities with which the country is afflicted. It is one of the distinct evidences of the pro-slavery spirit which still prevails. The practice exists to such an extent in certain parishes, that the labourers in some cases find it preferable to suffer in silence, rather than to add to their other losses the useless expense of appealing to tribunals, where the parties adverse to them have the daring effrontery to sit as judges.

Instances have been communicated to us, in which the same party has combined all the three requisites of accuser, witness, and judge in his own person. We are convinced that not a twentieth part of these abominations ever reach the ears of Sir Charles Metcalfe. But his want of information on this, and many other of the wrongs by which the labouring population are harassed and oppressed, is solely attributable to his own impolitic and injudicious order to the stipendiary magistrates to suspend their reports, by which step he has effectually shut himself out from all information, excepting such as he derives from the wrong doers themselves."

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"THOUGH SLAVERY IS ABOLISHED, oppression and inhumanity still exist." So commences an extract with which we have been favoured of a letter from the Rev. J. Merrick, of St. Thomas in the Vale. He gives the following instances. John Brown, a watchman on Treadways, was engaged by Mr. Murchison to procure cane tops for his horse, promising him a pint of sugar every morning. On one occasion the horse got into the cane piece and destroyed a few sprouts, for which reason Mr. Murchison withheld Brown's wages as a watchman. After some altercation, Murchison went into the house, brought out a supplejack, and beat Brown with it till it broke to pieces. He then ran again into the house and brought out a horsewhip, which he shook at him, and said he only wished he had found it sooner. After this, Mr. M., and the *gentlemen* who were with him, mocked him, and said he had not received half enough. Brown is a diseased and weakly man, and has lost his nose; a condition which one might expect would have excited pity. The second case, on the same estate, is that of a man named Dixon. Drew, the book-keeper, having ordered a man one evening to fill the cistern in the still-house with water, Dixon said that it was rather late, and that it would be much better to do what the book-keeper commanded the next morning. As soon as Dixon had spoken, Mr. Drew gave him a blow on the eye, which knocked him down, and then took a stave, and used it as a lever to raise him up, for the purpose (as Dixon supposed) of casting him into the cistern. Dixon was so stupified by the blow that he was not able to arise for some time, and his eye was in a frightful state afterwards. Mr. Merrick then says, "Why is there less sugar in Jamaica, than there was under slavery? The above is one of the many reasons! The people are insulted and alienated by conduct like the above, whenever the tempers of their masters break out; and being free, they sometimes spurn the service which exposes them to such outrages."

SIR JOSHUA ROWE AND THE BISHOP. The following extract of a private letter to the editor throws a little light on the business of these two eminent persons in England. "Sir Joshua Rowe, our Chief Justice, and the Bishop, have both left the island for England, on a mission to the colonial office, having the same or similar objects in view. The first, the concentration of the whole judicial power of the colony in the hands of the planters, by the removal of the stipendiary magistracy and the exclusion of English barristers from the Jamaica bench; for which service the house of assembly have already liberally paid his honour, by an increase of salary and a diminution of duties: the latter for the equally laudable purpose of depressing and restraining the religious influence possessed by the Baptists and other Dissenters over the minds of the negro population. I mention these facts that the friends of civil and religious freedom may keep a sharp eye on the motions of this worthy pair. The British government is weak enough in all conscience in this quarter already. It has only to throw the whole magisterial as well as judicial power into the hands of the planters, to be told that the good people of Jamaica can dispense altogether with their assistance in the management of their affairs. As for the Baptists and other sectarians, they are quite a match for the Bishop of Jamaica, and his right reverend brother of Barbados to boot.

"The June session of grand court has commenced; Mr. assistant justice Bernard presiding in the absence on his embassy of his honour the Chief Justice. I can assure you the presence of the latter is by no means among our *desiderata*. The former gentleman gives full satisfaction, and business progresses, not only more rapidly, but more placidly than it has done for some years past. It would really be a mercy to the people of Jamaica, at least the liberally disposed portion of them, if government would provide his honour with a *better* situation in some part of the globe.

"The planter magistracy still continue their freaks, nay, have latterly not only lost sight of all discretion and even dissimulation, so far that his Excellency has been under the necessity of issuing a circular expressing his disapprobation of magistrates sitting in judgment on cases in which they are *themselves*, or the *properties under their charge*, concerned. This step was much needed, and it is hoped will have a beneficial effect; but where under the canopy of heaven, except in Jamaica, could such a measure have been required? This circular has given much offence already to the planters; they read in it, and correctly, their own condemnation, and the entire persuasion of government as to the necessity of a *permanent* stipendiary magistracy. But even this will not be sufficient for the exigencies of the colony on this head. We must have not only a *stipendiary*, but A SPECIAL MAGISTRACY, (one for each parish would be quite sufficient—21 in all,) vested with *exclusive* jurisdiction between master and servant, and not sent here to starve, and to be insulted, and trampled on, as they have been, but adequately paid at the rate of £750 or £800 sterling per annum, and rendered less dependent than heretofore in the exercise of their magisterial duties."

THE LONG-POND LABOURERS.—Many weeks have not elapsed since *Sir Simon Haughton Clark* arrived in the island, and the sad effects of the policy he has been pleased to pursue towards the labourers on one of his estates (Long-Pond) already appear to a considerable extent. Young, sportive, inexperienced; titled, and, perhaps, wealthy—he seeks such amusements and society as are most congenial and agreeable to his own natural propensities; but his prudence and discretion are exceedingly questionable, if his conduct towards the Long-Pond labourers be taken as a criterion by which we may judge.

When he visited this estate and received the hearty welcome of his people, who for the most part are Baptists, he invited them to *a dance*, one of the crimes which in the minds of the Baptist negros is marked with the greatest degree of turpitude, and always most cautiously eschewed: they declined the invitation, and were instantly set down under his ban. The peasantry on *Hampshire* estate and on *Mahogany Hall* pen (where there are but few, if any, Baptists) were far more accommodating, and conceived themselves highly honoured by the condescension of their young master.

On his return to Long-Pond, (so we are given to understand) he ordered his attorney, overseer, or other subordinate, to go through the village, mark every house in it, and charge rent to *every man, woman and child*, whether aged persons and infirm or not; and commanded them all, with the exception of six headmen, to dispose of their horses—he would not allow one to remain upon the estate. The people understood this in the light of an absolute "*notice to quit*;" and we are informed that on last Thursday se'nnight they inquired whether their master intended to persist in the demand of rent without increasing their wages, and illegally to exact it from more than one person in each house? Receiving an answer in the affirmative, they resolved to leave the estate. On the following Monday they evacuated their houses, gave up their keys, and left the property. *All this in the midst of crop time!!* Some of the people, unwilling to see the canes on the ground which had been cut the previous week to be put in the mill that morning, applied for work, but were positively refused.

No doubt the blame will be laid at the door of the Baptist ministers, but this statement of facts, which we believe to be perfectly accurate, will place the saddle on the right horse.

Another fact connected with the case we cannot suppress. One of the oldest men on the property came to us in person, and affectingly told his sorrowful tale. "I knew," said he, "Sir Simon's grandfather; I recollect when they buy me from the Guinea-ship; these hands laboured, this head has often poured with sweat, to get Sir Simon's grandfather to be rich; his father too was made rich by our toils; and now this piccaninny Sir Simon comes and drives me off in my old age, and in my infirm state; sure I never expected to live to see this day!" Any further comment from us is needless.—*Baptist Herald.*

BURNING OF COTTAGES. The following proceedings took place at the peace office at Spanish Town, before E. D. Baynes, and R. Hill, Esqrs.—

On Friday, the 5th instant, a party of seventeen labourers were brought to the office by a strong party of the police, nine of whom were charged on the oaths of Mary Reid and a man named Daly with having, on the morning of the 4th, tumultuously assembled and burnt to the ground the houses occupied by them, on some public land called Kingshill, granted to the poor of the parish of St. John by that benevolent governor Sir Thomas Modyford.—There were five other dwellings destroyed by the same parties, but those belonging to the complainants only were tenanted at the time. The details of this lawless outrage were most distinctly given, not only by the sufferers themselves, but also by the other negros, who accompanied the police into town. The defendants, with many others not identified by the complainants, had about 8 o'clock in the morning surrounded the dwellings of Mary Reid and Daly, and, having obtained forcible entrance, proceeded to put out a part of the furniture (for Mary Reid swore to the destruction of several articles of her property,) and then put fire to the four corners of the house, which was soon, with every thing remaining in it, reduced to ashes. The parties accused, all black people, defended themselves by alleging that they had acted in obedience to the orders of Mr. William Webb, their overseer; this fact being also proved by the witnesses, the magistrates, Messrs. Hill and Baynes, directed a warrant to issue for the apprehension of Mr. Webb, who shortly after made his appearance in court. The parties were then all bound over in heavy recognizances to appear and answer in the supreme court at present in session.

On Monday further information respecting the above outrage having been laid before Mr. Justice Baynes, he gave directions for the attendance of Mr. G. S. Sharpe, who, it was alleged, was able to give some important intelligence on the subject. That gentleman being fortunately in town, on coming to the office implicated Mr. Alexander Grant, of Craig Ellachie, of this parish, (who is trustee for a property called Envy Valley, in St. Johns, on behalf of a boy of tender age named McGillivray), who, in the presence of Mr. Sharpe, gave orders on the preceding Tuesday to Mr. Webb, to burn down the whole of the houses in question. On this authority did the infatuated overseer, Webb, and the poor ignorant labourers act, as if the disgraceful outrage and violence had been part and parcel of their bounden duty! Mr. Grant, on being called on to say if he had any cause to show why he should not be held to bail on the same ground as the other parties concerned on the preceding day, defended himself by saying that he had instituted a legal process against the parties, and that they were trespassers, the houses in dispute not being on Sir Thomas Modyford's run of land, but on that of his ward, McGillivray; and concluded by asking the magistrates, in the celebrated words of the Duke of Newcastle, "*if a man had not a right to do what he liked with his own!*" To which Mr. Ramsay very properly replied, that it did not appear that the property was his, (Grant's) but that of his ward, McGillivray, who had a clear right of action against him (Grant) for burning down and destroying a part of his freehold; and further that, even if the parties did hold tortuous possession, burning their houses over their heads was not the *legal* mode of ejecting them.

Mr. Grant was then held to bail to appear and answer such bill of indictment as his honour the attorney-general should see fit to prefer against him, on account of this arbitrary and lawless proceeding.—*Colonial Reformer.*

WE are enabled to give the following extracts from a letter of the Rev. Thomas Burchell to Mr. Sturge:—

"*Montego Bay, 10th June*, 1840.

"You are well aware of our many difficulties arising from the part we have ever taken in the welfare and prosperity of the negro population: and I do assure you they have been many indeed, and sometimes they have been of the most perplexing nature. Our time, our peace, our all, have been sacrificed. The hostility of most of the planters to the happiness and interests of the peasantry, constantly excited by a corrupt and sanguinary press, have blasted for a time the bud of freedom, and the fair promises which at first were presented. So far the malignant press and its votaries have triumphed—if to the satisfaction of the proprietor, he justly suffers for his stupidity—if not, he as justly suffers for his infatuation for continuing in his confidence attorneys, who, like the horseleach, will never cry out "enough," so long as there is a drop of blood left in the veins. Some of the attorneys have succeeded by the panic they have so wickedly produced, and are purchasing up estates upon ruinous terms to the original proprietors, by which they will make immense fortunes out of the wreck of their former employers.

"The general terms at present in this parish upon which the people are working, are 1s. 3d. sterling per diem able labourers, and they have to pay 2s. per week for house and provision ground; but wherever it is possible to grind them down to lower terms, it is done.

"At present the assembly and planters, with the planters' governor, are set upon immigration as the panacea for all existing evils, including the evils arising from the governor's planter-partizanship, and ill-judged policy to increase the power and prosperity of his sycophant admirers, by oppressing and retarding the welfare of the emancipated peasantry. The

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immigration system has hitherto proved extensively ruinous to the happiness of the parties imposed upon, and murderous by the sacrifice of life to a fearful and alarming extent, whilst it involves the community in expenses which have to be met by taxation to an immense amount; and where is the advantage, so long as the planters pursue their present vexatious conduct? I will suppose that they import five hundred emigrants to the parish of St. James', at an expense of ten thousand pounds currency, as I believe £15 currency per head is paid in bounty to the importer—then there is a labouring population to an almost equal extent lost to the estates during the year—persons inured to the climate, and accustomed to agricultural and other labour necessary for the production of the staple articles of the country. Some are lost by ejectment, others, relatives of the ejected, leave in disgust, others for non-payment, many from inadequate payment for their labour—many in consequence of unjust rents—many from vexatious law-suits, &c. Now were a different course pursued with regard to the present peasantry, the planter would have a happy, contented and industrious peasantry on his estate, bound to it by strong local attachments as the place of their birth, and the burial place of many of their friends and relatives. And if the planter needed more labourers, the contentment of his own peasantry would be the most certain means of inducing emigrants of the best kind to come out. Of the five hundred imported emigrants, 'tis more than probable 150 would be in the grave within the first twelve months, and 100 more within the second twelve months, and a half of the remaining anxious to fly the country—or pining away, and straggling about the country in misery, enraged by bitter disappointment, prepared for any deed of violence, or to take an active part in any outbreak, should it occur · for their case becomes a desperate one—they can lose nothing—they feel their condition cannot be more wretched; and if they could not succeed, they would welcome death as a release from their state of misery. Our difficulties are likely to increase from the decided partizanship of the governor towards the planters, unless the friends of negro freedom are vigilant; every month he continues in the island will prove twelve months injury to the emancipated peasantry. He may be very well adapted to be governor of the Hill Coolies, or indeed of the transported convicts in New South Wales; but he should never have been entrusted with the liberties of a free-people. He might have done very well as governor in the halcyon days of slavery, for he appears a man after a slave-planter's own heart."

BARBADOS.—EMIGRATION. Some persons have been imposing on the peasantry in several parts of the country the belief that, on the first of August ensuing, the Queen means to distribute to them lots of land gratis. Many of the labourers have been deterred, as they aver, from emigrating through this report, which is nothing less than an anti-emigration *ruse*, to effect by stratagem and deceit what certain factious planters cannot (because they *will* not,) otherwise accomplish.—*Liberal.*

This island is suffering severely by drought. Enumerating causes of its present disquiet, the editor of the *Liberal* says, "The first of these, (and one whose consequences are of the highest importance in the estimation of the agriculturist, and all those who are either immediately or mediately dependent on him) is the unusually scanty showers which, at this period of the year, have as yet descended to call forth the prolific energies of the famished earth. The canes, and many other plants which depend for their vigour and luxuriance on an adequate supply of moisture, are in many parts of the island in a most languishing and arid condition. The sun has "looked upon" them with a too ardent gaze, and they wave their parched leaves in vain for the descent of the "cool and refreshing shower." Conjecture is puzzled to assign a cause for the apparent alteration in the seasons, and piety would hope that there is no sin in the land, to occasion the windows of Heaven to be shut."

The *Globe* inserts a proposal from a Mr. Chapman, who has already brought back four discontented immigrants from Demerara, to visit every estate on which Barbadian emigrants are located, and to offer to take them back gratis, the planters of Barbados paying him for his trouble. The *Globe* says, "We think this ought not to pass unnoticed by our planting friends." The pithy remark of the *Liberal* is, "This game of bringing back can do no harm to the immigrants."

The following sample of obstructions to emigration is supplied by the same paper, from the proceedings of the Court of Appeal.

This was a hearing on a petition of Tobias Biggs, who complained that the churchwarden of St. George's parish, Mr. Hutchinson, had refused to sign a certificate for him to be allowed to emigrate from this island, unless he paid to him the sum of £10 to be applied to the support of the complainant's mother and grandmother. The statement of Biggs to the court was as follows:—

I went to Mr. Hutchinson with a paper for him to sign for me to quit the island. He asked me if I had any family; said I had mother and grandmother; asked me if I had provided for them, told him they did not depend on me for support. Said he could not sign the paper unless I made provision for them, as the law directed. Said I had no money; they did not depend on me, and they were very willing for me to go. Told me I must bring them to him in ten days, that he must see them with his own eyes, and know if they were willing. Told him I had been to Mr. Griffith the magistrate, and he said he could do nothing without him; gave me a scrip to Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Griffith gave me one back in return. When I carried the one back to Mr. Hutchinson, he flew into a passion, and said if I was not gone out of the gallery, he would make me go. He asked me how long I would be gone from the island; said I did not know, but that I would leave two dollars per month in Mr. Day's hands, for my parents. Mr. Hutchinson told me that would not do, I must leave £10 with him. Told him I did not know where to get so much money; said I was a very impertinent fellow. I told him no, sir, you are the first person ever told me so.

Mr. Hutchinson being called on by the court to account for his refusal to sign the certificate of Biggs, stated as follows:—

Biggs came to him for a certificate to quit the island, asked him if he had parents or grand parents.

The court here interrupted Mr. Hutchinson, to inform him that he seemed to labour under some misconstruction of the emigration act. The persons applying for certificates were not bound to declare whether or not they had a family to provide for. It was the duty of the churchwardens to inform themselves on that point within the ten days the law allowed.

Mr. Hutchinson proceeded: Biggs told him he had a mother and grandmother. Asked him if they were provided for; said he had nothing to give them. Told him to let them come to me to know whether they would allow him to go. One came but not the other. Told him I could not give the certificate without I was satisfied by seeing both. Said I must, and was very rude. Told him I could not, as the law did not allow me. Went to Brighton to see his parents, his mother was not there. Gave him a note to Mr. Griffith, who wrote back to say not to sign the certificate. Does not know whether the woman supports herself or not.

Question to Biggs from the court:—Is your mother dependent on you for support, or have you been in the habit of supplying her wants?

Ans.—My mother rents land from Brighton. I do not support her. My mother and grandmother live in one house.

The court asked Mr. Hutchinson whether, the ten days having expired, he was prepared to swear that the absence of Tobias Biggs from the island would throw a burden on the parish.

Answer—No, for he did not know the parties.

The court—Then you must sign the certificates forthwith.

Mr. Hutchinson—I thought he ought to have brought his parents forward, as I wish to go by the law.

The court—They have no business to bring them forward. The churchwarden must find out that: you cannot after the expiration of ten days, as long as you are not aware of any legal obstacle, withhold the certificate. The parties are not obliged to produce their relatives. Ten days are allowed the churchwarden to make inquiries, and if you can gain no information in that time, you must give the certificate. You will sign the certificate for Biggs without any further delay.

ANTIGUA.—DROUGHT.—The *Herald* says "We regret exceedingly the necessity to advert to the protracted unfavourable state of the weather, which continues alarmingly dry. We have been informed, that in some parts of the island, the young canes have suffered so severely as to have given rise to serious apprehensions for the next year's crop. That for this year has undergone considerable diminution, and will fall far short of what was expected at the beginning of the year."

DOMINICA.—CHANGES AMONG GOVERNORS.—SIR W. COLEBROOKE and MAJOR M'PHAIL.—(From the *Dominican.*)

It is now some months since a report has been on foot in this place that His Excellency SIR WILLIAM COLEBROOKE, governor-general of the Leeward Islands, meditated a return to England with his family for a time—an event which would of course call upon our present lieutenant governor, by virtue of a dormant commission on record, to assume the seat of the general government. This report has been put beyond doubt during the last week, and we have learned that Sir William takes passage in the eight day boat, which passed here on Sunday for the United States of America, whence his Excellency will take his departure for Europe. We sincerely wish his Excellency and family a safe and prosperous passage—at the same time that we cannot but tender our respectful congratulations to our esteemed lieutenant-governor on his assumption of a far wider sphere of executive authority, affording so many more opportunities for the exercise of his exalted talents—we feel much and sincere regret at the prospect of losing so tried and impartial a chief at the head of our local affairs. No governor, we may safely assert, has ever undertaken or accomplished more to bring about the amalgamation of the conflicting interests of parties, and to establish the foundation of a frame of social order and a state of mutual goodwill amongst the inhabitants, than Major M'Phail. If his Excellency has not fully succeeded, his endeavours are not the less to be esteemed, when we bear in mind the number and the character of the impediments with which he has had to contend. As relates to the more public measures of Governor M'Phail's admired administration, to which we are mainly indebted for those enactments now in force for the regulation of the community, we cannot speak in too much praise; but prefer deferring that topic, as well as others illustrative of the public obligations the country is under to His Excellency, to a future period. Positive information has also been obtained as to Major M'Phail's successor, Her Majesty, it is reported, having named as our lieutenant-governor, Major Hort of the eighty-first regiment, now in Barbados. We know but little of this officer, beyond his having a name in the literary world as the author of a work on the rock of Gibraltar, and his having lately acted as colonial secretary at Barbados, during the absence of Mr. Sheridan the patentee If His Excellency is of liberal principles, above the insignificant distinctions and prejudices of the West India Society, as we have every reason to believe he is, there is a fair prospect of success in the work of the amelioration of all classes, the basis of which has been laid by Major M'Phail, and is so ardently desired in accordance with their known spirit of peace and conciliation, by the body now possessing the ascendancy.

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—The Deportation Act of this island is disallowed. The editor of the *Advertiser* says, that if the proprietors would only introduce an equitable rent system, and relinquish the power of arbitrary ejectment, there would be no need of any deportation act at all.

TRINIDAD. The Trinidadians have had enough of immigration from Europe. The *Standard* says, "His Excellency has made a very proper proviso in the case of the Havre immigrants by the *Louise*, that those who employ them must give security that they shall not become a burthen on the colony, for at least twelve months after their arrival. We had hoped, under existing circumstances, that we should have had no more of this class of immigrants for the present. We trust that the *Louise* will be the last of these arrivals."

BRITISH GUIANA. THE FIRST IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED STATES. (From the *Royal Gazette.*) A piece of news equal in importance to any that has been laid before the public for a length of time, is that of the arrival of the first cargo of American immigrants from Mr. CARBERY. The brig *Porpoise* came to anchor in the Demerary River yesterday morning, having on board 71, and about four o'clock in the afternoon the greater number, if not all of them, came ashore. All of them whom we saw were well dressed, clean, and in good health and spirits; only one individual of them, a woman, died on the passage. The most of them can read, and ten

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or fifteen with whom we conversed are respectable in point of intelligence. They speak in the highest terms of the candour, urbanity, and kindness of Mr. CARBERY. Messrs. PECK and PRICE had not arrived when they left; but the immigrants state that there are thousands waiting for the report which these two delegates will give of this colony, in order to determine them as to their coming hither. They said, however, that they had resolved not to be guided by the statements of the delegates, even suppose these had been in circulation before they embarked, but to come to the colony and see for themselves.

The greater number of this arrival are tradesmen of various kinds; but there are also a good many labourers. The proportion of women is about one-fourth. Some have left wives and families behind, but will send for them if they remain here after they discover the true condition of things; and there can be little doubt that they will remain.

THE EMIGRANTS FROM BARBADOS.—The same paper gives the following extract of a private letter:—"I am sorry to say that there has been a serious misunderstanding on plantation Blankenberg; the labourers have all left the estate, and intended returning to Barbados by the Peg a Ramsay, there not being any estate in the immediate vicinity of Blankenberg on which they would be received. Mr. Christy, of plantation Malgre Tout, however, offered them employment, and they, after inspecting the estate, and being perfectly satisfied with the situation, have agreed to remain."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The verses of B. D. are well intended, but have not sufficient merit.

In our recent list of subscriptions we have to make the following corrections:—

Joseph Larder, Louth—donation £5 0 0—instead of £50 0 0.
Also instead of—Thomas Butler, Witham, £10 0 0—read,
Friends at Witham, per Thomas Butler.

W. H. Patisson, Esq.	5	0	0	James Catchpool	0	10	0
J. H. Patisson, Esq.	1	0	0	Thomas Smith	0	10	0
T. Butler	1	0	0	J. Unwin	0	10	0
W. Butler	0	10	0	Benjamin Dixon	0	10	0
R. W. Dixon	0	10	0				

Since the last publication, the following have been received:—

Collection after sermon, by Rev. Thomas A. Dale, at the parish church, Manby, near Lincoln	1	5	0
William Ewart, Esq. M. P. (Annual.)	5	0	0

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 29TH.

SINCE the breaking up of the Convention, arrangements have been made, and are now in course of accomplishment, to visit some of the principal places in England, for the strengthening of its anti-slavery organization; a service in which several of the delegates from the United States—we may name Messrs. Birney, Stanton, and Galusha, have readily afforded their aid. Of the various public meetings which have been held reports have been kindly sent us; but the crowded state of our columns prevents us from taking more than a passing notice of them. On the 17th of this month a meeting was held in the town-hall, at Cambridge; a town in which at present no anti-slavery society exists. The mayor, Ebenezer Foster, Esq., presided, and the assembly was addressed by Messrs. Birney, Galusha, Barrett, and Scoble; supported by Messrs. Roff and Thodey, the Baptist and Independent ministers of the place. An excellent spirit was manifested, and the meeting may be considered as having laid a foundation for future operations in that town and its neighbourhood. At Northampton, on the 20th, a meeting was held in the Wesleyan chapel, which was well attended. The speakers were the rev. Messrs. Bennett, Prust, and Davis, (Independents) Gray, (Baptist) and Goodwin, (Wesleyan). "I trust," says Mr. Scoble, from whose letters we are gathering our information, "that our cause is now firmly established at Northampton, and will be zealously supported there. I have hopes that a ladies' auxiliary will be formed, in addition to the gentlemen's society already in existence." On the 22nd a meeting was held at Nottingham, but not a public one; those only who were of reputation in our cause being invited, through fear of the chartists. "Yet," says our above-named correspondent, "I hope some good was done. Our devoted friend William Wilson was in the chair; and a resolution was unanimously adopted on the subject of American slavery and non-intercourse, moved by the rev. Mr. Gilbert, and seconded by Mr. Clarke, the secretary of the Nottingham Auxiliary." On the 23rd the Derby Auxiliary held its first meeting, the best anti-slavery meeting ever held in that town. William Evans, Esq., M. P., took the chair; and the principles and objects of the society were explained and enforced by the rev. Mr. Abney, a clergyman of the church of England. "The secretaries of the new society, are Mr. Middleton, and Mr. Shaw, the former a churchman and the latter a dissenter, but both thoroughly with us. These gentlemen have been indefatigable in their exertions to secure supporters to the institution; and already it numbers among its patrons the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Leicester, the bishop of the diocese, and other persons of rank and reputation." The meeting at Birmingham was held on Friday the 24th. We take from the report of it in the *Patriot* the introductory paragraph. "One of the most numerous and respectable meetings ever assembled in this town in behalf of liberty and humanity took place last evening in the Town Hall, being the anniversary of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery society. The interior of the magnificent building presented a most imposing and interesting spectacle at the hour appointed for the commencement of the proceedings, the body and galleries of the building being filled by an audience representing all sects and parties in the town and neighbourhood, interested in promoting the liberation of the slave, and in securing to the enfranchised negros of our West India islands the full benefits and advantages purchased by the great boon of emancipation. At six o'clock Sir Eardley Wilmot, Bart, M.P., made his appearance on the platform, and was received with loud cheers. The hon. Bart. was accompanied by Joseph Sturge, Esq., the High Bailiff (Rice Harris, Esq.); Charles Shaw, Esq., magistrate; the Hon. J. G. Birney, and H. B. Stanton, Esq., of New York, (being a deputation from the friends of the cause in America); John Sturge and John Scoble, Esqrs.; the Rev. Thomas Moseley, the rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham; the Rev. John Angell James, Independent minister; the Rev. Mr. Macdonald, Wesleyan minister; the Rev. William Knibb, Baptist minister, from Jamaica; and a large number of other ministers and lay gentlemen belonging to the town, and several from America." The meeting was addressed by the chairman, the Rev. G. B. Macdonald (Wesleyan), J. G. Birney, Esq., the Rev. Elon Galusha, the Rev. J. A. James, the Rev. O. Winslow, of Leamington, Rice Harris, Esq., high bailiff, H. B. Stanton, Esq., the Rev. W. Knibb, and John Sturge and John Scoble, Esqrs.. The resolutions passed at this important meeting are advertised in our columns. To this detail we have to add, that a similar meeting, but in one respect more interesting than all these, was held at Woodbridge, Suffolk, on the 16th of July. We give the following particulars from the *Ipswich Journal*.

The venerable Thomas CLARKSON presided on the occasion, and when he took the chair, was supported by Geo. Thomas, and F. W. Corrance, Esqrs., the Rev. G. Webster, the rector of Grundisburgh, the Revds. H. Taylor, A. Good, and J. Ross, with several gentlemen, many of whom were members of the Society of Friends. With much pathos, yet with more strength than might have been expected, Mr. Clarkson addressed the meeting. He observed.

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

"I feel myself unable, in consequence of old age and the feeble state of my health, to address you for more than a few minutes; yet I was unwilling, living at such a short distance from you, to be absent from this meeting, because its object is the same as that, which has occupied nearly the whole of my life.

"You are met this day, as I understand, to form yourselves into a Committee to co-operate with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. You cannot, I think, be engaged in a more noble or a more Christian work; for the object of this Society is to extirpate slavery from the whole world. This is, indeed, a bold and a gigantic undertaking; but we must remember that there is no undertaking, however great, which, if it has God's blessing upon it, may not be brought to a successful issue.

"I shall not now enter into any history of slavery. It will be sufficient to state what it is in a few words. It is, in the first place, to take from a man his liberty *against his will*, and when *he has done nothing* to forfeit it. It is, secondly, to *force him* to work *without wages* by *the whip, the chain, and other instruments of torture*, for the remainder of his life. It is, thirdly, to consider *him as property, like a beast*, during that period, and to treat him accordingly. And, lastly, to consign his unoffending children, *like the offspring of cattle*, to the same deplorable condition. Can there be any crime upon earth of greater heinousness than this? And can there be any evil *which more demands* your sympathy, or calls more loudly to you for redress?

"Ladies and gentlemen, in looking at modern slavery, as it is carried on in different parts of the world, I may mention an anecdote which perhaps is new to you. There are in the United States of America, certain farms which are set apart for the *breeding* and rearing of slaves for sale, in the same manner as certain farmers in Scotland *breed* their bullocks for our markets. Now, whenever this is the case, there is an attempt on the part of the owners, to blunt, deaden, and brutalize the intellects of their slaves, so that they may have no notion whatever that they are *what we call men and women*, but that they *belong solely to the brute creation*; and this is done with a view that, *like brute beasts*, they may submit the more quietly to the yoke. For this purpose, the *slaves upon these estates* are called to their meals by the sound of a shell, and *are fed in troughs like our pigs*. They are made to work in the day like other slaves, by the whip, and at night, when they go to rest, they are huddled together, and lodged in sheds and hovels, *like our cattle*. They are allowed to know nothing of the conveniences of a cottage—nothing of its furniture or utensils. They are made to spend their lives like cattle, *entirely* in *fields* and *stables*. They are known to themselves and one another *only as beasts*; and to prevent any improvement of their intellect, and to keep their minds in utter and eternal ignorance and darkness, all education is forbidden them under the severest *punishment*. In one or two of these states, to teach a slave to read is *death*. Can you believe that such monsters as these their owners ever could have been men? Not content with wearing out, and torturing the bodies of their slaves, not content with brutalizing their intellects, they deprive them of what alone could give them comfort under their sufferings, the comfort of religion—for they deprive them of all means of coming to the knowledge of the word of God. But I have said enough to give you an insight into the subject, and excite your commiseration. I shall, therefore, now sit down, and leave it to yourselves to devise such means as will best accomplish the object of this meeting."

IN pursuance of the directions of the Convention, a deputation of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society waited on Lord Palmerston on Saturday last, at the Foreign Office, to present to him the documents which appear in our columns of this day. The deputation consisted of George Stacey, Robert Foster, George Bennet, John Beaumont, and J. H. Tredgold,

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Esqrs. and the rev. J. H. Hinton. They were received most courteously by the noble secretary for foreign affairs, who entered freely into conversation with them on the topics brought before him. With regard to the purchase and holding of slaves by British functionaries abroad, his lordship fully admitted the inconsistency and evil influence of the practice, and engaged that full inquiry should be made into the facts alleged, with a view of putting an end to it wherever it might be found to exist. On the subject of Mohammedan slavery he expressed his fears whether much could be done to uproot a system so identified with the whole frame of society in the east; but he assured the deputation that no opportunity should be lost by which the influence of the British government could be made to bear on so desirable an object. The deputation regretted to learn from his lordship that the atrocious slave hunts in Upper Egypt are still continued, although not, as formerly, resorted to for the payment of Mehemet Ali's troops. On the whole the deputation had much reason to be gratified with their interview with the noble lord; and they acknowledge with pleasure, not only his personal courtesy, but his evident appreciation of their object, and his declared readiness to promote it.

WE had the pleasure of inserting in our last a valuable letter from Mr. Prescod, on the deficiency of the sugar crop in the West Indies; to-day we present to our readers a second and equally valuable letter on the alleged deficiency of labour there. He brings his local knowledge to bear on this vexed subject with great effect, and we hope no persons desirous of understanding the subject will fail to read it attentively through.

THE arrival of two West India mails since our last, has supplied us copiously with news from that quarter, and we have extracted the most interesting portions of it. The maliciously rumoured Baptist insurrection at Falmouth, Jamaica, and the cruel and probably murderous proceedings against Mr. Oughton, (Mr. Stainsby, we find, through some not inexplicable leniency, is not, like his fellow-victim, in gaol,) we have noticed in separate articles. The agitation of the governor's dispatch among that portion (for it is only a portion) of the Baptists who have so warmly taken it up is subsiding; and with it, we hope, will subside the irritation which it has caused. In the review of the proceedings which have been held on this subject, much allowance may fairly be made for the speedy and somewhat explosive ignition of the feelings of such young freemen as the emancipated population of Jamaica, as well as for the hasty and uncourteous expressions of orators as yet so little trained to the proprieties of public life. We trust our good friends who have made themselves prominent on this occasion, not excepting some of the missionaries themselves, and especially the younger ones, will not cherish the opinion that their performance has this time been perfect, or near perfection. They must not be angry if we tell them that their method of speaking of persons in authority may be more respectful without being servile; and that their way of repelling injurious misrepresentations may have more coolness and dignity without compromising their independence. We felt for them when we read Sir Charles Metcalfe's dispatch, and we noticed the passage which has given offence in a manner from which we earnestly wish they had taken example. We request them to consider whether it would not have been equally useful, somewhat more dignified, and far more politic, if they had contented themselves with saying, "the governor has spoken before he knows us; and when he shall become acquainted with us, we are sure he will alter his opinion. "All men may err; and it is wise to leave to every man a *locus penitentiæ*. Besides, it was obvious enough that the despatch could not have been drawn up by the governor himself, but that it must have been prepared by some of his confidential advisers, to whom, on his arrival in the colony, he could hardly do otherwise in the first instance than listen. It is now well known and broadly stated in Jamaica to have been the despatch of Sir Joshua Rowe and the Bishop, for which eminent personages it is, we think, a remarkable approximation towards candour and impartiality; although the Jamaica press must, of course, be very indignant that a minister of religion should so mix himself up with politics. As we have said, however, we hope that this paroxysm is passing away; and that the next time our excellent friends appear before the public, they will manifest a satisfactory and gratifying improvement.

Our readers must do the Jamaica planters the justice of perusing two articles in our recent intelligence, which serve clearly to show why that valuable island cannot be quiet and prosperous. One of them gives an account of the visit to his estates of Sir Simon Haughton Clark, who adopted measures of wanton severity, although in the midst of crop, towards the people on Long Pond, because they declined his invitation to a dance, in consequence of which they were driven to quit the estate. Short crop will of course be attributed to the Baptist missionaries; who certainly have taught the people to eschew dancing and drunkenness. The next paragraph exhibits a different mode of conciliating the peasantry. On the 4th of June the cottages of two labourers were deliberately set on fire, about eight in the morning, and reduced to ashes, by some black men, who pleaded that they acted in obedience to orders. These orders, it seems, were given by Mr. Webb, overseer, and Mr. Alexander Grant, attorney; the latter alleging disputed possession, as between two proprietors, in justification of the atrocity! Such is the audacity which the misnamed conciliatory system of Sir Charles Metcalfe has encouraged the planters to exhibit.

On the all-absorbing topic of immigration, we may just notice that several of the West India islands are writhing under the declaration of the *Colonial Gazette*, that Trinidad was the only colony (Guiana has since been added by the same authority,) which granted equal privileges to whites and blacks; and are making vast professions to obtain its good word for themselves. The notorious fact is, that not one of the colonies is characterized, either by equal legislation for both colours, or by an equal administration of the laws for both. Some are beginning to coax the immigrants by kind treatment; and even this little regard to their interest we are glad to see. Let it become universal. It will soon be heard of. But even Jamaica is crying aloud for immigrants. Jamaica! where men are knocked down by bookkeepers for expressing their opinion, and beaten by masters for asking for their wages; where labourers are charged double rent, because they will not dance and get drunk with a profligate master; and where, if the property of your house is disputed between one landlord and another, it is in broad-day light set on fire over your head! Persons thinking of emigrating should by all means go to Jamaica!

It will be seen with pleasure that Major McPhail, who was Lieutenant-Governor of Dominica, has, on the departure of Sir W. Colebrooke, been made Governor-General of the Leeward islands. The highest commendation is due to his administration in the island he now quits. His successor is Major Hort, government secretary at Barbados.

The papers announce severe drought in some islands. These are God-sends for the planters, opportunities for ascribing short crop to the idleness of the blacks. The first cargo of immigrants from the United States had been received with great joy at Demerara. The Trinidadians were trying to *stop* immigration from Europe.

THE public has been within the last fortnight well nigh "frightened from its propriety" by accounts, said to have been received from Jamaica by way of New York, of a black insurrection at Falmouth in that island, headed by the Baptist missionaries, and resulting in the military slaughter of no less than a hundred persons. The very slender materials out of which this artful and mendacious representation has been fabricated are now matter of general knowledge, and the paper principally concerned, the *Times*, has after a fashion apologized for its indiscretion. How easily some people believe reports that are to the disadvantage of the baptists and the blacks! But let this pass. What has really taken place may be gathered from the following memorial, which has been presented to the governor by the Rev. T. E. Ward, the Baptist missionary directly concerned.

May it please your Excellency,—

A matter of considerable importance urges me to address your Excellency without the least delay. I have to state—

1. That a dozen or more Africans, who had been captured from the slave-vessel Ulysses, and whose services had been secured last December, in the usual manner, from Captain R. S. Lambert, by the Hon. Thomas M'Neil, custos, &c. of Westmoreland, had left his service during the last week, and found their way to this town.

2. That, on my return from the rural districts of this parish yesterday, I found no fewer than seven of the said Africans on my premises, to whom accommodation had been afforded by the African whose services your Excellency kindly had transferred from the 2nd W. I. regiment to the Baptist Education society.

3. I learned from them (though I do not hold myself responsible for the correctness of the statements) that, whilst located upon New Galloway estate, the property of Mr. M'Neil, or under his management, these Africans had certain allotments of land, on which they had cultivated corn, yams, and other vegetables and esculents; that now the crop was grown about two or three feet high, and they expected to reap the fruits of their labour, they were ordered to leave the estate. Also, that scarce any clothing or food was given to them; they were therefore discontented with their situation.

4. That they were ordered to remove from New Galloway estate to a place called Lincoln. This statement has been confirmed by an old African already long acclimated, whom Mr. M'Neil sent up with a constable to apprehend them.

5. That, in consequence of this harsh treatment, which seemed to them unjust and oppressive, they made a great noise upon the estate, and positively refused to remove. The overseer upon the property became alarmed (very naturally), and ordered them to be tied and conveyed to Lincoln. This only created a greater degree of turbulency on the part of the Africans, at the manifestation of which the overseer, as I am informed, loaded his musket and threatened to shoot them. This greatly excited their fears, and they started off for Montego Bay, where they hoped to meet Captain Lambert to settle their differences, or afford them suitable protection. Not finding him there, they came on to Falmouth, stating that the road was wide enough for them to walk in.

6. I supported nine of them at my personal expense yesterday, and sought an interview with the magistrates, to obtain their instructions as to what would be best to be done for them.

7. This morning, to my surprise, Mr. Adam Christie, inspector of police for this parish, called on me, stating that he had a letter from Mr. M'Neil, through the medium of a Montego Bay constable, who had a warrant for the apprehension of the said Africans.

8. I suggested the propriety of having a bench of magistrates formed to decide on the best way of conveying those Africans to Montego Bay, to Mr. Lambert, who would, as their proper protector, see them justified in regard to their respective claims.

9. My suggestion met the approval of the only two magistrates who could be found to form a bench, Mr. stipendiary justice Kelly and Dr. J. L. Mason; but the clerk of the peace, Mr. W. Holder, declaring that the matter was not within the jurisdiction of the magistrates of this

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parish, it was thought most advisable to have the Africans sent back in mule-carts to Montego Bay, where it was understood Captain Lambert now is.

10. This arrangement having been made, I left the peace-office in the hope of its being fully executed, but in less than two hours afterwards I heard that the Africans were being most cruelly treated by Mr. Adam Christie, the inspector of police.

11. I repaired to the court-house, and found the poor strangers in handcuffs, and under a strong guard of constables and police, and beside them a concourse of people expressing their highest indignation at the conduct of the police towards the wretched and half-naked Africans.

12. I immediately offered bail on their account to the clerk of the peace, Mr. Holder, whose conduct throughout was most vacillating, and it was demurred to whether their offence (desertion) was bailable or not.

13. Mr. Christie, the inspector of police, had the ungentlemanliness to say that I wished to rescue the people from him. I have only to state, I did not. I constitutionally and legally offered bail for their liberation, which was refused to be taken.

14. At length Mr. Thomas Robert Vermont, a magistrate of the parish, who absolutely refused to sit on the bench in the forenoon of the day, was called into the peace-office, to whom I again offered bail.

15. Mr. Vermont wished to decline taking it, but he asked the opinion of the clerk of the peace, Mr. Holder.

16. At first Mr. Holder conceived that nothing more was necessary than to send the Africans to Montego Bay to Mr. Lambert. In this I acquiesced, but demanded their liberation on bail, according to British law.

17. Mr. Vermont, acting upon the advice of the clerk of the peace, said he could not take bail. I then said, since it was upon the authority of the clerk of the peace he so acted, I should let the matter rest, and make my appeal to your Excellency.

18. Mr. Holder, feeling the responsibility would fall upon him, referred to the law authorities, and at length told Mr. Vermont that the offence was bailable; on which Mr. Vermont (verbally) said, "I take your bail for the people, but you only do all this for the sake of effect." I answered, "I appear here as a British subject, and offer bail for British subjects. Is it accepted or refused?" Mr. Vermont walked away without taking my bond.

19. I went to the serjeant of police, under whose charge the Africans were placed, and requested him to deal leniently with them, as I had offered bail on their account. He replied that he could not deliver them without an authority in writing.

20. In a short time Mr. Vermont, the aforesaid magistrate, proceeded to the street where the Africans in charge of the police were, and where a great multitude of citizens had assembled together. The Africans had seated themselves on the ground; Mr. Vermont read the riot act, and immediately proceeded to the garrison to call out the military.

21. Soon after about 60 or 80 rank and file of H. M. 68th Light Infantry, under the command of Major Huie, were on the spot, and I regret to have to state that sundry missiles and stones were fired at the military by some of the inhabitants of the town; that the poor strangers were violently thrust into a cattle-cart, and escorted to the jail, not without suffering much injury from blows with sticks inflicted by the town constables, and from being trampled on by the soldiers in a fatigue dress, when they strove to get out of the cart.

22. That the military, whether from the hard usage they had received, (and which, I must say, they bore with dignified patience and forbearance) or from the authority of the local magistrates, felt themselves under the necessity of loading their muskets, and threatening to fire among the people.

23. That I had the happiness to intercede between the conflicting parties, and proposed to Major Huie and Dr. Mason (the aforesaid magistrate), that I would either go to the gaol whither the Africans were taken, or stand before the infuriated multitude to advise their quiet return to their domiciles.

24. My proposition in the latter case was accepted; and I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency that when I stated to the people my determination to report the whole of the circumstances of the case to your Excellency for your decision, they quietly dispersed, and thus prevented, as I hope, the effusion of much blood.

I leave the matter for your Excellency's immediate attention, and have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's humble servant,
THOMAS E. WARD.

Falmouth, June 26th, 1840.

This statement, which, as made by Mr. Ward, may be considered to be *ex parte*, is sustained by the lengthened evidence taken by the magistrates during five successive days, and may be taken as a fair general outline of the case. A strong and eager effort was made by Mr. Christie, the inspector of police, and his abettors, to implicate Mr. Ward in the legal offence of obstructing the officers in the discharge of their duty; for which alleged crime he would no doubt have been promptly held to bail, could any plausible ground have been laid for doing so. The five days investigation, however, terminated in holding to bail one black man, but not one of the Africans, for riotous behaviour, and adjourning the inquiry to the 15th of June. So far as the Baptist missionary is concerned, he seems to have manifested in the first instance nothing but a humane sympathy with the destitute Africans, and to have required in the second nothing but the regular proceedings of British law. When the soldiers were prepared to fire, and might in a moment have deluged the streets of Falmouth with blood, it is admitted on all hands that it was by Mr. Ward's influence that the crowd were induced to disperse, and that the destruction of human life was prevented. His accusers are evidently very sore upon this point. They cannot forgive the virtues and the influence of this public benefactor. That the people should have thrown stones, either at the soldiers or police is undoubtedly matter of unqualified censure and regret; and we earnestly hope such a proceeding will not be repeated. We know that upon some grounds allowance may be claimed in mitigation of their fault; but it is a fault still, and a fault which they must learn to avoid, if they would either please their best friends in England, or promote their own advantage in Jamaica. We cannot uphold them in violence, nor pity them if they suffer the punishment to which they expose themselves by it.

The Baptist missionary and the blacks, however, are far from being the only parties implicated in this affair. The conduct of the police is sworn, upon testimony which is far from being rebutted, to have been unnecessarily violent, and even brutal; so that the people who saw it cried out, with very natural indignation, "There is second slavery." Jamaica constables have not hitherto been used to treat black prisoners with much ceremony; and we hope this affair will furnish a lesson to them in the new art of dealing with free men. But, if the police were faulty, the magistrates were still more so. We are at a loss to conceive on what ground the magistrates should have issued a warrant for the apprehension of the Africans at all. They were not runaway *slaves*. Neither were they acting inconsistently as free men indentured to Mr. M'Neil; since, being dissatisfied with their treatment, they were only in search of their official protector and the redresser of their wrongs. There could have been no need of taking them into custody to bring them before Captain Lambert, whom, in fact, they were seeking, and to find whom they would, in the enjoyment of their liberty, have cheerfully gone anywhere. To issue and execute a warrant for their apprehension, therefore, was altogether a piece of gratuitous oppression. We think it was also illegal. At the very utmost they had only violated a contract of service; an offence for which persons are liable to an action for damages, but not to arrest and imprisonment as felons. But it may be doubted whether they had been guilty even of breach of contract. Upon this point we find the following observations in the *Colonial Reformer*:—

> Their contract, we must observe, is not sanctioned by any law of the land; it is, in fact, simply *an arrangement*, in which the government and the planter are the contracting parties, leaving the African a mere passive instrument between them. This arrangement is all very well so long as it is mutually satisfactory, but the moment it becomes irksome or oppressive towards either party, they have a perfect right to put an end to it, without any legal process, or the sanction of any judicial authority. Taking this view of the case, we must hold that the whole of the proceedings against the Africans at Falmouth were as illegal as they were oppressive and unjust; they constituted a flagrant violation of the common law-rights of the subject, which, in any part of the British dominions not corrupted by slavery, would entitle the sufferers to heavy compensation in damages for the wrong sustained.

If there was wrong on the part of the magistrates who issued the warrant, there was equal wrong on the part of those who refused bail for the prisoners. Whether the clerk of the peace, Mr. Holder, was really so ignorant of his business as he seemed to be, when he instructed the magistrates that they could not take bail, we will not pretend to say; but when, upon consulting the law books, he had told this sapient justice that bail could be taken, we think the conduct of Mr. Vermont was utterly inexcusable. Upon receiving this information, he is stated in the examinations to have said to Mr. Ward, "I will take your bail for these people *if they are brought before me*;" and he immediately left the court house! Why did he not send for the people, that they might be bailed and discharged! Mr. Vermont knew very well that it was the coercion practised on the Africans which caused the excitement, and that their liberation would restore all to quietness. He had proffered bail before him; yet he turned away, leaving the thing undone, and we think intending to obstruct and evade it. It is altogether a notable example of magisterial incompetency, and of blundering if not artful management, mercifully withheld from a bloody issue. Captain Lambert has promptly cancelled the indentures of the Africans to Mr. M'Neil, and placed them with another employer; while on their part an action for false imprisonment has been commenced against the magistrates. We close our notice of this affair for the present by the following extract of a private letter:—

> A dreadful scene must have ensued, and the streets have been deluged in blood, but for the prudence and moderation of Major Huie, the commanding officer, and the strenuous exertions of Mr. Ward, and of Dr. Mason, who deserves great praise as the only magistrate who did his duty, and acted with discretion on the occasion. This affair, the result altogether of the injustice or ignorance, in the first instance, and afterwards, of the *fears* of their own partisan Vermont, have the pro-slavery party exaggerated into "*high treason*," and "*Baptist Insurrection and Rebellion*." The faction in Falmouth have received a lesson they will not easily forget; and one good effect will at least result from the occurrence, that the ingenious and charitable inference drawn by the *Morning Chronicle*, that the peculiar flexibility and docility of the negro character are proof of his being of an inferior caste, and as such lawful game, if not for the violence, at least for the art and fraud of his white fellow, is not likely *now* to lead to any rash experiment on the subject.

WE have already mentioned that the rev. Samuel Oughton, Baptist missionary, had been sent to prison by virtue of the judgment in the celebrated action, Grant *versus* Oughton. We subjoin two letters from him, one to Dr. Palmer and another to Mr. Sturge, dated Kingston gaol, May 28th and June 14th, 1840; from which it appears that he is pursued even there with unblushing artifice and cruelty, and that, although with unbroken spirit, he is too likely to fall a victim to his confinement. For him in his present circumstances we fear nothing is possible but

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sympathy and prayer, beyond that horrible thing in Jamaica, due course of law. As to his adversary, Grant, we have reason to believe that a prosecution against him is to be positively instituted; in this case we shall soon see what the grand jury will do with it. The following are the letters:—

Kingston Gaol, May 28, 1840.

DEAR SIR,—By the place from which I date this letter, you will perceive that the spirit of persecution and injustice has added another to the list of its victims.

I was this evening arrested at the suit of the hoary profligate, Grant, for the sum of £2000 damages, and upwards of £1000 costs of the action which was tried at the last July Cornwall assizes, when, in spite of evidence the most convincing, clear, and incontrovertible, a prejudiced jury gave the above verdict against me.

To set aside this verdict, (which was considered both cruel and unjust, not only on account of the excessive damages, but also as being contrary to law and evidence,) a suit was immediately commenced in the court of error, preparatory to laying the whole matter before the supreme court in England; security to the amount of £500 sterling, was given for the due prosecution of that suit, and the bill of exceptions tendered last September to Grant's attorney. These, however, were detained by them until April, and then returned with some frivolous objections.

Still his attorney professed to my legal advisers his intention of pursuing the suit, and further assured them that the entering up of the judgment was only to enable the writ in error to progress. Yet, notwithstanding these professions, they contrived to induce the chief, before he left the island, to grant a special precept against me, and thus, by a process most dishonourable and base, they have torn me from the bosom of my family, removed me from an important sphere of usefulness, and shut me up within the walls of a loathsome prison.

This, sir, is the way justice is obstructed and the guiltless are oppressed. Had Grant been conscious of his innocence, and only desired his character to be purified from the taint which attached to it, would he have pursued such a course as this? Would he not rather, in the strength of conscious integrity, have invited inspection and been willing to submit to the strictest scrutiny? But instead of this, during the trial he availed himself of every artifice and objection to stifle the evidence, and now he has adopted the last resource which fear or malice could prompt; and by shutting his victim in a jail, he hopes to stop the further progress of inquiry, and thus to prevent his atrocious pollutions from being more fully known.

How long I may be detained in this wretched place it is impossible to tell. Perhaps I may end my days here, for certainly my constitution (already reduced by severe sickness, from which I have but just risen,) will not long be able to endure confinement, and the want of air and exercise, to which I am now subjected. In such a case his revenge, I hope, will be satisfied, and he will be able to add murder to the long catalogue of his offences; but be the end what it may, one consolation supports me under every trial, and that is, I do not suffer as an evil doer, but for the vindication of purity and righteousness. And painful as my position may be, I would not for worlds exchange conditions with my relentless oppressor; nor do I envy those men who, calling themselves ministers of the gospel, and under the mask of christian brotherhood, stole into my confidence that they might betray me into the hands of my enemies, and thus encompass my ruin.

I remain dear Sir, yours truly,

To Dr. Palmer. SAMUEL OUGHTON.

Kingston Gaol, June 14th, 1840

I think I informed you that, in consequence of several irregularities in the writ on which I was taken, I had been advised to move to have it quashed. This was at first delayed by the malicious cunning of our opposing counsel (Panton), and this week it has been again frustrated through the gross negligence or wilful neglect of one of the assistant judges, H. Mitchell, who, although he could manage to attend all the week until this day, when my argument came on, then absented himself, by which the business of the court was stopped, and my cause postponed until the following day, (Saturday). Again he failed to come; consequently, only two judges being present, the argument could not be heard without the mutual consent of both parties, a proposal, which Mr. Panton refused to agree to. When it will now come on I cannot guess; next week is the last of the sitting, and the business so much in arrear that my solicitor has hinted the possibility of my being obliged to wait until next court, which does not come on until October; thus giving me four months longer imprisonment in this unhealthy and miserable abode. The idea of this, fills me with alarm. Already my health has suffered greatly, having only just arisen from a sick bed to enter this prison; my nerves are shattered, and I greatly fear that, ere four months have passed, I shall find a refuge in the grave from all further malice of my enemies.

I do hope the British public will not allow this matter to sleep. We have now the most incontestible evidence of the corruption of our judicial courts; trial by jury (constituted as juries are here) must prove a scourge to all who are opposed to the interests or vices of the prevailing party; while in the conduct of Grant we have a proof of the malice which actuates these men, and the lengths to which they will go to destroy any one who raises up his voice, on behalf either of humanity or morality. I certainly never, under any circumstances, could trust a cause in their hands, or attempt to defend myself before such a body of men; and this I believe is the sentiment, not only of every Baptist missionary in the island, but also of multitudes of our people.

I hope application has been made to Lord J. Russell concerning the affidavits respecting Grant, sent three months ago. I wish they could be moved for in the House of Commons. They contain crimes far more revolting and beastly than those brought forward at the trials, and ought to be strictly inquired into, and if proved, severely punished. I have, however, little hope of that. Sir C. Metcalfe is so devotedly attached to his system of conciliating the planters, that it will require much to move him, and I sometimes fear that the Colonial Office is pursuing a policy too much of the same character: and even if they order a prosecution, a Jamaica jury will be to him a city of refuge, and they who before saved him when tried for murder, will again preserve him if exposed to trial for his nameless pollutions. I trust, however, that nothing will be left undone by our English friends.

Grant had an action brought against him in March, 1839, for fraudulently taking a poor slave's cow, &c. It was decided against him, sixty pounds and costs. He moved afterwards in the grand court for a nonsuit; and after a year and a quarter, during which he by law tried to exhaust the poor woman's means and patience, it was last week decided against him, the original verdict being confirmed. You may see the decision in the Despatch of the 18th instant. Yours very truly,

SAMUEL OUGHTON.

To Joseph Sturge, Esq.

WE are requested to say that Senor Luis de Usoz y Rio, whose name appears in the list of the General Anti-slavery Convention, No. 431, was introduced as a gentleman from Madrid, and not as a delegate from that city.

AN error in our report of the address of Mr. G. W. Alexander, at the Convention has become the occasion of a letter of correction from him, of which we give the following extract:—

"I shall be obliged by thy correcting a statement said to have been made by me, that there were eighteen slaves employed as preachers in Surinam, by a society in Holland. My observation was, that a society for promoting the spread of the gospel among the slaves in Surinam has in its employment, eighteen slaves—not, indeed, as preachers, but as boatmen, &c. I regret that such a society should give a sanction in this way to the unrighteous system of slavery."

Home News.

THE BARBADOS AUXILIARY AND THE REV. W. S. AUSTIN.

At a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society held at 27, New Broad Street, London, on Friday, the 17th of July, 1840.

JACOB POST, Esq., in the chair.

The attention of the committee having been called to certain proceedings of the Barbados Auxiliary British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at a special meeting of their committee held on the 24th day of March, 1840, at Bridgetown, on the subject of the recent act of the legislature of that island to regulate the emigration of free labourers, and also to a letter addressed by the Rev. Wiltshire S. Austin to his Excellency Sir Evan MacGregor, the governor of the island, which appears in the Barbados Globe, of the 30th of April, condemnatory of those proceedings of the Auxiliary Society:

It was unanimously resolved:—That this committee cannot but regard the said act of the Barbados legislature, restricting the free labourers of the island in the exercise of their undoubted right to seek the best market for their labour, and making it penal for their friends or other persons to contract with, or assist them, either by their counsels or otherwise, to remove from the island in pursuit of their lawful business or calling, as a flagrant violation of their rights as British subjects, a perversion of every principle of justice, and in direct opposition to the spirit and letter of the abolition act, and, as such, meriting the severest reprobation.

That, whilst this committee give no opinion on the comparative merits or demerits of other colonies as suitable places for emigration to the peasantry of Barbados, and regret that any differences of opinion should exist among the members of the Barbados Auxiliary on the character and tendency of the said law, they cannot but approve of the course taken by the committee at the special meeting of the 24th March, and will cordially and affectionately unite with them in seeking the immediate repeal of so obnoxious a statute, by respectfully and earnestly calling on Her Majesty's principal secretary for the colonies to advise Her Majesty in council to exercise Her Royal prerogative in its disallowance.

Extracted from the proceedings.

J. H. TREDGOLD, Sec.

THE COLONIAL OFFICE. In a long political article, the *Patriot* has the following observations pertinent to our pages. The truth of the concluding statement we can certify of our own knowledge. "The diminished influence of the Dissenters is shown by another circumstance of equal significance; namely, the conduct of ministers upon colonial questions. The great Anti-Slavery party, although it has had in former days, a Wilberforce, a Fox, a Grey, and a Buxton, as its parliamentary leaders, has always mainly consisted of Dissenters, whose missions in the West Indies have brought them into collision with the colonial legislatures. To the influence of the Dissenters the abolition of slavery has been attributed by the pro-slavery party; and it is certain that, at the present moment, the cause of the negro population, and the carrying out of the intentions of the Abolition Act, are left almost entirely in their hands. The consequence is, that the Colonial Office, while thrown open to the West India party and to the Hill Coolie speculators, is all but closed against any remonstrance from the friends to humanity, the "well-meaning" but troublesome philanthropists among the Quakers and Dissenters—so they are deemed—who think that, after the sacrifice of twenty millions sterling, the labourers of our colonies ought not to be defrauded either of their wages or of their rights as freemen."

CAPTIVES OF THE AMISTAD.—The public document containing the official correspondence between the secretary of state and the Spanish minister, &c. has excited no little attention. The disclosures made are enough to astound the people of this country and the world. It is but too evident that the government has lent its aid to the Spaniards in a fruitless attempt to obtain possession of the Africans, that they might be surrendered to the tender mercies of the authorities of Cuba.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

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ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Continued from our last.)

EVENING SITTING.—THURSDAY, JUNE 18TH.

THE COLOURED POPULATION OF UPPER CANADA.

Dr. ROLPH said, in bringing under the notice of the convention the state of the coloured population of Upper Canada, he thought it was desirable to remind them that that country served as the place of refuge for a number of runaway slaves from the United States. In consequence of some circumstances which had taken place on the banks of the Niagara, he had been in correspondence with the government for a long time, trying to obtain protection for the coloured race in Canada, but he had almost despaired of success until the meeting of the convention. (Hear hear.) He then proceeded to read an interesting paper on the subject.

The Rev. C. LESTER, of New York, then rose and said: We have as yet entered upon no subject of deeper interest than this, and I am anxious that this convention should possess the materials which the providence of God has thrown into our hands for the overthrow of our enemies. They have said that the emancipated negro could not provide for himself—that in intellect and character he is inferior to other men. Let us bring our principles to the severest test, and see if we cannot clearly discern all the noblest, intellectual, and moral attributes of man in the negro race. The slave-holder may have done all in his power to deface the image of God from his victim's soul—for slavery not only aims to shut out the light of heaven from the soul, but to destroy even *the capacity to see the light!* and, because, after crushing his fellow into the earth, and breaking down his manhood, he does not see genius in his dim and lustreless eye, nor greatness in his menial and degraded bearing, he dreams that his slave has ceased to be a man. And to test our principles, I will not ask them to wait several generations, till the sun of liberty, science, and salvation has risen and set as long upon the African as it has upon the Anglo-Saxon race which has enslaved them. Nor will I point to those from whose fetter-galled limbs the strong arm of British law has struck the chains; and who have been beckoned by British christianity and benevolence from their degradation to an equality with herself. But I will point to 12,000 star-led fugitives now in Canada, who amid the death shades of southern slavery determined, in spite of degradation and of law, to be free; who, fired by a love of liberty, to obtain it gave up their wives and their children for ever; who were hunted for hundreds of miles through the wide domains of false freedom, but who, naked, hungry, and desolate, pressed their toilsome way onward in winter through deep morasses, and broad rivers, and over snow-clad mountains, until the north-star, that lamp of liberty which heaven has hung out to shed her everlasting light over the path of the hunted fugitive, brought them to British soil, which they cannot touch without being free. To a band of men who prepare to begin to live only till they have reached that period of life when other men begin to prepare to die—who commence existence there under circumstances more inauspicious than emigrants from any other part of the world—with no other wealth than their own bodies and souls, and hearts that are broken with sorrow—and when they have a home, the magic of it is gone, for their wives and their children are still in southern bondage. Britons, what is it that constitutes the charm of your homes when you cluster around your fire-sides, if it be not your wives and your children? (Hear, hear.) Why, when I once said to a fugitive, who was sitting by his own free fire-side, "you are *a happy man*—you are free!" He rose in the majesty of his manhood, and exclaimed, as a deep frown of indignation gathered on his brow, and the big tears rolled down, "even liberty is bitter to me while my wife and children are in bondage." (Loud cheers.) Now what can we expect from men who have been through all this? Let us be just, then, while I tell you what they are. For the sake of being brief and lucid I will confine your thoughts to this single point—the character and condition of these fugitives as freemen and slaves, contrasted. This, I fancy, is just the point upon which this convention requires information. Full and satisfactory evidence of their good behaviour and value as citizens has been given by the highest civil authorities, and by men of different sects and parties in Canada. I may observe that, in addition to this testimony I have seen many officers in the British service from Canada, who told me that it was universally true that the coloured people, during the border disturbances, were in every instance loyal to the British throne—they held posts of responsibility and trust, which were denied to most others. (Hear and cheers.) In a correspondence which I held with Hiram Wilson, who had for four years stood unaided and alone, the advocate, the teacher, the brother of those twelve thousand fugitives, whose character as a man and a christian is not only above suspicion, but above praise, he says:—"It is well known that no people in the country were more prompt and efficient in their efforts to suppress rebellion and repel invasion than they in 1837-38. Their conduct as soldiers has elicited from the civil and military authorities the highest praise. In times of peril and alarm, many of them were sentineled along the frontiers in the most responsible places, and were invariably true to their trust. They manifested a willingness to moisten the soil of their asylum with their choicest blood, or mingle it with the waters that roll between them and the land of slavery, rather than see the American flag cross the line." (Loud cheering.) Their love of liberty has been fully demonstrated by their mode of escape. I will state, however, a fact which occurred at Niagara in the fall of 1837, which may serve to illustrate this point. A slave named Moseley had made his escape in the spring of that year from a Mr. Castlemain, of Lexington, Kentucky. He was arrested by Castlemain, and committed to gaol at Niagara, under charge of theft, alleging that he had stolen his horse. Accordingly he appeared before the lieutenant-governor, and claimed him as a felon. The charge of horse-stealing was utterly fallacious, according to slave-laws, and he might with as much propriety have indicted the horse for running away with the slave as the slave for running away with the horse—(a laugh)—both being computed chattels in the hands of the owners. Strange logic, surely, that one article of property should be guilty of stealing another. Howbeit, Sir Francis B. Head gave up the unfortunate prisoner, who lay in gaol three weeks before the attempt was made to deliver him. During this time the coloured people lay about the gaol night and day, watching and waiting with intense anxiety, determined on the rescue of their brother, or death in the struggle. The prisoner in the meantime besought them, if possible, to spare him from going into bondage, even by the desperate means of putting a ball through him, that he might bleed and die on British ground, rather than go back again into bondage. At length, on the 15th September, the deputy-sheriff with his posse of armed men, went about the work in earnest. The people, white and coloured, gathered around the common in large numbers. The prisoner was taken out in his hand-cuffs, and put into an open waggon in the midst of keepers. As the waggon proceeded through the multitude, the prisoner leaped into the midst of the crowd, burst off his hand-cuffs, which had previously been filed, bounded over a high fence, and made his escape. The sheriff, on being apprised of the fact, ordered his men to fire. Several guns were discharged at the same moment, when Herbert fell, and, weltering in his blood, in the space of half-an-hour died. Before he died he inquired for the prisoner, and on being told that the prisoner was safe, he said, "Then I die happy." He had taken an affectionate farewell of his friends in the morning, expresing his apprehension that he should never greet them again on earth, and at the same time his settled determination to lay down his life for the rescue of his brother. (Hear, hear.) After long years of hard and cruel bondage have passed away, slavery becomes so intolerable that its poor victim begins to meditate his escape. There are bosoms in which the fires of liberty never grow dim, and they burn ont even amidst the death shades of slavery. He thinks of leaving his wife and children, and the thought is painful, and he determines to endure its horrors a little longer; perhaps his condition may become more tolerable, and he does enjoy some happiness in his family even now, for God has made the world so beautiful, that slavery with all its barbarity can not make every thing in it desolate; and, after the toils of the day are over, he goes to his little cabin, and here he can hold his children on his knee, and hear the subdued voice of his wife, although he cannot see her countenance, for his master will not allow him to have a light in his cabin; and when he lies down on his straw, he can fold those he loves best to his desolate bosom, and, in spite of slavery, he is almost happy. (Hear, hear.) There are some lineaments of Divinity in the human soul which slavery cannot wholly efface; it blots out nearly all that is dear to man, but it cannot wholly quench the light that heaven pours into the human bosom. But abuse and insult rouse up his spirit, and again he meditates his escape, but then he remembers that all his fellows who have escaped have been tracked by bloodhounds, and brought back to a more cruel bondage, and he falters. A new injury arouses him; he will fly; but then he thinks of the long and toilsome journey, and the awful probability that he will be taken by the pursuer, and that malignity will forge for him new chains, and again he hesitates; injury increases, and now the day of toleration is over, the lion is aroused, he has shaken himself and will sleep no more—now his humanity, which has slept in deep silence under the pressure of tyranny, breaks forth and asserts her everlasting rights. The tie which binds him to his wife and children is strong, but (and it may be heresy in philosophy, but it is true in fact,) there is a tie which is stronger still, it is that which binds his heart to freedom. Ah! you may add insult to injury, and wrong to oppression, but you cannot quench the love of liberty in the human soul; and the poor captive, unable to lull to rest the heart that is panting to be free, is goaded on to a decision. Night comes, and he goes to the straw where his babes are reposing in the deep calm slumber of infancy, and bends over them to take the parting kiss. He then takes into his hand a little supply of food which his wife has been long saving from her own scanty allowance for her husband—(for oh! what will not woman do for those she loves!)—and then he strains her to his bosom, he turns to take one final look at his babes, and he hesitates, but only for a moment; he embraces his wife for the last time, and leaves her for ever. He crosses the threshold of his cabin and gathers his robe around him, and plunges off into the forest—fear gives him wings, and before dawn he has left many a weary mile behind him. When the first grey lines of morning fret the east he crawls into a hollow tree, but saves his food till he wants it more; and he lies down to sleep, but he can only close his eyes—he cannot sleep, for every falling leaf makes his heart beat quick; at length, as the sun goes down, he begins his nocturnal pilgrimage again, but in crossing the mountain he hears behind him

> "The deep-mouthed bloodhound's heavy bay
> Resounding up the rocky way;"

and he is—no, he shall not be taken! The pursuers, thinking they are on the wrong tack, call off their dogs. He flies on, over snow-clad mountains and across deep rivers, through that vast territory which he must cross before he reaches the British empire. He dares not reveal himself until he sees a man with a broad-brimmed hat; he knows he will protect him. The man of God takes him into his dwelling, feeds, clothes, and comforts him, and sends him on to an abolitionist—for we have chains of posts all through the free states. He stops a day or two at Oberlin, that friendly lighthouse which guards the entrance to the harbour of British freedom. At Oberlin he learns what it is to be treated like a man. But he wants to reach British soil; he crosses Lake Erie, and the moment he steps on this ground he is adopted by your government, and receives a royal charter of liberty from your beloved Queen. Ah! sir, I wish she could be our Queen too, long enough to make our subjects free. Now, if you will listen to me three minutes longer, to reward you for the patient manner you have listened to me, I will tell you the best story you ever heard in your life:—In Georgia, about three years ago, there lived a man, black but noble, a giant in strength, and in form an Apollo Belvidere, about thirty-five years of age, a slave, with a wife and four children, also slaves. The love of liberty burned irrepressibly in his bosom, and he determined to escape, and free his wife and children at every hazard. He had heard of Canada as a place where the laws made every man free, and protected him in his freedom. But of its situation, or the road thither, or the geography of the intermediate country, he knew nothing. A quaker who resided near him, being privy to his design, resolved to aid him in its accomplishment; and accordingly carried the slave and his family fifty miles in a waggon by night. In the day time, they lay concealed in the woods, and on the second night the same man carried them fifty miles further. At the end of the second night he told the black man that he could do no more for him, having already endangered both his life and property. He told the slave that he must not travel on the highway, nor attempt to cross a ferry; but, taking him by the hand, he committed him to God and the north star. This star he was to take as his guide, and it would lead him at length to the land of British freedom. The poor slave bade adieu to his benefactor, and after skulking in the day and travelling by night, he at length came to an unexpected obstacle. It was a broad river (the Savannah) of the

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existence of which he had not the least knowledge. But as nothing remained but to cross it, he tied his two children on his back, and, between swimming where it was deep, and wading where it was shallow, his two elder sons swimming by his side, he at length made out to reach the opposite bank; then returning, he brought over his wife in the same manner. In this way he passed undiscovered through the states of South and North Carolina and Virginia, crossed Pennsylvania without even knowing that it was the land of the quakers; and finally, after six weeks of toil and hardship, he reached Buffalo. Here he placed his wife and children in the custody of a tribe of Indians in the neighbourhood—for the poor man will always be the poor man's friend, and the oppressed will stand by the oppressed. The man proceeded through the town, and as he was passing through the streets he attracted the notice of a coloured barber, also a man of great bodily power. The barber stepped up to him, put his hand on his shoulder and says, 'I know you are a runaway slave, but never fear, I am your friend.' The man confessed he was from Georgia, when the barber said, 'your master inquired about you to-day in my shop, but do not fear; I have a friend who keeps a livery stable, and will give us a carriage as soon as night comes to carry your family beyond the reach of a master.' As the ferry-boat does not run across the Niagara river in the night, by daybreak they were at the ferry-house, and rallied the ferryman to carry them to the Canadian shore. They hastened to the boat and just as they were about to let go, the master was seen on his foaming horse, with pistol in hand, calling to the ferryman to stop and set those people ashore, or he would blow his brains out. The stout barber, quick as thought, said to the ferryman, 'if you don't put off this instant, I'll be the death of you.' The ferryman, thus threatened on both sides, lifted up his hands and cried, 'The Lord have mercy on me! It seems I am to be killed any how. But if I do die, I will die doing right,' and cut the rope. (Tremendous cheering.) The powerful current of the Niagara swept the boat rapidly into deep water, beyond the reach of tyranny. The workmen at work on the steam-boat Henry Clay, near by, almost involuntarily gave three cheers for liberty. As the boat darted into the deep and rapid stream, the people on the Canadian side, who had seen the occurrence, cheered her course, and in a few moments the broad current was passed, and the man, with his wife and children, were all safe on British soil, protected by British laws. The rev. gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud and general cheering.

Mr. R. R. MOORE, of Dublin, then moved the following resolution, of which, after a long and desultory discussion, the consideration was referred to a select committee.

1. "That the practice of excluding people of colour from places of worship, or allotting them separate seats therein, tends to perpetuate the unchristian and unfounded prejudices against the coloured people.

2. "That any distinction in the treatment, whether in schools, colleges, the house of God, or in any other respect, on account of colour, is opposed to the benign spirit of Christianity.

3. "That abolitionists, and all who assume the name of friends of a coloured man, act inconsistently with their professions unless they use all their influence to put an end to such unchristian practices.

4. "That this convention most earnestly intreats all christian professors, all true abolitionists, immediately to give up all those unrighteous distinctions which have their origin in the prejudice against colour; and that, in their social intercourse as citizens and as christians, they treat a coloured man as an equal and a brother.

5. "That, inasmuch as in a few only of the states called free does the coloured man enjoy the rights of citizenship in common with his white brother, the attention of the committee is particularly directed to this subject."

Dr. MORISON expressed great satisfaction at the sentiments to which utterance had been given by the American friends present in the convention. But he was of opinion that much of the evil of the present system in the United States was continued through the supineness of the ministers of the gospel.

Mr. G. THOMPSON said that it was of the highest importance that gentlemen, going out to the United States for the pupose of enforcing the views of the society, should guard themselves against the seductions to which they would be exposed, from the hospitality and blandishments of pretended friends, especially ministers of the gospel.

The Rev. W. BIVAN then read a very interesting paper, on the slavery of the Red Indians on the north-west coast of North America, by the Rev. Henry Beaver, late chaplain to the Hudson Bay Company.

It was then moved by Dr. ROLPH, and seconded by Mr. FORSTER,

"That the statements laid before this convention by Dr. Rolph, connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Rev. C. E. Lester, on the condition of free people of colour in Canada, and by Rev. Mr. Beaver, on slavery of the red Indians, be referred to a committee consisting of those gentlemen, together with Rev. Mr. Wayne, of Hitchen."

The convention then adjourned.

FRIDAY, June 19.

DR. GREVILLE in the chair.

After the minutes had been confirmed,

Mr. JOHN STURGE rose to bring forward the question of the

RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

His object was to demonstrate that the great experiment, so far as it had been tried, had fully succeeded, and that free labour was far better than slave; which he did in a very elaborate and argumentative paper.

Mr. BOULTBEE moved the appointment of a committee to carry out Mr. O'Connell's recommendation "to turn our efforts to practical measures," by showing the advantage of freedom over slavery—by showing that honesty is the best policy.

The Rev. W. KNIBB then came forward amidst great cheering. He would prove that emancipation had produced an increase of morality, social order, and domestic happiness. (Hear, hear.) There had been since freedom came, a universal observance of marriage. (Hear, hear.) The brethren with whom he was connected had celebrated nearly 6000 marriages since that period. (Hear.) There had been an observance of the christian sabbath all over the island, and he declared that he had seen more desecration of the sabbath in one day in London, than he had ever seen since freedom had smiled on the island of Jamaica. (Cheers.) The absence of crime formed another interesting feature in connexion with the subject. Industry was the order of the day wherever the negros were fairly treated. Wherever a fair rate of wages was given, there they were always ready and willing to work. He knew not whether 2lbs. of sugar were now made instead of one, or two glasses of rum to poison them for one—(a laugh)—that was a question with which they had nothing to do; but he had heard, and he believed this, that although there was a diminution in the cultivation of the soil, that had not arisen from any indisposition on the part of the negros to labour, but because they had been offered a rate of wages which it would be exceedingly foolish in them to take, and which they often had more trouble to obtain than it was worth, after they had fairly earned it. Not only that, but laws had been framed for the avowed purpose of crushing the independence of the negros, and which, if they were persevered in, they must and would enable the negros to obtain free settlements for themselves, where tyranny could not reach them, and the power of the oppressor could not be felt. (Hear, hear.) There was, he was rejoiced to say, in Jamaica at present at least one thousand freeholders. He (Mr Knibb) had purchased the other day through a friend, from Mr. Colville, of London, part of a mountain containing forty-five acres, and although there were only ten acres of it at all accessible, he had paid £500 sterling for it.

Mr. STURGE—What was it worth before emancipation?

Mr. KNIBB would not have given one half or one quarter that sum. It might be asked how he had paid for it, and he would tell them that forty families had come forward and purchased the quantities they required, and he had the pleasure of signing 150 titles to give 150 votes before he left Jamaica. (Cheers.) He had received the other day the most pleasing accounts from the settlement—three or four houses had been already erected, and before he had left, he had seen the people there in their proper places and the bible on the table. (Cheers.) It had been said that the negros were fond of change, but he could tell them that wherever they were properly treated they would remain. He had received the following letter yesterday from Mr. Abbott, and it would show the meeting that there were some good proprietors in Jamaica, and if only a few more went out much good might be effected, and they might be induced to believe that even something good might be found in a Baptist parson. (Hear, hear.) "As to the working of the free system, which is a subject on which you will need information which may be depended on, I can report most favourably. You will recollect that on many of the estates in the vicinity of this town, permanent and fair arrangements for rent and labour (kept distinct) were entered into between the managers and labourers before you left. These arrangements have been carefully observed by both parties—no disputes have occurred on those properties—no work for the magistrates to do—the people work well—get good wages—and pay their rent regularly. I have it on good authority that on Seville estate from seven to nine hogsheads of sugar are made per week more than was ever made on it during slavery; and Mr. Pink, the proprietor of Drax Hall, told me, a few days ago, that the people on that estate were giving him great satisfaction, that he expected the property would yield 300 hogsheads of sugar this year, which is full one-third more than its average crop. That he wishes to extend the cultivation of the cane, and can do so, giving liberal wages, at an amazing profit." (Great cheering.) It might be asked, how were they able to know so much of the people? And his (Mr. Knibb's) answer was, that they made it their business, as it was their duty, to become acquainted with the condition of the people, and they knew their willingness to work by having employed them themselves. A chapel was about to be built, and a white gentleman proposed to erect it for £2000. He (Mr. Knibb) said he would do it for less, and he sent round to the estates, and offered the labourers the wages their masters had sworn they were worth when they were slaves, and he had built the chapel for £800 less than the white man. (Hear, hear.) Was it to be supposed that they were of less value when free than while they were slaves? The answer to that was, that they did not do so much work now; but the scale was fixed according to the amount of labour a man ought to perform. He had the scale with him, and he would prove to demonstration to any person, who wished to go into the details, that the masters had themselves to thank for it, they had asked too much for the poor negros' freedom. (Hear, hear.) He would illustrate his position by referring to the sugar cane planting. Before the select commitee of the House of Commons on the abolition of slavery, William Taylor, Esq. supposes that this description of labour might be procured at £5. per acre. Robert Scott, Esq. states that £10. and £11. is frequently paid, and that £7. 10s. is a low average. James Simpson, Esq. at £7., William Shand, Esq., at £7. 10s. In the tables furnished to Mr. Joseph Sturge, Henry Hunter, Esq., attorney, of Latium Estate, in St. James's, states that the cost of cane hole digging by jobbers was £8. per acre. We take the average of these prices, leaving out the £10, and £11. as stated by Robert Scott, Esq., and we shall find it to be £7. The usual price that is now paid is 3s. 4d, (2s. sterling,) for 100 holes, or as there are 2,722 holes in an acre, it amounts to about £4. 4s. 10d. By this it will appear that if "the wages of labour are settled more at the will of the labourer than at that of his employer," *the labourer is much more reasonable* in his price than were the owners of flesh and blood in the days of slavery, requiring less by £2. 9s. 2d. for digging an acre of cane holes, than the white man received by whom he was held in unjust bondage—thirty per cent. less than that acknowledged to be paid by the planters themselves in the palmy days of stocks, dungeons, stripes and blood. He believed it was a fact that negros were paid less for their labour than the labouring population of Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, or Canada. Already they had established in Jamaica a number of free villages, one of them bearing the name of their venerable president Clarkson, another was called Birmingham, and a third they had named Victoria. (Enthusiastic cheering.) For as his friend Barrett had said on the 1st of August, what man could not do, a woman had done for the slaves. (Renewed cheering.) To show their respect for that esteemed man Joseph Sturge—(Loud cheers,)—they had a town which bore his honoured name, although that was not needed, for it was deeply engraven on every negro's heart. (Renewed cheers.) At all these places they had schools and chapels, and the people could obtain the advantages of moral and religious instruction. It might be asked who had assisted them in all that. It was their friend Joseph Sturge who had advanced them money, which had been long since repaid. (Hear, hear.) To show how poverty-stricken they were in Jamaica, he would state, that in one week, £1000. had been deposited in his hands to purchase land, and he had lately given for 130 acres of land, with one house on it, £2600 pounds currency. Would the money be repaid?

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Of course it would, for these persons did not spend their nights in ale houses, and festivities, and riot; although their wages were small, yet they reared fowls and kept pigs, and they were not, like the poor Irish, obliged to sell them for their rent. The reverend gentleman then proceeded to point out the increased attention on the part of the negros, to religion and education, and read a list of the increased number who attended the schools and chapels since the act of emancipation. These returns merely referred to the Baptist mission, and he believed their brethren of other denominations had been equally successful. Besides subscribing 15,000 dollars for religious and educational purposes, they had sent 500 dollars to that convention; and so long as tyranny existed, if they were kept free, they would be happy to assist them in freeing the world. (Hear and cheers.) He was happy to say, that in Jamaica, they wanted nothing but the prayers of their English brethren, every church there supporting its own ministers. (Cheers.) Mr. Hutchins, of Savanah-le-Mar, in a letter addressed to a friend of his, stated that the Mr. M'Neil, who had been croaking so much about the ruin of the planters, had just purchased an estate for £4500 and that he would not take £500. for his bargain. He was an attorney and that might account for his croaking, (A laugh.) He had also purchased another valuable property in the same district. No one ever knew of their being for sale till the purchase took place, but if the planters and proprietors advertised these sales, they would find that at Trelawney they would obtain a much higher price. (Hear, hear.) So long as the attorneys could persuade them that their properties were going to ruin, so long they would be able to purchase good estates at a cheap rate for themselves, and they were not quite such idiots as to make good crops under such circumstances for their masters. (Hear.) Notwithstanding all that had passed, and all the opposition and annoyance they had received, the expectations of the most interested and the most sanguine had been more than fully realised. (Hear, hear.) In the name of the 300,000 negros of Jamaica, he thanked the people of England for all they had done for them. There were in the present assembly those who held sway in the senate of the country, and he trusted that they would lift up their voices in behalf of the negros of Jamaica. He (Mr. Knibb,) would go there if he could, and he would regard very little the taunts and sneers with which he was met, in advocating the cause of his oppressed brethren. He called upon the honourable and learned member who sat near him (Mr. O'Connell) on behalf of the persecuted children of Africa, to throw the shield of his protection around them, and give them that freedom to which they were entitled. (Loud cheers.) The reverend gentleman then alluded to the subscriptions which had been forwarded to the convention from the anti-slavery societies of Saint Catherine's amounting to £100.—from Brownstown £30. —from St. Thomas in the Vale £50.—from Berbice in British Guiana, £100.—(Cheers,)—and several other places. Had they not a right then, to anticipate the most favourable results? (Hear, and cheers.) They must not draw back; they must go on from one thing to another, and he could assure them that if they did not, their African brethren in Jamaica were determined to do so. They might do as they pleased, and he had no doubt they would do well, but in Jamaica they were determined to have liberty or death. (Cheers.) Not in a bloody manner; no—he and they would not touch the head of the greatest tyrant—they would work with none but moral means. (Loud cheers.) They feared not the frowns of the great, nor would they be slackened in their endeavours by their smiles. They were determined to go on, and eventually they must triumph, for on their side was every attribute of the Most High—on their side was the omnipotence of Jehovah, and He would crown them with success. (Cheers.)

Sir T. F. BUXTON then rose, and was received with loud cheering. He said it was not every one in that large meeting that could appreciate or enter into the feelings of delightful satisfaction, and still stronger feelings of intense gratitude to the great Creator, which filled his mind, at being allowed to hear the statement made by his worthy and philanthropic friend, the Rev. Mr. Knibb. He well remembered the day when he and his honourable friend near him (Dr. Lu sh ington,) were treated with the utmost scorn, because of what was called their fanatacism, in thinking and saying that the negro would do all those things which his friend Knibb said they were now doing. He remembered the time when they were laughed to scorn for saying that the negro would work for wages—when he was asked, was he a friend to humanity, for if his views were carried out, the whites would be all massacred, the colonies would be ruined, and the blacks themselves would again become barbarians. These alarms did not come from slight authorities. Even in 1832, a man of high standing as a merchant—the governor of the Bank—told the government that such must be the results of emancipation. These fears were the greatest obstacles in their way. Then with what grateful satisfaction must he look back to the career of the emancipated, when he found that every one of those predictions had been falsified? Where was the great increase of crime? He would tell them to look at the empty jails. Was there any increase of immorality? He would cite to them the large spread of religion, and the increase of marriages. Had the planter been ruined? He would point to the fact of the enormous increase of the value of property in Jamaica. (Cheers.) It was said that the whites would be liable to constant insults and assaults from the blacks. It gave him great satisfaction to find, from the reports made by the governors of the colonies up to a late period, that ever since the abolition there had been only one case of assault of that nature. (Cheers.) Then how they were taunted, and contradicted, and laughed at, when they affirmed the negro would work for wages! Their enemies said they were friends of freedom in the abstract; prove to us that they will work for wages, and all our doubts will be removed. The story now was very different, for they have found the negro so very fond of wages, so well acquainted with the principle, that they will not work unless they are well paid. (A laugh.) The masters found them too astute upon the question. Then let them only conceive the immense spread of education and christianity. He had hated slavery for its cruelty to the body, but far more because of its cruelty to the mind and to the soul. (Cheers.) There was one source of satisfaction, and it was a very great one, considering the anxiety which he had had upon the subject—it was, to have heard those truly blessed statements from the mouth of his friend, Mr. Knibb. He had spent many anxious days and nights respecting him, for they had the report in town that he was an outlaw—that the rope was about his neck, and they were afraid that the next arrival would bring them the news of his execution —that he had died a martyr in the cause of freedom and humanity. Awful would have been the consequences of such a deed, therefore he rejoiced to see him, and to welcome him amongst them.

DR. LUSHINGTON rose amidst loud cheering. He felt proud to take an humble part on that great and interesting occasion, where they had the presence of representatives from all nations, who were animated by the same feeling and opinions as themselves, namely an ardent detestation of slavery; and he trusted that their meeting would induce all persons having such feelings to unite together in the most strenuous efforts for its entire extinction. Let them bear in mind—have it constantly before them—that the consequences of emancipation in the British colonies, provided it bore out in its results all that its friends hoped or expected from it, would be felt, and prove of the utmost consequence, as means to obtain emancipation all over the world, and to eventually obtain the final abolition of the still more horrible traffic in man. (Cheers.) He confessed, therefore, that, looking to the subject they were now discussing as a great experiment, he had been most anxious to see that the hopes held out to the world had not proved a failure; for had it unfortunately been so, it would not have been placed to the score of accident, but would be attributed to mistaken and erroneous principles. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance that they should know the result of British emancipation, and that they should foster that result till it attained greater perfection, and that they should strenuously oppose every attempt to interfere with the freedom of the emancipated negros, as had been done in Jamaica. (Cheers.) The statement made by Mr. Knibb, was made from the facts which had come under his own notice and observation—the fruits of his own experience in one of the largest islands of the British empire. And he had stated what the effects of those measures which had been passed by the legislature of Jamaica would be upon those who had just escaped from the trammels of slavery. He (Dr. L.) had looked into those laws with the deepest attention, and the conclusion he had come to upon them was, that it was one of the first duties of the government to refuse to confirm them (loud cheers)—to reject one and all of them. (Cheers.) They had not been framed, as every law ought to be, for the administration of impartial justice between man and man—not for the protection of the poor man from the oppression of the rich—not for the preservation of the great bonds of society, but to arm the employer with the means of exacting from the labourer more than he was justly rewarded for—(cheers)—to strengthen the arm of the strong, and to weaken the weak. (Cheers.) The first and bounden duty of the government—and he would show that it was its interest as well as its duty—was to see that the laws made for the colonies were just. (Hear.) They had done nothing in passing the Emancipation Act, if they did not take care to carry it out in justice, and in its full spirit. (Cheers.) What had been the state of justice in all our dependencies? There had been no just, no faithful administration of any law intended for the protection of the low, and weak, and oppressed. What they required was the faithful administration of justice; and if they had it not, they would have no constant and continuous labour. A greater mockery could not be than for the planters to hope that cruel and oppressive laws would procure them the labour of the negros on their own terms. (Cheers.) The great body of the negro population were too enlightened to put up with them, and they would derive their sustenance by means equally useful to themselves, but by means that must prove entirely destructive to the interests of the planter. (Cheers.) He never doubted but that the negro would improve as he had done, but he had scarcely dared to hope that they would have been so entirely free from crime; such a freedom from crime as Jamaica had never before seen—(cheers)—and on which he congratulated the anti-slavery society and the anti-slavery public. Those present must ever keep before their eyes that they were only a portion of the public; they must not fail to remember that there were other interests, powerful interests, at work against them. Nothing could be so detrimental to their cause as the shutting of their eyes to the difficulties which were in their way. That had been one of the greatest difficulties in their way for the last thirty years. Let them look carefully and deliberately at their present state and condition. The revenue from sugar at this moment was one million less than it was eleven years ago. The short price—to talk technically—was 46s.; the foreign sugar was 23s. Many would say that if this state of things were to continue we would be obliged to import foreign sugar instead of home—they would say this was a tax upon the people, and that they were adopting a different principle in regard to sugar to that adopted with regard to cotton and coffee. He quite agreed with his hon. friend, Mr. Buxton, that nothing could be more calamitous to the cause of the abolitionists than the admission of foreign slave-grown sugar. It would discourage industry in our own colonies, and greatly encourage slavery abroad. He would appeal to his worthy friend Mr. Knibb, for the sake of an example to foreign countries, to use all his influence, and he knew it was extensive, to give encouragement to the growth of home sugar. Let him strain his utmost exertions in Jamaica, not to induce the people to labour for no consideration, but as far as possible, and consistent with justice and due reward, to turn the attention of the people to the cultivation of sugar in place of other articles. It was a question which he pressed earnestly, because he considered it of the last importance.

Mr. KNIBB assured the convention, that the intention of himself and friends in Jamaica was to promote the cultivation of sugar; but it must be upon principles of justice. If the government would protect the cultivators, the increase in the cultivation of sugar would be upwards of ten-fold; but, if not, it must diminish. He would not have his brother, by the vagrant laws, turned out of his house, and his sister put into gaol because she had no house to go to. They must do justice; if not, although England were ruined, Jamaica should be free.

Mr. O'CONNELL rose amidst loud cheers. They had heard much to delight them that day. They had found that every thing of evil and mischief that had been predicted had been confuted by the fact; that there had been no violation of property, that the white men were all alive, that no injury had been done to a human being, that peace and contentment reigned—all were the blessed effects of emancipation. They had to show to France and America that emancipation might be safely given. In Jamaica they had a free people, but now they had a slave code enacted under the sanction of the unworthy successor of Sir Lionel Smith. (Immense cheering.) Sir Charles Metcalfe was mischievous in his situation. He had a glorious example set him, but he had neglected it, or he would never have given his sanction to those laws

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which had been made for the express purpose of swindling England out of her money; for they decidedly would perpetuate the abominable principle of slavery. Why should not a deputation from that body wait upon the minister? (Cheers.) He was informed that there had been a refusal to receive a deputation; if so, there could only be one reason for it, that was, that they had determined to refuse their sanction to these laws. (Cheers.) There were members of parliament present—there was his hon. friend, who for thirty years had been a warm friend of the cause; why should not he in his place in parliament put a question to the minister upon that important subject? (Cheers.) If these laws received the royal assent, they had far better re-enact the slave-laws at once. One universal shout of reprobation would be raised from all parties, from all sects, and from every corner of the land. They ought to encourage emigration, which could never be done under these laws, for no man would have the courage to face them.

Sir E. WILMOT expressed his disapprobation of the laws recently enacted in Jamaica.

The convention then adjourned.

EVENING SITTING.

W. BLAIR, Esq. in the chair.

W. WEMYSS ANDERSON, Esq., late member of the house of assembly, Jamaica, rose to address the delegates. He went to Jamaica at the end of 1833, one year before the expiration of the old system of slavery, and he had continued there till he had set out for this country. He had been intimately acquainted with all classes of society there, from the governor to the poorest menial; and his attention had been awakened all the while to the operations of the various systems that had been at work since he went to the island. With respect to the slave system, all the evils that had been urged against it he found to be perfectly true—in fact, it was impossible to exaggerate the evils of slavery. (Cheers.) All the evils, too, that had been said to result from the apprenticeship system were founded in fact. (Cheers.) Lord Howick, when that measure was proposed in parliament, had the clearness to perceive it, and all he had predicted of it had come to pass. (Cheers.) And as to the present system, there could be no doubt in the mind of any well-principled man of its realizing all that had been expected from it. (Cheers.) He had one statement of importance to make. Some time before slavery was abolished in Jamaica, the moral influence of the complete exposure of all the evils of the system, which up to the last hour the planters had denied—the complete conviction that was accomplished in the minds of those very much indisposed to receive conviction, had so completely unsettled the security of slave property, that that moral power alone would have swept it away. (Cheers.) He mentioned this particularly to their friends in America, that they might take courage, and be assured that if they persisted in their present laudable course of exposing the evils of the system, that at last, like the drops of water falling upon stone, they would make a hollow in the system. (Cheers.) Had no compensation at all been conceded, he would assert that the planters would have been compelled, for their own protection, to abandon the system of slavery. (Cheers.) He might mention as an illustration of that, that there were many purchases of property at that time made with a view to compensation; and in almost every case the amount of the compensation money not only paid the purchase money of the estate, but enabled the party purchasing to lay in a large stock of every thing requisite for its management. As to the value of property at the present moment, he would make it evident before he sat down that it was not in so low a state as had been represented by a large body of planters. (Cheers.) He was not a planter himself, but it happened to him frequently that he had the disposal of estates, and in all those cases he had been perfectly beset by people requesting the preference; and no longer ago than on his voyage to this country he had been solicited to obtain the preference for a gentleman, to whom he had been under some trifling obligations, for the lease of a valuable estate for which he was disposed to give a handsome rent. He did not think at that moment that a property without slaves would bring the enormous price it did years ago; far from it; in those times princely fortunes were invested in estates; but since the last year of slavery, when property was depreciated in the way in which he had stated by exposing the truth of the system, and destroying the security of the planter, since that time property had risen very much. The value of property in the neighbourhood of towns, he could state from experience, had in many cases doubled, and he had bitterly repented of many sales of property he had made in consequence of the increase in its value. There was another feature of their prosperity in Jamaica in the establishment of banks. What did the meeting think of three banks being established in Kingston, where there were no banks before, and those banks were established for the purpose of advancing money and making profit? Some of those banks which had only set up last year had realised fifty per cent. upon their original stock; and one bank had already divided ten per cent., and laid by a considerable reserve fund. (Cheers.) It had been asserted that one impediment was, the negros devoted their attention to the cultivation of their provision grounds, while they neglected their labour. Such was not the case; because if the negro attended more to his provision grounds than his labour, the result would be that the provision market would be glutted, and the negro would not be enabled to receive so much from his grounds as from his labour in the fields. No person felt more pride than the negro in having everything comfortable about him. The negro would not be content with his meal of yams; he wished to be well-dressed, together with his family; he liked a well-furnished house, and, for his own part, he knew no person so sensible to the proprieties of life as the negro. (Cheers.) He thought, therefore, that the hue and cry which had been made on these topics had shown that there were some other motives at work. (Cheers.) Having stated what were not the impediments, he would now endeavour to state what were the impediments that had arisen to the full working out of the principles of liberty in Jamaica. In the first place, during slavery, as they all knew, the negro was not compensated, and he had just as much right to his little ground for his support as the horse had. In many cases the poor man had planted cocoa-nut trees, or his father had before him; and for those very trees the landlords were now charging rent. The negro had never been accustomed to pay rent, but the cases were rare indeed in which they had shown an unwillingness to recognise the principle. They were all willing to recognise the landlord's right to receive rent for his ground, now that they had received the boon of liberty. (Cheers.) But the landlords had acted most harshly in the mode in which they charged the rent and exacted it. (Cheers.) Land in the West Indies was charged as high a rent as land in one of the most beautiful parts of Kent. They must all know perfectly well, that land in the colonies generally was not of much value. Frequently an acre of excellent land had been bought for 6*l.* sterling, and the common rate of purchase was 5*l.* currency, or 3*l.* sterling. In Kent, land fetched from 100*l.* to 150*l.* an acre; and yet the negro was charged a higher rent; and, added to this, he was charged a rent according to the number of his family. The rent he was charged generally was 2*l.* 12*s.* for himself, the like sum for his wife, and children above a certain age were generally charged half, and he had known cases where children in arms had been charged 5*d.* a week for rent. (Hear, hear.) He deprecated such a system, because it was well known that skilful men would make land worth six times as much as other men. The negro was disheartened on account of the principle of charging rent; and the landlord in Jamaica assumed the right of ejecting his tenants when he found they would not agree to his terms. After a man had expended much labour on a plot of land, he was sometimes, after three or four weeks' occupancy, compelled to quit, a practice which, if followed in England or Scotland, would be sufficient to set those countries in a flame; this was a great obstacle to the successful working of the system in Jamaica. Another evil had arisen from this—the proprietor said that in acting thus he was doing no more than exercising a legal right. This had been much discussed among the labourers in Jamaica, but whether right or wrong, it was quite clear that, if any party had this legal right, and insisted on it, to the violation of the most obvious principles of humanity and equity, he was guilty of great dishonesty, (Hear, hear,) and he would be pitied by no person if he brought down the consequences of such conduct on his own head. The negros, however, were told this was a legal right, and they must submit to the law, and he (Mr. Anderson,) knew no people in the world so ready to obey the law when they knew what it was. (Hear, hear.) Were he to hear that Jamaica was in flames, and full of massacre and of blood, he should not hesitate, on account of the negros, to go there with his wife and children. (Hear, hear, hear.) He believed Sir Lionel Smith, in a dispatch, had expressed a similar opinion, and said he was unable to find words to express his admiration of the conduct of these people. Was it then to be wondered at, that if the proprietor insisted on the strict letter of his right, the negro should sometimes do the same in self-defence? He was not prepared to say that the negro did not do so, and sometimes say to the proprietor, "You have turned myself and family out of our habitation at a week's notice upon the naked world, unprotected and unprovided for, because you say you have a legal right to do so. Well, I have a legal right to work only when I please, and therefore your canes may lie perishing on the ground, for I will thus teach you a lesson." (Hear, hear.) He might mention also, that almost all the negro houses in the island were built by the negros themselves when they were slaves, yet the proprietors charged rent for them. This was the real picture of matters in the West Indies, and he grieved for it, because he believed it was urged as an argument, by those who only looked to one side of the question, against the successful working of the free system in Jamaica. It had been said that great losses had ensued to the proprietors in consequence; but if this were so, they were deceived, for they could only have been produced by the misconduct of the proprietor. There were many estates in Jamaica going on gloriously, and he had it from the highest authorities that they would not on any account return to the old system. Indeed, he had been frequently told that it was not polite to refer to it—(Laughter)—when he had answered, he had no desire to do so unless compelled by their conduct. (Hear, hear.) It was not his intention to detain the convention long with respect to the effect of missionary exertions in Jamaica. He would, however, mention one circumstance, which had been related to him by a most respectable and high-minded man there, Mr. M. Parkinson, who had lately died, and who told him that he had received great assistance from Mr. Knibb in the management of an extensive estate near Falmouth, and that by the influence of that gentleman, he had got negros to work at a much lower rate of wages than he could otherwise have done. (Hear, hear.) It was quite clear that the system would soon work as successfully and cheaply, aye, more successfully and cheaply, than the system of slave-labour had ever done. (Hear, hear.) Would they believe that up to the present time the use of the plough had been systematically excluded from Jamaica? (Hear, hear.) They had, however, now begun to bethink themselves of means for supplying the deficiency of human labour, and he was informed that an estate under the management of Mr. Stewart, which would require the labour of 100 negros, was now managed entirely by the plough, with only three men and a boy. There were many other methods by which human labour might be obviated, but he thought nothing would be more advantageous to Jamaica than for a few English farmers to go there and manage the estates according to the English system. He wished some of the Essex farmers, many of whom he understood belonged to the Society of Friends, would do so. He was sure their conciliatory manners, their most righteous dealing, and their strong good sense, would make the worst farms in Jamaica work to admiration. It was chiefly an improvement in the morale of society in Jamaica which was wanted. He had seen lately a prospectus in a newspaper of a Jamaica Land Company, and he should rejoice to hear of such a scheme being carried into effect. On this subject they would remember Adam Smith stated, that, on the abolition of the English system of slavery in the time of Queen Elizabeth, freedom found a refuge in the neighbouring towns, which then began to be incorporated. And so it was in Jamaica. The proprietors, by making their tenure so precarious, compelled the people to resort, as the English serfs had done, to villages for the establishment of freedom; and he was glad to hear that the names of such of its friends, as Clarkson, Sir Lionel Smith, and Sturge, were to be perpetuated in these nurseries of freedom. What was the remedy for the present state of things in Jamaica, was an important question; but it was shortly answered—security for the due and faithful administration of justice. (Cheers.) He did not think, in the present situation of Jamaica, this could be expected from the local magistrates. (Hear, hear.) What then would be the state of the negro's mind, should he feel himself to be, as the planter now contended he ought to be, entirely and exclusively in the hands of the local magistrates? It was therefore absolutely necessary—in fact, if they lost this, they lost everything—that they should have stipendiary and independent magistrates, who would be upheld and supported in the West Indies. He was somewhat qualified to give an opinion on this subject, having in the course of his professional experience, had much to do with the local magistrates, for many of whom

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he had a great respect; but he was speaking of them generally, and he was sure that for them to work out the principles of freedom, and afford the necessary protection to the negro, was not to be expected in the West Indies. He trusted, therefore, that in those appointments the government would consider they had a sacred trust to discharge, that no application would be listened to but from persons of the highest character, integrity, and ability. He hoped, also, they would pay them better, for at present they were miserably paid, and in a country where the expense of living was double to what it was in England, received only a salary sufficient to enable them to live with economy in this country.—(Hear, hear.) As to the recent laws, about which so much had been said, some of them were peculiarly oppressive, and particularly that relating to fisheries; for although these were not as in England, valuable property, and in fact, had never been deemed of any consequence in Jamaica, the laws relating to them were now as strict as the English game laws, and no negro could throw a line into a river, but at the risk of apprehension and punishment by a magistrate. There was another law of a similar character—namely the pound-law. When a party had taken stock—horses or oxen, which had trespassed on his grounds, he took them to a pound, from which they were not released till the owner had paid a certain amount of poundage, and liquidated the damage. This had been a considerable protection to the negro; but now they had passed a law, which made it imperative on every negro who brought an animal to pound to bring a written document, as a warrant for the pound-keeper to receive it. Now, in the first place, the negro could not write, which was one of the greatest evils the negro population laboured under, being unable thus to communicate their sentiments; and thus this law affected the labouring classes only (another proof of the necessity for vigilant stipendiary magistrates, to afford protection to them:) for when the planter sent the cattle to pound, he sent with them the necessary warrant, but when the negro was aggrieved, he had no one to give him this document. (Hear, hear.) There were many provisions in the vagrant-law which would be too stringent, and unsuitable for Jamaica; and he might say that vagrancy, in the proper acceptation of the term, was there unknown. There were, however, many worthless persons who went up and down, and he should not be sorry to see a wholesome vagrant law established there. They had heard much about juries in Jamaica, and the strong bias which they had exhibited in many verdicts within the last few years. This he knew well; for he, or those for whom he had acted, had suffered severely from it. He would give an example. There was a Mr. Bourne, a well-known stipendiary magistrate in Jamaica—(Hear, hear.)—who had suffered much for his courageous and steady adherence to the cause of the negro, and who deserved much at their hands. (Hear, hear.) A case was tried before that gentleman about three years ago, under the following circumstances:—A book-keeper had taken a bridle, and beaten an old negro on the head with it very severely. Complaint was made to Mr. Bourne, and he thought the injuries the negro had received were of so serious a character that he might die; and therefore that he could not with propriety take bail—murder, as they knew, not being a bailable offence; he accordingly sent the young man to the nearest prison, where he was put into a room occupied by the supervisor, and kept a few days until the negro was pronounced to be out of danger. Upon this the book-keeper brought his action against Mr. Bourne for sending him to prison when he was only charged with a case of common assault, which was a bailable offence. A verdict was given against Mr. Bourne of £300 damages, and costs, which were very great. He appealed from the verdict, and after some difficulty obtained a new trial, when the jury reduced the damages £50 the additional costs of the new trial being, it was unnecessary to say, more than the reduction.—(Hear, hear.) He would contrast that with another case he would mention: it was that of certain black persons—a grandmother, her grandson and her son's wife, who were taken up on the charge of being runaway apprentices. Immediately on being sent to prison, and before trial, they were put in chains, and kept so for several days: one of them was even worked in the penal gang, and at length they were brought in chains three miles, to Kingston, for trial. The magistrate asked them, why they were in chains, and on being told they were brought up for trial only, immediately ordered the chains to be struck off. He (Mr. Anderson,) was then prepared to show that these were free persons, and did so, after which he thought he would try what damages a jury would give them for what they had suffered. The case was proved so completely that it was impossible to nonsuit them, and what did they think was the amount of damages given to each? Thirty shillings of Jamaica money, or about eighteen shillings sterling, and each party to pay his own costs. (Shame, shame.) Of course these persons had no costs to pay, for he had felt great pleasure in assisting them. (Cheers.) This being the state of juries, what security was there at present for the negro? Therefore he trusted the convention would never forget the propriety of impressing upon the government the necessity of keeping up the stipendiary magistrates, and making the situation worth the acceptance of men of talent and principle. (Hear, hear.) He would conclude by calling on the men of property in this country, who might not be unwilling to profit by the suggestion, to come out and inspect the country for themselves. One of the heaviest evils they laboured under was the want of proprietors. It was a delightful country—all that was wanting to make it an Arabia Felix was an improvement in the society of the country. It had been much improved. Emancipation had lifted a weight off every thing good and noble; religion and morality had arisen at once; in every quarter they found places of worship, and schools for labourers; and the prejudices against colour—and he had a word or two to say to his American friends on this—(Cheers)—had nearly vanished. He knew many merchants who, since the emancipation of the slaves, had married the mothers of their children—(Cheers)—not having dared, or not having sufficient moral courage, to do it before. Some of their excellent governors in this had set a good example, having with their ladies not hesitated to associate in their drawing-rooms with ladies of colour. This had been done by the Earl of Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith; and were he (Mr. Anderson,) asked at that moment to select the most elegant and accomplished man and woman in Jamaica, and the individuals of the most spotless private character, he should point to a gentleman and lady of colour. (Cheers.) When, then, the nobility of England were not ashamed or afraid to allow of such association of their families in the drawing room, were they to be told that in any country in the world persons of colour were to be refused not only association in the drawing room, but a place at table in the cabin of a steam-boat, as they are in America? (Cheers.) He hoped this would go forth to their American friends. He had many friends of colour in Jamaica, with whom he felt it an honour and pleasure to be associated. He would recommend his friends in America to try these persons. He did not advocate the commingling of the various ranks of society, there was no necessity for that—the natural order of society might be preserved, and distinction of colour at the same time abolished. (Hear, hear.) It was that he advocated, and which he hoped would be made clear by the report of what he had now said, for he wished it to go forth to their American friends, among whom there was a prejudice almost invincible, and a hardness of heart on this subject which could be understood only by those who had witnessed it. For these reasons he now moved that the report be adopted. (Cheers.)

Mr. BLAIR said he had listened with the deepest attention to the important and useful speech they had heard from Dr. Lushington, and he wished in reference to what he had said with respect to extended cultivation of sugar by slave-labour, to mention what had been said a few years ago, as to the comparative value of free and slave labour, by the late Zachary Macaulay, who was, as they all knew, a perfect encyclopædia on all anti-slavery subjects, and who said that if the culture of sugar in the East and West Indies were placed on a footing of equality with respect to protecting duties, bounties, and drawbacks, and adequate encouragement given to its culture in the east, he believed it might be made in Bengal to an almost unlimited extent, at a profit to the grower, at one penny a pound.

The Rev. Mr. LESTER wished to ask, with reference to the question of compensation, whether the convention recognized or approved of the principle of the grant of twenty millions to the slave-owners by the English parliament? (No, no.) He hoped the convention would publish their opinion on this subject in the most unqualified manner, as it was a question much mooted in the United States, and he had been assured by a slave-proprietor that he would emancipate his slaves the moment they adopted the principle of the English government.

The CHAIRMAN then put the question—That the report be adopted, which was carried unanimously.

JOSIAH CONDER, Esq. then brought before the convention the resolutions of the committee, whose report had been received. He did not wish to add one word by way of comment upon those resolutions, but would merely state that the committee had endeavoured, as far as possible, to follow the report. They set forth elaborately the advantages of free over slave labour.

The Rev. JOHN CLARK, Baptist missionary and delegate from Kingston and St. Katherine's, Jamaica, in moving that the resolutions be adopted, would not detain the assembly long. He merely wished to state a few circumstances that had come to his knowledge, after a residence of ten years in the West Indies, during a part of the period of slavery, the whole of the period of apprenticeship, and a portion of the time of freedom. He had seen and mourned over the evils and cruelties of slavery. He had lamented over the miserable disappointment which the people had to experience during the apprenticeship system, and his heart had been filled with joy unspeakable to see his fellow-men rise to the enjoyment of their just rights. The schools have greatly increased in their numbers and efficiency, and the people showed that they valued education. The number receiving instruction at public schools was 38,000, and 4000 at other schools. On Sundays they might be seen flocking to the house of God, instead of, as formerly, going to the Sunday market to sell their provisions, or to work in the field, in order that they might be supported during the coming week. Those were some of the results of emancipation; but in reference to free-labour, he could state that the system was working well, and that the planters were all expecting fine crops in 1841, if the season should prove favourable. A doctor, whom he knew, had a difference with his people, and they left off work. He came to him and desired him to speak with his people—he did so. He called some of them before him and asked why they had given over work. They said the doctor had threatened to burn down their houses, and had already thrown the furniture of one person into the highway, and as the crop time was approaching they thought he wished to take advantage of them, and therefore they gave up work. He wrote to the doctor the simple language of the people, and in reply, received a letter from him, dated the 8th February, 1839, in which he stated—"As a proof how deeply my feelings are interested in having my people satisfied and happy, and how rejoiced I would be to find my properties going on smoothly and quietly, and affording an example to others, I am willing to place myself thus far in your hands. I will leave it entirely to you to fix the future mode of carrying on my estates as to wages. I pledge my word to fulfil to the letter any arrangement you propose, and get the people to agree to. I am willing to pay 1s. 8d. per day (1s. sterling) for each effective male or female labourer, and to all others in proportion, giving them their houses, gardens, and grounds, free of rent, to the 31st of December next, or for one year; or I will give 2s. 6d. per day (1s. 6d. sterling), charging rent as you state, namely, those of course, who, having no house, yet have gardens or grounds, or gain their subsistence out of my lands, to pay such weekly sum as you may deem fair. Probably the former mode would be the preferable one, as avoiding all disputes that might arise in relation to rents. If you will take on yourself to draw up such arrangements as you may deem just and equitable, I will sign it, and, if success attends it, no one will more willingly acknowledge it than myself, and to give you full credit; and you will certainly be entitled to the thanks of every man in the parish." He told him that he could not draw out any such arrangement; that he merely stood in the place of a friend to both parties, that he had merely acted as a peace-maker, and had brought the people to agree to work twelve hours a-day for 1s. They came to him (Mr. Clark) on the Saturday, and he sent them directly to their master. They went to work on the Monday, and his estates went on quietly during the crop. (Cheers.) He wished to mention a circumstance that occurred before he left the West Indies. One hundred people brought to him a sum of money which they had saved, amounting to about 250 guineas. He bought for them 142 acres of land, which cost 500*l.* sterling. He paid one-half of that sum with the money they brought to him, and gave his note of hand for the remainder, to be paid in 12 months. That remaining half had since been paid, and before he left the island, 100 titles were made out and signed, and upwards of 100 people were occupying that new township which, to show their loyality, they were pleased to call Victoria. (Cheers.) The person who sold the land was a magistrate, and a member of the house of assembly, and has married a coloured lady, the

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daughter of the custos of the parish. That gentleman came and most willingly signed all the titles; and the 7s. 6d. which he had a right to claim upon each title he gave to him (Mr. Clark) to repair the road to his chapel. (Cheers.) He had received numerous applications from overseers, masters, and others, to arrange disputes, and act as a peacemaker between them and their people. (Hear.) He had received a letter from the secretary of his Excellency the governor, just before freedom commenced, in which he stated, "his Excellency begs to invite your aid in sermons and exhortations in public, and your friendly advice in any occasional intercourse you may have with this class of persons, in order to impress on them what would be the real state of the law after the first of August next, and the obligations attaching to those who came into freedom at that period, as well as on those continuing in apprenticeship." The rev. gentleman then read an extract from a letter which he had received from the West Indies, in which the writer stated that the people were complaining bitterly of the heavy rent demanded of them:—At Williamsfield, each family is charged 5s. per week, which is just half of a man's wages for the week. The people are anxious to purchase land, but cannot obtain any near the estate." He could affirm, and every unprejudiced man in Jamaica could do the same thing, that freedom was working well. (Loud cheers.) The increase in the price of land was considerable. The land which he had purchased at 5l. an acre (3l. sterling), and sold to the people at 3l. 12s. an acre, to cover expenses, in the days of slavery might have been bought for less than 12s. sterling an acre. Indeed, land was becoming very valuable, and he had been asked as much as 100l. per acre for land. In conclusion, he hoped that some of them might live to see the day when slavery would be destroyed in America, would be destroyed in the Spanish colonies, in Africa itself, and in all parts of the world. They might hope to see that those means that were being used by those whom God had set up would be blessed by him, and that their exertions would be crowned with success. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. SAMUEL PRESCOD, Editor of the *Liberal*, Barbados newspaper, would be sorry to occupy the time of the convention longer than was necessary to bring before them a few important facts and circumstances, which had come under his own observation, connected with the working of the system in the smaller islands. They had heard a great deal of Jamaica, and he was aware of the superior importance of that colony, and that it was in Jamaica that the grand experiment, as it had been called, was to be worked out. It was to that colony that the eyes af foreign slave-holding states, would be turned for the results of emancipation. But he would remind the convention, that Jamaica contained not quite half of the emancipated population of the West India colonies, and they were as much bound as abolitionists and philanthropists, to protect the rest, scattered in the smaller colonies, as to protect those of Jamaica. An act of oppression done to a single labourer in the smallest of the islands alluded to—a single right invaded, or liberty violated, was as much a breach of the compact with the planters, in the one case as the other. The observations they heard in the morning on the conduct of the labouring population of Jamaica, their improvement in morals and religion, and the great decrease of crime were equally true of the windward and leeward islands. The conduct of the planters, however, had been as bad as it could be, and if he had ever doubted that slavery demoralises and debases the slave-holder more than it does the slave, he had seen enough in the last two years to remove that doubt. The planters had need to be prepared for freedom much more than the negro, and whilst the latter were praying and returning thanks to God for the boon of freedom, the former were imagining wickedness in their heart, and sinning against justice and humanity in the treatment of him.

Mr. TURNBULL, being of opinion that it was most imperative on the convention to pause before it gave its sanction to the principle stated in the second resolution, begged to move, by way of rider to it, the following amendment:—

"That nevertheless, inasmuch as the sugar plantations in the Brazilian empire, and in the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico, the only countries in the world into which the victims of the African slave-trade are imported to any considerable extent, are notoriously profitable speculations; and inasmuch as the price of slave-grown sugar in the English sugar market, meaning thereby, the short prices free of duty, is now only 23s. per cwt., whereas the price of British colonial sugar is at least 47s. per cwt., free of duty, it is imperative on this Convention to pause before giving its high sanction to principles which, however true in the abstract, appear to be at variance with the anamolous facts connected with the cultivation of sugar, lest their enumeration should interfere with the exertions required for accomplishing the suppression of the slave-trade."

Dr. MADDEN was entire at issue with the committee who had drawn up the second resolution, in stating that of all kinds of slave labour that of imported slaves was demonstrated to be the most costly and the least productive.

Mr. Scoble said, the rider of Mr. Turnbull contained a fallacy on the face of it. It made the price of slave sugar in the British market to be 23s. per cwt., and the price of free labour sugar 47s. per cwt. But what was it that made the difference between these two prices of colonial produce? Not the difference between free labour and slave labour, but the monopoly. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CONDER reminded the Convention, that the resolution only stated in brief what was proved by the evidence contained in the report they had already adopted.

Mr. Justice JEREMIE, in a very eloquent speech, defended the correctness of the resolution, and recommended its being retained.

After some further conversation, the rider was withdrawn, and the debate upon this resolution was agreed to be postponed till to-morrow, and the Convention adjourned shortly after eight o'clock.

SATURDAY, June 20th.

JAMES G. BIRNIE, Esq., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting having been read, and confirmed, the adjourned discussion upon Mr. Turnbull's rider to the second resolution was resumed.

JOHN STURGE, Esq., thought the convention could not possibly agree to the rider. At the close of the rider, the 23s. 6d. per cwt. which the people of Europe were paying for sugar, was brought into comparison with the 47s. per cwt. which the people of England were paying. Nothing could have a more baneful tendency than that with reference to the important question before the meeting. If the markets of England were to be opened to slave-grown sugar, he contemplated the consequences with horror. (Hear, hear.) If there were any two men of high authority on all colonial questions, they were the late James Stephenson, and the late Zachary Macaulay.—(Hear, hear.) They had both been in the West Indies, both devoted a long life to the study of colonial questions, and they were of opinion that slave cultivation, by the importation of slaves, invariably involved those engaged in it in ruin. (Cheers.) The moral laws of God had branded slavery as the most atrocious system the world ever saw. He begged to quote one extract from a pamphlet he held in his hand, entitled, "A short Review of the Slave-trade and Slavery, with considerations on the benefit which would arise from cultivation of tropical productions by free labour." It was as follows:—The late able and eminent colonial agent Mr. Marryat, in a speech in parliament, observes:—"There are few estates in the West Indies that have not during the last twenty years (i.e., from 1793 to 1813), been sold, or given up to creditors." The late statistical returns from the West Indies, furnish a remarkable confirmation to these views. It appears by these returns, that the distress of the planter in general seems parallel with the fertility of the soil he cultivates, and with the consequent high appreciation of his slaves. If we take the four colonies of Demerara, Berbice, Trinidad, and Honduras, where the average value of slaves is the highest, and the soil most fertile, we shall find the proportion of slaves taken and sold in execution, in five years, to be as high as *one in twenty-eight* of the slave population; whereas, in the other eight colonies from which we have returns of the sales in execution, St. Vincent's, Totola, Bahamas, Nevis, St. Christopher's, Barbados, Dominica, and Grenada, and in which the prices are low, the proportion of slaves so sold, is only one in sixty; and, leaving out St. Vincent's and Totola, which seem to involve some doubt, it is only *one in eighty*. He begged to make one remark in conclusion, which was, that he could not avoid expressing his indignation and regret, that the son of the late Zachary Macauly, the present Secretary-at-war, should be the advocate of Hill Coolie transportation.—(Cheers.)

Mr. TURNBULL replied. All he wanted was, that they should be guarded in their expressions. It was true, that a portion of the high price, 47s. per cwt., arose from the monopoly—(Several voices, "A great part")—but another portion arose from the fact, that free labour was not yet in full operation, and until it was, he maintained that the principles of the resolutions could not be relied on.

The CHAIRMAN then put the question, but there were only two hands held up in favour of Mr. Turnbull's rider, and it was therefore negatived.

Advertisement.

GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT BIRMINGHAM.

AT a MEETING of the BIRMINGHAM BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held at the TOWN HALL, on FRIDAY, JULY 24th, 1840,

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT, Bart., M. P., in the Chair;

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted,—

1. That the Report and Treasurer's accounts be adopted and printed for circulation, and that the Officers of the Society be requested to continue their services, with power to add to their numbers, and that non-attendance shall disqualify Members of the Committee.

2. That this Meeting rejoices at the powerful impulse given to the objects of this Society by the great Anti-slavery Convention, lately held in London, composed of Philanthropists from all parts of the world; and this Meeting anticipates that the sound principles, firmness, and unanimity of purpose which marked the proceedings of the convention will greatly assist the cause of universal freedom.

3. That this meeting is encouraged by the progress of the anti-slavery cause in France and America, and has especial pleasure in welcoming on the present occasion several American abolitionists, including representatives of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and of the American Baptist Anti-slavery Convention; and being deeply sensible that the success of the anti-slavery enterprise depends, under God, on the simplicity with which its operations are conducted, and that it will be materially promoted by the adherence of the Christian community to its high principles, and their determination to hold no fellowship with slave-holders, this meeting offers to the societies above-named, its congratulations on their recent formation—the one, to seek the total and immediate abolition of slavery by moral, religious, and pacific means, and the other to purify the church from the contaminations of the system; and while this meeting sympathises in the probable difficulties its friends will have to encounter, it cordially tenders to them its co-operation in their great work.

4. That this meeting cannot express in sufficiently strong terms its abhorrence of the selfish and unjust views which have dictated the recent enactment, by the Jamaica and other colonial legislatures, of laws, whose only object is to deprive the free peasantry of the just rewards of their labour, and to reduce them to a thraldom as oppressive as that from which they have been liberated. And this meeting can only regard the sanction of the present governor of Jamaica to these infamous projects as a flagrant violation of the abolition law, and a shameful fraud upon the British people.

5. That, although emancipation has in some of the colonies been attended by a temporary diminution of the produce of sugar, this meeting is fully persuaded that such diminution has mainly arisen from a course of proceeding on the part of a great majority of the managers of estates towards the labourers, no less blind and infatuated than it is oppressive and unjust; and it is the decided opinion of this meeting that the superior cheapness of free labour, aided by the introduction of the plough and other obvious agricultural implements, will soon not only produce an ample supply of sugar for home consumption, but, at no distant period, drive from all the markets in Europe the blood-stained produce of slavery.

Signed, EARDLEY WILMOT, CHAIRMAN.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 17.] WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

ON THE HIGH PRICE OF SUGAR.

THE remarks which we have now to offer, we shall usher in by citing the following passage from the *Colonial Gazette*, of July 1 :—

"The difference between the prices of Foreign and British Colonial sugar, is not far from a hundred per cent. in favour of the former. In other words, the produce of free-labour in the British West Indies is nearly twice as dear as that of slave-labour in foreign countries. Thus works 'the great experiment.' Without the bounty on West India sugar, it would be driven out of the British market by the superior cheapness of slave-grown sugar. This bounty alone preserves the vast capitals of the West Indies from annihilation. It is not free-labour which produces sugar in the West Indies, but the bounty. The capitalist pursues his business not with a view to the ordinary profits of industry, but with a view to the bounty. No bounty, no sugar: this is now an undeniable fact."

Such is the dogmatical style in which a great question is decided—and we shall show presently, erroneously decided—by a powerful and influential writer; and in which a basis is laid for the establishment of important practical positions, and heavy criminatory charges. We shall not meddle with these charges at present. It would divert us from our main object, which is to analyze the passage we have quoted, and to expose what we conceive to be its entire and mischievous fallacy.

We have, of course, no quarrel with the writer as to the statement with which he sets out, that "the difference between the prices of foreign and British colonial sugar is not far from a hundred per cent. in favour of the former;" but we complain emphatically of the language into which, in the following sentence, he translates this fact. "In other words," says he, "the produce of free-labour in the West Indies is nearly twice as dear as that of slave-labour in foreign countries." This is equivocal language. It may mean, either that the produce of free-labour in the West Indies is nearly twice as dear *in the British market*, as that of slave-labour in foreign countries—in which case it is indeed repeating "in other words" the fact asserted before: or it may mean, that the produce of free-labour in the British West Indies is nearly twice as dear *in cost of production* as that of slave-labour in foreign countries. That the latter is the meaning in the mind of the writer is plain from what he immediately adds—"Thus works 'the great experiment'"—and from the tenor and bearing of all the rest of the paragraph. And this view of the cost of production by free-labour he gives, not merely as his opinion, but as a direct and inevitable inference from the state of prices in the British market. His argument is this: Free-labour-sugar made in the British West Indies is nearly twice as dear *in the British market* as slave-made sugar from foreign countries; therefore—or, to use his own phrase, "in other words"—the entire produce of free-labour in the British West Indies is nearly twice as dear as that of slave-labour in foreign countries *in cost of production*.

There are several fallacies in this argument. In the first place, it is fallacious to reason, as to the comparative cheapness of free and slave-labour, from the prices of a *single article* produced by them. Even if we were to admit—which we do not—that *sugar* is made cheaper by slaves than by freemen, we should not be shut up to the conclusion that slave-labour is universally cheaper than free-labour, since the production of this or any other particular article may be affected by special causes. Nor is it at all fair to argue such a question upon an insulated case. There are a hundred other things—coffee, rice, indigo, ginger, &c. &c., which are or have been produced by these two kinds of labour; and the question which kind of labour is the cheaper is in all candour to be decided by a reference to the whole extent of their application. The writer before us must permit us to ask him, how it happened that he cited the prices of no other article than sugar. Are there no other commodities in the market the prices of which would authorize his conclusion?

A second fallacy lies in quoting the prices merely of the *British* market. If anything as to the cost of production is to be inferred from the market price of an article, there is surely a necessity of taking its price in the general market of nations, and a want of fairness in selecting that of a single country, and one having a great peculiarity. The British market is the only one in the world in which the price of sugar is (as the writer we are dealing with tells us) "nearly a hundred per cent. in favour" of the slave-grown article. We are entitled to ask, how do the two articles stand as to price in the markets of other countries? And if, as we are aware, it is to be replied to this question, that British colonial sugar is not offered for sale in any market in the world but the British, we rejoin that British colonial sugar is therefore not in the general market at all, and is not subject to the competition by which a real market price for it might be ascertained. It is in the British market only, where a heavy protecting duty gives it a monopoly, and enables it to command a price which it otherwise never would command; while at the same time foreign sugars, whether slave-grown or free, are kept out of the market, and forbidden to attain a price which, without the prohibitory duty, they would immediately secure. Yet it is the prices of such a market that the writer before us most unfairly employs as an index of the cost of production of the articles respectively.

It is still further fallacious, that this writer should argue from the prices of British and foreign sugar to the cheapness of free and slave-labour, because foreign sugars are not all of them slave-grown. Manilla and some other sugars are the produce of free-labour; and if any inference is to be drawn from the price of free-grown sugar to the cost of its production, these are entitled to be taken into the account as well as the British colonial. If British West India sugar being at forty-six shillings per cwt. be a proof that free-labour is dear, we do not see how it can be denied that Manilla sugar being at twenty-four shillings per cwt. is a proof that free-labour is cheap. There is evidently here a want of candour which tends to deprive a writer who can be guilty of it of all claim to confidence.

A fourth and principal fallacy in the passage we are examining is that of arguing at all from the price of commodities in the market to the cost of their production. It is true, that the cost of producing an article so far regulates its price in the market, that, if it does not bring a certain—that is a remunerating price, it will not long be in the market at all; but it is not true that the cost of production has anything to do with the price which an article, when it is in the market, will actually obtain. The market prices of goods—that is to say, the prices which can be got for them in the market—are incessantly varying, now a little higher, now a little lower; and in this endless change they are invariably regulated by the ratio which the demand bears to the supply. If the supply be large in proportion to the demand, prices will be low; if short, they will be high. No buyer ever thinks of asking a producer of any kind what the article cost, or of giving one farthing more for it because it may have cost more than he offers: and if the seller should harp on such a topic, he would find himself obliged to take the market price, even if it were less than the cost of production, or he would not sell at all. Articles are dear when the demand exceeds the supply; they are cheap when the supply exceeds the demand; and they are at what may be called a fair price, when the supply and the demand balance each other. As an article becomes scarce it rises; as it becomes abundant it falls; and the entire variation of prices is an exhibition of the ever-fluctuating ratio which the supply bears to the demand. You may make an article *more expensive* by augmenting the cost of its production; but you will not make it *dearer*, unless its value be such as to create a demand for it at an augmented price: and on the other hand, so long as a large demand exists for an article, you will not render it cheap even by producing it for nothing. Cheap production, in such a case, would put a large profit into the pocket of the producer, who would still get and take the market price for his commodity; while dear production would reduce profit, and might ultimately, if by such pressure, the demand should be affected, induce the abandonment of the occupation.

The principle we have thus stated as determining the market price of commodities in general, is as applicable to sugar as to any other article. Sugar, no doubt, is much dearer than it was; *not because it has cost more to produce it*, but because there is a short supply. And for no other reaon than this. With the present proportion between the demand and the supply, if sugar were grown for a farthing a pound, we should not get it under ninepence. The growers would take the market price—that is, the price created by the demand—although it yielded them a profit of a thousand per cent. We say, then, that the price we pay for sugar is no clue to the cost of its production. This may be great or it may be small; but it is neither the one or the other which makes it dear to us. And we complain that the writer in the *Colonial Gazette* has reasoned upon a false principle, and has so done what he may to mislead the public into a belief, that the high price of sugar is a proof of the high cost of its production, and of the failure so far of the great experiment of emancipation. It is not for us to say whether he has done this ignorantly or with design. This, however, we may say, that if there is any man in

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England who ought to know what he has put us to the trouble of explaining, it is the conductor of the *Colonial Gazette*.

Now as the high price of British sugar in the market is the *only* proof which this writer brings of the high cost of its production, since this fails, we are entitled to say, that everything fails which he has founded on it; inferences, charges, and insinuations, all in right should disappear, like "the baseless fabric of a vision." If he knows that the growth and manufacture of sugar is now in the British colonies unusually expensive, let him bring forward his proofs. This we are entitled to challenge, and he will scarcely refuse. In the meantime, and until adequate and irrefragable proofs of such an assertion shall be brought forward, we profess that we hold a different opinion. That the supply of sugar is short we know, but we do not believe that emancipation has made the production of it more expensive. We are satisfied, on the contrary, that the West Indians generally never were making sugar so cheap as they are now, or securing such large profits. Of the reasons on which we found our belief, we will mention some.

In the first place, it has been demonstrated as a general truth, and by a survey of numerous facts bearing on the question, that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour; and we know of no reason why the cultivation of sugar should be an exception to the rule. Upon the general question the admirable paper of Mr. John Sturge, which was read before the Anti-slavery Convention, and which we have the pleasure of publishing to-day, is, we think, decisive; and we beg to recommend it to the perusal of the writer in the *Colonial Gazette*.

Secondly,—Ever since emancipation, sugar estates, unless subject to some special drawback, have been rising in value; which certainly would not have been the case if sugar-making was now more expensive than before.

Thirdly,—Another symptom quite as inconsistent with this supposition, is the special eagerness which has been shewn for immigration into those colonies where there is much uncultivated land. The great outcry for immigrants into British Guiana and Trinidad, has been supported by perpetual references to their immense quantities of virgin land, capable of producing sugar enough for all Europe, &c. &c.; that is to say, the proprietors are in great haste to make more sugar by free-labour, which they certainly would not be, if it were now made at a disadvantage as compared with the days of slavery.

Fourthly,—Our opinion is deducible even from the general desire expressed in the colonies for an addition to their number of free-labourers by immigration. For why are free-labourers wanted, unless their labour is profitable! The argument as it is now put on behalf of the West Indians is this: "It is expensive, ruinously expensive, to make sugar by free-labour; therefore send us more free-labourers!" Or turning it into the shape of an advertisement, it would read as follows: "Wanted in Jamaica 10,000 free-cultivators of sugar, because the expense of making sugar by free-labour ruins the planters!" What should we say to a similar advertisement in any other case! For example: "10,000 Cotton spinners wanted at Manchester, because the manufacturers can make no profit upon their goods!" No, no! Let our readers well understand it, and let the West Indians know that their preposterous fiction is clearly seen through. All the sugar growers who have conducted their affairs with any prudence have been making sugar cheaper than ever they did, and are at this moment putting into their pockets enormous profits; and it is just because they can make sugar cheap by free-labour that they are seeking for an augmentation of it.

It is on this state of things that reliance may be placed for the ultimate, and we hope the speedy relief of the sugar market at home. What can be raised at so large a profit as British sugar now commands will, unless seasons be adverse, soon be raised in greater abundance. Increased supply is the natural means of reducing the price; and this we fully expect both the East and the West Indies will speedily yield. In the mean time, let not the heart of any abolitionist smite him, that, by substituting free for slave-labour he has rendered sugar-making more expensive, or put into jeopardy "the vast capitals" employed in it.

ON FREE LABOUR.

[Paper read to the General Anti-Slavery Convention, by John Sturge, Esq.]

THE superiority of free over slave-labour, is a fact now so generally known, and the evidence on which it rests is so indisputable, that your committee think it needless to occupy the time of the Convention, by entering at much length into the proof of it. They will therefore confine themselves to a very brief view of the general principles which affect the question, and of the evidence which establishes the fact—that the labour of the free man is cheaper than that of the slave; and then pass rapidly on to the application of these principles to the present position of our cause, and to the consideration of their probable influence on the abolition of slavery throughout the world. They proceed to show—

1st. That the cost of slave-labour is greater than that of free; and,

2nd. That slave-labour is less productive.

1st. The expense of slave-labour resolves itself into the annual sum which, in the average term of the productive years of a slave's life, will liquidate the cost of purchase or rearing, and support in old age, if he attain it, with interest, and the sum annually expended in his maintenance.

If we omit the case of purchased slaves, and suppose them to be bred on the estate (and breeding is admitted to be, under ordinary circumstances, the cheapest mode of supply,) the expense of free-labour will resolve itself into precisely the same elements; since the wages paid to free-labourers of every kind must be such as to enable them, one with another, to bring up a family, and continue their race.

Now it is observed by Adam Smith—'The wear and tear of a free servant is equally at the expense of his master, and it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for replacing and repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of a slave is commonly managed by a negligent master or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the free man is managed by the free man himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former: the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter.' The Russian political economist, Storch, who had carefully examined the system of slavery in that extensive empire, makes the same remark almost in the same words. Hume expresses a similar opinion in decided terms. A statement from one of the slave districts in the United States shows that, taking the purchase-money, or the expense of rearing a slave, with the cost of his maintenance, at their actual rates, and allowing fifteen years of health and strength, during which to liquidate the first cost, his labour will be at least twenty-five per cent. dearer than that of the free-labourer in the neighbouring districts.

2nd. Slave-labour is less productive, as 'the slave,' says Storch, 'working always for another, and never for himself, being limited to a bare subsistence, and seeing no prospect of improving his condition, loses all stimulus to exertion; he becomes a machine, often very obstinate, and very difficult to manage. A man who is not rewarded in proportion to the labour he performs works as little as he can; this is an acknowledged truth, which the experience of every day confirms. Let a free-labourer work by the day, he will be indolent; pay him by the piece, he will often work to excess, and ruin his health. If this observation is just in the case of the free-labourer, it must be still more so in that of the slave.'

Hume remarks, "I shall add, from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man. The fear of punishment will never draw so much labour from a slave, as the dread of being turned off and not getting another service will give a freeman."

Burke observes, 'Slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as free men. The mind goes a great way in everything; and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours the more he is to acquire, this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues under which he would otherwise have sunk.'

Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbados as secretary to the late Hon. Edward Hay, the Governor of that island, observes 'that it has been known for many ages, by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves, whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is really far dearer in general than that of freemen.'

The following facts will sufficiently establish the correctness of these opinions.

President Cooper, of South Carolina, says, 'Slave-labour is undoubtedly the dearest kind of labour. The usual work of a field hand is barely two-thirds of what a white day labourer, at usual wages, would perform; this is the outside. Nothing,' he continues, 'will justify slave-labour in point of economy, but the nature of the soil and climate, which incapacitates a white man from labouring in the summer time on the rich lands in Carolina and Georgia. In places merely agricultural, as New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, slave-labour is entirely unprofitable. It is so even in Maryland and Virginia.'

From a calculation made under the guidance of M. Coulomb, an able mathematician and experienced engineer, who conducted extensive building works both in France and the West Indies, it appears that field slaves do only between a-third and a-half of the work despatched by reluctant French soldiers, and probably not more than a-third of what those very slaves would do if urged by their own interest.

Dr. James Anderson, in an excellent pamphlet entitled 'Observations on Slavery,' published in 1786, shows, that the labour of a West India slave costs about thrice as much as it would cost if executed by a free man. Taking another case, he demonstrates that the labour of certain colliers in Scotland, who, till our own times, were subjected to a mild kind of vassalage regulated by law, was twice as dear as that of the freemen who wrought in other coal mines in the same country, and twice as dear as common day-labour.

In further confirmation of this fact, Mr. Samuel J. Prescod, the Editor of the *Barbados Liberal* and a delegate to this Convention states—

"Throughout the colonies, the effective powers of the labourer have been greatly increased by his emancipation; and he can now do double, and occasionally treble, the quantity of work which he was thought capable of doing when a slave.

"In almost all the colonies (I am not prepared to say all,) at the commencement of the apprenticeship, the planters themselves adopted certain scales of labour by which to regulate the work of the apprentices. These scales showed the quantity of every kind of work which should constitute a fair day's task. The abolition act had left them only a definite portion of the negro's time daily, beyond which they could not command his services; and it was an object with them to make the best use they could of that time, and get all the work they could out of him during the legal hours

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of labour. I am not accurately informed of the mode in which the scales of labour were got up in the other colonies; but if you look into Sherlock's Jamaica Almanack, you will find that, in the several parishes of that island, they were adopted at public meetings of the planters—the labourers having no part therein, The Barbados scale was formed by a committee of three planters. Messrs. Hewitt, Marshall, and Sharpe, appointed by the governor, at the advice of his council, for that purpose, and was laid before the council (composed of planters) and approved by them previously to its promulgation. It was then, without the formality but with all the force of law, directed in circular to the special justices, to guide their decisions on all questions of labour arising between the apprentices and their employers.

"Those who are at all acquainted with human nature, and especially West India planter's nature, will not for a moment imagine that these scales so formed unduly favoured the negro, by exacting from him a less amount of labour than long experience had shown he was capable of rendering.

"This scale-work, when undertaken as a task, the free labourer now commonly does in half the day, and I have known the Barbados labourer do three of these tasks in one day, In September, 1838, *the whole first gang* (men and women) on Lemon Arbour estate, St. John's parish, completed these three tasks in a day; and Mr. Christopher Massiah, a respectable planter, to whom, some days after, I was mentioning the feat, informed me that the same had been performed at Sunbury estate. This is not confined to Barbados. In Trinidad the same remarkable fact appears: the free negro commonly performs two tasks in a day, and has occasionally done three. This I learnt from good authority among the planters themselves in the island; and the delegates sent over to that island by certain of our free coloured brethren of America, with a view to their emigration, report this fact on the authority of the planters. Messrs. R. Semple and Co., who hold property in British Guiana, in a letter to Lord John Russell, dated 25th November, 1839, bear evidence to this fact as regards that colony: —'many of the labourers on our estates,' they say, 'have occasionally performed treble the quantity' of a day's task; and the advertisements put forth in Barbados for emigrants to that colony and to Trinidad uniformly state, in substance, that the day's task may easily be performed in half the day.

"I have conversed with many hundred labourers, men and women, in Barbados, on this subject—frequently with whole gangs at once; and they have all agreed in affirming their ability and their willingness, 'if kindly used and encouraged,' to do two tasks generally; and I am perfectly satisfied on the evidence, that, not only in Barbados, but in every one of the colonies, the freed negro can do *continuously*, and under a judicious management and such treatment as human beings have a right to expect from those who employ their service, would readily do, for fair wages, at least half as much more work than they did in slavery; —that is to say, two labourers of every class would now perform the work which it then required three of the same class to do."

If slave-labour were cheaper than free-labour, we might confidently presume that estates would be rendered less productive by the emancipation of the slaves which cultivated them; but this presumption is contradicted by experience.

"A few Polish nobles," observes Coxe, in his travels in Poland, 'of benevolent hearts and enlightened understanding, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shown this to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests, than to the happiness of the peasants; for it appears that in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion."

The nobles who granted freedom to the peasants were Zainoiski, formerly great chancellor, Chreptowitz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the Abbe Broysolhwski, and afterwards Stanislaus, the king of Poland. After a particular statistical detail, showing the increase of numbers and other facts connected with the change, the writer adds—

"Since the enfranchisement, they are become so easy in their circumstances as to provide themselves with all the necessary implements for the cultivation of the land, and food and clothing for themselves at their own expense, and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent in lieu of the manual labour formerly exacted by their master. By these means the receipts of these estates have been nearly tripled.

"In Hungary a similar experiment has been made of emancipating the vassals, and with the same success.

"Count Festetis, an Hungarian nobleman, having purchased an estate in the Murakos, a tract of country between the Muhr and the Drave, granted lands to the peasantry at a fixed annual rent, instead of the common tenure of service. In these free villages the value of land has risen to such a degree, that the owner of four acres is esteemed wealthy, and the population has increased from fifty families to six hundred. Although still subject to the government duties, and suffering from the effects of two bad seasons and an inundation of the Drave, these peasants were, in 1814, striving cheerfully with the difficulties of their situation, while their neighbours on the common footing, although each family possessed thirty acres, were reduced to subsist on the bounty of their lord."

It is stated in the supplement to the Report of the Privy Council, in reply to the 17th of the Queries from his Excellency, Governor Parry, answered by the Hon. Joshua Steel, a planter of 1068 acres in the parish of St. John, St. Philip, and St. George, in the island of Barbados—"On a plantation of 288 slaves, in June, 1780, viz. ninety men, eighty-two women, fifty-six boys, and sixty girls, there were only fifteen births, and no less than fifty-seven deaths, in three years and three months. An alteration was made in the mode of governing the slaves; the whips were taken from all the white servants, all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried and sentence passed by a negro court. In four years and three months under this change of government, there were forty-four births, and only forty-one deaths, of which ten deaths were of superannuated men and women, and past labour, some eighty years old. But, in the same interval, the annual nett clearance of the estate was above three times more than it had been for ten years."

We will cite one more fact:—

In a late communication from America, from an intelligent observer, it is remarked, "The state of Maryland, though a slave state, has comparatively but few slaves in the upper or western part of it; the land in this upper district is generally more broken by hills and stones, and is not so fertile as that on the southern and eastern parts. The latter has also the advantage of being situated upon the navigable rivers that flow into Chesapeake Bay, and its produce can be conveyed to market at one-third of the average expense of that from the upper parts of the state; yet, with all these advantages of soil, situation, and climate, the land within the slave-district will not, upon a general average, sell for half as much per acre as that in the upper district, which is cultivated principally by freemen. This fact may be also further and more strikingly illustrated by the comparative value of land within the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the one lying on the south and the other on the north side of Maryland, the one a slave, the other a free state. In Virginia, land of the same soil and local advantages will not sell for one-third as high a price as the same description of land will command in Pennsylvania. This single, plain, incontrovertible fact speaks volumes upon the relative value of slave and free-labour, and, it is presumed, renders any further illustration unnecessary."*

No one, we think, can avoid being struck with the surprising coincidence which exists between all the facts that we have cited, although occurring under very different circumstances, and in situations widely distant from each other; or fail to acknowledge that they are of themselves sufficient to establish, in the clearest and most convincing manner, the important principle for which we are contending.

We adduce them now, not because they are new, but because the nature of the case required this kind of cumulative evidence, and in order to show their exact accordance with the results of emancipation in the British colonies. In these, also, the labour of the freeman has been substituted for that of the slave, and, short as is the period which has since elapsed, your committee could easily fill their report with examples of the improved condition of the people and the increased value of the estates which have been consequent on the change.

They select the following, partly from the evidence of gentlemen now present at this Convention, who have been eye-witnesses of them since the negros were emancipated on the 1st of August, 1838, and the remainder from official documents.

W. Wemyss Anderson, Esq., a solicitor of high character and extensive practice in Jamaica, and lately a member of the legislature, states:—

"He was not a planter himself, but it happened to him frequently that he had the disposal of estates, and in all those cases he had been perfectly beset by people requesting the preference of purchasing those estates; and no longer ago than on his voyage to this country, he had been solicited to obtain the preference for a gentleman, to whom he had been under some trifling obligations, for the lease of a valuable estate, for which he was disposed to give a handsome rent. The value of property in the neighbourhood of towns, he could state from experience, had in many cases doubled, and he had bitterly repented of many sales of property he had made, in consequence of the increase in its value. There was another feature of their prosperity in Jamaica, in the establishment of banks. What did the meeting think of three banks being established in Kingston, where there were no banks before, and those banks were established for the purpose of advancing money and making profit? Some of those banks which had only set up last year, had realized 50 per cent. upon their original stock; and one bank had already divided ten per cent., and laid by a considerable reserve fund."

Edmund W. Baynes, Esq., special magistrate, in a letter to Edmund B. Lyon, Esq., dated Spanish Town, Jamaica, April 12th, 1840, says:—

"But the surest sign of the improvement and real prosperity which have attended freedom, is the increased value of land. I know a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, who purchased an estate, I think in 1833, for the sum of £2200, and sold it last year for £10,000, though, when he bought it, there were seventy slaves located on it, for whom he received compensation, and of course had not to sell when he disposed of it. There are numerous other instances of this wonderful increase of the value of property. Land is now selling four miles from this town at £50. per acre, and in other parts as much as £100 have been given.

* For a full investigation of this subject, see Hodgson's Letter to J. B. Jay, on the comparative value of free and slave-labour.

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In 1835, I bought myself ten acres of ground in the wildest part of St. John, for the purpose of planting ground provisions for the use of my family, at the rate of £4 per acre. I have since been offered £5 per half acre, and can sell the whole at that price.

"Another undeniable proof of increasing prosperity is the founding of new villages and townships, and the rapid increase in size and population of former towns and settlements in every part of the country. New chapels and churches are seen rising in every quarter, and there are now ten schools and twenty scholars where there was one in 1832. Institutions for agricultural and scientific purposes, the idea of which, six years back, would have excited laughter, are now formed in most parishes of the island. Nor is the vast improvement which has taken place, confined to the land, it has also extended to the sea. Money has been voted for the erection of a light-house on Mount Keys.

"Imports, the surest sign of internal prosperity, have been nearly doubled in the short space of two years; and that exports have not increased, is owing to the unwise policy pursued by the bulk of the planting interest, who, of all the inhabitants of Jamaica, are the only unreasonable, the only dissatisfied, the only unimproved."

Mr. J. W. Grant, stipendiary magistrate for the parishes of Manchester and Clarendon, Jamaica, in a report to the Governor, dated June 10th, 1839, states,

"I have remarked that the persons who are loudest in proclaiming the deplorable state of the country are the very persons who grasp most firmly the property they have in it, and, if they have the means, are most willing to purchase more.

"I knew one of them who purchased a property about three years ago. He was lately offered nearly treble the amount he gave for it. Did he take it? No; but in the same breath he would assert that the country was ruined."—Vide Parliamentary papers, No. I. p. 8.

In a report from the parish of St. James, dated June, 1839, signed by Walter Finlayson and William Carnaby, special magistrates, it is stated,

"There will be deficiency of crop on many estates in this parish owing to dry weather last season, neglect of cultivation after the 1st of August, and general bad management on the part of overseers and proprietors in refusing or delaying to offer reasonable terms to the labourers by which the crops were injured."—Ibid. page 13.

Mr. Grant, in a report dated Manchester, Jamaica, July 17th, 1839, states,

"This parish is in a state of perfect tranquillity, and every day is developed some new proof of the superiority of free-labour and unrestricted competition."—Ibid. page 15.

In a report to the governor dated Spanish Town, Jamaica, and signed by J. H. Ball, and J. W. Jackson, special justices, we find the following facts.

"After the commencement of the apprenticeship, Mr. Aris purchased a sugar estate called Enfield, in St. Thomas in the Vale. Alarmed at the panic which pervaded upon the attainment of unrestricted freedom by the late apprentices, he sold the freehold to Mr. Sanguinetti for £5000., (being £2000. more than Mr. Aris had given for it.) After realizing £2000. by the crop, Mr. Sanguinetti reconveyed the estate to Mr. Aris for £6000, thus obtaining by one year's cultivation 40 per cent on his capital, (some portion of which was never paid down,) and 60 per cent. by the cultivation and sale; this too, during the most eventful period, the first year of unconditional freedom; and large as this return is, we understand that it does not exceed that obtained by Mr. Aris previous to his disposing of the estate. Mr. Duncan Hamilton sold an estate in St. John's lately, by which he was as great a gainer, either as Mr. Aris or Mr. Sanguinetti."—Ibid. page 26.

In a report dated Buff Bay, St. George's, Jamaica, 7th August, 1839, signed by Edward E. Fishbourne, stipendiary magistrate, it is stated, "Job and task work are adopted very generally in all descriptions of labour in which they are applicable. Cane holes are dug by the job at from £5. to £6. per acre. The price paid to jobbing masters before August, 1838, was from £10. to £12., and I have heard of £15. being offered on an emergency, and refused, in consequence of the distance to be travelled by the negros. It was considered if forty able people dug an acre of cane holes they did good work, and jobbing masters got £10. or £12. for that quantity, which is equal to 5s. or 6s. per day. The task as laid down in the parish scale of labour was eighty, seventy-five, or fifty holes per day per man, or at the rate of from forty to sixty-four negros per acre. The free negros now dig eighty holes per day for 3s. 4d., which, there being 2722 holes to the acre, is at the rate of £5. 13s. 4d. per acre, or from £4. 6s. 8d. to £6. 6s. 8d. an acre cheaper than the same would have cost an estate during the apprenticeship. On very good soils seventy and seventy-five holes are given for 2s. 1d. and 2s. 6d.

"An instance has come to my knowledge of a negro who contracted to dig, pick, tie, and carry top plants, and plant off a piece of seven and a-half acres, for £8. per acre, or £60 for the job. The contract was fulfilled and the money paid. The same during the apprenticeship if dug at £10., and the other part of the labour done at 3s. 4d. per day, the rate of day-labour paid jobbing masters for the last two years, would have amounted to nearly double the sum with which the free negro was contented."—Ibid. page 29.

A report dated Trelawney, July 31st, 1839, and signed Edmund B. Lyon, stipendiary magistrate, says:—

"At this period last year, while the result of free-labour was a speculative matter, calculations were published by various parties on the probable expense and profits of sugar cultivation by free-labour. In nearly all the data it was presumed no profit would be realized on estates which made less than eighty hogsheads. The amount for contingencies inseparable from such manufacturing establishments was computed to be nearly as great on those small estates as on larger ones. The experience of this crop has however shown that apprehension to have been illusory, as I have had opportunities of learning that, even where less than eighty hogsheads have been made, a very considerable income has been realized. One estate in this parish making seventy-five hogsheads, with a proportionate quantity of rum, has netted £1000. sterling."—Ibid. page 38.

Mr. Henry Walsh, special magistrate, in a report, dated 5th August, 1839, says:—

"If the planter fails in the want of labour it will be his own fault, as labour can be had for honesty and fair remuneration. I assure your Excellency that the great noise raised by the planters, saying that the people refuse to pay rent, is totally false, as far as my jurisdiction extends; on the contrary, the planters refuse to rent (let) houses at all, thereby thinking that the people will be more under their control.

"The sugar cultivation in many estates, is far superior to that in past years, and no fear remains of our great measure being successful under the auspices of just laws."—Ibid. p. 35.

The Rev. Thomas F. Abbott, Baptist minister, in a letter to the Rev. W. Knibb, dated St. Ann's Bay, May 4th, 1840, says:—

"As to the working of the free-system, which is a subject on which you will need information which may be depended on, I can report most favourably. You will recollect, that on many of the estates in the vicinity of this town, permanent and fair arrangements for rent and labour (kept distinct) were entered into between the managers and labourers before you left. These arrangements have been carefully observed by both parties; no disputes have occurred on those properties. No work for the magistrates to do—the people work well—get good wages, and pay their rent regularly. I have it on good authority, that on Seville estate from seven to eight hogsheads of sugar are made per week more than were ever made on it during slavery. And Mr. Pink, the proprietor of Drax Hall, told me a few days ago that the people on that estate were giving him great satisfaction, that he expected the property would yield three hundred hogsheads of sugar this year, which is full one-third more than its average crop; that he wishes to extend the cultivation of the cane, and can do so, giving liberal wages, at an amazing profit."

The Rev. William Knibb states, "that Bowden Estate, St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica, was purchased about two years ago, by D. Hart, Esq., of Kingston, for £4000. That in March, 1840, Mr. Hart assured him (Mr. Knibb,) that he had cleared £4000 by it in two years. He stated that he obtained continuous labour without difficulty, at very moderate wages;" and Mr. Knibb has in his possession a pay bill of this estate, by which it appears that the wages of seventy-two persons for one week amounted to £31 15s. currency, or less than £20 sterling, no rent being charged for the houses and provision grounds.

Richard Lewis, Esq., of Ballard's Valley, St. Mary's, Jamaica, a planter, of twenty-seven years experience, and attorney or agent for seven fine sugar estates in that parish, in a correspondence with H. Barkly, Esq., commencing December 26th, 1839, and concluding February 7th, 1840, which has been officially laid before the governor, states the following facts, which we introduce as a brief evidence of the proceedings of the planters throughout Jamaica, and a satisfactory reply to the inquiry why the produce of sugar has diminished since the establishment of freedom.

"When (during the apprenticeship) the law was about to come into operation, giving extra power to the governor and special magistrates, I clearly saw in it, such objections, that it was impossible for any estate to be cultivated under it. I immediately wrote to Joseph Temperon, Esq., Mrs. Cruikshank, &c., advising them to give me power to at once declare their negros free, as that was the only way to get rid of that odious law. Public meetings were held, and at one at Port Maria I strongly recommended planters (for the same reason) to request the members of the House of Assembly to do away with the remaining term of the apprenticeship. This was done by the house; but my supporting and advising the measure got me the ill-will of every person connected with negros. Many were very violent at the time, and few have ever forgiven me. I was assailed on all sides, and the ill-feeling towards me rose beyond belief, when I declared what wages I intended giving.

"I had taken great pains to find the lowest rate that negros would work for, and the highest price that could be got from them as rent for their houses and being clearly convinced that negros could not be got to work in time to save estates from ruin for less, I offered 2s. 6d. per day, subject to 5s. per week rent; it was accepted by the negros, and I have never made the slightest change since.

"This was, however, at variance with other planters, and a very few only followed my plan; the greater number would not listen to it. Some tried plans that never could succeed; others offered wages that were laughed at by the negros, and many held off so long from entering into arrangements that the properties were nearly in total ruin. Those in the management of estates,

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now find they are obliged to follow my plan, giving, as I do, 2*s.* 6*d.* per day for able labourers, and charging 5*s.* per week for rent. But instead of allowing they were in error at first, and allowed so much time to elapse that the estates were nearly thrown out of cultivation, they try to make you believe otherwise, and report to you that I give higher wages than they, and that my estates, or this estate, is like others in the parish. To which I say, look at the season and recorded crops for the state of cultivation, and to the estate's books for the rate of wages."

Mr. Lewis further states to Mr. Barkly :—"The rent books I will also show you, and you shall be convinced I have actually received in hard cash upwards of £800 from the people located in Ballard's Valley, £1500 from the negros on Mr. Temperon's estates, New Rumble and Union, and an equal sum from Mr. Ellis's estates.

"Your opinion as to it (Ballard's Valley) not paying its expenses is equally erroneous, for it will give the proprietor fully £6000 clear.

"You remark in your letter your having told Mr. Mailton you would be sorry to be the proprietor of Ballard's Valley in 1839. It is most gratifying to me that the actual proprietor has good reason, and actually does think very differently, which is tolerably clear from her having sent me a very elegant piece of plate, (which I have ordered to be shown you) with the following inscription: 'presented by Mary Cruikshank to Richard Lewis, Esq., in token of her sense of his superior management of Ballard's Valley estate, St. Mary's, Jamaica, during the times of excitement, owing to change from slavery to a period of apprenticeship and ultimate freedom.'

"*London, August, 19th,* 1839."

Your committee have now before them facts and statements equally convincing as to the beneficial working of free-labour in Barbados, Antigua, Trinidad, and our other West India islands but these they omit, because they feel that they have already amply made out their case, and because in these islands, taken as a whole, there has been no deficiency in the produce of sugar since emancipation. It is in Demerara and in Jamaica that this deficiency has occurred; in the former it has been produced by the excessive drought of the last season; and in the latter, by a blind and fatuitous attempt on the part of a large proportion of the managers of estates to coerce the negros into the acceptance of a rate of wages below the fair value of their labour—an attempt unhappily not yet abandoned.

We need not say more to show that slavery is an expensive and impolitic system of cultivation; and if so, the question naturally occurs, how should it arise, and why is it maintained? To this we reply, that under certain given circumstances it may be profitable; and these circumstances are a large quantity of rich unoccupied land, and a great scarcity of labour, with high prices of produce.

Land can have no value without people, and its fertility may be so great as to counterbalance the disadvantages of slave-labour. Where land is so easily obtained, a man will rather work for himself than become the hired labourer of another, and from this circumstance the wages of free-labour may be so high as to counterbalance the disadvantages of slave-labour.

It is under these circumstances alone that slave-cultivation has been established, and under these circumstances alone that, unless supported by bounties and protecting duties, as it was till lately in the colonies of Great Britain, that it can continue to exist.

These considerations will explain the reason why the landowners of Indiana and Illinois, attempted to obtain the introduction of slavery into that newly inhabited state.

But this state of things cannot continue long. As population increases, all the richer lands become occupied; the difficulty of obtaining hired labourers is at an end; and the wages of free-labour, in consequence, soon reach that point at which it becomes, as in other cases, the interest of the cultivator to employ it in preference to slave-labour.

If, however, blind to his own interest, he continue to persist in his impolitic system of slave-cultivation, the natural fertility of the soil may be so great as to enable him to do so without absolute ruin to himself. But even this advantage will soon fail him, for, by one of these admirable and beautiful provisions which seem appointed by the Author of Nature to defeat the selfish purposes of man, when pursued in opposition to his laws, it is found that slave cultivation has an invariable tendency to lessen the fertility of the soil. In a manner which at first sight appears almost miraculous, the earth refuses to lend her support to a system of injustice; and while 'she multiplies her productions with profusion under the hands of a free-born labourer, seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat of the slave.' The cause of this extraordinary fact will be made clear to us by a few very simple considerations.

It is well known that a continual succession of the same crops will deteriorate the richest soils. To maintain their fertility it is necessary to have recourse to green crops and the pasturage of cattle; and in the natural course of things, under the influence of freedom, the demands of a civilized community make it the interest of the cultivator to devote a considerable portion of his land to these purposes.

But under a system of slavery his interests are widely different. He has then no inducement to rear cattle. The labour usually assigned to them in a free country is performed by his slaves, and he has therefore no need of their living services. They would be equally useless to him when dead, because beef and mutton are luxuries almost wholly denied to the slave, who is obliged to content himself with the cheapest and coarsest food which can support life. In other respects they would be of little or no value to him, because the wants of a slave population are not considered to require either leather or woollen cloth, or any of those comforts which the freeman derives so largely from the animals whose flesh supplies him with food.

For these reasons, in slave-countries it is the constant practice to persevere in a ruinous succession of the same exhausting crops,* and the productiveness of the soil is in consequence gradually diminished. In our West India islands this has taken place universally; in the United States the same effects have arisen from the same cause. Even in countries where the population, although not actually enslaved, has been long degraded by oppression to a condition nearly allied to slavery, the same fact has been exhibited in a very extraordinary manner.

A late traveller in Greece remarked with astonishment, that many districts of this beautiful region, once distinguished by their exuberant fertility, were now become barren and unproductive.

The fact of the rapid deterioration of the soil in all slave-countries can be established beyond all doubt.

"The produce of these islands," says Bryan Edwards, in 1798, in his History of the West Indies, "is raised at an expense to the cultivator which perhaps is not equalled in any other pursuit in any other country in the globe. The negros have been kept up and even augmented by purchase, because as the lands have become impoverished, they have required a greater expense of labour to make them any way productive.' 'And for what,' says Mr. Justice Jeremie, in his work on Colonial Slavery, 'are we making such sacrifices in the West Indies? To change the very face of nature. Columbus and the earlier navigators have described these older colonies, as they stood clothed in the most brilliant verdure; they are now arid, parched, and exhausted. Cultivation elsewhere converts deserts into gardens, here gardens into a desert. How comes it that St. Lucia, Trinidad, and Demerara, are still so fertile? Because they are but recently inhabited. And why but recently inhabited? Because these now parched and exhausted colonies originally presented greater inducements."

The Hon. John Taylor, a senator of the United States, from Virginia, states, "The fertility of Virginia has long been declining. The falling off in the culture of tobacco is testimony to this unwelcome fact. It is deserted because the lands are exhausted. Whole countries which once grew tobacco are too sterile to grow any of moment, and the wheat crops substituted for tobacco have already sunk to an average below profit. Negro slavery," he continues, "is a misfortune to agriculture, incapable of removal."

It appears, therefore, that, by an almost necessary consequence, slavery produces a system of cultivation destructive to the fertility of the soil. When from the influence of these causes the estate of the planter has been impoverished, economy and good management become indispensable. But it is found by the experience of both ancient and modern times, that nothing has tended more to assimilate the condition of the slave to that of the free labourer, or actually to effect his emancipation, than the necessity imposed by circumstances of adopting the most economical mode of cultivation.

It will thus be seen that, by the operation of this beautiful law, slavery always contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Slave-cultivation requires, as necessary conditions to its existence, fertility of soil, scarcity of labour, and high prices of produce; and if either of these conditions cease it must soon draw to a close. If the system be maintained in all its atrocious severity, as in the older West India colonies of Great Britain, population is indeed kept down, but the deterioration of the soil after a while makes it unprofitable; and if, on the other hand, the comfort of the slaves be provided for, they increase in number, and labour becomes so plentiful that they are of little value. In either case fresh importations will cease, and the slave-trade be at an end.

The planter is thus driven to a cheaper mode of cultivation, viz., by home-bred slaves; and if our views be correct he will soon be compelled to quit even his new position by the unrestricted competition of free-labour.

Thus, as we have stated before, while the Brazilian cotton-grower has been far outstripped by the planters of Carolina, the latter have been themselves driven out of the cultivation of indigo, in consequence of its cheaper production by free-labour in the East Indies. In about three years after the first importations of indigo from the east, the Carolinas closed their ports against any fresh importations of slaves, and although they found employment for their hands in the cultivation of cotton, yet it may fairly be estimated that several hundred thousand Africans have been saved from the horrors of slavery in consequence of the cultivation of indigo by free-labour. Whenever the competition of free-labour can be fully and fairly brought into action, it is the conviction of your committee that its first triumph will thus be the destruction of the slave-trade, and its last and final one the extinction of slavery itself.

Having thus, as we trust, satisfactorily demonstrated that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour, we next proceed to show that, of all kinds of slave-labour, that kept up by fresh importations of slaves is the dearest.

(To be concluded in our next.)

* W. W. Anderson, Esq. states, that to such an extent is this system pursued in Jamaica, that he is compelled to import the hay for his horses from England.

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SLAVERY AND THE METHODIST CHURCH IN AMERICA.

Bristol, 7th Month 15, 1840.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—Agreeably to thy request of yesterday to be informed of the position which the Methodist church of America occupies in respect to the subject of slavery, I hand the following, and be assured I do it with feelings of pity and not with those of anger; for I believe, did the Methodist Episcopal church of America view the accursed system as the venerated founder of Methodism personally saw it, they would cordially respond to his exclamation, that "it is the *sum* of all villanies," and do as he did, "strike at the root of this complicated villany." And why should they strike? Wesley himself furnishes a better reason than I can, why his followers should follow his illustrious example. "This equally concerns all slave-holders of whatever rank and degree, seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers. The blood of thy brother crieth against thee from the earth. Oh! whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late: instantly, and at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood-guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, and thy lands, at present are stained with blood. Liberty is the birthright of every human creature as soon as he breathes the vital air, and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature." Unnumbered are the Methodists in America who hold slaves, and scores of thousands of that body are held as slaves, and many of them by members of the Methodist Episcopal church!!!

I am aware that some of my remarks yesterday gave thee pain, so far as concerned the Methodist church, and that thou wert not less pained than surprised they should be based on historical facts; and that thou regretted they were not generally known by the British conference and the Methodists generally through the length and breadth of the land. I trust thou wilt use thy best endeavours to spread the contents of this letter, so that ignorance of such a state of things may not longer prevail, and I pray that a remedy may be sought and found by a body of christians whom I love, professing Methodism on this side of the Atlantic Ocean, or that they will cease to be *one* with them on the American continent, so long as the southern portion may be entitled to be ranked among "men-stealers." In the general rules of the society in America, p. 75, it is described as "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of *godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.*" This is a good foundation, love being the operative principle of cementing influence. How far does the system of slavery raise a superstructure *on that foundation*? Has not slavery produced obliquity of vision among members, in annual and quadrennial conferences? To use the words of the Discipline, page 53, has not slavery produced "a base man-pleasing temper, so that we let them (slaveholders) perish rather than lose their love; we let them go quietly to hell, lest we should offend them. Some of us (preachers) have a foolish bashfulness; we know not how to begin, and blush to contradict the devil." In the edition of 1836, the Discipline, p. 188, reads, "We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; therefore no slave-holder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom."—"When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves conformably to the laws of the state in which he lives." Before closing this letter it will be perceived, I think, that the above is a mere rope of sand.

Let us examine the subject a little. Although it be a painfully distressing one, yet it concerns every member of the Methodist body in this country, for each is identified with the Methodist episcopal church in America, inasmuch as the English conference is represented by delegation in the American quadrennial conference, from whence I learn that Robert Newton is just now returned; but I presume a forty days' residence did not permit a view of slavery even through a hole in the wall; so that he has not seen its revolting abominations and sin against high heaven, nor its crushing and damning influence on his fellow-man, At the quadrennial conference of 1836, by a vote of one hundred and twenty two to eleven!!—it was "resolved, by the delegates of the annual conference in general conference assembled, that they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, or wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slave-holding states of the Union." In the same year, 1836, the New York conference excluded candidates from ordination, unless they would pledge themselves to let anti-slavery alone, and over thirty were ordained under this pledge. In 1838, this conference suspended two of its members from the ministry, and subjected others to ecclesiastical censure, for attending a Methodist anti-slavery convention, and writing for *Zion's Watchman*, a paper edited by one of their own ministers; yet this conference passed a resolution in favour of the colonization society, which a well known gentleman describes as the "queen of humbugs." It is not to be wondered at that such proceedings should take place, when it is known that the quadrennial conference of 1836, refused to publish the address of the British conference, as it had a paragraph on slavery, in which it was said, "We trust that your connexion have already begun to condemn this baneful system." And to the honour of the English conference, in their next correspondence it says, "We regret that the allusion in our epistle of last year to the subject of slavery should have occasioned you either pain or embarrassment; we intended to affirm the principle that slavery is a system of oppressive evil, and is in direct opposition to the spirit of our divine religion, and we hoped that the time had arrived when our beloved sister connexion in America would be prepared to act on these sentiments." Is this 'modern abolitionism?' I presume it is both *ancient and modern*, and such as the hundred and twenty-two against a minority of eleven are decidedly opposed to. The Baltimore conference of 1837, enacted that the rule of discipline be construed "so as not to make the guilt or innocence of the accused to depend upon the simple fact of the purchase or sale of any such slave or slaves, but upon the attendant circumstances of cruelty, injustice, or inhumanity, on the one hand, or of those kind purposes or good intentions on the other, under which the transactions shall have been perpetrated; and further it recommends that in all such cases the charge be brought for *immorality*, and the circumstances be adduced as specifications under that charge." The Georgia conference, in 1837, resolved; "Whereas there is a clause in the discipline of our church, which states that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery, and whereas the said clause has been *perverted* by some, and used in such a manner as to produce the impression that the Methodist Episcopal church believed slavery to be a moral evil;" therefore resolved, "That it is the sense of the Georgia annual conference, that *slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil.*" Resolved, "That we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have nothing to do, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavouring to impart to him and his master the benign influence of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to heaven." When conferences act thus, is it not occasion for marvel that the Methodist official paper, published at Charleston, South Carolina, and edited by no less a man than is styled the "Reverend Dr." Capers, should state that "Abolitionism tends to infidelity, and that slavery tends to the salvation of the negros;" and in one of his speeches, in mentioning various reasons why Methodists after a certain date became less odious to the people of the southern states, said, "At length people began to consider that many of them *were slave-holders!!*"

I perceive, my friend, an inroad made into the very spirit of the discipline, which should be met, let the consequences be what they may, at the very threshold. I allude to page 76, which states that the requisite qualification for membership is "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved from their sins;" yet S. K. Hodges, a presiding elder at Columbus, in the state of Georgia, as appears by the Methodist official paper, under date of October 28th, 1839, says, "Within our last quarter, there have been added to the church here 160 white members, and nearly 200 coloured have offered to join I say *offered, for we* admit none until their *owner's consent* has been obtained, and some have not yet brought certificates of this"!!! In the quadrennial conference of 1836, the "Reverend" William Winans, who, like his brother, Dr. Capers, avowed himself a slave-holder, said, "I was not born in a slave state. I am a Pennsylvanian by birth. Had been brought up to believe a slave-holder was as great a villain as a horse thief, but he had gone to the south, and a long residence there had changed his views, he had become a slave-holder—a slave-holder on *principle*. There was suspicion abroad in the south. To obviate such suspicion, and gain free access to the slave, so as to do him good, it was highly advantageous for a minister that he himself should hold slaves; and he could see no impropriety, but advantage, in members, preachers, presiding elders, and even bishops, being slave-holders. Yes, however novel the sentiment may be, however startling it may be to many, I avow this opinion boldly, and without any desire to conceal it—" and the presiding bishop permitted him to avow such abominable sentiments without calling him to order. In a church, thus circumstanced, canst thou fairly or fondly hope to see an increase of coloured members? If thou dost, surely thy expectation is vain. It appears by the minutes of the conference that, in 1835-36, there was a decrease of coloured members of 1877, and in 1839, in the conference of Virginia, there was an increase of *one*, among a population of coloured people numbering more than 500,000. In Holstein conference there was an increase of twelve, but in those of Kentucky, New York, New England, Michigan, Genessee, Ohio, and Illinois, an actual decrease in each of them; although six of them are in free states. It may with truth be said, that slavery in the south, and oppression and depression of the free coloured people in the north, received from the hands of professed christians and christian professing churches, drives our coloured brethren into the paths of infidelity; the slave-holding "Rev." Dr. Capers to the contrary notwithstanding, although he be backed by Elijah Hedding, D.D., and a Methodist episcopal bishop; who avers the right to hold a slave is founded on this rule, "Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets!" And Dr. Wilbur Fisk, in a letter to the "Rev." Timothy Merrit, a good abolitionist, said, "The relation of master and slave may, and does in many cases, subsist under such circumstances as free the master from the just charge of guilt or immorality;" and Fisk, with six other Methodist ministers subscribed their names to, that the "New Testament enjoins obedience upon the slave as an obligation *due* to a present rightful authority." Let me quote the doings of one other conference, that of South Carolina, in 1838, which resolved, "That it (slavery) is not a proper subject for the action of the church."

I have given thee the doings of associated bodies, and before closing, will give extracts from a letter addressed to the well-known and much-beloved George Storrs, a Methodist minister, whose correspondent is also a minister and a physician, of the name of Samuel Heuston, who spent a winter for his health in South Carolina, under date of Utica, State of New York, 11th November, 1837:—

"Question 1st.—Do ministers of the Methodist episcopal church, particularly missionaries, preach the whole word of God to masters and slaves, or are they forbidden by slave-holders to do so? Answer—I am personally acquainted with a missionary on ——— mission; he told me that he was forbidden by Dr. ——, a large planter, from preaching to his slaves on sabbath-breaking, for that was the only time they had to cultivate their gardens and to wash their clothes. Question 2nd.—Do ministers and members of the Methodist episcopal church buy and sell slaves for the sake of gain; or do they buy only; and that in cases where it is the evident design to better the condition of the slaves? Answer—I know that members of the Methodist episcopal church sell slaves at auction to the highest bidder; and it is not considered a disciplinary offence. I know of Methodist preachers buying slaves with no apparent design to better their condition, but evidently for the sake of gain. Question 3rd.—How extensively do ministers and members of the Methodist episcopal church hold slaves and trade in them? Answer—I should think nearly one-half, at least, of the ministers of our church hold slaves and trade in them; and nearly all the members who are able to own slaves, not only hold them, but buy and sell them. I know of one official member, Colonel —— that bought in one purchase about 50,000 dollars worth of slaves, and of G. —— Esq., of South Carolina, an official member, who made it a business to buy and sell slaves in lots to suit purchasers; his house is head-quarters for Methodists—a home for the preachers; is a chief man in the church—very benevolent; one instance of which I was an eye-witness: this esquire sold a man away from his wife; she was his cook, and was in great trouble, and went to this

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Methodist brother!! her master, and besought him, for God's sake, to sell her with her husband, or to kill her. He would hear nothing, but drove her off to her work. She went about getting dinner, but complained to her mistress, a Methodist sister!! who told her she would make her *feel right*, and had her taken to the jail and flogged fifty lashes on the bare back—" to cool her off," was the language this sister used, who told me how she had her slave Mary *cured*. Yes, cured of mourning over a husband torn from her by the hand of an official member of the Methodist episcopal church! When I expostulated with this sister on the impropriety of separating husband and wife, she hooted at it, and said it would not be long before Mary would have another husband. I attended a large sale of slaves, about 200; numbers of them were members of the Methodist episcopal church: many people were gathered together to attend the sale. It was a time of great festivity—a high-day; several ministers of the Methodist episcopal church were present. The sheriff who had charge of the slaves was a member of the Methodist episcopal church, so was the auctioneer—and not less than a dozen members of the same church bought more or less at this auction.

I could add more to this purport, but I forbear; expressing my hope—my prayer, that so foul a blot may not continue to stain the society of which thou art a member. I desire it on behalf of the oppressor and the oppressed.

Amid this gloomy state of things there is, my brother, a ray of light in the horizon, which I trust will progress until it be refulgent as the meridian sun, and that its light and radiant heat may spread, until the heart of every Methodist be as that of one man, and with their united hands "strike at the root of this complicated villany" in high places, and may witness the annihilation of "the worst system that ever saw the sun." And why I have this hope in me is, that, for the forwarding so glorious a purpose, in 1838, (and since then further accessions have been made to the anti-slavery band) there were six out of the twenty-eight conferences thoroughly abolitionized; twelve of the twenty-eight were represented at the Methodist Anti-slavery convention, and four others sent communications, making in all sixteen out of twenty-eight. The number of delegates in attendance two hundred. The number of communications received was one hundred and fifty. In conclusion, let me adopt the words of the renowned Thomas Clarkson at the conference held in London, desiring their adaptation to the course which all Methodists everywhere shall take, to clear the Lord's footstool of one of the foulest blots that any people can permit to be affixed to their condition. "Take courage—go on—persevere to the last;" and then you may be permitted to enjoy the legacy of your venerated founder, when about to take his leave of mortality to wear the crown of a saint; in the Redeemer's Kingdom. "The best of all is, God is with us;" and for it so to be, a people must cease to do evil, learn to do well, and each to love his brother, regardless of colour or clime.

Thy friend,

JAMES CANNINGS FULLER.

To Joseph Orchard, Hanover Cottage, Snow Hill, Bath.

BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

(From the Eclectic Review.)

In an article on the General Anti-Slavery Convention, after quoting the report of the Committee on the employment of British capital in the slave-trade, the reviewer says:—"We know not what our readers may think of these statements; to us they are not afflictive merely, but appalling. On the part of some of the persons thus brought before us, their implication in the support of the slave-trade is known and intentional, and we cannot stop short of pronouncing it directly and deeply criminal. In point of principle, the manufacture for the slave-trade of muskets, manacles, and cottons, differs nothing from the building of ships for the same traffic. The former is done in England, and the latter in America. But how differently do we treat the two cases! To denounce the Baltimore clipper-builders we throw ourselves into a phrenzy of indignation, and exhaust our vocabulary of wonder and invective; while criminals of the very same stamp reputably pursue their callings at Birmingham, Glasgow, and Manchester! The men that do the one of these would do the other if they could. And it is only because it would, by its greater publicity, arouse public indignation, and expose the parties to legal penalties, that slave-ships are not at this hour building in the Clyde, the Mersey, and the Thames! But we go further than this. We affirm that direct participation in the slave-trade is the same in principle with the indirect. A maker of manacles or a lender of money for the slave-trade may revolt at the idea of becoming an actual slave-trader, and, were an opportunity afforded him, he might actually refuse to enter into it; but in point of moral rectitude he might as well do the one as the other. It is in the accidents only, and not in the essentials, that the two things differ. He aids the perpetration of all the crimes and miseries of that atrocious traffic as truly and efficiently as though he were the commander of a slave-ship, or the owner of a barracoon. Than either the one or the other of these abhorred wretches, he has not more principle, but only less audacity. This is the whole difference; and if his own conscience does not speak on this matter, it is time that public indignation should. We hope the abolitionists of the United States will take up this subject. Aye, let the slave-holder of the south and the slave-breeders of the middle states whet their reproofs. Is there no O'Connell among them, who will make the impassioned denunciations which thunder from Great Britain across the Atlantic reverberate with a just and irresistible vehemence against these English slave-traders!

"We have spoken thus severely concerning those persons whose implication in the slave-trade is known and intentional. We do not involve in their guilt those who may not have been hitherto aware of the position they occupy. These are a large and most respectable class, consisting chiefly of the share-holders of the mining associations operating in Cuba and Brazil, and of the colonial bank. It is high time, however, that these respectable persons were aware of their circumstances. It is an excellent thing to be a share-holder in the Colonial Bank, which pays a large dividend, and the shares of which are rising; but is there not enough in the fact that this institution has a branch at Puerto Rico, and is using efforts to establish one at Havana, to make virtuous persons shrink from partaking of their profits! By such branches they must supply money to slave-traders, and render their capital the direct sinews of the slave-trade. We ask the share-holders, for it is their money, whether this is to their satisfaction, or according to their intention! There are gentlemen, whose names for the present we forbear to mention, of the highest standing in society, not for knowledge of business only, but for benevolence, probity, and religion, in connexion with this institution; and we can tell them that the public is waiting for a decision from them, by which they may wash their hands of such polluted gains, and set an example challenging the imitation of humbler names.

"Similar remarks are applicable to the mining associations. Let our readers ponder the appalling fact, that all their mines, both in Cuba and Brazil, are in whole or in part wrought by slaves, and that no less than three thousand three hundred and twenty-five slaves are so employed continually. Hear this! proprietors in foreign mining companies. British noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, ladies, hear this! Your money goes to buy slaves, and work them to death! You are actually purchasers, holders, and masters of more than three thousand slaves! When you took shares in mining companies did you mean this! Do you mean it now! Will you tolerate it! We hope and believe you will not; and most earnestly do we entreat you to take promptly the only steps by which you can wipe away so foul a stain, either from your country or yourselves."

REFUSING CHRISTIAN COMMUNION TO SLAVE-HOLDERS.

[From the *Eclectic Review.*]

Upon this point the *Eclectic* has already taken a stand which we are far from being disposed to relinquish. We are aware, nevertheless, that the sentiments of the religious community are as yet only partially with us, and that both the feelings of pious men and the real difficulties of the question demand a patient and good tempered discussion. Scarcely, we think, in the convention was such a discussion granted. Some of the transatlantic delegates seemed to think that the decisive settlement of the question with them left nothing for English abolitionists but instant and unreasoning—we might almost say uninquiring—acquiescence. The vote was in some danger of being carried by enthusiasm, rather than by conviction, and those who had a question to ask or a doubt to express were rather cried down than satisfied. It may be so that American abolitionists are gone a-head (to use a term of their country) of their British brethren on this point; but a little knowledge of human nature might have taught them that their English associates would have followed much more readily in the wake of their wisdom by being convinced than by being overborne. The old English maxim, however, 'think and let think,' may be better understood on the other side of the Atlantic at a somewhat greater distance from 'the martyr age.' To return to the resolutions, we earnestly hope that they will be considered and ultimately acted on by all christian churches. To the congregational churches in this country, who have a full liberty of action, we more especially commend them. If they will make themselves acquainted with the melancholy and afflictive facts which are now of authentic notoriety, we are sure that they will see a case made out for action, and will be stimulated by an urgent sense of duty to discharge the responsibility which devolves on them. We are not concerned to make out the position that no slave-holder can be a christian. It is not necessary to the consistency of our views that we should do so, nor is it requisite in order to justify the course we recommend. It is enough that slave-holding is a manifest and glaring violation of the laws of Christ, and uniformly tends to the dishonour of his name and the injury of his church. We would therefore deal with the person practising it, as we would with any other individual whose conduct was, in any department, at open variance with the law of Christ. Whatever might be his excellencies, however consistent his conduct in other respects, we would say to him, '*Here* is a palpable deviation from the mind of your gracious Lord—a practice which, in our judgment, no sound or scriptural reasoning can reconcile with the honour of your profession. Your slave-holding, therefore, must be abandoned, if you would have us accredit the profession you make. With what excellent intentions, or amidst how many excuses, or with what supposed justifications, you may have become or may continue a slave-holder, we ask not; *here*, in the robbery and oppression of your fellow-man—your fellow-believer it may be—is so monstrous an inconsistency with the spirit and precepts of your Master, that we must bid you keep at a distance from our fellowship till such inconsistency be removed. Repent of and abandon this sin; wash yourself clean from this pollution, and we will then rejoice over you, as in this respect a consistent disciple of our Lord.' The scriptural ground of Christian fellowship is not sincere but consistent piety. The temper and conduct of one who would become a professor of religion, or be recognised as such, should exhibit such a con-

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formity with christian precepts as will be conducive to the honour of christianity. We may refer to some directions given in the New Testament in reference to the exclusion of members for an illustration, and we think for a confirmation, of our view. Such are 2 Thess. iii. 6, 12; Rom. xvi. 17, and others. We should be glad if any who may differ with us in the principle would read these passages, and then permit us to propound this question—Whether facts which constitute a valid cause for cutting off a person from christian fellowship would not, if they were known, afford a just ground for refusing admission to it. If this is affirmed, it seems to us to carry the principle we have above expressed. As to the eminently pious and benevolent slave-holders whose actual existence has been so positively asserted by persons who say they know the fact, without affirming the non-existence of these gentlemen and ladies—we are glad it is admitted they are few—we shall content ourselves with saying, that we think their position as slave-holders is one in which a just regard to the honour of christianity should induce them voluntarily to relinquish the profession of it. Involved as they are—involuntarily, or even against their will, as is alleged—in the support of a system so unrighteous as slavery is at the best, and so atrocious as American slavery is in fact, they should not wait to be told by their brethren of any church, we cannot hold christian fellowship with you. They should anticipate this step, and say once for all, we will never solicit christian fellowship till we can wash our hands of slavery.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We trust Mr. Haughton will excuse the insertion of his letter.

Such of our friends as may possess either No. 4, or No. 13 of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, will greatly oblige the Committee by returning them to 27, New Broad Street, London.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 12TH.

A West India mail arrived on Monday. We learn by it that the judicial investigation at Falmouth, Jamaica, of what has been so wantonly termed the Baptist insurrection, has issued in the committal of nine persons to answer "any indictment which may be preferred" against them, and the binding over of Mr. Robinson to a similar effect. As to the Rev. T. E. Ward, his "attendance was not any further required"—that is to say, after all the hard swearing of witnesses, the exultations of the planter-press, and the high expectations of the pro-slavery party, the attorney-general could find no ground for an indictment against him. The papers give an interesting account of the opening of Sligoville, a free-village in the neighbourhood of Spanish town. The affair was one of great ceremony, and, what is better, of great promise. The abolitionists will have a lasting memorial, after all; for in this rising town are not only Victoria Road, Mulgrave Street, and Lionel Circus, but Sturge Street, Harvey Street, Brougham Street, Thompson Street, Scoble Street, &c. &c. We rejoice to know, that the peasantry are working the free-village system vigorously. Let them go on. It is the security of their liberty, and the regeneration of Jamaica.

From our intelligence we select a letter from the Rev. S. Oughton to Mr. Sturge, in our extracts from which general intelligence will be found blended with the details of his continued sufferings.

Kingston Gaol, June 26, 1840.

I EXPECTED when I last wrote, that, long ere this, my deliverance would have been obtained and I restored to my family and church; it appears however that I did not rightly calculate the extent of colonial malice, or how far prejudice and party feeling could be permitted to interfere with the claims of humanity, or even the principles of truth and justice—but on these matters I am becoming wiser every day, for painful experience is my schoolmaster.

On the day fixed for hearing my argument to quash the writ, no court was held, as a sufficient number of judges could not be induced to attend to constitute a bench; the same thing happened the two following days, and when at last the court sat, and day after day applications were made by my counsel, and the peculiar circumstances of my case and the injury sustained by my congregation enforced—every excuse possible was resorted to for delay, until at length, on the last day but one, the judge decided that it could not be attended to this court; thus leaving me suffering a cruel and illegal confinement, without hope of redress. The whole of this is to be attributed to the conduct of that most selfish of all selfish men, and most prejudiced of all partizans, Sir Joshua Rowe, who, in order to advance his own personal interests, and to aid the designs of that party, of which he is at once the leader and the slave, left this island for England about two months ago, although he knew that the administration of justice would thereby be severely crippled, if not entirely suspended. A contemptible squabble for precedence among the judges, joined to a hearty dislike to Mr. Bernard (the acting chief) for his political sentiments, have set them so together by the ears, that during last court *four days* were lost, and in consequence *not one civil case* was heard, and even the gaol delivery was not completed—while jury-men and witnesses were detained at a ruinous expense, without having their business attended to at last.

"I understand that the objects of his mission to England are twofold—first, the passing of the *Judicial Bill*, by which he hopes to be made *Vice Chancellor*, and to obtain the appointment of Middleton, Edwards, and a choice knot of his own class, to be judges, (for none others will possess the qualification, viz.—*five years practice at the* JAMAICA BAR)—thus, he calculates on strengthening his party, increasing his influence, and doubling his salary, while it would considerably diminish his labour. Three excellent reasons for a proud, avaricious, and intolerably lazy man. The other object is the entire removal of the stipendiary magistrates, to whom he has been long known to be a determined enemy. I have no doubt but a few attacks on, or misrepresentation of, the Baptist missionaries will be included in his budget, and not unlikely some attempt *to alter* the *election laws*, and deprive the people of the right of a voice in the representation: these, however, will not be openly attacked, but carried on by secret misrepresentation and influence; indeed Sir Joshua is not the man to face a foe openly, he loves to cover his designs with darkness, and work his mischief in secret places.

I have stated thus much, in order that you may know the man you have to deal with, and act accordingly. I do hope that the people of England will not be deceived by his plausibility, or cunning; already he has proved himself adverse to the interests of the people, and I hope that, if nothing more can be done, at least his opportunity and ability for mischief may not be increased.

The pro-slavery party here are measureless in their wrath with Lord J. Russell, for his celebrated dispatch to Governor Light; they cannot for a moment tolerate his views of *prosperity*, and the papers, therefore, are full to overflowing with their low scurrility and abuse.

I have made every attempt in my power to obtain my release but without effect. I have offered bail to any amount, but it has been refused. I have made inquiries for a writ of Habeas Corpus, but it cannot be granted. There are now but three courses left for me: either to pay the money, upwards of £3000, or to remain in prison until either the argument to quash be settled, or the suit in "error" be determined, or taking the benefit of the Insolvent Law. The first I am neither able nor willing to do. No; rather than acknowledge the validity of that shameful verdict by paying one shilling, I will remain in gaol until carried out in my coffin. The second would involve not less than four, and most likely eight, or even twelve months imprisonment, to the sacrifice of my dear wife and children, the ruin of my health if not the destruction of my life, and the neglect of a church of six thousand persons, who would be thus deprived of pastoral superintendence and care. I have, then, only the last to which I can resort, and have determined on adopting it, so that this week the Jamaica papers present the unprecedented circumstance of a Baptist missionary advertised as an Insolvent Debtor. This will involve at least four weeks imprisonment, and I have already been confined a month. This is a most serious evil to my people, and a most painful circumstance to myself. It has also greatly injured my health, and Mrs. O is suffering from the anxiety, and great additional exertion it demands from her. Still a great principle is involved, and the conviction that I am suffering for righteousness' sake supports my mind amidst all our trials.

Up to the present time I have experienced much kindness from the officers of the prison, but since my advertisement a different state of things is observable. Hitherto my people have been admitted on Sundays, between the services, in large numbers to see me, and I have conducted a short service; but yesterday morning Mr. Lindo, the deputy marshal, stated that he had been directed by the provost marshal, and from the *king's house*, to allow this no longer, and in future not more than six persons at one time can be admitted. I have sent Sir Charles Metcalfe a strong remonstrance and urgent request that unlimited access may be permitted, but have not yet received an answer. This I expect will be but the beginning.

THE resolutions of the General Anti-slavery convention respecting the refusal of religious communion to slave-holders have been submitted to the Methodist conference; and Mr. Tredgold has received from the president and secretary of that body an official reply, which we insert below.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, August 7th, 1840.

SIR,—Dr. Bunting has this day brought under the consideration of the Wesleyan conference now assembled the letter which you addressed to him on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, and the accompanying resolutions of the Anti-slavery convention lately held in London.

In respectfully acknowledging the receipt of these communications, we are directed to assure you of the entire and hearty concurrence of all the Wesleyan ministers in this country in the sentiment of the convention's first resolution, which denounces "slavery, in whatever form or in whatever country it exists," as "contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of christianity," and as "therefore a *sin against God*, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed."

To these great principles the British conference have always been intensely anxious to give the fullest possible effect, by suitable disciplinary regulations and otherwise, wherever they have *ecclesiastical authority*; and they are thankful that it has been in their power to contribute, in various ways, their share both of public testimony and practical effort, for the purpose of securing to them that triumphant operation which they have now generally obtained in the colonies of the British empire.

The conference have long felt, and still deeply feel, that it is their solemn duty to use to the uttermost any *influence* which they may possess for the attainment of the same momentous object in other countries, where, though they have no ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever, their persevering and faithful expression of their unalterable feelings and convictions on the subject may prove of any beneficial effect.

The conference most earnestly pray that the blessing of Almighty God may attend the christian endeavours of your society, and of other kindred institutions.

Signed on behalf and by order of the conference,

ROBERT NEWTON, *President.*
JOHN HANNAH, *Secretary.*

J. H. TREDGOLD, Esq.

WE are pleased to observe that the General anti-slavery convention is promptly and kindly noticed in the *Eclectic Review* for the present month. Two extracts from it we have given in preceding columns; and we shall here make a third quotation, containing

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the reviewer's remarks on the general character of the convention.

We shall now express in a few words our general view of the character and influence of this unprecedented and remarkable assemblage. We have not called it remarkable because it has sprung from concealed or unsuspected causes, or because it has in any way taken us by surprise. It has been the natural expression of the anti-slavery feeling as it is now diffused through the nations. The world was ripe for it. It was held just when it ought to have been held, and it was just what it ought to have been. It was not in the nature of things that such a gathering together of between four and five hundred men to a free expression of their sentiments should not disclose some marked and tenacious differences; and such in fact did appear, as another article in our present number will show: but upon anti-slavery questions, and more especially upon all the great principles involved in them, there was a marked and striking unanimity. Neither was it in the nature of things that such multifarious and complicated business should be arranged and conducted by a few untrained though diligent and upright men, without some indications of fallibility; but as a whole their arrangements were eminently wise and successful, and the issue has afforded much reason to believe that the spirit of prayer in which the scheme was undertaken has been influential in bringing down on it a divine benediction. Nor should the kindness of Providence be unacknowledged, by which (with one painful exception which we need not here detail) the lives, safety, and health of so many persons, in such various journeyings, and in not a few instances in such lengthened voyages, have been mercifully preserved.

The moral influence of the convention must be great. Its unquestionable disinterestedness and purity of motive attach power, and even majesty to it. It has tampered with no selfish, political, or party object. It has not in a single instance turned aside from the simplicity of its design. It has uttered its voice in the ear of princes, and they will listen to it. It has spoken to the churches of Christ, and many of them will hearken. It has declared its sentiments in the hearing of the world; and all that is benevolent and virtuous—the heart of the world, will respond to its call. It has collected treasures of information, which will shortly be spread out before the public eye, and will be made to penetrate into countries yet unawakened, with the effect of sunbeams on a region of darkness. It has told the universal slaveocracy that their doom is sealed, that the hostility to slavery is invincible, and that its existence is reduced to a mere question of time. It has given augmented energy, and—what is still better—it has given combination to anti-slavery effort. It cannot be long before its fruits appear.

We have received a short poem by Miss Emily Capadose, entitled, *Jamaica and her children*. It breathes an excellent spirit, and is adapted to diffuse the spirit which it breathes. It consists of thirty stanzas, is comprised in sixteen octavo pages, and concludes with a compliment to his royal highness, Prince Albert. The following lines are a favourable specimen.

On, Britons, on! a glorious goal
Bids all your holiest ardours glow.
On, Britons, on! the immortal soul
Of millions is your load-star now.
O! ye have fought for Freedom oft,
Have traced her over land and wave:
Yours is the standard where aloft
Her wings have closed around the brave:
Yours is the home where she hath rested,
Only a visitant elsewhere.
Yours is the heart where she is vested
With all you love as good and fair.——p. 13

Home News.

CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE CASE OF THE REV. S. OUGHTON.

To the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,—I am directed by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society to call your attention, in the most earnest manner, to the condition of the Rev. Samuel Oughton, Baptist missionary in Jamaica, now confined as a debtor in Kingston jail, by virtue of judgment entered up against him, on a verdict for damages and costs in the action of Grant *versus* Oughton. Without entering into the particulars of this case, of which the committee are assured that you are well informed, they respectfully represent to your lordship, that, under cover of law, it is a case of manifest malice on the part of the prosecutor, and of flagrant injustice on the part of the jury; that Mr. Oughton is suffering without fault, and, so far as his adversaries are concerned, without hope; that the policy pursued towards him is to obstruct the progress of his cause, and thus to occasion a long imprisonment, beneath which, in such a climate, and with such wretched accommodations, there is a high probability his health must speedily fail; and that the life of this worthy, and unoffending minister of the gospel will be sacrificed to the malice of his unrelenting enemies. It is not for the committee to dictate the measures which may be adopted by her Majesty's government on such an occasion; but they cannot acquit themselves of their duty, without strongly expressing to your lordship their conviction, that the emergency is sufficiently critical and important to deserve the most serious attention; and adding their earnest entreaty, that, on behalf of her Majesty's government, your lordship will, in whatever method and to whatever extent it may be found possible, interpose your high authority, in the most prompt and vigorous manner, to prevent the consummation of this legal murder. The proceedings are already creating much indignation in the public mind; and we are sure that no act would be more acceptable or gratifying to the community, than that which the committee most respectfully, but most earnestly, solicit at your hands.

I have the honour to be, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) J. H. Tredgold, Secretary.

British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street, 1st August, 1840.

Downing Street, *6th August*, 1840.

Sir,—I am directed by Lord John Russell, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, requesting, by desire of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, his lordship's attention to the case of the Rev. Samuel Oughton, a Baptist missionary in Jamaica; and I am to acquaint you in reply, for the information of the committee, that, before the receipt of your letter, his lordship had addressed the governor of Jamaica on the subject, in order that steps might be taken, to the utmost extent of the very limited authority of the executive government in cases of civil actions, to promote the investigation of truth and the effectual administration of justice in this case.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) R. Vernon Smith.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

MEMORIAL OF THE BIRMINGHAM BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

The Memorial of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, forwarded by their committee, by direction of the great public annual meeting, held at the Town-hall, Birmingham, July 26th, 1840,

Sir J. E. Eardley Wilmot, Bart., M.P., being in the chair;

Respectfully Sheweth,

That, since the abolition of slavery in the British West India colonies, the local legislatures of several of those islands have enacted laws, whose obvious tendency is to revive that system for the extinction of which the British parliament voted to the planters the enormous sum of twenty millions sterling.

That these laws are now in operation in the island of Jamaica and elsewhere.

That your lordship's government, is by a series of acts and declarations, as well as by the legislation of our country, solemnly pledged to the cause of freedom.

That it is the duty of the governor of every British colony to adopt such measures in his administration as shall uphold the principles of the government which he represents.

That any colonial governor is therefore guilty of a gross dereliction of duty, who does not immediately disallow, in the exercise of his constitutional right, laws which, while depriving the great experiment of emancipation of its proper results, powerfully tend to paralyse agricultural industry, and diffuse universal discontent, and endanger the ruin of the colonies, by rendering their inhabitants first sullen and dispirited, then rebellious.

That your memorialists learn with the deepest possible regret, that, on receiving official notice of the enactment of these laws, and that the colonial governor had sanctioned them, your lordship has not thought proper to direct their immediate disallowance.

That your memorialists earnestly entreat your lordship to disallow those laws of Jamaica and other colonies to which reference has been made; and in order for the future to guard against similar proceedings, immediately to bring a measure before parliament, providing that no laws adopted by any colonial legislature shall have operation till they have been confirmed by a competent tribunal in England.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

James Watkins Seward.—(From a late number of the *Emancipator*.—James Watkins Seward is a native of Whitesboro', Oneida county, and has been for the last fifteen years a citizen of Oswego county, residing in the vicinity of Fulton, and known to thousands of our citizens as a very intelligent, respectable, virtuous, and enterprising young coloured man. His parents and a large circle of relatives are now industrious and reputable inhabitants of this county. A few months since he went to Ohio, for the purpose of finding employment as a teacher among the coloured people in the vicinity of Cincinnati, or in default thereof, of engaging in such other business as he might obtain. He took with him respectable testimonials of his character and abilities. He was cautioned against the danger of exposing himself on the borders of the slave-states. Trusting to his superior knowledge and acquirements, he replied, "There is no danger to a man who understands himself." Little did he know of slavery, or dream that the subjugation of a superior man of the "hated hue" is an object of no ordinary moment in her estimation, and that, so far from finding his cultivated mind a defence against the rapacity of the oppressor, it would prove an incentive to his more eager and determined grasp.

His friends have heard nothing from him until the last week. A letter has now been received from M. M. Robinson, Esq., attorney-at-law, of the city of New Orleans, containing a postcript from James himself, and also another letter from Reverend T. S. Wright, of New York—from all which they learn, that being the last autumn engaged as a steward, or, in some other capacity, on board a steamboat from Cincinnati—he visited New Orleans. As he was going on board the boat to return, early in the evening, he was arrested by the guards as a fugitive slave. His acquaintances on the boat appeared before the recorder, and testified to his freedom. His letters were presented, but all of no avail—he was thrust into jail on the 15th day of last December. There he has remained ever since, labouring on the public streets in a chained gang during the day, and lying in a dismal, filthy, negro-prison during the night; and there he must remain, according to the laws of republican America, until he can bring actual proof that he was born free, and pay his jail fees, or until, in default of such proof and payment—he be sold into slavery for life, to pay his "jail fees."

Mr. Robinson wrote in his behalf on the 6th of March, requesting to be furnished with the only proof of his freedom that can be admissible—to wit, the exemplified certificate of the court in which his freedom is recorded. He writes also for one hundred dollars to pay the jail fees and expenses; as though the citizens in the state of New York held their feedom by so frail a tenure as the decisions and records of her courts,

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and not by inalienable birth-right. Such proof, the very mention of which is an outrage on the name of liberty, of course cannot be furnished —and as to the hundred dollars, the day has gone by when the freemen of New York will submit to purchase their liberty with money. Time has been when all civilised nations paid tribute to the Barbary powers, and meanly submitted to ransom with gold their own citizens from Algerine and Tunisian bondage. Our nation in its very infancy resisted these piratical claims, humbled the power of the corsairs, and obtained for our people a lasting immunity against such barbarous claims. And shall the citizens of these free states, in the year 1840, quietly submit to such monstrous demands from the authorities of a sister state? It cannot be. Affidavits of the free birth and citizenship, and good character of Seward, have been transmitted to the governor of this state, accompanied by a memorial signed by a large number of the most respectable citizens of Oswego county, requesting his official interposition with the government of Louisiana, to obtain the release of our fellow-citizen without the degrading condition of a ransom. A similar case occurred during the administration of De Witt Clinton, and his requisition was instantly and unconditionally complied with. Such occurrences, bringing into collision the principles of liberty with those of slavery, are becoming so frequent in our country, as to convince the reflective mind that institutions so antagonistical in their nature cannot much longer subsist together.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Continued from our last.)

Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS wished to make a few observations upon two of the resolutions, which related to the East Indies—the sixth and seventh. It appeared to him the meeting could not discuss a more important topic in regard to slavery in general, than the success of the efforts now making in this country to encourage free cotton in India, and to fill the markets of Great Britain with that article. He thought the most beneficial effect would follow such a scheme. Every arm ought to be stretched out, and the whole phalanx of veteran abolitionists ought to rally round that last hope of putting an end to slavery in the world. In regard to America, it was matter of history that the main prop of the slave-system was cotton. When the revolution ended, slave-property had become of little value. The introduction of cotton had not then taken place for agricultural purposes. At that time was enacted the celebrated ordinance of 1787, drawn by Thomas Jefferson, prohibiting slavery in all the vast territory which lies to the north-west of the Ohio. In the course of a few years cotton was introduced—its culture became successful—the price of slaves rose. At this time the territories now forming the states of Mississippi, and Alabama, and that of Louisiana, were added to the Union. Mark the difference. None dared to propose the prohibition of slavery as in 1787. Again, in the northern slave-holding states, Virginia, Delaware, and what are called the slave-breeding states, after the year 1820, and down to the sitting of the Virginia convention, the slaves in these states again fell in value—cotton not being much cultivated there. Things got to such a state that John Randolph prophesied the time would soon come when the master would be anxious to run away from his slave, and not the slave from his master. At that time an attempt was made to put an end to slavery in Virginia, because slaves were not a good article in the market. But now, since the foundation of new states and the extension of cotton-planting had given rise to and rendered profitable *the internal slave-trade*, the slave-breeding states were as firm as any other in asserting the divine importance and the excellence of slave institutions. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) When the price of cotton was high in the Liverpool market, then it was said slavery was sanctioned by the scriptures; but when the price was low, then the ears of the southern planters were open to argument. (Laughter.) Some abolitionists in this country complained that they very seldom saw papers from the Union, and that they did not know the state of the anti-slavery enterprise. Let them step to Liverpool, and see the price of cotton, and they would then know how fierce the opposition was which the friends of the slave had to meet. It had been asserted by an intelligent writer, that the attachment of the states to slavery had been all along in proportion to the price of cotton in the market. The legitimate inference from these facts was, that if they could put into the market an article that would drive American cotton out, they would uproot the firmest foundations of the slave-system in America. Another point he wished to press on the attention of the meeting was in regard to the connexion between the northern and the southern states. The whole north was intimately bound to and connected with the south, and it was not till they severed the north from that dependence, that they would be able to address it and be heard with effect. It was his conviction that the success of the enterprise in regard to East India cotton, had bound up with it the death-warrant of slavery, and that the death-warrant of that system would be signed in Liverpool. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOSEPH SAMS said this subject appeared to him to be the most important that could possibly engage the attention of the assembly. He believed there were upwards of three millions of slaves in America, and he would suggest a tangible mode of utterly destroying that dominion of slavery in America. In British India there were large tracts of land capable of producing excellent cotton in abundance, and furnishing an ample supply for the wants of this great commercial empire. In bringing those tracts into cultivation they would produce a double benefit, for a large number of their fellow-subjects in British India were at present greatly distressed for want of employment, and thus they might be enabled to obtain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families, and at the same time supply the markets at Manchester and Liverpool with cotton of a good quality. (Hear, hear.)

REV. HOWARD HINTON begged to read an extract from the speech of Mr. William E. Gladstone in parliament on the 30th of March, 1838. He said, "If the facts were thoroughly investigated, it could be shown that the British manufactures were actually the most effectual encouragers, not only of slavery, but of the slave-trade itself. By what means was the slave-trade with the Brazils carried on? By British manufactures directly imported from this country. The British manufacturer sent his cotton goods to the Brazils; these were immediately shipped off from the Brazils to the coast of Africa, and were there exchanged for human ware, which the Brazilian trader brought back. (Hear, hear.) You (said the hon. gentleman) who are so sick with apprenticeship in the West Indies —you, who cannot wait twenty-four months, when the apprentices will be free—are you aware what responsibility lies upon every one of you at this moment, with reference to the cultivation of cotton in America? There are three millions of slaves in America. America does not talk of abolition, nor of the amelioration of slavery. It is a domestic institution, which appears destined to descend to the posterity of that free people; and who are responsible for this enormous growth of what appears to be eternal slavery? Is it not the demand that creates the supply? and is it not the consumption of cotton from whence that demand arises? You consume 318,000,000 lbs. of cotton which proceed from slave-labour annually, and only 45,000,000 lbs. which proceed from free labour; and that too while you have the means in India, at a very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free-labour." They would be fools indeed if they did not take a lesson from that speech. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. N. COLVER, of Boston, begged to read an extract from a South Carolina paper on the subject of the "Cotton Circular" of some of the planter politicians of the south and west. The plan proposed by the circular to effect a combination between the banking interests of the south and the great commercial cities and the cotton planter, whereby the former shall advance to the latter to nearly the value of his cotton, so as to enable him to hold it until the market is favourable, the writer strongly objects to, as based upon the assumption that the cotton planters as a class *are debtors*. He admits that such is the fact to a great extent in regard to the planters of the south-west, but maintains that there is also a large class in the south who are not in debt, and stand in no need of bank advances to enable them to anticipate their annual income of cotton. He inquires somewhat significantly whether a combination to *keep* up the price of cotton would not almost necessarily produce combinations to keep it *down*, and suggests whether it might not make it the interest of consumers in France and Great Britain to *encourage and foster the production of cotton out of the United States*, and beyond the reach of such combinations of banks and bankers as are contemplated in the Cotton Circular. The concluding portion of the article was worthy of attention, as it may furnish the friends of emancipation with some hints as to the *great obstacle* now in the way of their object.

"The southern planter, if he confines himself to planting, *without speculation*, asks no aid from banks—his cotton will be his passport through the commercial world. By the blessing of heaven he is enabled to raise the noblest weed that was ever given for the comfort of the human family—a weed destined to make a new era in modern commerce, if those who raise it have spirit and virtue enough to scorn and defy the banking and speculative quacks of the day. *I have no idea that the slave-holding race could maintain their liberty or independence for five years without cotton.* It is that which gives us our energy, our enterprise, *our intelligence!* and *commands* the respect of foreign powers. The Egyptian may look with devotion to his Nile as the source of the power and wealth of Egypt; the pilgrim and inhabitant of the Holy Land may bathe in the sacred Jordan, and take comfort from the belief that he has washed away his sins; the Hindoo may worship the Lotus, under an idea that Vishnu created Bramah from its unfolded flowers; but a genuine *slave-holder in South Carolina* will ever look with reverence to the cotton plant, as the source of his POWER and his liberty. All the parchments upon earth could never protect him from the grasping avarice and *fanatical fury* of modern society. If he expects to preserve the PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS of his country, and *transmit them to posterity*, he must teach his children to hold the *cotton plant in one hand and the sword in the other*, ever ready to defend it.

A COTTON PLANTER."

It appeared to him, as far as human means were concerned, that the proposition of growing cotton in the East Indies was the only effectual remedy for slavery. (Hear, hear.) As long as the cotton growers made their speculations profitable, they might as well talk to the idle wind as talk to them of slavery and religion. But touch them in the pocket, and they would touch the slave-holder's conscience, for it had long since lost its lodgment in his heart. (Hear, hear.) They ought not therefore, as true abolitionists, to cease to wield those instruments which God had put into their hands. When he first read the lectures of George Thompson, a dawn of light came upon him, and he said if Great Britain would turn her energies to the East Indies, and produce cotton—then the slave-holders of America must yield.

The CHAIRMAN, before the discussion proceeded further, wished to state an opinion which he had gained from his residence in the cotton-growing states. He was of opinion that the planter could not afford to raise cotton under 9 cents per pound, or 5d. currency. He doubted not that there was a favourable opinion to their cause among the great mass of the small slave-holders, but they were prevented from giving free scope to their opinion, on account of the combined influence of the large slave-holders.

Rev. Mr. KEEP, of the Oberlin institution, rather regretted that this subject should be considered so much in a commercial point of view, because it was as a moral and religious question primarily, that the cause of the abolition of slavery was taken up in the United States.

Mr. STANFIELD, of Belfast, thought there was as much sin in purchasing cotton, the produce of labour by iniquitous means, as there was in purchasing goods from a man who it was known had stolen them. —(Cheers.)

Mr. JAMES I. PRICE of Neath, observed that, as several Americans had appeared to him to speak in favour of the advancement of British commerce with India, it might be interpreted by some that they wished to do so to the disadvantage of American commerce. He thought these observations were only to be interpreted as a warning voice to the Americans to engage free labour, in order to deter the British from that course which was otherwise open to their enterprise. (Hear, hear.)

The honourable SETH SPRAGUE, of Massachusetts, said,—Standing there as an American citizen, he could not refrain from stating his opinion. If they interfered with the interests of the American people or the slave-holder, was it to be supposed they would sit idle and see their profits taken away without any attempt to counteract it? The chairman knew very well the contest that had been going on upon the subject of the tariff, and the protection to American industry. If it could be proved to demonstration to the American people that free labour was cheaper than slave labour, the work would be done. Another view of the subject he took, was that the American people would not give the English credit for philanthropy if they superseded them in raising cotton. There was a deep tone of religious feeling in the American States upon this subject,

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and no doubt the controversy would go on, for it was a principle of the abolitionists in America never to surrender or give up.

Mr. Stanton.—With regard to the observation of the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, as to the very little credit Great Britain would get on the score of philanthropy for encouraging the growth of cotton in her own possessions, to the exclusion ultimately of American, he begged to observe that honesty was the best policy. It was politic for Great Britain to be honest, and she could not be honest so long as she paid thirteen millions sterling every year for slave cotton. (Hear.) His opinion was, that the abolition of slavery in America was of vital importance to the existence of her free institutions. If they did not abolish slavery, slavery would abolish the most splendid fabric of government. (Cheers.) There was one way in which they would be able to touch America—that was by showing them that free-labour was more valuable than slave-labour. (Hear, hear.) They also must touch America through the pockets of her slave-owners. The main feature of their trade, the main corner-stone of their prosperity, was not of granite or of Portland stone—it was a cotton bale—that was the staple article of their commerce. It was that trade that furnished the American slave-holder with the *sine qua non* for carrying on his projects. It was not as in England, that the banker, the merchant, or the grower of the produce in America, looked at the price of stocks, or of the precious metals, to regulate him in his dealings; no he looked at the price of cotton, that regulated him in all his dealings. In 1832, when Nathaniel Turner, with a few misguided followers, overran two or three states, and excited insurrection among the negros, the legislature of Virginia took the slave-trade into their serious consideration, and sentiments were there expressed that would do honour to any one in that assembly. While they were in session, news arrived from Liverpool, that cotton had risen 33½ per cent; the consequence was that fields hitherto out of cultivation were suddenly brought into cotton plantations, and a mighty impetus was given to the internal slave-trade, and those in Virginia who had a week before been rampant abolitionists, then found that a canal had been opened to drain off that population which had begun to cause them considerable uneasiness, and the internal slave-trade became an important though disgusting feature in the trade between the northern and the southern states. Again, it was the Manchester manufacturers who drove George Thompson out of America, and nearly sacrificed his valuable life, by their demand for cotton in 1835, and its consequent rise in price. The slave-holder in America, however, was well aware that the public sentiment of the world was against him, that the literature, and the religion of the world was against him—(Cheers)—that the mighty genius of reform was against him—(Loud cheers)—but, when he had a full pocket and an empty conscience, he would defy any and every genius. (Cheers and laughter.) Why, in 1837, were the slaveholders obliged to send their slaves to fishing in order to obtain a living?—it was because cotton suddenly fell in price. In that year, he remembered a caricature in New York, giving a black preacher's sermon, and he was made to say, "Merchants is flat, bankers is flat, niggers is flat." It should have been "cotton is flat," and then an American well knew that all the rest must follow. The internal slave-trade was of a most horrible nature, it was not exceeded in atrocity by the African slave-trade in its palmiest days. The fields of the south committed the most dreadful havoc in the ranks of the slaves—the victims did not fall short of 100,000 a year. He would read one or two extracts from slave papers. The *Virginia Times*, (a weekly newspaper, published at Wheeling, Virginia, and one of good repute,) estimates in 1836, the number of slaves exported from that state alone, during the twelve months preceding, at 40,000, the aggregate value of whom is computed at twenty-four millions of dollars. The *Natchez* (Mississipi,) *Courier* says, that the states of Louisiana, Mississipi, Alabama, and Arkansas, imported 250,000 slaves from the northern states, in the year 1836. This seems absolutely incredible, but it probably includes all the slaves introduced by the immigration of their masters. The following from the *Virginia Times*, confirms this supposition. In the same paragraph which is referred to under the second query, it is said—"We have heard intelligent men estmate the number of slaves exported frem Virginia within the last twelve months, at 120,000, each slave averaging at least 600 dollars, making an aggregate of 72,000,000 dollars. Of the number of slaves exported not more than one-third have been sold, the others having been carried by their masters, who have removed." Perhaps that might be a little exaggerated.

The Chairman said, although the extract was from a slave-holding editor, still it was very much exaggerated.

Mr. Stanton thought himself that it was exaggerated, but it was data given them by their enemies, and they had no other. The degree to which Virginia was implicated in this trade, might be inferred from the open avowal of her own statesmen. In the legislature of that state in 1832, Thomas Jefferson Randolph declared that "Virginia had been converted into one great menagerie, where men are reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles." The Honourable Charles Fenton Mercer, (a member of congress from Virginia since 1817,) asserted in the Virginia convention of 1829—"The tables of the natural growth of the slave population demonstrate, when compared with the increase of its numbers in the common wealth for twenty years past, that an annual revenue of not less than a million and a half of dollars is derived from the exportation of a part of this population."

Mr. Thomas Campbell, the author of "Wyoming," here entered the room, and was received with tremendous shouting. The speaker at once gave way to him, and the poet said—Mr. president, and friends of this great cause, it does give me not a disagreeable, but a great deal of surprise, to find that my humble presence can be considered as an accession to this most respectable and glorious convention. (Cheers.) There is nothing we can more complacently forgive than our neighbour's over estimating our own good qualities. But, my friends, in this sacred cause, why should I speak of the importance or the non-importance of this or that man with regard to carrying out the cause? If, to-morrow, the people were called upon to go out and fight in defence of our beloved country, what would it avail a man to say, I cannot go, for I am but a small and a weak man, let the tall and strong grenadiers go out and fight the battle? Would it not at once be said to him, "If your arm is weak, let greater zeal nerve you." (Loud cheers.) I feel myself as sacredly bound to devote myself to the cause, as if, Americans, I had been your Channing; or Englishmen, I were gifted with the eloquence of our O'Connell. (Cheers.) I am rejoiced to see so many men here from America—it does my heart good to see you. I have also a sort of message for you to carry across the water. I consider myself bound, not only as a man, but peculiarly bound as a man of letters, to be a friend to the Anti-slavery association. (Cheers.) Freedom!—I know not whether to call it the parent or the child of the press, but certain it is that blissful freedom lives, and moves, and has its being in the liberty of the press. (Cheers.) The press of this country is a very good press in many respects, but it has not done its full duty with respect to this question; but, Americans, I tell you frankly if we are defective in that respect, you are much more so. (Cheers.) I must, of course, be understood to make some splendid exceptions, and no one can hear me without having his recollection called to Channing. (cheers) but, generally speaking, the literary men of America, have shirked the question. If there be a diversity of opinion upon the subject of slavery among the literary men of America, if any of them will come forward and prove the blessings of slavery, let him do so, but do not let him shirk the question. (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. Stanton, on resuming, paid a high compliment to Mr. Campbell, whose writings had struck terror into the hearts of the slave-owners, he said, on his side of the water. As he had before stated, the north was dependent on the south for taking their produce, and therefore did not like to stir for fear of offending a good customer; but cotton being the staple article of produce, when George Thompson took up the question of East India cotton, he put his finger on the very sore and tender part of slavery. (Cheers.)

Mr. Moore dwelt strongly on the advantages of encouraging the growth of cotton in India.

Mr. George Thompson also forcibly and eloquently demonstrated the great effect this would have in putting down American slavery; and he said it was an error not to think this really a moral measure—discontinuing to consume slave-produce. Was not that a great and influential moral measure—(cheers)—founded on the scriptural principle, "Cease to do evil—learn to do well?" (Cheers.)

On the suggestion of Messrs. Sturge and Alexander, the resolutions were so far altered as not to attach to India exclusively; and also, instead of expressing a certainty that the measure set forth would utterly abolish—that it would tend greatly to the abolition of slavery.

The convention then adjourned till four o'clock.

The convention re-assembled at four o'clock, when Mr. Birney took the chair.

Dr. Bowring informed the meeting that he had been charged by the committee to propose to the convention two addresses relating to slavery in the Mohamedan states. He believed that the publication of the principles set forth in the addresses would be attended with great and magnificent results, on which he would say a few words before he read the addresses. It was known that the cultivation and manufacture of cotton had only lately been introduced into Egypt, although it was well known that the cotton plant was indigenous in that country, and the manufacture was practised there many ages ago. He himself took once from the mummy of a child, with his own hands, a piece of cotton cloth in which it was swathed; and it was a fact that, when the viceroy was lately making a journey up the Blue Nile, he found in the forests vast quantities of the cotton plant growing wild. (Hear.) Now in Egypt the wages of agricultural labourers were not more than 2½d per day; and (as we understood the learned gentleman,) the cultivation of the cotton plant might be made to give abundant employment to that population, and to supply sufficient for the demands of Europe, without recourse being had to the produce of slave-labour. If there were in the districts of the slave hunts in Africa confusion and disquiet, misery and desolation, slavery was the cause. (Hear, hear.) It was delightful to him to see in that convention the interest which was manifested for the different races of mankind, and to observe that every member of that body had some portion of his fellow-creatures committed to his charge. (Hear, hear.) For his part, he felt himself impelled to look with some degree of interest upon the races of Eastern Africa, amongst whom it had been his lot to dwell. (Hear, hear.) He could not forget their bright eyes, their dancing hearts, and musical voices: nor could he help feeling that the meeting which he was addressing could diminish what portion of misery those people were subjected to. He was sure that if the convention could effect what he aimed at, and could prove to the eastern princes, (as it was capable of being proved,) that they had a deep interest in the overthrow of slavery—if it could assure them that their own prosperity was closely connected with the liberty of the negro—a vast deal would be effected towards the complete attainment of the grand object of the convention. (Hear.) He would with these views move two resolutions, upon which the addresses—one to Lord Palmerston, and the other to the Pacha of Egypt—were to be founded. The first resolution was to this effect:

That the present moment, when the European powers are exercising so great an influence in the affairs of the Ottoman empire, is peculiarly favourable to their intervention for the suppression of slavery in the regions of the East; and that a memorial be presented to Lord Viscount Palmerston, entreating his lordship's assistance in obtaining such declarations from the Sultan as may be likely to lead to the entire suppression of slavery in the countries subject to the Sultan's government.

In reference to the address to the Pacha of Egypt, he should have to move the following resolution:—

"That this meeting has learnt with deep interest the measures adopted by the viceroy of Egypt for the suppression of the abominable slave-hunts by his Royal Highness's troops, and especially the declaration of his wish to aid in bringing about the extinction of slavery. That the thanks of this meeting be communicated to him, with the assurance that the friends of civilization throughout the world hail with delight every step taken by the viceroy in furtherance of his just and generous purposes, whether by impeding the importation of and traffic in slaves—by the encouragement of agricultural productions in central and eastern Africa, by the abolition of the slave-market in his dominions, or by any other legitimate and pacific measures which may facilitate the manumission of slaves and the entire overthrow of slavery."

Mr. George Stacey expressed some doubt that the convention could agree to such words as that they looked to strengthening the foundation of the Ottoman empire.

Dr. Bowring explained that the words had no reference to any question of religion. (Hear, hear.)

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The Reverend J. BURNETT could not see any objection to strengthening the foundation of the Ottoman empire. (Hear.) That convention had no objects which could be attained by the overthrow of any empire. (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, they could never be friendly to such revolution which could only be effected by bloodshed and other evils. (Hear, hear.) The address expressed a desire only to see the empire strengthened in its foundation by the amelioration of its civil institutions. (Hear, hear.)

The resolutions and addresses founded on them were then put and carried amidst applause.

DISUSE OF SLAVE-PRODUCE.

Captain STUART moved the following resolution:—

That this association earnestly recommends to the friends of humanity and religion, everywhere, to disuse slave-labour produce, and instead of it to use free-labour produce, as far as practicable." In the first place, they ought to disuse slave-labour produce, because by using it they more directly and effectually than by any other means supported slavery, and mingled with their superfluities the blood of the slave. (Applause.) They should use free-labour produce instead of it, because thereby whilst they honestly pleased themselves, they administered in the most beneficial manner to the wants of the industrious poor; and he said that those two recommendations should be acted on as far as practicable, because he was persuaded that duty in this matter required only what was practicable without sacrificing either life or health.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES seconded the resolution.

The Rev. J. BURNET thought that the words "as far as practicable" gave too great a latitude to persons of easy conscience in this matter. He believed that few of the slave-owners themselves could be found that would not say that they were desirous of discountenancing slavery "as far as practicable." But if the matter was left to them, their impracticabilities would be very numerous. (Hear, hear.) He suggested that the words "as far as practicable" be omitted.

Mr. G. BENNET supported the resolution as it stood. He thought it should be left to every person's conscience to decide how far it was practicable to act upon the recommendation.

Colonel MILLER thought it was his duty to state to the committee that there were thousands in America who used not, handled not, touched not anything produced by slave-labour. (Applause.) His family had for many years used maple sugar at ten cents. per pound, when they could purchase New Orleans sugar at five cents. (Applause.) He was talking to a slave-owner the other day, and told him that the abolitionists would starve the slave-owners out. (Much applause.)

Mr. FULLER said he believed there were hundreds more in America who abstained from the produce of slave-labour than in England. (Hear.) He looked upon the receiver as quite as bad as the thief; and it was on that principle he expressed his regret the other day at seeing an excellent abolitionist, who professed to abstain from using the produce of slave-labour, taking a pinch of snuff. (Great laughter.) We understood him to support the omission of the words objected to.

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER and Mr. CREWDSON supported the resolution as it stood.

Mr. STURGE had felt a deep interest in this question, and had for a considerable time looked at it pretty closely, but he hoped the present resolution would be well considered before it would be allowed to pass. He thought that they ought to strengthen the hands of the faithful. He had been with their dear and venerated friend, Mr. Clarkson, that morning, and he had put into his hands a letter by Samuel Webb, whom he was sure they all knew. He would read to the meeting an extract from that letter. That worthy individual said—"I understand the abolitionists have the majority in England—nay, some say all England is abolitionised. If anything like that be the case, let not this appeal to you for help evaporate in wordy sympathy for us, or for the poor slaves. We ask not for pecuniary nor for physical aid; but if your people are abolitionists (which I do not doubt) let them say to the avaricious slave-holder, "Keep your cotton at home, it is stained with blood! Your sugar is moistened with the tears of suffering humanity; we will have none of them. We can procure a supply of such articles free from the taint of slavery." He was fully aware that the question was surrounded with difficulties, but he thought they could do more than they had done.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON had received a communication a few days before he left Scotland from the secretary of the Free Produce Association of Philadelphia; they had already possessed themselves of free-grown produce, and were offering a premium for it. They were also willing to take from this country manufactured goods, provided it could be clearly shown to them that they were manufactured from free-grown produce. There was great interest excited in the United States on this subject, and he thought it would strengthen their hands very much if the resolution, instead of being passed in its present shape, was modified. (Cheers.)

Mr. BOULTBEE, of Birmingham, considered the resolution to be very well drawn up, and hoped it would be adopted.

The Rev. Mr. SCALES was convinced of the difficulties that surrounded the present question, but he thought all must admit that great advantage was to be derived from the encouragement of free-labour.

The CHAIRMAN thought that without the present resolution the public mind would be left asleep on this subject.

Mr. W. DAWES, of Ohio, was satisfied that the American slave-owner would never give up his slaves until he saw the greatest willingness in the party who called upon him to do so to give up himself and any comforts he might derive from it, to the cause of the abolition of slavery. He thought they would act very inconsistently, if, when they asked the ministers of America to avoid assisting the slave-trade, they did not practice what they preached.

Mr. PRICE would concur with Captain Stuart in promoting the adoption of the resolution, if he could be persuaded that the members of the convention were themselves consistent, and would carry out in practice that which they recommended. The resolution could not be brought forward by a more consistent man than Captain Stuart, and believing in that consistency, he took it for granted that he was not clothed in cotton, the produce of slave-labour; and that when he had his coffee, he took care that it was not sweetened with sugar, the produce of slave-labour. He thought if they were consistent, they might with great propriety send forth the present recommendation; but if they did not act so, the attempt would only recoil upon themselves. He did not regret the conversation that had taken place, but he thought the wisest course would be to withdraw the proposition for the present.

Rev. Mr. CARLYLE, after all that he had heard against the resolution, was in favour of their own principles. After having studied some years ago the duty of abstaining from slave-produce, he thought he was acting with perfect consistency if he voted for the resolution. Of course, his personal consistency afterwards was a matter for which he held himself responsible to God.

Mr. ALLEN thought the words "as far as practicable," should be in the resolution.

Mr. MOORE, of Dublin, moved as an amendment to the resolution, the addition of the following words—"that this meeting adopts and earnestly recommends." He thought they could not act consistently without they added those words.

Rev. Mr. BARFIT, of Salisbury, thought the question ought not to be disposed of hastily. He would suggest whether, upon the whole, it would not be better to defer the passing of the present resolution until the committee should have brought before the convention the different produce of slave-labour and free-labour. so that they might be in possession of the knowledge of that which they could fairly abstain from.

The CHAIRMAN said, the committee to whom reference had been made would not be able to report during the present session.

Mr. BRADBURN, from America, would be glad if the committee to which this matter was submitted should be able to throw over this important subject some new light, for he was very much afraid there was but very little clearness on the subject. He had known many who had abstained from using the produce of slave-labour. This gave him great pleasure, as he considered it a noble testimony against the monstrous crime of slavery; yet he was afraid there was little consistency in his friends on the subject. He thought the present resolution was extremely indefinite; one man would form one opinion as to what was objectionable, and another a very different one: he had known men who had flattered themselves that they were acting upon this principle, when they abstained from using cotton and sugar, and yet allowed themselves to purchase articles of merchandise from those who encouraged slave-labour. If the principle contained in the resolution was to be acted upon, the consequence would be, that it would starve more than half the inhabitants of the island. (Hear, hear.) He considered the whole matter beset with difficulty. If they were to cultivate their own cotton in the East and West Indies, they would accomplish more towards the extinction of slavery, than if they were to go on as they were now doing for fifty years to come.

The Rev. Mr. COLVER objected most seriously to the resolution, on the ground of expediency. It did not touch the point in dispute. If they were anxious to do anything, let them do that which would meet the case.

Mr. BACKHOUSE thought the resolution, if passed, would be a dead letter; and it would be almost impossible to carry it out. He thought they would weaken what they had already done, if they went too minutely into these things.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON was convinced that they would only weaken their case by adopting the resolution, which, as it appeared to him, spread over too wide a field.

Mr. G. STACEY would press on the mover of the amendment, the propriety of withdrawing it. The convention was not then prepared to adopt so important a proposition with the unanimity which should be desired. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. KENNEDY wished to suggest a new proposition, which he thought would meet all the difficulties of the case. He would move—

"That in order to facilitate the use of free-labour produce, this convention requests the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society to institute a careful inquiry into the produce of slave-labour, and to prepare and circulate as complete a list as they can obtain of those commodities which are thus produced, furnishing at the same time a statement of similar articles which are obtained by free labour."

The Rev. J. BARFIELD seconded the amendment.

Captain STUART was opposed to all amendments, approving, as he did, of the original resolution. He would leave that resolution in their hands and abide by their decision.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON was persuaded that the adoption of the original resolution would be attended with great inconvenience. It would involve a degree of distress on many of the inhabitants of the island which no one present could conceive.

Colonel MILLER supported the original resolution. The Bible was on their table, and the Bible told them not to be partakers in other men's sins.

The amendment of the Rev. Mr. Kennedy was then put and carried almost unanimously.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

Professor ADAM brought up and read the resolutions of the committee appointed to consider the subject of East India slavery. The first point to which he was desirous of directing their attention was a statement made that morning, in connexion with the question then under discussion. Some doubts were entertained with respect to the cotton brought from India; but the facts of the case were made apparent by the report of the committee. He should add, however, as far as his information went, there was but one district in the south of India, that of Tinnevelly, in which slavery existed. He would tell them to raise their voice as a convention for the abolition of slavery in India, and to call on the British people and the British government no longer to tolerate a system in the East which they had declared illegal in the West Indies. It appeared that under the government of the East India Company there exists, almost altogether unknown to the people of England, two distinct kinds of slavery legalised and enforced by the Company. But was that the only stigma on their national character? No; the English people were flattering themselves that all their colonial possessions were free from a similar stain, but in that they were mistaken. Ceylon was a crown colony not administered by the East India Company, and which ought to have been included in the emancipation act wrung from the government of this country, and yet that colony included among its population 30,000 slaves at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) That was a subject which should not escape the attention of the convention. Neither slavery in the East Indies, nor slavery in Ceylon should be allowed to continue. Let the people of England speak on those subjects with the authority which became them as a free people, and they would soon compel their government to do its duty, and to carry into effect its past engagements. (Cheers.)

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The Rev. James Acworth moved that the resolutions of the committee should be adopted by the convention. He thought that the British government should be called on to fulfil its pledges; and while they were addressing themselves to the French, the American, and other powers, for the suppression of slavery, they should not forget that it existed under their own rule. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. James Peggs seconded the motion. The subject then under their consideration was one to which his attention had been directed for several years, and on which a very great want of accurate information prevailed. When it was proposed that slavery should be abolished in India on or before the 12th of April, 1837, and when a clause to that effect had passed the House of Commons, and had been brought up for the adoption of the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington observed, that "there was no necessity for framing any law or regulation with regard to slavery in the East Indies." He had, he said, "served in that country, and lived among its inhabitants, and he had never known an instance of cruelty practised towards slaves there, if slaves they could be called." The consequence of that declaration of the Noble Duke was that the original clause was rescinded. But the statement merely proved that great men were not always exempt from great mistakes. (Hear, hear.) The fact was, that slavery prevailed in our Eastern possessions to a great extent. From all the data he could collect on that subject, it appeared that there were in the Southern Caucan 2000 slaves, in Surat 2000, in Ceylon 27,397, in Assam 11,000, and 3000 in Penang. The total number amounted, according to the most accurate statement, to 800,297. The condition of a portion, at least, of these slaves, was most lamentable. According to a high authority, that of Græme Campbell, Esq., "Nothing could be more deplorable than the condition of the slaves of Malabar, whose huts were little better than mere baskets, and whose diminutive stature and squalid appearance evidently showed the want of adequate nourishment. They were distinguished from the rest of the human race by their dropsical pot-bellies; they were half-starved, badly clothed, and scarcely superior to the cattle which they followed at the plough." (Hear, hear.) He most cordially seconded the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. Colver said that England should interfere in the case. It would go forth to the world that, after all that Great Britain had done, she had not yet cleansed herself of the stain of slavery; and while she addressed her lessons to other people, she would be answered with the words, "Physician, heal thyself." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. R. Moore said that the matter should be fairly stated. It was not the British government which held any parties in slavery, but the East India Company—a body which it was exceedingly difficult to reach.

Mr. Price said the subject should be taken up by the whole British public, and he doubted not by that means the evil would be removed in a very short time. He was persuaded that the appointment of a commission which would press the matter with the East India Company would render the objects of the convention perfectly practicable.

Colonel Miller said, that, after all the reproaches addressed to America for the sanction which she gave to slavery, the same system existed under British rule. The English people should not permit such a state of things.

The resolutions were then put, and unanimously adopted.

SLAVERY IN TEXAS.

Mr. Birney read a report of the committee appointed to consider the state of slavery in Texas, which concluded with a recommendation that the government of Texas should not be recognised by any other state, until they had rescinded the resolution they had passed on the subject of slave-holding. That resolution was to the effect that no master could liberate his slaves without the permission of the local government, and that the government could not pass an act of liberation without the permission of the masters. They had thus taken the most effectual step for the perpetuation of slavery which human ingenuity could devise. By another enactment in force in Texas, no man of colour was allowed to remain there and retain his freedom; he should immediately retire from the province, or become a slave. (Hear, hear.) He was glad to have heard a statement from Mr. O'Connell, that while such acts were enforced no ministry in this country could dare to acknowledge the independence of Texas. (Hear, hear.) He submitted the resolutions to the meeting, with a hope that they would be adopted without any discussion.

Mr. Foster moved that the resolutions should be adopted.

Mr. Stanton, of New York, seconded the motion.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

COMPENSATION.

The Rev. Mr. Burnett moved a resolution to the effect that, "as it was essentially unjust on the part of man to claim a right of property in his fellow-man, that convention was of opinion that the slave-holder, in ceasing from his wrong, was entitled to no compensation, either from the slave himself, or from the government under which he lived, for any loss he might sustain by an emancipation act." The rev. gentleman proceeded to say, that no objection could, in his opinion, be made to that resolution. It contained precisely the views which he had always held with regard to emancipation, and which he regretted that the anti-slavery advocates in this country had not pressed till they had succeeded in carrying them. (Hear, hear.) His regret did not arise merely from the loss of a certain sum of money, but because a great principle had not been asserted, namely, that those engaged in a trade of robbery were not to receive a compensation when they were compelled to give up their stolen goods. (Hear, hear.) He would submit the resolution, hoping that it would be immediately adopted.

Mr. Birney seconded the resolution. He believed that the abolitionists of the United States agreed almost unanimously in adopting its principle—all with whom he was acquainted were the opponents of compensation. He felt that their power would be greatly impaired by sanctioning the doctrine of compensation, not merely for the reasons assigned by the last speaker, but because it would draw them away from the main question, namely, the essential guilt and heinousness of slavery. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Bradburn, thought that the principle of the resolution was a most important one, but it appeared to him to be advisable to connect another with it, which he was told would be recognised by the British abolitionists. He believed that those abolitionists had never been in favour of the principle of compensation, and if that were the case, he thought it right that it should be made known to the whole civilised world. The question constantly put to them in America was—Why did they not follow the example of England, and offer some compensation for the value of the slaves, which amounted to twelve millions of dollars. To that question, such an amendment as he had suggested would afford the best answer.

Mr. Sturge said that the British abolitionists had not sanctioned the principle of compensation, and 339 delegates had gone to Lord Grey and protested against it.

Mr. J. C. Fuller suggested that the resolution should contain an allusion to this circumstance.

The suggestion was agreed to, and the resolution, as amended, began by stating "that the British abolitionists had solemnly protested against the compensation granted to the planters while the question was before Parliament, and a conviction being entertained by this convention of the injustice of man holding a right of property in his fellow-man," &c.

The Rev. J. Carlyle thought the statement with which the amended resolution commenced went too far. The British abolitionists had not all rejected the principle of compensation, and that principle had been yielded by the Anti-slavery committee.

The Rev. Mr. Burnet said that 339 delegates from all parts of the kingdom had protested against any compensation. The Anti-slavery committee had gone with them, and it was one of their body who had put the question.

The Rev. Mr. Robinson wished to make an observation. Those who held slaves were induced to do so because they were encouraged by the law; and might it not be said that the members of the state, from whom that law emanated, should share in the loss that might be incurred by emancipation?

The Rev. Mr. Burnet said that there could be no right derived from injustice.

The resolution, as amended, was then put, and carried without a dissentient.

Resolutions were then put and adopted, without any discussion, to the effect that a memorial should be presented to Lord Palmerston, praying his lordship to enforce the act of Parliament with regard to slavery in the British colonies; and that certain members of the convention should hold an interview with the members of the government on the subject.

The convention adjourned.

Monday, June 22nd.

The convention assembled at the Friends' meeting-house, White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street.

Dr. Greville in the Chair.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. Forster moved resolutions (substantially the same as those printed below) but containing the words "call upon the British government to use all moral, pacific, and religious measures to suppress the slave-trade."

Colonel Wauchope, R.N., made an appalling statement of the horrors he witnessed in the slave-trade from Africa—hundreds were stowed in a space not two feet nine inches high!—(Hear, hear,)—and on the alarm of cruisers, were mercilessly thrown overboard. (Hear, hear.) No colouring could exceed the atrocities of the slave-trade. (Hear, hear.) It was a gambling transaction, in which the miscreants cared no more for the lives of negros than for dogs. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. Cox objected to the word "religious," as implying a call upon the government to take religious measures under its sanction, which he thought would compromise the question of religious establishments.

The Rev. Mr. Birt concurred in the objection.

Mr. Galusha considered that by "religious means" was only intended acting on those great christian principles which all governments should follow. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. A. Harvey said, as a Scotch dissenter, he could not agree to the words, which would compromise the question now being discussed with so much violence in Scotland.

Mr. Sturge and Mr. Backhouse were of opinion that the words only implied that the government would act for the suppression of the slave-trade on religious principles. (Hear.)

Colonel Miller strongly supported the retention of the words.

Mr. Sturge again expressed himself deeply convinced of the propriety by these means, of powerfully conveying the sense of the convention, as to the superiority of religious measures, of which alone they could recognize the employment.

After a good deal of discussion and many suggestions,

The Rev. J. H. Hinton at last suggested that the difficulty might be met by omitting the reference to government, and merely expressing the opinion of the convention.

This was agreed to; and the resolution passed as follows:—

"That it is extremely desirable that provisions should be made by the laws of those nations where slavery is tolerated for giving full and effectual relief to persons illegally imported and held in slavery, in consequence of such illegal importation, and to their offspring, as also to such persons as have been or may, in consequence of their entering the limits of countries in which slavery exists as aforesaid, be reduced to slavery.

"That, in the opinion of this convention the present means in operation for the suppression of the slave-trade have lamentably failed of success, that the sufferings of the slaves have been greatly augmented, that vast sums of money have been fruitlessly expended, and that no means can be effectual, except such as are based on moral, religious, and pacific principles.

"That it is the opinion of the committee that the scheme of Mr. Turnbull, as explained by him in his statement submitted to this convention, though it involves questions of detail into which this convention cannot enter, is in its object and purpose, and in several of its suggestions, of great practical importance, and demands the earliest attention of the governments represented in the mixed commission courts but that the only security for the extinction of the slave-trade is the universal abolition of slavery.

"That the most cordial thanks of this convention be given to Mr. Turnbull for the unwearied zeal and able exertions with which he has prosecuted the object."

Mr. Turnbull then proposed a series of resolutions, but on the suggestion of Mr. Sturge and another friend he withdrew them, it not appearing convenient to pledge the convention so minutely to particular measures.

Mr. Birney rose to move that a reference be added to the original

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resolutions, directed to the states (such as Alabama) in which coloured freemen were held on entering them to be enslaved.

Mr. O'CONNELL, with great warmth, begged to know if British subjects were included in such laws.

Mr. BIRNEY—There is no distinction of nations; all coloured persons. (Hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL—Do you know any cases of such enslaving of British subjects.

Mr. BIRNEY did not know of any cases of British subjects, but he did of others. (Hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL indignantly declared that such laws were contrary to international principles—(Hear, hear)—and he would inquire of the government if they knew of their existence. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Mr. KNIBB declared that he had known of several coloured free individuals from Montego Bay, Jamaica, who had been kidnapped into Alabama, and enslaved, one of them a young lady. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BIRNEY said the states would not remedy the evil, and the central government must be resorted to.

The Rev. Mr. KNIBB said there was one part upon which he wished to give some information to the meeting. It was a fact that the free subjects of Great Britain were taken from Jamaica and sold as slaves in America, and he could state to them that a young lady, the daughter of a noble lord, who had gone from Montego Bay, had been detained as a slave in America. (Hear, and cries of "name.")

Mr. O'CONNELL wished the rev. gentleman would give him the facts in writing.

A DELEGATE asked whether any steps had been taken in the matter?

Rev. Mr. KNIBB said, when the Marquis of Sligo heard of it, he had sent a British man-of-war to demand the lady, but she was still a slave, and so were many others who had gone out as nurses and servants, and had been sold in the same way. Unless some steps were taken, it was impossible to say where the system would end. Indeed, to such a pitch had it gone in Jamaica, that it had been found necessary to warn every coloured and black man not to go on board an American ship. Some of the American vessels were in the habit of taking coloured men at New York, and when they got to Jamaica they shipped them as slaves to other ports. It had been said by the American consul there, that if there was any interference it would occasion a war with America, but his (Mr. Knibb's) answer was, let it come, he did not care for that. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL had no hesitation in stating, that if the British government did not interfere for the protection of British subjects—if they allowed them to be thus deprived of their freedom, and made slaves of, nobody ought to pay a single penny in the shape of taxes. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STANTON said, there were 800,000 British subjects in the West Indies, and if they did not take good care, the Americans would get hold of them all.

After some further discussion, Mr. Birney withdrew his amendment, and the resolutions were then agreed to.

Mr. W. FORSTER said it appeared to him, that the present was the proper time to bring forward a resolution on the subject of American slavery. Mr. Forster here read his resolution. He could add, if required, his own evidence of what he had seen when travelling through the southern states of the North American Union in 1824, but it was almost unnecessary to add anything to the facts that had been already laid before the convention. He had not forgotten, nor would he ever forget, the impression that had been made upon his mind of the enormity and iniquity of that trade, as carried on at the time, from the older to the more newly settled states of the Union.

Colonel MILLER seconded the resolution with regard to the internal slave-trade in the United States. Though Congress had declared the slave-trade piracy, they had never visited the parties with the punishment of piracy.

Mr. STANTON was sorry to be under the necessity of moving an amendment to the resolution that had been proposed and seconded. It was not correct in point of fact, because it stated at the conclusion—"that it is at the same time our deliberate judgment—that the only effectual remedy is the utter extinction of slavery." Although he agreed in the general proposition, that the only remedy was the utter abolition of slavery, yet that principle did not apply to the internal slave-trade in the United states, because while the congress had not the power of putting an end to the slave-trade in the union, they had the power to extinguish it in the internal parts of the country. (Cheers.)

Mr. O'CONNELL thought that the resolution as proposed was full of good common sense. It only said that the effectual way to abolish the slave-trade was to abolish slavery.

Mr. BRADBURN concurred entirely in the sentiments that had been expressed by the honourable member for Dublin. If they got a law from the congress in America, he would venture to say they would not be able to carry it into effect without a large army of soldiers, because slaves would be smuggled from one state to another. The great object in getting congress to pass a law for the prevention of this species of traffic, would be that it would hold out a great moral example.

Mr. JAMES FULLER thought the meeting ought to be made well acquainted with what the internal slave-trade in America was, before it was called upon not to adopt this resolution.

Mr. W. FORSTER said that he would not press the resolution upon the convention if they would only allow him to propose another, or call their attention to the state of slavery in the Brazils. From an official return of vessels engaged in the slave-trade to the coast of Brazil, under the Portuguese flag, that arrived at the port of Janeiro, it appeared that 84 vessels had entered that port, bringing with them 36,974 slaves. And although the number of vessels and slaves imported in that year was less than the preceding one, the trade could not be considered as having diminished, for the reduced number of slaves imported in 1838 was to be accounted for, by several of the traders having ordered their vessels to discharge at other ports of Brazil, and fit out from thence. In order to show the manner in which the slave-trade was carried on, he would just advert to some few of the vessels engaged in that traffic which had entered the port of Rio Janeiro under the Portuguese flag during the year 1838. In the month of January in that year, the brig *Generoso*, from Quellimaine, landed no less than eight hundred slaves at Sepetiba; in March of that year, the barque *Maria Carlotta*, from Angola, landed eight hundred and twenty-nine slaves, and the *Carolina*, from Quellimaine, landed 1050 slaves from Campos. In June, 1838, the ship *Cintra*, from Mozambique, took in a cargo of 970 slaves, 214 of whom died on the passage from small pox, and the remaining 756 were landed in a very sickly state at San Sebastiao. The brig-schooner *Esperance*, from Cabinda, landed 400 slaves in a very sickly state, and there were now 5000 newly-imported slaves on sale at the different repositories in that city and its environs. He would not pursue this account further, but it showed a most lamentable picture of the traffic in human flesh. The return then went on to state that there were four large repositories for slaves in the vicinity of the city; that the most considerable is that at the Bay of Jurujuba, which is supported by Jorge Jose de Souza, Joze Bernardino de Sa, Joze Pimenta, jun., and Joao Maceado Surdozo, who have occasionally had there as many as 6000 slaves on sale. The second in magnitude is that at the Ponta de Caju, where there are warehouses close to the beach for the reception of slaves, and at all times there are many of these miserable beings on sale. The other two depositories of Botafogo and St. Clemente, are not so extensive as those first mentioned; but occasionally they are well supplied with slaves. In many houses in the public streets of this city, and in the suburbs, there are from sixty to one hundred slaves continually on sale. At the town of Itagoahy, near to Ilha Grande, slaves are as openly sold as they were at the slave-market street of Rio Janeiro, before the prohibition of the trade by the treaty with Brazil. The slave cargoes are regularly insured by the assurance companies and individual underwriters of Rio Janeiro. There exists a company for lending money on respondentia for slave cargoes. Some of the slave-traders are making arrangements for employing steam-boats in the trade. It would be seen from this that the slave-trade was carried on to a very great extent in this port; but if further proof was required, it was to be found in the different correspondences that had taken place between the representative of this country at Lisbon and the Foreign office. In a letter from Lord Viscount Palmerston to Lord Howard de Walden, of the 12th of May, 1838, it appeared that an address had been unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, representing to her Majesty that the slave-trade still continued with great intensity, and that it had even been aggravated in all its horrors. In a letter from Mr. Jerningham to Viscount Palmerston, it was "stated that the importation of slaves into Brazil was immense, and that they are cheaper than when the traffic was legal, there being now no duty upon them." And in a letter from Lord Palmerston, to be presented by Lord Howard de Walden to the Portuguese government, it was stated that the Atlantic swarms with vessels bearing the flag of Portugal, and loaded deep with human victims. In 1837, forty-eight vessels bearing the Portuguese flag entered the port of Havana, after having landed slaves in the neighbourhood; and in 1838, forty-four Portuguese vessels followed in the same course; and reckoning upon an average 443 slaves for each vessel, the number of slaves landed in Cuba by these Portuguese vessels must have been at least 40,700. But the number of Portuguese slave-vessels which carry on the trade with Brazil is still greater. At Rio de Janeiro above ninety-three slave-vessels under the Portuguese flag are reported as having entered the port in the year 1837, and as having landed in the province to which that capital belongs the enormous number of 41,600 slaves. In the year 1838, eighty-four Portuguese vessels landed in the same province 36,700 slaves. It will be observed that this calculation does not include the number of Portuguese slave-vessels which resort to other places in Cuba besides the Havana, nor to any other provinces in Brazil but that of Rio de Janeiro. To these must again be added the number which founder at sea, and the number of those which are captured and condemned, which at Sierra Leone amounted to thirty-six, in the two years 1837 and 1838. And in another letter from Viscount Palmerston to the Baron de Moncorvo, it was stated that "the cruelty with which the trade is carried on has not been lessened in these latter days." It has been stated during the very last year, that "in these slave ships, hundreds of negros are, during long voyages, crammed into spaces far too small to contain them without the greatest degree of bodily suffering; that the slave-traders, when chased, are in the habit of throwing overboard into the sea those negros whose health has broken down under the torture of their confinement; and that, in order to lighten their ship, and facilitate their escape, they actually drown such of their cargo as are not likely to be profitable for sale in the market to which they are going." And, in a letter from her Majesty's commissioner to Viscount Palmerston, the following occurred; —"It will not, we hope, be regarded as irrelevant to this subject, if we again advert to the indirect, if it should not rather be called the direct, interest which British merchants and British capital in Brazil, derive from the slave-trade. With what but British goods is the African market, the freight which is to be bartered for the slave, supplied? With what but slave-labour are the works, originating in British capital and enterprise, carried on in this country? How are the various mines, which, but for similar support, would soon become inoperative, worked? Not by free, but by slave-labour." Mr. Forster after reading this document, said he would only say that he should have been glad if these facts had come to the knowledge of the convention at an earlier period.

Mr. GEORGE STACEY hoped the convention would come to some resolution on the information thus communicated. He believed it to be a most important feature in the proceedings, and to make known a greater amount of misery and iniquity connected with slavery than any other document that had been brought before them.

The Reverend THOMAS SWAN, of Birmingham, rose to submit to the convention a resolution relative to the missionaries in Jamaica, which he desired to see adopted, not so much for their honour and for justice to them (for they stood higher than that) as for the honour of the convention, and that it might do justice to itself. It had been put into his hands by a clear-headed and kind-hearted member of the Society of Friends, to whom he had been previously unknown, but whom it delighted him to be of use to, in introducing it to the convention. It was as follows:—(A short conversation ensued on reading the resolution, relative to the insertion of other names than that of Mr. Knibb, and it was ultimately carried in the following terms:—) "That this convention having heard with the deepest interest and the greatest satisfaction the proofs adduced by the Rev. W. Knibb and the Rev. J. Clark of the moral advancement, the literary improvement, and the christian progress of the emancipated labourers in Jamaica, expresses its warmest sympathies with those devoted and calumniated men, Mr. Knibb and his coadjutors, who, under circumstances of much excitement and great difficulty, have by their prudence, firmness, and christian courage, protected their coloured brethren in the enjoyment of those equal rights and that entire independence which were intended by the act of emancipation, and which the liberality of the British people gives them a right to demand." It was pretty well known to

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most members of the convention that Mr. Knibb had been called everything but a gentleman. (Laughter.) A respected ministerial brother on one occasion, at Birmingham, had produced a catalogue of names which has been given him, and stated that he was generally known by that of the Daniel O'Connell of Jamaica. (Laughter.) Certainly that was multum in parvo. (Hear, hear.) The names of American abolitionists stood high—of women as well as men—Angelina Grimki, Maria Chapman, and others, among whom he would name, as an American abolitionist, George Thompson. (Cheers.) These names were musical in their ears, but they did not stand higher, in his humble judgment, than did those of the missionaries in Jamaica. (Hear, hear.) Let it not be forgotten that to them we were indebted for the act of emancipation. But a higher honour awaited them; that to being subjected to the frowns of the wicked in high places— of being maligned and falsified for righteousness' sake, by those from whose fell grasp, they had rescued the suffering negro. But their characters, he would be bold to say, would stand the test, and come forth from this furnace as gold seven times purified. Their characters were as immaculate as their exertions were noble, and God would be with them —Omnipotence would stretch his hand over them, and keep them as the apple of his eye. (Cheers.)

The Rev. A. Harvey rose with great pleasure to second the resolution. He thought the cause of abolition in the West Indies owed much, not only to the labour but to the courage and christian prudence of the missionaries. But for the resistance of these intrepid men to all attempts to silence them, the cause could not have advanced so rapidly as it did. The missionary Smith had carried the torch of liberty through the land, and roused the population, and the noble stand made in Parliament by Lord Brougham in vindicating the missionaries had roused many to action who had never acted in the cause of the slave before; and now emancipation was carried, he believed the prudence of the missionaries had already done, as certainly it would be required to do, much to secure its full benefit to the negro. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'Connell would not be guilty of any lengthened trespass on their patience, but he could not be silent on this motion of thanks to his friend Mr. Knibb. (Hear, hear.) And really he would prefer though he could not express his sentiments in adequate terms of admiration of the conduct that gentleman had pursued, and for gratitude for his services: yet he would infinitely prefer that his tongue should do discredit to his intellect in attempting to speak his merits justly, than that his heart should be restricted in the expression of his gratitude to a man who had suffered so much, and had done so much good for the cause of the negro. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen here little knew what perils Mr. Knibb had undergone—they little knew that he had this merit, of exciting the animosity and hatred of every enemy to morality, religion, and liberty in Jamaica. (Cheers.) In proportion as good men favoured the vices of the system of slavery there, and of course when all bad passions and sinister interests were conbined in one impulse in favour of slavery, so potent must have been the motives in the white population, and so potent were the enemies of Mr. Knibb. But they had not confined themselves to calling him a very O'Connell. (If they could have called him worse they would have done so) (cheers and laughter) but they had traduced him in every possible way. His path had been beset with vilification and calumny. His person had been seized, and for daring to thank God that he had escaped the necessity of resorting to armed force to protect himself, for no greater crime he had been manacled fettered, and cast into prison, and many regretted they had not made him a martyr by putting him to death. And did that intimidate him? No! With true agitation courage (cheers and laughter) he determined to act with three-fold greater zeal against the enemies of christianity and freedom than he had ever done before. (Hear, hear.) It was not only the purity of his intentions, his exertions, and his success which deserved their approbation—it was the talent, the tact, and the perseverance with which he had followed up all his exertions in favour of his coloured brethren, whom he now had the glorious recompence of seeing embracing every good work—coming forward to declare their belief in the Redeemer—anxious for the education of their children —getting out their land. And freemen, aye, and freeholders too (cheers) looking forward to the time when they should have their representatives in the assembly, and instead of looking to England to protect them, should assert their own rights by strength of acts and arms if necessary, but still more satisfactorily by their power in the legislation of the island. (Cheers.) To Mr. Knibb, and those who participated with him, much of these results were due, and by the manner in which they had overcome difficulties which opposed them, they had given salutary experience in other countries of the facility with which they could work out the emancipation of the negro. (Hear, hear.) What a lesson had they read of America and of the Brazils!—what a living and speaking picture had they exhibited of the facility of carrying out emancipation, and of the safety of doing justice (hear, hear) and it would be a libel against the God of justice if it were safer to exercise iniquity and tyranny—to inflict stripes and punishment—to rob men of their time and labour; and to declare that there would be danger in doing justice, and setting free the slave, and in touching the consciences of men, and urging them to an act of tardy retribution (Cheers.) Until the experiment was made, however, this would not be believed. Glory be then to the spirit manifested in the effort,' (cheers) and let that spirit be cherished and transmitted. There were many young Knibbs there now, whose hearts were throbbing strongly to distinguish themselves, who would learn, in the praises received in that convention, the rich reward good men bestow on the worthy participators in the cause of universal freedom. Mr. Knibb and he (Mr. O'Connell) differed much in their religion—that was an affair between themselves and God—(hear, hear)—but they agreed heartily in its highest and greatest principle—that of universal charity and benevolence towards man. (Cheers.) His hon. friend might receive praise which he had not expected, but he had well deserved it. He had been a confessor in the great cause of human liberty, he was almost a martyr, and here they had him ready to be a confessor and a martyr yet. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Sturge said he thought it right to say Mr. O'Connell was slightly mistaken in one circumstance, which he had mentioned. Mr. Knibb at the time he was imprisoned for his zeal by the government, had been compelled to take up arms, and had not refused to do so.

The Rev. J. Birt, of Manchester, said that although there might be some indelicacy in a personal friend of Mr. Knibb's joining in the discussion of this resolution, it might be thought on the other hand, that if such a person were silent it might seem as if he did not cordially agree in the sentiments expressed by others. Mr. O'Connell with his usual point and eloquence, had alluded to the many difficulties which the ardent zeal and perseverance of Mr. Knibb had overcome, and had shown how these difficulties had only stimulated him to greater exertion, but those who had known Mr. Knibb for many years, and the course he had pursued, knew well that to a mind like his—kind and tender, as well as ardent and zealous—the timidity of the friends of liberty, and the over prudence of many who offered him their counsel was far more painful. These persons complained that he was not sufficiently delicate in his expressions—that he told the truth too boldly (hear, hear)—and even went so far as to shock the delicacy of some sensitive persons by calling things by their right names. (Hear, hear.) These were difficulties harder to overcome than calumny, but he had passed safely and successfully through them, and whatever he might have felt when his friends had endeavoured to restrain him, or at the fierce hostility of those who threatened him with destruction, he had been sustained and carried through the trial, and they had now to congratulate him in the success of their exertions, in which he had taken so prominent a part, and he trusted that he would live to see the day when they should meet to celebrate one universal jubilee of all mankind, and when the whole world should join in the dissemination of the principles of morality, religion, and peace. (Cheers.)

Dr Cox felt anxious that on this occasion, the name of Mr. Burchell should not be forgotten, because he too, had stood in the front of the anxious battle that had been fought in Jamaica—he too, as Mr. O'Connell had observed, was a confessor, and almost a martyr, and at that moment was sinking under the effects of his exertions in Jamaica. He wished to see associated the names of Burchell, Gardner, Clark, and Knibb, for they were all "honourable men." (Cheers.)

After a short but eloquent eulogy on Mr. Knibb and his brother missionaries, from the Reverend Thomas Scales—

Dr. Hoby said, with reference to one sentiment that had fallen from Mr. O'Connell, it ought to be remembered, that there had been "a young William Knibb," a youth of twelve years old, who died of a fever produced by excess of joy on hearing that the members of his father's church had united in the voluntary manumission of their slaves, and so deeply were these persons impressed with the excellencies of the character of the young philanthropist, that they erected a tablet to his memory. He thought it would be interesting to the convention to know the trial which their friend had been called on to endure, and that his beloved child had fallen a martyr to the cause. (Hear.)

Dr. G. K. Price said the gentleman who had preceded him, had spoken from reports from Jamaica; but he begged leave to present himself to them as one who for a series of years, had been acquainted with the operations of the Baptist missionaries and others in Jamaica. He thought his testimony would be valued, as in 1823, when he had first sailed to Jamaica, he went with the notion that the security of property in that island was likely to be disturbed by this result of their exertions, and he remembered that in his first communication from the island, he had expressed the opinion that they should do very well, if Mr. Buxton and others would only let them alone. But it was not long before he saw proper to recall this opinion, and he could state that he attributed it without reservation to the instructions of those excellent persons, and their judicious conduct in many respects, the great preparation that was made in the negro mind, for the benefit that was afterwards conferred on them. (Cheers.) Such was the spirit of honesty and morality that prevailed, that he could expose property in Jamaica in a manner in which he could not do it in England, and such was the conviction of this truth there, that many of the slaves who had been active in destroying their chapels, had not been backward in supplying resources for raising them again. (Hear, hear.) He, (Dr. Price,) had had the honour of suffering some loss with the missionaries, and also of opening his doors to them and those belonging to them, when many others were shut, and he was desirous to offer his acknowledgments for the many benefits he had received from them in return. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously, and the convention adjourned till four o'clock.

Evening Sitting.

The convention re-assembled at Four o'clock.

Mr. R. Jowitt brought up the report of the committee appointed to consider the situation of the negro population of Upper Canada. It was as follows:—

"This committee, viewing with the deepest interest, and the most earnest solicitude, the state, condition, and welfare of the coloured population of Upper Canada, and finding that attempts have been made by slave-holders in the United States to re-capture and bring into captivity such fugitive slaves as have taken refuge in the province by accusations of felony; and as it has come to the knowledge of this committee that, in the attempted surrender of persons so charged, human life has been sacrificed, do earnestly recommend to this convention to address her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonies, inquiring, as far as he deems consistent with the public service, whether instructions have been sent to her Majesty's representative in Canada so to act, in the event of any renewed application, as will prevent a coloured fugitive from such surrender.

"And whereas public provision has been made in the different districts of Upper Canada for the purpose of education, and schools having been opened to which the coloured people have been invited by the lieutenant-governor of the province; and whereas the odious, unchristian prejudice against colour has operated most detrimentally in frustrating the desires of the government by virtually excluding coloured persons from these schools, this committee strongly recommend the convention to address the colonial minister, requesting that he would issue such instructions as may insure to the coloured population of Upper Canada the benefit and blessings of education in common with the white inhabitants of the province.

"This committee also begs respectfully to submit to this convention, that it is very desirable that the paper of the Rev. Herbert Taylor, read by one of the secretaries, showing that slavery is a recognized principle of the Hudson's Bay company, and that native Indians are held as slaves both by the company and its servants, should be brought as early as possible under the notcie of the government, in order that immediate and effectual measures be taken for its entire suppression.

Thomas Rolph,	Richard Davis Webb,
Charles Edward Lester,	Robert Jowitt,
John W. Wayne,	Robert Forster."

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Mr. FORSTER seconded the adoption of the report, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. FORSTER said he was deputed by his brother then engaged in the labours of the convention, to move—

"That this convention has heard with horror and detestation a few details of the appalling extent of the illegal trade in slaves from Africa to the Brazils; and feels called upon to recommend the whole subject to the close and unremitting attention of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society."

Mr. PRUMPHRY seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. FERGUSON moved, and Mr. Alderman BULLEY, of Liverpool, seconded the motion, that,

"This Convention has heard with deep regret and sorrow, of which the internal slave-trade is carried on from the older to the more newly settled slave-states of the North American Union, to the extent of upwards of 80,000 victims annually to this unrighteous traffic."

"Resolved—That on expressing their detestation of this traffic, and in acknowledging that it excites their deep surprise and abhorrence that this should be protected and cherished by a nation which has abolished the African slave-trade, and declared it to be piracy—this convention is impressed with the conviction that such a systematic trade in man must be attended with excessive cruelty and wrong to the objects of it, and involved in its prosecution a fearful extent of barbarity and hardness of heart on the part of the trader; and that effectual means ought to be forthwith taken in the United States of America to remove this stain from the character of that nation."

Dr. HODGKIN was anxious to say a few words respecting the colony of Liberia, of which he had been an anxious observer for many years. He desired not to raise a discussion respecting the success of the colony then, but he did hope that the Members of the Convention would fully consider the question in their private meditations. He could assure them that the question was much misunderstood. He deplored the sort of civil war, as he might term it, which raged amongst the friends of the negro upon this subject, and was sure it was only because of erroneous information upon it.

A very desultory conversation ensued, many denying that the colony had been any benefit to the negro, but, on the contrary, a curse. There seemed, however, to be a general wish not then to enter upon the subject, and as it was said ——

Hon. J. G. BIRNEY had received some late information upon the subject, he was called upon to speak. He said the Colonization Society was organized in America in 1817, and consisted almost exclusively of slave-holders. They had the complete control of all matters in the Society—their object was to remove all free blacks from America, because they considered they contaminated the slaves. The negro population, however, met and declared that they would not remove, and their reason was a most amiable one—they would not remove because their brethren were in slavery. (Cheers.) In a meeting held in Philadelphia, in 1817, at which there were three thousand negros, they declared unequivocally their repugnance to the scheme, and that repugnance had been gradually growing ever since, so much so, that within the last twelve years no one had gone from the free States. All the emigration had been from the slave States, and he knew nothing in the law of the States to prevent the former master of one of the slaves sent to Liberia from claiming him again as a slave whenever he pleased. The reason urged in favour of the Society was, that in the States it was impossible for the two races, the blacks and the whites, to live in harmony together. But such was the antipathy of the free-people of colour to the Society, that during a period of twenty years' actual colonization, it had only been able to export about 5,000, bond and free. A great deal of cruel and relentless legislation had been carried on against the free-coloured population. The State of Ohio, for instance, he believed, had passed a great many sanguinary laws against them since the institution of the Society. The Legislature of Ohio had passed a law which prevented the free-coloured man residing within the limits of the State—from giving testimony before a Court of Justice—so that those poor people had suffered the deepest wrongs without redress. (Hear, hear.) A coloured man could not give testimony as to what was called a book account. A white man might prove an account before the proper tribunal, and was received as a good witness, but a coloured man was prevented doing so. He could not even bring forward the testimony of another coloured man if his adversary was a white man, so that he was often cheated; but of course the virtuous part of the community did not avail themselves of that law, because they would not refuse payment of a just account. His opinion was, that before the institution of the Colonization Society, the condition of the free-coloured people in many parts of the country was improving, and they were permitted, where schools were established, to send their children to them; but after the colonization was carried into effect, vast portions of the children of the coloured people were excluded from those schools, although the coloured people were taxed for the support of those schools as well as the whites. It was sometimes said that portions of the tax paid by the coloured people was set apart for them, and they could have their schools if they pleased; but, in consequence of the small number of the coloured people, and their dispersion over the country, it was impossible to maintain a school exclusively for them; so that, in fact, the law amounted to an actual inhibition entirely. (Hear, hear.) Another argument put forth in favour of colonization was, that it would put an end to the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, and would christianize and civilize the people. He would make one remark on the probability, or rather improbability, of ever succeeding by colonization in christianizing the heathen of Africa. He believed the history of the civilized world would not show a single instance in which christian colonization, as it was called, had been successful in christianizing the heathen. He might mention William Penn as the noblest specimen of a Christian statesman.—(Hear, hear.) He doubted not the aborigines of the State of Pennsylvania would have been a christian people if they had survived; but they had been entirely exterminated, and in fact, that kind of colonization could not be carried out. The same result followed the Spanish colonization. Those who went out under Columbus were a christian people; and in the time of Columbus Spain was not exceeded as a religious country. They found the Island of Hisponiola with a million of inhabitants. In fifteen years that one million was reduced to 14,000. He thought colonization was not effectual for this reason, namely, that those who went out to colonize naturally adopted the social organization to which they had been accustomed.—Ultimately they assumed superiority over the heathen, and the latter feeling their inferiority and degradation, hated and despised the former, and at length disaffection came among them. As to the cessation of the African slave-trade, he begged leave to make an observation. He had had a conversation with Captain Richardson that morning, who told him the slave-trade was carried on in Liberia without any hindrance.

The Rev. C. BIRT wished to ask the hon. gentleman, before he sat down, a question respecting the truth of a statement he had heard as exhibiting the feeling of the people of colour in New York. He had heard that the agent of a Company formed to institute a cemetry or burying-place for coloured people apart from the white, waited on a coloured gentleman, for a contribution, but that gentleman declined giving one, and said, "You have provided a large grave yard in Liberia, and therefore it is unnecessary to provide one here."

Hon. J. G. BIRNEY had not been aware of the anecdote himself, but he had no doubt it well expressed the feelings of the coloured people with regard to the climate of Liberia. As to the prosperity of the colony itself, he believed the great mass of the people were in extreme want, and that multitudes of them were anxious to return to the United States. To show the mortality there, he might mention that an expedition, as it was called, was sent out from New Orleans, consisting of 150 persons, emigrants to that colony. A very intelligent coloured man, named Jure, who went out to explore the country, on his return told him (Mr. Birney,) that within six months after the vessel sailed, 85 out of the 150 died. Frequent attempts had been made to persuade the Board of Managers at Washington to exhibit accurate statistical returns, but that had not yet been done. The colonization scheme in his country was the strongest antagonist to the free principle advocated by the friends of the negro; and although it was ineffectual in carrying out the object in view, yet it was not ineffective in its opposition to the Anti-Slavery Society. The hon. gentleman concluded a very able and interesting address, amidst great applause, by moving the following resolution:—

"That this convention regards the scheme of African colonization, proposed and urged by the American colonization society, as not only totally inadequate to the overthrow of slavery in the United States, but as tending powerfully to strengthen that unrighteous system, as deeply injurious to the best interests of the negro race, whether bond or free, both in America or Africa, and therefore as wholly unworthy of the countenance and aid of the philanthropist and the christian."

JOHN CROPPER, Esq., seconded the resolution.

Mr. FULLER could not conceive how christian people could support colonization, for he conceived it was opposed to every christian principle.

Mr. BANNISTER hoped the convention would adopt some means by which those in England would be made aware of what had been doing in Liberia for the last seventeen years.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

(To be continued.)

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

Amount already advertised	£1533	18	0
Paul Austa, Esq., Devizes	2	0	0
W. T. Blair, Esq., Bath	1	0	0

Subscriptions will be received by J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, or by any of the Members of the Committee, and by HENRY STERRY, Secretary, 42, *Trinity Square, Borough.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 18.] WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, OF UPPER CANADA, AND SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

SIR,

I beg to hand you from *Zion's Watchman*, an American newspaper, the following abstract of proceedings on the subject of slavery, which took place in the conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, at Baltimore, United States, in May last, and of the correspondence which I have had with Mr. Ryerson thereon.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,
JOHN SCOBLE.

Birmingham, 21st Aug., 1840.

ABSTRACT.

Baltimore, Thursday, May 21st, 1840.

METHODIST CONFERENCE.—BISHOP ROBERTS IN THE CHAIR.

DISCUSSION ON REPORT RELATIVE TO SLAVERY.

Three resolutions presented by the committee against making any alterations in the discipline on slavery, or taking any special action on the subject.

The Rev. Orange Scott, in the course of the discussion, quoted a variety of accredited documents of the Wesleyan body against slavery, and in the course of his speech referred to the well known sentiments of the late Richard Watson, and to those of the Wesleyan conference of 1830, 1835, 1836, and particularly dwelt on the memorable words of Dr. Bunting, who, in his reply to Dr. Fisk, said, that "slavery is *always wrong*, ESSENTIALLY, ETERNALLY, AND INCURABLY WRONG. *Die it must, and happy should I have been had they* (the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church) *passed sentence of death upon it.*"

Friday, May 20th, 1840.

BISHOP HEDDING IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Scott had still possession of the floor. He was followed shortly by Mr. Roszell and Dr. Capers, and subsequently by Dr. Bangs in reply, who said at the close of his speech, "I unhesitatingly declare upon this floor, that I do not believe that slavery is a sin against God under all circumstances; neither did Wesley believe it, or Coke, or Asbury, or the early conferences. Allusion had been made to our Wesleyan brethren; but, previous to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, they instructed their missionaries in those islands to have nothing to do with slavery." Dr. Bangs was followed by EGERTON RYERSON, one of the representatives from Canada, who said, "There has been allusion made to the doings of the British conference on slavery, which he doubted not Mr. Newton would satisfactorily explain if he were present: as however he was not, he should attempt it, particularly as he was in attendance at the British conference at the time referred to. It should be remembered, he remarked, that though that conference as a body had always entertained the sentiments of Mr. Wesley on the subject of slavery, yet they never deemed it their duty to take any conference action on the subject until 1830: for scores of years preceding they always instructed their missionaries to use the utmost caution in regard to intermeddling with it in the local governments where they were stationed; and during this whole time they abstained from any conference action upon it at home:—and why was this? Because they thought the time had not yet come for such action. Allusion had been made to what Dr. Bunting said at the time he responded to Dr. Fisk in the British conference, but part of the words used by Dr. Bunting on that occasion had been left out; what they were, however, the reporter says, he did not inform us, but attempted to make it appear, that Dr. B. and Dr. F. perfectly agreed on the subject, and that the sentiments of that conference perfectly harmonized with the views of those who oppose modern abolitionism in the Methodist Episcopal church! These were his own views, and the views of the church generally in Canada, and to these he was pledged as the editor of the *Christian Guardian*. Indeed he had utterly refused to resume the editorship of that paper several years since, unless he could be permitted by its patrons utterly to refrain from attacking or interfering with the institutions of the United States. (Immense and long continued clapping and stamping, a sort of cheering demonstration, by the way, which we have never seen in a general conference before.) He disclaimed all connexion with or *sympathy* for the Anti-slavery conventions, societies, and irregular proceedings in the United States on this subject. They had had action on the subject in several of their district meetings, and conflicting action, but they had determined to *expurgate* everything of the kind from their journals, as he hoped the annual conferences of the United States would from theirs. He expressed no sentiment on the subject of slavery, and wished to express none, but such as is contained in the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church.

Mr. Ryerson was followed by Dr. Capers, a slave-holder, who said, "He thanked the brother from Canada *for the strong sympathy he had expressed for* SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS," and alluded to the position taken by our English brethren, and expressed the affectionate regard he entertained for them, &c., &c.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Newcastle, August 8th, 1840.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I think it due to you to inform you that it is my intention, on Monday evening next, to make some observations on a speech said to have been delivered by you at the late Baltimore conference, in support of the peculiar institutions of the southern states, and which was received with such rapturous applause by the slave-holders then present. I regret that I shall be compelled to take this course, especially as I had always understood that you were the enemy of slavery, and the friend of the oppressed.

I am, dear sir, your's respectfully,
JOHN SCOBLE.

P.S.—The adjourned Anti-slavery meeting will be held in Salem Chapel, Wood Street, in consequence of the lecture room in Nelson Street being pre-engaged.

Rev. E. Ryerson, &c. &c.

Monday, 6 o'clock, P.M.
Newcastle, August 10th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I beg to acknowledge yours of the 8th instant, and had hoped to have been able to attend the Anti-slavery meeting of which you have given me notice; but having just returned from the Methodist chapel, at which I have been occupied upwards of five hours in the delivery of an address on the objects of my mission to this country, I find myself so completely exhausted and indisposed, that I am utterly unable to go out this evening.

Of course you have an unrestricted right to comment in any way you may think advisable; but your stating that I had been reported to have delivered a speech at the Baltimore conference, "in *support* of the peculiar institutions of the southern states," &c., surprises me much. I have never delivered a speech containing such words, or conveying such an idea—nor seen the report of one; and God forbid I should say one word in palliation, much less in favour of the accursed system of slavery in any country. I did make some remarks in the Baltimore conference, one of which was cheered, and the whole of which were afterwards briefly, but most erroneously, reported in the New York Christian Advocate and Journal. The remark that was cheered had no reference to slavery, or to the southern states at all. It was an introductory general remark, in which I expressed my friendly feeling towards the Americans as a nation and a neighbouring government; and that so far from cherishing hostile feelings towards them, I had said in my own native country, previously to my appointment to the management of an official periodical, that I should not employ it as a medium of attack upon the republican institutions of our American neighbours. I then proceeded to correct some statements which had been made in reference to what Dr. Bunting had said to Dr. Fisk in 1836, at which time I happened to be in this country. The circumstances under which I spoke are as follows: A speaker had mistaken and erroneously represented the circumstances alluded to. The Rev. Mr. Newton, representative of the British conference, was not present at the moment. On his entering the chapel I mentioned to him what had been stated, and suggested that he had better correct it. Mr. Newton thought it would hardly be proper for him to do so, as he had not heard the remark. I then intimated that I would do so under his correction. Shortly after I arose, and after two or three introductory remarks, stated the circumstances alluded to in reference to Dr. Bunting and the British conference, and to my statements Mr. Newton nodded assent.

A few days afterwards I saw the report of what I had been supposed to say; but it was a misapprehension and erroneous representation of the drift and import of my remarks. I showed the paper to Mr. Newton. He expressed his surprise, and remarked, "What will they think in England on reading such a statement?" I immediately sat down, and wrote to the reporter a correction of my reported observations. As I left Baltimore within half-an-hour after I had delivered my letter to the reporter, informing him that he had, as I supposed from my

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rapid utterance, mistaken the import and bearing of my principal allusions and remarks, I have never since seen a copy of the paper to learn the insertion of my letter.

I well recollect the concluding remark which, in the meagre summary report of what I said, was attributed to me, as it contained a sentiment to which I should be very sorry to subscribe. I was reported to have said, that christianity was the only legitimate means of abolishing slavery. The whole of the concluding sentence was, to the best of my recollection, *verbatim*, as follows: "Of the best or most proper means to be employed in different parts of this country to abolish slavery, I do not feel myself competent to express an opinion; but it is my full conviction that slavery must disappear before the progress of christianity, as darkness before the rising sun."

If I had the paper before me, I could point out other errors which I corrected in my letter to the reporter, and which he told me would be forwarded for publication; but I cannot now call them to mind.

Should you think proper to refer to the subject this evening, you are liberty to make such use of this note as you please, written in great haste and under great languor and fatigue.

Your's very truly,

EGERTON RYERSON.

John Scoble, Esq.

Not having seen a copy of the New York *Christian Advocate and Journal*, I am unable to say how far it may agree or disagree with the report of Mr Ryerson's speech in the *Zion's Watchman*, on which my letter was founded; but I would ask that gentleman whether he is correctly reported to have said,—1st, That the language attributed to Dr. Bunting by the Rev. Orange Scott, was so modified as to be susceptible of another and different meaning to that which Mr. Scott ascribed to it?—2nd, Whether he said that the views of the British and American conferences harmonised in condemning modern abolitionism?—3rd, Whether his own views and that of the Wesleyan Church in Canada, accorded with those of the Methodist Episcopal church in the United States on this subject?—4th, Whether, as editor of the *Christian Guardian*, he "utterly refused," as one of the institutions of the United States, to attack or interfere with the system of slavery which exists there?—and 5th, Whether at the Baltimore conference "he disclaimed all connexion or *sympathy* with the anti-slavery conventions, societies, and irregular proceedings in the United States on this subject?" For my own part, until Mr. Ryerson gives perfectly satisfactory answers to these questions, I for one cannot give him credit for being an abolitionist; and if it be true, as I have good grounds for believing, that the *Christian Guardian*, of which he is the editor, is entirely silent on the subject of slavery, then we have strong proof that, if he dare not defend the system of slavery, neither will he condemn it. He must permit me to say, that such conduct is utterly inconsistent with the idea of his being an abolitionist, and as such, entitled to a cordial reception from the friends of the oppressed slave in this country.

J. S.

ON FREE LABOUR.

(Concluded from our last.)

Without entering into any of the estimates of the cost of a home-bred slave, it may be enough to state that they all unite in proving that he is clear to his master at the age at which slaves are usually imported, his labour previous to this period having defrayed the expense of rearing him from infancy.

The average price of the imported slave being £50., it is obvious, therefore, that at this period he has cost just this sum more than the other; and if we give to each ten years of effective labour, a period much beyond the usual term of life where slaves are imported, we find that this alone, with interest, will add from £8. to £10. per annum to the cost of his labour as compared with the home-bred slave.

But, in addition to this, his labour is less productive, a fact universally admitted, and which can hardly require proof when we consider the advantage enjoyed by the latter of being born in the country, and seasoned to the climate. The produce of sugar per slave in our West India colonies, from 1791 to 1795, when the slave-trade was rife, as compared with that in the years previous to emancipation, goes to show that the difference in productiveness is fully one-fourth in favour of the latter. Now, if we take into account these two items alone, and add to them the waste of life in seasoning the imported slave, we are confident that we are much below the reality in coming to the conclusion that slave-culture, supported by the slave-trade, costs twice as much as that kept up by natural increase.

In support of the above conclusion, your committee will quote only a single fact.

The Brazilians are slave-importers—the Americans are slave-breeders. Cotton is extensively grown in both countries. The planters reside on their estates in both, which are generally free from mortgage; the trade of the world is free to both, and neither of them enjoy bounties or protections. There is, therefore, perfectly fair play for the trial of the two systems. The point at issue, therefore, is, which of the two has succeeded best, remembering that the only difference between them is slave importing and slave-breeding. Commencing with the peace of 1814, when the slave-trade was carried on with renewed vigour, the Brazilians supplied this country with 128,472 bags of cotton, whilst the Americans little exceeded them in number of bags, being then only 165,046. But in the years 1827 to 1831, we find the American supply had increased to 556,307; being 337 per cent. whilst the Brazilian supply had only increased to 161,467 bags, or about 25 per cent.; and in the years 1837, 1838, and 1839, we find that the average supply of American cotton, had increased to 926,986 bags per annum, while that of Brazilian had decreased to 117,602 bags per annum. During the same period, the price of cotton has been reduced from an average of about nineteen pence per lb., to one of about sevenpence per lb., or to nearly one-third of its former price, a reduction manifestly occasioned by a cheaper mode of production in America, from the cheaper kind of labour employed, as the two countries are on a par in everything but this, that the Brazilians import their slaves, the Americans rear them.*

As a system of slave-cultivation, that of the United States is acknowledged to be the most economical in the world: but we cannot leave this subject without calling attention to the important fact, that, though the American cultivation of cotton by slavery has almost wholly superseded its growth in our colonies, and greatly checked its increase in the Brazils, yet the Carolinians themselves have been driven out of the cultivation of indigo in consequence of its still cheaper production by free-labour in the East Indies.

Fifty years ago, little or no indigo was exported from British India. The whole of that article then used in Europe was the product of slave-labour. A few individuals in Bengal employed their capital and their intelligence in inciting the natives to enlarge their cultivation of it, and in preparing it for the European market; and, though abundantly discouraged in the first instance, yet, the duties being nearly equalized, their efforts were at length crowned with complete success. Such, indeed, has been the effect of British skill and capital united, when employed in calling free-labour into action, that, notwithstanding the enormous freight (five times their present rate) which, for a time, the importers of it had to pay, the indigo of India has been gradually displacing from the market the indigo grown by slaves; until, at length, with the help of the free-trade, and the lighter freights consequent upon it, there is not now one ounce of indigo, the produce of slave-labour, imported into Europe; while the value of the indigo grown in British India amounts to nearly four millions sterling annually. The only existing competitors in this branch of trade are the free-labourers of Guatimala and the Caraccas; and their competition, which had for a time been nearly extinguished, is now reviving only with the new-born liberties of these regions.

As the limits of this report will only permit your committee to enter very briefly into some of the considerations connected with this important subject, they refer such persons as may be desirous of pursuing the investigation, to the following publications, to which in the preceding statement, they have been largely indebted:—

1. Hodgson's Letter to Jay on the Comparative Expense of Free and Slave-labour, Liverpool, 1823.
2. Letter on the Injurious effects of High Prices, and the Beneficial Effects of Low Prices in the Condition of Slavery. By James Cropper, 1823.
3. Relief of West India Distress. Ditto, 1824.
4. Support of Slavery Investigated, 1824.
5. An Important Appeal to the People of Illinois, on the Injurious Effects of Slave-Labour, Philadelphia, 1824.
6. A Short Review of the Slave-Trade and Slavery, with considerations on the benefit which would arise from Cultivating Tropical Productions by Free-Labour. By John Sturge. Birmingham, 1827.
7. Wages or the Whip. By Josiah Conder, 1833.
8. Review of the Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the State of the West India Colonies. By James Cropper, 1832.
9. Vindication of a Loan to the West India Planters. By James Cropper, 1833.

Your committee feel that they cannot pursue this subject further, without alluding to the writings of one long known to many in this assembly, who has but a very few months since been called from his self-denying labours to his eternal reward—the late James Cropper, of Liverpool. To those who estimated and loved him they need not dwell on the originality of thought, the strength of intellect, the singleness of heart and purpose, the unbounded benevolence, and above all, the christian humility which distinguished his character. To such as were strangers to him it would be unseemly to proclaim them, for he sought not human applause. His life was prolonged until the final completion of that great measure to which many of his best years had been

* The correctness of this conclusion is in no degree shaken by the well known fact, that a large number of slaves are annually exported from Maryland and Virginia into the southern states, because it is shown by the census, that the slave-population of the latter is not only kept up independent of this supply, but is increasing at a rate which it is wholly inadequate to account for. The increase in these states, exclusive of Maryland and Virginia, in the ten years, from 1820 to 1830, was 548,821, or upward of fifty per cent. on the whole slave-population. Now, on the highest possible estimate, not one-third of this number could have been imported during the above period; the remainder must have been the natural increase, and it is therefore undeniable, that the system of labour employed is, as we have stated above, that of slave-breeding.—See Book of the United States. By Grenville Mellen, New York, 1839.

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devoted—the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions; and regarding it, as he always did, but as a prelude to the universal emancipation of the negro race, we may be permitted to believe that, if the spirits of the glorified dead are ever suffered to revisit the scenes of their earthly labours, he is now rejoicing over this Convention, assembled from distant lands to accomplish the object which was dearest to him while on earth. At an early period of the anti-slavery movement, he directed the faculties of his powerful mind to the investigation of that branch of the subject which we are now considering and in a series of able pamphlets, demonstrated its important bearing on the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies, and the extinction of slavery. He showed, that, by the operation of that wonderful and beautiful law which we have endeavoured to explain, the rapidly decreasing fertility of the soil, under a system of slavery, had never failed to compel the planter to adopt a more economical mode of cultivation, which ended in approximating the condition of his slaves to that of freemen, except where, as in our colonies, a wasteful and expensive system was maintained by bounties and monopolies, or, as in the United States, large tracts of new and fertile land drew off the population by an internal slave-trade. He exposed, in all their intricacies, the multiplied delusions practised on us by the slave-holders in the colonies, the vast cost at which we maintained our colonial system, and its monstrous and destructive results; and he pointed out the infallible tendency of the competition of free-labour, to counteract the evils of slavery and ultimately to extinguish it. He persisted in pressing these views on the attention of the British public, in spite of opposition and obloquy—in spite of the attempts of many well-meaning philanthropists to set them aside, as a mere commercial view of the question, and in spite of the most unworthy imputations cast on his own motives and character. None acquainted with the history of the abolition struggle in this country can entertain a doubt of the immense influence they had in determining the final event, as they gradually found their way into most of the debates in the House, and most of the publications issued from the press.

Your committee wish to draw your attention to a few passages in his writings, in order to shew with what sagacity he foresaw the results of emancipation in our colonies, and to point out the exact, and, in relation to this question, most instructive coincidence of the event with his predictions.

In his Support of Slavery Investigated, published in 1824, he says:—

"If benevolent or virtuous feeling is strong enough, without any other motive, to effect the extinction of slavery in the British dominions, have we any good grounds for supposing the same motives will operate on other nations who hold a great part of these Africans in slavery? Have the French, the Spaniards, or Portuguese, followed us in the abolition of the slave-trade? From whence, then, are these poor beings to hope for the restoration of their rights? Can we do nothing for them? We can prove to the world at large that slavery is a bad and impolitic system, and that converting the slaves into free labourers, will be a change nearly as advantageous as the introduction of machinery in the spinning of cotton; *and then we are as sure that the French will follow us in the one case, as they have done in the other.*

In the Vindication of a Loan to the Planters, published in 1833, he says, in speaking of the proposed compensation, and urging, that it should be a loan instead of a gift, page 10:—

"If the contemplated change should prove to be as great a benefit to the West Indians as I believe it will be, nothing could be more absurd than to give them £15,000,000 to induce them to accept a still greater benefit."

And again, in page 18:—

"When the slaves are emancipated, the estates with the sugar mills might be left to tenants, who could manage them with emancipated labourers, and pay a rent as English farmers do. The mere collection of rents for non-resident planters would be very simple, and would only cost a moderate commission upon the net income, instead of a high rate on the gross produce."—Page 11.

"When emancipated, the slaves will no longer be the property of the master; but it may be shown, that, as landowners, their property will be more increased by an addition to the free population than if the same were held in slavery."

In his review of the Report of the West India Committee, also published in 1833, after dwelling on the permanent advantages of emancipation, he says—

"Besides all these permanent advantages, there would probably be a large temporary profit from a reduction in the cultivation of sugar, the growth of which might, for a few years, be brought below the increased consumption of the country, the present growth being 30,000 to 40,000 tons per annum above it. If the growth should be reduced only 20,000 tons, or to about 180,000 tons per annum, an advance of 6s. per cwt. would be very probable, and would add to the profits of the planters £1,080,000 per annum. To give such a temporary advance of price, in order to introduce the cultivation by free labour in the west, and improve and extend it in the east, would very soon be repaid by more abundant supplies, and low prices."

It is hardly necessary to point out that already in this the second year of freedom, all these predictions have been exactly fulfilled. France is at this moment preparing to follow us in the emancipation of her slaves. The planters have not only received twenty millions of compensation, but their estates are more valuable than before, and their prosperity greater than at any period. Their estates are, in many cases, already let to tenants; and finally, the production of sugar had actually fallen in 1839 below the home consumption, and occasioned an increase of price, even greater than Mr. C. anticipated, and holding out a stimulus to production by free-labour, of which we are convinced the fruits will soon be apparent.

While the results of emancipation had thus been clearly foreseen by the abolitionists of this country, only differing from their prediction, in having far transcended their most sanguine hopes, let it not be said that because the produce of sugar has diminished, and because labour is scarce in some of our colonies, this circumstance forms an exception to the general rule. We foresaw and predicted its occurrence, and although, from causes which none could foresee, the temporary rise in the price of sugar has been so great as to become a grievous tax on the people of this country, yet confident as we are that the advance is only temporary, and that its very excess will cause a more speedy re-action, we cannot lament it as an evil. The advanced price of sugar will stimulate its production by free-labour all over the world. It will operate as a bounty for raising it by an improved system of manufacture, which, once thoroughly brought into action, will go on with accelerated speed, and will in every successive year, exercise an increasing influence in promoting the downfall of slavery. The present is a moment of critical importance in the competition of free with slave-labour; and it is of the utmost consequence that we seize it, and make the most of it. While your committee therefore, would urge you cordially to co-operate with every plan for raising tropical productions by free labour all over the world; and while they look especially to our Indian empire, as to a boundless and, with one exception, almost untried field for these operations, they feel it their especial duty, at this juncture, to direct the attention of abolitionists to our colonies in the west. There we have a free black population rapidly advancing in intelligence, who know their rights, and will soon be able to protect themselves in the enjoyment of them—a population, too, it should never be forgotten, who have been our slaves, and whose welfare we are therefore bound, by every recollection of former wrong, as well as by every sentiment of justice, to promote.

In some of our older colonies, where the fertility of the soil has been exhausted, it has long been foreseen, that, after emancipation, the cultivation of sugar must be relinquished on many of the estates. We have some documents before us which show that this article is at the present time in Jamaica produced on some estates at twice the cost at which it is produced on others; a state of things which cannot continue long under a free-system. The less productive lands will soon be applied to raising other kinds of produce, and although it is probable the value of estates in general will not be diminished, it is pretty certain that the produce of sugar, so far as these islands are concerned, will fall off yet more. The impotent attempts to keep down the rate of wages below their natural level in some of them, may be regarded as an expiring struggle to maintain the cultivation of sugar where it ought to be relinquished.

But we have no fear that the produce of this article in our colonies will be permanently diminished. In Trinidad and British Guiana there is a vast extent of unoccupied land of almost boundless fertility, sufficient to grow sugar for the whole world. In these colonies the cultivation is at present immensely profitable, and labour is in such great demand that there is reason to believe the planters would grant us any concession or securities we can ask, if we will only aid them in obtaining it.

While, therefore, we deprecate the introduction of ignorant and helpless beings from another hemisphere into these colonies, we think that, if a sufficient guarantee can be obtained for securing entire freedom and equal rights to free black immigrants from our West India colonies, immense advantages would ensue. We are aware of the difficulties of obtaining such a guarantee, but we cannot believe them insuperable. Let immigration once set in, and it will, in all probability, soon flow onward, as we can see no limit to the demand for labour; and as the population of our other colonies, hitherto kept down by oppression, will doubtless increase with almost unexampled rapidity, under the blessings of freedom, there can be no fear of a want of new settlers, whether it be labourers or free black proprietors. Thanks to the labours of our missionaries, these would reach the shores of British Guiana, intelligent, civilized, and christianized. Under an improved system of cultivation, the unfailing accompaniment of freedom, where animal labour and the plough are employed more and the sinews of man less, their labour would soon become productive beyond example.* Under these circumstances, it cannot admit of a doubt, that sugar would soon be raised in unlimited quantity, and at a price which, after a fair profit to the planter, would still be low enough to undersell in all the markets of Europe, the bloodstained produce of Cuba and the Brazils. If there be any truth in the principles we have endeavoured to explain, the transport of human beings to these charnel houses of death would

* It will hardly be believed, that, that simplest of agricultural implements, the plough, has been hitherto almost unknown in our sugar colonies. Several planters have recently introduced it on their estates; and the result has been as might have been anticipated, an immense saving of human labour. In the French islands, two hands are reported to do, with its aid, the work formerly done by ten in our own islands, it is stated in one instance to enable *two* men, in another a *single man* to do the work of *ten*, and Mr. Anderson mentions an estate in Jamaica, under the management of a Mr. Stewart, which had formerly about one-hundred slaves, furnishing an effective working gang of 30. The whole cultivation of which, was now carried on with the plough, by three men and a boy!

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then cease, as it would no longer repay the risks of the passage. The slave-trade would thus be at an end, and, as the competition of free-labour held on its course, these nations would ultimately relinquish slavery itself.

It is impossible to contemplate such glorious results without an intense feeling of desire for their accomplishment. While then we would not relax a single effort for terminating, by moral and religious means, the curse of slavery; while we would unite with every friend of the African race in calling on the nations of the earth, by the solemn duty they owe to their God to let the oppressed go free; we would at the same time entreat each and all of them to co-operate with us in giving effect to the principles we have developed, which we firmly believe to have been destined by the Divine Being to banish slavery from the world, if every other effort should unhappily fail.

CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA.

MEETING OF THE MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

A special general meeting of the Manchester chamber of commerce was convened by advertisement, on Thursday to receive the report of the directors on the measures taken by the East India Company for promoting the growth of cotton in India, and to confer on the prospect which is held out of increasing the supply of this important raw material.

The chair was occupied by J. B. Smith, Esq., president of the chamber, and there were present a number of the most wealthy and influential manufacturers of Manchester and its neighbourhood.

It may also be mentioned that there were on the table three specimens of India cotton, which had undergone one of the first operations of manufacture. They were all the produce of the same piece of land, and were numbered one, two, and three, to denote the different machines through which they had passed. Numbers one and two had undergone the ordinary operation of ginning to which American cotton is usually first subjected, and appeared to be in a somewhat rough state. Number three had been operated upon by a new machine, invented by Messrs. Fawcett and Co., of Liverpool, and was stated to be worth, in consequence of the superior work of the new machine, from a farthing to three-eighths of a penny more than numbers one and two.

The chairman, after reading the advertisement convening the meeting, observed that India was capable of furnishing any quantity of cotton for the supply of the English market; and after the directors of the East India Company had sent down to Liverpool, and shown them what had been done, he thought there was no necessity for the board making any apology for calling them together. There was nothing in the course which the chamber had pursued that could afford the least ground of jealousy on the part of their brethren of the United States. The chamber, he had no doubt, were all wishful that we should deal with our own colonies in their produce, rather than with other and independent countries. They had no wish to put down the growth of cotton in any country. On the contrary, it was their wish that it should be cultivated wherever it was possible. At the same time, they saw no reason why the people of this country should be taxed to pay for the government of our colonies, and at the same time be made to pay double the value of articles to other countries which were produced in our own colonies. At the present period we were made to pay double the price which we ought to pay for timber, which we could produce, from other countries. We were made to pay more than double the price which we ought to pay for our sugar and coffee, so that we were taxed in an indirect manner to an amount of seven or eight millions per annum in these two articles alone. If the cotton of India should unfortunately be put upon the same footing with our other colonial produce, then the promotion of the growth of cotton in India, instead of being a blessing, would be a curse to the country. He hoped, however, that a more enlightened period was dawning upon the country, and that there would be nothing to obstruct their enterprise. He would not detain them longer, but would call upon the vice-president, in the absence of the secretary, Mr. Boothman, who was ill, to read the report.

Holland Hoole, Esq., the vice-president of the chamber, then read the following report:—

"REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS TO A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES AT MANCHESTER, ON THE GROWTH OF COTTON IN INDIA.

"The question of obtaining cotton from various countries must necessarily be interesting to a manufacturing community whose prosperity greatly depends upon a plentiful and steady supply of the raw material, since it must be obvious that security against the contingencies of failing crops, political disagreements, or unsteadiness of price arising from speculative combinations, must be in proportion to the number of channels from whence we derive our supplies. The board, therefore, have great satisfaction in calling together the members of the chamber to report upon the progress which has been made towards obtaining an increased supply and improved quality of East Indian cotton, a subject which has engaged much of their attention, and has for several years past had a prominent place in their annual reports to the Chamber. The importance of improving the cultivation of Indian cotton has long been impressed upon the chambers of commerce of Bombay and Bengal, and many valuable communications have been received by the board from these bodies during a correspondence of several years, in which suggestions have been mutually made as to the best means of accomplishing the object in view. The nature of some of the difficulties in India to the successful cleaning of cotton will be best seen by the following extracts from a communication from the chamber of commerce at Bombay in 1837:—

"'Some impediments exist arising from the climate, to which it seems necessary to draw your attention. The south-west monsoon commences generally on this side India early in June, when all communication ceases with the coast, and, from the state of the roads and rivers, with the interior generally. The cotton begins to be gathered about the end of February, but it is not generally ready for picking until the middle of March; thus eleven or twelve weeks is all the period the natives have annually to gather, clean, prepare, and ship the cotton for the Bombay market, and to store from the weather what they cannot ship before the rainy season commences

"'Labourers are thus in great request at that time, all these operations being done by manual labour; and each churka requires two men or women to turn it, and another to feed or supply it with cotton.

"'At the commencement of the season, more time and care are given in cleaning: but afterwards all is hurry and bustle, and less attention is bestowed, the advanced state of the season and the near approach of the monsoon then allowing so little time for careful cleaning.

"'When time is taken and care bestowed, the churka seems to clean the cotton from seed very well; but the process is tedious, the average turn-out of clear cotton from each being about 38 to 40lbs. per day.'

"This slow and expensive process of cleaning, it is obvious, would present insuperable obstacles to a greatly-extended production of cotton; and, with the view of directing the attention of mechanical skill to some more efficient and cheaper mode of preparing it for market, the chamber of commerce at Bombay, in 1837, forwarded to this chamber and also to the chamber of commerce at Glasgow, a churka, the machine used in India for cleaning cotton, and also several bales of cotton as gathered from the field, with the seed attached to it, for the purpose of making experiments in cleaning by any new machine which might be invented. This board invited the attention of ingenious mechanics to the subject by public advertisement, announcing that the churka would be exhibited to any person desirous of seeing it. The result was several attempts to improve it, but the desirable object of cleaning large quantities with facility and economy has not been attained.

"In December, 1838, a deputation from this board presented a memorial to the court of directors of the Honourable East India Company, suggesting a modification of the land tax of India, the abrogation of the system of levying the tax in kind, the improvement of the roads, the construction of piers, quays, and storing warehouses at the ports; and praying that every obstacle might be removed and encouragement given to capitalists to embark in the cultivation of cotton in India.

"Copies of the above memorial were presented by the deputation to Sir James Carnac, the recently appointed Governor of Bombay, on the 12th of January, 1839, and to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, on the 19th of the same month.

"The deputation, in their interviews with Sir James Carnac and with the India board, found that an opinion extensively prevailed that such physical difficulties existed in the soil of India as would prevent any great improvement in the quality of cotton grown in that country. These opinions were, we have reason to hope, successfully combated by the deputation, and a promise was promptly given to take the whole subject into serious consideration.

"This promise was not suffered to remain a dead letter. On the 15th March, 1839, a 'despatch from the court of directors of the honourable East India Company to the governor-general of India in council,' (a copy of which was printed in the appendix to the annual report of this chamber for the past year) was forwarded, transmitting 'copies of the memorials received from the chambers of commerce of Glasgow and Manchester, and from the East India Association of Liverpool and Glasgow, on the subject of cultivating cotton in India,' and referring to the measures which had been pursued from time to time with little success: the honourable court expressed the great interest it continued to feel in the extension of the cultivation of that article, and the steps which had been taken 'to engage parties in the United States willing to proceed to India, and duly qualified for the purpose of instructing and superintending the natives in the cultivation of cotton, and the proper mode of cleaning it by means of machinery.' The honourable court also authorised his Excellency 'to offer rewards of such an amount as he might consider sufficient to stimulate parties engaged in the production to exhibit cotton of good growth, and cleaned by machinery.' 'The minute by the governor-general of India, dated Simla, August 14th, 1839,' in reply to this despatch (a copy of which was printed in the appendix to the annual report of the chamber for the past year) is an able and enlightened document. His Excellency says, 'All the value of success in introducing in India a better produce of cotton suited for the immense manufactures of England is fully appreciated by me.' He then enters into a minute examination of the memorials laid before him—the difficulties to encounter in carrying into effect the wishes of the honourable court, and the best course to be adopted to facilitate the experiment of the parties to be brought over from the United States. It is satisfactory to observe the wise discrimination exercised by his Excellency between the 'artificial fosterings of the devotion of capital to particular employments by systems of bounties,' and the wholesome encouragement to laudable enterprise by the removal of all obstacles to the free employment of capital and labour. The sentiment expressed by the governor-general on this point, and the steps taken to remove existing impediments to freedom of industry, warrant the hope that the enlightened views entertained by his Excellency will be fully carried out. Already the transit duties on internal intercourse have been abolished throughout the presidencies of Bengal and Bombay—a boon (says the 'Minute') 'I trust to be soon conferred on the territories of Madras. From this measure we may look for the best effects, in the quickening of every enterprise which may seem to rest upon really solid foundations.' It is further observed, with reference to the memorial of this chamber, suggesting a modification of the land-tax that 'it is now the general rule and practice throughout India that the assessment on land cultivated with superior products shall not be higher than the average rate of land of similar quality whatever the crop reared on it.' His Excellency appears to have misapprehended the meaning of the chamber, which was, that the amount of the land-tax generally was excessive, and calculated to discourage the production, not only of cotton, but of every other commodity. With respect to the abolition of the system of levying taxes in kind, the 'Minute' states that 'the custom of taking revenue in kind, is no where retained.' The other subject, referred to in the memorial, viz., the improvement of the roads, the construction of piers, quays, and storing warehouses at the ports of shipment are severally noticed in the 'Minute,' and their importance appreciated. 'The building of warehouses,' his Excellency observes, 'seems rather the province of the private merchant than of the government. It may, however, be very proper to inquire from the government of Bombay whether there are local reasons which in Guzerat would render

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the interference of the State useful and expedient for such a purpose, as well as whether there is a want of suitable quays at any of the ports.

"The board have the further satisfaction to report, that, by accounts received from India last week, the governor-general has offered three prizes for the growth of a certain quantity and quality of cotton. The first prize of 20,000 rupees, or £2000; the second of 10,000 rupees, or £1000; and the third of 5000 rupees, or £500. The earnestness of the court of the honorable the East India Company was further evinced by the sending out Captain Bayles to the United States, for the purpose of engaging persons competent to establish and superintend an improved system of cotton culture in India, a course which, in the opinion of this board, was the most judicious which could be adopted for carrying into effect the objects contemplated. Captain Bayles succeeded in his mission, and recently returned from the United States with the gentlemen whom he had engaged to proceed to India, provided with a considerable quantity of seeds, and with several American saw gins for cleansing cotton. With a view to ascertain the precise requisites in the cotton most wanted in this district, Captain Bayles, accompanied by several of these gentlemen, came to Manchester to seek personally such information as to the faults now existing in the Indian cotton brought to this country, and the improvements most desirable to effect in it, as might assist them in their future pursuits. Their first application was to this chamber, and such assistance was cheerfully afforded as fully carried out the object they had in view. They visited various mills, and had pointed out to them the deficiencies of Indian cotton, particularly in reference to its cleanness and the irregularity of its staple, both of which they expressed confidence in being able to improve.

"In the mean time the saw gins brought by Captain Bayles from the United States were set up in Liverpool, and a communication dated 9th July last, was received from the secretary to the honorable the East India Company, inviting the directors of this board to meet the chairman and deputy chairman, with some members of the court of directors of the East India Company, at Liverpool, on the 17th of July, to witness the experiments to be made in the machinery for cleaning cotton. The board nominated a deputation to proceed to Liverpool on the appointed day, and the results of the experiments will be best shown by the following report of the deputation to this board:—

REPORT.

"The directors appointed at the last meeting of this board, as a deputation to Liverpool, in compliance with the invitation given by the chairman and deputy-chairman of the East India Company, to meet them there to witness the experiment intended to be made of cleaning India cotton with the saw gin, proceeded thither accordingly on the 17th ult., and were present at the experiment made there on that day. The same directors have also this week witnessed a repetition of those experiments by the same machine in Manchester.

"They consider the results of those experiments to be, on the whole, highly satisfactory, as proving beyond a doubt the practicability of cleaning Indian cotton with the American saw gin; although it is evident, at the same time, that personal skill and experience will be requisite to adapt the machine to the particular species of cotton it is intended to operate upon.

"It likewise seems worthy of remark, that some difficulties may have to be encountered in India, in providing the requisite moving power for driving machinery of this description.

"It appears, therefore, to be a very judicious arrangement which the honorable East India Campany have adopted, viz. to send over to India with the machines several talented and experienced gentlemen, natives of the United States of America, and brought up as cotton planters, who will be able to give a new impulse to the growth of cotton in India, and to devise and carry into effect the best methods of driving the saw gin, and applying that machine to the very important purpose of cleaning the cotton so produced.

"The deputation wish to record their grateful sense of the zeal and energy displayed by the honorable East India Company in the promotion of this great national object, and of the able manner in which their views have been carried out by Captain Bayles.

"Holland Hoole, Vice-president.
"Henry Ashworth.
"David Price.
"Charles Pooley.

"Chamber of Commerce, Manchester, Aug. 5th, 1840.

"The saw gins commonly used in the United States are capable of producing from 1100lbs. to 1200lbs. weight of clean cotton per day, whilst the churka, with the labour of three persons, produces only from 38lbs. to 40lbs. per day. The board entertain sanguine hopes that, if encouraged the mechanics of this district will be able to effect improvements in the saw gins exhibited at Manchester; and this expectation is strengthened by the fact, that the samples cleaned here by machines, being submitted to three competent judges, it was decided that the quality of one of the samples was superior to the others by ¼d. to ½d. per lb., although the seed cotton submitted to be cleaned by each machine was precisely the same. The machine which produced the best sample was built at the works of Messrs. Fawcett and Co., of Liverpool, under the superintendence of Dr. Jones, the patentee.

"The board, in conclusion, have only to add, that if the efforts of the East India Company, so judiciously commenced, be perseveringly followed up (as they feel assured they will be) in a manner commensurate with their importance to the interests of England and of India, they cannot doubt of ultimate success.

"By order, and on behalf of the board of directors,
"J. B. Smith, President.

"Chamber of Commerce, Manchester, August 13th."

Edward Ashworth, Esq., manufacturer, of Bolton, moved the adoption of the report, which was seconded by Thomas Bazzley, jun., Esq., borroughreeve of Salford, and carried unanimously.

Holland Hoole, Esq., moved the following resolution:—

"That this chamber must ever regard it as most desirable, that a constantly increasing quantity of the raw material upon which the capital, skill, and labour of the surrounding population are employed, should be derived from as numerous and diversified sources as possible, so that the danger of any interruption to its regular supply, whether from the vicissitudes of seasons, war, or the speculative operations of individuals, should be as far as possible prevented; and that these views are especially applicable to the lower qualities of cotton, upon which the greatest proportion of our machinery is employed."

Robert Gardner, Esq., seconded the motion.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

John Shuttleworth, Esq., then moved the following resolution:—

"That, from the experiments already made, this chamber feels convinced that cotton may be produced upon the soil of British India of a quality suited to the wants of a majority of the spinners and manufacturers of this country; and while it views with the most cordial satisfaction the steps already taken by the East India Company to effect this object, especially in sending out to India persons from the United States experienced in the cultivation of cotton, this chamber begs to express its earnest and respectful request that the directors of your honourable company will follow up their enlightened undertaking with a zeal proportioned to its importance to the best interests of the people of Great Britain and India; and that any obstruction or impediment that may exist to the rapidly augmenting production of cotton in our own eastern possessions may be entirely removed."

John Brooks, Esq., the boroughreeve of Manchester, seconded the resolution.

The resolution was then put and carried.

THE JAMAICA MARRIAGE ACT.

Letters from Jamaica complain loudly of the Marriage Act, which has been recently passed by the now busy legislature of that island. So far as we can ascertain, the evils alleged to exist in the new law are two:—the first, that dissenting ministers are not permitted to marry by licence; the second, that marriages performed by them are clogged with heavy and peculiar expenses. It will be in the recollection of many of our readers, that the important subject of marriage in the late slave colonies was earnestly taken up by Lord Glenelg, when colonial secretary, and that an order in council respecting it was issued under date of September 7th, 1838. This order had been very carefully drawn, and, while it became law at once in the crown colonies, was intended as a model for those which had legislatures of their own. It furnishes therefore the fair standard by which the act of the Jamaica legislature should be judged. Now, this order contains a clause expressly providing that all ministers who were authorized to marry by banns, should be authorized to marry by licence also. The following are the terms of the order:—

"And it is hereby further ordered, that where by any law in force, or which may hereafter be in force, in any of the colonies to which this order applies, by which licences for marriage without the publication of banns may be granted or issued in any such colony by the governor thereof, or any other civil authority therein, it shall be lawful for the parties intending marriage or either of them, to require that such licence shall authorise the solemnization of the marriage, in respect of which such licence is applied for, in any place where, and by any minister by whom such marriage could have been solemnized by virtue of this act if banns thereof had been published as aforesaid."

It is evident therefore that, in withholding such authority from dissenting ministers, the Jamaica legislature has departed from the course recommended to them by the home government. We can see no reason for such a deviation but a desire to prevent dissenting ministers from marrying the more elevated portion of the community, and to drive into the arms of the church and the clergy all who have a respectable standing in society, or who may be likely to present a handsome remuneration. This is undoubtedly an undisguised attempt to degrade the dissenting ministers, as compared with those of the establishment; and we should hope that the present secretary for the colonies would insist upon the alteration of so invidious an enactment.

The second ground of complaint is, that marriages by dissenting ministers are rendered injuriously expensive, as compared with those performed by the clergy: in the first place, heavy charges being annexed to all marriages by dissenters; and secondly, provision being made to enable ministers of the establishment to marry gratuitously. The charges annexed to a marriage by a dissenting minister arise in the following manner. The minister is to register the marriage in specified particulars in a book of his own; he is then to cause this document to be executed in duplicate by the same parties on a stamped paper; and this duplicate register is to be forwarded for safe keeping and official record to the secretary of the colony. Hence there is the charge of 1s. 8d. for the stamp; of 2s. 6d. for the recording fee; and double postage, which in many cases will be very heavy. Here is therefore an expense on the average of five shillings sterling, imposed by law on every marriage by a dissenting minister. Making marriage expensive would be a serious evil of itself, adapted, as it evidently would be, to repress those habits of virtuous association which every well-wisher to the emancipated population must desire to encourage. But it is doubly injurious in this case, because it is partial. Provision is made for the state-church minister to marry for nothing. This is not effected by any clause in the marriage act; but by another, which we believe is called the clergy act, by one enactment of which an allowance (if we are rightly informed, £200. sterling per annum) is granted out of the public funds—that is, out of the taxes—to every officiating clergyman, in order that he may perform without cost to the parties those professional services, for one of which every dissenting minister is obliged to make his friends pay so heavily. No one can mistake the *animus* here displayed. It is the church now wooing by bribes a long neglected and despised population, and endeavouring to degrade and thrust back from the station which their disinterested zeal has so justly earned for them, the men to whom Jamaica is indebted for almost all the

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religion, morality, and social order she possesses. This system of invidious distinction and substantial persecution must be viewed with disapprobation and regret by all enlightened friends of the establishment, and cannot fail to irritate the entire body of dissenters—and they are the great body of the people—in the island. This injury is the more galling, because the oppressive prerogatives of the clergy are all to be sustained by general taxation; and the very people who will have to pay five shillings to get themselves married by a dissenting minister, will have to pay out of their poverty towards the legislative allowance by which the clergy of the state church are enabled to marry others for nothing. They will have to pay, first, the cost of their own marriage, and then, in part, the cost of their neighbour's. This also is far from being in the spirit of the order in council, and we should hope it will not be allowed. A proper record of marriages there must be, and there will be expenses attending it; but surely it is both just and easy to provide that those expenses shall fall equally on the parties interested, and not with an oppressive partiality. We may add on the general question of expense, that we do not see why the duplicate register should be on a stamp, or why they should not be sent to the secretary of the colony postage free.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

THE AMERICANS AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

(From the *United States Gazette.*)

American vessels engaged in the slave-trade on the west coast of Africa during the spring and summer of 1839, whose names have been communicated to the Secretary of the Navy by Thomas Buchanan, Governor of Liberia, and Agent of the United States for re-captured Africans:—

The *Venus*, of Baltimore, a ship of 466 tons, sailed in April with 860 slaves on board for the Havana, W. Phillips, master. She is now, in November, reported to be back on the coast, fully armed and prepared for resistance. On her last voyage, she cleared, after paying all expenses, 200,000 dollars.

The *Traveller*, a Baltimore schooner, after coasting here for some weeks, collecting rice, &c., for the factories, sailed in May with a full cargo of slaves for the Havana. She is reported to be again on the coast.

The *Wyoming*, captured by H. B. M. brig *Buzzard*, and sent to the United States.

The *Eagle*, of Baltimore, sent home by a British cruiser.

In April, two American schooners sent into Sierra Leone by H. B. M. brigs *Lyle* and *Saracen*, completely fitted for the slave-trade.—The court would not receive them on account of their being Americans.

The *Hugh Boyle*, of Baltimore, a schooner of 120 tons, sailed in the spring with 460 slaves on board. She returned a short time since from Havana, and about the middle of October sailed again from the Gallinas with a full cargo of slaves.

The *Mary Ann Cassard* was taken, fitted for the slave-trade, and sent into Sierra Leone, by Lieut Kellett, of H. B. M. brig *Brisk*. The Court would not receive her, and Lieut. Kellett was amerced in damages for violating the American flag. Two weeks afterwards she was taken with more than 200 slaves.

The *Tago* was taken by the *Termagant*, and carried into Sierra Leone, completely fitted for slaves. The Court refused to receive her. Not long afterwards she was taken by the *Saracen*, just as she was about to receive her slaves on board. She had made away with the American flag and papers, and the Spanish up at the time; consequently she was condemned and cut up.

The *Euphrates*, of Baltimore, taken by Lord F. J. Russell, delivered to me in July, and sent to Philadelphia in August.

The *Jack Wilding*, of Baltimore, schooner, Wm. Young, commander, taken in British Acra, full cargo and 1100 doubloons, by H. B. M. brig *Dolphin*.

The *Waukun*, captured in New Cestors in July, then under Spanish, but a short time before under American colours, (of New Orleans.)

The *Victoria*, of New Orleans, on this coast during most of the summer, under American colours doing business for the slavers. She sailed from here with about 400 slaves, and was captured under Spanish colours at St. Jago de Cuba, with 270 on board, the rest having perished.

The *Rebecca*, of Baltimore, taken under Spanish colours, and carried into Sierra Leone and condemned. Her American papers and flag were found on board her, with a letter from her owner, J. Murphy, of Baltimore, directing the captain how to proceed—to destroy the American colours and papers when the slaves should be received, &c.

The *George Cook*, of Baltimore, W. Weems, master, sailed in September from Kabende, with 320 slaves.

The *Butterfly*, American brigantine, captured in English waters, and carried into Sierra Leone.

My Boy, schooner, of New Orleans. Last year she sailed from the coast with a full cargo of slaves. In October last she was captured at British Acra, fitted for the slave-trade—J. Harvey, master.

Charleston, of Charleston, sailed from Gallinas in January last, with 300 slaves.

Hyperion, of Baltimore, William Hackland, master, some time on the coast under American colours.—November, 1838, she was taken under Spanish colours and condemned.

Mary Cushing, of Baltimore, once taken and brought into Sierra Leone, and cleared on account of her American character. A few months afterwards, on the 21st of October, 1839, she was brought in with 427 slaves on board. Captain an American.

The *Mary*, of Baltimore, taken at Gallinas, completely fitted for the slave-trade, carried into Sierra Leone, cleared on account of her American character.

The *Sarah and Priscilla*, schooner, of Baltimore, now on the coast, all prepared for slaves.

ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENTS AT THE SOUTH.—We have reason to believe that Christians in slave-holding states are becoming more and more uneasy in view of the system of slavery, and that many are anxiously and prayerfully inquiring, "Lord what wilt thou have me to do?" The example of the Rev. Dr. Brisbane, late of South Carolina, in emancipating twenty slaves, is said to be exerting a powerful influence in the Baptist denomination at the south. A widow in the far south, belonging to the Presbyterian church, has communicated to a member of our committee her determination to emancipate all her slaves, some ten or twelve, and is now making arrangements to remove them to a free state. She acknowledges that she cannot hold them in slavery without violating the precepts of the go-pel, and wounding continually her conscience. When at the north some months since she declined partaking of the communion until she had freed herself from the legal relation in which she stood to her slaves. A gentleman residing in Maryland has recently addressed a letter to Mr. Birney, stating facts with regard to the enormities of the system of slavery even in that state—which have not, he is sure, been over-stated, and communicating the pleasing intelligence that he is making arrangements to emancipate on the soil, his own slaves. He states further that he has been brought to view the sinfulness of slavery, and the duty of immediate emancipation, by the writings of Mr. Birney. In view of these, and similar facts, Christians at the north have great encouragement to labour and pray for the diffusion of light, and the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the hearts and consciences of slave-holders.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—SUPPRESSION OF DOCUMENTS.—(From the *Colonial Reformer*)—We call the earnest attention of our readers to the following correspondence, between the executive and the colonial office, on one of the distorted features of the rent system. The first is a dispatch of our late excellent governor, Sir Lionel Smith, to Lord Normanby.

King's House, 17th June, 1839.

My lord,—I have the honour to enclose an opinion of the attorney-general's, to which I request your lordship's attention. Its effects upon the peasantry appear to me to be most mischievous, as it enables an overseer of a property to eject a labourer from his grounds at any time, and to take possession (as has been done in several instances) of the provisions which the labourer had planted.

I have great doubts whether this opinion upon the law is correct; and I therefore transmit it, that your lordship may, should you think proper, refer it to the crown law-officers at home.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LIONEL SMITH.

The Marquess of Normanby.

The cases on which the attorney-general's opinion had been sought, were reported by Mr. stipendiary justice Finlayson, and were to this effect:

That Mr. Sinclair, the attorney for Hampden, had sued two labourers, named Reid and Matthewson, for rent at 5s. per week—that no agreement had been entered into to pay such rent, but that they had been told they would be charged at that rate. Mr. Finlayson, on the matter being brought before the petty court, expressed the opinion, that, in the absence of any agreement to pay rent, the bench could not give judgment for the claim. Mr. Carnaby considered that as a specific demand was made for rent, and the parties remained in possession, they were liable to be sued for such rent, but he thought the demand too high, and that 3s. 4d. would be enough. The three local magistrates, however, were, as a matter of course, of opinion that their brother planter should have *all* he demanded, and judgment was accordingly given for the 5s. a week.

Mr. Finlayson, in submitting the case to the executive, explains his views of the case in the following terms—"My impression is, that unless a party shall voluntarily give up his former possession, and agree to pay rent, no rent can be legally demanded from him. It is then open to the proprietor to give the three months notice to quit and eject the party. If he remain in possession after the three months notice has expired, and after a specific amount of rent has been demanded, I should then, and not till then, hold him liable in payment of rent."

The soundness of Mr. Finlayson's opinion we should have imagined, would have been liable to no dispute; we had always understood that in such cases the magistrates had no summary jurisdiction—that the only legal remedy for the landlord was by an action on the case before a jury, for use and occupation. The attorney-general, however, it will be seen views the matter very differently. He gives the following

OPINION.

"Apparently the majority of magistrates decided properly, if the persons were weekly tenants before the notice of 5s.; if not tenants at all, they could be dispossessed without having recourse to 1 Vic. c. 3. When the term of a tenant has expired, if his landlord gives him notice of a certain rent in case he holds on, then, if he holds on, he must pay that rent."

(Signed.) D. O'REILLY.

Let us now proceed to lay before our readers the reply transmitted by the colonial office:—

Downing Street, 15th August, 1839.

Sir—Having referred your predecessor's despatch, No. 126, of the 17th June, relative to the liability of tenants in Jamaica under certain circumstances to pay rent, to her Majesty's law-officers, with the request that they would state whether they considered the view of the subject taken by the attorney-general of Jamaica to be correct, I have the honour to enclose to you for your *information* and guidance, a copy of the law-officers opinion, from which you will perceive *that they do not concur with the attorney-general of Jamaica in his construction of the law.*

I am, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

The Rt. Hon. Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart., G.C.B., &c. &c. &c.

So! The crown lawyers of Great Britain have decided that the opinion of the attorney-general of Jamaica (as usual) is bad law! We are now so accustomed to these things that we feel no surprise, but we are surprised that the government make no attempt to afford a permanent remedy to prevent the constant recurrence of the same evil.

But what we wish to draw especial attention to, is the fact, that although Lord Normanby says he has *enclosed* the opinions of the Queen's law-officers to our governor, for his *information* and *guidance*, yet the public

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up to this moment have been kept in profound ignorance of the existence of such a document! And what is still more mysterious is, that *that document*, although so pointedly referred to by the colonial secretary, is entirely suppressed in the papers laid before parliament, from which we have extracted this correspondence.

Whence then arises this most extraordinary suppression? and at whose instigation has it been done?

We trust that our friends in England will look to this; it appears exceedingly suspicious. We fear it is another sacrifice at the shrine of conciliation, and at the expense of the black population.

THE REV. T. E. WARD.—The Baptist Western Union have passed unanimously the following resolutions:—

I. That believing the great principle of English law that, "*a slave, on touching British ground immediately becomes free*," applies equally to the British Colonies, this meeting would protest against the manner in which such Africans as are rescued from slavery by her Majesty's cruizers are generally treated in this island.

II. That in the opinion of this meeting the apprenticeship to which the said Africans are subjected, is very little better in principle, and in many respects worse in practice, than that from which the labouring population of these colonies have recently been delivered; that husbands are liable to be separated from their wives, and brothers or other members of a family from each other; and should they abscond for the purpose of visiting their relatives, are still farther liable to be seized, fettered, and forced back to the scene of their bondage.

III. That this meeting highly approve of the conduct of their esteemed brother, the Rev. Thomas E. Ward, in attempting to secure the rights and privileges of the indented Africans, who, in consequence of being shamefully maltreated, recently fled from the property of Thos. M'Neel, Custos of Westmoreland, and were seized by the Trelawny Police, ironed, and conveyed to gaol, though bail had been repeatedly offered for them.

Courts of Reconciliation, as recommended by Sir C. Metcalfe, have been brought into operation in several parts of Jamaica. This is said to be another part of the scheme for getting rid of the stipendiary magistracy. We shall see how they will work.

The following is from the *Jamaica Dispatch*:—"A strong suspicion is entertained that the Chief Justice, Sir Joshua Rowe, will not return to this Island, to resume his seat in our superir courts; but that he is likely to receive a small pension for retiring. One thing is very certain—that the new Judicial Bill has excited considerable sensation; and that a stir has been made as to the appointments. Mr. Middleton has already sailed; and from the sale of Mr. M'Dougall's furniture, &c. it seems he has some intention of quitting the Island. We are not certain, however, whether these gentlemen are candidates for the bench,—but it is as likely as unlikely. Time will show all things!"

The reply of the grand Jury at a late assize in this Island furnishes the following extracts:—"It is gratifying to us to have the testimony of your honour in favour of the general good conduct of the labouring population, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made to mislead and delude them. That there is an indisposition to continuous labour is most true, but it is to be principally attributed to the nature of things arising from a fertile soil and warm climate, where the wants are few and nature furnishing everything.

"We regret that owing chiefly, to excessive drought, the Island will yield a very small return of its staple commodity, and we fear that, in some situations, the ensuing crop will suffer materially from the same cause."

The drought is thus referred to by the same paper elsewhere:—"A gentleman just arrived from St. Mary, gives us an unfavourable account of the state of that parish. He reports that estates are suffering from severe drought, that the canes have been materially injured, particularly the young plants—there is no water for the mills, and that they are obliged to carry water in puncheons for the use of the boiling and still houses."

The same paper expresses its "absolute opinion" that, without "a very large increase of labourers within a short period, the agricultural prospects of the island will be totally blighted." Is immigration, then, a remedy for *drought*, as well as every other ill? Even Sir Simon Haughton Clark has "expressed his determination of sending out a thousand labourers to his own estates." "First catch your hare," Sir Simon. The condition of course is, that they are to be turned off at a moment's notice if they refuse an invitation to a profligate revel.

BARBADOS.—DESPERATE EFFORTS TO PREVENT EMIGRATION. [From the *Liberal*.] The following brief description of a scene which took place in the police office of the *notorious* Dr. Bascom, we lay before the public for their consideration, and for that of his Excellency Sir Evan John Macgregor likewise. His Excellency cannot fail to perceive that he has a duty to perform—a duty, so plainly, so obviously, so unequivocally necessary, that we have hardly a doubt of his shrinking from its performance. It is time indeed that the character of the magistracy of this colony should be relieved from the stigma cast on it, by the appointment of men who every day afford instances, not only of their want of self-respect, but of regard for the majesty of the law and the dignity of their sovereign.

Cadwallader Redman was summoned to attend at the police station of *St. Joseph*, as a witness against W. C. Hoppe for a breach of the gagging act; when there, he was himself placed at the bar, and arraigned on a similar charge, without having the least previous notice, and consequently without the opportunity of preparing his defence or citing witnesses.

During the trial, Mr. Day was observed in the office, and the investigation was suspended by the following proceedings.

Dr. Bascom sent for a police sergeant, and on his entering the room, pointed to Mr. Day, and in a loud voice directed him to bring that man to the bar. The following colloquy then ensued.

Day.—I have received no summons.

Bascom.—Come to that bar.

Day.—It will require force to place me there.

The policeman was directed to place Mr. Day at the bar, and hands being laid upon him, Mr. Day walked up.

Bascom.—What business have you here?

Day.—This is a public office, I am interested in the trial, and I claim a right to be here.

Bascom.—I order you, sergeant Marshall, to put that man out of the office.

Day.—I will not go unless forcibly put out.

Bascom.—You are the fellow, the notorious enemy of the country, who are going about seducing the people away.

Day.—You are a notorious liar, I'll not allow an imputation so grossly personal to pass unanswered on the spot.

Bascom.—Go out of the office, you have no business here.

Day.—I will not go unless forced out.

Bascom.—Sergeant Marshall, I order you to take that man out of the station house, put him out of the yard.

The policeman hereupon gently took hold of Mr. Day's arm, who, making no resistance, was quietly led out, Bascom remarking as he went:—Stop my boy, I'll show you something. I'll cool you.

The trial then proceeded, and Redman being as a matter of course convicted, was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty pounds, or suffer three months imprisonment.

Redman gave notice of appeal, and being required to give bail for the prosecution of the appeal, brought forward Mr. Day and another, but Dr. Bascom refused to accept Mr. Day, although that gentleman offered to swear to his qualification; and Redman being unable to bring forward another, he is consigned to jail until his appeal shall be heard.

Mr. Hoppe was also convicted and sentenced to the fine of £50, from which he appealed likewise.

WE are happy to inform the public that the decision of Police Magistrate Applewhaite in the case of Mr. Brown, whom he wished to make pay a fine of £50 for a breach of the Emigration Act, for hiring his cart to bring a few articles to Bridge-town, was *reversed* on Thursday last. Mr. Hoppe's appeal against Dr. Bascom's conviction and sentence of £50 penalty was also heard and modified to £25. Mr. Hoppe preferred another appeal to the governor and council.—*Liberal*.

The trial of Mr. John Taylor, on a charge of selling British subjects into slavery in Texas, came on in the court of vice-admiralty on the 26th of June. He was found guilty, and sentenced to transportation for fourteen years. Out of the six persons so enslaved, five have been recovered by the efforts of the British government, to which it is said the Texian authorities have readily lent their assistance.

"Something must be done to stop emigration," say the proprietors. *Leave it to itself*, is the reply, we make,—and has not the experience of three months proved that we were right? Look at the *Barbadian* of the 6th instant, speaking of this bone of contention, the emigration act: "At the same time we must say we expect it *will* be disallowed.—we have *always thought so!*—and although we do not blame the legislature for passing the act, yet we have an opinion, that *if things had been left to take their course*, without passing any *restrictive* acts, it would have been better for the country."—*Liberal*.

ANTIGUA.—Sir William Colebrooke has made another effort, by a circular despatch, to induce the legislatures of the Leeward islands to concur in the erection of circuit courts, but without success. In concluding his message to the house of assembly in Antigua after their refusal, he says, "The claims of this community to respect for the enlightened course it pursued during the eventful changes of 1834, and the expectations which they naturally raised, will enhance the disappointment which the decision of your honourable house must occasion—I do not, however, regret having again endeavoured to obtain your support to a measure so essential to the due protection of the constitutional rights and privileges of all classes of the people."

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.—Eleven persons who had emigrated from this island to Demerara have lately returned, giving an unfavourable account of the climate, and of the inordinate labour required of them.—*Advertiser*.

DOMINICA.—The editor of the *Dominican* gives the following historical review of the causes and progress of the political contentions of which this island has been the theatre and the victim.

"Although not yet prominently set forth and averred, yet no man who has bestowed the smallest degree of attention on the character and progress of the political warfare that has been waging in this island for the last seven years, will deny that it is a contest which has arisen in the repeated and unwise attempts, from the moment the coloured people became possessed of political rights, of a few of our *white* brethren, headed by Mr. Blanc, now happily no longer in the council, to "keep down" the *coloured* people, and mark them out as a distinct and inferior class, by the silent but sure operation of legislative enactment, aided by a course of policy in the judicial tribunals, whether civil or criminal, which plainly intimated to the coloured man to beware of his political opinions—to beware how he voted at an election—how he voted in the legislature. It is no novelty in this island to state, that the history of the present hostile feeling of many of our white brethren against the coloured people (which after all forms the main ingredient of the distracted state of things) is the history of the political manœuvres of Mr Blanc to "keep down" the coloured people, in order that he might preserve the unlimited and irresponsible power, so arbitrarily exercised in his long day of sunshine, which the situations of attorney-general and leader of the council, added to powerful influence in the house of assembly, may so easily command in a West Indian community.

"Although in 1832, when the coloured people first exercised their political rights, it was perfectly in their power to return to the assembly more than *three* gentlemen from among their body, yet they gave a proof of their moderation—forgot and forgave the long struggle and large expense to which they had been put in pursuit of their rights—by returning that small number out of the *nineteen* composing the assembly. No long space of time had intervened, before it became manifest that no attention was paid in the assembly to the opposition of those gentlemen to measures pursued in furtherance of the usual old policy; in consequence of which, vacancies occurring, two more coloured persons were elected. Soon after, these five gentlemen, thus honoured by the bulk of

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the electors, were insulted in the legislature, and the coloured population through them, by the passage of a *Census Bill*, objected to by them, and subsequently rejected by the executive on the very ground of *their* objection, under which the population of the island was to be ascertained, with a classification to distinguish the "*free* persons of colour," from the "white persons," and this too at a time when there were no *slaves* in the island. The ill feeling which this subject naturally generated, added to the unsuccessful attempts of the coloured members to procure the passing of any measure introduced by them, even a trifling grant for educational purposes, produced the first overt symptom of a class division between the white and coloured inhabitants, evinced on the return of coloured gentlemen at several subsequent elections, and accompanied by a gradual but marked alienation of kind feelings towards us, even in our more private relations with our white brethren, for unfortunately Mr. Blanc's idea of putting down a political opponent stretches even to the beggaring him if possible. The increased and increasing strength of the coloured members in the lower house, although still liable to be borne down by mere majority, had the beneficial effect of disposing their white fellow-members to relax the stern aspect previously shown, by at last consenting to an educational grant, and to a bill for exempting persons from certain onerous fees (the fruitful source of extreme distress to the poorer classes) who might be acquitted on trial at the criminal sessions, or against whom bills of indictment might be ignored; but Mr. Blanc was in the council, and that was sufficient for the rejection of such measures in that branch of the legislature. The indication, however, thus given by our white brethren in the assembly of liberal sentiments was hailed by the coloured people as a sign of future good, and future enlargement of principles, but we were soon and grievously disappointed. William the Fourth of blessed memory died—a new assembly was to be chosen—the power of the coloured people was begun to be felt, and the result of the general election was apprehended on the score of the many causes of dissatisfaction which had been given them—and most unwisely, most inopportunely did Mr. Blanc advise the immediate passing of a measure to alter the election law. The introduction and passing of this bill on the eve of a general election—visibly calculated as were its provisions to "keep down" the coloured people, naturally became the signal for an entire class division. A public meeting was convened for the purpose of petitioning the Queen against the measure—*all* were invited to the meeting—*not one white person would join*—the coloured population alone petitioned, and the result was that the bill was rejected by her Majesty, and the coloured people were thus proved to have been right in the view taken by them of that measure. Pending the interval of this rejection, Mr. Blanc did not neglect the means of influencing the approaching elections. If the coloured people could be divided—if the less enlightened among them could be successfully tampered with, his point would be gained the presence of the great Mr. Blanc, the privy councillor and attorney-general, in the humble dwelling of an unenlightened coloured voter, when the shades of evening had assumed the hue which proverbially embrowns the French cat, and under cover whereof a shake of the hand might be stealthily interchanged, was deemed and undertaken as a master-stroke of policy—Mr. Blanc did not succeed. *Sur ces entrefaites* arrived here the Roman Catholic bishop, his lordship of Agna, who for some time before had contemplated the establishment of schools and a few more chapels in this island. Mr. Blanc endeavoured to turn this pastoral visit to good political account. The bulk of the coloured population profess the Romish faith. The governor, Mr. Light, assenting, Mr. Blanc procured a sort of council to be held at government house, and gulled the bishop with the belief that the legislative council were favourable to the establishment of Roman Catholic schools and places of religious worship! Nay more, that so soon as the new house of assembly should be elected, his lordship might rest assured of receiving a large grant of money to carry out these objects. The condition of this promise of support appears to have been, that the bishop should harangue his flock in such fashion as to make the coloured voters understand that Mr. Blanc was their best political friend; accordingly, out came the first political sermon ever pronounced in the island, but it did not take; the coloured voters shrewdly said their good bishop *thought* they were mistaken, but they *knew* he was; and the sequel showed that the poor bishop *had been* gulled, for when the new assembly did pass resolutions granting a sum of money to aid in the establishment of the schools and chapels in question, a change came "o'er the spirit of his dream," and Mr. Blanc procured their rejection in council.

These various and crooked means failing, Her Majesty's privy councillor and attorney-general, with a name and a fame which he had rendered formidable before all the courts of the island, presented himself at the hustings to broach a new interpretation of the election law, and to convince the returning officer that the sense uninterruptedly put upon that law for sixty years before was erroneous; nay, that he, Mr. Blanc himself had all along been mistaken when on former occasions he had advocated the claim to vote under the same given circumstances. The returning officer, who was playing his part, lacked the courage in so much good company to tell Mr. Blanc he was both right and wrong, so that the length of time and Mr. Blanc's own former practice prevailed, and the coloured people ruled at the elections. We will pass over the detail of manœuvres by means of which, under the able guidance of Mr. attorney-general, the assembly thus constitutionally and legally elected, was, under Mr. Light's unfriendly administration made a farce of, and became a nullity; suffice it to say, that that assembly was dissolved without a meeting, and a new one ordered to be elected. At this stage of affairs Mr. Blanc, no doubt feeling he had gone far enough without succeeding, and that the moderation of the coloured people might find a limit under the pressure of the atrocious character of the schemes to which he was perpetually resorting, abandoned because he could not master the field. Not one white candidate appeared at the hustings. The coloured people were not such dolts as to follow his example. After quietly electing ten members from among themselves, they as quietly polled and elected the remaining number from among their white brethren, thereby giving a convincing proof that they did not fight against *colour*. This tender of friendly feeling was however rejected for a time, by the white gentlemen thus elected abstaining from taking their seats. The new house, in the view of further conciliation, altered the usual rule, by extending the time within which a member after election must take his seat; this step afforded time for reflection, and produced the desired effect. So soon as the former speaker appeared, an additional proof was given of our anxiety to cherish the growth of better feelings, by the coloured speaker (necessarily chosen speaker at the opening of the session,) resigning the chair in order that the former occupant might re-assume it. We do not know whether our white brethren ever gave us credit for even this evident sign of a conciliatory spirit, but it is certain that the Marquis of Normanby, the then colonial minister, made it the subject of his special notice and of his marked approbation.

Mr. Blanc, who had now no influence in the lower house, had still in reserve another and the last, but delicate string to his bow. If he could no longer procure the assembly to reject government measures, and to fight the battle of opposition with the colonial office, the last desperate effort could still be made of getting the council to do so. The effort was made, and lasted some eighteen months down to last April, during which period the island remained literally without any law to meet the new system, and if the good conduct of the agricultural labourers remained unabated during this long period of anarchy and misrule, let Mr. Blanc, and such as may still be inclined to adhere to his policy be assured, that this has been owing to the confidence entertained by the peasantry that the house of assembly, as now composed, would see their newly acquired rights protected.

It is fortunate, however, under all these untoward circumstances, and when it appeared impossible for the council and assembly to agree to any one single enactment, that the parent government should have blessed this island with the administration of Major M'Phail, our present lieutenant governor, who, by the simple act of suspending Mr. Blanc from the council, (a step for which just as much reason existed ten years ago,) procured the instantaneous passing of some fourteen important bills, most of which had been passed over and over, and session after session, by the assembly, and called for throughout the island. Were they not called for? Before the passing of these bills could the planter invoke redress if his labourer had violated the terms of his agreement? He could not. Had the labourer any one to complain to if the master had not abided by his? He had not. Was there anything like adequate provision for the infirm poor among the former apprenticed labourers? None. Was not there a police force, but was there any law for the police to administer? None. Was not the barbarous law still maintained, under which persons could be sent to jail for court fees who at the criminal court might be acquitted by the petit jury, or against whom bills of indictment might be ignored by the grand jury—a law which had entailed such suffering upon persons depending on their daily labour for their daily bread, as to have induced even the old assembly to pronounce, though vainly, against it, and to have become the subject both of presentment by the grand jury, and of repeated remonstrance from the colonial minister? Lastly the character of our community will soon be elevated by the legislative grant of a few pounds for educational purposes. We might go on multiplying the numerous benefits thus derived by the colony through the manly and straight-forward course taken by Major M'Phail in removing Mr. Blanc from the council—indeed, his Excellency would have laid the community under lasting obligation, if this step had been taken to procure the enactment of any one single measure of the few we have enumerated.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In our report of the proceedings of the convention we have to make two corrections. 1st.—In the discussion on the disuse of slave-produce (p. 204) Messrs. Josiah Forster and Isaac Crewdson, *instead of* supporting the resolution as it stood, objected to it *in toto*. 2nd.—Dr. G. K. Prince (erroneously spelt *Price*) stated, (p. 207) that in Jamaica, "*many* of the slave-*holders*"—not *slaves*—"who had been active in destroying chapels, had not been backward in providing resources for raising them again."

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 26TH.

THE Queen has been pleased, in her speech on the prorogation of parliament, to take gracious notice of the island of Jamaica, and of the West Indies generally, in the following terms.

"The legislative bodies of Jamaica have applied themselves to the preparation of laws rendered necessary or expedient by the altered state of society. Some of these laws require revision and amendment, but I have every reason to expect cordial assistance from the Assembly of Jamaica, in the salutary work of improving the condition and elevating the character of the inhabitants of that colony. The conduct of the emancipated negros throughout the West Indies has been remarkable for tranquil obedience to the law, and a peaceable demeanour in all the relations of social life."

We are happy in having to record so high a testimony to the admirable conduct of our emancipated fellow-subjects. We trust and believe that they will continue to deserve, not only this, but more ample commendation. As to the legislative bodies of Jamaica, who have certainly applied themselves diligently enough to the business of law-making, we hope they will ponder this announcement from the throne, that of their laws "require revision and amendment." They have, no doubt, been told of this officially through Sir Charles Metcalfe; but the putting of this declaration into the mouth of her Majesty is a further step, and we trust it may be taken as an indication that the government are resolved that amendment shall be made. The Queen can scarcely be recommended to give her sanction to laws which she has thus solemnly declared to be unfit to go into operation. We are happy to see by the way that Lord John Russell has intimated to the colonial legislatures, by a circular despatch, that, if acts in which an alteration is recommended by the government are not taken into consideration within three months of their session, it will be taken as an indication that they do not mean to alter them at all. This measure has been called for by the habit, on the part of colonial legislatures, of leaving such recommendations long unnoticed, so that the law continues quietly in operation, without the sanction of her Majesty in council.

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During the past month the exertions of our friends in the extension of anti-slavery organization throughout England have been vigorous and unceasing. After the great meeting at Birmingham, Mr. Scoble, with Messrs. Birney and Stanton in company, started on a second tour. Their first point was Leeds, in the music hall of which town a public meeting was held on the 30th of July, W. Smith, Esq., the mayor, presiding. During the proceedings the saloon was quite filled, and part was taken by the Revs. T. Scales. J. Yeadon, J. Ely, and J. E. Giles, together with Messrs. Birney, Stanton, Scoble, and Jowitt. The meeting was adapted to produce important results. At Hull our friends attended a public meeting which is described in their correspondence as extremely numerous and respectable, and which was devoted to the reception of information from the deputation. On this occasion, we are sorry to learn, the statement of Mr. Birney, notwithstanding his invariable candour and carefulness, led one of the clergymen present to the use of some offensive expressions towards that gentleman, going so far as even to question his veracity; a point on which he effectually set himself right with the auditory by a second address, and was powerfully sustained by Messrs. Stanton and Scoble. The cheers of the meeting were sufficient to assure Mr. Birney that he was fully believed, and that his high character and noble conduct were duly appreciated. On the evening of the 6th of August, a public meeting was held at North Shields, in the Scotch kirk, which had been kindly lent for the occasion, and the minister of which, the Rev. Mr. Thompson, presided. Owing to the Methodist conference being in session at Newcastle, the assembly was small, but resolutions of a satisfactory character were unanimously adopted. "On the following evening," says Mr. Scoble, whose words we will here quote, "we held our first meeting in Newcastle, the right worshipful the mayor in the chair, who gave us a hearty welcome and a good speech. A considerable part of our audience was composed of Wesleyans, principally ministers, who listened with astonishment and evident incredulity to the statements of Mr. Birney, as he laid bare the corruptions of the American churches, especially that of their own denomination. His remarks on the late decision of the Baltimore conference, rejecting in future the testimony of *coloured* members, whether bond or free, against *white* members, in all the states where the municipal laws have decided that it shall not be received in civil or criminal cases, called up our old friend the Rev., W. M. Bunting in explanation of the course pursued by the president of the conference, the Rev. Robert Newton, who was supposed to have been present at the sitting of the American conference when the abominable decision was arrived at. He stated that Mr. Newton was not present at the time—that he had borne an honest and bold testimony against slavery and prejudice against colour—and concluded by giving his most entire condemnation to the proceedings of the pro-slavery Wesleyans in America. When it was found that a deep interest had been excited by our meeting, it was decided that it should be adjourned to the following Monday; and that we should procure a larger place, as the Friends' Meeting House, in which we were assembled, was too small. The adjourned meeting was held in the chapel of the Primitive Methodists in Nelson Street, John Fenwick, Esq., *locum tenens* for the mayor, in the chair. Mr. Birney delivered a most masterly statement in continuation of the evidence on the corrupt state of the churches in America. Both his speech and Mr. Stanton's were listened to with the deepest interest and attention, and produced an immense effect on a most crowded assembly. It was supposed that there were at least sixty members of the Wesleyan conference present. At this part of the evening it was found that the chartists had made their entrance among us, for as soon as the chairman had proposed a resolution for the adoption of the meeting, one Finloch, a drunken fellow, insisted upon being heard. From that moment all became noise and confusion; no one could be heard, and finally the meeting was dissolved. Our friends, however, were determined not to be beaten by the socialists and chartists, and another meeting was called for the following Wednesday, when we met and carried our resolutions unanimously. In the meantime we learnt that considerable excitement was felt among the Wesleyans; that American slavery was the great subject of discussion; that there were conflicting opinions as to the course to be pursued; and that, finally, a letter to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society (said to have been drafted by Dr. Bunting) from the conference, signed by its president and secretary, should be forwarded as an official and solemn declaration of their adoption of the resolution affirming the essential sinfulness of slavery, and that a strong resolution should be passed condemnatory of the proceedings of the Baltimore conference on the subject of coloured testimony. Both these movements must be considered as of the very highest importance to our cause. For, in the first place, they will settle the course of the Wesleyans throughout the kingdom on the subject of slavery, and will bring them out to our public meetings; in the second place, they will fall like a thunder-bolt on the pro-slavery Wesleyans of the United States, and will mightily strengthen the hands and sustain the efforts of the Wesleyan abolitionists of that country; and in the third place, as the united testimony of so very influential a body of christian ministers, it will tell powerfully on the general question of the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. I am most happy to mention that when the address from the Baltimore conference to the British conference was read, it was received with great disapprobation by all present, and that the conference unanimously decided that so shameful a document should not 'pollute' the record of their proceedings. When it was moved that the address should be laid on the table, I am informed that many cried out 'No! put it under the table!' This fact I have on the best authority."

The address of Mr. Bunting on this occasion we deem of so much importance that we shall insert it (with an unimportant omission for the sake of brevity,) as reported in the *Newcastle Courant*, together with that portion of Mr. Birney's speech to which it refers.

Mr. Birney, after narrating the adoption by the Methodist Episcopal conference at Baltimore of the obnoxious resolution concerning coloured testimony, thus proceeded:—He had understood that the gentleman (the Rev. Robert Newton) who represented the Methodists of this country at the late conference at Baltimore, was in every way worthy of the high commission with which he was charged. He doubted not, from what he had seen in the papers, that no gentleman in the whole connexion could have stirred up the people of America more to righteousness on this subject, or put down the persecution which was going on in a more signal manner, than this gentleman. Nor did he mean to say that he had not done it. Whilst he (Mr. Birney) read the extract from the speech of the bishop, he had no reason to say that this gentleman did not tell the conference what the abolitionist representing the Wesleyans of this country should have told them. When he returned to America, might he not hope that the eloquence which had been used so signally on other occasions would be found to have been exerted there, and to have been followed by corresponding effects? And if it were not followed in this way—if he could not persuade that conference to desist from an act throwing such disgrace upon itself and those connected with it, he could not have done a better thing for America, for the cause of emancipation, and for the cause of religion, than to have shaken off the dust from his feet and left them. (Loud applause.) He did hope such would yet be found to have been the course which that distinguished gentleman had thought it right to pursue.

The Rev. W. M. Bunting said:—It was his honour to have been deputed to attend the late Anti-Slavery Convention, and nothing but a severe accident would have prevented him from fulfilling his duty on that occasion. With some exceptions which candour might not deem offensive just to refer to in the proceedings of that convention—disclaiming, for instance, some eulogies on one particular individual on whom he would not dwell, but whom he could prove to have been a betrayer (Cries of "No, no,")—whom, he repeated, he could prove to have been a betrayer of that great cause—and disclaiming also certain censures and imputations upon members of his (Mr. Bunting's) church, and upon members and ministers of the episcopal church of this country, which he was prepared to prove were entirely unjust;—with these, and some other points of exception, he begged to record thus publicly, his concurrence in its objects, its resolutions, and its general christian spirit, and his admiration of the leading parties in that conference (applause.) His principal design in now rising was to correct a statement which had been made in reference to the venerable body of ministers of which he (Mr. B.) was an unworthy member. He understood Judge Birney had assumed, that, during the proceedings of the late conference in Baltimore, which gave birth to that most infamous and detestable resolution—refusing to coloured persons in the slave-states the right to give evidence on church-trials—that during those proceedings the excellent and high-minded minister, whom the votes of the British conference had just placed at its head, was present, and gave by his presence a tacit and implied sanction to that resolution. Now he had it in charge from himself to say that such was not the fact; and that he had been in this respect, no doubt very unintentionally, but still entirely misrepresented. Mr. Newton was the bearer of, he believed, the fourth remonstrance against the system of American Slavery, especially as it obtained within the American episcopal church, which the conference had sent from this country. And he (Mr. Bunting) should have been thankful, would their time have permitted, to have made use of a host of American papers which recorded the proceedings of the Baltimore conference, and which proved to him that, by his fidelity, he must have rendered both himself and the body he represented, obnoxious to their brethren on the other side of the water. As one evidence of this he might state, it was carried by an overwhelming majority that the address of the British conference should not be published in America. Every body must see the reason of that. Had it been in accordance with their own spirit, they would have been glad to circulate it. Mr. Newton, he had further to say, was present during the first fortnight of the proceedings of the Baltimore conference; and though he had no vote or jurisdiction in that assembly, he took every opportunity that offered of reiterating and enforcing the unanimous and zealous sentiments of the British conference in reference to this subject. He was compelled, however, by his preaching engagements, to leave Baltimore a day or two before the question of the admission of coloured evidence came on. "Previously to this," said Mr. Bunting, "Mr. Newton took a private opportunity of saying to leading members of the conference,—'The eyes of the whole civilized and Christian world are upon you. I warn you to beware what course you pursue.' Now this is all, I declare conscientiously, that I think it was in the power of our representative to do. Beyond these reiterated remonstrances, it is impossible for us, consistently with the circumstances of the American episcopal church, which are different from our own, to have proceeded. There is only one step further which we could take. And in coming to conference, I assure you it was an anxious question with me whether we ought not to proceed to something more practical, amounting to a disclaimer of all future connexion with the American church while she continued in sin, (applause.) If you will permit me I will just tell you on what grounds I came to the negative of that question. In the first place, because by such a step we should forfeit the opportunity and right of reiterating the remonstrances which experience proved had already been in a great degree effective; and in the second place, because I considered that, while there are to be found some of the worst specimens of fallen nature in America, there are also to be found there some of the noblest specimens of humanity. I know that memorials from upwards of 10,000 Methodists had been presented to the Baltimore conference in favour of abolition, and that among them were upwards of 500 ministers; and I was informed that they constituted only a tenth part of the members of the Episcopal Methodist church of America who hold the same sentiments. I thought in these circumstances, that not only was it inexpedient to lose our influence over the delinquent majority, and our opportunities of re-

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monstrating against their misdoings from time to time, but that it would be further ungenerous in us to desert that noble band of abolitionists, who expect so much from our sympathy and support. Hence I came to the conclusion, that it was advisable to maintain that sort of ceremonious intercourse with our American brethren, which would retain to us the opportunity of exercising such moral influence as we possessed over them, and give support and countenance to those of the ministers and people who are abolitionists, and who, I trust, are destined in brief time to become the majority. I for one,—and I know that there are those present, members of the same conference, to whose sympathies I am indebted on this occasion still more than to your indulgence—I, for one, would never belong to any section of the catholic church of Christ which would not employ its practical influence in this righteous cause within the limits of anything like Christian discretion; on the contrary, I feel proud that I have the privilege to belong to a denomination which has never withheld its protest against slavery all the world over, but particularly against that noxious, pestilential, mephytic, and abominable system, which obtains in liberty-canting but slave-holding America.—(Applause). I imagine that I do not improperly disclose any part of the proceedings of my reverend brethren, when I state that only this morning an appeal to their sympathy was presented from the committee of this association, of which I am as good a member as any of you; and that by an individual, to whom nothing but the delicacy of relationship prevents me from referring with reverential eulogy. An answer was proposed, and on his motion adopted, pledging the British conference to the renewal of all those efforts and expostulations against the system of American slavery by which it has hitherto been distinguished (applause).

Mr. BIRNEY disclaimed the slightest intention to impugn the conduct of Mr. Newton; but to show the futility of transmitting protests to the American conference, he had only to mention that they were laid on the table as things unfit for publication, and their contents carefully kept from the eyes of the world. Nothing, in fact, was known of them out of the American conference. If he could be furnished with copies of all the addresses which had been sent from the British to the American conference, he should see to their publication in America.

Mr. BUNTING observed, that the addresses previous to that of last year had all been circulated with the conference minutes.

Mr. BIRNEY—I shall be much obliged to you for copies of them.

Mr. BUNTING—Certainly; and I shall be most happy to share with you the expense of their circulation. (Applause.)

Owing to the absence from home of G. H. Head, Esq., a public meeting could not be held, as had been intended, at Carlisle. Arrangements for holding one at Kendal were also frustrated by providential circumstances; but some good it is hoped was done here by private and social interviews. "On Wednesday evening," (we again have recourse to the words of Mr. Scoble) "according to appointment, we held a public meeting at Lancaster, Edward Dawson, Esq., of Adcliffe Park, a county magistrate, in the chair. We found him to be a true friend to the cause, and a man of great influence and piety. On his return from the continent I have reason to hope a society will be organised, auxiliary to our own. The meeting was held in the commodious building used by the society of Friends for religious worship, and was exceedingly well attended. The Independent minister, Mr. Bell, and other influential persons were present. Last evening we held our meeting in this town (Preston) at the theatre, John Furness, Esq., in the chair. It was a good meeting, and so strong an impression was made that I am expecting this morning to meet a party of gentlemen to form an auxiliary. The Wesleyan superintendent of this circuit, the Rev. Mr. ———, and the Rev. Mr. Bedford, of the same denomination, were present, as were also the Rev. Mr. Giles, (Baptist,) and the Rev. Messrs. Carson and Slate, (Independents,) and several private gentlemen on the platform. Mr. Bedford made a good speech, and I am quite satisfied that the Wesleyans now intend to bestir themselves; they have only been waiting for the decision of conference."

While Mr. SCOBLE has been thus actively engaged in the north, the esteemed treasurer of the society, has been similarly employed in the south, aided by Mr. Stanton. The proceedings of this deputation we venture to give from Mr. Alexander's letter, in the form of a journal:—

"*July 17th.*—Meeting at Chatham. John Fincham in the chair. The first speaker, after the opening of the meeting by the chairman, was Samuel Medley, an elderly gentleman, who addressed the audience in a very interesting manner. He referred to the days of his early boyhood, when he resided at Liverpool, at that time the great seat of the slave-trade, and when not more than two persons could be found who had the virtue and moral courage openly to denounce this odious traffic. In visiting the ships engaged in this trade, he had early formed a very decided opinion of the cruel and indefensible character of the commerce in men—an opinion which he was then told by some of his seniors would change with riper years; but it had remained unalterable, and he had the satisfaction of knowing that his juvenile detestation of the slave-trade and slavery was now in unison with the sentiments of the whole British people. We cannot, however, notice the various interesting observations made by this and subsequent speakers. Among those who took part in the proceedings of the meeting were William Williams, a Wesleyan minister, William Lewis, a Baptist minister, and a young man, a grandson of S. Medley, besides the deputation. The meeting was well attended and highly satisfactory. William Lewis, not having had an opportunity to address more than a few words to the meeting, expressed his willingness to give a lecture on the subject of slavery, &c., on a future occasion, an offer which was very gladly accepted.

"*July 18th.* Meeting at Rochester;—Clayton, a clergyman, in the chair. The meeting was well attended, and was addressed by — Drawbridge, minister of the Established church, the Wesleyan minister who took part in the meeting at Chatham, and the deputation. The chairman, in concluding the meeting, made an interesting and affecting allusion to the advantage which the cause of religion appeared to have derived from the abolition of slavery, as stated by the Bishop of Jamaica and other witnesses. He remarked, that if only one soul had been brought to a saving knowledge of Christ in consequence of the religious advantages enjoyed in the state of freedom as compared with that of slavery, it was a rich reward for the twenty millions which the people of England had paid for abolition. George Hawker, rector of St. Nicholas parish, Rochester, had kindly consented to take the chair, but was prevented by being unexpectedly under the necessity of going to London.

"*July 19th.* Meeting at Maidstone. Was large, and was addressed by — Jenkins, Independent Minister, the Baptist Minister, — Spong and others. A society was regularly formed on this occasion, and the deputation have the satisfaction of reporting that active means are in progress to collect funds for the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. There is also reason to believe that a Ladies' Association will be shortly established in this town.

"*July 20th.* Meeting at Canterbury.—Cresswell, Independent minister was in the chair, and addressed the meeting in a very interesting speech.—Davies, Baptist minister, and the deputation took part in the proceedings. An Anti-Slavery Society does not at present exist at Canterbury, but the chairman gave the deputation an assurance that a society should be formed in this important town.

"*July 21st.* Meeting at Margate. This meeting was small, partly, perhaps, in consequence of a religious meeting held the same evening. We however hope that it may not have been wholly useless. It is no small cause of satisfaction to the friends of the negro in the labour in which they are engaged, if they can believe that, in some humble measure, they are promoting an object identified to so great an extent, with practical christianity."

In addition, we have to mention that a public meeting of the friends of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade was held at Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, on Thursday evening the 6th instant, at the Friends' Meeting House. W. Mackworth Dolben, Esq., of Finedon Hall, took the chair. The Revs. C. P. Vivian, Thomas Sanderson, E. Craig, of Burton Latimer, J. Renals, R. Davies, and G. Taylor; Messrs. Chapman, Bearn, Corrie, Keep, Curtis, &c., &c., were present, and the room was well filled. By the third resolution, an Auxiliary Society for the town and neighbourhood was constituted, and the formation of a Ladies' Branch recommended. W. M. Dolben, Esq., was appointed President; the Rev. C. P. Vivian and Charles Hill, Esq., Vice-Presidents; Mr. Chapman, Treasurer; and Rev. G. Taylor, Secretary.

WE have great pleasure in noticing the *entire* accordance of the resolutions passed at several of the late anti-slavery meetings with the important non-communion resolutions of the convention. Those adopted at Newcastle are in the following terms:—

"That this meeting deeply sympathizes with their American brethren in their struggle to deliver 'the home of the brave and the free' from the moral pollutions of slavery and the distinction of colour; and expresses its firm conviction, that were the churches of Christ, as in duty they ought, to make these delinquencies matters of discipline, a death-blow would be given to sins against which the voice of nature itself cries out.

"That this meeting most deeply deplores the fact that several of the churches in the United States of North America are stained with the sin of slavery—a sin repugnant to our common Christianity; and this meeting therefore earnestly appeals to every section of the Christian church in this island, to adopt such measures as may be deemed most effectual to induce our American brethren to put away, at once and for ever, this deadly evil from amongst them."

With equal pleasure we see the same sentiment distinctly embodied in the following preamble and resolutions adopted at the sixth annual meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, held on the 7th instant.

"Whereas slavery, under every modification, is a daring insult to God, who made man in his own image,—a glaring outrage on all the rights of humanity,—and expressly condemned by the precepts and spirit of Christianity, this meeting regard not only those who hold slaves as deeply guilty, but likewise all who neglect to use the influence which they possess to discourage or suppress it, as partakers in the sin.

"*Wherefore Resolved,*

"I. That we now pledge ourselves to use all our influence, in every relation in life, to put an end to slavery; and earnestly to remonstrate with those (be they Britons or Americans) who either retain their fellow men in bondage, or make gain by the infamous system of slavery.

"II. That this meeting earnestly and affectionately entreat the Christian Churches in Great Britain and Ireland, of all denominations, through their ministers and members to remonstrate, as opportunity presents, through their church courts, or other religious organizations, according to their own forms, with the American churches and brethren, on the guilt they incur—the injury they inflict on religion—and the dishonour they do to God, by retaining slave-holders in their communion; and to urge them, by all the motives presented by their common faith, to give no countenance to this monstrous evil, but to put away from their religious fellowship every man who holds his fellow man in bondage, as they value the Divine favour, the interests of religion, and the rights of humanity."

WE have papers from Jamaica to the 22nd of July. At the Cornwall July assize court the notorious Mr. Grant, the prosecutor of Mr. Oughton, was indicted by order of the colonial office.

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Ten separate bills of indictment are stated to have been preferred against him, nine of which were ignored by the grand jury. In one case they returned a true bill, and upon this bill Grant has been tried, and found not guilty. From a Jamaica jury this is a matter of course, and will do nothing towards establishing a hoary profligate's innocence. We are not in possession of any particulars of the trial.

The grand jury had, also of course, returned a true bill to an indictment for obstructing the police in the discharge of their duty, which the attorney-general had preferred against the Rev. T. E. Ward. The reverend gentleman is stated by the *Baptist Herald* to have had no notice of such an intention, and to have given no instructions to his solicitor upon the supposition of such an occurrence. Under the natural impulse of the moment this gentleman moved the court to traverse this case, it not being supposed that the party could be prepared for instant defence. On the intelligence reaching Mr. Ward at Falmouth, however, he set out for Montego Bay, where he appeared the next morning, and requested that the trial might be at once brought on, instead of being suspended over him for four months. This was not allowed, and Mr. Ward was ultimately bound over to appear at the November assize. The Baptist Western Union have passed some resolutions in relation to this matter, which we have inserted in the proper place. The *Baptist Herald* makes great, and as it would appear, well-founded complaint of the stealthiness of the proceeding against Mr. Ward.

The vestry of St. Catherine have come to the following somewhat extraordinary resolution :—

"That the rate of hire to be paid labourers to be employed on the roads be left to the discretion of the waywardens; and that the waywardens be empowered to allow to a proper person attending at the rate of seven shillings and sixpence per day for not less than twenty labourers daily, such person to make oath that the work has been *bonâ fide* done and performed." This sum of 7*s.* 6*d.* we take of course to be currency, or 5*s.* sterling. Now, here are five shillings a-day offered by the planters themselves—for the vestry consists of planters—to an able man for working on the roads; and yet the same gentlemen complain that they cannot get people to work on the estates for twenty pence! We should wonder if they could. The *Despatch* cries out against this resolution, as "setting an example of extravagance," and as "holding out an encouragement to the labourers to persist in their extortionate demands;" but we think this is not fair towards the vestry of St. Catherine. These gentlemen have to tax themselves too severely for the money they spend, to be at all likely to be extravagant with it, and are, as planters, too deeply interested in getting estate labour cheap, to pay unnecessarily dear for labour on the roads. No doubt they are for procuring the labour they want as cheap as they can get it; and their offering five shillings a day for it is but bidding for an article in the market what they know to be its market price. This quite agrees with what we learn from other sources, that the full work of an able labourer in Jamaica is worth five shillings per day. And why should any man take for his labour less than it is worth! Or, if the planters will not give for labour what it is worth, why should they have it! Here is testimony out of their own mouth, that they are trying to get labour for estates at one-third of its value in the market; and under these circumstances they raise an outcry that the labourers are idle, ungrateful, and everything else that is wicked, because they are not eager to work continuously on estates!

Under our West India intelligence we insert an article from the *Colonial Reformer*, on the subject of a remarkable, and we fear a characteristic episode in the *conciliatory* administration of Sir Charles Metcalfe. The facts are briefly these. On the 17th of June, 1839, Sir Lionel Smith, then governor of Jamaica, sent home an unsatisfactory and mischievous opinion, given by the attorney-general of that island on one point of the rent question, that it might be referred to the law officers of the crown in England. On the 15th of August, Lord Normanby addressed a dispatch to Sir C. T. Metcalfe, who had succeeded to the government, informing him that the law officers of the crown in England did not concur with the attorney-general of Jamaica, and that he had *enclosed* their opinion for the governor's information and guidance. Now the editor of the *Reformer* tells us that this opinion has never been made public in Jamaica, where therefore Mr. O'Reilly's erroneous law is left to work continued mischief; and he further notices the fact, which struck us also on the appearance of the document, that this same important opinion is not produced in the parliamentary papers with the despatch which refers to it. (Papers relative to the West Indies, 1840, part I. p. 2.) We are almost inclined to think there must have been some accident in this matter. The suppression by Sir Charles Metcalfe of a legal opinion unwelcome to Jamaica planters we can account for very well,—it is "conciliation;" but, if either principals or underlings in the colonial office have suppressed a document which should have been laid on the table of the British parliament, it is an impertinence which ought to be visited with no light rebuke. If we could think it possible that Lord John Russell, by whom the papers in question were laid before the house, had so far lent himself to the West Indians as to connive at the suppression of the document referred to, we should not know in what terms to express our indignation. Surely his lordship will give some explanation of this mystery.

An article in the *Guiana Reformer* draws attention to the encroachments which have been made by the Brazilians in the interior parts of that colony. "Instigated, it is said, by an outcast planter who has resided in the Brazils since his escape from the gallows some years ago, through one of those loop holes of which, unfortunately for the ends of justice, there are but too many in English as well as Dutch law, the Brazilians have carried their encroachments so far as to deprive us, according to Mr. Schomburgh's account, of at least two-thirds of what has been heretofore considered British Guiana." This is of no small importance as a territorial question, and it deserves on this ground the immediate attention of the British government; it is more particularly important to us, however, as affecting the interests of humanity and freedom. It is stated by the paper from which we quote, that "the sole object which the Brazilians appear to have had in view in the commission of this act of wholesale robbery, has been the acquisition of a more extended range for their Indian slave hunts."

This is a very serious matter. Our Indian fellow-subjects must not be hunted down and carried into slavery by any people on earth, and least of all by the Brazilians. They are entitled to British protection, and the voice of British humanity must be lifted up on their behalf. "At present," says our contemporary, "a few policemen with their batons would be quite sufficient to dislodge the Brazilians from our territory, to put a stop to their slave-hunting there, and to preserve the peace of our lady the Queen upon our Brazilian frontier; but some time hence, if our interests in that quarter are now neglected, when the Brazilian empire shall have gathered strength and consolidation, when Upper Guiana shall have become a second Texas, a rendezvous of slave-hunters, slave-drivers, and discontented planters, who will be glad to resume their favourite pursuits under a flag, and to transfer their allegiance to a government, which will protect them in their deeds of oppression—when in a country intersected with rivers and creeks as thickly as the human body is with veins and arteries, we shall see vessels sailing from our very harbours laden with slave produce shipped as British, and conveyed from the Ripununi and Upper Essequibo in spite of custom-house regulations which it will be impossible to enforce, we may then find to our cost that we have got a thorn in our side which some thousands of bayonets may scarcely be able to eradicate."

A writer in the *Colonial Magazine* for the present month strongly asserts the beneficial results of emancipation *to the proprietors* of the West India colonies. He tells us also, that, before the East India Produce Committee of the House of Commons, Mr. McQueen has recently asserted, "that the former slaves were disinclined to work at present, and that when they did labour, *wages from 4s. to 5s. a day were demanded!*—that the negros indulged in all kind of dissipation, extravagance, and luxury, 'drinking champagne and bottled porter;' the women wearing silks and satins, &c. &c.; that the '*whole of the British West India colonies are now cultivated at a loss*,' and that ruin is at present staring in the face of every proprietor of a West India estate." This is like Mr. McQueen and the West India proprietors; but they seem, in this instance, to have overshot their mark. Our readers will understand the following observation. "These statements had a most prejudicial effect *as regards the West Indies* on the committee, (*who were not members of the West India interest,*) *and quite contrary to that intended by the witness, and those who produced him to make these extraordinary assertions.*" And so they employ the *Colonial Magazine*, which *is*, we suppose, in "the West India interest," to contradict them!

We are gratified in perceiving that the *Citizen*, a highly respectable magazine of the Emerald isle, has taken a friendly notice of the General Anti-slavery convention, and given an abstract of its proceedings. We give the following extract.

"The recent Anti-slavery Convention of the christian nations of the world—for the representative opinion of England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Spain, and America, may be fairly taken upon such a question as that of christendom—is a remarkable event in the history of human amelioration. Whether all that was hoped from its assembling be realised or no, or whether the good fruit of its exertions appear and ripen in a year or a generation, is not the question now to be considered. A great and good thing in itself has been accomplished. The delegates of nations, unarmed, save with the energy of faith in God and charity towards suffering man—unauthorised, save by the authority of public opinion in favour of human liberty—have met together, and joined hands in mutual pledge, that in every christian land a cry of execration shall henceforth be raised against the abomination of coloured bondage—a cry never to be hushed till that abomination be driven from the face of a too long polluted earth.

"Our expectations, we confess, were high, and the reality did not disappoint them. We thought from the first moment the idea was broached of thus calling together 'the pledged philanthropy of earth,' that the conception was a truly noble one. The jealousies of national independence had long stood in the way of the spread of righteous sympathy, between good men in different countries on the subject of slavery; but here was a way proposed of clearing at a bound all the barriers which had hitherto interposed. It grasped the universe in its wide-spread arms; it forgot the distinction of clime, and hue, and dialect, and sought to unite all races in one vast brotherhood, as the children of one common Father.

"We rejoice that it has been permitted us to witness the first realization of such a thought. We trust it is but the commencement of our breathing in an increased degree 'peace on earth, and good will to men.' It asked not who are, or who had been our enemies or our rivals. It was in fine, as we believe, the first practical attempt ever made to band men of all countries together to work and co-operate in the wide field of universal good."

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Foreign and Colonial Intelligence continued.

TRINIDAD.—The Immigration and Agricultural Society held a public meeting for transaction of business on the 6th of July. It was very scantily attended, for which the *Standard* gives the Trinidad planters a severe rebuke. The committee stated that from April 5th, 1839, to July 3rd, 1840, two thousand one hundred and two emigrants have arrived according to official returns, but in reality some hundreds more. They mentioned also, that they had not promoted the introduction of emigrants from Europe, conceiving that they were not a class of persons at all suited to the wants of the colony. They "have reason to believe that a comprehensive plan for disposing of the waste crown lands is being framed by the government."

BRITISH GUIANA.—The *Guiana Reformer*, a new liberal paper to which we wish much success, notices the Anti-slavery meeting at Liverpool, at which Mr. Robert Semple asserted that the labourers on his estate in Berbice received a dollar a day, and offered to produce his books to prove it. On which the editor remarks, "We have documents in our possession which may see the light, which will prove that the people imported from St. Eustatins by Mr. Semple's agent in Berbice, have been receiving infinitely less than twenty-four dollars per month; yea, which will need no arithmetician to bring it down to somewhere about four dollars!"

THE *Royal Gazette* of this colony of July 11th, informs us that a barrister in George Town, Demerara, had received "by the last mail, from a friend of his in London," a letter enclosing "the prospectus of a company," which was then "very shortly coming out," ycleped The Jamaica, Demerara, and West India Emigration Company—capital £50,000. in 5000 shares of £50. each. We wonder somewhat at hearing of a company first from Demerara which was so very soon to "come out" in England. What has hindered its development? The names of the following gentlemen are printed at the head of the prospectus; and perhaps some of them will favour us with further information. "Patrons and Provisional Committee:—Messrs. Beckford and Ranken, Chauncy and Langs, Hawthorne and Thuldons, Mitchell's, Timpeson and Co., Benjamin Green and Son, Robert Sutton, Esq., N. B. Chauncy, H. H. Cohen, William Gladstone, E. F. Green, J. Harman, Captain Rees, Henry Kingston, with power to add to their number. Solicitors.—Messrs. Sweat, Sutton, Ewens, and Ommaney."

IMMIGRATION!—ATROCIOUS TREATMENT OF LABOURERS. We take the following from the *Guiana Times*. "Some labourers on *Tuschen de Vrienden*, thinking they received too little money for too much work, exercised their unquestionable right as free men, and complained to the proprietor or representative, Mr. W. R. Sandbach. What answer he gave their application we do not know, and care not to inquire. If he refused to allow them a fair return for their toil the colony was wide, and they might, at an hour's notice, find ready employment elsewhere. They returned to *Tuschen de Vrienden*. The manager, Mr. C. Ross, on whom the conduct of a few hours has drawn down a degree of reprobation from the inhabitants of this colony which we fear many years will not efface, took, as it would seem, their application to his and their common employer in high dudgeon: flew into the most ungovernable rage: ordered the people off the plantation, and when they were about to quit for town in the schooner of a neighbouring property, went on board of her, and, with tones and gestures of one possessed, threw into the water and destroyed live stock and other property belonging to the labourers to no inconsiderable amount. Not content with this act of madness, he seems to have done all in his power to induce the manager of that and a neighbouring property, to aid and abet him in his malevolence. Such doings were not to be tolerated in a civilized land. A court of magistrates, composed of men quite unconnected with agriculture, met, and saw ample reparation made to the outraged peasantry.—The misguided young man at once lost his management, was mulcted in a sum exceeding 150 dollars, and it is very doubtful whether he will not be forced to withdraw from the country."

Of this transaction the *Guiana Reformer* gives the following further particulars:—"The *Melten Meerzorg* schooner being about to leave for town that day, the people, anxious to secure a passage in her, resorted to the waterside, where Mr. Ross also made his appearance, and succeeded in stopping the schooner altogether from going. Not satisfied with this, messengers were sent to the different plantations in the neighbourhood, with a request that no boat would take the people to town; to this unreasonable request, we understand, all the managers assented. After being deprived of every means or opportunity to resort to town, the people took shelter from the elements in the house usually called the sugar or shipping house; and, for the information of some of our distant readers, we add that this house is always built next to either the water's edge, or a spot most convenient for shipping or landing of such articles as the estate may have to send to town, or what may be brought to town for its use, for storing produce about to be shipped, or supplies, until taken away as the case may be, either to town or up to the works. From under this temporary shelter they were driven by the humane, the tender hearted, the merciful Mr. Ross, and were exposed to all the severities of the season and climate at this time of the year—severities to which we would not expose a dog!"

The *Reformer* annexes to this narrative the following very pertinent remarks:—"Our friends in Great Britain will see the necessity of strenuously opposing every scheme which may be in operation to transport to this colony labourers, to such an extent as will give our planters the command of the market. If now that they "are going to ruin," and their "salvation depends on a large influx of labourers," they can afford to treat their people in this brutal manner, what may it not be when the market is full? when they become independent of them? 'Tis easily seen. We may be accused of "writing generally," when the case is an isolated one. We answer, that of the isolatedness, we are sure 'twas quite the reverse; that we are quite justified in writing as we have done from the fact; and, to their disgrace be it said, that the whole of those who had to do with estates in the neighbourhood, instead of disapproving rather approved the course the manager of *Tuschen de Vrienden* pursued; and suffered men, women, and children to remain for four days, and as many nights, without either shelter or employment."

OUR readers will, perhaps, recollect, that shortly after emancipation, several labourers were turned off an estate by Mr. Arrindell, and their growing crops in their provision grounds withheld from them or destroyed. After long delay, these cases came on for trial on the 24th of June, before judge Norton; and after some characteristic but useless bullying on the part of Mr. Arrindell, a decision was arrived at in favour of the labourers, who were declared to be entitled to the value of their crops, not as when ripe, but as at the time of their leaving the estate.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Concluded.)

MONDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 22ND.

BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN WESTERN AFRICA.

Lieut.-colonel CAMPBELL, late governor of Sierra Leone, then came forward amidst loud cheers to address the assembly. It was a most trying occasion to such an humble individual as himself to have to stand before so intelligent, enlightened, and benevolent a body. He regretted his powers of eloquence were not such as to enable him to express his feelings in behalf of the poor Africans. He felt quite identified with them, and the gratitude he felt for their kindness in assisting him in his endeavours for their advancement was beyond his expression. He wished that a thorough inquiry were instituted into the present state of the British settlements on the African coast. In many of them the most shameful abuses were prevalent, and the home government boldly upheld them by their aid and countenance—(hear, hear.) In 1834 he was sent out by Spring Rice, as governor of Sierra Leone. The object of his appointment, he was informed, was to obtain correct information of the real state of our African settlements, of which they spoke in the most unfavourable terms, as a curse to the country. On reaching Sierra Leone, some idea might be formed of the real state of the colony, when the military on his landing refused to fire a salute, or to pay any of the usual compliments to a civil governor. Before he had reached the shore the old system of opposition on the part of the military to the civil authorities had commenced, and from that day it was steadily continued without the slightest diminution.—(Hear, hear,) As for the native inhabitants, he could bear testimony to their quiet and peaceful demeanour. He had no occasion to make laws. The people were always anxious in every respect to meet his wishes.—(Hear, hear.) The habits and customs of the different tribes were totally dissimilar, but the character of the whole was the same with respect to one point—they would trust implicitly any one who showed by his conduct that he respected his word.—(Hear, hear.) One of the first official acts was to inquire of the chaplain about the schools; he could give him no information. In fact there was nothing in the colony deserving that appellation. He (Colonel Campbell) immediately endeavoured to remedy this deficiency. There were several prejudices which he had to surmount—the children of liberated Africans and those born in the colony were unwilling to mix together. However, he at length succeeded in overcoming the difficulty by perseverance. The present plan of treating the negros on their liberation from the slave vessels, on their capture by British cruisers, was little better than a mockery. The slavers arrived on the coast (and any one who had seen one of these vessels would remember it with a shudder to the latest day of his life)—(hear, hear.) Before adjudication the live cargo was landed and marched through the town in a state of nudity, and on liberation were sent to work with the convicts at 2d. a day; and would it be believed there was no allowance for the women? They were given to anybody who asked for them, and in many instances the government officers had made improper use of them. —(Hear, hear.) As a specimen of the character and conduct of some of the colonial officers, he would read an extract from a public document he had forwarded to the colonial-office in one of his despatches. On examining Mr. Edward Jones, schoolmaster, at Kent, the following were his answers:—

The governor—How many boys have you in your schools? Answer —I do not know; some are sick, some are at the farm, and some are cooking.

Point out to me the last liberated African boys you received?—I do not know them.

How many have you received altogether from the department?—I do not know; I believe there are 79 altogether in the school.

You will be pleased to count them.—There are 72 boys in the school.

How many sick boys are there? Nine are sick. Some are cooking. I do not know the exact number, as I do not interfere with the cooking. I am not particular how many are in the school.

Have you written any letters on boards, according to my orders the last time I visited this school?—I believe some alphabets were written, (and, going round the room, produced a board with some letters scratched upon it).

Did you do this?—No; I ordered the teacher to do it.

Have you written anything with your own hand for the purpose of instructing the boys?—No; it is not my duty. I am a minister of the gospel.

Have you any statement of the liberated African boys, how many there are, how disposed of, how many sick, and the number of deaths?—No; because I have no paper.

What is the date of your instructions, and when did you receive them? —I don't know

Mr. Jones then left the school, went to his house, and shortly returned with the instructions, which he handed to the governor.

By the governor—It would have been as well, Mr. Jones, if you had taken the trouble to note on these instructions the date when you received them. At what period did you commence to act on these instructions?—I have never yet acted personally upon them.

Have you selected a piece of ground for the farm?—I do not understand the meaning of the word "selected."

Have you then chosen a piece of land for the boys to work upon, and seen it properly marked out?—I have not marked out any ground. I am no farmer, and don't understand the principles of farming.

Have you made a requisition for tools to the manager?—Yes.

Can you tell me what the boys have done? Have they cut the farm? —Cannot say what they have done. I am not a farmer, and therefore have never been near it.

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Have you chosen any of the most intelligent boys for the mechanic constables?—I have not. I was not aware who were the most intelligent boys, but I ordered the constables to choose for themselves.

Which are the boys?—I do not know.

Did you take their number or names?—No.

Have you any list of the boys under your charge?—No, I have not.

Do your school instructions commence at nine and end at twelve?—I believe they do.

Do you attend the school regularly?—No, it is not my place to teach A, B, C; I am a minister of the gospel.

Do you ever attend the school?—I never do. I see no use in coming to waste my time, as I have no books, nor anything to teach the boys; neither do I feel it my duty to teach A, B, C, as I have other duties to perform.

Have you ever mustered the boys since their arrival?—No, it is not my place.

Do you read prayers every morning to the boys before they go out to farm?—No, it does not suit my health to get up so early.

Have you ever read prayers to the boys either in the morning or the evening?—No, I do not see any earthly use in attending to the school. There are no books—no nothing. I feel certain that the teacher does.

How do you certainly know that the teacher reads prayers, morning and evening, when you have never witnessed it?—I have not been present, but, nevertheless, I feel perfectly satisfied in regard to it.

Have you seen the boys bathe regularly every morning?—No. I consider it would be an insult to my situation to do such a thing as to see that the boys were washed, but know it is done. I consider the instructions as a personal insult to me, being the same as those which were sent to the schoolmaster at the Bananas.

Do you see the boys fed, and are you careful that they receive the proper quantity and quality allowed them?—No, I do not consider it my business to see them eat.

Do you keep a register of the deaths?—No, I do not. I have no books.

Is it your intention from henceforth to act up literally to the full spirit of the instructions that you have received from the liberated African department?—I cannot get up at five o'clock; it does not agree with me.

You will be pleased to answer my question without any equivocation. Do you or do you not intend to act up to the full spirit of my instructions?—I will if you compel me; but I will do so under a protest.

Upon going into the ward of the hospital his Excellency found there were eighteen sick boys, instead of nine, as Mr. Jones had stated, and the ward was in so dirty a state that his Excellency was compelled to leave it.

The foregoing statements made in the presence of

W. Norcott, King's Advocate.
W. Aitkin, Colonial Surgeon.
Peter Barrow, Private Secretary to the lieut.-governor.
H. E. Harper, Manager of the Western districts.

Mr. Jones had told him (Colonel Campbell) that there were only nine boys sick. On making inquiries, however, there were double that number. They were confined in a loft. The colonial surgeon and himself visited them. Their condition was too horrible for him to describe. They had to quit the place instantly, and most of them died shortly after. While that same functionary was acting as colonial chaplain at Free Town, out of thirty Sundays, and Christmas-day, he read prayers to the people in the gaol only eight, leaving twenty-two Sundays without divine service at all—(hear, hear). Thus was this so-called minister of the gospel appointed by the government, in his (Colonel Campbell's) opinion, fairly convicted of inhumanity and incompetency, and he was accordingly suspended; but it displeased Stephen; and no sooner did the colonial-office hear of it than he was reinstated—(cries of "shame.") He might give them the history of other officers whose conduct was as bad, if not worse, and the entire number that he had suspended or reported were re-appointed, and countenanced and protected by the colonial-office at home—(cries of "shame.") He (Colonel Campbell) also received orders from home to do away with the printing establishment; but he was one of those who thought that no motive of expediency could justify his doing that which he knew to be wrong—(hear, hear)—although he knew perfectly well that his conduct would be disapproved of by the authorities at home—(hear.) Instead of the responsible officers of the colony assisting him in his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people, they were constantly engaged in thwarting and opposing his efforts—(hear, hear.) Since he had left the colony, he had been informed that the schools he had formed had been scattered to the winds; and as he had received no instructions from home, but had erected them on his own responsibility, he should not be surprised at being called upon to defray the expense of their establishment. He felt that the colonial-office had grossly neglected their duty to their poor African dependents, and he was determined at all risks to have them publicly exposed. (Hear)

Captain Wauchope bore testimony to the excellent dispositions of the Western Africans, and to the good conduct of the liberated blacks. He had himself visited the schools established by Colonel Campbell, and carried away from them some specimens of the writing of the children, which he distributed through the meeting. They were really excellent. He concluded by moving—

"That the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society be requested to take into consideration the statements relative to Sierra Leone now laid before this convention, and to take such steps thereon as may appear best calculated to obtain a thorough investigation into the state of our present settlements on the west coast of Africa, with the view of exposing the abuses which have so long existed, and prevented that advancement in civilization and suppression of the slave-trade so ardently desired by the real friends of Africa, and to obtain which so much has been expended."

Dr. Price seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Justice Jeremie warmly defended Mr. Stephen, of the colonial office, from the imputations which had been cast upon him. He moved—

"That a paper, detailing a plan of slave-trade abolition by Mr. Murray, of Glasgow, having been laid on the table of the secretaries.

"Resolved—That the same be referred to a committee, consisting of Mr. Murray, Dr. Bowring, Mr. George Thompson, and the mover and seconder, with instructions to report thereon to-morrow."

The Rev. Mr. Carlile seconded the resolution, which was unanimously agreed to.

The Amistad.

The Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, of Massachusetts—Allow me to say, and it is with deep regret that I state the fact, that I was unable to be with you until Thursday morning. I was delayed by head winds. I regret that I have lost so much, nevertheless, I rejoice that I have received so much light as I have since I took my seat in this convention. I have not before had an opportunity of uttering a word, will you therefore favour me with a few minutes. I do not intend to make a speech, but to move a resolution in reference to the *Amistad*. The Amistad was a slave-vessel bearing a cargo of purchased slaves from Cuba through the Gulf of Mexico. These slaves rose up against those who held them in durance, and, having killed the captain, took possession of the vessel; but, being unacquainted with navigation, they were unable to steer it. They directed the helmsman, whom they had preserved, to sail to the east, threatening to take his life if he disobeyed. They were able to watch him during the day time, but during the night, he understanding the compass, which they did not, was able to deceive them by steering the vessel to the west; and, at length, he brought them on the coast of the United States, where they were discovered. The authorities boarded the vessel and took possession of her. These persons were taken into the state of Connecticut, and there imprisoned. They have been tried twice; no crime has been proved against them, but they are still detained in prison, and are to be tried a third time. (Hear, hear.) I have in my pocket a document touching the subject, which involves the chief magistrate of the United States in a course of conduct which we, of the United States, do not regard in the highest degree honourable to himself. It is a document which shows that he presumed to interfere on his own responsibility, and that he ordered an armed vessel to be ready during the trial of these poor captured Africans, who had been struggling for freedom and had well nigh obtained it, that, in case there should be a decision in their favour and no appeal to a higher court, he might commit them to the authorities of the Spanish government in Cuba, to be thrown into slavery. I may now read the resolution.

"That this convention, deeply sympathising with the survivors of the *Amistad*, who, though fully proved to be rightfully and legally free, are yet as slaves incarcerated in the United States under the authority of the government of that country, do express their regret and astonishment at the course pursued towards those victims of cupidity and cruelty, in the vexatious delays to which they have been subjected in their trial in American courts, and especially in the interference of the National executive in aid of the oppressors of these prisoners, for the purpose of delivering them up to their unjust claimants, and thus reducing them to absolute and perpetual slavery."

It might be sufficient merely to move this, and to leave it in the hands of a committee, who will probably draw up a memorial on the subject. Let me remark, however, that that class of citizens of the United States, who have begun to sympathise with the poor down-trodden sons of Ham have entered with thrilling interest into this case. It has awakened the attention of thousands in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other northern states, who before had been slumbering on the subject of slavery. I mention this fact to show that it is regarded as an important matter in America. If you can induce the British government to remonstrate with that of the United States on this subject you will accomplish, I apprehend, a noble work. The representatives here assembled from different nations have a voice which they can employ, and which will be heard across the Atlantic. It will be heard also where as yet, I fear, little has been felt, viz., by the government of Spain. We all feel in Massachusetts that the decision with regard to this vessel and its unhappy inmates is one which vitally affects the great question of slavery. (Cheers.)

W. Forster, Esq.—I wish to put this question to the friend from America—whether this subject does come within the scope of the principles on which the convention is met. The principle is comprehended in three words, "moral, religious, and pacific." These poor negros having been brought into the circumstances into which they are thrown by the commission of an act of murder, does the subject come properly, legitimately, and suitably within the scope of the principles we have laid down?

The Rev. C. P. Grosvenor.—The question is a very proper one. I think it does. I think the influence which the government of this country may exert will be a moral and pacific influence, an influence worthy of your noble Queen, worthy of your parliament. We do not ask that they should interfere with the sword; that is a weapon with which I hope we have done. (Cheers.) Great Britain and America will no more meet in contest with other arms than those of truth and love. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. Brock seconded the resolution, which, after some discussion of a very desultory character, was agreed to.

Dr. Madden, in supporting the resolution respecting the survivors of the *Amistad* (which he did from a full knowledge of the facts) strenuously defended Lord Glenelg and Mr. Stephen of the colonial office.

After some routine business the convention adjourned at nine o'clock.

Tuesday, June 23rd.

The delegates assembled at ten o'clock, Dr. Greville in the chair.

The minutes of the meeting of Monday were read and confirmed.

Mr. Joseph Sturge took that opportunity of congratulating the meeting upon the fact that the ministry had been beaten on the clause in the Colonial Passengers' Bill allowing the importation of Hill Coolies into the Mauritius. The numbers were—for the clause 109, against it 158; so that they had a majority in favour of their views of 49. (Cheers.) Before proceeding to the business, he begged to be allowed to recommend gentlemen to be careful of the time of the convention, it was most important that they should finish their proceedings that day, and they had much to do—let it, therefore, be a day for business, and not for long speeches.

Thanks to Missionaries.

Captain Stuart proposed a resolution of thanks to the missionaries of the London Missionary, Presbyterian, and Moravian churches, for their endeavours to enlighten and preserve the liberty of the negros. In his opinion they deserved the same meed of approbation which the convention had already given to the Baptist missionaries. He was anxious that it should pass, but he was anxious that there should be no division of opinion upon it. If it were not likely to be unanimously carried, he would not press it.

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Mr. STANFIELD, of Belfast, seconded the motion.

The Rev. J. H. HINTON said it was impossible that it could pass in its then shape. Many would object to it.

Dr. PRINCE, of Jamaica, objected to the resolution, as it made no mention of the ministers of the Establishment. Although he was a Baptist himself, he must say that many of the clergy of the Established church were warm friends of the negro, and one of them was even now suffering imprisonment in a jail in Jamaica for his zeal in the cause.

The feeling of the meeting being in favour of a resolution more general in its character, it was referred to a sub-committee, and was afterwards proposed by

The Rev. Mr. CARLILE, and was a resolution of thanks to the missionaries and ministers of all denominations, who had endeavoured to promote the welfare of the negro, and of sympathy with those who were suffering for their exertions in the cause.

Mr. CREWDSON seconded the motion, which was unanimously agreed to.

Dr. BOWRING then read the address to the French nation prepared by the sub-committee, which on the motion of

Mr. J. T. PRICE was unanimously adopted.

EMPLOYMENT OF BRITISH CAPITAL.

Mr. RICHARD ALLEN, of Dublin, then brought up the report of the committee appointed to consider the employment of British capital was employed in the furtherance of the slave-trade and slavery. He said the examinations entered into by the committee had been most humiliating: turn which way they would, they found British capital directly engaged in the slave-trade, and upholding it both at home and abroad. It was a question that demanded the earnest and most serious attention of every friend of the negro. There was much that yet remained in darkness, and he trusted all friends to the cause would expose all that came to their knowledge, so that public opinion might be brought to bear upon those concerned in the support of such traffic.

Mr. BOULTBEE moved, and Mr. STOVEL seconded, the adoption of the report, which was unanimously agreed to.

The committee had also prepared several resolutions, but as some thought they might be considered libellous, they were re-committed, in a modified form

On the motion of Mr. STACEY, a resolution was unanimously adopted, calling upon the government strenuously to oppose itself to the introduction of slave-grown sugar.

ADDRESS TO SOVEREIGNS.

Mr. FORSTER then brought up the report of the sub-committee appointed to draw up an address to the crowned heads of Europe who were possessors of slaves.

Mr. HILL moved the adoption of the address. He had been most anxious to give his humble aid and assistance to the great cause of anti-slavery, it was one to which he had been attached ever since he had been able to frame an idea. He had attended at the first sitting of the convention, but he saw so many men of greater talent and who possessed more knowledge of the question than himself, that he felt convinced it was better for him to remain a silent and attentive listener, rather than take an active interest in the deliberations of the convention. It was from no want of sincere and deep feeling in favour of the cause, but he thought it would be better promoted by allowing other gentlemen to occupy their attention. It was with much pleasure he moved the adoption of the address, and he sincerely trusted it would be productive of much good to the oppressed negro.

SIR C. E. SMITH seconded the motion, although he felt that he had no right to do so, for he took shame to himself for not having given more attention to the details of the subject, and for coming so late amongst them. All sects of religionists agreed that man was a responsible being, but slavery denied it, and placed the slave at the will of his master. The knot of slavery had been tied by governments, he therefore seconded the motion with pleasure, because he wished to see them untie it again.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

WINDWARD AND LEEWARD ISLANDS.

Mr. PRESCOD, of Barbados then presented a report upon the results of emancipation of the negros in the Windward and Leeward Islands. Their object in meeting was not so much to convince themselves of the evils of slavery, but to collect and send forth evidence of it to convince others—that evidence could not be too full, and had time permitted, he would have been most happy to have entered at some length into the effects of emancipation as they had come under his own observation. As time was so precious he would content himself with calling upon all the friends of the negro to watch most attentively the laws enacted by the colonial legislature. The laws enacted in Barbados were even worse for the negro than those passed by the legislature of Jamaica. He read the following resolutions:—

"That the beneficial results of emancipation in the British colonies, as exhibited in the religious, moral, and social improvement of the labouring population, have far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the friends of freedom and humanity. That the increased value of property in these colonies satisfactorily proves the measure to be one of great advantage to the proprietors and planters; and that in order to the salutary and efficient working out of this great experiment, the progress of colonial legislation must be jealously watched; the withdrawal of a stipendiary magistracy strenuously resisted; and an entire reformation in the administration of justice perseveringly sought.

"This convention being painfully impressed with the fact, that the enemies of human right are actively promoting oppressive measures, both in this country and in the colonies, the object of which is, to silence those philanthropists who advocate the cause of the poor, and to consign the emancipated to a new and bitter bondage;

"That this convention would particularly refer to the laws recently passed in Jamaica and Barbados, and to the persecutions of missionaries and others in the former colony; and this convention therefore earnestly implores the friends of the anti-slavery enterprise, and especially the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, carefully to observe, and to take measures for frustrating, all insidious attempts either to abridge the liberties of the emancipated, or to silence and crush their protectors."

Their adoption was moved by Mr. FINLAY, and seconded by the Rev. A. HARVEY.

The Reverend Mr. MIRAM spoke of the good conduct of the emancipated negros in British Guiana.

Mr. ALEXANDER drew the attention of the convention to this fact—it was often stated that the production of sugar had decreased since the emancipation in our colonies, and this was used as an argument for importation of Hill Coolies. (Hear.) Now the fact was, that before the emancipation the decrease of production had begun—(Hear)—so that it certainly was no argument against free labour. (Hear.)

The Reverend Mr SEABORN, from Berbice, bore testimony to the good effects of emancipation there.

Mr. SCOBLE had great pleasure in stating, as the result of the tour he had taken in Guiana, &c., that the negros had fully borne out the most sanguine expectations as to their conduct under emancipation; that they had become diligent and careful—that they had supported their religious teachers, built their religious edifices, nay, sent large sums over to the aid of religious societies:—(cheers)—and as to the pretence of diminished production of sugar, it was just to the extent, and no more, which would result from the deduction of one day from the six, for the negro's cultivation of his own land. The evils of slavery could never be remedied by any mere modification—nothing could remove them but utter extinction. (Hear, hear, hear.) Full, unrestricted liberty must be given to the negro, in order that he might reap the advantage of the blessings conferred on him. He trusted that their friends from various parts of the country would feel the importance of maintaining inviolate the great principle of total and immediate emancipation—that there would be no compromise on this subject, and he hoped that the delegates from France would feel it to be their duty to advocate entire emancipation, without restriction, without money, and without price. (Cheers.) With these remarks he begged to support the resolution.

Mr. BRADBURN also supported the resolution. In the ship in which he and some of his friends came over to England, there were a few planters from British Guiana, who represented the state of things there as being most horrible. They said their estates had greatly diminished in value; and one of them stated that last year he had lost on his own plantation, a small one, £1500. But these gentlemen, from certain statements they made, utterly destroyed their own credibility, and he could not, as he told them, believe one word they said—(laughter)—and for this reason; they stated deliberately, and with all the gravity that John Bull was ever known to put on his countenance, that the eloquent gentleman who had last addressed the meeting (Mr. Scoble) was a madman—(laughter)—that his friend Charles Stuart was a fool—(renewed laughter)—and that Daniel O'Connell was a mere political demagogue. He (Mr. Bradburn) immediately replied, "Now gentlemen, that statement is sufficient to give the lie to all you have told me with regard to emancipation." (Laughter.) But they all admitted the system worked very well for the negro. (Hear, hear.)

Captain STUART said there were two islands which required the especial care and attention of the convention; one was Tobago, because it was more out of the way of national and commercial observation than any other. No ship scarcely touched at it except the mail. It was out of the world's eye, and consequently they might easily guess what its condition was. The other was the island of St. Lucia, it was most devoid of religious and moral influence.

The Rev. Mr. KNIBB fully concurred in the resolution before the meeting. He rose to draw the special attention of the convention to the laws that had been recently passed in the island of Jamaica, although he believed they were quite as bad in other colonies. But he especially referred to Jamaica, for the purpose of imploring the committee to prepare a resolution, and a strong one, for discussion on Wednesday, when they would have more time to speak on the matter. He had seen in the public prints a statement, that it was the intention of Lord John Russell to let those laws go into operation, and merely to send out some recommendations of amendments to the house of assembly. The fact was, that they might just as well trust the lamb to the tiger, as trust the liberty of the negro to the house of assembly. They said they would take care of the liberty of the negro, but it was only as the tiger took care of the lamb, who said he could carry it better than it could walk, and afterwards secretly devoured it (Hear, hear.) If those laws were to be carried into operation by the hands of a Jamaica magistracy, the whole battle would have to be fought over again. (Hear, hear.) He believed those laws had been passed for the purpose of obstructing liberty, and of strangling it at its birth; and he called on every anti-slavery man and woman to assist in fighting out fairly, yet peacefully, the grand object they had in view in the island of Jamaica. (Hear, hear.) He urged them to do so, because his American friends were constantly reiterating in his ears, that upon the result of the emancipation in Jamaica depended the liberty of the negro in America. (Hear, hear.) They ought to use every moral effort to gain unrestricted liberty for their emancipated brethren. It would be their duty to provide a home for the negro population, and to afford them the means of subsistence, so that they might not be continually vexed and destroyed by those who had been fully paid for all they had surrendered. (Hear, hear.) He would just advert to one circumstance that would be interesting to the meeting, and begged to read the following extract from *Galignani's Messenger*:—"The commission on colonial affairs, of which the Duke de Broglie is president, has come to an unanimous resolution that slavery ought to be entirely abolished, and that the total emancipation of the blacks in the French colonies ought to be effected. Three questions are to be submitted to the high functionaries in the several colonies:—1. Whether the emancipation should be according to the English mode? 2. Whether it should be accomplished after a fixed period, either of ten years with an indemnity, or twenty years without an indemnity? 3. Whether it should be according to the system proposed by M. de Tocqueville? The commission has adjourned to January next, by which time it is expected that the answers from the colonies will have reached Paris. The delegates from the colonies to the capital refused to appear before the commission, or to afford it any information, intrenching themselves behind the law of 1833 relating to the colonies." This was interesting information, as far as it went: and he trusted such a feeling would be displayed, and that such facts would accompany that feeling, as to show that the French government had not the least occasion to spend one farthing of their money to compensate those who had no claim whatever upon them. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. LUSHINGTON (having been generally called for) rose and said—Ladies and gentlemen, I had not intended on this occasion, to intrude any observations of mine upon this assembly; but, as the question which is now submitted to your consideration is one of the greatest importance, and as you seem inclined to listen to me, I will trouble you with one or

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two observations. (Hear, hear.) I have long expected, indeed from the very first period when the Emancipation Act received the assent of the legislature of this country, that its real and effectual working would be attempted to be defeated in the great majority of our colonies. (Hear, hear.) It never was to be expected that persons whose minds were so imbued with the spirit of slavery—whose hearts for so many years had been hardened against the true principles of justice and religion, would, in consideration of any extraordinary reward, however great it might be, divest themselves of those feelings they had so long cherished, or those habits in which they had so long indulged. And I grieve to think that at the present hour, looking more especially to the great island of Jamaica (and I entirely agree in the importance of keeping our eyes fixed on that island, which contains so large a portion of the emancipated race of negros), they are still concocting measures, studiously disguised in outward appearance, but in truth and in reality intended for the purpose of curtailing that liberty which we have gained with our long exertions, and with the gold of the country. (Hear, hear.) I feel also that in the island of Jamaica, as in most others, there has heen no power yet established—at least as far as I have witnessed—which has been able to carry a just law into complete and full execution. (Hear, hear.) But if the law be in itself unjust—if it be so studiously framed for the purpose of diminishing liberty, and for the purpose of giving to what may be called in society the upper class a greater power over those who are beneath them, I am confident if the government of this country give their assent to such laws, they will not merely diminish the liberty of the negro, but will defeat all the great objects which have been declared in parliament to be well purchased by the twenty millions; and I fear the still greater evil that the time may come when we shall be compelled to submit to the introduction of foreign slave-grown sugar into this country, with all the calamitous consequences of slavery. (Hear, hear.) I hope that my friend Mr. Knibb has to a certain extent misunderstood the declaration of Lord John Russell, for I did not understand Lord John Russell to declare that he intended to allow all those acts to go into operation. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Knibb—They are in operation now.

Dr. Lushington—I am aware they are. I am aware that when an act receives the assent of the governor it is law, until the crown shall disallow the act; (hear, hear) but what I meant to say was, that I did not understand Lord John Russell to say he did not intend to disallow any of those laws, or that he meant to allow all the existing laws to continue in force and effect. I understood him to say no such thing. (Hear, hear.) What I understood him to say was this, that there were certain laws, amounting to a large number, that were passed during the sitting of the house of assembly in Jamaica, some of which contained good mixed up with bad—that he would not at present disallow those laws, but that he would give the governor instructions to inform the house of assembly that if they did not bring in other acts abrogating that which was wrong, the prerogative of the crown would then be exercised in the disallowance of those statutes. (Hear, hear.) What the result may be I cannot say, but I do hope that Lord John Russell, knowing the deep responsibility fixed on him as the colonial minister of this great country, remembering that the happiness of thousands upon thousands is at a stake if he relaxes his vigilance, or for a moment allows injustice to triumph over truth—I do hope and trust, that, viewing the case as we view it, he will exercise that vigilance in the way I have mentioned, by the total disallowance of all measures in which the evil preponderates, and by permitting those measures temporarily to continue in force in which there is greater good and less evil. (Hear, hear.) But though I entertain this hope, I am not one who would leave any exertion unmade, or any effort untried, to give such a force or power to the expression of public opinion, as to let him or any other minister of the crown know that we, the people of England, have our vigilance exerted upon this great subject. I will not say our vigilance merely, but our well-founded jealousy—(Hear, hear)—recollecting that for above a century there have existed in Jamaica apparently excellent laws, a dead letter—recollecting that in Jamaica there have also existed laws the most execrable in their nature and in their provisions—and recollecting that, in proportion as their provisions were abhorrent to truth and justice, so they were carried into the most efficient execution. (Hear, hear.) Neither in him nor any other minister would I entirely confide, but I would endeavour to induce him to shut his ear to the voice of the planter, remembering that poison was poured into the ears of his predecessors, and that we who have been fighting the cause of the negro have had to encounter from day to day, and from hour to hour, a denial of those atrocities and those previous evils which afflicted that country—nay, up to the hour of emancipation, we were met with a denial of the truth of that which no man dared now to disavow. (Hear, hear.) I entirely concur in the spirit of this resolution, and I hope and trust, that the evil effects which some prognosticate, many fear, but I hope not all expect, may be averted. (Cheers.)

Mr. Knibb said that the removal of every governor who at all sympathised with the negro was enough to make the friends of the black tremble. (Hear, hear.) He would distinctly state that they were determined to have liberty and nothing less.

Mr. Whitehorne observed that there ought to be a clause in every Jamaica act, suspending its operation until it should have received the sanction of the British government.

Captain Stuart remarked that it was not the fault of the British government solely that those bad laws had been passed in Jamaica—the fault was with the British people. (Hear, hear.) The government had endeavoured to correct the evils in Jamaica, but they were foiled in their attempt. At the next election they ought to beat up for anti-slavery men, and then Lord John Russell would be glad to do his duty. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Joseph Sturge believed the modesty of their esteemed friend Dr. Lushington, had prevented him saying any thing upon the subject of the discussion in the House of Commons relative to the Hill Coolies.—(Hear, hear.)

Dr. Lushington observed that the efforts of those that took the lead in putting a stop to the exportation of Hill Coolies from the East, were very much assisted by Mr. Hogg, the member for Beverley, (hear, hear,)—who came down on the part of the East India Company, and expressed his earnest desire that no step should be taken without further information. (Hear, hear.) He was happy to say the feeling of the majority of the House of Commons was strictly in accordance with that which must be the feeling of that meeting; and he was sure they must all feel thankful to Providence, that for the present at least, a stop had been put to what he conceived to be little less than a renewal of the traffic in men. (Cheers.)

The convention then adjourned at half-past two till four o'clock.

EVENING SITTING.

The convention resumed its sittings at four o'clock.

Mr. Sturge in the chair.

Mr. W. Morgan, one of the secretaries, read several letters from different individuals on the present condition of slavery in various parts of the world, and these documents were ordered to be referred to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, with a request that that committee would give them their best attention, and dispose of them as they thought most conducive to the great object of the convention.

RUSSIAN SERFAGE.

The Rev. T. Scales said that he had a paper to read to the convention upon a subject of great importance and deep interest, and one which had already awakened great attention, and appeared likely to do so in a still far greater degree. It was prepared by a gentleman who had resided many years in Russia, and related to the system of serfage that was carried on in that country.

The paper was then read, and many parts of it were most enthusiastically cheered, and upon its being concluded—

Mr. Turnbull said that the author was worthy of the confidence of the convention. As there was a general resolution that all monarchs and governments should be addressed, he thought in the present instance there should be a special address to the Emperor of Russia, calling upon him to abolish the system of villanage that existed in that country.—(Cheers.)

After a few observations from Mr. James Fuller, the paper was directed to be referred to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

DANISH AND DUTCH SLAVERY.

Mr. Alexander brought up the report on Danish and Dutch slavery. The committee had proposed a resolution for the adoption of the convention. The reason why that recommendation had been proposed, was, that it was thought by some of the members of the committee that it would be difficult for the convention to adopt an address sufficiently extensive to embrace all the subject connected with Holland and Denmark. One feature of the slavery in Holland to which he did not advert on a former occasion, was the fact, that although there were between four and five hundred plantations in Surinam, there were not more than thirteen or fourteen resident proprietors. (Cheers.) The honourable gentleman concluded by proposing the resolution.

The Reverend Wm. James seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

SPANISH SLAVERY.

Mr. Alexander said if the committee would allow him, he would now bring up the report on Spanish slavery, on which subject the committee had proposed a resolution for the further adoption of the convention.

Mr. Turnbull seconded the resolution which was agreed to unanimously.

SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

Professor Adam then came forward to communicate to the meeting the contents of a paper relative to slavery in Ceylon. He had no personal knowledge of the island of Ceylon, or the state of slavery in it; all that he knew was derived from the parliamentary papers he had consulted on the subject. As he had stated before, those were principally parliamentary details, which he had taken from the parliamentary papers. He begged, however, the attention of the convention to the phraseology he had adopted. He had stated that such and such things had been the case, because he considered that many of the statements were liable to exception, and it was only by the investigation of the cases in the island itself by persons who understood the language and communicated with them, that the truth was to be ascertained. Another remark that might also be made was this, that even assuming the correctness of all the circumstances stated in the parliamentary papers, it followed that the slavery which existed in Ceylon was of a comparatively mild character. (Cheers.) Now what should be the conclusion drawn? Why, if the slavery that existed there was of so mild a character, the facilities were far greater for effecting the complete emancipation of the slaves.

Mr. Alexander wished to know what was the number of the slave population in Ceylon, as compared with the free population there?

Professor Adam said that the slave population was about 30,000, including the maritime and central part, while the free population of the province fell little short of one million.

Mr. William Morgan, one of the secretaries, said, a paper had been communicated to them by a gentleman holding a high official situation in Ceylon, which he would now read to them.

The paper was then read by Mr. Morgan.

Mr. Turnbull then moved that the documents on Ceylon be referred to the committee for their consideration.—Carried.

The Rev. Mr. Carlile on behalf of the committee to whom Mr. Murray's paper was referred, reported that they had examined the paper, which was on the subject of the application of the principle of international law for the putting down of slavery, and they recommended that it be taken into the earliest and most serious consideration of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

The report was adopted.

THE NEXT CONVENTION.

Mr. Price, of Swansea, said a resolution had been put into his hands from which he inferred that the convention was drawing near its close. He had throughout felt the deepest interest in its proceedings, and he hoped and trusted that it would materially contribute to the advancement of the objects for which it had been convened. He had felt very great pleasure in meeting there so many persons from the other side of the Atlantic, whom he had never seen before, and whom, perhaps, he might never see again; but he had no doubt they would remember each other in their prayers. Recollecting that it had been decided to abolish the use of force for the promotion of the objects they had in view, and that their reliance was entirely upon divine guidance, he felt confident

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that therein was their greatest and best strength, and that they might commit the care of their cause to Divine Providence. (Hear, hear.) In looking forward to the future, it appeared to him wise in the convention to consider whether it should, before its separation, conclude to meet again. (Hear, hear.) That was the object of the resolution which he had now to submit to them. In considering the question it appeared to him, that in a convention of nations, comprising representatives from so many different parts of the world, subject as they were to the vicissitudes of life, they little knew what the future would bring forth, and he thought there would be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that they should agree to meet again. It was, in his opinion, wise to leave it to the Anti-slavery Society of London to make the final arrangements as to the time and place of the next meeting, and that was the main purport of his resolution. [Mr. Price then read the resolution.] In taking leave of their friends, particularly those from America, there were various suggestions which would present themselves from the proceedings in which they had taken part, and which he doubted not, would lead to the most beneficial results in promoting the success of their cause on the other side of the Atlantic. He was anxious that they should impress upon their American brethren of all religious persuasions the necessity of a general co-operation in the promotion of these objects. (Hear, hear.) His object was, and he trusted it would be the object of their American friends, to unite christians of all denominations in a common bond for the abolition of slavery. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. JOHN KEEP, Ohio, had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. He entered fully into the feelings which suggested the plan of co-operation among all the abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. He believed the present meeting was calculated to effect great good, and he had no doubt that its proceedings would produce a powerful effect in promoting the cause they were all engaged in. There was little doubt that another meeting would soon be called for, the interests involved in it being of great importance. Their minds could not take in the magnitude of the objects of the present convention. He would not indulge in too fond anticipations, nor would he trespass on the time of the meeting by indulging in his own feelings and anticipations, but he believed he echoed the feelings of all his christian brethren when he expressed a hope that they might all speedily meet again, if not to congratulate each other upon the achievement of their objects, at least upon the vast progress that the cause had made. (Hear.) As an American citizen, perhaps, he might be allowed to say a few words on the state of the question there. (Hear.) They had the American government, the American ministry, and the American church against them, but their cause was rapidly making way. (Hear.) The state of society in the United States showed them how deep, how forbidding, and how appalling were the horrors of the American slave-system; and how, he would ask, was it possible for a few philanthropists to go forward to the consummation of the work, unless they were assisted and encouraged by the blessing of God and their fellow-philanthropists on this side of the Atlantic? He trusted the position of that slave-cursed country would occupy still more of the attention of the convention; that they would lay aside every thing like prejudice, or that was calculated to keep back British influence, British prayers, and, if need be, British money, to sustain the anti-slavery operations in America. (Hear, hear.) He believed, that after the present meeting, there would be more prayers in the churches on both sides of the Atlantic, for the success of their cause. Feeling the liveliest gratitude to the persons who composed the present assembly, for the deep interest they had taken in the question, he would conclude by expressing a hope that, if it was not permitted them to meet again on earth, they might all meet in the kingdom of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in another world. (Hear.)

The Rev. H. GREW said before the resolution was put, he wished to call their attention to the point of whether the United States would not be the fittest place for the next meeting of the convention. (Hear, hear.) He hoped that subject would have the calm and deliberate attention of the meeting. He would suggest, therefore, that his American brethren should retire for a few minutes, and deliberate upon the question. The blessing of Divine Providence, he humbly hoped, had been upon their proceedings, and he trusted that the same power would close them. Though oceans divided them, their hearts would still not only be opened to the cry of the sufferer and the complaint of the oppressed, but they would also be lifted up in prayer to God for the success of their undertaking.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Sturge) said there were few persons, unless those who were intimately acquainted with the getting up of the present assembly, who could appreciate the weight and responsibility of the undertaking. (Cheers.) He believed that those who had taken an active part in the matter could hardly venture, looking forward to the future, to take so much responsibility upon them again, unless they received some intimation of encouragement from the convention before it separated. It was no wish of taking a prominent part in all proceedings that induced the London committee to take upon themselves the task, but they did wish to ascertain, before their friends separated, whether the arrangements that had taken place were such as to entitle them to encouragement for the future, if they ever looked forward to such a meeting. (Hear, hear.) If their American friends thought it best to retire, he had nothing to say to it; but he begged to call their attention before they did so to one point, and that was regarding the time of the next meeting. It had been said that a year would be two soon, and three years too remote a period, and many were of opinion that two years from the present time would be most advisable.

Mr. FULLER very much questioned the propriety of retiring. They were all there without distinction of country. He was not there as an American. (Hear, hear.) He stood there as a christian on the platform of humanity, and would not go out with the Americans. (Hear, hear.) Let them have everything done in the open face of day. (Hear.)

The Rev. C. GROSVENOR wished the American delegates should have an opportunity of consulting together.

The Rev. N. COLVER was opposed to the American delegates retiring. While he approved of the resolution, he begged to say that he hoped such a correspondence would be opened with the American and other delegates as would lead them to the best and most satisfactory results to all parties; and on that understanding he had no objection to leave the matter in the hands of the London Society. He had the utmost confidence in the arrangements of the society in London, and he had strong hopes that, before two years had elapsed, they would have the pleasure of welcoming the delegates to a convention like the present in America. Such an event would gladden and cheer his heart. (Hear, hear.) He should not feel that he had done right if he went away without adding a word or two. If anything had escaped him which might have even remotely added to the labours of the committee, he sincerely regretted it. When they went back to the land of slavery, the proceedings of the convention would meet them there, and they would be canvassed in the *Slaveholder* and the *Slaveholders' Apologist*; but they had nothing to shrink from, and he would give the convention this pledge, that he would remember them when he came before that throne where God heard prayers. (Hear, hear.) The Americans would need the prayers and the sustaining hand of their brethren on this side of the Atlantic; and whether they met in another convention or not, whether they were to assemble again in America or in England, he felt assured that there was a great convention to which he and all of them were hastening. There they would meet the slave-holder, and he prayed that he might not have it to say, "You did not do what you could to relieve me from the infatuation under which I laboured, and to enable me to wash off the guilt which has now clothed me with eternal woe." (Hear, hear.) There they would meet, also, the poor slave without his chains, and may God forbid that the poor slave should have to say, "Sir, you did not do what you could to take my fetters off in the other world." (Hear.) There, also they would meet those who had aided in the cause of the abolition of slavery, and he trusted that it would not be found that any of them had been turned aside from the path of duty and humanity. (Loud cheers.) When he thought of the many thousands slaves in his own country who were groaning under the lash, his heart was appalled, and he lay awake in the watches of the night. In conclusion, he would call upon them not to desist from their labours, not to lay down their bones in the dust, until every slave throughout the world was emancipated. (Cheers.)

The Rev. E. GALUSHA was prepared to move an amendment. He could not abandon the hope that the convention would one day sit in America, but he did not think it would be proper to fetter the committee in any way. It would be better that the whole question should be left in their hands. He would move, not as an amendment, but as an addition, to that effect.

The Rev. C. P. GROSVENOR seconded the motion.

Colonel MILLER had no objection to either the original motion or the proposed addition. He came there at the call of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and had, he trusted, spoken and acted as an independent man. (Hear, hear.) He now felt confident in the prosperity of the abolition principles, and they would be worked out into full effect by means of the gospel of Jesus Christ. As an American, he wished to have a convention upon their own shores, and he could promise that the friends of the negro would receive as hearty a welcome as the Americans had done in London. He pledged himself, and he could speak for thousands in his own country, that, so long as health and life were vouchsafed to him and them, they would devote themselves to the cause of abolition until every slave was set free.

Mr. W. PHILIPS said whenever and wherever such a body met again, they, at all events, ought to be left to form their own constitution: they ought to be allowed to form the details of their own plan of meeting, and be able to admit as delegates whom they pleased. He did not see why they should always sit in England.

After a long and desultory conversation.

The Rev. Mr. CARLILE moved as an amendment, "That it should be left to the discretion of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society of London to decide, after consulting with the friends of abolition in other countries, upon the time and place of holding another convention," which being seconded, was carried unanimously.

The Rev. T. SCALES said, all the business had been gone through which had been on the secretary's list. Some gentlemen, however, had prepared resolutions, which they would then offer to the meeting.

Mr. W. PHILIPS then rose to enter his protest, and that of seven of his American brethren, against certain parts of the proceedings of the convention. After detailing the list of grievances, it went on to complain of partiality on the part of the chairmen. The latter clause was met with a loud and general cry of "No, no." He complained that upon many occasions they had not been allowed to discuss matters in a manner sufficiently full. He moved that the protest be entered upon the records of the convention.

Several of the members of the convention hoped the latter clause would be withdrawn. This was refused. It was then moved, as an amendment, that the protest be received, and lie upon the table, which was carried by a large majority.

Mr. G. THOMPSON then rose to move a vote of thanks and gratitude to their venerable president. He would have liked to have made some observations upon so interesting a topic, but the time was then so late, that he would content himself with simply laying the resolution before the convention.

Mr. W. PHILIPS begged leave to second the motion. The name of Clarkson raised strong and powerful emotions in the breasts of thousands of his fellow-countrymen across the Atlantic, and he was pleased that the last tones of his voice were heard in that assembly, expressing his gratitude to that great and good man.

The motion was carried by every member rising up, and without any acclamation.

Upon the motion of Dr. PRICE, seconded by the Rev. Mr. GALUSHA, the thanks of the meeting were voted to the five vice-presidents for the able manner in which they had conducted the proceedings of the convention.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE most feelingly returned thanks.

Thanks were then voted to the secretaries, the press committee, &c.; after which

Mr. WOODWARK read a resolution of thanks and gratitude to the Almighty for permitting the assembly. The members then remained a short time in devotional silence, and the convention was dissolved.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 19.] WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THIS institution was founded in the year 1816, for the purpose of removing the free people of colour from the United States to the western coast of Africa. It has had for its chief advocates and supporters the slave-holders of the southern states, who conceive that, by lending their support to the scheme, they will enhance the value, and remove "a dangerous element" from the midst of their slaves; and the proud and prejudiced of the northern states, who conceive that it would enable them to abate "a nuisance" they can no longer endure.

From year to year the managers of this society have appealed to the philanthropist and the christian, to aid them in removing to Africa a people, whom they describe as so "degraded, debased, and depressed," that neither "legislation, humanity, benevolence, nor religion," itself, can elevate them to respectability and honour in their native land, under the plea that, in their father-land, they will become "the lights of civilization and religion," and be the founders of an empire which shall rival their own proud republic in glory! Yes, they tell us that these very people, whose minds have scarcely been reached in their debasement by the heavenly light, will become the regenerators of that vast continent, by the introduction of the knowledge of the useful arts, the discoveries of science, the truths of philosophy, and the pure morals and sublime doctrines of christianity!

But the managers further appeal to abolitionists, on the ground that their scheme will destroy, root and branch, the slave-trade; and their colony of LIBERIA is again and again referred to as a triumphant proof of this. From an imperfect set of the reports of the society in our possession, we have culled all the extracts we could find on the point, and now present them to our readers, leaving them to judge how far that great object has been accomplished by its instrumentality.

LIBERIA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Extracts from the sixth annual report of the American Colonization Society.

"The slave-trade checked in this part of Africa by the noble exertions of the American and British naval officers on the coast, no longer supplies the wants of the inhabitants; so that they are compelled to look to a different commerce for those foreign productions to which they are so immoderately attached, and even their subsistence seems to depend upon a change in their mode of life."—p. 16.

"The events of the last year have confirmed the board in the belief that the slave-trade, though at present extensively carried on, must finally and for ever cease. The enormities of this traffic have aroused the indignation of christian nations and they will suppress it."—p. 17.

Extract from the seventh annual report.

"The board rejoice to say that the slave-trade *seems* to have been less extensively carried on during the last year, and to express their belief that few American citizens now share in the gains of this atrocious traffic. The earnestness and decision evinced by the government of the United States in its efforts to abolish this cruel trade; the opprobrium and punishment attached by Congress to a violation of its enactments on this subject; particularly its recent determination to consider such violation piracy, and to neglect no reasonable means of detecting transgressors, have almost, if not entirely, restrained the traffick under the American flag, and promise to exert a benign and powerful influence upon the laws of the whole civilized world."—p. 39.

Extracts from the eighth annual report.

"The slave-trade is understood to have been carried on during the last year *as extensively as ever, and with undiminished atrocity.* The negociations of our government with Great Britain on this subject, which were supposed to have been happily terminated, are, it is painful to say, still in an embarrassed state; though no difficulties are thought to exist which can prevent a successful result. But though the convention proposed between these two governments is most important, the traffic can never be suppressed, except by the combined influence of all the christian powers. The voice of the civilized world must denounce the slave-trader as a pirate; not a single flag must be permitted to protect him; not a sanctuary of refuge be left to him, before he will abandon a trade which is little less extraordinary for its profits than for its cruelty and waste of human life."—pp. 20 and 21.

Extract from the ninth annual report.

"*The extent and atrocity of the slave-trade remains, it is believed, undiminished,* and in more than one instance during the year, has the flag of our country been seen to wave over vessels employed beyond all doubt in this traffic. Numerous facts might be adduced in proof that American citizens still participate in the crimes and gains of this trade, which we can hardly hope will be exterminated until the whole christian world becomes so sensible of its iniquity, as unanimously to denounce it as an intolerable offence, to which no flag shall give protection."—p. 23 and 24.

Extract from the tenth annual report.

"It is a fact which cannot fail to awaken in this meeting the deepest concern, that the records of the colony afford abundant and unequivocal evidence of *the undiminished extent and atrocity of the African slave-trade.* From eight to ten and even fifteen vessels have been engaged at the same time in this odious traffic, almost within reach of the guns of Liberia; and as late as July, 1825, there were 'existing contracts for eight hundred slaves to be furnished in the short space of four months, within eight miles of Monrovia. Four hundred of these were to be purchased for two American slavers. A boat belonging to a Frenchman, having on board twenty-six slaves, all in irons, was in September, 1825, upset in the mouth of the St. Paul's and twenty of their number perished. This is one of the lesser scenes of tragedy, says the Colonial Agent, which are daily acting in this wretched country, but the crimes of these lawless invaders of human liberty are not confined to their acknowledged profession; they defy the laws of all civilized nations, and engage in every species of piracy."—pp. 43 and 44.

Extract from the Eleventh Annual Report.

"Though the slave-trade continues to be prosecuted *to a vast extent, and with circumstances of inhumanity no less infamous and appalling than in former years,* yet the managers have perused with pleasure a late decree of the king of France for its more effectual suppression, and have learnt with still higher satisfaction, that Portugal and Brazil have determined on its speedy abolition. Nor can the influence which the colony of Liberia promises to exert for the prevention of this traffic be regarded as among the least important objects to be effected by its progress.—p. 45.

Extract from the Twelfth Annual Report.

"*The slave-trade still exists, and exists under circumstances and to an extent revolting alike to every humane and christian sentiment.* THE MANAGERS FEAR THAT ITS SPEEDY SUPPRESSION IS NOT TO BE EXPECTED. Though all christendom has resolved to abolish it, yet the love of gain still stimulates the hardened in crime to attempt at all hazards their depredations upon human liberty, and too often are they successful. But the colony of Liberia is evidently checking the evil at its source, and will be found, the managers trust, a powerful means of implanting in the breast of barbarians, sentiments of social and fraternal affection."—pp. 25 and 26.

Extract from the Thirteenth Annual Report.

"It is painful to state that the managers have reason to believe that *the slave-trade is still prosecuted to a great extent, and with circumstances of undiminished atrocity.* The fact that much was done by Mr. Ashmun to banish it from the territory under the colonial jurisdiction, is unquestionable; but *it now exists, even on this territory; and a little to the north and south of Liberia, it is seen in its true characters—of fraud, rapine and blood!* In the opinion of the late agent, the present efforts to suppress this trade must prove abortive. A frigate or two, sent out to pass two or three times a year down the coast, can effect little or nothing. Through the agency of natives employed for the purpose, their movements are perfectly understood by the slave-dealers. In my opinion, says Dr. Randall, 'the effectual method for breaking up this traffic, would be to send upon the coast ten or twelve well armed, light, fast-sailing schooners, which might touch at those places from whence the slaves are taken; which should relieve each other, and remain in service the whole year. They should be accompanied by one or two sloops of war, with a force sufficient to break up the slave-factories.'"—p. 13.

Extract from the fourteenth annual report.

"Some appalling facts in regard to the slave-trade have come to the knowledge of the board of managers during the last year. *With undiminished atrocity and activity is this odious traffic now carried on all along the African coast. Slave-factories are established in the immediate vicinity of the colony, and at the gallinas, (between Liberia and Sierra Leone) not less than 900 slaves were shipped during the last summer in the space of three weeks.* While all christian governments have expressed their abhorrence of this trade, they have done comparatively nothing for its suppression. The voice of injured and bleeding humanity has long called for vigorous and united action on this subject, but it has called in

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vain. Thousands of human beings have perished in agony, perished as the victims of the most unrelenting injustice and cruelty inflicted by citizens of christian states, and yet the powers of christendom, well knowing the facts, have felt no adequate sympathy, and made no energetic efforts to save them. There is reason to hope, however, that the recent expression of public opinion in the most enlightened nation of Europe, will induce the eminent men now invested with authority to redeem the pledges they have repeatedly given, as well since as before their elevation, to exert faithfully the powers with which they are clothed to put down this great scandal of the world."—pp. 11, 12.

Extract from the fifteenth annual report.

"On the subject of the slave-trade, the managers can add little to the information communicated in their last report. Though in the immediate vicinity of Liberia it has received some check *it is still prosecuted by the piratical of all nations, on nearly every part of the African coast; nor can it be speedily suppressed, unless all christendom shall unite against it.* The reproach alike of Europe and America and the curse of Africa, it is criminal for the civilized world longer to permit its enormities. Humanity and religion call upon the rulers of all christian nations to stigmatize it as the worst of piracies, and to unite their efforts for its utter and final extinction. Those who conduct this trade are enemies not only of the African, but of the human race; and atrocious acts of piracy have been committed by them during the last year upon vessels unoffending and engaged in lawful commerce on the coast. On the 16th June last, the colonial schooner Montserado was captured by a pirate off little Cape Mount; and her crew, consisting of eight persons, either conveyed away on board the Spanish vessel, or put to death. Two English ships in the Bight of Benin had been shortly before taken by pirates, and their entire crew murdered. The dangers to which American commerce is exposed on the African coast justifies, in the opinion of the honourable secretary of the navy, the attention of the general government; and the managers are assured that some of our vessels of war will be ordered forthwith to repair thither for its protection."

Extract from the nineteenth annual report, p. 25.

"Evidence is declared to exist that the Bassa Cove massacre is chiefly ascribable to the machinations of persons engaged in the slave-trade.

"To such a height had the audacity of the slavers risen, that recently the Dey seized and abducted several Liberian boys. The captives were, however, finally liberated.

"The managers cannot deny themselves the hope that, until the extirpation of the slave-trade shall become a part of the international code of all christian sovereignties, such modifications may be made in the laws of the United States as will give a practical significance to the title of piracy, by which they designate a traffic at once a libel on the name of man, and a defiance of the justice of God."—pp. 8 & 9.

Here our extracts from the reports of the society terminate, not having them beyond the year 1836, but we find from the correspondence of the governor of Liberia with the board of managers, that "some" of the slaves who had been captured and sold had "been taken," he says, "from our purchased territories," and that boats had been sent from Spanish slavers into the St. Paul's, a river in Liberia, and he adds, "slaves have been bought in that river."—Letter, 8, Jan. 1836.

Mr. Crocker, a Baptist minister at Edina, Liberia, in a letter dated November, 1836, says, "we frequently see them (slavers,) lying off *at no great distance from the shore*, waiting to take in a cargo of slaves;" and he adds, "from sixty to eighty victims were seized and marched down to *Little Cape Mount*, (Liberia!) *where a Spanish schooner from the leeward coast*, WAS LYING AT THE TIME. They were immediately bartered for goods, and shipped on board!

In 1837 Captain Nicholson of the United States navy, reported to his government, that, "within a year FOUR SLAVE FACTORIES had been established *almost within sight of the colony*, (Monrovia.)

In February 1838, the British consul at Cape de Verds made the following communication to Lord Palmerston:—On the 15th February, 1838, arrived at this port a vessel under American colours, named MONROVIA, last from Liberia, with a bill of sale and list of crew from the *collector of that colony*. This vessel had neither a register nor a sea-letter. I have ascertained without doubt that she is a vessel *belonging to Don Pedro Blanco* of the Gallinas—has put in here, directed to his agent, for a fit out for the coast, and that a *cargo of slaves is ready for her*. There is a black man on board for a flag captain, who speaks English well. *Don Pedro Blanco's agent in Liberia is* J. N. LEWIS, *commission merchant!*"

In the "Slave-Trade papers" laid before parliament last year, we have obtained the following intelligence from an intercepted letter of the captain of a slaver to his owner at the Havana, under date of the 28th September, 1838. He says, "To-morrow the schooner sails for NEW SESTOS," (is not this in Liberia?) "to take on board a cargo of slaves which I have ready there. I have been obliged," he adds, "to have *one hundred sets of shackles made at Cape Mesurado*," (Monrovia!!!)

In August, 1839, the present governor (Buchanan) after adverting to the wretched condition in which he found the colony on his arrival, says, "while our mechanics could find no employment at home, *the slavers offered them plenty of work, high wages, and good Spanish doubloons for pay.* The temptation was irresistible, and some whose necessities were too strong for their principles *went among them;* but I recalled the *wanderers* as soon as I came here."

We conclude our extracts with the remarks of the editor of the *Liberia Herald*, dated May, 1838. "The first requisite to the prosperity and advancement of the colony," he says, "is the suppression of the slave-trade *in our vicinity. This trade has been gradually acquiring strength for the last four years. Its ravages have been more fearful, and the vessels engaged in it more numerous, than at any former period of the* COLONY'S *history.* **An** *exterminating war has raged over an extent of fifty miles* AROUND US; *nearly all communication with the* INTERIOR *has been cut off; lands have remained untilled, every article of food has advanced* 200 *per cent. in price,* AND HORROR AND CONFUSION HAVE RAGED ON EVERY SIDE."

This is the picture of LIBERIA in the twenty-fourth year of its history! The slave-trade has increased—it has even found its agents in the colony. There slavers have been fitted out—there shackles have been made—and there slaves have been bought and sold! We charge not this upon the managers of the society; but we are satisfied from all the evidence before us, that Liberia has afforded, and will continue to afford, great facilities to the slave-traders in carrying on their nefarious schemes. We are informed on the best authority that thirty vessels touch at Monrovia every month, and we have no hesitation in saying, that the larger part of these are slavers, principally under cover of the American flag. Of course, though they bear in their very build and mode of fitting up all the marks of their real character, they do not report themselves as slavers, but put in for wood, and water, and stores, and the temptation of "good Spanish doubloons" is too irresistible for the virtue of the Liberian merchants and mechanics, and so the slave-trade goes on!

On perusing the extracts from the reports of the Colonization Society, we have been gratified at the just and indignant terms in which its managers designate the African slave-trade, and its guilty supporters; but we do not find that the inter-state slave-trade of the United States, second only to the African in atrocity, and in some of its features even more revolting than it, meets with one solitary reproof—one word of condemnation from them! Is the traffic in human flesh by civilized men, in the midst of a civilized community, less infamous than when carried on by barbarians on a savage continent! Is the rearing of slaves by thousands every year for the market, less iniquitous than the kidnapping and capture of them for sale! Is the guilt of HENRY CLAY, the president of the American colonization society, the slave-holder and slave-buyer, less hideous than that of KING BOATSWAIN, the African chief, the slave-seller! We think not. Yet Mr. Clay can be eloquent in his denunciations of the untutored savage, forgetting that, upon every principle of enlightened morality, he is the greater criminal of the two! Let the domestic slave-trade of the United States, in the prosecution of which every sentiment of humanity, and every principle of religion is outraged, be abandoned; let the colonization society denounce it, plead against it, petition against it. In other words, let them join the abolition societies of their own land in their noble efforts to free their country from the guilt and disgrace of this worse than brutal practice, and we will give them credit for sincerely desiring the extirpation of a kindred enormity on the western coast of Africa.

METHODIST CONFERENCE.—SLAVERY.

(From the *Watchman.*)

TUESDAY, Aug. 11.

THE address of the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church in America to the British conference, was read at length by the secretary, and listened to with the deepest attention. It contained many excellent passages, and afforded an encouraging view of the progress of Methodism in the United States; but the sentiments expressed in it on the subject of slavery were altogether at variance with those which the British conference has from the beginning entertained. The conference of America have no intention, it would seem, to alter the testimony borne against slavery in their book of discipline; but they think that the laws of the several states composing the Union are of paramount authority in civil matters, and should not be interfered with by ecclesiastical bodies. In some states the majority of the people and the tendency of the laws are in favour of abolition, while in others the very promulgation of abolitionist views and doctrines is regarded as a species of high treason. Each state is independent of the other and of the whole body in this matter, and the conference seems to be of opinion that, so far as they are concerned, each should be left to pursue its own course. They therefore abstain from any expression of their collective opinion on the subject, further than that which has been already given; and they think that their course on this question is in accordance with those scriptures which enjoin respect to civil governments, as well as those which show that a state of slavery was permitted to exist in the churches of the New Testament.

The reading of the address was followed by a general call for the president, who, on rising, was desired to give some account of his recent visit to America.

The president intimated that, as the time for adjournment was drawing on, it would be impossible for him to enter much into detail. He would only say, in general, that he had been received and treated with the most marked kindness everywhere in America, and had derived much pleasure from his visit to that great

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branch of the Methodist family. He had attended, as they well knew, the general conference at Baltimore, though he was not present (as some in this country had affirmed) when the case of Silas Comfort was decided. He had much pleasure in meeting the conference, and witnessing the spread of religion among them; and there was but one drawback to that pleasure—that was a serious one, he meant the question of slavery. "I told them" (said the rev. gent.) "that with us slavery was uniformly denounced as a great evil and a great crime; that I believed that there was not a man, either in the British or Irish conference, who would say anything else concerning it; and that I was charged by you to say that it was your earnest wish and desire that they should maintain, from year to year, their own testimony against it, as given in their book of discipline, and that they should unite with their fellow-citizens in such measures as might be deemed prudent and necessary to promote the abolition of slavery." Mr. Newton went on to say that, though the conference was divided in opinion, yet generally they denounced slavery, and would be glad to see it abolished. The great question was, how it should be done; and there were many difficulties in giving an answer to this. Some of them arose from the circumstance of the evil being a domestic one, mixed up with their own families; others, from the state of the law; and others, from the violent temper and unguarded language of several of the advocates of abolition. On the whole, he hoped that they differed from us rather on the question of measures than on principles.

Much inquiry arose respecting the case of Silas Comfort, to which the president had alluded, and Mr. Egerton Ryerson rose to give some account of it. It appeared from his statement, that Silas Comfort was a preacher in connexion with the Mississipi conference, who had, in a case of discipline arising in his circuit, received the evidence of a slave against a freeman. His conference condemned him for so doing, (we believe on the ground that the law of the state in which he lived forbad the reception of slave evidence in any case) but recommended that, under the circumstances of the case, no further proceeding should be taken against him. From this decision, he appealed to the general conference, which set aside the former decision, and sustained the appeal. This was, of course, tantamount to licensing the practice; but, at a subsequent period, a resolution prohibiting the reception of slave testimony in states where the state law forbad it was carried on the motion of a representative from the south. This led to a new contest. A resolution to rescind the prohibitory resolution was submitted, and the numbers were found to be equal, 69 voting on each side. The presiding bishop had no casting vote, and the matter was at a stand. Before the conference broke up, however, the friends of the abolition cause succeeded in getting a resolution passed, which greatly modified the objectionable one just mentioned and gave the bishops a discretionary power to receive slave testimony in church affairs. As an example of the state of feeling in reference to this subject, it was stated that, in some states where preachers had excluded members from the society on the ground of facts alleged against them by slaves, the parties expelled had obtained damages against the preachers in courts of law. Mr. Ryerson went on to speak of the difficulties in which individuals were often placed, as furnishing a strong reason against rash and sweeping censures. The case he had in his mind was that of a travelling preacher. His father had left him an estate and slaves to cultivate it. He was convinced of the sinfulness of slavery, and would fain have set his slaves free, but the law would not allow him to do so. He sold his estate and offered to assist the slaves to go to Liberia, a settlement on the Western Coast of Africa; but they refused to go. What was he then to do? He was compelled to keep the slaves as domestic servants, and he did so. There were not a few, he believed, in similar circumstances.

A strong sensation was produced by these statements, as our readers will readily suppose, and when Mr. W. Ryerson rose to speak on the same subject, he was very cordially received. He dwelt much on the point last adverted to by his brother, the extreme difficulty of doing anything effectively in the way of ameliorating the condition of the slave, owing to the excited state of public feeling. In many parts of America, and especially in the south, it was next to impossible under present circumstances. When England emancipated her slaves, it was done by force of *law*, the authority of which was recognized by King, Lords and Commons. But there the law had no force when it was opposed to public feeling. The people, in too many cases, governed the law instead of being governed by it, and the tribunal of Judge Lynch superseded every other. He had known many cases in which travellers who had *scientific objects only* in view had been suspected of being anti-slavery agents, and had forfeited their lives in consequence. This state of feeling, of course, created great difficulties in the way of abolition; but he believed that most of the American preachers hated slavery as much as we did ourselves. In conclusion he expressed his opinion, that the immediate emancipation of the slaves throughout America would be the greatest cruelty conceivable; for in the present state of public feeling, they must inevitably starve, or rise up against their former masters, and so plunge the country into all the horrors of a servile war. The great point at present was to bring the white race to a better mind—to get them to look on the coloured as brethren. In order to this, it would be necessary to dispossess them, if possible, of their prejudices against us, which were now very strong, and to deal kindly and gently with them, sympathising with their difficulties, while we did not cease to urge the great principles of christianity in relation to the slavery question.

After several other preachers had expressed their opinions on the subject, there was a general call for Dr. Bunting, who proceeded to say that, wherever there was slavery, there was sin somewhere. Where it rested in each particular instance could not, perhaps, be precisely ascertained; but there was sin somewhere, and a christian people should not be parties to it. There were two things, which might surely be done in America. The christian people might appeal to the legislature, and make their principles felt there. There was great difficulty, he was aware, in pursuing the right course. That very difficulty was part of the curse which sin always brought with it. Where this sin existed, and had existed long, so as to be interwoven with the laws and institutions of a country, it brought society into a state approaching nearly to hell in its wretchedness, and resembling hell in another respect too: it was almost as difficult to escape from that state as from the place of torment. But God could deliver them, and the christian people should appeal to God. He should doubt whether they "groaned" as they should do, "being burdened" with this great national sin. He should like to hear that each conference had set apart a day to be spent in fasting and prayer every year, until God should arise and deliver them.

CHRISTIAN COMMUNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS RENOUNCED.

THE American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention, holding its first session in the city of New York, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of April, 1840,

To the Baptist Slave-holders of the Southern States.

Fathers and Brethren,

We have assembled, to the number of one hundred and ten persons, at the written call of seven hundred Baptists, from thirteen of the United States. Of this number about four hundred are accredited ministers of Jesus Christ.

A conviction of duty, which we humbly conceive is based upon the fear of GOD and the love of our fellow-men,—whether bond or free, oppressors or oppressed,—constrains us to submit a few thoughts for your special and candid consideration. In doing so, we appeal with the firmest confidence to the Omniscient God for the rectitude of our intentions. We solemnly profess a prayerful and submissive reverence for the principles of his recorded will. We feelingly avow a tender sympathy, not only for the *slave* but also for you, upon many of whom slavery is entailed by heritage and enforced by law; while inexorable habits formed in the passive state of infancy, as well as universal usage, impose bonds upon yourselves scarcely less strong or less oppressive than the fetters of the slave.

Hear us, then, with patience and kindness.—It is our firm conviction that the whole system of American slavery, in theory and practice, is a violation of the instincts of nature,—a perversion of the first principles of justice, and a positive transgression of the revealed will of God. For man instinctively seeks happiness and repels outrage; while slavery compels him to forego the former and endure the latter, for himself and his posterity, until the end of time.—Justice, in its very nature, assumes the existence of free moral agents, mutually bound by established principles, and acting towards each other with perfect reciprocity. We do not speak of justice towards a "chattel personal," a horse or a swine. But the statutes of the south pronounce a slave "a chattel personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever;" and thus set him beyond the pale of justice, as utterly disqualified to assert a right and to redress a wrong.

Divine revelation, as committed to Moses and expounded by our Lord, teaches that pious self-love is the only proper measure of our love towards others. Does slavery, especially its laws which quench or smother in the slave the light of the mind, which tear from his agonized bosom the dearest objects of his natural affection—conform to that rule of Holy Writ?

We believe that God only has the right to take away the health, the wife, the children, or the life of men guilty of no social crime. When man, single or associated, uses his power for such ends, he appears to us to arrogate to himself the prerogatives of the Almighty, and to assume a responsibility under which an archangel would stagger.

God, it is true, made use of the Jews to exterminate certain heathen tribes, and to inflict upon others a mild servitude, carefully defined and restricted. To employ this mode of punishment, or any other that he chose, was his unquestionable right. But where is the scripture warrant to apply this special license of Jehovah for the extirpation of the human race at large, or the enslavement of any nation in particular? This specific direction to his oracular people is but *an exception* that confirms the *general rule* of his Son, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The heart of the blessed Jesus was, indeed, an overflowing fountain of the tenderest sympathy for human woe. Food, health, and life were his boon, never withheld when solicited; and the gospel preached to the poor was the peculiar and characteristic proof of his being the Son of God and the Saviour of the world. No evidence exists that he ever witnessed a scene of slavery. It is not shown that Hebrews of that day trafficked in human flesh. The chained coffle—the naked gang of the cotton field—the exposed female reeking under the lash—the child torn for ever from its mother's breaking heart—these, and worse acts of slavery's

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tragedy, were not performed, so far as history speaks, before the face of Jesus. But his warmest, almost his only burst of indignation, is against those who devoured the helpless widow's substance, and for a pretence made long prayers and liberal contributions to the cause of God.

His itinerant inspired followers were too busy in draining off the universal deluge of idolatry, explaining the nature of the one living God, and establishing the claims of Jesus as the true Messiah, to define or to condemn in form every species and variety of crime in every age, that hell, fruitful of inventions, might suggest, and fallen human nature perpetrate. Hence, horse-racing, gambling, piracy, the rum traffic, and the African and American slave-trade, remain ungraduated in the scripture scale of human sins. Paul, however, exhorts the servants of *heathen* masters to respectfulness and patience, for the reason that the name of God be not blasphemed; and advises them, while patient under bondage, to prefer freedom. He enjoins *christian* masters to give their servants what is just and equal. Do the slaves of American Baptists obtain justice and equity! He implores his brother Philemon to receive again the converted fugitive, not, as he probably had been, the heathen vassal of a heathen lord, but as a beloved brother in Jesus Christ. Thus *we* behold in all the scriptures a virtual and total condemnation of American slavery.

Besides, American Calvinistic Baptists, as a whole denomination, have been hitherto regarded by the christian world, as *responsible for the sins of Baptist slave-holders, and the sufferings of one hundred thousand Baptist slaves.* And if we fail, as many do, to testify our abhorrence of a system that allows a fellow-christian to sell his brother, or his brother's wife or child, or to dissolve the marriage tie at pleasure, we see not how to escape the merited contempt of mankind, the reproaches of conscience, or the displeasure of God. For the followers of Jesus are ordained the light of the world, and *his witnesses of the truth* until the end of time.

Further, in the exhaustion of your once teeming soil—the non-increase, and in some parts the diminution of your white population—the depreciation of your staple products, and the competition of British enterprise in India—the jubilee shout of West Indian emancipation, rousing the dormant spirit of your slaves to assert the rights of man—your intrinsic incapacity of self-defence in case of foreign aggression—your constant exposure to servile insurrection and massacre—and the general reprobation of republican slavery throughout the rest of the civilized and christian world—we behold indications that God attests by earthly signs the precept of his heavenly oracles, to "let the oppressed go free."

Again, if you have heard us thus far with candour, you may perhaps inquire, "What would you have us do?" We answer—at once confess before heaven and earth the sinfulness of holding slaves; admit it to be not only a misfortune but a crime; remonstrate against laws that bind the system on you; petition for the guaranty to all of "natural and unalienable rights." If your remonstrances and prayers to man are disregarded, cast yourselves on the God of providence and justice; forsake, like Abraham, your father-land, and carry your children and your households to the vast asylums of our prairies and our wilderness, where our Father in heaven has bidden our mother earth to open her exuberant breast for the nourishment of many sons.

Finally—if you should (which heaven avert!) remain deaf to the voice of warning and entreaty—if you still cling to the power-maintained privilege of living on unpaid toil, and of claiming as property the image of God which Jesus bought with precious blood—we solemnly declare, as we fear the Lord, that we cannot and we dare not recognize you as consistent brethren in Christ; we cannot join in partial selfish prayers that the groans of the slave may be unheard; we cannot hear preaching which makes God the author and approver of human misery and vassalage; and we cannot, at the Lord's table, cordially take that as a brother's hand which plies the scourge on woman's naked flesh—which thrusts a gag into the mouth of man—which rivets fetters on the innocent—and which shuts up the Bible from human eyes.—We deplore your condition; we pray for your deliverance; and God forbid that we should ever sin against Him by ceasing so to pray.

ELON GALUSHA, *President.*
O. S. MURRAY, *Secretary.*

ON THE SCARCITY OF SUGAR.

[From Mr. Jeremie's Letter to Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart.]

IT is with sincere satisfaction I can state my firm belief that the crisis is over, and that prices will, with an increased supply, gradually sink to a fairly remunerative level.

This increased supply will be attributable to three causes; each permanent and progressive, viz., the increased value of free labour; the growth of sugar in our remaining tropical possessions; the free circulation of labourers among our sugar islands. Take the following instance of the manner in which the first cause operates, as received from the lips of the party himself.

A gentleman who owns considerable estates at Montserrat and Jamaica, and whose opinions were in accordance with those generally espoused by proprietors, yet clearly perceiving that slavery could not endure much longer, determined, about eight years ago, to engage some of the ablest agricultural labourers he could find in England, men who had won prizes and had certificates from the clergymen of their parish, whom he sent out at high wages with their families to his estates. This I was aware of when I went to Ceylon: asking him on my return how this experiment, in which I felt a great interest, had succeeded, he answered that some had now fulfilled their contracts and had returned; and that the effect on the labourers was simply this, that two of his field negros now performed with the plough the work done by *ten* formerly with the hoe. This is at Montserrat. At Jamaica, the violent agitations, now happily subsiding, which had disturbed that island, had not, as I understood, allowed of a fair trial.

Of the operation of the second cause it might be enough to state that, in the first year after the introduction of East India sugar at the same rate of duty as West Indian, the supply obtained from this new source was immediately doubled.

The East India sugar imported in 1836, was 176,442 cwts.
" " 1837, " 368,603 "

Nor, looking to the extent, population, and productiveness of these territories, can any limits certainly be assigned to this increase, which is still proceeding most satisfactorily. One proprietor alone has stated, I understand, before the House of Lords, that he had 25,000 acres of sugar-cane at present under cultivation. He barely commenced five years ago.

And the author of "Colonial Statistics" observes, p. 365,—

"Sugar may be cultivated and manufactured to an extent in India sufficient to supply the whole world; its production at present is immense, as it forms an ingredient in almost every article of food or drink used by the Hindoos, and, where the manufacture is attended to as at Benares, the grain is large and sparkling, and pure as the best Mauritius or Demerara sugar. The soil and climate of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, are particularly suited to the production of this essential nourishment to man; every village has its patch of cane, and a rough manufacture, named Jaghery, is extracted from the palmyra and cocoa-nut trees. It is in evidence before parliament that the sugar-cane of Bengal is as good as any in the West Indies; and some of a superior quality has been produced."

Then, again, there is Ceylon. This island was long considered incapable of producing sugar; but, with encouragement, the means were soon found. At Kendasala, near Kandy, a merchant has cleared out a piece of land and planted a sugar estate within the last three years. He went to the expense of building works and purchasing the usual apparatus, and the second year, it is said, cleared his whole outlay, although the prices he obtains are not the home prices. Coffee has also proved in the highest degree profitable. An estate which cost about £6000, has been known, at the expiration of its fourth and fifth year, to yield that sum annually. Accordingly, thousands and tens of thousands of acres, formerly waste, are now being purchased for coffee and sugar culture; whilst the exports of coffee from Ceylon, have for the last year amounted to £112,000 sterling; and Ceylon coffee ranks in the English market next only to Mocha.

The third cause is immigration.

It is not my wish to dwell upon any topic which can be fairly and reasonably matter of controversy among our friends. That they are agreed as to the manifold inconvenience—the gross impolicy of introducing Indian Coolies into the West Indies, if only from the length of the passage, and difficulty, amounting in this case to a practical impossibility, of their return, I believe. That many and weighty objections have been propounded with regard to Mauritius is also indubitable; and on these points there is no difference of opinion among us. But as regards the free circulation of labour within the limits of the West Indies, and from the slave and coloured populations of America to the West Indies, I am at a loss to conceive an objection. Let us, my dear sir, not fall into the mistake with which we so strongly reproached those who called themselves the negro's natural guardians—that of considering the negro as a being who cannot take care of himself. He has shown he can, as we always maintained he could. Give him, then, the full benefit of his freedom. Where is the difference, whether he proceeds from Barbados to Trinidad, or from an eastern to a western parish in Jamaica; in either case—which is the main point—he knows by experience the nature of the culture he is to engage in; the conditions of that culture; the terms he can get where he is; those he can get by going elsewhere; and what are the facilities for his return.

You are aware I have never concurred with those who considered there was something necessarily deleterious and debilitating in sugar cultivation or manufacture; that, in my humble opinion, "it was the system, not the work, that killed them." The working them for thirty or forty hours in succession; the dragging the females to the field—the sole stimulus to both sexes being the lash—these among other enormities of the master, now renounced, were the causes of their rapid decay. Nor was my opinion lightly formed, or formed without a sufficient trial. Here, as in every other case within my reach, it has ever been my rule to obtain the best evidence the case would admit of; and in the present instance it is known that I have gone into the field, taken up the West Indian hoe, and worked for some hours with it under their sun among the gang. I was then in the prime of life.

Is it then too much to believe that, under the increasing influence of these three causes, there is nothing, excepting the duties and means of transport, to prevent sugar becoming as cheap as any other production—as cheap as flour, or as salt?"

American Pro-Slavery Press.

FRUITS OF THE CONVENTION.

(From the Correspondence of the *Boston Morning Post.*)

London, 29th June, 1840.

THERE has been another farce enacted in London, viz., a grand meeting to put down *slavery* all over the world, but *especially in the United States.* The meeting took place in Exeter Hall, the largest room in London, where meetings of this character assemble. There were present one royal Duke, many who were unroyal, various other grades of nobility, members of parliament, generals, governors, historians, poets, and almost every other description of persons, besides *forty delegates from America!!!* The latter made many very *long speeches*—repeated the account of every dreadful death among the American slaves, which has been sold by the newsvenders in the streets for the last fifty years; vilified their native country in every way they could; called on the English to aid them *with men and money*, and with such assistance pledged themselves in a short time to change the face of everything in the United States. Among *the means* to be adopted, was a proposition to refuse to associate in England with any American coming from

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a state where slavery exists; to dismiss the present ambassador here—our talented and excellent countryman, Mr. Stevenson, (the most popular and most esteemed American minister who ever resided at the British Court,) and to import in future all the cotton they used from India, so as not to encourage the produce of slave-labour. Some persons wished, I believe, to include *sugar* in the prohibition, but, finding more persons present who made use of *sugar* than of *cotton*, the resolution did not pass. A violent and disgraceful personal attack was made upon the character of Mr. Stevenson by O'Connell, who, having two years since stated several falsehoods at Birmingham concerning the same individual, and being called upon by him, refused either to take back the statements or to give him any other kind of satisfaction; yet, because the man possesses talents, and more *brass* than any other character of the day, he is tolerated in English society of a certain kind. The only Americans who escaped the ire and indignation of the meeting (except some few minor characters not worth naming,) were John Q. Adams and Dr. Channing, and I am almost ready to believe that the principal reason for holding them up to admiration, was the wish to disparage the character of their countrymen in general.

Among the speakers was the Duke of Sussex, the son of George III. "*that bloody tyrant*," (as the venerable Earl of Leicester always calls him,) who sent so many fleets and armies to destroy and murder *his own faithful, subjects* in America because they refused to become his slaves, and who deluged India with blood, destroyed her towns and murdered her people, in order to acquire a larger domain and more extended power. There was a Quaker too from Birmingham, the town which owes its principal wealth to manufacturing for so many years the *manacles* to confine the slaves in "the loathsome divisions of the slave-traders," and in making the guns to sell to them on the African coast, which would burst the first time they were discharged, destroying the unfortunate holders of them. There were delegates too from Liverpool, the town which owes its very existence and nearly all the wealth it has to the successful prosecution of the slave-trade, and which resisted so strenuously for half a century, and baffled all the efforts of the humane and philanthropic Wilberforce. Bristol, too, the very foundations of which were laid in the blood of the Africans, was represented at the meeting. Even females attended, and the Duchess of Sutherland and Mrs. Fry were seen seated at the side of each other. Lord Brougham very wisely sent a message, that "the state of his health would not permit him to attend." You may remember his having spoken in the same place in 1838, before a similar meeting, and having informed them, that "it required much less moral or personal courage to stand up there in the midst of policemen and declaim against slavery, than to do the same thing in South Carolina or Georgia;" and he also informed them (what appeared to excite their astonishment not a little) that the United States passed an act punishing the capturing of slaves from Africa in the same degree as piracy some years before England could be induced to do so, or any other European nation; but he might have gone further and have informed them that it was the same British nation, which in spite of all our remonstrances as colonists, persisted for so many years in filling America with the "curse of slavery," as they now call it, for the sake of the *profits on the trade*. What presumption, what audacity, to reproach us now with our continuing to suffer under an evil which they themselves inflicted upon us!

But we ought not perhaps, to regret what has taken place, for it should teach us the folly of depending on the friendship of *foreigners*, and I hope our 'nullifying' brethren in South Carolina, and Mr. Calhoun at the head of them, will profit by what has occurred, and never think again of dissolving partnership with his *New England friends* to form an alliance with *Old England*, in order to sell to her a greater quantity of cotton or rice. Mr. O'Connell has declared it as the sense of the meeting in London, '*That Englishmen can have no communication of any kind with persons connected in any way with slavery*,' and Mr. Calhoun was particularly honoured at the meeting by more than his portion of the Irish orator's abuse.

It is evident the question of slavery is to be agitated on both sides of the water, the *aid of the British government invoked*, and violence to be resorted to in case menaces do not succeed. In a word, we must defend our rights, or they will be taken from us. This is not the first time in our history that our privileges have been assailed, and I know the character of my countrymen too well to doubt for a moment what will be the result.

M.

THE following is from the London correspondent of *Bennett's Herald*:—

"I find all the English nearly abolitionists, and at present there is a perfect *negro mania* in London. An '*anti-slave trade*' meeting was lately held, at which the Dutch Prince Albert presided. This is all well enough. We are opposed to the slave-trade, and have declared it piracy. But there is also sitting an '*English and Foreign Anti-slavery Convention*,' as it is called here, at which a number of Americans, vile traitors to their country, have appeared as delegates, and who have joined in repeating the foulest and grossest libels against their country—and like a set of damnable traitors, they are soliciting England to interfere in the domestic affairs of our country, either by argument or force.

I tell you, and all Americans through you, England is bitter against us, so is France, and so is Europe, with the exception of Russia. The fanatics in this country are pushing matters to a most serious and alarming crisis; and the result will be Russia and the United States on one side, and Great Britain and France probably on the other. A great struggle is coming on, and cannot be much longer postponed. For God's sake let the United States be united. Let them arouse and put their resources in the best training. Let them prepare, prepare and be ready; for in an hour they expect not the thief will come to destroy. Let them hang those vile traitors who have come over here to plot treason against their country, as soon as they return to a country they have betrayed, and on which they should never be suffered to land again. Encourage the Russians—let them be our friends. I had rather be the friend of a power, even of less civilized men, who honour and respect my rights, than of civilized savages who vilify me, and set all my rights, human and divine, at defiance. Then go in for the Russians. Fortunately for us, it is a power in Europe that all other powers begin to fear; and a great war has got to come on sooner or later, when we shal lsee the old governments totter beneath the battering rams and cannon of the Russian legions. Our only safety is in this event. Otherwise, a fanati alwar would at once burst upon us, as bad as that of the crusaders a gain s tthe Holy Land for the recovery of Jerusalem. The object of the fanatics is to persuade Great Britain to go to war at once with the United States on the boundary or any other question, and to make the abolition of slavery in America the sole condition of any future peace. And the infernal and traitorous delegates to the Anti-Slavery Convention here from the United States are urging this course, and plotting with a foreign people, war and destruction against their own. The tales they tell the British public here of the cruelties and barbarity of slavery in the United States, and the savage treatment of our government towards the Indians, are the most ferocious exaggerations of truth and atrocious lies ever uttered by human lips, one-half which, if true, would make the cannibals civilized Christians to Americans. And the people here swallow it all as gospel truth, and put up holy prayers for the depraved and hard-hearted Americans. They would not listen to one word in favour of Americans, or publish a syllable in their behalf. The bigger the lie the greater the applause, and the greater notoriety and publicity it acquires. The still small voice of truth is smothered—and everything favourable about us is covered up. The higher classes detest the very name of America. They fear the consequence of the lower classes getting to know us; hence their care to keep everything about us out of her Majesty's dominions. They can't cover us up always. The people will some day think and act too—mind that.

Daniel O'Connell is bellowing like a bull at all the anti-slavery meetings, and America is his standing theme of abuse. I heard him to-day at Exeter Hall, and my blood boiled within me with indignation as I heard him hurl at my country, for nearly an hour, the most outrageous slander and abuse—calling us everything vile—stigmatizing us as murderers and robbers—bandits, professing to be freemen—savages, employing blood-hounds to hunt down savages more civilized than ourselves. I was in a place where I dare not speak—otherwise I could not have stood it any longer. What capped the climax of my indignation, was to see one of the American abolition delegates arise and endorse all O'Connell had said, and call himself an American!! From all such citizens, "good Lord deliver us!" Several negros were in the hall, who were treated with infinitely more kindness and politeness than any American could expect at their hands. It is good to be dyed black if you come up to London, for negro love is filling all ranks, from Prince Albert and the Queen down to her poorest subjects.

A. J.

Tuesday, June 23.

I thank God I am an American and not one of these people, for they know not what they do. The celebrated George Thompson, of United States memory, is figuring largely here at their abolition meetings, and vituperates the Americans by wholesale, vile scoundrel as he is.

A. J.

To-morrow the Abolition Convention hold a grand meeting, at which the Duke of Sussex is to preside; but I do not intend to be present to have my feelings outraged any more. I cannot hear my country vilified and slandered, and keep cool—and as every body here is against me, I cannot help myself when I get mad. So I conclude to let them pass in future, and to exhort my countrymen to be ready to answer them with powder and ball, when it becomes necessary. To this it will come at last, and it is the only argument they will ever listen to.

June 26th.

The Anti-slavery Convention sat on the 26th in Exeter Hall, London, as stated—the Duke of Sussex in the chair. O'Connell, I understand from a spectator, was there, pouring out the vials of his wrath and slander on the Americans; and introduced documents supplied by American abolitionists to prove Mr. Stevenson a liar, and that little negros are raised in Richmond like little pigs, for the southern plantations!!!

At this meeting the infamous James G. Birney was introduced on the platform, as one of the American delegates; and his introducer stated that he was regularly nominated as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States!!! Wonder how many votes he will get? This traitor to his country then went on to endorse all O'Connell's slanders against the Americans; and declared that, in his opinion, in twenty years, not a slave would exist in the American Union. ('Sooner, sooner—immediate!' cried other American traitors and Englishmen.)

A black negro was introduced from some of the northern States, and was much applauded. Garrison brought over with him some deluded women as abolition delegates. These fair traitoresses have been excluded from this convention by a formal vote of the same. Let me again repeat that, if the American people are true to themselves, they will compel these American traitors and calumniators of their native country, to return to England, and to live there the balance of their lives, and never be suffered again to enter the United States, on pain of being hung.

ON THE HIGH PRICE OF SUGAR.

WE must have a few words more with the *Colonial Gazette*. In noticing our recent remarks on the high price of sugar, he says "we have no confidence in our own argument," because we do not advocate the introduction into the British market of slave-grown sugar as well as free. To such a measure he affirms truly the abolitionists have a great reluctance, and he thus proceeds to assign what he supposes to be their reason for it:—"They can have no other reason than a fear lest the produce of slave-labour should prove the cheaper of the two, and all their prophecies of the great experiment be signally falsified." We cannot permit such a representation to pass without contradiction. We have no fear of the kind imputed to us. Our reason for being averse to the admission of slave-grown sugar is, that, at the prices now and at all times to be obtained for that article in the British market, the profit would be so great as to minister a fearful impulse to the severity of slavery and the activity of the slave-trade. Did the editor of the *Colonial Gazette* never hear this before!

His examination of our argument is, as he says, very "slight." His former doctrine, that the price of sugar in the British market is a measure of the cost of its production, he does not re-affirm. He maintains, however, that the cost of producing sugar is very great—so great, "that the industry of the West Indies cannot at present compete on equal terms with that of slave-countries." But why speak of *slave* countries! The industry of the West Indies cannot compete on equal terms with that of countries which have no slaves. Manilla sugar

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as decidedly beats them as Havana. Besides, the West Indians may have costly ways of producing sugar, without implicating the question of labour at all—they may plant sterile land, or keep up needless establishments, or retain expensive methods of culture. To supply a reason why the making of sugar costs so much in the West Indies, he makes the following assertions:—"Labour for hire, whether cheap or dear, is extremely scarce; the only present means of production, whatever the cost, is insufficient to poduce the old quantity of sugar." We deny these assertions altogether. If the latter had been true, there must have been a general falling off of produce in the West Indies, which there *was not*—this being confined to Jamaica and British Guiana, and arising in both from local and temporary causes. As to labour being "extremely scarce," and at the same time "cheap," it is a pure and impossible conceit; an article for which there is a demand cannot be scarce without being dear. And that our readers may judge how very scarce labour is in the West Indies, we mention the price which is current for it there in sterling money, from official documents.

British Guiana 1s. 4½d. for a day's work, by tariff.

	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
Jamaica.....	1s. 8d.	1s. 3d.	10d. per day.
Barbados	10d.	6¾d.	3½d. ——
Tobago	8d.	5d.	3½d. ——
Nevis.....	6d.	4¼d.	2½d. ——
Virgin Islands.	6d.	4¼d.	3d. ——
Antigua.....	6d. other classes in proportion.		
St. Kitts.....	6d. ditto	ditto.	
Dominica	4½d. ditto	ditto.	

Let the assertion of the *Colonial Gazette* now be recalled, that sugar cannot be made in the West Indies but at a high cost, on account of the scarcity—that is the dearness—of labour! At how much less than fourpence halfpenny a-day do these economical gentlemen want it!

Finally, the editor of the *Colonial Gazette* reasserts, in opposition to us, that the West Indian sugar growers are "struggling," and are *not* making large profits. Now we find, that in August, 1838, the price of sugar, as gazetted, was 28s. 10d. per cwt.; and that at present it is 55s. 11½d. Upon the former price there was of course some profit, however small: what becomes of the 27s. per cwt. which the planters are receiving for their sugar more than they could get for it two years ago?

THE JAMAICA MARRIAGE ACT.

SINCE the appearance of our last number we have come into possession of further information respecting this obnoxious act, which is far worse than we had represented it. The list we give below exhibits only *some* of the invidious distinctions which are made by it between churchmen and dissenters. We place them side by side for more easy reference.

CHURCHMEN	DISSENTERS
May marry by license.	May not marry by license, but by banns only.
May marry in any place the parties may choose.	May marry only in registered chapels.
May marry without a public exhibition of the names of parties.	Must exhibit the names of parties for three weeks on the chapel doors.
May marry within six months after publication of banns.	Must marry within three months after publication of banns.
May certify marriage by a schedule simple and easily filled up.	Must certify marriage in duplicate, and in a form very cumbrous and perplexing.
Certificates of marriage are free from stamp duty and recording fee. The latter is paid by the public.	Certificates of marriage must be upon stamps, and a fee paid for recording them.
Penalties are all by fine.	Penalties are all by imprisonment.

By the clergy act, which was passed by this liberal assembly on the same day as the marriage act, the ministers of the Church of England are to make no charge—we do not find it said that they are to receive no presents—for marriages, christenings, and burials; but they are to have in lieu thereof, out of the public treasury, the following sums per annum, viz.—

The rector of	Kingston	£. 600
Ditto	St. Catherine's.....	400
Ditto	St. James's	400
Ditto	St. Andrew's	300
And Seventeen others, £200 each.....		3400
Total		£.5100

All this is easily understood, and we are sure it will awaken universal indignation. Her Majesty's government can never acquiesce in such legislation as this.

JAMAICA.

We copy from the *Morning Chronicle* the following interesting letter to Mr. Clarkson.

Mount Providence, Clarendon, 30th of 6th mo. 1840.

My dear and honoured friend.—I have waited thus long before addressing thee, that I might have something certain to communicate. I have now been in Jamaica five months, have travelled seven hundred miles, and have seen and conversed with all classes of people, prædial labourers and non-prædial, planters, magistrates, members of both houses of assembly, and more than once with the governor himself. If, therefore, I have used my faculties of hearing, speech, and observation to any good purpose, I ought to know something of the state and prospects of the colony. First, with regard to its actual state. The people, that is the lately enfranchised labourers, for they constitute three-fourths of the population, are substantially free; and, notwithstanding paltry petty oppressions practised by some of the managers of estates in some districts, and the neglect of justice in some of the courts of petty sessions, arising chiefly from a determination to compel labour and coerce wages through the medium and by means of rent, they are doing extremely well, are a rising people both in morals and property, and may soon with prudence become lords of the soil. Rent is the *questio vexata* of the island. Let this point be settled as sound political economy would dictate, making tenure and labour independent of each other, leaving the peasant free to labour when and where he pleases, and the mutual jealousies and heart-burnings which now exist in some places will die away, and contentment follow. The governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, is endeavouring to persuade the planters to act wisely in this matter, and in this course is assisted by a few enlightened men; and I cannot but hope and believe that a better and more politic system may soon prevail. The people are now generally working for wages four or five days in the week, reserving one or two days in the week for their own provision grounds, and occasional rest and recreation.

I have examined 'M'Queen's Statistics of the British Empire,' published in 1834, in which he gives a prospective statement of what may be expected in the West India colonies in the year 1840. He there places the number of prædial labourers as likely to work for wages at much too high, and places the wages they are likely to receive at much too low. An attentive inquiry leads me to the conclusion, that, comprising all who work, we may estimate the effective field labour done as equal to that of one-third of the prædial population, or about 90,000 persons, working five days in the week, at 1s. 6d. sterling per day; and in this view of the case I am borne out by the opinion of Thomas M'Cormack, the custos of St. Thomas in the east, attorney to Andrew Archdeckne, Esq., of your county, with whom I talked the matter over in his own parlour. A much larger number of people than this is actually engaged in field labour, but many are women who are not robust, children under fourteen years of age, and infirm old persons. Many do not work five days in every week, and the wages that many receive are much less than 1s. 6d. per day; but taking all these circumstances into consideration, this computation, I am satisfied, will be found moderate, and below the truth. Now, 90,000 persons working five days in the week at 1s. 6d. per day, will receive £1,755,000 per annum; and if we deduct from this the rent of 67,500 prædial cottages and provision grounds, on the calculation of M'Queen of four persons to a cottage and ground, which, at 2s. per week, would amount to £350,838, we have a surplus of £1,404,142 paid annually in wages to prædial labourers alone; and if we add, on the same principle, the net wages paid to non-prædial, we shall have a total of one million and three quarters of sterling money paid annually to all the labourers. The provision grounds attached to the cottages furnish more than bread-kind enough for all the families enumerated, giving them a surplus of provisions to be disposed of at the market towns for money, and leaving them nothing to buy but what they call salt, that is salt fish, to season and improve their food, clothing, of which they want but little, and such luxuries as they may choose to procure

Now I would ask, where besides in the whole wide world is there a peasantry, that, with so little toil, has such a command over the good things of this life? These people keep poultry, which feed on the refuse of the cocoa nut after they have boiled it for lamp oil; they keep pigs, which feed on weed, bine, and garbage, and fatten during four months in the year on the fruit of the mango tree, which spreads itself everywhere, in hedge rows and in all woodlands, and yields an incredible supply of food. They keep goats, which roam where they please; and many of them keep asses, horses, and mules, which they tether at home, or suffer to trespass on the open pasture. Under slavery all the people, except young children and the sick and infirm, were compelled to labour. On the calculation here made, only one-third of the population is considered to be thus employed, leaving children at liberty to go to school, mothers at liberty to tend their infants, and ample time, independent of the sabbath, for recreation and rest to all classes. The people of Jamaica prove this statement to be correct by the manner in which they now live. They do not work very hard, they live well, they dress handsomely, they send their children to school, they attend a public worship, after walking and riding six, eight, and ten miles to do so; they build chapels at their own expense, support entirely many of the missionaries, and do works of mercy in sustaining their sick relatives and friends. Slavery indeed, has left a taint which it will require at least a generation to purge away. Much darkness, superstition, and heathenish immorality remain: but the change for the better is already prodigiously great, and a reformation of manners is fast going on. We have everything greatly to encourage us, both in the civil and religious condition of the people.

Now let me speak of the proprietor. For six months after the great day of freedom, (the 1st of August, 1838,) the people were unsettled; a struggle was going on about wages—a great deal of time was lost. All that the managers could then accomplish, was to get the crops then on the ground fairly gathered in and made ready for market. The crop of sugar and coffee of the year 1838—9 was much of it secured, but no labour, or next to none, was bestowed in cultivating the soil. The coffee trees were left unpruned, and but little new cane was planted—the crop of sugar, as compared with the previous year, was one-tenth less, and of coffee the falling off was greater. The proprietors however, lost little or nothing in money value, in consequence of the advanced prices of produce in the London market. The crop time of 1839—40 came, and is now nearly over. This is the grand crisis. The want of cane, arising from the circumstance that so little was planted twelve months ago, is now severely felt.

Jamaica sent last year 45,000 hogsheads of sugar to England; this year it will probably send only 35,000 hogsheads. The pro-slavery journals will seize on this fact, and without giving an explanation of the cause, will hold it up as a proof of the indolence of the negro, and that the colony is going to inevitable ruin. Give no heed to their murmurs or menaces. There has been more than sufficient labour to secure the present crop, in consequence of its smallness; and the surplus labour, over and above what was wanted for this end, has been wisely bestowed by the planters on the soil itself, in cleaning the ratoons and planting new canes, so that the prospect for the year to come is very encouraging. The planters everywhere tell me the same thing.—"The crop of next year (1840—41) will be large, if the season prove favourable."

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I am now settled in the centre of a large number of sugar estates, where the falling off in the present crop has been greater than in almost any part of the island. Some of the estates here have not made a fifth part of what they did under slavery. But even here the prospect is good—the masters and labourers have come to a good understanding with each other—the people are working cheerfully and happy—old cane-fields are kept clean—new cane-fields are rising—and everything betokens a coming prosperity to all classes. The cultivation of coffee is going on well. I have visited many coffee plantations in the mountains of St. Andrew, St. George, and Port Royal, and have made inquiry in other directions; my opinion is that the coffee crop of 1840—41 will be nearly double that of last year. A great hue and cry is raised here about want of labourers. There is labour enough already in the market to keep the present quantity of cane and coffee land in full cultivation, but sugar and coffee are now, owing to the high prices in England, very profitable, and the planters wish to extend the growth of both. They also wish at the same time, though the objects are utterly incompatible, to keep down wages; immigration is their sheet anchor; but, besides this, they are full of schemes, and hardly know what to be doing or what to say. The planters are not a wise race of men: if they would but leave things to their natural course all would be well. It is true, that fewer labourers are at work than formerly, but it is also true, in my estimation, that as much work is now done as formerly; the labour of one freeman is quite equal to that of two slaves, because he works cheerfully and lives well, and what we should particularly bear in mind is that the population is beginning to increase. Under slavery, from 1829 to 1834, in five years, the excess of deaths over births was 19,427; or 3885 per annum. Marriage is now looked upon as honourable; marriages are becoming common Persons who have hitherto lived in concubinage, ashamed of their former course of life, are coming fast to be married; and young people are entering into the holy bond as professing christians ought to do. The marriages now in Jamaica, and on an average of the last ten years, are four times more numerous, in proportion to the population, than in England The children are reared by mothers who have time to take care of them; and I see no reason why the island should not double its population in twenty years. There is certainly no objection to immigration, especially from the southern states of the American Union, if the emigrants come willingly of their own accord, as their is ample room for a vast addition of inhabitants; but let nothing be forced, let all flow in its natural channel.

JOHN CANDLER.

MR. WESLEY'S SENTIMENTS ON SLAVERY.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

September 4th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—Having recently paid a visit to our venerable and honoured friend Thomas Clarkson, Esq., at Playford Hall, I had the privilege of perusing there, among other interesting documents, the following letter from the late excellent John Wesley, addressed to Samuel Hoare, Esq., the Treasurer of the Society which Mr. Clarkson was chiefly instrumental in forming.

As this letter contains some remarks of Mr. Wesley in reference to Slavery, which may be productive of good if made known at the present time, I was kindly permitted by Mr. Clarkson to take a copy of it, which you will probably be good enough to insert in your next paper.

I am, my dear Sir, your's respectfully and sincerely,
J. H. TREDGOLD.

GENTLEMEN,—A week or two ago I was favoured with a letter from Mr. Clarkson, informing me of his truly christian design to procure, if possible, an act of parliament for the abolition of slavery in our plantations.

I have long wished for the rolling away of this reproach from us, a reproach not only to religion, but to humanity itself; especially when I read Mr. Benezet's tracts, and what Mr. Sharp has written upon the subject.

My friends in America are of the same mind. They have already emancipated several hundred of the poor negros, and are setting more and more at liberty every day, as fast as they can do it with any tolerable convenience.

This is making a little stand against this shocking abomination: but Mr. Clarkson's design strikes at the root of it, and if it can be put in execution will be a lasting honour to the British nation. It is with great satisfaction that I learn so many of you are determined to support him. But without doubt you expect to meet with rough and violent opposition, for the slave-holders are a numerous, a wealthy, and consequently a very powerful body. And when you bring their craft into danger, do you not touch the apple of their eye? Will they not then raise all their forces against you, and summon their friends from every side? And will they not employ hireling writers in abundance who will treat you without either justice or mercy? But I trust gentlemen you will not be affrighted at this; no not when some of your friends turn against you—perhaps some who have made the warmest professions of good-will, and the strongest promises of assisting you. I trust you will not be discouraged thereby, but rather be more resolute and determined. I allow with men this is impossible: but we know all things are possible with God.

What little I can do to promote this excellent work I shall do with pleasure. I will print a large edition of the tract I wrote some years since, "Thoughts upon Slavery," and send it (which I have an opportunity of doing once a month) to all my friends in Great Britain and Ireland, adding a few words in favour of your design, which I believe will have some weight with them.

I commend you to Him who is able to carry you through all opposition, and support you in all discouragements, and am,

Gentlemen, your hearty well wisher,
(Signed) JOHN WESLEY.

Isle of Guernsey, August 18th, 1787.

This is a true copy of a letter, written by Mr. John Wesley in his own hand-writing, which I have had in my possession fifty-three years, and which I have kept as a memorial of that dear and venerable man.

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON.

Playford Hall, September 2nd, 1840.

Home News.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION: ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

LORD PALMERSTON.

Foreign Office, August 22nd, 1840.

SIR—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of a letter and of a memorial signed by you, the letter requesting the intercession of Her Majesty's Government with the Sultan, for putting down the slave-trade and for abolishing slavery in the Turkish dominions, and the memorial requesting his lordship would instruct the functionaries in the service of Her Majesty's Government, not to hold slaves, nor to hire them directly or indirectly.

I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to state to you, that Her Majesty's government concur in the benevolent views of the general anti-slavery convention, as expressed in those papers, and will be glad to assist, as far as they have the means of doing so, in carrying out those views into practice.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
(Signed) LEVESON.

Thomas Clarkson, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

THE GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY, U.S.

Newark, New Jersey, July 30th, 1840.

SIR—I acknowledge with great pleasure the receipt of your communication in behalf of the convention held in London on the 12th ult., on the subject of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. Impressed as I am with the importance and the truth of the principles and views therein expressed, it is my earnest desire that this country may, at the earliest day in her power consistent with security and the peace of the Union, join hand in hand with the humane on the other side of the water, in washing out the stain upon her national character. The means to be used as proposed by your convention, are of a "moral, religious, and pacific character," and it is by these means alone, I am satisfied, this great object can be attained. New Jersey, by an act passed the 24th of February, 1810, has defined her policy. By that act every child born of a slave within the state since the 4th of July 1804, or which shall thereafter be born, is declared to be *free*, but to remain in the character of an apprentice in the service of the master, if a male, until twenty-five years of age, and if a female, until the age of twenty-one years. Under the operation of this law slavery has become almost extinct with us, and I am happy to say that, so far as my observation extends, the condition of servitude is of the most mitigated and indulgent form.

Thanking you for your kindness in communicating the proceedings of the convention,

I remain your very obedient servant,
WILLIAM PENNINGTON,
Governor of New Jersey.

Thomas Clarkson, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

MEHEMET ALI, PACHA OF EGYPT.

(Letter from Dr. Madden.)

Alexandria, 18th August, 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 5th instant, accompanied by her Majesty's Consul General, Colonel Hodges, I waited on his highness Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, and presented to him at his new palace in this city the two addresses from the Anti-slavery Convention recently held in London. Those addresses, expressive of the great satisfaction felt by the Convention at the part taken by his highness in his expedition two years ago into Eastern Africa, when he prohibited the practice pursued by his army of making slave-hunts for the purpose of supplying his officers with slaves, and even paying the soldiers with slaves stolen in the country where they were stationed; and further assuring his highness of the anxious desire that was felt in England for his co-operation towards the suppression of that barbarous trade in every part of the country subject to his rule, and for his employment of all pacific, moral, and religious means for the accomplishment of this great object, his highness was pleased to receive in the most gracious manner, and at a public audience, when the promulgation of his opinions on this subject could not fail of producing some effect on those around him.

He received the addresses not only graciously, but with apparent feelings of the greatest satisfaction and the deepest interest in the object of their prayer. He entered into an animated conversation with Colonel Hodges and myself on the subject of slavery in general; and having in former years had interviews with his Highness, when I have accompanied my late lamented friend, Mr. Salt, as likewise on the present occasion, when other topics were the subject of discussion, I can state with truth, that I never saw him so pleased with any communication made to him, and to all appearance so well disposed towards the subject of it, as on the present occasion.

In the course of the long and interesting conversation that took place, I was greatly struck with the shrewdness of his observations. He entered on this subject with frankness, and spoke fluently upon it, and in most of his remarks not one word that was not pertinent to the subject. In the course of the conversation, he said—"I have thought a great deal on the subject of slavery, for months together I have thought on this subject. It is a difficult question with us, a very difficult one to settle here. It is a question of law, and as such, it must be decided on by the heads of religion in Constantinople," and with rather an ironical smile, "if you would succeed, you must go to Constantinople." I replied, It is because we are very desirous of success we come to your Highness, to put an end to this abominable traffic in Egypt and Ethiopia. We believe it is in the power of your Highness to prevent it on the part of your own subjects. He replied, "In shallah—(if it please God,) I would be glad to see a stop put to it altogether, but we must teach the people first, we must give them education; slavery, however, is a very different

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thing with us to what it is in the other countries." I replied, however the slaves might be treated, slavery was a bad thing everywhere; whether ill treated or well treated, the slaves were stolen men, and their country was ravaged for the sake of them. His Highness replied, "You found it a difficult thing to abolish slavery in your own colonies, and here the difficulty would be much greater, for our people are accustomed to the domestic service of slaves; and if there were no more to be found in the market, they would make a clamour, as they did before when I prevented my troops making the slave-hunts in Jennâar." The Consul observed that the existence of the slave market in Alexandria was a scandal to the place. The Pacha replied, "What can be done? Slavery exists here by law, and it is only at Constantinople it can be changed." I reminded his Highness that the subject we had been speaking about was the slave-trade, and not the state of slavery, and that it depended on him to put a total stop to the engagement of his people in it. "But how is it," he said, "that you have not been able to put a stop to it yourselves? One of your papers recently says that a European vessel had been seized with slaves, carrying them to the West Indies, by one of our ships of war." I said it was very true that Spain and Portugal disgraced themselves by suffering their subjects to carry on the trade; and that the trade, so far from having been put down, was greater than it ever had been, for that the ravages of this trade annually lost to Africa 300,000 human beings, about one-third of which number survived the hardships they encountered by sea and land, and eventually lived to be sold into slavery. The Pacha said "the greater difficulty in the way of suppressing this trade is that of civilizing the negros in their own countries, and accustoming them to other modes of life. I tried myself to make soldiers of them some years ago, but they died here, and where I sent them (the Morea) in great numbers, altogether about 7000 of them died in a very short time. It was the difference of living and the suddenness of the change, from existing on the bare necessaries of life to abundance of food, which affected their health, and caused them to die; and I have now only three or four hundred of them, and I do not allow my people to make slave hunts to procure these negros any more. In their own country they live on almost nothing. There is no peace amongst them. Here is one tribe living on this mountain, it is at war with the next; here is a second tribe on another mountain marauding on the first, here is a third tribe on another hill at war with both, hunting one and another, and making slaves." To this I replied, They do so, in order to sell their prey, and the prayer of the memorial I have the honour to present to your Highness is, that you would be pleased to take effectual measures to prevent your people from taking any part in this traffic whatsoever. His Highness terminated the interview by saying, "My it please God to enable me to do so!" Such are the heads of the conversation I had with Mehemet Ali on the subject of the addresses I had the honour to present to him, and I must say the impression left on my mind since that interview is, that Mehemet Ali is fully convinced of the sad effects and wickedness of slavery in all its forms, and would be desirous to abolish it; but he either dreads the opposition of the magistrates of the land, or distrusts the power he has to meddle with a question which has the sanction of the Koran for its support.

On the subject of the slave markets here and at Cario, and on the state of slavery in general, I shall address you by the next packet.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your very obedient servant,

(Signed) R. R. MADDEN.

To the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The verses of ALIQUIS are respectfully declined.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 9TH.

THE address to sovereigns agreed upon by the General Anti-Slavery Convention has been presented, in a handsomely engrossed form, to her Majesty, Queen Victoria. It had been intended to present it at the levee, but the time for this having been suffered to elapse, it was put into the hands of the Marquis of Normanby; and an account of its presentation and most gracious reception is contained in the following communication from Lord John Russell.

Downing Street, 21st August, 1840.

SIR,—I have received and laid before the Queen an address to her Majesty, signed by yourself, as president, on behalf of a Convention having for its object the immediate and entire abolition of slavery and of the slave-trade; and I have the honour to acquaint you that her Majesty was pleased to receive the address most graciously.

I have the honour to be Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq.

In another column will be found a very interesting letter from Dr. Madden, describing the presentation of the address directed by the convention to be presented to Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt.

THE late arrivals from the United States acquaint us with the impression which the proceedings of the general anti-slavery convention are producing there. Even the north, we learn, is looking very serious, as to the impending excommunication of the high-toned republic from the good opinion of Europe; but the south is absolutely frantic, as two passages which we have quoted from pro-slavery papers sufficiently evince. In addition to these we are enabled to furnish an extract of a letter from the Rev. Elon Galusha, one of the delegates to the convention, dated Boston, August 17th. We may mention by the way, as an instance of rapid communication hitherto, we believe, unparalleled, that this gentleman sailed from Liverpool by the Acadia, on the 4th of August, his letter is dated from Boston, on the 17th, and it arrived at Bristol on the 31st of the same month. The extract is as follows:—

"A fire is kindled in America by the address of the Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention to the slave-holding Baptist churches, which we sent out just before I embarked for England; and some of the southern brethren, I am informed, have written to the Baptist general board of missions, purporting that, unless *they* excluded *us* (abolitionists), they shall withdraw from *them*. Please inform my London brethren that my value is greatly enhanced on this side of the water; as a southern editor has lately written to our secretary, to inform him that ten thousand dollars are in readiness there (Georgia) as a reward for my abduction, and that of my colleagues, Grosvenor and Colver. It is the opinion of a judicious brother here, that had the mob spirit raged here on our return as it did a few years ago, we could not have landed with safety anywhere in the United States."

All this is very satisfactory. The rage of the slave-holders is the measure of the force of the weapon with which we have assailed them. We doubt not the irritation is salutary, and it will work a cure of the inveterate malady on account of which so stimulating a remedy has been adopted.

THE Rev. Samuel Oughton is out of jail. This welcome intelligence is brought by the recent mail from the West Indies, and it will afford sincere pleasure to many. He has been released under the provisions of the insolvent act, on giving bail for his appearance at the ensuing Surry Assizes, where further proceedings respecting his ultimate discharge as an insolvent will have to be taken. His release was strongly opposed on the part of Grant, on the ground that he might have raised the necessary sum to satisfy the judgment, if he had called on his friends to raise a subscription for that purpose! Public feeling, even in Jamaica, seems to have taken a turn somewhat adverse to this wealthy reprobate. The editor of the *Jamaica Royal Gazette* has written an article, which our correspondent terms "mawkish," recommending that Grant should accept £1000 for costs out of pocket, and forego the £2500 damages; and subsequently this same editor, Dr. Paul, has been employed by Grant to make this offer to Mr. Oughton, with an assurance that he (Grant) "had never desired to profit pecuniarily by the verdict," and annexing to the offer the very significant condition that Mr. Oughton should "drop all ulterior proceedings." To this Mr. Oughton replied, that this was out of his power, as he had exhausted his little property in defending the action; and that, if it were otherwise, he would never do what would have the effect of acknowledging so iniquitous a verdict. When Mr. Oughton attended the meeting of his creditors, the same offer was officially renewed; and on that occasion he offered to take the sentiments of his friends in respect of a subscription, if they would release him on bail. The lawyer said, however, that his instructions were, if Mr. Oughton did not comply with the proposition, to do all in his power to oppose his discharge, and he immediately left the court. Fourteen days notice was subsequently given by Mr. Oughton of appearing at a judge's chambers for the purpose of giving bail, and the issue was as we have stated. The pro-slavery papers are now filled with praises of Grant's liberality and rebukes of Mr. Oughton's obstinacy; but the truth evidently is that he has no great liking for the ulterior proceedings which are in progress.

Concerning the late trial of Grant at the suit of the crown, the *Colonial Reformer* says that the jury, under the circumstances, could not do otherwise than come to a verdict of acquittal. The principal witness in the case, a youth whose direct statement had been most consistent and convincing, was so entangled in inconsistencies by the artifice of Grant's counsel, that his evidence was set aside; no doubt existing, however, of its substantial accuracy and truth.

WE have received some important information respecting the surreptitious indictment of the Rev. T. E. Ward, in Jamaica, on the charge of obstructing the police in the discharge of their duty. We have learned on the best authority that, when the depositions taken by the magistrates concerning the riot were referred by the governor to the attorney-general, he did not name Mr. Ward among those who had, in his opinion, rendered themselves liable to legal penalties on the occasion. This fact is important on two accounts. In the first place, it acquaints us that, after all the bluster which has been made by party malice, in the opinion of the first law-officer of the crown in Jamaica, Mr. Ward, even if he had erred in judgment (as the best of men may), had not committed any legal offence. It cannot be supposed for a moment that the attorney-general's judgment in this case was warped by partiality. Secondly, it throws a strong colour of injustice over the fact of Mr. Ward's indictment. We mentioned in our last that this proceeding was altogether surreptitious, Mr. Ward having neither warning nor conception of the design; and now it appears that the prosecution had not been recommended by the attorney-general! We are entitled to ask then, by whom was it recommended, or by whose authority was it instituted! The governor, of course, could not have directed the indictment of any gentleman unsustained by the opinion of his principal legal adviser; and are state prosecutions, for such is this, liable to be instituted by individuals, without the direction of the executive! If so, who are the individuals with whom this prerogative lies! They should be known, that they may bear the responsibility attaching to this very serious function.

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But it may be said that the indictment against Mr. Ward was of course preferred by the attorney-general himself. It turns out, however, that the attorney-general himself, Mr. O'Reilly, was not at the assize, but that Mr. M'Dougall acted for him; and to this circumstance no doubt, we are indebted for the surreptitious prosecution of Mr. Ward. Had the attorney-general himself been present, he never would have consented to indict a man whom, with all the evidence before him, he had not deemed to have broken the law: but with Mr. M'Dougall, it seems, the disappointed planters had a better chance, a fitting tool for their dirty work. But we now put it to Sir Charles Metcalfe distinctly and emphatically, whether he will permit to proceed a state prosecution which he has not directed, and which has not the sanction of the law-officer of the crown. According to the official decision of his own attorney-general, it is without any sufficient foundation in fact; and he can have no doubt, therefore, but it is a manifestation of malice and party hostility, which to the impartiality of a governor should be utterly abhorrent. It is moreover a most indecent assumption by unauthorized parties of the authority of the governor, and a presumptuous bearding of the executive, which no man who wishes to make it respected can permit to pass unrebuked. Surely Sir Charles Metcalfe will ask the officious functionaries of the law why they have instituted criminal proceedings, without his sanction, against one whom he is bound to protect; and quash without delay this causeless and malicious indictment.

We have taken from the *Morning Chronicle* an interesting letter from Mr. Candler to Mr. Clarkson, exhibiting his views of the general condition of Jamaica. It will be read with much pleasure. His description of the state of the prædial peasantry must be held liable to material abatement, on account of those numerous cases in which the wages promised and due are not paid, and those in which they are absorbed by an arbitrary and exorbitant rent; nor are we quite sure that everything beyond yams and salt fish, with a coarse osnaburgh petticoat, ought to be called "luxuries," even for prædial peasantry in Jamaica. The estimable writer seems to think that fewer persons labour in the field now than formerly; as, "on his calculation, only one-third of the population is considered to be thus employed, leaving children at liberty to go to school, mothers at liberty to tend their infants, and ample time, independently of the sabbath, for recreation and rest to all classes." Mr. Candler has fallen into an error here as to the effect of his own calculation. He has estimated "the effective field labour done as equal to that of one-third of the prædial population, or about 90,000 persons, working five days in the week;" and he adds, that "a much larger number of people than this is actually engaged in field labour, but many are women who are not robust, children under fourteen years of age, and infirm old persons." He thus convicts himself of error in saying that "only one-third of the population" is employed in field labour; and authorizes a large drawback from his representation that mothers have time to attend to their infants, and children liberty to go to school. He seems to think, we further remark, that the prædial population perform less work on the whole at present than during slavery, since the labour done amounts only to that of 90,000 effective hands, being one-third of the prædial population. Mr. Candler was not aware in writing this, that under slavery it was currently estimated that not more than one-third of the labouring population were, or could be, actually at work, and that things were going on well at this average. On this calculation it follows that, according to Mr. Candler, a larger proportion of the people are at work now than before, for he says "many more than" one-third are so. It follows also that more real work is done now than under slavery; since he reckons this at the sum of 90,000 effective hands at five days per week—evidently much more than could be done by the same number of average hands under slavery. There cannot, therefore, be so very much play-time. Mr. Candler's letter, however, assuming the correctness of his estimate, supplies a full answer to the charge of idleness on the part of the labourers, and to the allegation of want of labour on the part of the planters. His observations on the amount of the sugar crops are much to the purpose. Few canes were planted last year, and this year there is a small crop of course. Preparations for 1841 have been on a larger scale, and Mr. Candler says "the planters everywhere tell me the same thing, 'the crop of next year (1840-41) will be large, if the season prove favourable.'" No doubt we shall be stunned with the vociferations of the planters that the colony is going to ruin; but we recommend to general adoption Mr. Candler's advice, "Give no heed to their murmurs or menaces."

We have inserted elsewhere from an authentic source, an account of some important proceedings in the British Methodist conference, relating to the action of the Methodist Episcopal conference in the United States on the subject of slavery. We have been somewhat surprised however, on reading that the Messrs. Ryerson were on this occasion very *cordially* received; because we happen to have been informed on, unquestionable authority, that the contrary was the fact, and that the members of conference—to their honour be it spoken—could scarcely listen to these gentlemen with patience. We hope such sentiments as they uttered will never be heard by a British audience with any indications of a sentiment approaching to cordiality. The Messrs. Ryerson have all the slang of slave-drivers on their lips, and have the boldness to ply Englishmen with arguments which would consolidate slavery for ever. They were coolly but powerfully answered by Dr. Bunting. "He should like to hear," he said, "that each conference had set apart a day to be spent in fasting and prayer every year, to humble themselves on account of this great national sin, and to implore divine deliverance from it." Surely the conferences will not object to this.

Of the reverend Egerton Ryerson we must say a few words more. He has hitherto been considered as an abolitionist, and as such has heretofore partaken of the hospitality of British philanthropists. He has become, although young, the leading man among the Methodists in Canada, and as editor of the *Christian Guardian*, an influential paper in that colony, has wielded the power of the press. He has systematically excluded from that paper, not only discussions and denunciations of slavery, but intelligence relating to it; thus putting this enormous and crying sin against God and man among those "social institutions" of his neighbours, the Americans, with which he stipulated not to interfere. We are informed moreover, that, in preparing the minutes of the American conferences for circulation in Canada, he has systematically expunged from them every article relating to slavery. Certainly Mr. Egerton Ryerson must no longer be classed among abolitionists. It is nothing more than our duty to strip him of his borrowed plumes, and put his own pro-slavery coat on him—a faithful office for which, if he be an honest man, he will thank us.

We have noticed with great satisfaction the impression which has been made on the Methodist ministers generally, on this important subject. It was a most favourable circumstance that the late anti-slavery meetings at Newcastle were held while the conference was sitting in that town; so that many of the ministers of the connexion had an opportunity of becoming acquainted at first hand with the facts of the case, and of communicating at once to conference the impressions they received. The result has already in part appeared in the cordial and energetic adoption of the reply to a circular transmitting the non-communion resolutions of the convention, which was inserted in our paper of the 12th ult. That letter, we hope and believe, will be the signal for general and vigorous co-operation in anti-slavery measures through the whole Methodist body. We think also that a step so well taken must lead to further progress. For although the conference have not expressed their concurrence in the third resolution of the convention, which affirms the duty of christian societies to separate from their communion persistent slave-holders, nor even the second, which pointedly ascribes the continuance and prevalence of slavery in the United States to the countenance afforded it by the churches of Christ, yet they so fully denounce it as "a sin against God," and so emphatically adopt the terms of the first resolution, that we think they cannot long decline the second and the third. Mr. Bunting, at the last of the Newcastle meetings, assigned the best reasons which can be assigned for hesitating on the non-communion principle; but while, on the one hand, we do not think them sufficient to justify hesitation, neither on the other do we think they will be acceptable to the parties to whom they refer. In that "ceremonious" connexion and intercourse which might just entitle the British conference to remonstrate with the American on the sin of slave-holding, (and this is all that Mr. Bunting pleads for) we cannot conceive that the slave-holding Methodists in the United States will be very complacent; while the thorough-going abolitionists in that body will probably say, "never mind us, if by a temporary separation you can promote the more speedy extinction of so monstrous an evil." After what has taken place at Newcastle, we fully expect that the American conference will break terms with the English, and anticipate them in a step which, we confess, we think they would have done better had they taken.

We calm the fears of some of our West Indian contemporaries lest we should not insert the report of Messrs. Peck and Price, by giving place to that document in its entire form to-day. Messrs. Peck and Price, our readers will doubtless recollect, are two respectable men of colour of the United States, who, when the attention of that class of persons was drawn to the subject of immigration to Trinidad and Guiana, volunteered to go to these colonies as explorers, and report their opinions for the guidance of their brethren. They have accomplished their travels, arrived at home, attended public meetings, and published their report. The West Indians are vastly delighted with this document, and think it will work wonders for them. For our part, we think it as unsatisfactory a document as on such a subject could have appeared. The men—truly respectable as they are—evidently did not know what to inquire after, nor how to find it out had they known it. The planters officiously tendered their assistance, that they might show the simple-minded men just what they wished them to see, and overwhelmed them with hospitalities, that they might think it impossible they could be unkind. All this is characteristic, and has been done before, and successfully, with shrewder men than those who have now been subjected to this process of delusion. That Messrs. Peck and Price should have fallen easy victims to it does not surprise us at all. But let the thing go on. The realities of the case are eminently substantial, and will very soon be found out. In the meantime, whoever wishes to know more about this matter than can be gathered from the report of Messrs. Peck and Price, may read an excellent letter of the Rev. C. Stewart Renshaw to the editor of the *Colonial Reformer*, which we have placed in juxta-position with it.

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We have before us a pamphlet, entitled, *Address at the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, November* 11, 1839; *by R. R. Gurley;* and we find in it the following important and somewhat startling passage:—

"It is a fact of deepest interest that Thomas Fowell Buxton, member of the British parliament, upon whom rests the mantle of Wilberforce, who stands first and foremost among living statesmen in endeavours to suppress the slave-trade and civilize Africa, has, in a work just published, developed facts and principles, and expressed opinions going to sustain the views and policy of the colonization society, as those by which alone the great and benevolent objects of the friends of Africa can be fully attained. Mr. Buxton has shown from a deep and thorough examination into all the sources of evidence in the case, that the slave-trade has increased both in the number of its victims and the horrors of their sufferings in defiance of all efforts for its extinction; that 'twice as many human beings are now its victims as when Wilberforce and Clarkson entered upon their noble task,' that the number annually lost to Africa, either perishing in seizure, on the ocean, or consigned to inexorable bondage by the Christian or Mahomedan slave-traders, is 475,000; 'that every day which we live in security and peace at home, witnesses many a herd of wretches toiling over the wastes of Africa to slavery or death; every night villages are roused from their sleep to the alternative of the sword, or the flames, or the manacle;' that at this very moment 'there are at least twenty thousand human beings on the Atlantic, exposed to every variety of wretchedness which belongs to the middle passage;' that the christian powers are generally unfaithful to their own enactments for the overthrow of this traffic; that little ground exists for hope that it will be made piracy by the law of nations; that if it were, the extraordinary profit, the enormous gains of the slave-trade would defeat all laws and movements against it, and finally avows his conviction that the slave-trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued.

"Turning from this system in despair, he boldly declares: 'A legitimate commerce with Africa would put down the slave-trade, by demonstrating the superior value of man as a labourer on the soil, to man as an object of merchandise, and if conducted on wise and equitable principles, might be the precursor, or rather the attendant of civilization, peace, and christianity to the unenlightened warlike, and heathen tribes who now so fearfully prey on each other to supply the markets of the new world.' 'I firmly believe,' he says, 'that Africa has within herself the means and the endowments which might enable her to shake off, and to emerge from her load of misery, to the benefit of the whole civilized world, and to the unspeakable improvement of her own now barbarous population.' He urges all christian nations to unite in one great confederacy 'for the purpose of calling into action the dormant energies of Africa,' and avowing the opinion that, the slave-trade once suppressed, she would present 'the finest field for christian missionaries which the world has seen opened to them,' regards as a circumstance unique in the case of her population, 'that a race of teachers of their own blood is already in a course of rapid preparation for them; that the providence of God has overruled even slavery and the slave trade for this end; and that from among the settlers of Sierra Leone, the peasantry of the West Indies, and the thousands of their children now receiving christian education, may be expected to arise a body of men who will return to the land of their fathers, carrying divine truth and all its concomitant blessings into the heart of Africa.'

"We almost forget for a moment these shocking statements touching the slave-trade, in delightful astonishment at the views, convictions, and hopes of Mr. Buxton, representative, we doubt not, of those of the wisest and best philanthropists of England, blazing suddenly out from thick mists of doubt and error, like a new constellation in the heavens, to cheer our heart, give new courage to humanity, and shed sweet influences upon the land of slaves. The world is coming forward to sustain our enterprise. Mr. Buxton has only adopted the original principles and policy of the American Colonization Society; his plans are but a republication of theirs."

In so far as this quotation may have to do with Sir Fowell Buxton it is no affair of ours. The assertions on the part of the author of the address, that this distinguished philanthropist has "only adopted the principles and policy of the American Colonization Society," and that "his plans are but a re-publication of theirs," will doubtless attract his attention, and elicit some explanation. It would indeed be highly satisfactory, and it cannot be deemed unimportant, that the public should know how far the philanthropic baronet either accepts or repudiates these representations. When, however, Mr. Gurley implicates the entire body of British abolitionists, by telling us that he regards the sentiments of Sir Fowell Buxton as "representative" of those of the philanthropists of England at large—for so we understand his language—it becomes appropriate and necessary that we should speak, and let him know that there are some at least of this class (although far from pretending to be either the "wisest" or the "best") whom he altogether misunderstands. We say to him distinctly, that he will find the anti-slavery public in Great Britain as hostile to the American Colonization society as they ever were. As an evidence of this he will perhaps accept the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously by the General Anti-slavery Convention on the 22nd of June.

That this Convention regards the scheme of African colonization proposed and urged by the American Colonization Society, as not only totally inadequate to the overthrow of slavery in the United States, but as tending powerfully to strengthen that unrighteous system, as deeply injurious to the best interests of the negro race, whether bond or free, both in America and Africa, and therefore as wholly unworthy of the countenance and aid of the philanthropist and the christian.

In the passage we have quoted, Mr. Gurley speaks of the American Colonization Society as though it contemplated nothing but the benefit of Africa; the only aspect of it, certainly, in which he can pretend that it has any affinity with the views of Sir Fowell Buxton, or by which he can court for it the favour of British philanthropists; and he seems to take it for granted that it will be believed to have an adaptation to the good of Africa, because Sir Fowell Buxton's society, which has avowedly the welfare of Africa in view, is, as he says, substantially a colonization society. Now passing entirely over the reiterated assertions of Sir F. Buxton and his friends that they do not mean to colonize Africa, and remitting for the present the question whether colonization well conducted is adapted to benefit Africa at all, we may safely affirm that this system as carried out by the American Colonization society, can have small adaptation to that end. To establish in any country a colony which shall be largely beneficial to it, requires clearly some selection as to the colonists employed. They should be men of general knowledge and virtuous habits, of uprightness, benevolence, gentleness, and self-denial. To send the ignorant, the degraded, the vicious, the selfish, the tyrannical, can *obviously* do nothing but mischief. Now the colonization society has sent persons without discrimination; some of them worthy, but the great majority of them unfitted to do anything but to transfer to Africa the crimes and vices of the United States. If such a colony should render a few benefits to Africa with one hand, it must scatter a thousand mischiefs with the other.

We go further than this, however, and express our conviction that, although conducted in the best possible manner, the colonization of a country is not adapted to promote its welfare. Its direct and almost exclusive tendencies are towards the advantage of the colonists themselves, and the aggrandizement of the parent state. "Christian colonists (we use the word *christian* as opposed to *heathen* or *pagan*) institute society of course on the *principles* and according to the *modes*—so far as the latter can be made to apply to their new position—to which they have been accustomed. Consequently the heathen make no part of the social structure, such an element being *incompatible*. This society at once assumes, as is unavoidable, *superiority;* it becomes the upper caste. A consciousness of *inferiority* soon takes possession of the natives. The colony extends itself—or, at least, its jurisdiction—over a large scope of country, from which it is unnecessary as yet that the natives should be expelled. Thus *their* social organization, whatever it be, they see overshadowed by that of the new comers, and daily withering away under it. The example of the vicious among the colonists, addressing itself to the passions, is more influential than the example of the virtuous, which calls for restraints. Hence diseases are introduced unknown in heathen life—to the cure of which their skill is unequal. The spread of the colony—a mark of prosperity—circumscribes the hunting-grounds, diminishes the quantity of game, and makes the subsistence of the natives more precarious. The colonists, intent on their own concerns individually or as a community, have but little intercourse with their rude neighbours, except as interest or convenience may from time to time call for it. In trading they overreach them; a thing as certainly to be looked for, as it is certain that they are superior to them in the knowledge of values. They lose the confidence of the natives; the latter become suspicious—and at last *hate*, because they are too weak to enforce retribution or inflict punishment. Thus they resort to cunning and sinister devices. They see their own social organization crumbling to dissolution, and know that they are unqualified for any other. Old stimulants to high achievements have passed away—no new ones are supplied, and unsupported by religious principle or hope, they inevitably sink down in the abjectness of those who, having lost all respect for themselves, feel that they have no title to the respect of others. That such a people must eventually perish every one is prepared to believe."* The structure of heathen society wants to be reformed, not crushed. It wants, therefore, a few persons of virtue and wisdom to come and live among the people, by their instructions and example to suggest social improvements, and persuade to the adoption of them. We earnestly hope that Sir F. Buxton's views may not lead to the establishment of colonies in Africa. At all events, whenever this may be commenced, let it be acknowledged also that all regard to the welfare of Africa has been abandoned, and that thenceforth her soil has been seized upon and her interests sacrificed for the advantage of others.

So much we have said respecting that aspect of the colonization society which Mr. Gurley presents exclusively to the eye of British philanthropists; but he will find that its relation to the coloured population in the United States is not forgotten. Although he may say nothing about it, we know that the society was formed, not for colonizing Africa, but, as declared in its constitution, for "colonizing the free people of colour of the United States" "in Africa, or in such other place as congress shall deem most expedient." The object of the society is thus declared by its own constitution to relate not to Africa at all, but exclusively to the free coloured Americans; it was to colonize them, that is to remove them to a distance. The constitution of the society does not even profess that this object was taken up with a view to their good, or in accordance with their desire; it professes no aim but to get rid of them, by sending them to Africa or anywhere else. It talks of their consent; but this can have been little else than a deliberate fraud. "From the first no very high expectations seem to have been entertained, that an enterprise so unnecessary—so unnatural—so condemned by the most elemental truths of political economy—so profitless—so perilous—bearing about it so little of hope, so much of despair—would commend itself strongly to that class of the community to which it purported solely to be addressed. But little reliance appears to have been placed on obtaining their *voluntary* consent to exchange for the fens and morasses of barba-

* The Colonization Scheme considered, by S. E. Cornish and T. S. Wright.

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rous and heathen Africa, this, the country of their fathers for generations, and of their own nativity—where land was abundant and cheap—where labour was in demand and its rewards sure—where education *could* be obtained, albeit for the most part with difficulty—where the common ordinances of religion, as well as its higher institutions, were established—where every interest had the promise of advancement—and where, notwithstanding they were called to suffer many ills brought on them by others, they might yet live in hope that the dark cloud of slavery, which had so long obscured the free principles asserted by our governments, would one day pass away and permit these principles to shine in all their warmth and effulgence, if not on *themselves*, on no very distant generation of their descendants. The benefits (!) proposed to the free coloured people by a removal, which involved the necessity to a great extent of breaking up their domestic relations—relations singularly dear to them, because of the sweet and (we speak from *experience*) enduring consolations they afford in seasons of persecution and distress—of exposing their lives to the death-damps of Africa under an equatorial sun—their own morals, and those of their children, to the influences and temptations of the most treacherous and sin-sunken heathen that live, and of the demons called christian, by whose teaching and example these same heathen have been raised to their eminence in vice and crime—all these benefits, we say, were unheeded, notwithstanding they were dressed out in the gaudy and gorgeous drapery of the poet—recommended by the adroitness of the rhetorician—pressed by the eloquence of the orator, and, what is more, sanctified by a standing proclamation of the priesthood, both religious and political, investing each emigrant, irrespective of character or conduct with the solemn office and standing of a *Christian Missionary* to the heathen. But every appeal was ineffectual, and so far as the society depended on the *voluntary* consent of the coloured people, it might as well have been dissolved."*

In truth the scheme was set on foot by slave-holders, and is still supported by them,† with the view of perpetuating the system of slavery undisturbed, by ridding themselves of the presence and neighbourhood of free persons of colour; and, although some benevolent and estimable persons have patronized it as pregnant with universal and unbounded benefits, it has wrought cruelly for the coloured people. It has served to sanction and consolidate the prejudice against colour which is so hatefully prevalent among the white inhabitants of the United States; it has aggravated the oppressive bearing of social institutions and legislative enactments, by which the coloured people are to be coerced into the acceptance of a refuge in Liberia; and it has created a feeling of instability in the minds of this entire class as to their position and prospects, (since they cannot tell to what extent, or how soon the feeling against them may be aggravated) so as greatly to impede all plans and efforts for their own improvement. Benevolent towards the coloured people the Colonization Society is not; it is rather a grievous and gratuitous injury under the mask of benevolence. It is an injury inflicted on a part of the community in all cases unoffending and in many meritorious, and as truly entitled to look upon America as their father-land, and to enjoy all its privileges and means of happiness, as the whitest of those who scornfully bid them depart. No! Never let Mr. Gurley suppose that the American Colonization Society has friends in England. And if he wishes to be informed in detail why Englishmen abhor it, he may speedily be instructed to his heart's content.

We have received the following further particulars of the anti-slavery movements of Messrs. Alexander and Stanton.

On Monday, the 24th of August, a good meeting was held at Dovor, William Horsnaill, Esq., a member of the Society of Friends, being in the chair, and several ministers of religion taking part in the proceedings. The attendance was much larger than at a similar meeting held about a year since; an evidence, it is hoped, of the good effect of the various endeavours which have been made to bring before the public the subjects of slavery and the slave-trade. On arriving at Hastings on the 25th, our friends found that arrangements had not been made for a public meeting. The Rev. Mr. Davis, however, Independent minister, invited some gentlemen to meet them on the following morning, to afford them an opportunity of giving information on the present state of the anti-slavery question, and if it should appear practicable, of forming a committee. The result is that an auxiliary society is likely to be formed, and a public meeting is contemplated at a period not very distant. A meeting was held at Lewes on the 26th, presided over by Thomas Dicke, Esq., who addressed the assembly, both at the commencement and the close, in a very pertinent manner, and with much feeling. The deputation had no other local assistance at Lewes, but the meeting was well attended, and the assembly appeared to be interested in the statements addressed to them. A meeting had been designed for Brighton on the 27th; but our friends in that place, who are distinguished for zeal in the cause of the negro, not considering the present a suitable time for convening such an assembly, look forward to one in about two months, when the attendance is likely to be much larger. On the 28th a good meeting was held at Tunbridge Wells, notwithstanding a very short notice. Some ministers of religion took part in the business, and it is evident that several persons resident at this watering-place are not a little interested in the objects of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society. It was determined before the deputation left, that an auxiliary society should be formed in this town.

Meetings have been held also at the following places; viz. Rotherham, Sheffield, and Leamington Spa, at all of which the attendance was good, and considerable interest was excited, which we trust will lead to renewed exertions for the suppression of the slave-trade, and slavery. At the latter important town the Right Honorable Lord Teynham took the chair, and several wealthy West India proprietors and planters were present, who offered no opposition to any of the statements made on the present state of the emancipated colonies. Indeed, several of them at the close of the proceedings stated their willingness to co-operate with the society in its great and important objects.

At Manchester, also, similar efforts have been made. On Tuesday, the 28th of July, a respectable party of the friends of abolition took tea together, with a view of diffusing information regarding the present state of slavery, and adopting the best means for its total abolition. The chair was occupied by Isaac Crewdson, Esq., who was supported by John Brooks, Esq., Boroughreeve of Manchester, Peter Clare, Esq., and other friends of freedom to the coloured race of men. J. G. Birney, H. B. Stanton, and J. Scoble, Esqrs., were also present. These three gentlemen occupied the evening in a conversational manner, many questions being put to Mr. Birney in reference to the appalling wickedness of American slavery. On the following evening (Wednesday) a public meeting, convened by the Boroughreeve, was held in the great room of the Town Hall, King-street. The attendance was not numerous, but highly respectable; the Boroughreeve in the chair. Part was taken in the proceedings by Rev. Messrs. Birt, Hill, Nolan, and Gadsby, with Messrs. Crewdson, Birney, Hadfield, Stanton, and Scoble. An auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society was formed on this occasion.

Into this paper of July 29th, we copied an article from the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*, to the effect that a Mr. Munroe Edwards had liberated at Cincinnati one hundred and sixty-three slaves, formerly held by him as his property. We have now reason to believe that no such transaction ever took place, and that the deed of liberation is fictitious. Mr. Edwards is stated, in letters on which we rely, to have come from Texas without either property or reputation. What object he had in view by *pretending* to have liberated a large number of slaves at Cincinnati may easily be conjectured.

EMIGRATION OF COLOURED PERSONS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE WEST INDIES.

On this subject we have two documents to present to our readers to-day. The first is the long expected report of Messrs. Peck and Price, the delegates on behalf of the people of colour to Trinidad and Guiana; and the second a letter from the Rev. C. Stewart Renshaw to the editor of the *Colonial Reformer*.

REPORT OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATES.

Agreeably to a public notice given out in the several churches, specified in the following resolution passed on the 23rd day of November, 1839:—

Resolved—"That it be respectfully recommended to the several congregations of the coloured population of the city of Baltimore and state of Maryland, to announce from their several and respective pulpits that a public meeting would be held at the Bethel school-room, in the said city, on Monday evening, the 25th day of November, 1839, for the purpose of selecting two persons as delegates to visit the province of British Guiana and the island of Trinidad, to ascertain the character of the climate, soil, natural productions, and the political and social condition of the coloured inhabitants of the province and island aforesaid, and hereafter to report to a public meeting, to be called for that purpose, all the information acquired by them, and especially whether it possesses such advantages as can justify the free coloured population of this city and state to migrate thither."

In pursuance thereof a large and respectable number of the free coloured population of the city of Baltimore aforesaid met at the Bethel school-room, in the city of Baltimore aforesaid, on Monday evening, the 25th November, 1839.

The meeting was organized by the appointment of Thomas Green as chairman, and Harrison H. Webb, as secretary. The object of the meeting being fully explained, the following resolution was offered:—

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* Colonization Scheme Considered.

† How true this is may appear from the following paragraph from a late number of the *Charleston Mercury*, (South Carolina,) giving an account of a visit of Mr. Elliott Cresson among the slave-holders:—

"This gentleman is now in our city, and we have enjoyed with deep interest a full and free conversation with him. Though not coinciding with him in all his views, nor agreeing with him as to all the means by which he seeks to accomplish the paramount object to which he is enthusiastically devoted—candour obliges us to confess that he has *removed from our minds many long cherished prejudices*—and that we are convinced that the South can suffer nothing from the fullest success of his aims as explained to us; *that they are not at all calculated to weaken or endanger the institution of slavery—but are conservative and tending to establish, build up, and confirm it*—and hence the causeless vituperations and persecution of which he has been the target for the emissaries and hirelings of Britain, and their abolition co-workers in the Union. He has collected a great number of useful—(startling,) facts, which it is important that every intelligent southern man should know, and his inferences, always drawn with ability whether correct or erroneous, cannot be listened to but with deep interest.

"He delivered an address in Savannah on his way hither; of which the mayor, the Hon. Mr. Charlton, has, in writing, expressed the most favourable opinion—and he comes to us boldly as a gentleman and a friend—and not insidiously, like the crawling, malignant reptiles of abolitionism."

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Resolved—"That this meeting now proceed to elect two persons as delegates, with instructions to proceed first to the province of British Guiana, on the continent of South America, and thence to the island of Trinidad, and at each of the said places to ascertain the character of the climate, soil, natural productions, and the political and social condition of the coloured inhabitants of the province and island aforesaid." Said resolution being adopted, the meeting proceeded to elect two persons in conformity thereto, and after counting all the ballots, the chairman announced to the meeting that Nathaniel Peck and Thomas S. Price, had received the largest number of votes, and were duly elected delegates for the purposes set forth in the following resolution.

"Now this is to certify to all whom it may come, that, in pursuance of the proceedings had in the premises, the above-named Nathaniel Peck and Thomas S. Price are duly authorized, empowered, and commissioned to proceed to the province of British Guiana and the island of Trinidad, for the purpose contemplated and especially set forth by the wrttten and foregoing resolution.

"THOMAS GREEN, Chairman.
"H. H. WEBB, Secretary."

"We the undersigned, cheerfully bear testimony to the uniform correct deportment of Thomas Green, chairman of the meeting referred to in the above proceedings. The persons named as delegates, Nathaniel Peck and Thomas S. Price, are two of the most industrious, intelligent, and respectable of our coloured population, and we hope will be received and treated in places they propose visiting with all the attention and kindness which the object they have in view entitles them to.

"N. PRICE, Chief Judge, Balt. City Court
"W. D. G. WORTHINGTON, Assist. Judge, Balt. City Court.
"U. S. HEATH, Dist. Judge U. S. Court.
"S. C. LEAKIN, Mayor of the City of Baltimore.

In pursuance of the foregoing Resolutions, we, the delegates, proceeded to Boston, and on the 21st of December, 1839, sailed for Georgetown, Demerara, in the province of British Guiana, where we arrived on the 21st January, 1840. We proceeded to deliver the letters which we were the bearers of to those gentlemen whom Mr. Carbery had written to, and were received with all due respect. It was then arranged that we should pay a visit to his Excellency Governor Light, the next day at twelve o'clock. At the time appointed we were accompanied there by Mr. Bagot, and introduced to his Excellency, who received us in a manner highly flattering, and gave us a great deal of important information, and assured us, if we or any of our brethren should feel disposed to emigrate to Guiana, we might rely upon his protection and assistance, as much so as if we were British-born subjects. By appointment, the same afternoon we met the Board of Directors of the Immigration Society, convened expressly to have an interview with us.

We soon found we were amongst friends, who tendered us the hospitalities of the colony, and made ample arrangements to facilitate our travels throughout the colony. We remained in town for several days, sufficiently long to have possessed all the information relative to town affairs, manners, customs, &c.

We now undertake to give a faint description of George-town, the capital of the colony. The streets are all Macadamized, and crossing each other at right angles. Water-street, being the principal business street, is thronged with people throughout the day; it is next to the river, and runs parallel with it. The stores are very large, and well fitted with every article that fancy may dictate. The dwelling-houses, which are frame, are built at least 20 feet apart, in order to have a free circulation of air; and, indeed, comfort being always consulted in the erection of their dwellings, all of them have large galleries or balconies in front, and many all around them, with abundant fruit and other ornamental trees, shrubbery and flowers, constantly dressed in their never-dying foliage. The water used here is rain water, falling upon slate roofs, and is conducted by spouts into cisterns, the most of which are composed of iron plates, or wood—the water is very pure, clear, and pleasant-tasted. In George-town, there are two Protestant churches, one Presbyterian, three Wesleyan Methodist, and one Catholic; all of which we visited, and were highly gratified to find them well attended, and that they had entirely abolished prejudice from the house of God, as well as everywhere else—persons of colour occupying pews throughout the church, according to their standing and ability to purchase, with an ample number of free pews and seats for strangers and others.

On the first of February, at 10 o'clock A. M., started on board of the American-built steamer, Victoria, in company with a Mr. William Jones, a highly accomplished gentleman, (the son of an opulent proprietor residing in England,) who, on the previous evening had offered to accompany us to the islands of Leguan and Wakenaam. He proved of signal service in pointing out to us every thing of note, and in answering the many questions which we put to him, all of which we felt very grateful for; and on parting we were provided with letters of introduction to every section of the country. We arrived at Leguan about half-past 12 P. M., where we were kindly received.

We must now give a short description of the country. The land is flat, with canals running throughout the cultivated portion of the colony; but these canals furnish three important purposes: First, to drain the land for the cultivation of sugar, &c.: Secondly, answer as fences or boundaries between plantations: Thirdly, as means of transportation for the canes from the fields to the works, and from the works to the shipping; hence, there is an immense saving in animal labour in bringing the produce to market. The country really has quite an animating appearance; everything like vegetation growing with the greatest luxuriance; indeed, such is the fertility of the soil, (which wants no manuring) that everything belonging to a tropical climate grows as if it were by magic. Oranges, limes, and cocoanuts are in the greatest abundance. Pine-apples, bananas, plantains, mangroves, sappadilloes, guavas, and many other fruits too tedious to mention. Sweet potatoes, yams, cassava, &c., whilst we also saw Indian corn growing, of which there can be three crops raised in the year. Cabbage, beets, lettuce, cucumbers, and tomatoes, with a great variety of peas and beans, we saw growing, and partook of most of these things whilst there. The sight of all these things, as well as the sugar and coffee being in full bearing and maturity at that season of the year, can be better imagined than described. After being on this island three days, and visiting nearly the whole of it, and being highly gratified, we accepted the very kind offer of Captain Williamson, proprietor, who sent over one of his schooners to convey us to Wakenaam, where we spent two days, and had ample opportunity to test their hospitality, (which abounds everywhere,) and also to gather a great deal of useful information touching our mission. After spending an agreeable time on this beautiful island, Captain W. sent another of his schooners from the other side of the island, which landed us at plantation "Good Intent," owned by Captain W. From here, after spending a night and morning, we visited the next estate "Spring Garden," owned by an American gentleman, Mr. Charles Benjamin, who received us with every mark of friendship, and showed us every part of his beautiful estate, which is a charming situation, possessing many advantages as a seat in the country, being on the noble river, Essequibo, and the steamer from Georgetown stops here on her up and down passage, four times each week; besides a fountain of never-failing water, from a bore of great depth in the earth. After spending two days here, being furnished with horses by Mr. Benjamin, who accompanied us some distance on the road, we started down what is termed the Arabian Coast, for at least thirty miles, stopping at several estates on our route, as we were provided with letters of introduction. This is the most splendid part of the colony, being in a high state of cultivation, with the exception of the many fields which have been recently thrown out for the want of labourers, as we found that to be the only complaint which was prevalent all over the colony; indeed, it was quite apparent to our view, for there were many acres of beautiful land only abandoned or thrown out the last year, and the canes and weeds growing up together; and on many fields, particularly at "Spring Garden," there were canes decaying for the want of persons to cut and bring them to the works.

To give a minute description of our travels as written down upon our journals, would swell the form of this pamphlet beyond any reasonable size. That the country possesses advantages over most other countries to the agriculturist, is beyond a doubt or cavil. We will pursue a description of our travels a little further, in as short a space as possible, and then give the substance of our researches in as concise a manner as possible.

After spending as many days as we thought proper, and seeing all and every thing of importance, conversing on every occasion with the labourers, not only in their cottages, but in the fields and buildings where they manufactured the sugar, all of whom expressed their entire satisfaction of their situation, and would be glad to receive any number to help them in the field or works. After being absent from town ten days, we returned in the steam-boat to George-town; on the wharf we met with a Mr. Moses Benjamin, the American consul, who gave us a pressing invitation to stop at his dwelling, which was near by, and make it our home at that or any other time while we remained in the colony; for this, as well as many other acts of kindness, he has our gratitude and best wishes. On the next morning, at half-past nine o'clock, we again started on board the same steamer for New Amsterdam, in Berbice. On board we found several gentlemen to whom we had been introduced before, also our friend Mr. M. Benjamin, who was going on business. He paid us every attention, and introduced us to Mr. D. C. Cameron, merchant of Berbice, who proffered his house as a home as long as we might choose to remain in the colony. On the next morning (our arrival being noticed in the papers) we were waited upon by many proprietors as well as others, all soliciting and seeming anxious for us to pay a visit to their district first, and furnishing conveyances in abundance.

February 12th.—It being a rainy morning, we could not fulfil our engagement to breakfast. After 12 o'clock it cleared, and we walked out to "Rye Head" coffee estate, proprietor Mr. Welshman—returned by the way of the garrison, and arrived in time for dinner.

13th.—After a rainy morning, and through the politeness of Dr. Cameron, we visited several plantations and returned to town the same day.

14th.—By arrangement we started at an early hour in the morning up the East side of the Berbice river, in company with Mr. Lang and Mr. Newlands; after a ride of about ten miles, we stopped at plantation "Buse's Lust," where we breakfasted with the gentlemanly manager, Mr. Hicks. From here, we went further up the river to "Highbury," in a boat belonging to the sheriff, by invitation from him, to see the Hill-Coolies, natives of the East Indies, who are a hardy race, but yet in a state of ignorance, as they cannot be prevailed upon to quit their idols. At four o'clock we embarked, to return to "Buse's Lust;" in a short time we started for town, and arrived in time for dinner. We stopped at Mr. Newland's, dined with him, and spent quite an agreeable evening with him and his interesting family; at 11 o'clock, returned to Mr. Cameron's, which was close at hand.

15th.—Rained, as usual, in the morning. Twelve o'clock, we again started in a barge, in company with three gentlemen, to visit an estate, "Standvastighied," which is about six miles up the river on the west side—spent quite an agreeable afternoon and night. Returned next morning in time for church—went to the Rev. Mr. Redwar's church, which was well attended. At 3 o'clock paid a visit to his Sunday school, which is composed of 250 or 300 scholars of all ages: some learning to read the Bible with spectacles, and repeating their catechism—indeed, it was quite a gratifying sight to behold all these people seeking knowledge, it being only about eighteen months since the most of them were emancipated. We left here to fulfil an engagement out to dinner. Returned at 10 o'clock.

Monday morning, 17th.—Started again, with our friend Mr. Newlands, in a boat, across the river to visit a portion of the west, and stopped at his plantation, "Woodly Park," where we found every where, the great want of labour. Spent this day and night very pleasantly. Next morning started early for town, where we arrived highly delighted with our jaunt.

Tuesday, 18th.—Returned some visits, and made preparations to leave the next day in the steamer. At 10 o'clock the next morning took leave of our kind friends and Berbice, and at 5 we were again safe at George-town; spent one day there by invitation, started with Mr. Butts, who proffered his carriage and company, to visit some of the plantations on the Demerara river. Stopped on the way at several estates. At length we arrived at Mr. Butt's coffee and plantain estate where we saw everything in order; had a lunch, then returned to plantation "Herstelling," a very splendid estate—attorney, Mr. Retemeyer; manager, Mr. Rogers. We parted company with Mr. Butts, who went to town; and we remained to spend a day at his estate.

It rained all the following day, and we had to keep the house, which we

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spent in reading and writing. The next day, 22nd, at ten, cleared off—horses and carriage being ready, visited several plantations and stopped at "Golden Grove," Dr. Rankin proprietor, who gave us much encouragement for people to emigrate to this colony. Left here, and returned to town, and dined with Mr. Retemeyer, attorney for "Herstelling."

Sunday, 23rd.—Went to Presbyterian church, which was well attended. In the evening went to Christ church (Protestant;) here the organ and choir is very good.

Monday.—Attended the criminal court, to witness some important trials then going on. This court is composed of three judges, as our courts, and three assessors, who must be tax-payers, are called to take their place in rotation, without regard to colour. We saw during our attendance a coloured gentleman occupying that station. Many of the clerks in the public offices are coloured; also tellers in the bank, &c. &c.

We have now got through with nearly all our excursions, and are anxiously waiting to get conveyance to Trinidad. We are told that we must wait for the steam-packet, which is daily expected, as she is now due. There is no direct communication between this place and Trinidad.

On the 28th dined with Mr. Wishart, a gentleman of colour, where we met with several white gentlemen, and everything was in harmony with their professions. We spent quite an agreeable evening.

March 1st.—Sunday forenoon went to Independent Chapel (Methodist.) In the afternoon to the Catholic, and in the evening to the Protestant churches.

Wednesday, 4th.—Received a polite invitation from a Mr. Montaroux, proprietor of "Big Diamond," which is about eight miles from town, to ride out in his gig, which he sent by a servant, to breakfast; then to visit the "Sand Hills," the beginning of high land—distant from George-town not over twenty-five miles; in a few minutes we were on the road, and arrived in good time to breakfast. As soon as the tide served, our boat being well provided with provisions as well as everything else, we set sail with wind and tide in our favour, and at six we dined, being then near by. At twenty minutes past six we landed on a rising ground, which we ascended, and found ourselves upon a beautiful table-land of a very great space; this high land being the first in the interior, it is at least sixty or seventy feet above the rest of the land: but we are informed that the land rises from this up, forming beautiful table-lands to a great extent, which are untouched by the hand or feet of man.

After stopping at Mr. Brotherton's all night, which was very pleasant and cool, we started the next morning on the way back; but according to promise, our friend, Mr. Montaroux, made us stop on the way down to pay visits to two estates. In order was plantation "Vive la Force," proprietor Mr. Dodgson, who had waited breakfast for us. Staid here but a short time, then walked over a very fine road (for which this colony is famous,) to the next estate, with Mr. M'Lennan, the manager; this estate is called "Vriesland," and we must say, that this is certainly one of the most delightful and best cultivated estates in the colony. The cottages and the head men's houses are extremely comfortable and handsome; in fact, everything and every person wore quite an animated and cheerful appearance. After spending some time here we embarked in our boat, which had been brought down to this place by the boatman; in a very short time we landed at the "Big Diamond," from whence we started, being highly delighted with our jaunt. We spent quite an agreeable evening with our friend and his interesting family.

6th.—Rose early and started for town, as we feared the packet had come in, and we might miss that chance to get on to Trinidad. On our arrival found the packet in—made preparation to start in her for Grenada, which is the nearest place to Trinidad that the packet touches.

We will now endeavour to give the result of our researches. In the first place we will begin with

THE CLIMATE.

It being a part of the rainy season, we therefore saw it in its worst aspect. The thermometer ranging from 78 to 83 deg. The sun rising in a bank of vapourish clouds. At 7 or 8 o'clock the sea-breeze springs up from the east, and although it clears the atmosphere the sun is by no means as oppressive as we frequently experience it in June, July, or August. At the rainy season, some times it rains very hard for a short time, stops suddenly and clears up. Sometimes it rains regularly every forenoon, and in the afternoon it is clear: at another time it rained every night, and in the day scarcely a shower. On two different days while we were there it rained all day.*

THE SOIL.

The soil is a rich alluvial deposit, and is the same to any depth, which requires no manuring, and every thing of vegetable nature grows up with the greatest luxuriance. Sugar and coffee being the principal articles raised for exportation, paying exceedingly well at the prices they now bring in the British market, it is not to be wondered at that the whole resources of the colony are directed to them alone.

POLITICS.

There is but little noise about politics, as there are but a few offices within the gift of the people. However, there is existing in Guiana, as well as all other British dependencies, a law, excluding all persons not born under the British flag from being eligible to office. However, every man stands on an equality in the eye of the law.

All criminal cases are tried by a court of three judges and three assessors; the assessors are chosen on the spot from the tax-payers, without regard to colour.

The only distinction in society is education, character, and wealth, for the higher walks—then gradations down, according to condition, &c.

Agriculturists are in great demand. Every plantation that we were upon (which were many) wanted from 40 to 50 hands to carry on the cultivation already in operation. The present cultivation does not extend from the chief seaports over 20 miles in the interior, and on both sides of those beautiful rivers, the Essequibo, Demerary and Berbice, many advantages are offered to industrious and enterprising capitalists who would embark in the cultivation of vegetables, and rearing feathered as well as other stock for market, which would make at present a handsome return to the undertaker.

The government land, according to law, is put up upon application at 5 dollars per acre, and is published in the papers; if no one applies to overbid that sum, it is then transferred at that price.

Wages paid for labourers and mechanics.—The field labour is similar to the working in corn fields, and is done by task of so many feet or yards. The price for each task is 33½ cents, which upon most estates can be done in four or five hours. We saw a young woman at an estate called "Success," on the island of Leguan, finish her second task by twelve o'clock, and did not appear at all fatigued. In answer to a question put to her by us, whether she could do three tasks every day, said if she felt inclined after dinner she would do another task. We left her to visit several other estates, and returned about half-past five in the afternoon, and learned from her own lips that she had done the third task about an half-hour, the sun about this time being full half-hour high. Besides each family has a very comfortable cottage to live in, containing generally two rooms on the first floor and one above, with as much ground attached as they can cultivate in vegetables, and the doctor's bill for attending all on the estates paid by the proprietor.

On many estates are very fine schools, and would be many more could persons be found competent to the undertaking; there are at present a great many churches in every direction, and would be many more should it be required, as every profession is tolerated and encouraged.

Carpenters are much in demand, as well as many other tradesmen. The wages given is from 1 dollar to 1 dollar 25 cents; but we are informed by many master mechanics, that, if our people would emigrate there, they would command higher wages, as they had been informed that our workmen could do a great deal more work in a day than theirs.

Every estate presents quite an imposing appearance, the sugar-works being very large, and all the machinery propelled by steam-engines. The proprietors, managers, and overseers' houses are very fine buildings; the handsome cottages for the labourers now being built on an improved plan, averaging from thirty to sixty in number, gives them the appearance of a considerable village.

In going through the country we had occasion to inquire of the planter what encouragement he would give to a number of agriculturists who would undertake to cultivate any amount of land already in cultivation upon shares. It appeared to meet their entire approbation; but before our departure from the colony we put certain questions to the immigration committee in writing upon that subject, as well as others, all of which were promptly answered.

It may not be amiss to give you what information we gathered as to the amount of sugar that an acre will produce on land that has been in cultivation for thirty or forty years without manuring. The estimated amount is from 2,550 to 3,400 pounds, and, at the prices it brought to the planter when we were there, was from six dollars to seven dollars per hundred: at the lowest quantity and price it would yield 153 dollars per acre. At the largest amount 3,400 pounds, at 7 cents, it would yield 238 dollars, besides the rum and molasses; which, at the price it was then bringing, say from 30 to 40 cents per gallon, (taking the average quantity and price to the acre,) would be about 60 dollars more; and thirty hands can keep up the cultivation of 100 acres. Now, we think the agriculturist has everything to gain and nothing to lose.

Labourers about the wharfs and shipping can earn 1 dollar per day throughout the year.

Brick and potters' clay are to be found everywhere in the greatest abundance. The bricks now in use (which are imported) are worth 20 dollars per thousand. There are no potteries in the colony, nor did we see any stone ware while there.

Boat-builders and wood cutters are much in demand, as well as those who understand sawing ship timber, &c.

Wash women, nurses, and sempstresses are in demand; and 1 dollar per dozen is paid for washing clothing.

It may not be unacceptable to the reader to learn the prices of some articles, that he may know how to govern himself.

House-rent about 100 per cent. higher than in Baltimore. Furniture about the same. Flour, from 11 dollars to 13 dollars per barrel. Hams, from 16 to 20 cents per pound. Veal and mutton, very scarce, 25 to 30 cents per pound. Fresh pork, 20 to 25 cents per pound, scarce. Beef, 16 cents, and plenty. Butter from 50 to 60 cents per pound. Loaf sugar, 18 to 20 cents per pound. Coffee, 25 to 30 cents per pound. Tea, 1 dollar to 2 dollars per pound. Brown sugar, 16 cents per pound. Rice, 50 cents per gallon. Sperm candles 67 cents per pound. Dipped, 16 to 20 cents per pound. Chickens, 1 dollar to 1 dollar 50 cents per pair. Geese, 2 dollars to 2 dollars 50 cents each. Turkeys, from 3 dollars to 5 dollars each. Vegetables, such as grow in this country, very high.

The prices of all the above articles are by retail; but, instead of the high prices being a disadvantage, we look upon them as a decided advantage to the enterprising producer; for it is the scarcity of those articles, such as fowls, &c., that causes those high prices. Let there be a sufficient number turn their attention to furnishing those articles for market, and our word for it they cannot fail to succeed in making money, and bringing down the prices.

Clothing of every description is cheaper than in this country.

Fuel, in town, is within the reach of the poorest; is sold at many places as low as 8 cents worth, and is only used for cooking. On plantations it can be had for the trouble of cutting it. Therefore, although the high prices of various articles of food may, at a first glance, appear discouraging to the emigrant, yet we do not hesitate to declare that they are reduced even below the level of prices in this country, when we consider that in Guiana the labourers on the plantations have neither house-rent, doctors' charges, or schooling for children to pay; while the expense of fuel is saved, and the cost of clothing diminished more than one-half.

But in order to give a clear and distinct view of the colony and its resources, let us imagine a large and extensive country, with the most luxuriant soil, capable of producing everything that grows in a tropical region, and that all the cultivation is confined to the borders of the sea-coast, or along the margin of three mighty rivers.

The first in order, and the largest and most important, is the Essequibo, which is navigable for 250 miles; at the mouth of which stand the two beautiful islands. Leguan and Wakenaam, which alone are capable of receiving an addition of many thousand emigrants. The Arabian coast, the acknowledged garden-spot of the colony, is, we believe, equally, if not more healthy than Baltimore. This coast, which is in a high state of cultivation, is now prepared to receive an addition of some thousand emigrants, who would be at once in comfortable situations.

The next river is the Demerary, upon which, near the entrance, stands George-town, the capital of the colony, and the principal sea-port. This river runs in a serpentine course into the interior to a very great extent.

* We were in the colony from the morning of the 21st of January until the 10th March, seven weeks.

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The cultivation bordering on this river does not extend more than 20 miles from the principal sea-port.

The Berbice river is the next, but not the least; it runs nearly parallel with the two former, but to a greater extent than the latter. The cultivation of this river does not extend from the port of shipment (which is New Amsterdam, in Berbice,) over 12 miles. Hence it is easy to discover the many advantages that this country possesses in a great degree for the enterprising agriculturalist.

A large amount of the very best land is lying idle, and a great portion (thousands of acres) bordering on those rivers, where vessels of 250 tons can ascend for at least 200 miles, is entirely without cultivation. The inviting aspect of the country is at once observable to any one having the most contracted ideas of agriculture.

The timber upon this land is of the most precious kind, and is suitable for furniture, as it is susceptible of a very high polish. There are several establishments in the interior for cutting and exporting this timber, with several steam saw-mills to convert it into plank, &c.

Numerical bill of mortality for the years 1837, 1838, and 1839. Population a trifle less than 15,000 in George-town—

	White Inhabitants.	Coloured Inhabitants.	Total.
1837.	174	490	664
1838.	138	547	685
1839.	135	476	611
	447	1513	1960

The following letter was received in answer to questions propounded by us relative to the prices of land :—

"*George-town, British Guiana, March* 9, 1840.

"Messrs. Nathaniel Peck and Thomas S. Price.

"Dear Sirs,—In reply to your inquiry respecting the price of land in Essequibo, I beg leave to say, that to parties who would engage to erect dwellings and settle on Great Troolie Island, where I have about 1200 acres, of a soil equal to any in the colony and superior to the greater part of it, I would now sell at from fifteen to forty dollars per acre, in proportion to the distance from the water-side. This land I would engage to afford the means of drainage by one or more kokers, as might be found requisite, the drains to be made and kept free by the labourers.

"The land I have reference to is on the windward or east side of the island, has been in former times in cultivation, and could be drained and again put in cultivation at much less expense than new land with heavy wood upon it.—Should the purchasers be disposed to provide kokers for drainage for themselves, a deduction of 25 per cent. could be made from the price named. The land on the leeward side of the island, which has never been in cultivation, I would sell at from ten to thirty dollars per acre, in proportion to its distance from the water-side, the purchasers draining it themselves. I should not be disposed to make a commencement of a sale in this way, unless fifty acres could be sold at once, and in lots of not less than five acres, and the purchasers to be bound to enclose their respective lots by a fence, or a trench sufficiently wide to answer the purpose of confining within their own limits any live stock they may keep. My terms would be, one-half the purchase-money on giving possession and title, and the other half, in two equal annual instalments; say in one and two years. The latter half might be paid in agricultural labour at the current rate of wages, if agreeable to the purchaser.

"The offer hereby made I should consider binding on me until twenty thousand emigrants have arrived here after this date, or at any rate for twelve months from date, unless I made a sale of the whole in the meantime, to one party. This right I am not willing to shut myself out of.

"Remaining, dear sirs, your very obedient servant,

"Charles Benjamin."

"On the afternoon of the 10th of March, everything being ready, we took our departure from George-town, on board the steam packet, Capt. Lunn, for Grenada. We arrived at Grenada after a passage of fifty-six hours, on the night of the 12th, procured lodgings, and at the end of four days procured passage in a small sloop, the Governor Doyle, for Trinidad, where we arrived on the night of the 17th; procured lodging by the assistance of a friend, and the next morning walked out early—returned to breakfast, and learned that Messrs. Bushe, Losh, and Johnson, had called to see us. Shortly after we met them on the street—they welcomed us to Trinidad, and Mr. Bushe invited us to his dwelling. It was now arranged that we should be accommodated with conveyance to the country on the 20th. We spent the two days in town to the best advantage, in order to find as many of the immigrants as possible who had come out in the Metamora and Archer, and to learn from them how they liked the island. We met three or four who had remained in town; they gave rather an unfavourable account of it. As they were mechanics, they no doubt went out with rather too high-wrought expectations. Their complaint was, that they did not receive as much for their labour per day as they did in the United States, and their board was high—tradesmen were not in demand. These persons were all unknown to us, except one, whom Mr. Peck knew; therefore we could not rely entirely upon what we heard.

Early on the morning of the 20th, by the kindness of Messrs. Bushe and Losh, we were furnished with a horse and gig, and proceeded through a delightful part of the country, and were accompanied by those gentlemen. After travelling about six miles we stopped at Mr. Jackson's, who received us in the kindest manner. He is the proprietor of an extensive plantation. He invited us to breakfast the next morning, and to take a look at another portion of the island. After spending a short time here, we again set out four or five miles further to one of Mr. Bushe's estates, where we breakfasted. Here we saw a number of the immigrants, and conversed with them: some few were dissatisfied. The reason they gave for it was this :—that they sold their furniture in the states for little or nothing, and when they went to purchase there they found everything much higher than in this country. The churches being a good distance from some of them was another cause of complaint. Others with the price of provisions. We endeavoured to convince them of the necessity of undergoing some difficulty and privations, which is a sure attendant upon all such changes; but although we did not see as many advantages as we had witnessed in Guiana, yet this island possesses many advantages over the United States for the industrious man of colour. At this place we met two carpenters from New York, who said they were satisfied and were doing well.

We then went further on to another of Mr. Bushe's estates, where there were more of the emigrants who appeared to be in better spirits; in fact, they appeared determined to surmount all temporary difficulties, and show what can be done. They had planted gardens of many vegetables such as grow in this country, and they appeared to be thriving. Corn grows luxuriantly, and three crops the year can be had from the same field. After spending a considerable time here, we returned to town highly gratified. By invitation we dined with Mr. Bushe, where we met several gentlemen who gave us every encouragement to emigrate to that island.

The next day, through the kindness of Messrs. Bushe and Losh, we were furnished with horses; a young gentleman also accompanied us. We started to fulfil an engagement with Mr. Jackson, where we arrived in a short time, and then rode with him through his extensive plantation, which, like all others, is in want of labourers to keep up the cultivation. After breakfast, our horses being ready, we set out through a beautiful valley, to a cocoa plantation owned by Mr. Jackson. It is a delightful retreat, with a fine house upon it; this place he offers to any respectable party upon advantageous terms—either to sell, lease, or work it upon shares. On the same property is erected a mill, turned by water, to grind arrowroot for starch. This place has been in arrowroot, and would take but little trouble to cultivate it again. After spending quite an agreeable time, we took leave of our friend, and arrived in town before sunset.

The next day, being Sunday, breakfasted with Mr. Bushe; while there was waited upon by a committee of four gentlemen, requesting us to prolong our visit in order to partake of a public dinner, which they tendered us. The list shown us was signed by some of the most respectable and wealthiest of the citizens; but, as we were then circumstanced, having made arrangements with a captain, in conjunction with Messrs. Smith and Shorter, (who were delegates from Annapolis,) we could not revoke our engagement to start.

Monday afternoon, at 4 o'clock, set sail from Trinidad in the sloop Phœbe, for St. Thomas, in order to get passage home, as there are seldom vessels direct from this port to the United States. We arrived at St. Thomas the Sunday following.

On Tuesday, 31st March, sailed from St. Thomas in the brig Norfolk, Capt. Matthews, for Philadelphia, where we arrived on the 11th of April.

Prices of articles, and wages given to field labourers.—The price per task is 50 cents, and three tasks have and can be done by the American emigrant. Flour, 11 dollars to 13 dollars per barrel. Bacon 16 to 20 cents per pound. Fresh Beef, 10 cents per pound. Brown sugar, 12 1-2 cents per pound. Loaf Sugar 16 to 20 cents per pound. Butter, 50 to 60 cents per pound. Coffee, 25 to 30 cents per pound. Tea, 1 dollar to 2 dollars per pound. Rice, 6 or 7 cents per pound. Veal and Mutton, 20 to 25 cents per pound, and scarce. Fowls, 1 dollar 50 cents to 2 dollars per pair. Geese, 1 dollar 50 cents to 2 dollars each. Turkeys, 1 dollar 50 cents to 2 dollars 50 cents each.

The great difference between Guiana and Trinidad is very perceptible upon the estates. In Guiana every estate has the appearance of a manufacturing village. In Trinidad the works, &c., upon estates are on a very small scale, and they lack of that animation and life which is everywhere found in Guiana at the time of making sugar. In Guiana all the works are propelled by steam engines, and the mill is fed by the same power. The workman's labour is lightened in many ways by it. In Trinidad most of the works are propelled by mules, or water, and the manual labour is greater. The labourers' cottages in general are much more spacious and comfortable in Guiana, than those now in use in Trinidad. In conclusion, we unhesitatingly say that Trinidad is a fine and beautiful island, and possesses many advantages to the agriculturist over the United States; but is in want of but a few, if any mechanics.

As there appears a desire among many persons to know whether we intend to settle in either of those places, and which of the two we preferred, we thought it advisable to get through with the report to the public meetings before we declare our intentions. We now declare our preference for Guiana.

Nathaniel Peck.
Thomas S. Price.

MR. STEWART'S LETTER.

(To the Editor of the *Colonial Reformer*.)

Mr. Editor,

I have felt much interest in the recent discussion of the emigration question. Will you permit me to offer a few remarks upon it?

Before I left the United States, I was earnestly requested to ascertain the advantages of emigration to this island. The question had been before the minds of many of the coloured citizens of the northern states, and they were without data upon which to base intelligent action. I have carefully endeavoured to possess myself of the facts of the case, that I might as far as possible comply with their multiplied requests; and, after giving to the subject all the care my circumstances would admit, I am irresistibly led to conclusions adverse to their emigration.

That immigration under other circumstances would be a blessing to this island, I have no doubt: that under existing ones it would be a disastrous evil to the mass of emigrants from the non-slave holding states of the north American republic, I as little doubt. The reasons that have guided me to the latter conclusion I will state; and I beg to say that the circumstances of the last seven years in my native land have compelled me to become familiar with the detail of the condition of this class of its citizens, so that I know whereof I affirm concerning them. The term "coloured" in the United States is used in contradistinction from "white." It is applied indiscriminately to black, brown, and yellow, and in that sense I use it.

1. The climate of the free states, i. e. the non-slave holding states, is very severe and bracing—that of Jamaica is on the other extreme. The coloured population of those states and their

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parents before them, with few exceptions, have been born there, and a severe acclimation must be endured before they can be efficient hands in a cane piece under a tropical sun. Multitudes of the victims of the United States slave-trade—brand it, *the American slave-trade*—die under the same process of acclimation. Yet they cannot pass through more than ten degrees of latitude, whilst emigrants to Jamaica must pass through a least twenty-two degrees.

2. The mode of living of the peasantry here is as different as possible from that of the coloured citizens of the free states. There meats are cheap—from 2½d. to 5d. currency per pound, seldom more. Flour £1. 10s. to £2. per barrel. There are few coloured men in the free states who do not sit down three times a day to bread and meat, with tea or coffee. From the prices of meats, 10d. per lb., and flour £3 to £5 per barrel, it would be impossible for them to live here as they had been accustomed at home; discontent would ensue. In this respect emigrants from the old world are preferable.

3. Whilst provisions are much cheaper in the free states, and I speak of flesh and flour, wages are from 100 to 150 per cent. in advance of wages here.

I have no doubt that a labourer there accomplishes twice as much as one here; but the enervating effects of a tropical sun would in a few years induce a relaxed state of the system, that would bring the emigrant to the common level.

4. An emigrant can scarce hope to become a landholder here. Lands are already high, from £4 to £15, and rising in price, whilst in the United States the national domain is open to him; and the best lands can be had at the government price of 8s. 4d. currency per acre. Many of the coloured population are beginning to turn their attention thitherward, and are becoming proprietors of the soil.

5. The religious privileges of the coloured population of those states are much superior to those they would enjoy here. With all their privations before my mind, I am fully satisfied of this fact; though the contrary had been urged as a reason for their emigration.

Their educational privileges are in some districts much better, and in all as good as they would be here.

Throughout the union a malignant prejudice exists that has cruelly crushed them, but it is beginning to give way. From this they would be removed by emigration. *That prejudice, however, only operates to keep them in the place they are wanted here to fill—the lowest caste of labourers.*

6. Other plans of immigration have uniformly failed. In some instances they have resulted most disastrously, and in all injuriously to the emigrant. Germans, Irish, Scotch, have been tried in vain. What reason is there to hope that a better fate awaits the coloured Americans!

7. Those by whom the emigrants would be employed have generally been the proprietors or managers of slaves. These gentlemen are creatures of habit, and have human, and many of them unsanctified hearts: to expect that slavery had not strongly marked their characters, or that deep traces were not yet left, were to expect a miracle.

No class of men in the United States have a keener sense of their wrongs than the coloured population. They have long been the children of sorrow, and, should they be induced to emigrate to Jamaica, in the hope of escaping from an oppressive public sentiment, and find themselves compelled by their circumstances to labour for a captious, harsh, overbearing, employer, it would be a mockery of hope that would doubly aggravate their misery.

I bring no charges against the gentlemen of the proprietary. It has been the unhappiness of their lives that they have sustained this baneful relation, and by a law of their being its peculiar features are enstamped them.

> "Can a man take fire in his bosom,
> And his clothes not be burned;
> Can one go on hot coals,
> And his feet not be burned!"

8. The character of the legislation of the island is unsettled.

It is impossible to tell what it will be, whether liberal or restrictive. Laws protective of the peasantry have been enacted, but they have not unfrequently been evaded, or set aside, or trampled upon. And others have been recently enacted that must inevitably bear hard against their interests.

The whole magistracy of the island, should the stipendiary department be withdrawn, will be constituted of gentlemen from the recent slave proprietary body; and it will be a marvel passing strange, should their judgments not be warped by previous associations, and habits of thought and feeling. I have long been familiar with slavery, and know its influences to be powerful and blinding in the extreme; but, aside from personal knowledge, the simplest induction leads to the same conclusion. The influences and tendencies of the relations we sustain to each other, are not blind chance work.

I will also state, that fears are expressed that the energetic measures pursued by the late governor will not be seconded, at all events with the same energy, by the present executive. This has some weight with many minds, with others it has none. I merely mention it as one of the existing circumstances. My hopes transcend my fears.

9. And finally, that class of persons that would really benefit the island, are just such as are needed in the United States; that they and their children may be educated and elevated there, and stand as perpetual refutations of the calumnies so abundantly and undeservedly heaped upon them.

An educated respectable coloured population in the United States would be a blessing to the slave as a means to his freedom second only to the dawning of the American 1st of August, 1838.

These remarks, Mr. Editor, will apply with full force to the coloured (i. e. all except the white) population of the non-slave holding states:

After a few years shall have given reality and consolidation to the liberties of Jamaica—shall have corrected the remaining evils of the late system; *and they are not few, nor all on one side*—shall have harmonized conflicting interests, and given character to the legislation of the island, there will no doubt be *many, many* in America, who will be glad to swell its agricultural efficiency and moral capital.

Till then, I think they will agree with me that it is

> "Better to bear the ills they have,
> Than flee to those they know not of."

A word with regard to emigration from the slave States and the Canadas, and I have done.

In the slave holding States there is a large free coloured population, held there by local attachments, similar to those they so strikingly manifest here. They are subject to all the indignity that a ruthless public sentiment heaps upon them—they are regarded as nuisances—standing incitements to servile insurrection—and several States have taken measures for their forcible expatriation.

Liberia, on the coast of Africa, is the place of their banishment—to it many look as to the gloom of the grave. Were Jamaica the alternative, and it no doubt could be, many would hail it with joy; compared with Liberia, it would be as home to banishment.

Besides this source whence labourers may be obtained in the United States, there are annually escaping to Canada hundreds of fugitives from the cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar plantations of the southern states. These fugitives are unused to the intensely cold Canadian winter. They have been accustomed to labour under a sultry sun, and to coarse, and often scanty fare. They are strangers to the habits and modes of life of the Canadians—have no homes nor old associations to leave, would be easily acclimated, and soon become valuable acquisitions to the island; for it requires an excellent constitution, great tact, and an invincible courage, patience, perseverance, and love of freedom, to encounter the astonishing perils that beset them in their pilgrimage to the shrine of liberty.

Could these, as they touch the English soil, be counselled by those in whom they have confidence, and be aided to reach Jamaica, doubtless many of them would find their way hither; and perhaps many of the ten thousand already settled in the Canadas.

I beg to assure you, Mr. Editor, that an earnest desire to promote the greatest good of the greatest number has been my only guide in canvassing this subject.

For Jamaica I have but one feeling—affection for its best interests. May the blessing of heaven rest upon every effort to promote them! Very respectfully, &c.

C. STEWART RENSHAW.

P. S.—I have just had an opportunity of reading the above to several missionaries, formerly Americans, whom I know to be well acquainted with the condition of the coloured population of the United States, and my own views are most fully confirmed by their testimony.

C. S. R.

Fern Hall, St. Andrews, May 7th, 1840.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

SLAVERY.—IMPORTANT DECISION.—In our paper will be found a decision delivered in the United States court by Judge Betts, in the case of the schooner Catherine, an American vessel, captured near the coast of Africa by a British cruiser for being engaged in the transportation of slaves, and brought into this port. On the 15th of June, 1839, the agent of the owners chartered her to a man named Thrasher, for a voyage from Havana to Principe, and on the 25th of the same month the agent contracted to sell her to a man named Teran for ten thousand dollars, and to deliver her at Bona, on the coast of Africa, on or before the first day of October following. The vessel was laden and despatched by the charterer, and was captured by the British cruiser on the 13th of August, while prosecuting her voyage near the coast of Africa. The cargo and equipments of the vessel when captured left no doubt that she was to be employed in the transportation of slaves, nor did the court entertain any doubt that such was the fact. But his honour, Judge Betts, decided she was illegally captured, and amongst other reasons for this opinion, stated that "there is nothing in the statutes of the United States to reach the case of an American vessel built and fitted out for the slave-trade, but actually sold to a foreigner and employed by him." The vessel therefore, having been sold to Teran before she left the Havana, and before she was equipped as a slaver, although still under the American flag, and not yet actually delivered to Teran, had nevertheless so far lost her American character, that she was no longer responsible to the laws of the United States for being engaged in the slave-trade. This we take to be the fair and legitimate import of his honour's decision, and, coming from such high authority, we must presume it to be the law. Admitting it then to be so, what a wide field does it open for American vessels to engage in the slave-trade, without incurring much risk of being captured, or of the crew being treated as pirates! An American ship-

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builder may construct as many ships as he pleases for the slave-trade, send them with or without a cargo to any port out of the United States, and there make a sham sale of them to some foreigner residing at a slave market, and from that moment the vessel may to a certain extent engage in the slave-trade with the most perfect impunity, as regards the only two maritime powers that take any interest in the matter! The cruisers of the United States cannot seize such vessels, they having become so far denationalized as to be no longer within the provisions of the United States law, although under the American flag; and for the same reason, English cruisers dare not seize them. They dare not seize them as American vessels, because they have violated no American law, and are no more subject to capture by a British vessel, than any other American ship which is pursuing a legitimate trade. And then, the vessel being under American colours, and having American papers, what pretence could a British cruiser have for seizing her as a ship belonging to some other nation? In short, according to this decision, an American ship, by a little management, can escape all the hazard of a voyage in quest of slaves, until she arrives at the place where she is to be delivered to her real or assumed purchaser, which would be of course, the place where her cargo of slaves was ready for her.—*Journal of Commerce.*

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—Extract of a letter, dated July 21st, 1840.—Since my last to you in April, I regret to say that matters are not better, but I think they are rather worse, although working by an under-current. The week's notice under the tenant law, and the double and treble rent imposition, together with the *per capita* rent system, and the practice of deducting from the wages of the working portion of a family amounts for the portion that do not work on account of sickness or other domestic cause, are now greater scourges and terrors than the cart-whip or cat o'-nine-tails of old. Another grievous evil is the non-protection of the people's provision grounds against trespassers, and the inadequacy of the law to afford remedy; also the want of legal protectors and advisers of the people to counteract and repel the unjust, harassing, demoralizing, and degrading punishments and suits at law, to which they are constantly subjected at the vindictive caprice of their unreasonable employers. A curious fact in illustration occurred at the July assizes for Cornwall. A labourer had been assaulted by his attorney, (M'Kenzie) of which he complained to a court of magistrates—Finlayson, Laidlaw, and George Gordon. The complaint was clearly established, and the assaulter was fined 60s. Subsequently M'Kenzie had a bill preferred before the grand jury upon his own testimony, which was declared "true." The labourer was then tried by the petty jury, and upon Mr. M'Kenzie's evidence *only* declared guilty. The court—H. W. Plummer, George Longmore, and John Salmon—men of the same stamp as M'Kenzie, sentenced the undefended man to six months' hard labour in the House of Correction. Thus the poor fellow suffers the ignominious punishment of working in the penal gang, on the streets and highways, with felons and malefactors, for an alleged venial offence of which he was not guilty, as proved by the first adjudication, which the court would not have awarded against a white man had he been undeniably guilty of the most aggravated assault. If the man had had legal protection the result might have been different, though with a prejudiced jury and partial bench.

EXTRACT of a letter, dated July, 1840.—The other day about twelve people were down for examination as candidates, and they were told by the overseer that, if they came to the hill, he would stop a macaroni from them. They replied, "We are going to serve our God, and now we tree we can't stop back far a macaroni." The threat has since been executed. The same is the constant practice if the people give any of their holidays to the carrying away the dirt. The double rent question is still the cause of great litigation here, as you will perceive by the papers. On the whole of Neil Malcolm's estates (Sinclair attorney) the proceedings have been so vile and atrocious that none but negros under the influence of Divine grace could have submitted.

EXTRACT of a letter, dated July 7th, 1840.—We are all anxiously looking out for the expected packet, and shall continue to look with much anxiety for an account of the grand Convention. Great quietness prevails in this district. Good crops are being made, and the special magistrate told me last week that he had scarcely anything to do. Whenever any disagreement arises, it is sure to be on the properties of those who have refused to keep rent and wages distinct.

BARBADOS. CONVICTION OF MR. TAYLOR. [From the *Liberal.*] The impression made on the public mind by the reports of the proceedings, are, we are happy to perceive, of a favourable cast as regards the guilty intentions of the prisoner. We are not surprised at this, because the dictates of common sense must lead us to believe that, although Mr. Taylor acted imprudently, was ill advised, and exposed himself to a good deal of suspicion, yet that it was *impossible* for him to have acted the part he did if *he had believed* his conduct to have been *criminal*—or had he been *conscious* of a *guilty* intention. It is not our intention to enter into a defence of Mr. Taylor, now that he has been found guilty by a respectable jury; otherwise, it is possible that we might be able to remove a few of those dark clouds which at present overshadow the field in which he has sought in vain for a harvest from his labours! Yet it is not always in the power of the *wisest* or the most upright characters to escape being entangled in the cobwebs of the law; and in a case in which so much jealousy and mistrust has been necessarily manifested by the government here and in England, and where, for obvious reasons, the difficulty of establishing the proof of innocence has been so very great, it is no wonder Mr. Taylor should have fallen a victim to a complication of unfortunate circumstances over which he had no control—involved in which it is possible that a man of more experience may have been confused and puzzled how to proceed. Most sincerely do we hope that her Majesty's government, by looking to his repeated subsequent attempts to retrieve his error, and the candid and open manner in which he has acted throughout the whole of the transaction, will view his case with a regard to that leading principle laid down for the guidance of all just judges:—"In the midst of judgment remember mercy."

DENMARK.

SLAVE-TRADE.—Berlin, May 6. We learn from a quarter well acquainted with the state of the West Indies, that the charges brought by the Danish Major Magens against General Von Scholton, governor of the Island of St. Thomas, bear the stamp of the highest probability. It is impossible that the slave-trade could be carried on with such barefaced publicity in the Danish Island, if it were not favoured by some persons high in office. A real service will be done to the new king by these proceedings, because facts will be brought to light which would hardly be made known any other way. Mr. Gurney, too, brother of Mr. Gurney who was lately here with Mrs. Fry, sends accounts from St. Thomas which but too strongly confirm the above statements, which, if they should be made known to the king of Denmark, (and there is every reason to believe that they will be), will give occasion to a strict investigation.—*Leipsic Allgemeine Zeitung.*

His majesty the king has given his sanction to several regulations respecting the negro slaves in the Danish West India Islands, and causes them to be promulgated as laws by the Upper Colonial Board of Customs, and the Board of Trade: they relate to the bad treatment of the negros, to the means of facilitating their acquiring liberty, and were issued as a rescript of the late king in 1834, and found very well adapted to the intended purpose. By them the negros are entitled to purchase their freedom as slaves; whatever they obtain by presents, purchase, inheritance, or labour, is their own property, with the exception of arms and boats. Scourgings with the tamarind whip on the naked body is abolished, corporal punishment is to be inflicted with a rope, which is to be borrowed from the police-office on payment of a certain sum; a negro is not to receive above twelve stripes at the most; and a negress not above six. Confinement on bread and water can be inflicted only for 48 hours to eight days at the utmost.—*Hamburg paper, May 5, 1840.*

SIERRA LEONE.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—[From the *Patriot.*]—Extract of a letter written from Sierra Leone on the 18th of June last;—"The slave-trade is by no means extinguished upon this coast; it is, however, more covertly conducted. From the most accurate sources of information, I can fairly state that not one out of seven slave-ships is caught by the British cruisers. There is more secrecy, but the trade is nearly as frequent as before, but more profitable, and for that reason more alluring. A few days ago I visited a captured slaver. In a space which a moderate sized French bedstead would occupy, I have seen forty-five unhappy wretches packed, without regard to age or constitution, like herrings in a barrel. I saw them fed after they had been captured. On a shell about the size of a half-crown piece, was deposited a pinch of salt, for which a father and four children contended, each endeavouring to scramble a portion to eat with his rice. I have seen four children packed in a case that I thought it impossible could contain one. The statements which your orators in both houses of parliament exhibit of the sufferings of these unhappy people are faint outlines of their appalling misery. Unless some efficient system be adopted, Africa will long continue to cry out, with tears of blood, to her European brother man for his interposition and protection. Yet the people of this part of Africa are the most docile imaginable. I have known a Wesleyan missionary go among them and destroy their idols, to which they sacrifice goats and fowl: but they never immolated a human victim. The missionary, with the moral courage which characterises that devoted class of men, went among them fearlessly and alone, and in the course of a short time succeeded in reclaiming a great number of them to christianity, through the medium of a half-broken English, with which the natives are in a great degree conversant. The Spaniards and Portuguese are indefatigable in promoting the trade in slaves. Strange that the Roman Catholic powers of Europe do not interpose, and prevent this great blot upon their religious creed."

CAPE OF GOOD GOOD HOPE.

CAPTURE OF SLAVERS.—Cape of Good Hope papers to the 2nd of June inclusive, contain the following extract of a letter, dated Port Elizabeth, May 23rd:—On the 21st of March last, Lieutenant Rose, commander of Her Majesty's ship Curlew, when in lat. 14. 53. S., long. 43. 46. E., fell in with and detained a vessel sailing under Arab colours, called Yaruga, armed with one gun and small arms, having slave irons, water tanks, and a quantity of matting on board, commanded by Fatchel Kerin who had no papers to show; but stated the vessel to be from Zanguebar, bound to Conducia (island of Madagascar,) the crew consisting of eleven men and one passenger, besides nineteen negros, (twelve men and seven boys.) The vessel, being found unseaworthy, was fired into and sunk, the nineteen slaves and cargo having been first received on board the Curlew, and the crew sent on shore, but on the 3rd of April, while at anchor at the port of Conducia, fifteen of the negros swam on shore, and escaped into the woods. On the 26th of March, in lat. 14.56 S., and long. 41.6. E., the Curlew fell in with the Portuguese brig Don Pedro Duque de Porte, armed with four guns, commanded by Lauchan de Tallachurde, from Deo, Arabian Sea, bound to Mozambique harbour, and having detained her for a breach of the Slave Act, sent her into Simon's Bay, in charge of a prize-master, having previously put on board of her the Yaruga's cargo, and retaining four negros taken out of her; but on the 11th instant, having lost her mainmast, foretopmast, &c., during a heavy gale from the N.W., she was obliged to put into Algoa Bay in distress. Her Majesty's brig Wizard, F. T. Buck, commander, arrived in Simon's Bay on the 31st of May, having, after a chase of twenty-seven hours, captured a brigantine. The crew, finding they would be taken, abandoned her off Cape Frio, and escaped. All the slaves on board had been landed by the Wizard."

The *Guiana Reformer* says:—"The Barbados labourers are returning to their country in rather greater haste than we expected, which seems to intimate, that we are likely very soon to have emigration from—as well as immigration to—our shores. A good number were to be seen yesterday besieging the office-door of the Immigration Society, at the Public buildings. Upon inquiry we ascertained that, heartily sick of the place, and unable to cope with the creoles, they were about to return to the land of their birth."

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 20.] WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23RD, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

This day is published, demy 8vo, price One Shilling,

AMERICAN CHURCHES THE BULWARKS OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

BY AN AMERICAN.

May be had at the Office of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street; of Messrs. Harvey and Darton, 55, Gracechurch-street; Hatchard and Son Piccadilly; and Ball, Arnold, and Co., Paternoster Row.

THOMAS CLARKSON, ESQ. AND THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

(To the Editor of the Anti-slavery Reporter.)

SIR,—During a recent visit to Playford Hall, our venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, Esq., intimated to me that he had addressed a letter to Mr. Garrison, giving him his present views of the American Colonization Society. The document having been read to me, I solicited a copy for publication in your forthcoming number, which was kindly granted, and which I now transmit to you for that purpose.

The present opinion of Mr. Clarkson on the claims of that society to support is the more important, as he gave to it formerly the weight of his sanction and his name, and from his most valuable letter it will be seen how these were obtained and abused. As Mr. Clarkson had been grossly imposed upon in this country by the agent of that society, so one of his communications to the United States respecting it was garbled and altered to suit its purposes, and, when the fraud was detected, the apology of one of its officers in effect was, "had Mr. Clarkson himself been here and known all the facts of the case, he would have so written."

It may be well to remark that, at the very time Mr. Cresson was imposing his fictions on Mr. Clarkson, he knew that the most abominable doctrines were boldly advocated in the accredi ed documents of the Society. In them it was maintained that property in slaves was to be respected as "SACRED"—that "the society has at all times recognized the constitutional and LEGITIMATE existence of slavery"—that "it protests [illegible] designs on the rights of the master over the slave—or the property in his slave which the laws guarantee to him;" and that its object, rightly understood, involved "*no intrusion on property*, NOR EVEN UPON PREJUDICE." Its most zealous supporters went even further than this; they asserted that it would guard the system of slavery, and "contribute effectually to its continuance and strength;" that "the execution of its scheme would AUGMENT instead of *diminishing* the value of the property left behind;" that it would "*provide and keep open a drain for the excess beyond the occasions of profitable employment;*" that the value of slaves thereby would be "ENHANCED?" and that "INTO THEIR ACCOUNT THE SUBJECT OF EMANCIPATION DOES NOT ENTER AT ALL." As to the abolitionists, they were denounced as "enthusiasts" and "fanatics," and were thus apostrophized; "Come, ye abolitionists, away with your *wild enthusiasm* and *misguided philanthropy*."

It is worthy of remark, also, that all its presidents, viz., C. F. Mercer, Bushrod Washington, Charles Carroll, and Henry Clay, (who at present fills that office) have been, and those of them who still live are slave-holders, and that not one of them has manumitted a single slave to be sent to their favourite colony of Liberia! In the first annual report of the society, Henry Clay is stated to have said, that "it was proper again and again to repeat, that it was far from the intention of the society to affect in any manner the tenure by which a certain *species of property* is held. He was himself a slave-holder; *and he considered that kind of property as inviolable as any other in the country.*" And during the last session of congress he declared that he was decidedly opposed to all schemes of abolition, whether immediate or gradual, however remote, and would oppose them. The fact is, the society was instituted for the *sole* purpose of removing the free people of colour from the United States, as A NUISANCE from which it were a blessing for society to be rid!

According to the best account we can obtain, not more than 6000 persons altogether have been removed from the United States of America to Africa, during a period of twenty-three years, or about 260 per annum, which is scarcely equal to the *daily* increase of the slaves in that country; and such has been the mortality, that it is believed that the number of settlers in the colony at this time is not so great as the number which has been transported thither. As to the "free people of colour," they have been unanimous in their opposition to the society from its commencement, and have nobly determined to abide by their brethren in bonds.

But I will no longer detain the attention of your readers from the important communication of Mr. Clarkson.

I am, &c.

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 22nd Sept., 1840.

DEAR SIR,—When you was in England on a former occasion, you did me the favour to call upon me at Playford Hall, to take a part against the "Colonization Society." Long before this visit, my friend Mr. Elliot Cresson had engaged me in its favour, so that I fear that I did not show you the attention and respect (while you was at my house) due to so faithful an apostle of liberty. You have lately been in England again, but your numerous engagements prevented you from seeing me, though it was your intention to have done so, and to have conversed with me on the same subject. I understood from your friends in London, who sent me a message to that effect, that you wished to know the particular reasons why I have changed my mind with respect to that society. I have no objection to give you a short account of the reasons which induced me to enter into it, and finally to abandon it.

My attention was first drawn to this subject by Mr. Elliot Cresson, who said that there was at that moment an almost *universal* desire in the people of the United States *to abolish slavery and the slave-trade*, and that he and they had a plan for this purpose. The plan was to emancipate all those men in bondage there, and to send them to Africa, the land of their fathers, where they were to buy land and form colonies, on the principle of *civilizing* the natives thereof, *teaching them christianity*, and of preventing the *slave-trade* in their immediate neighbourhood, as well as of trying to put an end to it in other parts, wherever their influence might reach. This desire or disposition in the American people to accomplish so glorious a work was, he said, almost *universal*. It was not confined to the clergy, or persons of superior intellect, or high moral character, but it extended through the various classes of society, *even to the planters themselves*, who were [illegible] *deeply convinced of the sin of holding their fellow-creatures as slaves*, so that slaves for transportation might be bought for £7 10s. each—(the sum calculated to pay their passage.) Many masters were so convinced of *the sin of slavery*, that they would emancipate and were then emancipating their slaves for nothing that is, *without any pecuniary consideration*, or on the *condition* only that they should be sent to Africa, and comfortably provided for there. Upon this *universally prevalent* disposition the *Colonization Society* was founded, and a district to be called Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, was fixed upon for the purpose: this was the account given me by my friend Mr. Cresson, and I own that I was *overcome* with joy and carried away by it. I thought it was one of the sublimest plans ever devised. Here the two great evils of slavery and the slave-trade were to be done away at one and the same time in the United States. But *that circumstance* which astonished me the most was, that there should have broken out *all at once*, and *over the whole land*, such a sunshine of benevolent feeling; that men should suddenly and all at once have given up long established customs, and the rooted prejudices of ages; and that the hardened hearts of planters should have been all at once melted and softened, and their consciences so smitten as to have acknowledged *slave-holding to be a sin*, for which they were anxious to *make reparation at a great sacrifice*, namely, the free emancipation of their slaves. These feelings on the part of the American people were not to be accounted for upon any *ordinary principle*. I thought that nothing but the spirit of God could have worked such a miracle, and that, as it was His will that the blessing of freedom should come to American slaves through the means of the Colonization Society, we were bound most thankfully to accept the boon. My astonishment was so great at this miraculous change of things, that I questioned my friend Mr. Cresson *over and over again*, if his account was not exaggerated. He replied always that it was strictly true—and these were the reasons why I patronized the society in the very beginning of its formation.

I began now to think very seriously on what had been at different times related to me on this subject; and first, how such an immense work was to be accomplished. Nearly *two millions and a half of slaves* were stated to be then in the United States; and all these were to be transported to Africa. It struck me, that no private funds could be collected by Mr. Cresson, either in

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England or in America, sufficient for this purpose that it was in fact, and ought to be a government work, and I told him *my fears* that he would never accomplish his object. He told me in reply, that besides subscriptions by individuals, the different states in the Union would each give its quota of money towards it, sufficient to transport all the slaves within its own districts or boundaries. He then showed me one or two American newspapers, in which it appeared that one of these states, Virginia I think, had already promised a very large sum, *some thousands of dollars* to the work, and he believed the rest of the states would follow the example. Thus my fears were quieted as they related to this part of the subject. I do not know whether Virginia has to this day fulfilled her promise. On going more deeply into this subject *new fears* rose up to my mind. I began to think that, if the slaves in the United States amounted to the *immense number* reported, with the population every day increasing by birth, *no man* then living might see this good work brought to an end, and *that during all this time*, that is during their transportation, all the horrors of slavery would be going on among those who were left behind. I determined, therefore, to satisfy myself on this point, and therefore, when I saw my friend Mr. Cresson next, I inquired what was the state of Liberia; how many emancipated persons had been already imported into it; and what was the number annually expected to be brought into it. I gathered from him, as far as I can now recollect, that between two and three thousand had already come into it, and that more were on their way thither; but that, if I waited a little time longer, he could give me a better answer. I accordingly waited for some months, when I found that the recruits began to come in *much more slowly than before*, and that, judging by the last importations, or the number then imported in a given time, I could not expect that more than 1000 or 1500, or at the most 2000 emancipated slaves could be *then counted upon to be sent annually into Liberia*. This alarmed me, and I began to think that some difficulties had occurred in the way of the emigration; either that the *funds were then* not equal to the transportation of more, or that *more could not* be procured. *Not more than* 2000 *at most* could be expected to be brought into the colony *in a year*, whereas not less than 1000 *per day* should have been sent to that and other parts of the continent of Africa, to get rid of a population of between two and three millions in any reasonable time. No person, if Mr. Cresson's plan were followed up in *such a slow and lingering manner*, could hope to see the extinction of slavery in the United States in less than 500 years, if at all. Nor even could they take off by such a slow process even the rising generation as they were born, nor, if the American government were to take the plan into their own hands, could they *in any reasonable time* accomplish the work, were they even to give to the project *every shilling of the surplus revenue in their* treasury, and *employ their whole navy in the transportation of those people*, taking in the rising generation, and all the difficulties which would occur. Even they, the American government, could not accomplish it in less than fifty years.

I considered, therefore, Mr. Cresson's plan, so far as related to the removal of these unhappy people, *as impracticable* within the [illegible] time of any man then living, and I told him [illegible], but I could never get a satisfactory answer from him; nor can any satisfactory answer ever be given to show that the scheme is practicable, and this ought to weigh with those, who, if this society still exists, *have a desire to enter into it*. Let such persons moreover consider that this society has already existed, I believe, for upwards of twenty years, and that there is *not a slave less in the United States now* than when they began their work. Indeed, notwithstanding all their efforts, *during all this time* there are *hundreds of thousands more*, in consequence of the increase of population, than when the plan was first proposed, the slave population according to the best accounts *amounting now to nearly three millions*. I may say further, that if this society still exists, it is criminal; for to hold out that their scheme would produce *the entire extinction of slavery in America*, (and this was held out with an inconceivable obstinacy) what was it, or what is it, but to delude the public as well as themselves, and to teach people *to rely upon this one measure;* whereas if their scheme had never been proposed, they *would have been looking out for some other remedy or cure.*

But I began to have other fears as I looked into the subject farther, from a very different view of it. I began to question whether the persons to be sent out were the *proper persons* to *found a new colony* in an uncivilized *part of the world*, and whether they would not do *more harm than good*. The natives of Africa, besides being called upon to abolish the slave-trade in their own territory, were to be *improved in their morals*, to be *civilized*, to be *christianized*; but *were slaves newly emancipated* fit persons to carry on such a work! And yet by the scheme such and such alone, except the officers, were to be employed in it. The scheme had reference *only* to those who were *then slaves*, and who were to be made free on the occasion, that is, just before the sailing of the vessels which were to convey them to their new homes. Now it is obvious that, if these people were to be sent to Liberia and other parts of the same continent, they would go there *with all the vices of slavery upon their heads*. Theft, lying, prevarication, and trickery of every kind are the characteristics of a slave, brought on inevitably by the vicious system under which he had been obliged to live. To this are to be added the brutal and superstitious notions which such people must have; their want of education and of any knowledge of civilized life; but above all, their want of any moral principle to guide them, and their total ignorance of God and religion. Now I did not think that people of this description were fit to be sent to Africa to *form a pattern colony* for the imitation of the natives there, for they were not person of a *pattern conduct* themselves. These were my thoughts upon this part of my subject, and I mentioned them several times to Mr. Cresson. He said that hitherto he had taken all the care he could to make a selection, but admitted that 120 of this description had come into Liberia amongst the last importations. He candidly confessed that he did not see how he could help himself on a future occasion, indeed he spoke only the truth; for the scheme *related only to those who were then in bondage*, and who, as *soon as ever they* were emancipated, (however unfit they might be) were to be the component parts of the new colonies in Africa.

You will see in this narrative my reasons for patronizing at first the "American Colonization Society," and my reasons also for having afterwards deserted it. I left it, first, because it *was entirely impracticable*. This is a *sufficient reason* of itself, for no man in his senses would pursue a plan which he thought could never be accomplished. I left it, secondly, because I thought that *newly emancipated* slaves were not qualified to become colonists in Africa to any good purpose. How could persons be sent with any propriety to civilize others, who *wanted civilizing themselves?* Besides the advocates for the Colonization Society in America had no right to send *the scum* of their population to Africa, to breed a moral pestilence there. As far, however, as *the abolition of the slave-trade* in Africa is concerned in the plan, it must be allowed that Liberia has done a great deal of good. But then this was the *first* colony planted, and the people sent there, as Mr. Cresson assured me, were more select. Many of these had been emancipated a considerable time before, and had got their own living, knowing something of the habits of civilized life. My argument relates only to newly emancipated slaves, who, according to the scheme, were to be hurried off from the plantations as soon as their liberty was given them. If the Society did not take these people, then the prospectus offered to the public had no meaning in it, and slavery could never, according to its promises, be *extinguished* in the United States.

Since writing the above, I have learnt from an American paper that a skirmish has taken place between the colonists of Liberia and the people of Gaytoombah's town. I know nothing of the causes of this apparently little war, but am grieved to learn, when the skirmish was over, that a most wanton, deliberate, cold-blooded act of butchery was practised *by the missionaries themselves;* who boasted that, while the people of Gaytoombah's town were gathering up their dead, they had the *best chance of any to fire into their groupes*, and, when they had turned their backs, to "*pepper their hams with buck shot.*" This was too bad, and contrary to the usages of war among civilized nations; but to rejoice in, to boast of, to make a joke of such a murderous deed, belonged only to *savages*, and yet these men were, we repeat, missionaries, *disciples of the Prince of Peace* and perhaps, *leading men* in the colony. What effect such barbarous conduct will have upon the natives, to prevent future colonies from being settled on their coast, we may perhaps live to see. The news of this massacre will certainly be spread by the Kroomen all over the African coast, and the Colonization society may be deprived of the power of making further purchases in Africa, except in their own immediate vicinity, where they may have done some good. If this should ever be the case, they may bid farewell to their future hopes. Where then will they provide land on this continent for three millions of emancipated slaves?

But I have not done with the subject yet. Mr. Cresson had hardly left England the last time, when new information was given me on this same subject, by two American gentlemen *of the very highest moral reputation*, by which I was led to suppose two things—either that I had mistaken Mr. Cresson in his numerous conversations with me, or that he had allowed me to entertain erroneous impressions without correcting them. It was true, as my two friends informed me, that there had actually been a great stir or agitation in the United States on this subject, and quite as extensive and general as Mr. Cresson had represented it to be; but that the cause of it was *not a religious feeling*, as I had been led to imagine, by which the planters *had been convinced of the sin of slavery*, but a base feeling of fear which seemed to pervade all of them, and which urged them *to get rid* of the *free people of colour* by sending them to Africa. These people were more knowing, intelligent, and cultivated than the slaves, and it was believed were likely to join them, and be very useful to them in the case of an insurrection, so that, if these were once fairly sent out of the country, they, the planters, might the more safely rule their then slaves with a rod of iron. This information was accompanied by an account, by way of proof, taken from American newspapers, of different meetings held by the friends of the Colonization society in different states of the Union, and of the speeches made there. It appeared from these speeches, that the most violent supporters of this society *were planters themselves*, and that the speakers did not hesitate to hold out the monstrous and hateful proposition that the negros were *not men and women*, but that they belonged to the *brute creation*. It was impossible to read these speeches, which were so many public documents, and not perceive that the persons then assembled were no friends, but bitter enemies to the whole African race, and that *nothing in the*

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way of good intentions towards the negro could be expected from them. It is unnecessary for me to attempt to describe what my feelings were upon this occasion. I will only say that I saw the scheme, shall I say the diabolical scheme, with new eyes; and that the new light thus thrown upon it, added to the two arguments before-mentioned, determined me to wash my hands clean for ever of the undertaking.

With respect to my dear and revered friend, Mr. Wilberforce, I will tell you what was his opinion on this subject. He saw Mr. Cresson through my introduction, and having heard patiently all that Mr. Cresson had to say in favour of his scheme, put this important question to him, "Why, when the government of the United States have millions of acres of land, whole states indeed, at their disposal, why do you send them to Africa for a new home, when you can locate them in the country in which they were born, and to which they have a claim by birthright, and on account of services to the community!" Mr. Cresson never answered this question so as to satisfy Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Wilberforce would not stir a step till it was answered. His opinion was that, if congress were composed of just and honest men, they would locate these slaves in a territory neighbouring to their own, and make a separate state of them, and have them represented on the floor of congress; or that they would send them to a great distance, making an allied state of them there, and sending proper officers and magistrates with them to live among them, and to put them into the way of governing themselves. But he gave the preference to the former measure; he always thought that there was something hidden in Mr. Cresson's plan, which was purposely concealed.

I have now given you my reasons for having once patronized the Colonization Society, and then deserted it, and hope you will consider them satisfactory.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem,
Very truly and cordially your's,
THOMAS CLARKSON.

To W. L. Garrison, Esq.

WEST INDIA MISREPRESENTATIONS.

THE friends of humanity in Great Britain stand in no need of being informed that the pro-slavery party in the West Indies have indulged long and largely in a habit of unscrupulous misrepresentation, and have made it a point to deluge this country with statements adapted to produce the effect they desire, caring little how far they may be from describing accurately facts or occurrences abroad. Plausible misrepresentation answers its purpose here long before it can be corrected from the distance of half the globe. And besides, it is only to scatter misrepresentations by thousands, and the very trouble of doing it will prevent the greater part of them from being answered at all. These are still the favourite tactics of the party, and to a considerable extent, unhappily, they are still influential. A clever and imposing article of this class appeared in a respectable and generally trustworthy contemporary of ours on the 13th of May last, under the form of "extracts from private letters," with which the editor had been favoured by a highly respectable merchant in the city. It so happens that this has attracted the notice of one of our correspondents in Jamaica, who has favoured us with the following commentary and explanation. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

I HAVE seen with much disgust, in the *Colonial Gazette* of the 13th of May, extracts from the *Jamaica Standard* and from private letters, which give very exaggerated and very gloomy pictures of the condition of this island. I am astonished that the *Colonial Gazette*, a paper which I thought had some pretensions to fairness, should attach any importance to or quote from a paper which has no reputation, and but very limited circulation in its own locality, and which from the hour of its commencement has been unequalled for scurrility, and unceasing in its lamentations over the beneficial progress of freedom; and which is constantly reiterating the cry of ruin to the colony, by consequence of the interference of Baptist ministers and stipendiary magistrates—malicious lying assertions, which have as often been triumphantly refuted as either of those calumniated bodies have had public or official opportunities of meeting their accusers or slanderers. Nothing can be more atrocious and dishonest than this unceasing cry of ruin, kept up by the lowest portion of the Jamaica press, in direct opposition to and in the midst of the strongest evidences of commercial and agricultural prosperity which any country can exhibit. Imports rapidly and amazingly increasing—the price of land advancing—the domestic comforts and moral condition of the people wonderfully promoted and improved—missionary stations, churches, chapels, school-houses, and buildings for other purposes, spreading in all directions throughout the island—and the absence of pauperism and vagrancy—if these be evidences of a state of prosperity, then is this island eminently prosperous. It would be but retributive justice to the supporters of the infatuated and unprincipled men, who are unceasing in the clamour of ruin, ruin! if their cuckoo cry should at last be credited and their bills returned by the British merchants protested.

In one of those extracts of letters I have alluded to, a contrast is made of the crop of 1825, with what is termed the crop of 1840 in the district of Blue Mountain Valley, St. Thomas in the East. I say *termed* the crop for, as the letter is dated 27th March, 1840, and in that district the crop only commences generally in February, and does not terminate until June and July, it was impossible for the writer to know accurately what the crop would be. It is evident that the object of the writer is to depreciate Jamaica property, by practising on the credulity of individuals in England interested in it; but weak indeed and child shly disposed to alarm must they be, if, instead of perceiving the insidious design of their correspondent, they suffer themselves to be persuaded into the performance of any act which will betray a want of confidence in the security, and, under proper management, the profitableness of property in this island. Why, if the object of their correspondent was to draw a fair conclusion, did he not compare the crop of 1840, if he knew what the crop was, with the crop of the previous year, or even with that of the last year of slavery, 1833, and 1834? What satisfactory result could be obtained by a comparison of one year of unfettered labour with one crop of slavery, fifteen years ago, about the bloodiest and darkest period he could have selected out of the annals of slavery in that district? As you may not have seen the statement of this oracular correspondent of a London merchant, I extract it for your amusement, and for your amazement, should you be credulous enough to believe it.

"In addition to the West Indian intelligence derived from public sources of information, we have been favoured by a highly respectable merchant in the city with the following extracts from private letters.

"Jamaica, 27th March, 1840.—I wrote you per last packet, and have since received your letter of the 1st February. The assembly have again met, and are progressing quietly and peaceably with what they have to do; nevertheless, all their labours will fall far short of what we require—population, population; and without this, sugar cultivation must recede, let them pass what laws they will. We are improving so little that, if the good folks in England saw our present cultivation, they would say, 'you need it.' I only returned from Blue Mountain Valley yesterday, and the state of the whole district was such as to bring to my recollection the prophecy of the Bible as regards Jerusalem; it is indeed desolate, and although we have succeeded in getting a few more acres planted than last year, still if even we continue to improve, it will be some years before the estates pay their expenses. For instance, I give you the crops of 1825, and 1840: viz.

	In 1825.	In 1840.
Garbrand Hall	570	50
Coley	200	40
Serge Island	250	45
Blue Mountain	400	60
Petersfield	400	11
Hall Head	180	14
Mount Pleasant	140	55
Georgia	120	20
Mount Lebanus	60	20
Buckingham	200	30
White Hall	80	8
Golden Valley	100	20
Spring Garden	200	7
	2900	380

And I believe it to be just as bad in many other parts of the island. These are *facts*, and require no great sagacity to know what will be the result. Many must be thrown up; and the end will be the parcelling out of these very estates to the certain ruin of the few that remain. The blacks from America are too expensive for poor estates: they may answer in Trinidad or Demerara, but the majority in Jamaica never can afford the wages now given, much less the rate that would be expected by them. Let government assist, and send us one or two millions, or even two hundred thousand, from Africa, and it would serve us, and civilize them also."

At that period, so confidently alluded to as one of great prosperity, when so large an amount of sugar was made on Blue Mountain and Petersfield estates, so reckless was the waste of human and animal life, and so unbounded the extravagance in all the details of plantation management, especially in the hire of large jobbing gangs to dig cane holes and clean the ample fields of canes which were requisite to produce those boasted crops, that the result entailed enormous debt on both those properties. Petersfield was soon after placed under the charge of an attorney appointed by the mortgagees, but the slave gang being fearfully diminished by mortality occasioned by excess of work and harsh treatment, its crops were much reduced, and continued from henceforward to decline. During the apprenticeship there were differences between the labourers and the proprietor, which, while the estate continues in his hands, will always be an impediment to its successful cultivation. The proprietor of Blue Mountain estate, when acquainted with the circumstances attendant on the fictitious prosperity of his estate, immediately changed his attorney, reduced the cultivation, forbad the employment of jobbing gangs, took measures to ensure humane treatment to as great an extent as possible under a constrained servitude, and by a rigid economy in the management, with 120 hogsheads netted more than he had done with 400 under the former reckless and extravagant system. The soil of Garbrand Hall estate is very light and sterile, and with constant cropping it had been worked down in the last years of slavery to little more than 120 hogsheads. From such like causes, long before the abolition of slavery, all the estates in the Blue Mountain district had reduced their produce to an amount hardly exceeding in any instance half of that which the correspondent of the London merchant has thought it honest to advance as a test of the success of the same estates under freedom. But, independently of any reference to slavery or apprenticeship it can be proved that there are circumstances connected with the treatment of the people on many of the estates in that district since the termination of the apprenticeship, quite sufficient satisfactorily to account for the less prosperous condition of it, as compared with other parts of the same parish. It appears to me that it must be a matter of indifference to the owners of landed property in Jamaica, whether they derive their income from sugar, or from some other cultivation, or from rent, provided it be an adequate one. Then why was it not stated by the writer of that fair and candid epistle, who, professing to have so minute a knowledge of that district, could not have been ignorant of the fact, that, independently of the sugar made, be it much or little, the proprietor of Garbrand Hall estate has a rent roll from negro tenants considerably exceeding £1000 per annum? And why did he not also state, that the Messrs. Kirkland experienced planters in that parish, had offered £1000 a-year rent for that estate, and that they had made the same offer for Hall-head estate, and had been refused by Mr. Hall, the proprietor? Now, presuming that he, as proprietor of Hall-head, had some little knowledge of his own affairs, and that the Messrs. Kirkland had their perceptive organs, if not as largely developed as the correspondent of the London merchant, who saw only wire grass, rushes, and trumpet trees, at least sufficiently so to form some notion of self-interest from what they saw, when they inspected these estates preparatory to making their offers; then these facts tend to prove

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a state of things very different from that desolation so eloquently described by the correspondent of the London merchant, and which so forcibly brought to his recollection "the prophecy of the Bible respecting Jerusalem!" Were I not afraid of exhausting your patience I could multiply instances in which similar offers have been made for other properties in the same locality. I cannot, however, conclude without remarking, that it is notorious to all persons connected with the plantations or the commerce of this colony, that there is a very great and anxious desire on the part of experienced planters to become leaseholders of estates: while so confident are the majority of absent proprietors and mortgagees of the prosperous condition of the colony, that very few can be induced to see that their interest consists in either residing on and managing their properties themselves, or in leasing them to trustworthy persons in the island. On the contrary, many of them appear to consider the same arrangement which prevailed during slavery, of attorney, overseer, and factor, can still be successfully pursued; an error by which they may eventually be made to suffer serious pecuniary injury. Fortunately, the wealth and happiness of the inhabitants of this colony are now in no way dependent on the prudence or prosperity of a few individuals on the other side of the Atlantic. The security of property being established, and the industry of the people placed beyond all doubt, British capital will flow hither so long as it can be made to yield a return beyond what it can produce by any legitimate use in the mother country; and in the event of all the old proprietary of estates being compelled, by their fears or their imprudence, to sell out, it will, instead of a calamity, be the most fortunate and favourable circumstance that could happen to the colony, as a means by which a resident proprietary body would be created, or, what is equivalent, a class of leaseholders, between whom and the labourers there would be an unity of interest.

THE JAMAICA MARRIAGE ACT.

An act to legalize, register, and confirm marriages by dissenters, and other ministers, not connected with the Established Church, (11th April, 1840.)

Preamble. I.—Whereas it is expedient and necessary to provide for the due and proper celebration and registration of marriages by dissenters and others not connected with the established church, and to remove any doubt concerning the validity of certain marriages before celebrated. *Be it therefore enacted by the governor, council, and assembly of this your Majesty's island of Jamaica, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same.* That from and after the passing of this act all marriages solemnized by dissenting ministers, under the regulation hereinafter mentioned shall be valid and effectual to all intents and purposes, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

II.—*And be it further enacted*, that from and after the passing of this act it shall be lawful for banns of marriage between parties desirous of being joined together in matrimony, to be published in any registered place of religious worship, and such publication shall be made in an audible manner, *some time during public divine service on a Sunday, in the face of the* congregation to which both or one of the parties whose banns are published shall be considered to be attached, and shall contain the christian or other name and surname, and place of abode of each of the said parties, and shall be so published for three Sundays preceding the solemnization of the marriage *during the moring service, if there be any service in the morning*, or if there shall be no morning service, then during the evening service; and if the parties to be married shall be of different congregations, the banns shall be published in like manner before each of the congregations to which the said parties may respectively belong, whether both the said congregations shall assemble in the same parish or not; and in cases where the banns shall have been published in different places, the officiating minister at either of the said places, shall, at the request of both or either of the said parties whose banns shall have been published as aforesaid, give to the party requiring the same a certificate of the banns having been published in the place of which he is an officiating minister; and on the production of such certificate to the officiating minister of the other place where the banns were published, or of such certificates to any other minister as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for such minister on receiving such *certificate or certificates* (one or both as the case may be) to solemnize matrimony between the said parties according to such form or ceremony as shall be in use, or be adopted by the persuasion to which the minister solemnizing such marriage shall belong. *Provided*, that whenever the form and ceremony used shall be other than that of the United Church of England and Ireland, each of the parties shall in some part of the ceremony make the declaration according to schedule B.* *Provided always*, that during the period when such banns are published, the names of the parties whose banns are to be published shall be posted on the principal door of the chapel where the banns are published.

III.—*And be it further enacted*, that no minister shall be obliged to publish banns between any persons whomsoever, unless the persons to be married shall two days at the least before the time required for the first publication of such banns respectively, deliver, or cause to be delivered, to such minister a notice of their true christian and other names and surnames, and a description of their place or respective places of abode; and it shall not be lawful for any minister to solemnize any marriage after three calendar months from the last publication of the banns of such marriage; and in all cases where three calendar months shall have elapsed without the marriage having been solemnized, the publication of such banns shall be void; and before the said parties can be married by banns, it shall be necessary to republish banns anew, as if no banns had ever been published between them.

IV.—*And be it further enacted*, that no such minister as aforesaid who shall solemnize any marriage after due publication of banns as aforesaid between persons, both or one of whom (not being a widow or widower) shall at the time of such marriage be under legal age, shall be answerable, or responsible, or liable to any pain, penalty, or proceeding for having solemnized such marriage without the consent of the parents, or guardians, or other persons (if any) whose consent is required by law, unless such parent, or guardian, or other person, or one of them, shall forbid the marriage, and give notice thereof to such minister before he has solemnized the same; and in case such marriage shall be forbidden as aforesaid, and such notice shall be given as aforesaid, the publication of the banns for such marriage shall be absolutely void.

V.—*And be it further enacted*, that from and after the passing of this act, no dissenting minister shall solemnize a marriage except in his chapel, and in the presence of two or more credible witnesses; and all chapels in which it is intended to solemnize marriages shall be registered in the office of the island secretary. *Provided*, that no marriage to be performed by a dissenting minister, after the passing of this act shall be good or valid, if performed before the banns shall have been published as aforesaid, and in any place other than the chapel to be registered as hereinbefore directed.

VIth clause makes any person wantonly forbidding publication of banns, or solemnization thereof, without authority for so doing, liable to a penalty of £10, or imprisonment for two months.

VIIth clause, provides that examined copy of registary shall be sufficient proof of marriage.

VIIIth clause, provides that no writ or proceedings shall be had to compel the celebration of any promise of marriage, or by reason of seduction, &c. Proviso, aggrieved party may sue for damages.

IX.—*And whereas, it is necessary* to preserve evidence of the solemnization, and to make the proof thereof certain and easy, and for the direction of such ministers as aforesaid in the registration thereof. *Be it therefore enacted*, that from and after the passing of this act, all marriages shall be solemnized in the presence of two or more witnesses beside the minister who shall solemnize the same, and that immediately after the solemnization of every marriage, an entry thereof shall be made in a marriage register-book to be kept for that purpose by every such minister as aforesaid, in his own handwriting; and in every such entry in every such register it shall be expressed that the marriage was had by banns, and shall be signed by the minister with his proper addition, and by the parties married, and shall be attested by such two witnesses, and every such entry shall be in the form annexed to this act in schedule C, and of every such entry at the same time before the parties depart shall then and there be made, on a separate piece of paper, parchment, or vellum, a duplicate original register, in which the same matter shall be entered, and signed, and attested, by the same parties, in the form annexed in schedule D, which said duplicate original register shall be left in the hands of the minister by whom the marriage was solemnized; and every such duplicate original register shall within three calendar months from the date thereof, be transmitted to the island secretary, and all such duplicates shall be filed and safely preserved, and to be by him recorded in books to be kept for that purpose in his office, and every such original register, and also every copy thereof certified under the hand of the island secretary to be a true copy, shall respectively be good evidence of the facts therein recorded, in pursuance of this act, in and before all courts and proceedings whatsoever, in which it shall be necessary to give evidence of the marriage to which the same shall relate.

X.—*And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, that any minister who shall solemnize any marriage under and by virtue of this act, and shall be guilty of negligence or wilful default in the registration or copying of the entries of such marriages, and transmitting the same to the office of the secretary, in the manner directed in and by this act, shall be deemed and considered to be guilty of a misdemeanour, and upon conviction in the supreme court, or any court of oyer and terminer, shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not exceeding twelve months for every such offence.

XI.—Provides that parties may search original register and take certified copies, except on Sundays and holidays.

XII.—*And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, that in order to meet the expense, and as a remuneration for the trouble occasioned by the performance of any duty under this act, the fees stated in schedule E annexed to this act, shall be demandable and paid by the parties applying, before the performance of the duty to which the same respectively relate.

XIII.—Provides that persons unlawfully or wilfully destroying, or counterating, &c., original register or duplicate, shall be guilty of felony, and liable to imprisonment for two years. In case of forgery parties may be imprisoned for three years.

XIV.—*Whereas it appears* that dissenting ministers have been accustomed to marry in their chapels and elsewhere, and to keep a registry of the names of the parties, their residence, and the date when the ceremony was performed, together with the names of witnesses in some cases. *And whereas* it is expedient that such registries should be recorded and open to the inspection of the public; be it *further enacted*, that within six months after the passing of this act all ministers not of the Church of England shall, and they are hereby required to, send a copy of the registry of all marriages solemnized by them, which they have registered before the passing of this act, to be verified by the oath of the party who shall have registered the same—or in the event of his death or absence from the island, by the oath of some one to whom his handwriting is known, to the office of the island secretary, there to be kept and recorded, and an examined copy of such registry or record thereof shall be received as evidence in all courts of justice in this island of such marriage.

XV.—*And be it further enacted*, that all marriages solemnized by dissenting ministers before the passing of this act, and so registered and returned into the office of the island secretary, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, as good and valid as if performed according to the rites of the Church of England, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

XVI.—*And be it further enacted*, that if any such minister as aforesaid shall wilfully make and sign any such declaration, knowing the same to be false, he shall be liable on conviction thereof to suffer the pains and penalties to which persons guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury are liable.

XVII.—*And whereas*, in consequence of imperfect instruction in the christian religion, and from other causes, many marriages *de facto*, have taken place, but which marriages *de facto* have not been sanctioned by any public ceremony, or formally registered, and in many such cases the parties have had offspring of such last-mentioned marriages, and it is expedient that provision should be forthwith made for enabling such persons to confer upon their children the benefit of children born in lawful wedlock. *Be it therefore further enacted*, That it shall be lawful for all persons, having contracted marriage as last aforesaid, at any time within one year after the passing of this act, duly to solemnize the marriage ceremony before any clergyman of the Established Church, or in any other manner authorised by this act; and every person so recognizing a previous marriage *de facto* shall, at the same time, make and sign the following declaration, which shall also be attested by the witnesses present, and signed by the minister before whom the ceremony is performed.

* These declarations are copied from the English act.

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"We A B and C D do hereby severally, solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare that on the day of in the year of or thereabout, at we the said A B, and C D intermarried with each other, and that we have had issue of the said marriage children, and no more, namely—(here state the names and ages of the children, and if any be dead state the fact.)

(Signed) A B. C D."

And such marriage ceremony shall have relation back to the time of the marriage *de facto*, and all such children shall be deemed and taken to have been born in holy wedlock, and shall possess and enjoy all the rights and privileges, and advantages of persons born in lawful wedlock; and to preserve evidence thereof, a duplicate original declaration shall then and there, before the parties depart, be made, signed, and attested in the same manner, and the original declaration shall be appended to and kept with the original register, and the duplicate original declaration shall be appended to, sent, and kept with the duplicate original register, and shall for all purposes of evidence be deemed part thereof, respectively: *Provided always, and it is hereby declared*, that such last-mentioned ceremony and declaration may be performed and made without the previous publication of banns. *And provided always*, that nothing in this act contained shall defeat any grant heretofore made by the crown.

XVIII.—*And be it further enacted*, that any person who, after the passing of this act, shall knowingly and wilfully solemnize any marriage in this island, except by license, in any other place than a church or chapel in which marriages may be solemnized according to the rites of the Church of England, or than the chapel to be registered under the provisions of this act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour (except in the case of a marriage between two Roman Catholics according to the usage of their church, or of two of the society commonly called Quakers, according to the usage of the said society, or between two persons professing the Jewish religion, according to the usage of the Jews,) and every person who, in any such registered chapel, shall knowingly and wilfully solemnize any marriage in the absence of witnesses, or before the publication of banns for three successive Sundays, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and on conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the discretion of the court for any time not exceeding twelve calendar months.

XIX.—Provides that persons wilfully detaining marriage register, shall be guilty of misdemeanour.

Docket of fees demandable by this act.

For registering a marriage, and transmitting the duplicate original to the island secretary, the sum of two shillings and sixpence.

For every certified copy of entry of marriage as aforesaid, the sum of one shilling and threepence.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

WELCOME OF MESSRS. COLVER AND GALUSHA AT BOSTON.—[From the *Massachusetts Abolitionist.*]—The Rev. Mr. Colver went to the convention at London as a delegate from the Massachusetts Abolition Society, and from the National Baptist Anti-slavery convention; and Rev. Mr. Galusha, from the Baptist convention and the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. Both returned in the Acadia, and on Wednesday evening last it was our privilege to attend a meeting of the Abolition Society to welcome their return, and listen to statements from them of the doings of the great convention. The meeting was held in the Melodeon. Josiah Brackett, Esq., was called to the chair, and the meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Luther Lee. Mr. Colver then addressed the large and attentive audience present, in a series of most interesting statements and remarks, giving a brief but impressive view of the character, the proceedings, and the probable influence of the convention, and of the aspects of the anti-slavery cause generally in Great Britain. He was followed in a few additional statements by Mr. Galusha. The remarks of both speakers drew forth repeated expressions of applause from the meeting, and at the conclusion the following resolution was adopted.

"Resolved—That, as friends of the enslaved, this meeting has listened with pleasure to the statements that have now been made in reference to the proceedings of the late convention in London, of the friends of the enslaved from different parts of the christian world, by Messrs. Colver and Galusha, delegates to that conference from this country; that in the character, the proceedings, and the results of this first meeting of the representatives of the friends of the enslaved throughout the world, we witness a new era in the history of efforts for the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, and that we rejoice especially in the high ground so unanimously taken by said meeting in regard to the duty of the christian church; that, in view of the whole, we are cheered with the assurance that the day is near, when, by the verdict of the civilized world, slavery will universally cease; and that, grateful to Almighty God for their safe return, we bid the delegates who have now addressed us a hearty welcome to their native land, and to renewed labours for the deliverance of enslaved millions in our midst."

The meeting was one of unusual interest, and will exert, we doubt not, a happy and abiding influence for the slave.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—We take from the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* the following extracts of a letter from Mr. Norton, of Connecticut, one of the American delegates.

I have never witnessed such an unremitting attention on the part of delegates to any convention, as was the case on this. The sittings were as well attended on the last day as on the first. The delegates seemed to feel, one and all, that they had come there on business of importance, and I scarcely witnessed a feelng of impatience throughout the whole. A calm and deliberate determination was evinced to look at the subject of slavery wherever it existed, in all its relations—to obtain all the light in their power, and to endeavour to arrive at such results as would, by the blessing of Providence, tend to remove the evil.

But to be more particular, I will allude to the *character* of the convention, and to its *component parts*. So far as it has been my privilege to witness the assemblages of distinguished men, I have never seen anything like so great a number of individuals who gave such striking evidence of genuine respectabilty, intelligence, and piety.

* * * * * *

The *spirit* that animated the convention was eminently, I think, a *christian spirit*. There were great diversities of religious and political views, but all seemed determined that nothing inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, as cherished by all evangelical denominations of christians, should enter into their proceedings, yet that all minor differences should be dropped. If I have ever been permitted to realize what it was to participate in proceedings bearing the stamp of genuine christian influence, this meeting was begun, continued, and ended with such an influence. If for a moment, at any time, a different spirit seemed about to intrude, there were individuals present who seemed so imbued with the spirit of truth and love as to be enabled to calm the troubled waters.

* * * * * *

I had not expected to be so constantly interested as I was in the details of the convention. But there was no room for weariness for any one who had a heart to feel, or a desire to do, for his suffering fellow-men. "All the oppressions that exist under the sun" were reviewed, and there were individuals present competent to interest the meeting under each head.

* * * * * *

I cannot but think that much good will result from this great convention. All who were present felt "that it was good to be there." The four hundred individuals who were concentrated on that occasion were warmed, enlightened, and encouraged, and each will serve, I trust, as now scattered and diverging to their several and distant places of abode and influence, to impart some portion of that warmth and light to others.

THE RIPLEY PRESBYTERY.

JULY 22nd, 1840.—The committee appointed to report on the doings of the late general assembly, state that they have discovered several things in the proceedings of that body which demand the special notice of this presbytery, and all others that regard the character of the church, and the principles of righteousness and humanity.

1. It appears that the assembly refused to bear testimony against the sinful and cruel practice of slave-holding. Such a fact is sad evidence of a low state of moral feeling in that body. What can be hoped with respect to the piety of an ecclesiastical body that would refuse to declare the holding of immortal beings as property a sin? That the assembly believed that slave-holding is both sinful and cruel, and that many members of the church were guilty of it, will not be denied. And that it had excited much controversy in the church was well known. Consequently it was a matter properly within the sphere of the assembly, and one upon which the constitution of the church made it a duty to act. Form of government forty-five. "To the general assembly also belongs the power of deciding in all controversies respecting doctrine and discipline; of reproving, warning, or bearing testimony against error in doctrine, or immorality in practice, in any church, presbytery, or synod." To this may be added some injunctions of the sacred scriptures. Lev. xix. 17. "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart; thou shalt in anywise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him." Isaiah lviii. 1. "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins." Ezek. xxxiii. 7, 8. "So thou son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me—If thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked *man* shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thy hand." Is it not obvious to every reflecting mind, that the members of the assembly, in refusing to hear testimony against the sin of slave-holding, did violate both their own constitutions, and these sacred precepts? Did they not refuse to reprove those living in the practice of a grievous sin?

2. It appears that after a large number of the members, believing the business closed, had left the assembly, a secret meeting was held, and the following preamble and resolution was presented and passed.

"Whereas it appears from memorials sent to this house, that several presbyteries have passed resolutions excluding slave-holders from their pulpits and from their communion, and whereas our constitution requires that no member of the presbyterian church shall be disenfranchised without a regular trial; and whereas, this proceeding is a repetition of the exscinding acts of the New Basis assembly, against which we have taken our stand as friends of the constitution; therefore *Resolved*, that the said presbyteries be requested to rescind such resolutions."

The secret manner in which this was presented, discussed, and passed, gives the impression that there was a consciousness on the part of the members of that assembly that motives and influences must be introduced in this case which would not bear public scrutiny. There was evidently a want of that openness which always attends a consciousness of well doing. "He that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh he to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved."

3. The fact that this preamble and resolution were presented and passed at the close of the session, after many had retired from the assembly, and others were anxious to leave, and when there was little time either for discussion or deliberation, cannot fail to give the impression that there was the design of taking the advantage of absent members, and of an hour of anxiety and confusion, to force through a preamble and resolution that would likely have fallen by fair and open discussion in a full assembly.

4. The preamble and resolution presents such ignorance of the constitution of the church as is highly disgraceful to a general assembly, while it is painful evidence that they were passed without mature deliberation. Would a general assembly upon mature deliberation have sustained the assumptions in this preamble? What clause in the constitution did the presbyteries in question violate? What members of the church did they disfranchise without trial? And whom did they exscind from the church? They neither violated the constitution, disfranchised without trial, nor exscinded a single individual. All the assumptions made against the presbyteries are false. These presbyteries are in free states, have no slave-holding ministers among them, and they have declared that they will not admit such to their pulpits nor to their communion; that is, they will not admit ministers belonging to other presbyteries known to be slave-

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holders, either to preach in their pulpits or to commune in their churches. Now a general assembly ought to have known so much, as that the ministers of one presbytery have no constitutional right to occupy the pulpits of another presbytery, nor to commune in their churches without leave from the constituted authorities. Former assemblies did know this much. The assembly of 1798 decided as follows: "It shall be deemed irregular for any presbytery to appoint supplies within the bounds of another, without their concurrence; or for any minister to officiate in another congregation without asking and obtaining his consent, or the session's in case the minister be absent; yet it shall be esteemed unbrotherly for any one, in ordinary circumstances, to refuse his consent to a regular member, when required." Assem. Di. page 60. According to this decision, each presbytery has exclusive jurisdiction within its own limits, and each minister exclusive power in his own pulpit. Consequently, the presbyteries in question violated no constitutional principle in excluding slave-holders from their pulpits and their communion. They did simply what they had a right to do. In doing it they neither disfranchised nor exscinded any one. It was merely excluding them from the courtesies commonly extended to persons in good standing. The intercourse between churches, presbyteries and synods, is voluntary and unconstrained by the constitution, and regulated only by the rules of christian courtesy and brotherly love. Hence, presbyteries have the right to exclude from their pulpits and their communion, such as belong to other presbyteries, whenever they deem it necessary for the purity or peace of their churches, or to the honour of religion in general.—It is amazing that a general assembly should have passed such a preamble and resolution. It seems as if the Lord had sent upon them a strong delusion, and given them up to expose themselves to the contempt of an intelligent community. A few such decisions will shake the confidence of the world in general assemblies.

5. The resolution must be viewed as an attempt on the part of the assembly, by its influence, to thrust slave-holding preachers into the pulpits and fellowship of the churches of the free states, and by this means to extend the power and influence of slavery, and fasten again its deadly fangs into the heart of a church from which the providences of God have nearly broken it off. Such encroachments demand resistance at the very threshold, and should redouble the efforts of every one who fears God and loves liberty.

6. The presbyteries are requested to rescind their resolutions, and admit slave-holders to their pulpits and their communion! And why? Is slave-holding not a sin? Did the assembly mean to say by this resolution that slave-holding is not criminal? Or did they mean to tell us to tolerate in our communion men living in the sin of open and continued oppression, and that in defiance of all the light developed by the most extended discussion ever known on earth? What an exhibition of human depravity! A general assembly ask presbyteries to take slave-holders to their pulpits and their communion! Men who buy and sell the very members of Jesus Christ! Did they request slave-holders to let the oppressed go free? Never! That would have made disturbance in the church! But will it make no disturbance in the church to thrust slave-holders into the pulpits and upon the fellowship of the churches of the free states? Why all the fear of disturbance on the one side? There is the fixed design to protect slavery at the expense of the rights of those who oppose it. To have had such an assembly will be matter of humiliation to our branch of the church to a thousand generations.

7. The preamble and resolution do not seem to imply that the scriptures require the presbyteries to receive slave-holders to their pulpits and their communion; but that this obligation arises from the constitution of the church. To exclude them is a violation of constitutional principle. Why did not the assembly tell us that it is a violation of the injunctions of the scriptures? Why did they not urge upon the presbyteries the duty of submitting to the authority of God in this matter? The answer is easy, they did not believe that the scriptures required the admission of slave-holders to fellowship in the church. And can a human constitution oblige us to do what the Bible forbids? Can men make laws to annul the laws of God? Did the assembly mean to teach us that the constitution is of higher obligation than the word of God? This seems to be implied in their preamble and resolution. And what is this but "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

The scriptures alone prescribe the terms of communion, and no ecclesiastical body has the right of changing them. The sin of oppression is as clearly forbidden as the sin of adultery, murder, theft, or drunkenness. Suppose the presbyteries in question had passed resolutions declaring that ministers known to be guilty of adultery, murder, theft, or drunkenness, should be admitted to their pulpits or to their communion, would the general assembly have requested them to rescind such resolutions? Would they ask us to admit to our pulpits and our communion a *known* adulterer, a *known* murderer, a *known* thief, or a *known* drunkard, although there had been no formal trial, and there could be none, because the presbytery to which he belonged would not try him? He lives openly and confessedly in one of these sins, every one knows it, and his presbytery knows it, but will not exercise discipline, because such sins are popular and common among the best classes, and ever have been tolerated since the constitution was formed. Can any human law compel presbyteries to admit such a man to their pulpits and their communion? Such is the case of the slave-holder. He openly lives in the practice of oppression in its worst form. Slave-holding involves in it the sin of adultery, murder, and theft; it is the parent of these sins and many others, and because the sin is popular and common among the best classes in slave states, and ever has been tolerated in the church since the constitution was formed, presbyteries refuse to exercise discipline. They not only persist in tolerating oppressors in their communion, but license and ordain them to preach the gospel! And a general assembly asks the presbyteries in the free states to fellowship such presbyteries, and to receive *known* oppressors to their pulpits and their communion! Such conduct in an assembly is making void the law of God, and giving license to sin. It is no better than popish indulgence. They ask presbyteries to admit to their pulpits and their communion those that are known so be living and persevering in the worst of sins.

The presbyteries in question have acted in accordance both with the scriptures and the constitution. They have a right to withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly. 2 Thess. iii. 6. "Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received from us." 1 Cor. v. 11. "But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat." Does not the slave-holder walk disorderly while he holds human beings as property? Is he not a fornicator so long as he upholds a system that promotes fornication? Is he not covetous when he urges his slaves to unrequited labour? Is he not an extortioner while he continues to extort from his fellow-beings their liberty and services? Individuals and presbyteries then are commanded to withdraw from all such, not to keep their company, nor even to eat with them. And yet a general assembly has asked us to take them into our pulpits, and to eat the Lord's supper with them! What a shame! Is this the assembled wisdom and piety of the presbyterian church?

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—Mr. Candler has addressed a letter on the state of this island to the editors of the Chelmsford paper, from which we take such parts as are not a repetition of his letter to Mr. Clarkson.

'The change effected in their civil condition, though very great, and at last somewhat sudden, has served to elevate their character in the estimation of all observers. I expected on landing to find a race who having been always oppressed, treated with contumely, and trod upon, would continue to exhibit some traces of their former degraded condition, some marks of servility that belonged to the slave; but in passing through the country from one end to the other, I should scarcely believe from what I see that slavery had ever existed here. Freedom has wrought wonders for the people: there is an air of independence in their carriage and manner, when they meet and converse with you, that is quite astonishing, equal to that of the freest nations; not bold and obtrusive, but attended with a civility and courteousness that are very pleasing, and tell much in their favour. The prognostications and prophecies of the planters and the pro-slavery press, that the negros on coming to freedom would prove an idle vagabond race, that the proprietors would be ruined, and the colony go to decay, are all happily falsified, as their friends always said they would be, by the most gratifying facts. The peasantry of Jamaica are beginning to reap the reward of their own industry, and peaceful and loyal conduct, in a steady increase of wealth and accumulation of comforts; and the prospects of the proprietary body in the continued cultivation of sugar and coffee, its staple productions, are now more cheering than for several years past. It must be confessed that during slavery, horrible as the system was, a large number of people, by the sale of surplus provisions, pigs, and poultry, had saved money; since some of them, immediately on receiving their freedom, brought out their hoards of silver and gold, became purchasers of land, built themselves houses, and settled down as small independent freeholders. The free settlements which began to exist from the great day of freedom are now extending in all directions, and there will soon be a sufficient number of industrious, intelligent, black and coloured freeholders (if there be not already) to return a majority of the members of the house of assembly. The island, however, is not yet altogether in a settled state, nor the industry of the labourers brought to a fair test, owing to continued paltry squabbles about rent and wages. Many short-sighted managers of the old school continue to oppress: and justice, I am sorry to say, is not always administered in the courts of petty session, where the local magistrates, who are planters, sit to adjudicate. The charges of oppression almost all originate from a determination to compel labour and coerce wages through the medium of rent; which, as here used, is a screw of enormous power, and applied only for evil. The greater part of the labourers are living on the properties where they were born, in small clay houses (the cost of which to erect does not exceed ten pounds sterling), in close sequestered villages, almost hid in the bush; the plantains, the bananas, the bread fruit, and cocoa nut trees, which they planted with their own hands are there; the burial places of their fathers and mothers, marked by rude stones, are there; and all the pleasing thoughts of early life, few indeed in number, and because few the more cherished, are associated with their birth spot; and poor as the spot often is, to leave it is a banishment. To these villages, always homely but often highly picturesque, the common people feel a strong attachment, and the managers of estates, unwisely for themselves and the absent proprietors, take an unfair advantage of this natural feeling. They want labour, and labourers are not over-abundant; they want also cheap labour, and are resolved to obtain it by every means in their power. The houses and provision grounds of the labourers belong to them, and they have a right, they say, to do what they like with their own. Instead of allowing the tenant, as sound policy and common sense would dictate, to continue to occupy his house and garden at a fair rent, leaving him at liberty to carry his labour to the best market, the master says to him, "You live on my property, and must work five days in the week for me; I will give you *the usual wages*; I shall charge you half a dollar a week for rent; but, if you go off this property and work anywhere else, you shall pay me a dollar a week, or quit." The usual wages thus promised are, of course, *the lowest anywhere given*, and this sort of bargain, if that can be called a bargain to which only one party consents, by fixing the labourer to a single spot, deprives him of all the benefits of competition, and leaves him a sort of *adscriptum glebæ*, half a slave and half a freeman. This conduct he looks upon as unjust; it rankles in his bosom; he works sulkily; he receives only fifteen pence, or perhaps a shilling a day, whilst others close at hand, or only a little way off, live in their own freeholds, and receive eighteen pence; and, resenting the injustice, he leaves his employer in search of better pay. The latter now interferes with his rent authority, charges him a dollar a week, instead of half a dollar, for every week in which he has quitted his employment for a single day, and sues him for the amount at petty sessions, as for a debt due. The attorney-general, O'Reilly, little to his credit as a lawyer, less as a man, has given it as his opinion, that this must be considered a *rightful debt*, and where the local magistrates sit alone, or form a majority of the court, the defendant must pay the deodand and costs, or go to prison. Rent, in one shape or another, is the *questio vexata* of the colony: settle this point fairly and amicably, and little or nothing would remain to disturb its quiet. You may perhaps say, the labourers have the power to settle this question themselves; they have only to quit, and go and live elsewhere. That is perfectly true, but they cannot do this without a wrench. Many of them, and these, as we might suppose, the best workmen, who have saved a little money, do so: they buy land, sometimes at a high price, often without a good title, and leave; but what can a man do who has a large family, with little or no money in reserve, and nowhere

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to put his head? He *must* continue to work on the same property till he can make money, and this requires time: he looks out, as he says, for a "bit of his own," and silently resolves to leave his master as soon as he can. And yet many managers of estates, men of old-time principles, absolutely prefer this wretched alternative of securing labour by compulsion, running the risk of ruining the estates of absentee proprietors, to the straight-forward, honest method of leaving labour free, and by fair and kind dealing securing it for a continuance! I could mention some curious instances in which some of these parties have fallen into their own snare sooner than they looked for: the properties for which they act are deserted, the rents are lost, the fields are neglected, and everything about them is left to decay, except as they choose to pay a high price for labour to strangers to preserve it from ruin. "They sowed the wind, and they reap the whirlwind." The governor, Sir T. Metcalfe, much to his honour, reprobates this state of things, as tending, more than anything else or all other things put together, to prolong the dissensions of the colony, and is endeavouring with the help of a few of the more enlightened proprietors, to effect a change for the better, in which he may probably soon succeed. Experience keeps a dear school, and some men are slow to learn, but open their eyes at last. If the wealthy Earl Dudley and Ward would condescend to bestow a passing glance on some of his large properties in Clarendon and Vere, he might see something to edify him. There are not four field labourers now resident on Rhymesburg, one of his estates, and on Whitney estate, where a short time since he had nearly three hundred people, only eight cottages remain inhabited!—Ask those who have been slaves, what they think of freedom—the men often take off their hats and the women kneel, and all, with seeming sincerity, lift up their hands and eyes to heaven, "O, massa, freedom too sweet, freedom, my sweet mistress, *too* sweet; thank God and all good friends in England; thank the good Redeemer for giving us freedom." Some of the planters still insist upon it that they are an idle people, because they do not on the whole perform as much work as in slavery; but who that has seen them at work in the cane fields, or boeing coffee on the steep hills, or has travelled among their provision grounds in the mountains, can call them an idle people? I have seen them again and again, hundreds and thousands of them, men, women, and children, loaded with provisions and fruit, which they carry on their heads, pouring down from the hills to Kingston market, carrying weights which no European would encounter, and sweating under the heavy toil; yet all labouring cheerfully, because they are free.

JOHN CANDLER.

BRITISH GUIANA.—THE MANAGER AND FAMILY PRAYER.—[From the *Guiana Reformer*.] The beginning of the unhappy feeling on plantation Tuschen de Vrienden, which caused the labourers to abandon that place, is to be traced to the arbitrary and ungodly interference of the manager (C. M. Ross) with their religious exercises in the morning and evening. These people are all, or most of them, members of a christian church in connexion with the Kirk of Scotland, and, like all other christians, consider it their duty to pay their "morning and evening sacrifice" to him who is their Creator and Redeemer. But this tsate of things, it appears, does not accord with the system of a sugar plantation —it does not produce more sugar, it interferes with plantation discipline, and probably introduces insubordination. The head man received a severe reprimand for "allowing the people to meet together in his house." He ought to be "the last man to encourage" the people to pray, and the manager "will not allow any more of their meetings." However, like true christians, for man they did not care; thinking it truer wisdom to obey the divine injunction, "men ought always to pray," than those who would interfere with matters affecting their eternal interest. At the next meeting a messenger from the manager presented himself, with orders to disperse the meeting; to which the people returned as answer, that "the manager must come himself" to do it. The poor drudge of all work which is to be found on our plantations—the overseer, next made his appearance. This individual arrived whilst the people were listening to one of their number who was reading the bible; a chair was offered, which he tremblingly occupied until the reading was over, when he rose and stammered out—"ladies and gentlemen, I am very sorry to interrupt you in your exercises, *but you know orders must be obeyed;* I am directed by the manager to break up this meeting." Break up a religious assembly? an assembly of freemen, gathered together for no earthly purpose, but a heavenly one—to worship God? This circumstance is one of the strongest traits of the spirit of slavery which can be exhibited; and they very well know that this was one of the strongest weapons with which the people of England hewed down the monster of the West Indies—slavery; and it cannot be possible that they will permit it now. The fact is, the more ignorant and irreligious the people the better for our planters, with few exceptions. The savages and idolaters from Africa and Hindostan are the only race of men to answer their purposes; hence their unrelaxing exertions to get them.

TRINIDAD.—(From a private letter dated 21st July, 1840.)—No diminution has taken place in the value of property, nor are judicial sales of estates quite so frequent as they were during the accursed time of slavery. The Woodbrook estate, which is the nearest to Port of Spain, and consequently one of the oldest and most nearly worn out sugar estates, and is without any woodlands in its vicinity, the owner, the lion, H. Murray, asks one hundred thousand dollars for—£20,000. The Curep estate was on the 4th of last month, at judicial sale, adjudged to a Mr. Joyeux for £32,500 currency. The honourable gentleman above mentioned, it must be remembered, was one of the foremost men who expected ruin to be the consequence of freedom.

THE DANISH ISLANDS.—Of all the West India islands those belonging to Denmark occupy the smallest part of public attention, so that months and even years sometimes elapse without any notice of them at all. Some accounts from those colonies, however, which appear in the American papers last received, contain facts of some interest, arising chiefly from the question of emancipation, which has been raised there among the slave population, in consequence of the completion of that measure in the British colonies. The dates are from St. Thomas's to the 12th, and from St. Croix to the 8th ultimo. To the latter the governor had lately returned from the coronation of his King and Queen, the latter of whom is favourable to the abolition of slavery, though a difficulty is offered in the circumstances of the Danish government, which is too poor to make compensation to the proprietors. The governor, acting on the advice of the royal family, proposes that the planters should allow their slaves every Saturday, that they may be enabled to earn money to purchase their freedom. It is proposed that this act should be a voluntary act, and that the planters should not be compelled to grant their slaves this privilege, and hence, though some have agreed to the plan, the greater number will not consent, unless forced, saying, that it is asking them to give away one-sixth of their estate without compensation; nevertheless, those who have allowed their slaves the privilege have indirectly acted on the neighbouring estates, for the slaves, perceiving that those in their proximity did not work, followed their example. So prevalent was the notion that the governor had actually papers from the new King to emancipate the slaves, that the latter in great numbers met him as he landed and cheered him. The planters, as well as the slaves, are in favour of emancipation, but the former would have a compensation, and are on this account against allowing the Saturday. An insurrection broke out at St. Thomas's, and the governor, though generally in favour of the slaves, ordered the ringleader six lashes and imprisonment. Curious as it may appear, the negros side with their masters, considering the government oppressive for not paying the compensation; and some even spreading a foolish report that the governor has received the money and spent it. On one estate the negros, far from appreciating the governor's kind exertions to get them their Saturday, told him that it was not one day in the week, but freedom that they wanted.

The greatest caution has been taken to prevent desertion from St. Thomas's and St. John's to Tortola, since, that being a British island, the blacks are free as soon as they reach it. A Danish brig of war has been stationed between St. John's and Tortola to intercept flight, and her boat lately gave chase to another belonging to a free negro who was taking to Tortola a female and five male slaves. At first the boat's crew hailed them, then fired over their heads, and at last, firing into them, wounded the woman and one man, but all escaped to Tortola. The woman has since died, and the governor of Tortola has sent to the governor of the Danish isles to investigate the affair, as the negros contend they were fired on when on British ground, and this is denied by the Danish officers. A similar inquiry formerly took place at Demerara, when some Dutch negros got beyond the boundary river, which was passed by their owners in the heat of pursuit. They were captured, but the English declared the seizure unlawful, on the principle that a slave becomes free directly he touches British ground, and the Dutch were obliged to send the blacks to Demerara.

It is estimated that there are about 20,000 slaves in the Danish islands, the average value of which, taking old and young together, would be about 100 dollars each. Of the whole number, about one-third belongs to the King as owner and mortgagee of estates. The expense of emancipating the rest, according to the average, would be about 12,000 dollars.—*Times.*

SIERRA LEONE.

(From the *Liverpool Mercury.*)—We have received the following communication from a gentleman long resident in Sierra Leone, and but recently returned. The information which it conveys is important, and shows the necessity of some more effective measures for the prevention of the slave-trade than any that have yet been adopted. It will be seen that a vessel belonging to this port has been seized, and condemned as a slaver:—

By the schooner Henry M'Cormick, (late the Courtenay) we have accounts from Sierra Leone to the 13th of August, the date of the above vessel sailing. The colony, generally speaking, was healthy, but the missionaries out but a short time from England had suffered severely, and many had died. The governor was well. Mr. Macaulay, the mixed commission judge, had been sojourning at the Banana Islands to recruit his health, which had been a good deal impaired by unremitting attention to the duties which his office imposes upon him. He was about to leave for England, via Ascension, in the Wanderer man of war. The men of war on the station occasionally call in—the Harlequin, Wanderer, and Persian. The Wanderer was going into Sierra Leone as the schooner came out.

Several vessels had been brought up and condemned for being connected with the slave-trade. The Plant, under American colours, with a slave cargo, detained by her Majesty's brig Persian, from Lagos, arrived on the 24th July—not yet tried. The San Pablo Losado, from the Havana to the Galinas, condemned and cut up. Two New York pilot-boats —one condemned and cut up as Spanish property; the other one waiting adjudication. The brigantine Anna, prize to the Saracen, taken off the Galinas about the 22nd of July, had not reached Sierra Leone. The English brig Guyana, belonging to Mr. Logan, a merchant of Liverpool, was condemned on the 12th of August for aiding and abetting in the slave-trade. It appears this vessel sailed from Liverpool on the 17th of October, 1839, with a general cargo to Bahia, to Edwards and Co., and was there chartered, through the agency of the same house, and with the sanction of the British consul, (Mr. Wheatley,) to carry a cargo of merchandise to the coast of Africa, touching at various places for the purpose of trading. That on the 26th of March, in lat. 4.31 N., and long. 5 W., her Majesty's schooner, Viper, Lieutenant Burslem, brought her to by firing a shot. After overhauling her, a prize crew and officers were put on board, with orders to take the vessel a prize to Cape Coast, and from thence to Sierra Leone, where she lay 102 days before she was condemned. The cargo is not yet disposed of. The *aguadiente* has nearly all leaked out, and the roll tobacco, from the heat of the climate, the length of time it has been exposed, and the rough usage it has received, must have been rendered useless and unsaleable. As the decision with regard to this vessel will naturally lead to inquiry, and as it is important in a commercial point of view, the above particulars may not be without interest.

The merchants complain very much of the frequent sales of the slave cargoes brought into Sierra Leone ruining their business, and not without much reason. They also complain very much of the little attention, on the part of the colonial authorities, to the complaints made by the merchants of the aggressive acts of the natives in the neighbouring rivers adjacent to the colony, the factories of the colonial merchants having been burnt down and plundered, exactions and heavy presents extorted under the threat of stopping the trade, and the governor, when applied to, alleging it to be out of his jurisdiction to interfere.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

SIR ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM.—"Our readers will have observed from our last, that the queen has bestowed a baronetcy on our late Lieutenant-Go-

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vernor, Captain Stockenstrom. This is some atonement to the outraged justice of his case, and to the outraged feelings of all who labour and long for the advancement of the native-born of this colony. But we take this as only the first step in retrieving the error into which Lord Normanby was led, and of the discredit of which all the cabinet are partakers. Is it so that talent, and independence of spirit, and long experience, are so abundant, so much within the call of the present ministry, that they can with indifference lay aside such a man as Stockenstrom, in the vigour of his age, and at the moment when the active services of such men were most emphatically demanded by the circumstances of the colony? Would it were so! But they know and feel that it is far otherwise. At least if they are ignorant of the fact, they stand alone in their ignorance. But as we have said, we regard this only as a first step, and we congratulate them on the first favourable symptom of recovery from a very dangerous delusion."—*South African Advertiser.*

Home News.

SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON.—We have just heard with much pleasure that the French government—entertaining the highest respect for the well-earned reputation and great talents of Sir Alexander Johnston, of Carnsalloch, and appreciating warmly his successful exertions for many years to abolish the slave-trade in every part of the British dominions, and more particularly in Ceylon—have, in the most flattering manner, communicated to the right honorable gentleman their wish that he should permit himself to be enrolled a vice-president of the society recently established in France for the purpose of putting an end to slavery, in whatever form it may exist, throughout the French dominions. We feel sure that the great practical experience of Sir Alexander Johnston will be most invaluable in pointing out to the French Cabinet the best means of ensuring the object which they have in view; and it must be exceedingly gratifying to those who are acquainted with Sir Alexander to know that so high and just a compliment has been paid to one, who, through a long and useful public life, has been the indefatigable promoter of the enlightened views of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Buxton, names never to be mentioned without veneration.—*Dumfries Courier.*

PAUL CUFFE.—We have received a very pretty little book, entitled *Memoir of Paul Cuffe*, a man of colour. Its design is to show (what it is really a disgrace to humanity that any body should now need to be convinced of) that men of one colour may be as sagacious, as persevering, as benevolent, and in all respects as eminent as those of another. Paul Cuffe was really a most delightful man, and every person who wants to know whether qualities of the first class may be found under a black skin would do well to read this very pretty account of his life.

MR. HAYDON'S PAINTING OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—It is stated in an American paper that the size of this picture is to be ten feet by seven. On the contrary, it will be 13 feet by 10. It is making most satisfactory progress.

MR. TURNBULL has been gazetted as Superintendent of Liberated Africans at Havana.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 23RD.

ON the 26th of August, a meeting of the Belfast anti-slavery society was held in the school-room, Fisherwick Place, Professor Stevelly in the chair. This meeting was called to give Captain Stuart an opportunity of stating such facts as had come under his observation during his recent visit to the West Indies. The speech of our excellent friend occupied nearly three hours in the delivery. In answer to a question by the Rev. Dr. Bryce, whether the reports that were seen in some of the newspapers, stating that the laws in the colonies were bad, were correct, the captain is reported to have replied that "he did *not* think the laws were bad." This is no doubt an error of the press. Besides Dr. Bryce, the following gentlemen took part in the proceedings: the Rev. Messrs. Morgan, Hamilton, M'Ilwaine, and Mr. Stanfield. The last named gentleman intimated a desire to know whether the general assembly of the Presbyterian church, which had lately met in Belfast, had availed themselves of the opportunity, in replying to the communication from the Presbyterian church in America, to denounce the crime of slavery, with which that religious body were deeply contaminated.

The other home operations undertaken since our last, are narrated in the following letter from Mr. Scoble.

London, 22nd September, 1840.

MY DEAR FRIEND.—Agreeably to the arrangements made previously to my leaving town, I proceeded to Chelmsford on Tuesday, the 9th instant, and in company with my excellent friend, Mr. Stanton, held an anti-slavery meeting in the shire hall on the evening of that day. The reverend Mr. Gray was in the chair, and our zealous friend, Joseph Marriage, Junior, Esq., as usual, rendered us most effective assistance. The meeting at first was small, but the place soon became full, and great interest was excited by the powerful address of my companion. On Wednesday we proceeded to Colchester, where we were most kindly received and entertained by Thomas Catchpool, Esq., who, in conjunction with our old and tried friend, Mr. William Cross, had taken measures to secure us a good meeting in the evening. The Friends' meeting-house was lent for the occasion, and Mr. Francis, a solicitor, took the chair. The statements made on the subject of American slavery, and on the duties which devolve on British abolitionists, were received with the deepest attention, and were heartily responded to. The house was full, probably a larger anti-slavery meeting was never held in that town. On Thursday evening, we were at Ipswich, and held our meeting in the new and commodious temperance hall in that town, our venerable friend Thomas Clarkson, Esq., in the chair. On our arrival at the hall we found it already nearly full, and shortly after the commencement of the proceedings it became crowded. To the astonishment of not a few, Mr. Clarkson spoke for a period of about twenty minutes, during which he gave a most graphic and touching description of the miserable condition of the slave, which I trust will be fully reported, as it cannot fail to reach the heart of every humane person. He was able to remain until nearly the close of Mr. Stanton's speech, which was a very powerful one, and which drew from the audience alternately tears, and bursts of indignation. I confined myself to the results of emancipation and the general question, which appeared to give much satisfaction to the meeting. On Friday we paid a visit, by request, to Mr. Clarkson, at Playford Hall, where we spent several hours in conversation with him on anti-slavery subjects, and were both gratified and surprised at the amazing vigour of his intellect, the extraordinary retentiveness of his memory, and the freshness of his feelings. It was truly delightful to find that he has not materially suffered from his recent very great exertions.

On Saturday we left Ipswich for St. Ives, Huntingdonshire, which we reached late at night. The refreshment of the Sabbath in some measure prepared us for the meeting which was held on Monday evening. Our old and tried friend, George Day, Esq. was in the chair. I think I am correct in saying it was the largest, and I trust it will prove the most influential meeting of the kind ever held in the town. On the following day we proceeded to Boston in Lincolnshire, in the expectation of holding a meeting there the following evening, but owing to the evening being preoccupied by the Wesleyans, we were obliged to defer it until some future opportunity. On Thursday, I returned to town exceedingly unwell from a severe cold in my chest, which confined me to my bed on Wednesday, and Mr. Stanton proceeded to Lincoln and Gainsborough to hold meetings at these places, a report of which no doubt he will forward to you.

I am, my dear friend, yours very truly,

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. JOHN SCOBLE.

WE learn with pleasure, that in the case of the reverend Samuel Oughton, the attorney-general of Jamaica has acted with much kindness. Not only has he afforded this persecuted minister of the gospel many consultations without taking a fee, but he also accompanied him to the judge's chambers when Mr. Oughton went to give bail, defended his cause, and offered to become bail for him to the amount of £500, and he would accept no remuneration for his services on this occasion. Mr. O'Reilly may be assured that many besides the immediate object of it will hold his kindness in high estimation. We add to this statement a short extract of a letter from Mr. Oughton, describing the feelings of his congregation on his liberation.

My poor dear people were almost mad with joy at my deliverance—they assembled in crowds around the judge's house, and lined the streets—indeed I was almost overcome with their simple but ardent expressions of delight and affection.

"FACTS," says the proverb, "are stubborn things," and certainly they are stubbornly adverse to the planters of British Guiana. They will have it that that magnificent colony is going to ruin—that sugar estates are worth nothing, &c. &c. &c. As if to confirm their complainings, two large estates of this class, are announced to be sold by public auction—this is the *proof of it*—ruin! ruin! Alas! for these lugubrious gentlemen, these estates have sold at high prices! So says the following extract of a letter dated Demerara, August 1st, 1840.

"Yesterday, at public vendue on twelve months' credit, plantation Montrose and plantation Ogle, on the east sea coast of Demerara, were sold, the former to Sir Michael M'Turk, for £38,000, and the latter to the house of George Anderson and Co., for £26,500. These are very large prices, as large if not larger than could have been obtained ten years ago, and prove that the resident planters and merchants do not really consider emancipation to have ruined their properties in this colony, however much they may find it politic to pretend that this is the case. Mr. Retemeyer, attorney of plantation Herstelling, has issued an address to the labourers of the estate of which he had the sole and uninterrupted charge for the last twenty years, in which he tells them that he is perfectly satisfied with their conduct. His crops are as large on an average as they were in the days of slavery. Our bank divided at the rate of eight per cent per annum at the last dividend, and there is a large surplus fund."

A pamphlet has just issued from the press, entitled *American Churches the Bulwark of American Slavery*, by our now well known and highly esteemed friend, Mr. Birney. The matter is so important, and a prompt and extensive circulation of it so desirable, that we have inserted the whole of it in our impression of this day.

WE have inserted to-day the text of the obnoxious marriage act in Jamaica, by which our readers may form their own judgment of it. Besides the unjust and invidious enactments which we have already noticed, another is pointed out in the following extract of a letter from a missionary in that island, even in that clause which professes to legalize—what however are already legal without it—the antecedent marriages performed by dissenters. Thus writes our correspondent:—

To render valid our past marriages we must record the whole by the 11th

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of October. This will involve us in an expense of 1s. 8d. stamp for each marriage, and 2s. 6d. recording; i.e. 4s. 2d. each marriage. Now I suppose that I have about 2000 marriages to record, for which I never received one penny, and yet to record the same I must pay the sum of £413. currency, or the marriages are invalid, and the families of 2000 marriages pronounced illegitimate! Are these thing to be so?

If this is the case with a single missionary, what must be the tax thus levied upon the whole? Certain legislators indeed, are reported to have said on this occasion, with much glee, "If we give them their right, we will make them pay for it." We opine, nevertheless, that the missionaries wil not pay for it, and that they will have their right without money. As we have said, these marriages are legal already, and neither this nor any other act can render them otherwise.

AMERICAN CHURCHES THE BULWARKS OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE extent to which most of the churches in America are involved in the guilt of supporting the slave-system is known to but few in this country. So far from being even suspected by the great mass of the religious community here, it would not be believed but on the most indisputable evidence. Evidence of this character it is now proposed to present—applying to the Methodist Episcopal, the Baptist, the Presbyterian, and the Protestant Episcopal churches. It is done with a single view to make the British christian public acquainted with the real state of the case—in order that it may, in the most intelligent manner possible, exert whatever influence it possesses with the American churches to persuade them to purify themselves from a sin that is fast bringing them under its dominion, and that threatens in the end wholly to destroy them.

The following *memoranda* will assist English readers in more readily apprehending the force and scope of the evidence.

I. Of the twenty-six American states, thirteen are slave states. Of the latter, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee (in part,) are slave-selling states; the states south of them are slave-buying and slave-consuming states.

II. Between the slave-selling and slave-buying states, the slave-trade is carried on extensively and systematically. The slave-trader, on completing his purchases for a single adventure, brings the gang together at a convenient point; confines the men in double rows to a large chain running between the rows, by means of smaller lateral chains tightly rivetted around the wrists of the slaves, and connected with the principal chain. They are in this way driven along the highways, (the small boys, the women, and girls following) without any release from their chains till they arrive at their ultimate place of sale. Here they occupy barracoons till they are disposed of one by one, or in lots, to those who will give most for them.

III. Ministers and office-bearers, and members of churches are slave-holders—buying and selling slaves, (not as the regular slave-trader) but as their convenience or interest may from time to time require. As a general rule, the itinerant preachers in the Methodist church are not permitted to hold slaves—but there are frequent exceptions.

IV. There are, in the United States, about 2,700,000 slaves, and 400,000 *free people of colour*. Of the slaves, 80,000 are members of the Methodist church; 80,000 of the Baptist; and about 40,000 of other churches. These church members have no exemption from being sold just as other slaves are. Instances occur in which slave-holding members of churches sell slaves who are members of the same church with themselves. And members of churches have been slave-auctioneers.

V. In most of the slave states the master is not permitted formally to emancipate, unless the emancipated person be removed from the state, (which makes the formal act unnecessary) or, unless by a special act of the legislature. If, however, he disregard the law and permit the slave to go at liberty and "do" for himself, the law—on the theory, that every slave ought to have a master to *see to him*—directs him to be sold for the benefit of the state. Instances of this, however, must be very rare. The people are better than their laws—for the writer, during a residence of more than thirty years in the slave states, never knew an instance of such a sale, nor has he ever heard of one that was fully authenticated.

VI. There is no law in any of the slave states forbidding the slave-holder to remove his slaves to a free state; nor against his giving the slaves themselves a "pass" for that purpose. The laws of some of the *free* states present obstructions to the settlement of coloured persons within their limits—but these obstructions are not insurmountable, and if the validity of the laws should be tried in the tribunals it would be found they are unconstitutional.

VII. In the slave-states a slave cannot be a witness in any case, civil or criminal, in which a white is a party. Neither can a free-coloured person, except in Louisiana. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, (free states) make coloured persons incompetent as witnesses in any case in which a white is a party. In Ohio, a white person can prove his own ("book") account not exceeding a certain sum, by his own oath or affirmation. A coloured person cannot, as against a white. In Ohio the laws regard all who are mulattoes, or above the grade of mulattoes, as *white*.

VIII. There is no law in the slave states, forbidding the several church authorities making slave-holding an offence, for which those guilty of it might be excluded from membership.

The Society of Friends exists in the slave-states—it excludes slave-holders.

The United Brethren exist as a church in Maryland and Virginia, slave states. Their annual conference for these two states (in which are thirty preachers) met in February last.

The following is an extract from its minutes:—

"No charge is preferred against any (preachers,) except Franklin Echard and Moses Michael.

"It appeared in evidence that Moses Michael was the owner of a female slave, which is contrary to the discipline of our church. Conference therefore resolved, that unless brother Michael manumit or set free such slave in six months, he no longer be considered a member of our church."

IX. When ecclesiastical councils excuse themselves from acting for the removal of slavery from their respective communions, by saying, they cannot *legislate* for the abolition of slavery; that slavery is a *civil or political* institution—that it "belongs to Cæsar," and not to the church to put an end to it, they shun the point at issue. To the church member who is a debauchee, a drunkard, a seducer, a murderer, they find no difficulty in saying, "we cannot indeed proceed against your person, or your property—*this* belongs to Cæsar,—to the *tribunals* of the country,—to the *legislature*, but we can purify the church, and act with a view to your repentance, by separating you from its communion." If one white member should by force or intimidation deprive, day after day, another white member of his property, the authorities of the churches would expel him from their body, should he refuse to make restitution or reparation; although it could not be *enforced* except through the tribunals, over which they have no control. Where then is the difficulty of saying to the slave-holder—"cease being a slave-holder and remain in the church, or continue a slave-holder and go out of it: you have your choice."

X. The slave states make it penal, to teach the slaves to read. So also some of them, to teach the *free coloured people* to read. None of the slave-holding churches, or religious bodies, so far as is known, have, at any time, remonstrated with the legislatures against this iniquitous legislation, or petitioned for its repeal or modification. Nor have they reproved or questioned such of their members, as, being also members of the legislatures, sanctioned such legislation by their votes.

XI. There is no systematic instruction of the slave-members of churches, either orally or in any other way.

XII. Uniting with a church makes no change in the condition of slaves *at home*. They are thrown back just as before, among their old associates, and subjected to their corrupting influences.

XIII. But little pains is taken to secure their attendance at public worship on Sundays.

XIV. The "house-servants" are rarely present at family-worship; the "field-hands," never.

XV. It is only one here and there that seems to have intelligent views of the nature of christianity, or of a future life.

XVI. In the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, the coloured people, during service, sit in a particular part of the house, now generally known as the *negro pew*. They are not permitted to sit in any other, nor to hire or purchase pews as other people, nor would they be permitted to sit, even if invited to do so, in the pews of white persons. This applies to all coloured persons, whether *members* or not, and even to *licensed ministers* of their respective connexions. The "negro pew" is almost as rigidly kept up in the free states as in the slave.

XVII.—In some of the older slave states, as Virginia, and South Carolina, churches, in their *corporate* character, hold slaves, who are generally hired out for the support of the minister. The following is taken from the Charleston Courier, of Feb. 12th, 1835.

FIELD NEGROS, *by Thomas Gadsden.*

On Tuesday, the 17th instant, will be sold at the north of the Exchange, at ten o'clock, a prime gang of ten NEGROS, accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions, belonging to the INDEPENDENT CHURCH, in *Christ's Church Parish.* * * * * * *Feb.* 6.

XVIII.—Nor are instances wanting, in which negros are *bequeathed* for the benefit of the Indians, as the following Chancery notice, taken from a Savannah (Geo.) paper, will show.

"*Bryan Superior Court.*

Between John J. Maxwell and others, Executors of Ann Pray, complainants, and Mary Sleigh and others, Devisees and Legatees, under the will of Ann Pray, defendants. } IN EQUITY.

"A Bill, having been filed for the distribution of the estate of the Testatrix, Ann Pray, and it appearing that among other legacies in her will, is the following, viz. a legacy of one-fourth of certain negro slaves to the American Board of Commissioners for Domestic [Foreign it probably should have been] Missions for the purpose of sending the gospel to the heathen, and particularly to the Indians of this continent. It is on motion of the solicitors of the complainants ordered, that all persons claiming the said legacy, do appear and answer the bill of the complainants, within four months from this day. And it is ordered, that this order be published in a public Gazette of the city of Savannah, and in one of the Gazettes of Philadelphia, once a month for four months.

"Extract from the minutes, Dec. 2nd, 1832.

JOHN SMITH, C. S. C. B. C."—(The bequest was not accepted.)

INFLUENCES UNDER WHICH THE AMERICAN CHURCHES HAVE BEEN BROUGHT.

Charleston (City) Gazette.—"We protest against the assumption—the unwarrantable assumption—that slavery is ultimately to be extirpated from the southern states. Ultimate abolitionists are enemies of the south, the same in kind, and only less in degree, than immediate abolitionists."

Washington (City) Telegraph.—"As a man, a christian, and a citizen, we believe that slavery is right; that the condition of the slave-holding states, is the best existing organization of civil society."

Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina.—"It is the order of nature and of GOD, that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature, that men should enslave each other, as that *other* animals should prey upon each other."

Columbia (S. C.) Telescope,—"Let us declare, through the public journals of our country, that the question of slavery is not, and shall not be open to discussion—that the system is deep-rooted among us, and must remain for ever; that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon a dunghill."

Augusta (Geo.) Chronicle.—"He [Amos Dresser] should have been hung up as high as Haman, to rot upon the gibbet, until the wind whistled through his bones. The cry of the whole south should be death, INSTANT DEATH, to the abolitionist, wherever he is caught."

[Amos Dresser, now a missionary in Jamaica, was a theological student at Lane Seminary, near Cincinnati. In the vacation (August 1835) he undertook to sell bibles in the state of Tennessee, with the view to raise means further to continue his studies. Whilst there, he fell under suspicion of being an abolitionist, was arrested by the vigilance committee, whilst attending a religious meeting in the neighbourhood of Nashville, the capital of the state, and after an afternoon and evening's inquisition condemned to receive twenty lashes on his naked body. The sentence was executed on him, between eleven and twelve o'clock on Saturday night.

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in the presence of most of the committee, and of an infuriated and blaspheming mob. The vigilance committee (an unlawful association) consisted of sixty persons. Of these, twenty-seven were members of churches; one, a religious teacher, another, the *Elder*, who but a few days before, in the Presbyterian church handed Mr. Dresser the bread and wine at the communion of the Lord's Supper.]

In the latter part of the summer of 1835, the slave-holders became greatly alarmed at the progress of the principles of the abolitionists. Meetings were held by them throughout the south, in order to excite all classes of people to the requisite degree of exasperation against the abolitionists. At one of these meetings, held at Clinton, Mississippi, it was

Resolved,—"That slavery through the south and west is not felt as an evil, moral or political, but it is recognized in reference to the *actual*, and not to any Utopian condition of our slaves, as a blessing both to master and slave."

2.—"That it is our decided opinion, that any individual who dares to circulate, with a view to effectuate the designs of the abolitionists, any of the incendiary tracts or newspapers now in a course of transmission to this country, is justly worthy in the sight of God and man of immediate death; and we doubt not, that such would be the punishment of any offender in any part of the State of Mississippi where he may be found."

3.—"That we recommend to the citizens of Mississippi to encourage the cause of the American colonization society, so long as in good faith it concentrates its energies alone on the removal of the free people of colour out of the United States."

4.—"That the clergy of the State of Mississippi be hereby recommended at once to take a stand upon this subject, and that their further silence in relation thereto, at this crisis, will in our opinion be subject to serious censure."

At Charleston, South Corolina, the post office was forced, the anti-slavery publications, which were there for distribution or further transmission to *masters*, taken out and made a bon-fire of in the street, by a mob of several thousand people.

A public meeting was appointed to be held a few days afterward, to complete, in the same spirit in which they were commenced, preparations for excluding anti-slavery publications from circulation, and for ferreting out persons suspected of favouring the doctrines of the abolitionist that they might be subjected to Lynch law. At this assembly the *Charleston Courier* informs us;

"The clergy of all denominations attended in a body lending their sanction to the proceedings, and adding by their presence to the impressive character of the scene."

It was there resolved,—"That the thanks of this meeting are due to the reverend gentlemen of the clergy in this city who have so promptly and so effectually responded to public sentiment, by suspending their schools in which the *free coloured population* were taught; and that this meeting deem it a patriotic action worthy of all praise, and proper to be imitated by other teachers of similar schools throughout the State."

The alarm of the Virginia slave-holders was not less—nor were the clergy in the city of Richmond, the capital, less prompt than the clergy in Charleston, to respond to "public sentiment." Accordingly on the 29th July, they assembled together, and

Resolved, *unanimously*,—"That we *earnestly* deprecate the unwarrantable and highly improper interference of the people of any other State with the domestic relations of master and slave."

"That the example of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles, in not interfering with the question of slavery, but uniformly recognizing the relations of master and servant, and giving full and affectionate instruction to both is worthy of the imitation of all ministers of the gospel."

"That we will not patronize nor receive any pamphlet or newspaper of the anti-slavery societies, and that we will discountenance the circulation of all such papers in the community."

"That the suspicions which have prevailed to a considerable extent against ministers of the gospel and professors of religion in the State of Virginia, as identified with abolitionists are *wholly unmerited*—believing as we do, from extensive acquaintance with our churches and brethren, that they are unanimous in opposing the pernicious scheme of abolitionists."

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

(700,000 Members.)

In 1780, four years before the Episcopal Methodist church was regularly organized in the United States, the conference bore the following testimony against slavery:—

"The conference acknowledges that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society; contrary to the dictates of conscience and true religion; and doing what we would not others should do unto us."

In 1784, when the church was fully organized, rules were adopted, prescribing the times at which members who were already slave-holders, should emancipate their slaves. These rules were succeeded by the following:—

"Every person concerned, who will not comply with these rules, shall have liberty quietly to withdraw from our society within the twelve months following, the notice being given him as aforesaid; otherwise the assistants shall exclude him the society."

"No person holding slaves shall in future be admitted into society, or to the Lord's Supper, till he previously comply with these rules concerning slavery."

"Those who buy, or sell, or give [slaves] away, unless on purpose to free them, shall be expelled immediately."

"In 1785, the following language was held:—

"We do hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery, and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means."

In 1801:—

"We declare that we are more than ever convinced of the great evil of African slavery, which still exists in these United States."

"Every member of the society who sells a slave shall, immediately after full proof, be excluded from the society," &c.

"The annual conferences are directed to draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of the slaves to the legislature."—"Proper committees shall be appointed by the annual conferences, out of the most respectable of our friends, for the conducting of the business; and the presiding elders, elders, deacons, and travelling preachers, shall procure as many proper signatures as possible to the addresses; and give all the assistance in their power, in every respect to aid the committees and to further the blessed undertaking. Let this be continued from year to year till the desired end be accomplished."

1836. The general conference met in May, in Cincinnati, a town of 48,000 inhabitants, and the metropolis of the free state of Ohio. An Anti-slavery Society had been formed there a year or two before. A meeting of the society was appointed for the evening of the 10th of May, to which the abolition delegates attending the conference were invited.* Of those who attended, two of them made remarks appropriate to the occasion. On the 12th of May, Rev. S. G. Roszell presented in the conference the following preamble and resolutions:—

"Whereas, great excitement has pervaded this country on the subject of modern abolitionism, which is reported to have been increased in this city recently, by the unjustifiable conduct of two members of the general conference in lecturing upon, and in favour of that agitating topic;—and whereas, such a course on the part of any of its members is calculated to bring upon this body the suspicion and distrust of the community, and misrepresent its sentiments in regard to the point at issue;—and whereas, in this aspect of the case, a due regard for its own character, as well as a just concern for the interests of the church confided to its care, demand a full, decided, and unequivocal expression of the views of the general conference in the premises." Therefore,

1. Resolved,—"By the delegates of the annual conference in general conference assembled, that they disapprove in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of the two members of the general conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently, upon, and in favour of, modern abolitionism."

2. "By the delegates of the annual conferences in general conference assembled,—that they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, with, or intention, to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slave-holding states of this union."

The preamble and resolutions were adopted—the first resolution by 122 to 11—the last by 120 to 14.

An address was received from the Methodist Wesleyan conference in England, in which the anti-christian character of slavery, and the duty of the Methodist was plainly, yet tenderly and affectionately brought before it. The conference refused to publish it.

In the Pastoral Address to the churches, are these passages:—

"It cannot be unknown to you, that the question of slavery in the United States, by the constitutional compact which binds us together as a nation, is left to be regulated by the several state legislatures themselves; and thereby is put beyond the control of the general government, as well as that of all ecclesiastical bodies; it being manifest that in the slave-holding states themselves, the entire responsibility of its existence, or non-existence, rests with those state legislatures." * * * "These facts which are only mentioned here as a reason for the friendly admonition which we wish to give you, constrain us as your pastors, who are called to watch over your souls, as they must give account, to exhort you to abstain from all abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications," &c. * *

"From every view of the subject which we have been able to take, and from the most calm and dispassionate survey of the whole ground, we have come to the only safe scriptural and prudent way for us, both as ministers and people to take, is, wholly to refrain from this agitating subject," &c.

The temper exhibited by the general conference, was warmly sympathized in by many of the local conferences, not only in the slave states but in the free.

The Ohio annual conference had a short time before,

1. Resolved,—"That we deeply regret the proceedings of the abolitionists, and anti-slavery societies in the free states, and the consequent excitement produced thereby in the slave states; that we, as a conference, disclaim all connexion and co-operation with, or belief in the same; and that we hereby recommend to our junior preachers, local brethren, and private members within our bounds, to abstain from any connexion with them, or participation of their acts in the premises whatever."

2. "That those brethren and citizens of the north, who resist the abolition movements with firmness and moderation, are the true friends to the church, to the slaves of the south, and to the constitution of our common country," &c.

The New York annual conference met in June, 1836, and

1. Resolved,—"That this conference fully concur in the advice of the late general conference, as expressed in their pastoral address."

2. "That we disapprove of the members of this conference patronizing, or in any way giving countenance to a paper called 'Zion's Watchman,'† because in our opinion, it tends to disturb the peace and harmony of the body, by sowing dissensions in the church."

3. "That although we would not condemn any man, or withhold our suffrages from him on account of his *opinions* merely, in reference to the subject of abolitionism, yet we are decidedly of the opinion, that none ought to be elected to the office of deacon, or elder in our church, unless he give a pledge to the Conference, that he will refrain from agitating the church with discussions on this subject, and the more especially as the one promises, "reverently to obey them to whom the charge and government over him is committed; following with a glad mind and will, their godly admonitions," and the other with equal solemnity, promises to "maintain and set forward, as much as lieth in him, quietness, peace, and love among all christian people, and especially among them that are, or shall be committed to his charge."

In 1838, the same conference, resolved:—

"As the sense of this conference, that any of its members, or probationers, who shall patronize Zion's Watchman, either by writing in commendation of its character, by circulating it, recommending it to our people,

* The Rev. Mr. Lovejoy, who was afterwards slain by the mob in defending his press, at Alton, Illinois, was present at the meeting. He was on his way from St. Louis, where he then resided, to Pittsburg, to attend the general assembly of the presbyterian church.

† Zion's Watchman is a newspaper devoted to the anti-slavery cause and the religious interests of the Methodist Episcopal church. It is edited by the Rev. La Roy Sunderland, of that church.

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or procuring subscribers, or by collecting or remitting monies, shall be deemed guilty of indiscretion, and dealt with accordingly."

The preachers—judging by the vote on the anti-abolition resolutions—were expected of course to conform to the advice in the Pastoral address. The New York conference—the most influential—set the example of exacting a pledge from the candidates for orders, that they would not agitate the subject of slavery in their congregations. The *official* newspapers of the connexion, would of course be silent. Therefore, as a measure for wholly excluding the slavery question from the church, it was of the last importance that Zion's Watchman, an unofficial paper, and earnest in the cause, should be prevented from circulating among the members.

Having seen in what spirit the conferences of the free states were willing to act, we will now see what was the temper of the conferences in the slave states. *They* were not under the same necessity as the free state conferences, of guarding against *agitation*, by the young men who would apply for orders—for in the slave states, they were comparatively few, and being brought up under the influence of slavery, were considered *sound* on that subject. The point of most interest to the slave-holding, professors of religion was, to *steel their own consciences.*

The Baltimore Conference resolved :—"That in all cases of administration under the general rule in reference to buying and [or] selling men, women, and children, &c. it be, and hereby is recommended to all committees, as the sense and opinion of this conference, that the said rule be taken, *construed, and understood*, so as not to make the guilt or innocence of the accused to depend upon the simple fact of purchase or sale of any such slave or slaves, but upon the attendant circumstances of cruelty, injustice, or inhumanity, on the one hand, or those of kind purposes, or good intentions on the other, under which, the transactions shall have been perpetrated ; and farther, it is recommended that in all such cases, the charge be brought for immorality, and the circumstances adduced as specifications under that charge."

THE GEORGIA ANNUAL CONFERENCE,

Resolved *unanimously* that :—"Whereas, there is a clause in the discipline of our church, which states, that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of *slavery ;* and whereas the said clause has been *perverted* by some, and used in such a manner as to produce the impression that the Methodist Episcopal church believed *slavery* to be a *moral evil.*"

Therefore resolved,—"That it is the sense of the Georgia annual conference, that slavery as it exists in the United States, *is not a moral evil.*"

Resolved,—"That we view *slavery* as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have nothing to do, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavouring to impart to him and his master the benign influences of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to heaven."

On the motion, it was resolved unanimously,—"That the Georgia annual conference regard with feelings of profound respect and approbation, the dignified course pursued *by our several superintendents* or bishops *in suppressing* the attempts that have been made by various individuals to get up and protract an excitement in the churches and country on the subject of *abolitionism.*"

Resolved, further,—"That they shall have our cordial and zealous support in sustaining them in the ground they have taken."

SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE.

The Rev. W. Martin, introduced resolutions, similar to those of the Georgia conference.

The Rev. W. Capers, D.D., after expressing his conviction that "the sentiment of the resolutions was universally held, not only by the ministers of that conference, but of the whole south ;" and after stating, that "the only true doctrine was, "it belongs to Cæsar, and not to the church," offered the following as a substitute :—

"Whereas, we hold that the subject of slavery in these United States is not one proper for the action of the church, but is exclusively appropriate to the civil authorities,

Therefore, Resolved,—"That this conference will not intermeddle with it, farther than to express our regret that it has ever been introduced, in any form, into any one of the judicatures of the church.

"Brother Martin accepted the substitute.

"Brother Betts asked, whether the substitute was intended *as implying that slavery, as it exists among us, was not a moral evil ? He understood it as equivalent to such a declaration.*

"Brother Capers explained, *that his intention was to convey that sentiment fully and unequivocally ;* and that he had chosen the form of the substitute for the purpose, *not only of reproving some wrong doings at the north,* but with reference also to the general conference. If slavery were a *moral evil* (that is *sinful,*) *the church would be bound to take cognizance of it ;* but our affirmation is, that it is not a matter for *her* jurisdiction, but is exclusively appropriate to *the civil government,* and *of course not sinful.*

"The substitute was then unanimously adopted.

"On motion of brother N. Tally, the second Fridays in April and September were appointed to be observed as days of fasting and prayer."

SENTIMENTS OF NON-SLAVE-HOLDING METHODIST MINISTERS.

Rev. N. Bangs, D.D., of New York:

"It appears evident, that however much the apostles might have deprecated SLAVERY as it then existed throughout the Roman empire, he did not feel it his duty, as an ambassador of Christ, to disturb those *relations* which subsisted between master and servants, by denouncing slavery as *such a mortal sin,* that they could not be servants of Christ in such a relation."

Rev. E. D. Simms, Professor in Randolph, Macon College, a Methodist Institution :

"These extracts from HOLY WRIT UNEQUIVOCALLY ASSERT THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN SLAVES, together with the usual incidents of that right ; such as the power of acquisition and disposition in various ways, according to municipal regulations. The right to buy and sell, and to transmit to children by way of inheritance, is clearly stated. The only restriction on the subject, is in reference to the *market,* in which slaves or bondsmen were to be purchased.

"Upon the whole, then, whether we consult the Jewish polity instituted by God himself; or the uniform opinion and practice of mankind in all ages of the world ; or the injunctions of the New Testament and the Moral law; we are brought to the conclusion, that slavery is not immoral.

"Having established the point, that the first African slaves were legally brought into bondage, the right to detain their children in bondage, follows as an indispensable consequence.

"Thus we see that the slavery which exists in America, was *founded in right.*"

The Rev. Wilbur Fisk, D.D., late President of the [Methodist] Wesleyan University in Connecticut:

"The relation of master and *slave,* may, and *does in many cases,* exist under such circumstances, as to free the master from the just charge and guilt of immorality."

"1 Cor. vii. 20—23.

"This text seems mainly to *enjoin* and *sanction* the *fitting continuance* of their present social relations ; the freeman was to remain free, and the slave, unless emancipation should offer, *was to remain a slave.*"

"The general rule of *christianity not only permits, but in* supposable circumstances, *enjoins a continuance of the master's authority.*"

"The New Testament enjoins obedience upon the slave as an obligation *due* to a present *rightful* authority."

Rev. Elijah Hedding, D.D., one of the six Methodist Bishops :—

"The right to hold a slave is founded on this rule, 'Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets.'"—*Ch. Ad. and Journal, Oct.* 20, 1837.

SENTIMENTS OF SLAVE-HOLDING METHODIST MINISTERS.

The Rev. William Winans, of Mississippi, in the general conference, in 1836 :—

"He was not born in a slave state—he was a Pennsylvanian by birth. He had been brought up to believe a slave-holder as great a villain as a horse-thief; but he had gone to the south, and long residence there had changed his views ; he had become a slave-holder *on principle.*" * * * "Though a slave-holder himself, no abolitionist felt more sympathy for the slave than he did—none had rejoiced more in the hope of a coming period, when the print of a slave's foot would not be seen on the soil." * * * "It was important to the interests of slaves, and in view of the question of slavery, that there be christians who were slave-holders. Christian ministers should be slave-holders, and diffused throughout the south. Yes, sir, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, should be slave-holders ;—yes,—he repeated it boldly—there should be members, and *deacons,* and ELDERS, and BISHOPS, too, who were slave-holders."

The Rev. J. Early, of Virginia, on the same occasion :—

"Sir,—We have no *energy.* But if a majority of this conference have no energy—not enough of it, to protect their own honour from insult and degradation—be it known, that there are in the conference those who *have*—AND WHO OUGHT TO BE BY THEMSELVES. It is full time, for you, sir, to speak *out*—to testify that you have some regard for yourselves—to say that you have some regard for your *honour.* Submit to this, sir! If we submit to this, we are prepared to submit to anything."

The Rev. J. H. Thornwell, at a public meeting held in South Carolina, supported the following resolutions :—

"That slavery as it exists in the south is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion ; and that all opposition to it arises from a misguided and fiendish fanaticism, which we are bound to resist in the very threshold."

"That all interference with this subject by fanatics, is a violation of our civil and social rights—is unchristian and inhumane leading necessarily to anarchy and bloodshed ; and that the instigators are murderers and assassins."

"That any interference with this subject, on the part of Congress, must lead to a dissolution of the union."

The Rev. George W. Langhorne, of North Carolina, thus writes to the Editor of Zion's Watchman, under date, June 25th, 1836.

"I, sir, would as soon be found in the ranks of a banditti, as numbered with Arthur Tappan and his wanton co-adjutors. Nothing is more appalling to my feelings as a man, contrary to my principles as a christian, and repugnant to my soul as a minister, than the insidious proceedings of such men.

If you have not resigned your credentials as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, I really think that, as an honest man, you should now do it. In your ordination vows you solemnly promised to be obedient to those who have rule over you; and since they [the general conference] have spoken, and that distinctly, too, on this subject, and disapprobate your conduct, I conceive you are bound to submit to their authority or leave the church."

The Rev. J. C. Postell, in July, 1836, delivered an address at a public meeting at Orangeburgh Court-house, S. C., in which he maintains ; 1. That slavery is a judicial visitation. 2. That it is not a moral evil. 3. That it is supported by the Bible. He thus argues his second point :—

"It is not a moral evil. The fact that slavery is of Divine appointment, would be proof enough with the christian, that it could not be a moral evil. But when we view the hordes of savage marauders and human cannibals enslaved to lust and passion, and abandoned to idolatry and ignorance, to revolutionise them from such a state, and enslave them where they may have the gospel, and the privileges of christians ; so far from being a moral evil, *it is a merciful visitation.* If slavery was either the invention of man or a moral evil, it is logical to conclude, the power to create has the power to destroy. Why then has it existed ? And why does it now exist amidst all the power of legislation in state and church, and the clamour of abolitionists ? *It is the Lord's* DOINGS AND MARVELLOUS IN OUR EYES: and had it not been done for the best, God alone, who is able long since, would have overruled it. IT IS BY DIVINE APPOINTMENT."

On that occasion the same rev. gentleman read a letter which he had addressed to the editor of Zion's Watchman—of which the following are extracts:—

"To La Roy Sunderland, &c.

Did you calculate to misrepresent the Methodist discipline, and say it supported abolitionism, when the general conference, in their late resolutions, denounced it as a *libel on truth.*" '*Oh, full of all subtlety, thou child of the devil ! !*' "all *liars,* saith the sacred volume, shall have their part in the lake of fire and brimstone."

I can only give one reason why you have not been indicted for a libel—The law says, 'The greater the truth, the greater the libel ;' and as your paper has no such ingredient, it is construed but a small matter. But if you desire to educate the slaves, I will tell you how to raise the money without editing Zion's Watchman ; you and old Arthur Tappan come out to the south this winter, and they will raise one hundred thousand dollars

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for you. New Orleans, itself, will be pledged for it. Desiring no further acquaintance with you, and never expecting to see you but once in time or eternity, that is at judgment, I subscribe myself, the friend of the Bible, and the opposer of the abolitionists.

J.C. POSTELL,
Orangeburgh, July 21st, 1836.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE FOR 1840
Held its session in May, in Baltimore.

The Rev. Silas Comfort appealed from a decision of the Missouri conference, of which he was a member. That conference had convicted him of mal-administration," in admitting the testimony of a coloured person in the trial of a white member of the church. The general conference reversed the decision of the Missouri conference. The southern delegates insisted on something being done, to counteract the injurious influence which the decision of the general conference would have on the Methodist church in the slave states.

The Rev. Dr. A. J. Few, of Georgia, proposed the following:—

Resolved,—"That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons, in any state where they are denied that privilege by law."

This was carried. It was inconsistent with the decision in Comfort's case. What was to be done? The conference was getting into increasing perplexity. It would be best if it could be done, to rid itself of the whole subject. A motion was made to reconsider the decision in Comfort's case, with a view, if it should be carried, to move, *not to entertain his appeal.* Should this latter prevail, a motion could then be made to reconsider Dr. Few's resolution. If this should be carried, by another motion it could be laid on the table, and kept there. In this way the whole matter might be excluded.

The motion to reconsider the Comfort case was carried. So was the motion, *not to entertain* the appeal. But the motion to reconsider Dr. Few's resolution failed. Pending the debate, the southern delegates became alarmed, lest it would prevail.

In order to soothe the northern delegates, the following substitute was offered by the Rev. William A. Smith, of Virginia. [The same who in the general conference of 1836, publicly wished the Rev. Orange Scott, a leading abolitionist—also of the general conference—"in heaven."]

Resolved,—"That the resolution offered by A. J. Few, and adopted on Monday the 18th instant, relating to the testimony of persons of colour, be reconsidered and amended so as to read as follows, viz.—"That it is *inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher among us to admit of persons of colour to give testimony on the trial of white persons in any slave-holding state where they are denied that privilege in trials at law*: Provided, that when an annual conference in any such state or territory shall judge it expedient to admit of the introduction of such testimony within its bounds, it shall be allowed so to do."

However, the southern delegates were unanimous, (with a single exception) and the substitute was lost by an even vote.

The efforts made to "harmonize" the slave-holding and the non-slave-holding delegates, had thus far failed. It was not, however, abandoned. With that view, Bishop Soule, acting as the representative of the other Bishops, introduced three resolutions. We have not been able to procure a copy of them. In Zion's Watchman, we find them substantially stated thus:—

1. "The action of the general conference in the Comfort case was not intended to express or imply, that it was either expedient or justifiable to admit the testimony of coloured persons in states, where such testimony is rejected by the civil authorities.

2. "It was not intended by the adoption of Dr. Few's resolution, to prohibit the admission of it, when the civil authorities or usage authorizes its admission.

3. "*Expresses the undiminished regard of the general conference for the coloured population.*"

Immediately on the passage of Dr. Few's resolution, the "official members (forty-six in number) of the Sharp Street and Asbury Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore," protested and petitioned against it. The following passages are in their address:—

"The adoption of such a resolution, by our highest ecclesiastical judicatory—a judicatory composed of the most experienced, and the wisest brethren in the church, the choice selection of twenty-eight annual conferences, has inflicted, we fear, an irreparable injury upon eighty thousand souls for whom Christ died—souls, who by this act of your body, have been stript of the dignity of christians, degraded in the scale of humanity, and treated as criminals, for no other reason than the colour of their skin! Your resolution has, in our humble opinion, *virtually* declared, that a mere physical peculiarity, the handywork of our all-wise and benevolent Creator, is *prima facie* evidence of incompetency to tell the truth, or is an unerring indication of unworthiness to bear testimony against a fellow-being, whose skin is denominated white. * * *

"Brethren, out of the abundance of the heart we have spoken. *Our grievance is before you!* If you have any regard for the salvation of the eighty thousand immortal souls committed to your care; if you would not *thrust* beyond the pale of the church, *twenty-five hundred souls in this city* who have felt determined never to leave the church that has nourished and brought them up; if you regard us as children of one common Father—and can, upon reflection, sympathize with us as members of the body of Christ—if you would not incur the fearful, the tremendous responsibility of offending not only one, but many thousands of his 'little ones;' we conjure you to wipe from your journal, the odious resolution which is ruining our people."

"A Coloured Baltimorean," writing to the Editor of Zion's Watchman, says:—

"The address was presented to one of the secretaries, a delegate of the Baltimore conference, and subsequently given by him to the Bishops. How many of the members of the conference saw it, I know not. One thing is certain, *it was not read to the conference.*"

SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED DURING THE DEBATES.

Rev. W. Capers, D.D., of Charleston, South Carolina:—

"Valued the quotations which had been made from the early disciplines and minutes; there was no kind of property that he valued so high as the works which contained them; they were the monuments of that primitive Methodism which he loved. * * He then read from the minutes of 1780, 84, and 85, and attempted to show, from the smallness of the church, and the little connexion that it had with slavery in 1780, that it adopted the language which was precisely consistent with its circumstances, and just such language as he would adopt under similar circumstances; but in 1784 and 85, when the church had extended further and became more entangled with slavery, there was a corresponding faltering in the language of the church against it. But in 1800, the church fell into a great error on this subject—an error which he had no doubt those who were so unfortunate as to fall into, very deeply deplored. The conference authorized addresses to the legislatures, and memorials to be circulated by all our ministers, and instructed them to continue these measures from year to year, till slavery was abolished. He had no doubt, that the men engaged in this work were sincere and pious, but they soon perceived that it was a great error, and abandoned it. * * He thanked the brother from Canada (Rev. Egerton Ryerson,) for the strong sympathy he had expressed for southern institutions. * * Notwithstanding the representations, that a part of the discipline was a dead letter, in the south, yet, he assured them, that they received the whole of it—they were under the whole of it—acknowledged it all,—but, said he, you must take heed what discipline you make for us now; if the chapter on slavery had not long been in the discipline, you could not put it there now. I repeat, therefore, you must *beware* what laws you make for us! You may easily adopt such measures as will effectually hedge up our way, and make us slaves. We cannot be made slaves; beware, therefore, I say, what discipline you give us! Be CAUTIOUS what burthens you impose upon us! We know what our work is,—it is to preach to and pray for the slaves."

Rev. Mr. Crowder, of Virginia—

"In its *civil* aspect, neither the general government, or any other government, ecclesiastical or civil, either directly or indirectly, has a right to *touch* slavery." In its *ecclesiastical* aspect—"we are bound by the twenty-third article of our religion, to submit to the civil regulations of the state under which we live." In its *moral* aspect—"Slavery was not only countenanced, permitted, and regulated by the Bible, but it was positively *instituted* by GOD HIMSELF—he had in so many words ENJOINED it."

The Rev. Joshua Soule, D.D., of Ohio, (one of the Bishops,) in advocating the reconsideration of the decision in Comfort's case, said:—

"It will be recollected my brethren, that the Missouri Conference fixed no *censure*—not a particle of censure upon the character of Silas Comfort; the law therefore would not justify an appeal to this body. If that unfortunate word '*mal-administration*,' had not been used in connexion with the case, it would never have found its way here." "I do not express merely my own opinion in this case; it is the united opinion of your superintendents (Bishops,) and it is by their request that I address you on this occasion."

Rev. Mr. Peck, of New York, who moved the reconsideration of Dr. Few's resolution:—

"That resolution, said he, was introduced under peculiar circumstances, during considerable excitement, and he went for it as a peace-offering to the South, without sufficiently reflecting upon the precise import of its phraseology; but after a little deliberation, he was sorry: and he had been sorry but once, and that was all the time; he was convinced that, if that resolution remained upon the journal, *it would be disastrous to the whole northern church.*"

Rev. D. A. J. Few, of Georgia, the mover of the original resolution:—

"Look at it! What do you declare to us in taking this course? Why, simply, as much as to say, 'we cannot sustain you in the condition which you cannot avoid!' We cannot sustain you in the necessary conditions of slave-holding;—one of its necessary conditions being the rejection of negro testimony! If it is not sinful to hold slaves, under all circumstances, it is not sinful to hold them in the only condition, and under the only circumstances, which they can be held. The rejection of negro testimony is one of the necessary circumstances, under which slave-holding can exist: indeed, it is utterly impossible for it to exist without it; therefore it is not sinful to hold slaves in the condition, and under the circumstances which they are held at the south, inasmuch as they can be held under no other circumstances. * * If you believe that slave-holding is necessarily sinful, come out with the abolitionists and honestly say so. If you believe that slave-holding is necessarily sinful, you believe we are necessarily sinners: and if so, come out and honestly declare it, *and let us leave you.* * * We want to know distinctly, precisely, and honestly, the position which you take. We cannot be tampered with by you any longer. We have had enough of it. We are tired of your sickly sympathies. * * If you are not opposed to the principles which it involves, unite with us, *like honest men*, and go home and boldly meet the consequences. We say again, you are responsible for this state of things! for it is *you* who have driven us to the alarming point, where we find ourselves. * * *You* have made that resolution absolutely necessary to the quiet of the south! But *you* now revoke that resolution! And, you pass the Rubicon! Let me be not misunderstood. I say, *you* pass the Rubicon! If you revoke, you revoke the principle which that resolution involves, and you array the whole south against you, *and we must separate!* If you accord to the principle which it involves, arising from the necessity of the case, stick by it, 'though the heavens perish!' But if you persist on reconsideration, I ask in what light will your course be regarded in the south? What will be the conclusion there, in reference to it? Why, that you cannot sustain us as long as we hold slaves! It will declare in the face of the sun, 'we cannot sustain you, gentlemen, while you retain your slaves!' Your opposition to the resolution is based upon your opposition to slavery; you cannot therefore maintain your consistency, unless you come out with the abolitionists, and condemn us at once and for ever; or else refuse to reconsider."

The Rev. William Winans, of Mississippi: (the same who was a delegate to the general conference in 1836.)

"He was never more deeply impressed with the solemnity of his situation—the act of this afternoon will determine the fate of our beloved Zion! Will you meet us half-way? Have you the magnanimity to consent to a compromise? I pledge myself, in behalf of every southern man, that if you will affirm the decision in the case of Silas Comfort, we will give up the resolution; but if you refuse to affirm, and wrest from us that resolution, you stab us to the vitals! Repeal that resolution, and you pass the Rubicon! Dear as union is, sir, there are interests at stake in this question which are dearer than *union*! Do not regard us as threatening! But what will become of our beloved Methodism? The interests of Methodism, throughout the whole south, are at stake! We can, however, endure to see the houses of God forsaken, and our wide extended, and beautiful fields, which we have long been cultivating, laid waste and turned into a moral wilderness But what is to become of the

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poor slave? I entreat of you to pause! You effectually shut out the consolations and hopes of the gospel from hundreds and thousands of poor slaves? I call heaven to record against you this day, that if you repeal that resolution, you seal the damnation of thousands of souls! I beseech you as upon my knees not to do it."

The Rev. Mr. Collins, of ———

"Admonished the conference, that the moment they rescinded that resolution, they passed the Rubicon. The fate of the connexion was sealed."

The Rev. William A. Smith, of Virginia,

"Agreed with the brother from Mississippi, that there were interests involved in this question *dearer* than UNION itself, however dear that might be. Southerners are not prepared to commit their interests, much less their consciences to the holy keeping of northern men. Conscience was involved in this matter, and they could not be coerced."

Rev. Nathan Bangs, D.D., of New York:

"We were on a snag, and he believed he could help us off. He perceived a way to get out of the difficulty, and proceeded to read three resolutions, one of which went to *affirm* the decision of the Missouri conference in the Comfort case. He concluded with a proposition to refer the *whole case* to a committee, to see if *something* could not be done *to harmonize* the conference."

Rev. P. P. Sandford, of ———

"Brethren spoke as though there were no interests involved in this question but southern and western, but he could assure brethren of their entire mistake. The north and east were as deeply concerned in the issue of this question as the west and south. * * He was surprised at the course of Dr. Bangs, who, when the Missouri case was pending, retired without the bar, and thus *dodged* the question; and when Dr. Few's resolution was passed, he sat still in his chair, and refused to do his duty, but *now* he comes forward with a series of resolutions entirely inconsistent with all the facts in the case, with the very benevolent intention to enlighten us on the subject!! But what does he say? Why he declares that he believes that this conference ought to affirm the decision of the Missouri conference in the case of Silas Comfort! And what was that decision? Why, that it is mal-administration to admit the testimony of a *coloured* man in the trial of a white man! So that Comfort was condemned, as appears from the journals of that conference, solely for admitting the testimony of a *coloured man!* And Dr. Bangs is the man who declares upon this floor, that that decision ought to be affirmed by this conference! He was perfectly *astounded!* Brethren, talk of compromise! Is there any compromise in this?"

Bishop Soule spoke in favour of the compromise resolutions of the Rev. Mr. Smith:—

"It was in view of the vast but jeoparded interests of our beloved Zion; with a view to promote the union of our extended ecclesiastical confederation, that he ventured to speak on the present occasion. He would lay one hand upon the north and east, and the other upon the south, and constrain them to *harmonize*. He had listened to the speeches of brethren, and he perceived that the waters were troubled, but he was not alarmed; our ship is not wrecked, and he had no doubt but that we should bring her safe through. * * * He had listened to the intimations of the possible necessity of adopting this measure, but brethren had approached so near together, that they only appeared to differ as to the *modus operandi* of doing the thing, which all seemed to agree should be done. He could not, therefore, believe that brethren were in earnest in intimating the *probability of a division* [of the church] on so *trifling* an occasion. He had heard the appeals from brethren of the south with unmingled sympathy, because he was acquainted with the south: he was familiar with the difficulties which brethren from that region struggled with. * * * We are in danger of forgetting, that men born in the south are much better qualified to judge of the bearing which particular measures will have upon that region, than those of the north can be. He thanked the brother from Georgia, (Dr. Few) for his kind allusion to him and regretted that he was understood to take ground against the Dr., for *he agreed with him entirely.* * * * The brethren from the south came forward with all that frankness which characterizes southern men; I say, *with all that frankness which characterizes southern men*, for this is a distinguishing trait in their character, and propose a conciliatory plan, which he thought could not fail to *harmonize* the great majority: I say the great majority, for I despair of giving satisfaction to *all.* * * * He could not possibly see an objectionable feature in, or any unfavourable effect that would be likely to result from adopting them, either in the north or south. Does any one think that they may be disastrously used in the north, in favour of modern abolitionism? I neither see it nor fear it. Permit me to say to the members of this general conference, who are connected with the abolition movements, that the brethren at the south are better judges, circumstanced as they are, than you can possibly be, in regard to *every* thing connected with slavery. * * * Surveying the whole ground of this unfortunate affair, and where is the man who dare come to the conclusion, that sufficient reasons have been developed in this controversy for dividing the body of Christ."

THE BAPTIST CHURCH.
(500,000 *Members.*)

In 1835 the Charleston Baptist Association addressed a memorial to the legislature of South Carolina, which contains the following:—

"The undersigned would further represent, that the said association does not consider that the holy scriptures have made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all. The Divine Author of our holy religion, in particular, found slavery a part of the existing institutions of society; with which, if not sinful, it was not his design to *intermeddle*, but to leave them entirely to the control of men. Adopting this, therefore, as one of the allowed arrangements of society, he made it the province of his religion only to prescribe the reciprocal duties of the relation. The question it is believed, is purely one of political economy. It amounts, in effect, to this—*Whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold, and themselves become property, as in this state; or whether they shall be hirelings, and their labour only become property, as in some other states;* in other words, whether an employer may buy the whole time of labourers at once, of those who have a right to dispose of it, with a permanent relation of protection and care over them, or, whether he shall be restricted to buy it in certain portions only, subject to their control, and with no such permanent relation of care and protection. *The right of masters to dispose of the time of their slaves has been distinctly recognized by the Creator of all things*, who is surely at liberty to vest the right of property over any object in whomsoever he pleases. That the lawful possessor should retain this right at will, is no more against the laws of society and good morals than that he should retain the personal endowments with which his Creator has blessed him, or the money and lands inherited from his ancestors, or acquired by his industry. And neither society, nor individuals, have any more authority to demand a relinquishment, without an equivalent, in the one case, than in the other.

"As it is a question purely of political economy, and one which in this country is reserved to the cognizance of the state governments severally, it is further believed, that the state of South Carolina alone has the right to regulate the existence and condition of slavery within her territorial limits; and we should resist to the utmost every invasion of this right, come from what quarter and under whatever pretence it may."

In 1835, the following *query*, referring to slaves, was presented to the Savannah River Baptist Association of ministers:—

"Whether, in case of involuntary separation of such a character as to preclude all prospect of future intercourse, the parties ought to be allowed to marry again?"

Answer,—"That such separation among persons situated as our slaves are, is *civilly* a separation *by death*, and they believe, that, in the sight of God, it would be so viewed. To forbid second marriages in such cases, would be to expose the parties, not only to stronger hardships, and strong temptations, but to *church censure*, for acting in obedience to their masters, who cannot be expected to acquiesce in a regulation at variance with justice to the slaves and to the spirit of that command which regulates marriage among christians. *The slaves are not free agents*, and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent, and beyond their control, than by such separation."

Sept. 1835. The ministers and messengers of the Goslien Association, assembled at Free Union, Virginia, state—"The most of us have been, born and brought up in the midst of this population. Very many of us, too, have been ushered into life under inauspicious circumstances, having no patrimonies to boast, and inheriting little else from our parents but an existence and a name. We have, however, through the blessing of God, by a persevering course of industry and rigid economy acquired a competent support for ourselves and families; and as a reward for our laborious exertion we received such *property* [slaves] as was guaranteed to us, not only by the laws of our individual states, but by those of the United States. In consideration whereof we unanimously adopt the following resolutions:—

1. "That we consider our right and title to this property altogether legal and *bonâ fide*, and that it is a breach of the faith pledged in the federal constitution, for our northern brethren to try, either directly or indirectly, to lessen the value of this property or impair our title thereto."

2. "That we view the torch of the incendiary, and the dagger of the midnight assassin, loosely concealed under the specious garb of humanity and religion falsely so called."

3. "That we consider there is something radically wrong in the logic of those would-be philanthropists at the north, who lay it down as one of their main propositions, that they must do what is right regardless of consequences, inasmuch as they will not venture to come, this side of the Potomac to teach and lecture publicly where (they say) this crying evil exists."

SENTIMENTS OF INDIVIDUAL BAPTISTS.

The late Rev. Lucius Bolles, D D., of Massachusetts, Cor. Sec. Am. Bap. board for Foreign Missions:—

(1834) "There is a pleasing degree of union among the multiplying thousands of Baptists, throughout the land. * * * Our southern brethren are generally, both ministers and people, slave-holders."

Rev. R. Furman, D.D. of South Carolina.

"The right of holding slaves is clearly established in the Holy Scriptures, both by precept and example.—*Exposition of the views of the Baptists addressed to the Governor of S. Carolina*, 1833.

Dr. Furman died not long afterward. His legal representatives thus advertise his property for sale:—

"*Notice.*—On the first Monday of February next, will be put up at *public auction*, before the *court house*, the *following property*, belonging to the estate of the late Rev. Dr. Furman, viz:—

"A plantation or tract of land on and in the Wataree Swamp. A tract of the first quality of fine land, on the waters of Black River. A lot of land in the town of Camden. A Library of a miscellaneous character, chiefly Theological. 27 NEGROES, some of them very prime. Two mules, one horse, and an old wagon."

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
(350,000 Members.)

In 1793, the general assembly not very long after it was organised, adopted the "judgment" of the New York and Philadelphia synods, in favour of "Universal liberty." In 1794, it adopted the following as a note to the Eighth commandment, as expressing the doctrine of the church on slave-holding:—

"1 Tim. i. 10. The law is made for man-stealers. This crime among the Jews exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment: Exodus xxi. 15; and the apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or *in retaining them in it. Hominum fures, qui servos vel liberos abducunt, retinent, vendunt, vel emunt,*—Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen, and keep, sell, or buy them. To steal a freeman, says Grotius, is the highest kind of theft. In other instances, we only steal human property, but when we steal, or retain men in slavery, we seize those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant lords of the earth."

But the church contented itself with *recording* its doctrine. No rules of discipline were enforced. The slave-holders remained in the church, adding slave to slave, unmolested; not only unmolested, but bearing the offices of the church. In 1816, the general assembly, while it called slavery "a mournful evil," directed the ERASURE of the note to the eighth commandment. In 1818, it adopted an "EXPRESSION OF VIEWS" in which slavery is called "a *gross violation* of the most precious and sacred *rights* of human nature," but instead of requiring the instant abandonment of this "*violation of rights*," the assembly exhorts the *violators* "to *continue* and increase their *exertions* to effect a *total* abolition of slavery, with no greater *delay* than a regard to the public welfare *demands*;" and recommends that if a "*christian professor* shall sell a slave who is also in communion with our church," without the consent of the slave,

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the seller should be "suspended till he should repent and make *reparation*."

The *reality* of slavery in the presbyterian church, since 1818, may be known from the following testimonies:—

The Rev. James Smylie, A.M., of the Amite Presbytery, Mississippi, in a pamphlet, published by him a short time ago in favour of American slavery, says:—

"If slavery be a sin, and advertising and apprehending slaves, with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the Divine law, and if *the buying, selling, or holding a slave* FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN, is a heinous sin and scandal, then, verily, THREE-FOURTHS OF ALL THE EPISCOPALIANS, METHODISTS, BAPTISTS, and PRESBYTERIANS, IN ELEVEN STATES OF THE UNION, are of the devil. They 'hold,' if they do not buy and sell slaves, and, *with few exceptions* they hesitate not to 'apprehend and restore' runaway slaves, when in their power."

In 1834, the Synod of Kentucky appointed a committee of twelve to report on the condition, &c., of the slaves. This passage occurs in the report:—

"Brutal stripes and all the various kinds of personal indignities, are not the only species of cruelty which slavery licenses. The law does not recognise the family relations of the slave; and extends to him no protection in the enjoyment of domestic endearments. The members of a slave family may be forcibly separated, so that they shall never more meet until the final judgment. And cupidity often induces the masters to practice what the law allows. Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. *These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us.* The shrieks and the agony, often witnessed on such occasions, proclaim with a trumpet-tongue, the iniquity and cruelty of our system. The cries of these sufferers go up to the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. There is not a neighbourhood, where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or road that does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts, whose chains and mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts held dear. Our church, years ago, raised its voice of solemn warning against the flagrant violation of every principle of mercy, justice, and humanity. Yet we blush to announce to you and to the world, that this warning has been often disregarded, even by those who hold to our communion. *Cases have often occurred in our own denomination, where professors of the religion of mercy have torn the mother from her children, and sent her into a merciless and returnless exile.* Yet acts of discipline have rarely [*never*] followed such conduct."

In 1835, Mr. Stewart, of Illinois, a ruling elder, in a speech urging the general assembly of which he was a member, to *act* on the subject of slavery, bears this testimony to the existing state of things in the presbyterian church.

"I hope this assembly are prepared to come out fully and declare their sentiments, that slave-holding is a most flagrant, and heinous SIN. Let us not pass it by in this indirect way, while so many thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-creatures are writhing under the lash, often inflicted, too, by ministers and elders of the presbyterian church.

* * * * *

"In this church, a man may take a free-born child, force it away from its parents, to whom God gave it in charge, saying, 'Bring it up for me,' and sell it as a beast or hold it in perpetual bondage, and not only escape corporeal punishment, but really be esteemed an excellent christian. Nay, even ministers of the gospel, and doctors of divinity, may engage in this unholy traffic, and yet sustain their high and holy calling.

* * * * *

"Elders, ministers, and doctors of divinity, are with both hands, engaged in the practice." * * * * *

The speech from which the above is extracted, was made in support of various memorials and petitions from members of the presbyterian church, asking that the general assembly might proceed to carry out its principles as they were avowed in 1794 and in 1818. Nothing was done this session, further than to refer all such memorials and petitions to a committee, (a majority of whom was known to be opposed to the prayer of the memoralists,) to report at the next session in 1836.

At the meeting of the assembly in 1836, the first thing that was done, —to conciliate the excited slave-holders—was to elect one of them to be *Moderator*.

The majority of the committee appointed in 1835, of which the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., and theological professor, was chairman, did accordingly report at the session of 1836, as follows:—

"That after the most mature deliberation, which they have been able to bestow on the interesting and important question referred to them they would most respectfully recommend to the general assembly, the adoption of the following preamble, and resolution

"Whereas, the subject of slavery is inseparably connected with the laws of many of the states in this union, with which it is by no means proper for an ecclesiastical judicatory to interfere, and involves many considerations in regard to which great diversity of opinion and intensity of feeling are known to exist in the churches represented in this assembly: And whereas, there is great reason to believe, that any action on the part of this assembly in reference to this subject, would tend to distract and divide our churches, and would probably, in nowise promote the benefit of those whose welfare is immediately contemplated in the memorials in question."

Therefore, resolved,—1. "That it is not expedient for the assembly to take any further order in relation to this subject.

2. "That as the *notes* which have been expunged from our public formularies, and which some of the memorials referred to the committee request to have restored, were introduced irregularly—never had the sanction of the church—and therefore, never possessed any authority—the general assembly has no power, nor would they think it expedient to assign them a place in the authorized standards of the church."

The minority of the committee, the Reverends Messrs. Dickey and Beman, reported the following resolution:—

Resolved,—1. "That the buying, selling, or holding a human being as property, is in the sight of God a heinous sin, and ought to subject the doer of it to the censures of the church.

2. "That it is the duty of every one, and especially of every christian, who may be involved in this sin, to free himself from its entanglement without delay.

3. "That it is the duty of every one, especially of every christian, in the meekness and firmness of the gospel, to plead the cause of the poor and needy by testifying against the principle and practice of slave-holding; and to use his best endeavours to deliver the church of God from the evil; and to bring about the emancipation of the slaves in these United States, and throughout the world."

The slave-holding delegates to the number of forty-eight, met *apart*, and resolved,—

"That if the general assembly shall undertake to exercise authority on the subject of slavery, so as to make it an immorality, or shall in any way declare that christians are criminal in holding slaves, that a declaration shall be presented by the southern delegation, declining their jurisdiction in the case, and our determination not to submit to such decision."

At an adjourned meeting they adopted the following preamble and resolution, to be presented in the assembly, as a substitute for those of Dr. Miller:—

"Whereas, the subject of slavery is inseparably connected with the laws of many of the states of this Union, in which it exists under the sanction of said laws, and of the constitution of the United States; and whereas, slavery is recognized in both the Old and New Testaments as an existing relation, and is not condemned by the authority of God; therefore resolved,—The general assembly have no authority to assume or exercise jurisdiction, in regard to the existence of slavery."

The whole subject was finally disposed of by the adoption of the following preamble and resolution:—

"Inasmuch as the constitution of the presbyterian church, in its preliminary and fundamental principles, declares that no church judicatories ought to pretend to make laws to bind the conscience *in virtue of their authority*; and as the urgency of the business of the assembly, and the shortness of the time during which they can continue in session, render it impossible to deliberate and decide judiciously on the subject of slavery in its relation to the church; therefore, resolved,—That this whole subject be indefinitely postponed."

A large number of memorials and petitions went up to the general assembly of 1837. They were referred to a committee of which the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, a slave-holder of South Carolina—the same who was moderator the year before—was chairman. After detaining them till nearly the usual time for the final adjournment of the assembly, he reported that "the committee had had a number of papers submitted to them from various synods, churches, and individuals, men and women, on the subject of slavery: and the committee had unanimously agreed, (with the exception of a single member,) to direct that they be returned to the house; and that he should move to lay the whole subject on the table:" which was accordingly done by a vote of 97 to 28.

In 1838, the presbyterian church separated on doctrinal differences. Instead of one general assembly, there were now two, known as the "old school," and the "new school." In the *convention* which was held by the old school preparatory to the separation it was resolved:—

"That in the judgment of this convention, it is of the greatest consequence to the best interests of our church, that the subject of slavery shall not be agitated or discussed in the sessions of the ensuing general assembly, and if any motion shall be made, or resolution offered, touching the same, this convention is of opinion that the members of convention in that body ought to unite in disposing of it, as far as may be possible without debate."

Since the separation, the course of the old school has been regulated by the spirit of this resolution. It has done nothing on the subject.

Petitions and memorials against slavery were presented, in the new school assembly, at its first session in 1838, and referred to a committee, which reported—"that the applicants for reasons satisfactory to themselves have withdrawn their papers." The committee was discharged.

In 1839, it referred the whole subject to the presbyteries to do what they might deem advisable.

In 1840, a large number of memorials and petitions against slavery was sent in, and referred to the usual committee. The committee reported a resolution—referring to what had been done last year—declaring it *inexpedient for the assembly to do anything further on the subject*. Several attempts were made by the abolition-members of the Assembly to obtain a decided expression of its views, but they proved ineffectual, and the whole subject was *indefinitely postponed*. Why, it may be asked—especially by those who, at the time the separation took place, flattered themselves that the new school would show itself *really* opposed to slavery—Why, has such been brought about? The answer is plain: the new school assembly is more solicitous to have the favour of the few slave-holders who are members, than to have the blessings of the poor who are perishing in their grasp—more earnest to equal the old school in numbers than to outstrip it in righteousness.

SENTIMENTS OF PRESBYTERIES AND SYNODS.

Although many of the influential presbyterian ministers in the free states, especially in the cities and large towns, have shown themselves ready to second the slave-holding ministers and laymen in their opposition to abolitionism, from some cause it has happened that the free-state presbyteries and synods, have not committed themselves *directly* on the question. They have attempted to stay the progress of abolitionism by resolutions bearing on it *indirectly*; but well understood by those who were to act under them as intended to exclude as far as was safe, the question of abolition from the churches. Such resolutions of presbyterian councils as are at hand, have been passed by presbyteries and synods in the slave states.

HOPEWELL PRESBYTERY SOUTH CAROLINA:

1. "Slavery has existed in the church of God from the time of Abraham to this day. Members of the church of God have held slaves bought with their money, and born in their houses; and this relation is not only recognized, but its duties are defined clearly both in the Old and New Testaments.

2. "Emancipation is not mentioned among the duties of the master to his slave, while obedience 'even to the froward' master is enjoined upon the slave.

3. "No instance can be produced of an otherwise orderly christian being REPROVED, much less EXCOMMUNICATED from the church, for the single act of holding domestic slaves, from the days of Abraham down to the date of the modern abolitionist."

HARMONY PRESBYTERY OF SOUTH CAROLINA:

"Whereas, sundry persons in Scotland and England, and others in the north, east, and west of our country, have denounced slavery

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as obnoxious to the laws of God, some of whom have presented before the general assembly of our church, and the Congress of the nation, memorials and petitions, with the avowed object of bringing into disgrace slave-holders, and abolishing the relation of master and slave:—And whereas, from the said proceedings, and the statements, reasonings, and circumstances connected therewith, it is most manifest that those persons 'know not what they say, nor whereof they affirm;' and with this ignorance discover a spirit of self-righteousness and exclusive sanctity," &c.

Therefore, 1. Resolved,—"That as the kingdom of our Lord is not of this world, His church as such has no right to abolish, alter, or effect any institution or ordinance of men, political or civil, &c.

2. Resolved:—"That slavery has existed from the days of those good old slave-holders and patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (who are now in the kingdom of heaven,) to the time when the apostle Paul sent a runaway home to his master, Philemon, and wrote a christian and fraternal letter to this slave-holder, which we find still stands in the canon of the scriptures—and that slavery has existed ever since the days of the apostle, and does now exist.

3. Resolved:—"That as the relative duties of master and slave are taught in the scriptures, in the same manner as those of parent and child, and husband and wife, the existence of slavery itself is not opposed to the will of God; and whosoever has a conscience too tender to recognize this relation as lawful, is 'righteous over much,' is 'wise above what is written,' and has submitted his neck to the yoke of men, sacrificed his christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men."

CHARLESTON UNION PRESBYTERY:

"It is a principle which meets the views of this body, that slavery, as it exists among us, is a political institution, with which ecclesiastical judicatories have not the smallest right to interfere; and in relation to which, any such interference, especially at the present momentous crisis, would be *morally wrong*, and fraught with the most dangerous and pernicious consequences. The sentiments which *we* maintain, *in common with Christians at the south, of every denomination*, are sentiments which so fully approve themselves to our consciences, are so identified with our solemn convictions of duty, that we should maintain them under any circumstances."

Resolved,—"That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of slaves, so far from being a SIN in the sight of God, is no where condemned in his holy word—that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, apostles, and prophets, and that it is compatible with the most fraternal regard to the best good of those servants whom God may have committed to our charge; and that, therefore, they who assume the contrary position, and lay it down as a fundamental principle in morals and religion, that all slave-holding is wrong, proceed upon false principles."

SYNOD OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA:

Resolved, unanimously,—[Dec., 1834.] "That in the opinion of this Synod, Abolition Societies, and the principles on which they are founded, in the United States, are inconsistent with the interests of the slaves, the rights of the holders, and the great principles of our political institution.

SYNOD OF VIRGINIA:

"The committee to whom were referred the resolutions, &c., have according to order, had the same under consideration—and respectfully report that in their judgment, the following resolutions are necessary and proper to be adopted by the Synod at the present time."

"Whereas, the publications and proceedings of certain organized associations, commonly called anti-slavery, or abolition societies, which have arisen in some parts of our land, have greatly disturbed and are still greatly disturbing the peace of the church, and of the country; and the Synod of Virginia deem it a solemn duty which they owe to themselves and to the community to declare their sentiments upon the subject; therefore,

Resolved, unanimously,—"That we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by said associations—that slavery as it exists in our slave-holding states is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished, and the conclusions which naturally follow from that dogma, as directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God."

The above are all of the old school. The following is from a slave-holding new school church, in Petersburg, Virginia, (16th Nov., 1838):—

"Whereas, the General Assembly did, in the year 1818, pass a law which contains provisions for slaves, irreconcilable with our civil institutions, and solemnly declaring slavery to be a sin against God—a law at once offensive and insulting to the whole southern community."

1. Resolved,—"That, as slave-holders, we cannot consent longer to remain in connexion with any church where there exists a statute conferring the right upon slaves to arraign their masters before the judicatory of the church—*and that too for the act of selling them without their consent first had and obtained.*"

2. "That as the Great Head of the church has recognized the relation of *master and slave*, we conscientiously believe that slavery is not a sin against God as declared by the General Assembly."

3. "That there is no tyranny more oppressive than that which is sometimes sanctioned by the operation of ecclesiastical law."

SENTIMENTS OF PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS.

THE REV. GARDINER SPRING, , D.D., of New York:

At the anniversary of the American colonization society at the city of Washington, in 1839, this gentleman appeared on the platform as one of the speakers, with Mr. George D. Wise, (M.C.) of Virginia, a slave-holder and professed duellest. The latter had said in his speech, *the best way to meet the abolitionists was* with "*Dupont's best*," [gunpowder] *and cold steel.* The Sun, one of the New York city journals, tells us—the Rev. Doctor "*spoke with sympathy of the sentiments of the South as evinced in the speech of Mr. Wise.*"

Since this, Dr. S. has preached a series of sermons to his congregation on slavery in its scriptural relations. These sermons have been printed, and are looked on by the pro-slavery party as highly serviceable to their cause.

The Rev. JOEL PARKER, D.D. PRESIDENT OF THE PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, New York:—

"Abolition might be pronounced a sin as well as slavery."

This was said, according to the American papers, at the last session of the (N. S.) general assembly, in supporting the proposition of a slave-holder, that "all action on the subject of slavery, should be declared by that body beyond its relations and functions."

The Rev. Dr. P. at the beginning of the Anti-slavery movement in the United States was an abolitionist. He was sent to New Orleans, being thought eminently fitted as a christian minister, to contend, against the prevailing iniquities of that slave-holding city. He had not been there long, before he became a *colonizationist*. He happened to be at Alton, (Illinois) at the time the mob spirit was beginning to show its bloody intents toward the Rev. Mr. Lovejoy. His injurious remarks in public against the abolitionists were thought to have contributed,—without having been so intended—to excite the mob to the fatal issue which took place. He afterwards returned to New York; was elected pastor of the Tabernacle church, of which Mr. Lewis Tappan was a member; resisted the formation by that gentleman of an Anti-slavery society among the members of the church; prosecuted Mr. T. before the church sessions, on various charges, with the view of ejecting him from the church, and has, generally, since his return to New York, distinguished himself by bitterness of spirit and language against the Anti-slavery cause. *Since all which*, he has been made a D.D. and president of the (N. S.) Theological Seminary in New York.

THE REV. SAMUEL H. COX, D.D. of the City of Brooklyn, moved the indefinite postponement of the slavery question at the last (N. S.) general assembly. On the motion being carried, he exultingly said, "Our Vesuvious is safely capped for three years"—the assembly not meeting again till 1843. Dr. COX was at one time an abolitionist.

THE (LATE) REV. JOHN H. RICE, D.D. of Virginia, Theological Professor, &c.

"I am most fully convinced that slavery is the greatest evil in our country except *Whiskey*."

THE REV. WILLIAM S. PLUMMER, D.D. of Richmond:

[This gentleman is one of the old school party. He was absent from Richmond at the time the clergy in that city purged themselves in a body, from the charge of being favourably disposed to abolition. [See page 9.] On his return, he lost no time in communicating to the "chairman of the committee of correspondence," his agreement with his clerical brethren. The passages quoted, occur in his letter to the chairman.]

"I have carefully watched this matter from its earliest existence, and everything I have seen or heard of its character, both from its patrons and its enemies, has confirmed me, beyond repentance, in the belief, that, let the character of Abolitionists be what it may in the sight of the Judge of all the earth, this is the most meddlesome, impudent, reckless, fierce, and wicked excitement I ever saw.

"If Abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, it is but fair that they should receive the first warming at the fire.

"Let it be proclaimed throughout the nation, that every movement made by the fanatics (so far as it has any effect in the south) does but rivet every fetter of the bondsman—diminish the probability of anything being successfully undertaken for making him either fit for freedom, or likely to obtain it. We have the authority of Montesquieu, Burke, and Coleridge, three eminent masters of the science of human nature, that of all men, slave-holders are the most jealous of their liberties. One of Pennsylvania's most gifted sons has lately pronounced the south, the *cradle of liberty*.

"Lastly.—Abolitionists are like infidels, wholly unaddicted to martyrdom for opinion's sake. Let them understand that *they will be caught.* [Lynched] if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way. There is not one man among them who has any more idea of shedding his blood in this cause, than he has of making war on the Grand Turk."

Rev. Thomas S. Witherspoon, of Alabama, writing to the Editor of the Emancipator:—

"I draw my warrant from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to hold the slave in bondage. The principle of holding the heathen in bondage is recognized by God. * * * When the tardy process of the law is too long in redressing our grievances, we of the South, have adopted the summary remedy of Judge Lynch—and really I think it one of the most wholesome and salutary remedies for the malady of northern fanaticism that can be applied, and no doubt my worthy friend, the editor of the Emancipator and Human Rights, would feel the better of its enforcement, provided he had a southern administrator. I go to the Bible for my warrant in all moral matters. * * Let your emissaries dare venture to cross the Potomac, and I cannot promise you that their fate will be less than Haman's. Then beware how you goad an insulted, but magnanimous people to deeds of desperation."

Rev. Robert N. Anderson, of Virginia:

"To the Sessions of the Presbyterian Congregations within the bounds of the West Hanover Presbytery:—

"At the approaching stated meeting of our Presbytery, I design to offer a preamble and string of resolutions on the subject of the use of wine in the Lord's supper; and also a preamble and string of resolutions on the subject of the treasonable and abominably wicked interference of the Northern and Eastern fanatics, with our political and civil rights, our property, and our domestic concerns. You are aware that our clergy, whether with or without reason, are more suspected by the public than the clergy of other denominations. Now, *dear christian brethren*, I humbly express it as my earnest wish, that you *quit yourselves like men.* If there be any stray goat of a minister among you, tainted with the blood-hound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the *public to dispose of him in other respects.*

"Your affectionate brother in the Lord,
"ROBERT N. ANDERSON."

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THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The number of members in this church is not known. It is, however, small when compared with the number in any of the churches that have been mentioned. Its congregations are mostly in the cities and towns, and they generally consist of persons in the wealthier classes of society. This, together with the smallness of its numbers and the *authority* of the bishops, has prevented it from being much agitated with the anti-slavery question. Its leading ministers, so far as they concern themselves at all about the slavery question, are in favour of the American Colonization scheme. Their influence is, therefore, decidedly adverse to emancipation. The prevailing temper of the Protestant Episcopal church is thus testified of by John Jay, Esq., of the city of New York,—himself an Episcopalian —in a pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on the duty of the Episcopal church in relation to slavery:"—

"Alas! for the expectation that she would conform to the spirit of her ancient mother She has not merely remained a mute and careless spectator of this great conflict of truth and justice with hypocrisy and cruelty, but her very *priests and deacons may be seen ministering at the altar of slavery*, offering their talents and influence at its unholy shrine, and openly repeating the awful blasphemy, *that the precepts of our Saviour sanction the system of American slavery*. Her northern (free state) clergy, with rare exceptions, whatever they may feel upon this subject, rebuke it neither in public nor in private; and her periodicals, far from advancing the progress of abolition, at times oppose our societies, impliedly defending slavery, as not incompatible with christianity, and occasionally *withholding* information useful to the cause of freedom."

Although apparently desirous of keeping clear of all connexion with the anti-slavery movement, the Episcopalians have not failed, when a suitable opportunity presented itself, to throw their influence against it.

The Rev. Peter Williams, rector of St. Philip's church, New York, a coloured gentleman, was one of the executive committee of the American Anti-slavery society, in 1834, when the abolitionists were exposed in their persons and property to the fiercest onsets of pro-slavery mobs. The bishop of the diocese [Rev. Benjamin F. Onderdonk, D.D.] required of Mr. Williams to relinquish his place in the committee, to which requisition Mr. W. thought it his duty to conform.

Bishop Bowen of Charleston, South Carolina, not long after the meeting in that city, in which the "reverend gentlemen of the clergy," had so handsomely and unanimously "responded to public sentiment," volunteered in an address to the convention of his diocese, a denunciation of the "malignant philanthropy of abolition," and contrasted "the savageism and outlawry consequent on abolition," with "domestic servitude under the benign influence of christian principles and christian institutions!—principles and institutions which denied Sunday-school instruction to free-coloured children, and which, at the very time of the address, tolerated the offer in the *Charleston Courier of fifty dollars for the head of a fugitive slave*—principles and institutions which led Mr. Preston to declare in his place as a senator of the United States, "Let an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina—if we can catch him we will hang him."

In 1836, a clergyman in North Carolina, of the name of Freeman, preached, in the presence of his Bishop (Rev. Levi S. Ives, D.D., a native of a free state,) two sermons on the rights and duties of slaveholders. In these he essayed to justify from the Bible, the slavery both of white men and negros, and insisted that "without a new revelation from heaven no man was authorized to pronounce slavery *wrong*." The sermons were printed in a pamphlet, prefaced with a letter to Mr. Freeman from the Bishop of North Carolina, declaring that he had "listened with most unfeigned pleasure" to his discourses, and advised their publication as being "urgently called for at the present time." The Protestant Episcopal Society for the advancement of christianity in South Carolina" thought it expedient, and in all likelihood with Bishop Bowen's approbation, to republish Mr. Freeman's pamphlet as *a religious tract!*

The Churchman is edited by a Doctor of Divinity, late an instructor in a theological seminary, and enjoys the especial patronage of the Bishop of New York, and was recently officially recommended by him to the favour of the Convention. The editor has frequently assailed the abolitionists in his columns in bitter and contemptuous terms. He has even volunteered to defend the most cruel and iniquitous enactment of the slave code. In reference to the legal prohibition of teaching the coloured population to read, the editor says—"All the knowledge which is necessary to salvation, all the knowledge of our duty toward God, and our duty toward our neighbour, may be communicated by oral instruction, and therefore a law of the land interdicting other means of instruction does not trench upon the law of God."

A certain congregation in the diocese of New York is said to hold its cemetery by a tenure which forbids the interment of any coloured person: so that if an episcopal coloured clergyman happen to die in that parish, he would be indebted to others than his episcopal brethren for a grave!

There are instances of regularly ordained ministers, rectors of parishes—men having as valid a commission to preach the gospel as any other presbyers in the episcopal church, who are virtually denied a seat in her ecclesiastical councils, *solely because they are men of colour*. The rector of a coloured church in Philadelphia is excluded by an express canon of the diocesan convention.

"THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES," is in the city of New York. It is called the *general* seminary, because it is under the superintendence of the whole church; the board of trustees being composed of the bishops *ex-officio*, and upwards of one hundred clerical and lay gentlemen, representing the different states and territories of the union. It was intended, of course, for the theological education of the protestant episcopal ministry.

Alexander Crummel, a coloured young gentleman of New York, made application to become a "candidate for holy orders" in the church, and was duly admitted as such. In due time Mr. Crummel received from the bishop of the diocese, the usual circular in such cases, in which he was told "unless you belong to the general theological seminary, as it is my wish that all the candidates of this diocese should, when not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, you will be governed," &c.

The section in the statutes of the seminary regulating admission is plain and imperative:—"Every person producing to the *faculty* satisfactory evidence of his *having been admitted* a candidate for holy orders," &c. "shall be received as a student of the seminary."

It does not appear from the only account we have at hand, of this matter, that Mr. Crummel made application to the faculty. It is however, to be presumed he did, and that the faculty put him off by referring him to the board of trustees. To the board then, he made his application, of which an account is given in the following.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES:—

"*Tuesday, June 25th*, 1839.

"A communication from Mr. Crummel, asking admission to the Seminary as a student was read, and on motion referred to a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen, appointed by the chair:—Right Rev. Bishop Doane, Rev. Drs. Milnor, Taylor and Smith, Messrs. D. B. Ogden, Newton and Johnson."

"*June 26th*, 1839.

"The Right Rev. Bishop Doane, chairman of the Committee on the petition of Mr. Crummel, asked to be relieved from further service on that Committee, which request was granted.

"The Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk, of Pennsylvania, was on motion appointed chairman of the committee, to fill the vacancy thus occasioned."

"*June 27th*, 1839.

"The committee on the petition of Mr. Crummel, submitted the following:—

"The committee to whom was referred the petition of Mr. Crummel, respectfully report that having *deliberately* considered the said petition they are of the opinion that it ought not to be granted, and they accordingly recommend to the Board of Trustees the following resolution:—Resolved,—That the prayer of the petitioner be not granted.

"The Rev. Dr. Hawks,* moved that the resolution recommended in the report be adopted."

Mr. Huntingdon moved,—

"That the whole subject be recommitted, with instructions to the committee to report, that the matters embraced in the petition of Mr. Crummel, are, according to Section 1, of Chap. VII. of the Statutes, referrible to the faculty rather than this board"—*which motion was lost.*

[Through fear, we are constrained to believe lest the faculty would not, if *compelled* to act, refuse to Mr. Crummel a right that was so obviously his.]

Whereupon the question upon accepting the report and adopting the resolution recommended, was taken up and decided in the affirmative.

The Right Rev. Bishop Doane gave notice, that he should, on the morrow, ask leave to present to the board, and to enter upon the minutes, a *protest* against this decision.

"*Friday, June 28.*

"The Right Rev. Bishop Doane, who had yesterday given notice of his intention to ask leave to enter a protest, &c. changed his intention as to the manner of presenting the subject, and asked leave to state to the board his reasons, with a view to the entering of the same on the minutes, for dissenting from the vote of the majority on the report of the committee, to whom was referred the petition of Mr. Crummel. *Leave was not granted.*"

During these proceedings, attempts were made by the bishop of New York, to prevail on Mr. Crummel to withdraw his application for admission, by assuring him "the members of the faculty were willing to impart to him [*private*] instruction in their respective departments; and that more evil than benefit would result both to the church and himself, by a formal application in his behalf for admission into the seminary."

The reader will not have failed to notice with what care every allusion to the *cause* of refusing Mr. Crummel admission is excluded from the minutes and to feel that the very fact that the cause does *not* appear in the minutes—leaving it to be inferred, that it was for something too base to be recorded there—is an act of injustice to him that admits of no excuse.†

"*An Episcopalian*" of New York, jealous for the honour of his church, published in one of the journals of that city, a full account of these proceedings The bishop of New York, made a short reply, to but one of his statements, (an immaterial one) and concluded by saying, that *in the discharge of his duties and responsibilities he should not certainly be swayed by any appeal that might be made to popular feeling.*

POSTSCRIPT.

We would have the reader bear in mind, that the foregoing presents but one side of the anti-slavery cause in the several churches whose proceedings have been considered; and that in them all, there are abolitionists earnestly labouring to purify them from the defilements of slavery; and that they have strong encouragement to proceed, not only in view of what they have already effected toward that end, but in the steady increase of their numbers, and in other omens of success.

We wish him also to bear in mind, that the churches which have been brought before him are not the only American churches which are guilty in giving their support to slavery. Of others we have said nothing, simply because, to examine their causes, would be to make this work too long for the object we have in view—and because enough has been said to show substantially the state of the slavery-question in America, so far as the CHURCH in that country is connected with it.

Lastly.—We take pleasure in assuring him, that there are considerable portions of the Methodist—Baptist—and Presbyterian churches, as well as the entire of some of the smaller religious bodies in America, that maintain a commendable testimony against slavery and its abominations.

* Dr. Hawks is the *Historian* of the Episcopal church in the United States. If it be true, as we have seen stated in an American newspaper, that this gentleman is himself of mixed blood—and his *complexion* a little favours the statement—it proves that the admixion does not deteriorate the intellectual powers; for in the oratory of the pulpit, and as a writer, Dr. H. stands, deservedly, among the distinguished men of America.

† Mr. Crummel proposed a short time since, becoming a student in the Andover (Massachusetts) Theological Seminary—a congregational institution—where we presume, he is now preparing himself for orders in the protestant episcopal church.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 21.] WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

Advertisement.

AT A MEETING OF THE BOARD OF BAPTIST MINISTERS in and around the cities of London and Westminster, held at Fen Court, October 6th, 1840,

REV. F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The Secretary presented, from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the following resolutions, as passed unanimously at the General Anti-Slavery Convention, on the 18th, of June last; viz:

"1. That it is the deliberate and deeply-rooted conviction of this Convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form or whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of Christianity, and is therefore *a sin against God*, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly Christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

"2. That this Convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed, in a great degree, to the countenance afforded by many Christian churches, especially in the Western World, which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion, without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

"3. That this convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submit that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery; a sin by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade."

On which, after a full discussion, it was resolved by a large majority,

That this Board concurs in the sentiments expressed and the principles laid down in the foregoing resolutions.

W. H. MURCH, D.D.,
Secretary to the Board.

BRITISH SLAVE HOLDERS. IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

THE document which we insert below will be read with deep affliction and amazement. It opens up a subject to which we have repeatedly directed attention; and as it is called an *introductory* letter, still further disclosures may be expected. On the back of it we find the following memorandum by the writer, whose name, although not appended to the letter, is in our possession, and must be well-known to the parties immediately interested:—"The particulars herein described are to be found in the daily memorandum-book of the office of Gongo Soco."

AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER ADDRESSED TO SIR T. F. BUXTON, BART., ON THE FRIGHTFUL HORRORS OF MODERN SLAVERY, AS PRACTISED BY THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION IN THEIR MINES AT GONGO SOCO.

SIR,—After the community had, for many years, expressed its abhorrence of the atrocious kidnapping of the inhabitants of Africa, of the cruelties inflicted on them in their transportation to the British colonies, and of the daily tortures they underwent in the plantations, when lanced and disposed of as slaves for ever; after the strongest expressions of disgust and horror at this unnatural and monstrous traffic, which rendered a few individuals wealthy who were hardened in crime, the legislature at length prohibited the trade, declared it thenceforward *piracy*, and the master and crew of all vessels engaged in it *felons*.

When this abomination was thus put an end to, it was imagined that the miserable fate of those desolate beings would be ameliorated. Instead of which, the cart-whip and other modes of torture were more freely applied by the attorney or overseer, who, receiving a commission on the amount of produce raised, wrung as much labour as possible from these outcasts of the world, in order that the said commission might be augmented to the utmost.

To terminate these revolting scenes, at the recollection of which one's nature shudders, the nation determined to *buy up the slaves*, that, thusby paying the planters the full value of each, they might at once be freed fom so terrible a destiny.

By this public sacrifice it was thought that *Englishmen at least* could never, by any ingenuity, become the *holders of* slaves; could never again inflict similar cruelties on that unfortunate race, for the mere gratification of avarice!

We were however deceived. When selfishness is in quest of gain, so unrighteous actions startle it from the acquisition. It is a hypocrite, which in private slays, whilst in public it sympathises. Whilst professing philanthropy, it practises oppression; preaching christian benevolence, but silently pursuing an unrelenting and premeditated persecution!

This predominant vice of covetousness has been most singularly exemplified within the last few years by many wealthy men, who have had no object in view but the *securing of one or two per cent more* in the investment of capital than was obtainable through the medium of public securities; and amongst these, some who have long figured in the world as *philanthropists* have been the *most conspicuous*.

Their designs having been frustrated in the British dominions, they have carried them into effect in other countries, and have there laid the foundation of slavery upon a system of atrocious cruelty *far surpassing anything ever known in the worst periods of West Indian depravity*.

Since 1825, many extensive Gold Mining Associations have been formed in *London*, whose operations are carried on in the Brazils.

One of the most successful of these, whose ungodly shares are now at a considerable premium, is the Imperial Brazilian, the office of which company is at *Winchester House, Old Broad Street*.

This combination of men setting at defiance the general opinion of society, every benevolent feeling, and every law on the subject both divine and human, have bought large tracts of mineral land in the interior of the Brazils, some 400 miles from the capital, and fifty-five fathoms deep in the bowels of the earth they have six or seven hundred slaves, occupied in the most severe toil *for fourteen hours a day*, with the exception of the time necessary for their scanty meals.

In the West Indies, the slave enjoyed the privilege of inhaling the same fresh breeze which his inexorable tormentor breathed. In the mines of the Imperial Brazilian Association this comfort is *for ever* denied him, until the moment arrives when he has to drag his wearied frame up fifty-five fathoms of ladder, and then he emerges from the dark, gloomy, melancholy caverns, where he has been buried and shut out from the light of day from sun-rise until it sets.

The soil of those mines is a black sand, which no art can prevent from *falling in*. The consequence is, that from time to time numbers are buried alive, and when dug out, are dying, mutilated, or dead; and as the water filters rapidly through the sand, this mass of human misery are for ever labouring at the bottom of those swampy caverns, almost *knee deep in mud*.

The ringing of a bell in the morning is the signal for the miners and the slaves to descend the shafts. Contrary to custom, it was one morning delayed a little beyond the usual time. About fifty miners and one hundred slaves were standing in anxious expectation around the mouth of one of the pits, when, to their extreme horror, it *closed up* to a depth of *fifty fathoms*. Had Providence apparently not interfered, *one hundred and fifty human beings would have been buried alive fifty fathoms under ground*, which would have continued their grave for ever, as the shaft will never again be cleared; and such a horrible fate a thousand miners and slaves are liable to daily.

This common-sewer-like occupation entails upon them agues and other malignant fevers. These they endeavour to avoid by drinking inordinately of the strong new rum of the country, which soon produces habitual and confirmed drunkenness.

The West India apprenticed slaves were limited by law to forty-five hours labour weekly. The slaves of the benevolent and humane Imperial Brazilian Mining Association work *ninety hours* weekly; that is, from four in the morning until six in the evening, or fourteen hours daily for six days, and the *half of Sunday*. No recreation ever. This company exacts the utmost pound from the bones and sinews and muscles of the black Catholic slaves, although they are *forced* to concede the usual *Saints Days* and Sundays to the Catholic *labourers* on the estate.

An avidity for gain brutalizes the human heart, and renders it insensible and indifferent to the miseries and privations of those even that it is in reason bound to commiserate, when there is no law *present* to lay a restraint upon its cupidity.

In the West Indies the *female* apprenticed slaves were never suffered to be *stripped and flogged*; the male slaves only by an order from two *magistrates*, after an impartial examination before them.

The merciful Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, on the contrary, permit the male and *female* slaves to be *stripped indiscriminately, and most severely flogged*, at the will, whim, or caprice of the person appointed for the time to superintend them, and who may not always be actuated by motives of justice; but this subject I shall revert to in my next.

The cat-o'-nine tails used by the association is made of knotted whip-cord, which tears away portions of flesh from the back and shoulders, and when they are well mangled and mutilated, they are *pickled in brine*. This adds so insufferably to the tortures of the whip, that it is almost a refinement of the studied cruelties of the ancient Spanish inquisition.

The surgeon stands by, and when the wretched victim faints with agony, which frequently happens several times during the punishment, he administers restoratives, in order that the whole amount may be inflicted; on the system of Governor Wall, who was hanged for perpetrating similar cruelties.

Another mode of torture practised by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association on their male and *female* slaves, and one which is worthy of Nero himself, is this:—a piece of Brazil wood, which is as hard and as heavy as *iron*, is selected, in length about twenty inches, and one inch and a-half thick. This is shaped into a long handle, with a thong at the end passing round the wrist, that the tormentor may secure a *firm grasp* of it, and a round flattened ball is left at the extremity, big enough to cover the largest black's hand. The victim is forced to hold out his or *her* hand,

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which is struck with this terrible instrument with the full swing and with all the weight and force of the most athletic arm. At every blow the sufferer is *nearly brought to the ground*, and by the time he or she has received the ordinary quantity *the bones are bruised, and the flesh of the hands and fingers are swelled to a frightful extent.* If anything were placed beneath the hand to prevent its recoil, every bone would be literally smashed to atoms at the first blow.

The following most revolting torture used to be inflicted by this association on its slaves, male and *female*, either as a punishment or to extort confession. This is termed the "Thumb-screw," and was formerly practised in the Inquisition chamber. Some idea may be formed of this demon-like infliction, by fancying the thumb of a *female* being placed in a blacksmith's vice and gradually screwed up until another hair's breadth turn would splinter the bones to pieces. In that country these infernal machines are called "auginhos," which ironically means "little angels," but are really understood to be "little devils," not an inappropriate appellation.

On some occasions the women have an *iron mask fixed on the face*, and an iron collar round the neck, and, with a number of small bells fastened upon their petticoats, they are driven about the village from morning until evening, by a ruffian appointed for the purpose.

Other methods of punishment of the most revolting description are resorted to, such as having the *head and legs fixed in the stocks*, and remaining in this horrible condition *night and day without intermission for eight-and-forty hours*; but these few examples are, I think, quite enough to satisfy the qualms of the most conscientious.

All these punishments, as I have already stated, are inflicted without any previous judicial hearing, examination, or inquiry, and, of course, without appeal. The superintendent makes his report weekly, "that he has punished so many male and *female* slaves," and Mr. George Vincent Duval, the *chief commissioner* as he is termed, puts his initials of approbation to it, with more unconcern and indifference than would be exhibited by a butcher if a dog had been the subject.

It is much to be lamented that, where arbitrary authority is thus conceded, in a matter of so much importance as the flaying alive of human beings, little commiseration is ever visible. The feelings become hardened by the practice of cruelty, until they seem to lose every trace of human sympathy.

That such a system of horrible oppression should be authorised by the wealthy men who form the direction of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, *because the law of the country is not exercised within the district of their estates to prevent it*, and from the unrighteous motive of *gain*, appears incredible; but such is the unexaggerated *fact*.

Women are kept at hard labour up to the latest stage of pregnancy, and before they are in a fit condition to toil they are driven to the works, with their child or children tied to their backs, and in this unnatural state, they labour until the said child or children are able to take care of themselves; as the directors will not consent to appropriate a room for their reception in infancy, nor appoint one or two women to watch over and attend them, *because* then they would be deprived of their services.

When the cruelties practised on factory children became known to the public, it very properly created the utmost excitement of indignation throughout the community, and the consequence was that government appointed inspectors to prevent the possibility of such inhuman conduct for the future.

Mr. George Vincent Duval, the chief commissioner, in his merciful consideration for *infancy*, proposed "that all the children slaves, amounting to upwards of a hundred, should be unremittingly employed on a large TREAD-MILL, to put in motion saws and other machinery, for cutting timber," &c.

This proposition the directors refused to confirm; not from any merciful consideration for the little beings who were intended to be thus doomed, but lest, by coming to the knowledge of the world, it might create a feeling of abhorrence towards the association; particularly as a number of *Quakers* are shareholders, who, it was feared, might disapprove of so convict-like an employment for infants.

In this introductory letter I intended to confine my remarks to a succinct account of the miseries of modern slavery, as far as regards the forlorn and unprotected Africans in this establishment; yet I cannot avoid adding, that some two hundred and fifty English miners have been induced to expatriate themselves to this den of infamy, and they are there subjected to eight hours hard labour daily in the swampy caverns beneath; to protect themselves to the utmost from the evil consequences of which, in such a climate, they drink immoderately, with some few exceptions. In five years, the period of their engagement, the constitutions of the drunkards are for ever destroyed, and in about the same time, the abstemious die of agues or consumptions, or are invalided to return to England without the smallest provision, and are in general totally incapacitated from pursuing their avocations for the future.

I shall defer to my next, the description of the disgusting nightly bacchanalian orgies, in which the *black women are brought naked upon the scene*; pausing for the present by observing, that the husband of a reputed philanthropist was one of the *founders* of the said Imperial Brazilian Mining Association.

At the period this very benevolent family were exclaiming, with lifted hands and eyes, against the enormity of West India slavery, he was active in his endeavours to eternise it, in all its most horrible forms, in a foreign country, where no check upon tyranny intrudes. The parade of christian charity is thus too frequently made a cloak to cover the worst of passions.

There is one remarkable coincidence which I must not omit. The lands belonging to the Imperial Brazilian are called "*Gongo Soco*," which in the language of the country means, "A DEN OF THIEVES."

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

THE LATE SECRETARY at Gongo Soco.

CAPTAIN MARRYATT AND THE COLOURED WEST INDIANS.—A sentence in Captain Marryatt's *Diary in America*, in which, without any foundation, either in common sense, in sound philosophy, or in fact, he depreciates the people of colour, has attracted attention in the West Indies, and given occasion to some shrewd and well-written letters in the *Grenada Gazette*. These, with introductory remarks, are now re-published in England, under the title of *A Reply to Captain Marryatt's Illiberal and Incorrect Statements relative to the Coloured West Indians*. We must say that, in our judgment, the Captain has richly deserved the dressing which is here given him.

IMPORTANT RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE number of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* last received, contains an article developing an important religious movement in the United States for the advancement of the anti-slavery cause. We insert it entire.

CLERICAL OPPOSITION TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

In some anti-slavery newspapers we perceive much severe remark, and often downright abuse against the clergy as a body, on account of their silence on the subject of slavery, or their direct opposition to the abolition cause. We do not sympathize with this wholesale reproach, nor are we disposed to engage in the crusade, commenced by certain abolitionists against ministers of the gospel and the American churches. In proportion to their numbers, we believe, there are as many abolitionists, to say the least, among the clergy as among any other profession or class of men in the country. And certainly no profession can point out among its members, more distinguished, uncompromising, and persevering champions of the anti-slavery doctrines, than might be named among ministers of the gospel of different denominations. Still we grieve that so much occasion has been given to those who find fault with them as a body, for their great neglect or opposition in a cause that lays such strong claims to the sympathy, prayers, aid, and labours of the ministers of Christ. The progress of christian truth has, we doubt not, been retarded by such unfaithfulness on the part of very many of those who minister at the altar of christianity. Infidels have been astounded that slavery has found defenders in the clergy, and that the anti-slavery cause has met with determined opposition among the expounders of the scriptures. The hearts of christians have been wounded to see their beloved ministers standing aloof from the cause of the enslaved, or decrying the self-sacrificing efforts that have been made by members of their churches to exterminate the sin of American slavery. Many brethren and sisters in Christ, and many young converts, have wept in secret places, and have "groaned in spirit," on account of the resoluteness with which their pastors have avoided, ridiculed, or opposed the anti-slavery cause. There have not been wanting those who have remonstrated with their spiritual guides for refusing to obey the command of God, "Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy." This lukewarmness and hostility on the part of ministers of the gospel have also in many cases, been in direct opposition to the injunctions of church judicatories, by whatever names they are called, and to the practice of ministers on other subjects of reform more popular than the anti-slavery enterprise.

It is true, that very many of our ministers—probably a large majority, will unhesitatingly say, we are opposed to slavery; it is a moral evil; we pity the slaves, and wish they were free; we agree with you abolitionists mainly, in sentiment; we intend doing what we can, at suitable times and in a proper way, for the anti-slavery cause. Still most of them never mention the slave or slave-holders in their public prayers, never allude to the system of slavery in their discourses or exhortations, never read a notice for an anti-slavery lecture or concert of prayer, never commend those who are suffering and labouring in the anti-slavery cause to the guidance and blessing of Almighty God. Nay, not a few hold up abolitionists to the ridicule and contempt of the community, and invite slave-holding ministers to occupy their pulpits, and welcome slave-holders to the communion table; refuse to read anti-slavery publications written in the ablest manner and in the best spirit,* and exert all their influence, secretly and openly, to exclude from the sanctuary and the lecture-room all allusion to the subject of slavery. Some have gone so far as to attempt to drive from their churches brethren whose only fault, themselves being judges, was anti-slavery action. Is it, as some contend, that "abolition is a sin," that, however unjust and criminal slavery may be in the abstract, yet that anti-slavery *action* or abolition is hostile to the religion of Jesus, an enemy of church order, a divider of the churches? Why necessarily, we ask, more than temperance, which is frequently introduced into the pulpit on the sabbath and on other days, and even in sunday schools, by the very ministers, elders, and deacons, who manifest such "holy horror," at the introduction of anti-slavery matters! Wisdom would dictate that, when a brother in the church, in his zeal, is supposed to urge a subject injudiciously, older, wiser or more prudent brethren, and especially the pastor, should temper his indiscretion with their prudence, show him a better way, associate with and aid him in his well-meant and laudable efforts to interest the church against one of the greatest, if not the greatest, moral evils of the age, instead of denouncing him, stirring up strife, laying hands on the supposed delinquent, and driving him from the pale of the church. Instead of pursuing this christian course we have reason to believe that, in many cases, unchristian efforts have been made "to preserve peace and union" at the expense of christian charity and truth; that slander has been employed to exaggerate the supposed faults or fancied designs of obnoxious individuals; and that church discipline has been unrighteously and wickedly employed in attempts to crush those who have laboured in our churches for the slave. Thus we fear that those who have affected to deprecate disunion have been instrumental in producing it; and those who professed to believe that the cause of Christ would be injured, have themselves dishonoured his religion and grieved the Holy Spirit.

And this is not all, for most lamentable instances have occurred of ministers of the gospel and private professors who, at first appeared warm-hearted in the abolition cause, and intrepid in its defence, but who, after the lapse of a few years, have lost their zeal and courage, and become as it were enemies in the garb of friends. Calling themselves abolitionists, they have ceased to pray for the slave in the sanctuary, in the lecture room, or in the social circle; they never, or seldom, allude to the great system of slavery in their sermons or addresses; they discourage all attempts to introduce the subject on the part of members of their churches whose consciences urge them to this duty; they oppose all ecclesiastical action on the subject; they decry the activity and zeal of their former coadjutors; and by their apostasy grieve the friends of human rights, and cause much sighing among those who once delighted in being associated with them in the anti-slavery cause. And this moral somerset

Recently a metropolitan preacher, being a D.D. and LL.D. returned to the depository, *unread*, a paper containing the proceedings of the World's Convention!

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is taken by men who, on some other subjects, use strong, bold, severe, harsh expressions toward opponents and their opinions and practices, and are in favour of energetic action; thus clearly evincing that on some occasions, and on some subjects, they can be valiant for the truth, and in a way that they deem unkind and unchristian when practised by abolitionists. Alas! alas! it is one of the severest trials we are called to endure, to see those who were once apparently intrepid and thorough in the cause of abolition, standing shoulder to shoulder with its intrepid advocates, willing, as was thought, to suffer the loss of reputation, property, and even life itself, now turning away, and doing more by their apathy, or *quasi* adhesion, to retard the anti-slavery cause than many pro-slavery men who have never allied themselves to it. We can only grieve and expostulate, and say of them, as did the apostle Paul when enduring similar trials, "Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed."

In view of these facts many abolitionists, in various churches and of different denominations, are anxiously and prayerfully considering what course they ought to pursue in the churches where God in his providence has placed them. They feel that they are despised or shunned, that they are thwarted in every attempt to enlighten the minds, enlist the sympathies, and gain the concurrence of their fellow-christians in the anti-slavery cause; that ministers, elders, and deacons set their faces against them as a flint, stop their own ears, refuse to listen to facts or arguments, and seem determined that their churches shall not, in any event, be "troubled with abolitionism." These brethren feel that their usefulness is impaired, that confidence in them is undermined, that systematic efforts are made to induce them to leave the church, that their own peace, and the tranquillity of their families are jeoparded, and that the alternatives before them are peace, produced by sinking, as many do, into apostacy, inaction, indifference, or nominal abolition, or continual warfare in that or some other church, resulting from a fearless and conscientious course of duty. As Christian ministers and laymen in Great Britain come to the knowledge of this state of things in the American churches, no wonder their souls are stirred with virtuous indignation, that they remonstrate by private and published letters, that they pass strong resolutions, that they almost doubt the existence of a revival spirit in those ministers or churches that keep aloof from anti-slavery action; and that, in respect to the destinies of America, they tremble in view of the retributive justice of the Almighty. We entreat these servants of the living God to continue their expostulations, warnings, and prayers. "Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins."

With reference, however, to the course that should be pursued by brethren whose voices are stifled, and whose efforts to do good as anti-slavery Christians are thwarted in their respective churches, we venture to offer a few considerations for the benefit of those who have asked advice on the subject, and to our readers generally. Never cease to "open thy mouth for the dumb," nor to "plead the cause of the poor and needy." Place yourselves in no situation where this is impracticable. In cities where abolitionists find no field of exertion in the congregations to which they belong, it may be best to form new churches, where liberty of speech and freedom of action can be secured. A few families can associate together, hire a hall, employ a devoted abolition minister, and support public worship, as has been done in numberless instances by free churches. If they do this according to their means, and in a prayerful spirit, they may expect the Divine blessing upon their enterprise, in proportion as they sincerely, devoutly, and prayerfully aim to promote God's glory, the salvation of sinners, and carry out the great principles of the gospel in their love and treatment of their fellow-men. Should there be a division of sentiment in families, let the rule of toleration prevail, and parents and adult children choose their place of worship, even if they be separated. In some places it is unquestionably the duty of abolitionists to refuse to give their attendance at churches, and withhold their contributions to the support of public worship, where anti-slavery Christianity is studiously and pertinaciously excluded from the sanctuary, the lecture-room, the Sabbath-school, and the meetings for prayer. In the country it is, of course, more difficult for abolitionists to form new churches, and it is less necessary. There the numbers are generally insufficient to form churches according to moral affinities, and influence cannot be so circumscribed as it often is in city congregations. The course to be pursued, then, by abolitionists in the country and in cities who are denied the opportunity of pleading for the slave in their churches, when it is not convenient to form separate churches, seems to be this—for the abolitionists in every congregation to have periodical meetings, if not associated action in societies. Here they can pray for the enslaved, receive and communicate anti-slavery intelligence, and make converts continually of those who may be induced to attend the meetings. Here also they can concert measures to propagate their sentiments in a proper manner in the congregations and churches to which they belong. Let it, in these cases, be seen by their minister, the officers of the church, and their brethren, that while they are not disposed to yield their own rights, they will not invade the rights of others; that they will be regular in their attendance at church and the other meetings; that they will labour in the sabbath school and elsewhere; that they will contribute to the other objects of christian benevolence; and that they will, by the grace of God, "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." In some instances, we apprehend, needless difficulty has been produced by abolitionists insisting that their minister should read anti-slavery notices or they would read them themselves, and by unnecessary collisions and conflicts about other matters. We believe it is practicable, in most cases, for the abolitionists of churches, in town or country, to associate, to pray and exhort, to scatter publications, to make aggressive movements upon the congregation—all in a spirit of love—and without coming to a rupture with the other members. But where opposition is aroused, and warfare persisted in in spite of meekness and christian forbearance, a separation is often inevitable, unless the cause be betrayed for the sake of unscriptural peace and inglorious and unchristian ease.

We exhort abolitionists to forbearance, meekness, and perseverance, amidst all the trials to which they are exposed, and especially when they see that their pastors keep silence, and impose silence, on the subject of slavery. FRET NOT THYSELF is a good motto. And great encouragement is derived from the directions of the holy psalmist; "Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass. Delight thyself also in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thy heart." Pray for such pastors, shun them not, try to win them over to the truth, and give them not up until your efforts seem absolutely hopeless. With respect to them, and to officers and members of churches who sympathise with them, consider, to use an expression of Mrs. Fry, "that they are afflicted with a moral disease, and treat them with the patience and kindness a discreet physician is wont to exhibit towards patients whom he hopes to cure. Leave them not until it is apparent that they are incurable." Not a few of our ministers of the gospel adopt a system of short-sighted compromise. It is all-important, they think, to keep a parish from dis-union, even to the verge of sacrificing principle. Blessed is the man, say they, to use the words of Professor Stuart, who does not quarrel with his minister. Others are destitute of physical courage, or, less favoured than many of their brethren, have wives who are thrown into hysterics at the bare mention of the word 'anti-slavery.' Due allowances should be made for such. Many a man blusters, talks big, is exceeding courageous where there is no excitement or opposition among his parishioners, who, amidst the conflict of opinion, the threats of enemies or friends, is vacillating or paralysed. Would there were more faithful pastors, more intrepid shepherds, more Daniels, Isaiahs, Ezekiels, John Baptists, Pauls! But let us rejoice that there are such Anti-slavery ministers in Great Britain, as James, Wardlaw, Knibb, Price, Morrison; and in the United States, as Hawes, Osgood, Allen, Curtis, Thurston, Pomeroy, Goodhue, Load, Colver, Scott, Galusha, Phelps, Green, Mahan, Finney, Brisbane, Nelson, Beman, Cleaveland, Grosvenor, Stem, Rankin, Crothers. Especially let us be thankful that the great head of the church will protect and strengthen those who are faithful unto the end. "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

JAMAICA MARRIAGE ACT.

WE present below those clauses in the late clergy act of this island which relate to the subject of marriage, and by comparison with which the Dissenters' Marriage Act is to be appreciated. The act is entitled *An act to consolidate and amend the several laws relating to the clergy of this island, and to invest the bishop of Jamaica with ecclesiastical jurisdiction.* It was passed April 11th, 1840. The clauses pertinent to our object are as follows:—

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all banns of marriage shall be published in an audible manner in the parish church, or in one of the consecrated or other chapels duly licensed by the bishop for the performance of divine service, of or belonging to such parish wherein the persons to be married shall dwell, according to the form of words prescribed by the rubric prefixed to the office of matrimony in the book of common prayer, upon three Sundays preceding the solemnization of marriage, during the time of morning service.

XIV. And be it further enacted, That whenever a marriage shall not be had within six calendar months after the complete publication of banns, no minister shall proceed to the solemnization of the same until the banns shall have been republished on three several Sundays, in the form and manner prescribed in this act, unless by license duly obtained from the governor or person exercising the functions of governor.

XV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no minister shall presume to marry any person whose banns have not been duly published according to the provisions of this act, or have a license from the governor, or person exercising the functions of governor, authorizing him thereunto, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, current money of this island, but such marriage shall nevertheless be valid, though made without banns or license.

XLVI. And whereas, in consequence of the expiration of the late clergy act, the rectors of some of the parishes in this island may have omitted to transmit to the registrar copies of the entries in their parish registers: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that at the end of three months after the passing of this act, the rector, or officiating minister of every parish, shall transmit to the registrar of the diocese a correct and certified copy of all entries of the several baptisms, marriages, and burials, which shall have been solemnized or taken place within their respective parishes since their last return.

LII. And be it further enacted, that the registrar of the diocese, in the event of any failure in the transmission of the copies of the registers as herein required by the rectors of the several parishes, shall report the default of such rector specially to the bishop.

LVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person shall knowingly and wilfully insert, or cause or permit to be inserted, in any such register book of such baptisms, marriages, or burials as aforesaid, or in any such copy of such register so directed to be transmitted to the registrar as aforesaid, any false entry of any matter or thing relating to any baptism, marriage, or burial, or shall falsely make, alter, forge, or counterfeit, or cause, or procure, or wilfully permit, to be falsely made, altered, forged, or counterfeited, any part of any such register, or shall wilfully destroy, deface, or injure, or cause or procure, or permit to be destroyed, defaced, or injured, any register book, or any part thereof, or shall knowingly and wilfully sign or certify any copy of any such register hereby required to be transmitted as aforesaid, which shall be false in any part thereof, knowing the same to be false, every person so offending, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of felony. Provided always, and be it enacted, that no rector or officiating minister of any parish, who shall discover any error to have been committed in the form or substance of the entry in the register book of any such baptism, marriage, or burial respectively, shall be liable to all or any of the penalties hereinmentioned, if he shall within one calendar month after the discovery of such error, in the presence of the parent or parents of the child whose baptism may have been entered in such register, or of the parties married, or in the presence of two persons who shall have attended at any burial, or in case of the death or absence of the respective parties aforesaid, then in the presence of the churchwardens (who shall respectively attest the same) alter and correct the entry which shall have been found erroneous, according to the truth of the case, by entry in the margin of the book wherein such erroneous entry shall have been made, without any alteration or obliteration of the original entry, and

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shall sign such entry in the margin, and add to such signature the day of the month and year when such corrections shall have been made. Provided also, that in the fair copy of the registers respectively, which shall next afterwards be transmitted to the registrar, the said rector or officiating minister shall certify the alterations so made by him aforesaid.

LVII. And be it further enacted, that all licenses, certificates for leave of absence, returns, papers, ecclesiastical instruments, and proceedings, whatsoever, made necessary by this act, shall be exempt from all stamp duty.

LXI. And be it further enacted, that the receiver-general do, out of any monies in his hands, pay quarterly to the rectors of the several parishes of this island, the several sums of money following: videlicet, the rector of Kingston, six hundred pounds; of St. Catherine, four hundred pounds; of St. James, four hundred pounds; of St. Andrew's, three hundred pounds; and to the rectors of the several other parishes of this island, the sum of two hundred pounds each, in lieu of all fees whatsoever, except as hereinbefore and hereinafter provided; and that from and after the commencement of such payments, it shall not be lawful for the rector, or any officiating on his behalf, to demand any fee whatsoever, except as herein-before provided, for the performance of any clerical duty whatever.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 7TH.

OUR friends will see with great pleasure, that the Board of Baptist ministers in and around the cities of London and Westminster have officially affirmed and publicly announced their concurrence in the important resolutions of the General Anti-slavery Convention respecting religious fellowship with slave-holders.

THE clauses of the Jamaica clergy act which we have printed to-day will enable our readers to judge properly of the dissenters' marriages act. A comparison of the two acts but too amply sustains the complaints which have been made of the latter. The following invidious differences are made to the disadvantage of dissenters.

1.—*Manner of publishing banns.* In churches the publication is in the usual words only, (*Clergy act*, clause 13); in dissenting chapels the names of the parties are to be posted on the principal door of the chapel during the period of publication, that is, for three weeks. (*Marriages act*, clause 2.)

2.—*Time of marriage.* Clergy may marry parties within six months after publication of banns, (*Clergy act*, clause 14;) dissenters may not marry beyond three months after publication of banns. (*Marriages act*, clause 3.)

3.—*Mode of marriage.* Clergy may marry parties by license, (*Clergy act*, clause 15); dissenters may not marry parties otherwise than by banns. (*Marriages act*, clause 5.)

4.—*Place of marriage.* Clergy are not limited as to place when marriage is by license, (*Clergy act*, clause 15); but "no dissenting minister shall solemnize a marriage except in his chapel." (*Marriages act*, clause 5.)

5.—*Validity of marriages.* Marriages by clergy are to be valid, "though made without banns or license," the clergyman being liable to a fine, (*Clergy act*, clause 15;) but no marriage by a dissenting minister is to be valid if performed before banns, or in any other place than his chapel. (*Marriages act*, clause 5.)

6.—*Registry of marriages.* Clergy are liable to penalty only for such false entries as may be "knowingly and wilfully" made, (*Clergy act*, clause 56); dissenting ministers are punishable for "*negligence or wilful default.*" (*Marriages act*, clause 10.)

7.—*Correction of erroneous registers.* Clergy may correct any error within a month of discovering it, and are then liable to no penalty, (*Clergy act*, clause 56); no such provision is made for dissenting ministers.

8.—*Form of registering marriages.* The form for the clergy is simple; viz.—

Marriage solemnized in the parish of in the county of in the one thousand eight hundred and forty

No. I.	A. B. of the parish of	and C. D. of this parish were married by	the	day of	in the year 184 , by me, E. F. rector.

The form for dissenters is much more complicated:—

Form of an original register of marriages.

Original register of marriages solemnized by ministers of the denomination, in the parish, circuit, or station of .

No.	When Married.	Names and Surnames.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the time of marriage.	After Banns	Consent by whom given.
1.	1st December, 1838.	John Jones Lucy Giles.	Full age. Minor.	Bachelor. Spinster.	Carpenter.		After Banns	Henry Giles, the father.

Married at by me, A. B., minister.

This marriage was solemnized between us, { John Jones, Lucy Giles.

In the presence of us, { C. D. E. F.

9.—*Transmission of registers.* Clergy are to forward copies to the registrar of the diocese, and "in the event of any failure," *to be reported to the bishop* (*Clergy act*, clause 52;) dissenting ministers are to forward duplicate original registers to the office of the island secretary, in failure of which they are to be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, may be tried "in any court of oyer and terminer, and punished by imprisonment for any period not exceeding twelve months for each offence." (*Marriages act*, clause 10.) This clause enacts the same punishment, not only for "wilful default," but for "negligence" in registering a marriage.

10. *Cost of registering marriages.* All papers executed by clergy are to be exempt from stamp duty (*Clergy act*, clause 57,) no such enactment appears in the Marriages Act.

11. *Marriage Fees.* Clergy have an allowance out of the public purse in lieu of fees on baptisms, marriages, and burials (*Clergy act*, clause 61;) dissenting ministers may demand "for registering a marriage and transmitting the duplicate original to the island secretary, the sum of two shillings and sixpence." (*Marriages act*, docket of fees.)

Such is this precious specimen of equal legislation!

SINCE our last our friends, Messrs. Scoble and Birney, have renewed their exertions in the anti-slavery cause. On Friday, September 25th, a public meeting of the auxiliary was held at the large room at the Bear Hotel, Devizes, at 12 for 1 o'clock, the mayor, R. Biggs, Esq., in the chair. The meeting was very respectably attended, and was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Johnson, Bunce, Elliott, and Westley, with Messrs. Birney, Scoble, and Anstie.

At Bristol a public meeting was held at the Assembly Rooms, Princes Street, on the following Monday evening, Thomas Sanders, Esq. in the chair. On this occasion Mr. Birney led the way by one of his usual dispassionate and effective exhibitions of American slavery, when, at the close of his address, a gentleman, touched for the honour of one denomination of christians more especially, proposed a question to him. We copy from the report in the *Bristol Mercury*.

Mr. SHAW (reporter for the *Journal*) said, Mr. Birney had detailed many heinous acts, but could he say that any protestant episcopalian clergyman was a slave dealer or holder?

Mr. BIRNEY. I did not say any clergyman was an actual slave dealer. The term is a technical one, the same as a merchant, or shopkeeper, and in that sense a clergyman is not a slave dealer. But I apprehend in the slave States all ministers are slave-holders. Every person of any consideration is a slave-holder, and the burden of proof lies upon them to show they are not. In 1836 a clergyman, of the name of Freeman, preached a sermon before his bishop, Dr. Ives, on the rights and duties of slaves, and received the thanks of his bishop for his sermon. Bishop Mead was a very large slave-holder. He published a volume of family prayers, and, to get rid of the word slaves, he introduced the expression, "those who call me master." All the episcopal ministers in the slave states were slave-holders or slave-hirers.

Mr. Scoble and Mr. Whitehorn followed, with the Rev. Messrs. Crisp and Birt.

We learn also that good meetings have been held at Bath, Taunton, and Exeter. The meeting at Taunton was held in the Friends' meeting house, J. Davies, Esq. in the chair.

The interesting meeting at Ipswich we mentioned in our last, and we now supply from the *Ipswich Express* the most interesting portion of it—namely, the speech of its venerable chairman.

On Mr. CLARKSON taking the chair he spoke as follows, the most solemn silence prevailing:—

My Friends,—I have been invited to take the chair on this occasion, but I am utterly unfit for it, on account of old age and infirmities: and I am sorry to say that I cannot remain in it long for the same reason; and yet I do not see how I could refuse the invitation, when I consider that the great question of the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade, to which your attention is invited to-night, originated with myself.

Yes, I have laboured in this sacred cause, from the beginning, now fifty-six years; and though I am broken down and disabled in the pursuit of it, yet I am not tired of it—(hear, hear,)—nor dismayed; but I mean, by the blessing of God, to continue my assistance to it, feeble as that assistance must now be, so long as I am able.

Perhaps many of you here are unacquainted with the subject of slavery I will therefore explain it to you as concisely as I can.

First, we imagine a child to be born into the world of slave parents. Poor, unfortunate child! From that very day of his birth—from that very day he is considered and ranked as a brute! He becomes a *property* from that very day, the property of a man, who may sell him or do what he pleases with him.

Let us now look at him as a grown-up man at his labour in the fields. He works there, but he is not paid for his labour. He works there, but not freely and willingly as our labourers do. But he is followed by a driver, whose whip leaves the marks of its severity upon his back, perhaps during the remainder of his life; and if he is found to be what is brutally called *obstinate*, there is in store for him yet—what shall I say?—the cham, the dungeon, the iron neck-collar with its frightful prongs, and other modes of punishment.

We may now view him in another situation. He is weary of his life—he wants to get rid of his oppression, and runs away from the estate; but he is almost sure of being brought back, and returned to an angry and enraged master. And here, who can imagine but those who have lived in slave countries—who can imagine what farther punishment he may have? He may die, perhaps, of the wounds or the injuries thus inflicted upon him; but the murderer escapes! It is hushed up! Who upon the plantation dares to tell the tale? But suppose—suppose, that by some accident or other, the matter becomes known, and that a jury sit upon the body—still the murderer escapes! For whom do the jury consist of? They consist wholly of slave-owners, all of them interested in favouring one another by their support of arbitrary power. A friend of mine was travelling lately in one of the Carolinas, and near a spot where a jury had been summoned on the death of a slave. The poor man had been flogged to death; in his agonies he called for a little water, and that little water was brought him.

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The jury immediately availed themselves of this circumstance, and though they saw the body before their eyes, mangled and almost cut to pieces by the whip, their verdict was, that the administration of cold water to him, in the then excited state of his body, was the cause of his death.

What shall we say to these things?

But there is yet another situation in which we may view the slave. Perhaps he has a wife and children. So much the worse! He may be taken out in a moment, and sold into a plantation a hundred miles off, never to see them more. The wife may be severed from her husband and children in that manner; and the children may be severed from their parents one after the other, or all together, as it suits the purposes of their owners. This is not a case in idea, it is a case of every day's occurrence.

These are some of the evils which you are called upon to endeavour to put an end to this night. I do not question your humanity. I do not question your willingness to assist the distressed at home; but can you overlook the monstrous oppression—the monstrous outrages upon human nature which I have detailed to you? Can you overlook them because they occur in a foreign land? No; christianity, true and vital christianity, does not confine her favours to colour or to country. (Hear, hear.) But she feels for all alike who are persecuted, whoever they may be, and wherever they may live. May I hope then, that, as a committee is to be formed sometime or other after this meeting, you will give it your encouragement and support?

The excellent gentleman then sat down, but at the request of R. D. Alexander, Esq., on behalf of the chairman, the meeting refrained from expressing its *viva voce* approbation of a speech to which every heart responded with enthusiasm.

Demerara papers to the 13th of August have arrived at Liverpool by the *Sandbach*, containing (says the Liverpool paper) "not a single word relating either to the crops or the state of business." No doubt, therefore, both are satisfactory, at least to the planters. They state, however, that "a correspondence had taken place between the governments of Trinidad and Sierra Leone, which had resulted in permission being granted to deport the liberated Africans from the latter settlement to Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, with instructions to the Governor to facilitate as much as possible the deportation." This is a serious announcement, and is the first which has been heard in this country, we believe, of such a measure. We shall shortly learn, we suppose, what are the motives of it.

One of the facts apparent in the correspondence of the British government with foreign powers relating to the slave-trade (just published as a parliamentary paper) is that the increased activity of our cruisers has checked that atrocious traffic in its old haunts. The effect, however, is only the origination of new schemes. It appears from these papers that collections of slaves are to be formed at the French colonies on the coast of Africa, and at the Cape Verd islands, and are to be despatched from those places to Cuba on board of vessels to be provided for that purpose by the slave-traders at the Havana. We have inserted in another place the correspondence in which the evidences of this plan are detailed. Our consul calls for a ship of war, to drive these men of avarice and blood *somewhere else!*

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

The first of August.—The anniversary of emancipation in the British West Indies was celebrated by the free people of colour, and their friends, in various places in the United States, by public meetings, processions, entertainments, and rejoicings of different kinds. Thanksgivings to the Most High, and hymns of praise, arose from many hearts, and addresses, orations, and discourses were listened to with eagerness by multitudes who rejoice in the freedom of the people in the British colonies. Every year adds new reasons for celebrating this anniversary. The experiment of emancipation, as it was called, has succeeded admirably; and none but inveterate croakers, or wilful perverters of facts, deny it. Our coloured brethren, the subjects of Queen Victoria, are FREE, and well deserve their freedom. The British West India islands are in a flourishing condition. All parties know the fact, and, with few exceptions, rejoice in it. Twenty millions sterling would be insufficient to induce the proprietors of the soil to consent to have the slave system re-established. These facts, known and read by all men, will hasten the day when freedom shall dawn upon the slave states of this country. The time draweth near. *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

Judge Betts's Decision.—An important decision has been recently made by Judge Betts, in the United States court for this district, in the case of the schooner *Catharine*, an American built vessel, captured near the coast of Africa by a British cruiser, August 13th, 1839, for being engaged in the transportation of slaves, and brought into this port. The cargo and equipment of the vessel when captured, left no doubt that she was to be employed in the transportation of slaves, nor did the court entertain any doubt that such was the fact. But Judge Betts decided that she was illegally captured, and stated that "there is nothing in the statutes of the United States to reach the case of an American vessel, built and fitted out for the slave-trade, but actually sold to a foreigner and employed by him." The Catharine had been sold before she was captured, although still under the American flag, and not yet actually delivered to the purchaser. We are inclined to believe that the decision of Judge Betts is *technically* correct, and that the act of congress may be successfully evaded by the contrivance described in the opinion. Instead, therefore, of finding fault with this decision, let the friends of liberty apply to congress for an additional statute, making it felony for American citizens to transport to Africa articles *intended* for the slave-trade, or to charter vessels for such purpose: *quo animo* to be left to a jury. Whether such an act can be obtained is somewhat doubtful, as many verily believe the government have no desire to stop the trade. It will be well, however, to test them.—*Ibid.*

"Colonel Munroe Edwards."—In our second number we noticed a rumour that was published in the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, that Munroe Edwards, Esq., of Iberville, La., had emancipated 163 slaves, &c. Soon after this announcement this individual arrived in this city, and exhibited a deed of emancipation drawn by a respectable attorney of Cincinnati, and certified by the governor of Ohio. He also professed an intention of proceeding to England, to enlist the government of that country in claiming 200 native Africans brought from Cuba, and now held in Texas. But, although his story was plausible, and he brought a letter from one of the first citizens of Mobile to a highly respectable gentleman of this city, yet his subsequent conduct, and the information obtained respecting him, satisfies us that abolitionists ought not to place confidence in him. Should he proceed to England, we trust that the abolitionists there will be on their guard, and not render aid to a person who, under the pretence of emancipating slaves, has political or other views, that he does not choose to disclose; and to aid him in which he thinks it politic to have the confidence of abolitionists in both countries. He has been baffled here in his attempts to raise funds, and procure recommendatory letters from abolitionists, and we hope he will meet with no better success elsewhere.—*Ibid.*

Treatment of People of Colour.—Pro-slavery writers and *talkers* assert continually, though without proof, that the effect of anti-slavery action upon the free people of colour has been injurious to them. In proof of it they will, now and then, relate a real or pretended conversation they have had with some coloured man, who, it is said, acknowledges that his people have received detriment from the abolition enterprise. They say also, that the cause of emancipation has been put back "half a century" by the injudicious zeal of abolitionists; and that the slaves during this controversy have been treated with increased severity. All this, as our readers know, is untrue, and in most cases known to be so by the utterers of the falsehood. Intelligent free coloured men, with very few exceptions, assert, that for the last few years the treatment of the people of colour has been increasingly favourable; and we are assured from unquestionable authority that the slaves generally, throughout the slave states, are treated better at the present time than they ever have been. This is what might have been expected. Those who aver the contrary contradict, unconsciously, both philosophy and the experience of mankind. As the anti-slavery cause advances (and it is continually advancing, maugre all the croakings of pro-slavery men) meritorious people of colour will be treated by the community generally with increasing respect and kindness, and the situation of slaves will be more tolerable still—and for the plain reason that the eyes of men are open and scrutinizing, and slave-holders are put on their good behaviour before the world. They, and all those afflicted with *colourphobia* in the free states, know it.—*Ibid.*

Ecclesiastical action on Slavery.—The Ohio Northern (Free Will Baptist) Yearly Meeting, on the 16th June, passed the following:—

Resolved—That slavery is a sin, and a violation of the laws of our nature, contrary to the christian religion and the laws of God.

Presbytery of Alton.—The spirit of the murdered Lovejoy breathes in the following:—

In answer to the overture of the general assembly on the question of slavery to the presbyteries under their care, during its session of 1839, the presbytery of Alton at their recent meeting held in Upper Alton, 11th April, 1840, adopted the following resolutions:—

Resolved—First, that we view the system of American slavery as involving enormous guilt, and consequently as deserving the severe judgment of God.

Resolved—That its continuance under the present degree of light on the subject of human rights, and the present state of public sentiment in the civilized world increases the guilt with a most fearful rapidity.

Resolved—That the rapid increase of the slave population, by which an accumulated number of human beings are annually brought into bondage, furnishes a powerful argument in favour of the speedy abolition of this system of oppression.

Resolved—That the ground which this nation took in the Declaration of Independence on the subject of liberty and maintained at the point of the bayonet and the sword, and in which it has gloried for more than half a century, render the system of slavery which exists among us a blot peculiarly foul upon our national character.

Resolved—That in consequence of the elevation of this nation among the nations of the earth, by its present amount of wealth, power, and its prospective greatness; this gross inconsistency between our professions and practice, to a most lamentable degree annihilates our national influence, and retards the progress of philanthropy and religion in the world.

Therefore resolved—That as ministers and elders we cannot consistently with our duties to God, and our fellow-creatures, suffer this subject to sleep, but are solemnly bound in all suitable ways to use our utmost endeavours to remove the curse from our land.

In reference to the action of the general assembly, presbytery, further

Resolved—That in the opinion of this body, it is the duty of the general assembly of the presbyterian church in these United States, to declare to the world their solemn and decided disapprobation of slavery, and to exert that influence which their conspicuous station and constitution of said church have put into their hands, for the suppression of this evil, both in church and nation.

C. G. Sellick, Stated Clerk.

The Methodist Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Utica, in May, 1838, appointed a committee to call another Convention of the friends of the Anti-slavery cause, in the Methodist Episcopal church, at such time and place as should afterwards be deemed expedient. That committee have issued a call for a second Convention to be held on Tuesday, October 6th, at 10 o'cloc, A. M., in the city of New York. All members of that church who belive in the inherent sinfulness of slavery, are invited to attend. In the call the committee say:—

In the opinion of many, *the time has come* for the abolitionists in the Methodist Episcopal church, to form an American Methodist Anti-slavery Society, and especially, for the expression of their opinion as to what course should be taken in the disposition of our money for missionary and other benevolent purposes.—*Massachusetts Abolitionist.*

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TEXAS.

We learn by the New York *Evening Star* that President Lamar, of Texas, has issued a proclamation commanding all free persons of colour to leave that country, on penalty of being imprisoned and sold under the act of their congress.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

BRAZIL.

Copies of advertisements in a Rio de Janeiro paper.

[The figure of a negress nursing a baby headed this advertisement.]

For sale in the Rua do Cano, No. 119, with or WITHOUT her infant of four months!! She has good milk, is very healthy, and *very kind and tender to children.** She has neither vices nor defects, can sew, wash, and starch, and cook, *all* in perfection, which will be guaranteed to the purchaser. The motive for selling her is for being disobedient to her senhora. —*Journal de Commerce*, 21st July, 1840.

Runaway from the Da Pedra estate, belonging to *the friars of Nassa Senhora do Carmo*, fifteen slaves, five males and ten females. The administrator of the same hereby gives notice to all the authorities to cause them to be apprehended and restored to the said estate, where the parties apprehending them will be well rewarded. He also protests against whosoever shall afford them shelter, from whom will be required their hire from the day of their flight.—*Journal de Commerce*, 17th July, 1840.

In the same paper, 150 milrees (about £19. sterling) are offered for the apprehension of a slave between 16 and 18 years of age of the Quilimane nation, "speaking very little Portuguese," consequently a new negro. 100 milrees is offered for another, who, the advertisement states, has been absent 12 *years!*

Also another having the mark ΛΛ on his breast. Also another, who ran away with an iron on his foot.

It is not at all uncommon to see in such advertisements of runaways, "supposed to have been stolen." This you will not readily understand; but it is one *thing* robbing another. Yes, there are actually individuals here who make a trade of stealing slaves, and carrying them into the country to sell to estates at a greater distance. Thus are these poor creatures made a prey of. Doubtless the one above mentioned, who had been absent twelve years, is one of the stolen ones.—*Private letter.*

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF FREEDOM from the thraldom of colonial slavery was duly celebrated last Saturday, by solemn meetings for prayer and thanksgiving in the several places of worship in this town, and, we believe, throughout the island. And we pause to inquire what has freedom wrought? Where are the ill effects of emancipation? *No where!* Who has suffered by it? *No one!* But the multitude and magnitude of the benefits bestowed on all are truly astonishing. The proprietor has benefited by the change, for land has become increasingly valuable, and the free-labour system is more congenial and better adapted to the feelings and circumstances of all parties. A cry of *ruin* to the estates has frequently been reiterated: but where are the ruined estates? Will the pro-slavery party point us out one single property in the whole of Jamaica that is thus ruined? We are on the spot, let them do it if they can. "Aye, but there is not so much sugar made as formerly."—Neither ought there to be—though we much question the statement; for in proportion to the over production of sugar under the coercive and atrocious slave-system was the annual decrease of the population, which rendered it, in some sense, necessary to increase the stock of labourers from another country. That was the very spirit and naturally destructive tendency of slavery. But to this we also reply, 1st. To the bad management of the planters, since freedom, is chiefly attributable the falling off of the crops. Next the paucity of labourers on the estates, compared with the old-time number of effective hands, precludes the possibility of carrying on the cultivation so extensively as in former periods. Then, 3rdly. if sugar has fallen off in quantity, it is undeniable that it has risen in price. These things considered, (not to mention the *consideration* in the shape of compensation,) the planters have no just ground of complaint. The condition of overseers and book-keepers cannot have deteriorated; the very restraints upon their merciless and wanton propensities are so many real blessings; though, perhaps, they will not consider them such. The emancipated, as a matter of course, have abundant cause of gratitude and gladness for the manifold privileges, both temporal and spiritual, which they now enjoy; and to us it is a source of extreme thankfulness that they have fully proved themselves worthy of them. They have answered the expectations of the wise, the good, the just, and the philanthropic; their moral character is of no spurious cast; it is based on scripture truth; and, considering their bulk, their former disadvantages, their numerous provocations, their lineal descent, and their peculiar habits and customs, the elevated character to which they have attained is astonishing to the beholder. With civil liberty, they have been blessed with large measure of religious privilege and means of improvement. Places of worship have been erected—Schools established—Marriage promoted—Calendars of crime lessened—and, above all, sinners have been converted through the faithful preaching of the gospel, and God glorified! Moreover, industry is placed on a better basis; the cause of truth, the missionary enterprise, educational, benevolent, and religious institutions, have all received an impetus which cannot fail of being attended with the hapiest and most glorious results. This we assert not as mere conviction, or opinion without foundation; the evidence is before us, the demonstration within reach. To Almighty God be ascribed all the glory and the praise!—*Baptist Herald.*

DISPOSAL OF LIBERATED AFRICANS.—From a Letter o Mr. Candler to Mr. Sturge.

Jamaica, 6th Month, 1840.

"I SHALL now give thee an account of what has become of the last three cargos of liberated captives landed at Jamaica.

"7th month 7, 1839. The *Cariddad Cubano* came to Port Antonio, and landed at Navy Island 169 slaves under quarantine for the small-pox, twenty-three of whom died 9th month 25; delivered over to the superintendent eighty-eight men, twenty-three women, twery-five boys, and ten girls—total, 146. 11th month, 11. Up to this dat there had died five men and one boy; released as mariners, three men; placed under contract for one year's service, eighty men, twenty-three women, twenty-four boys, and ten girls, on the terms that they should be found a double suit of clothing, sufficient food and lodging as specified, medical attendance and nourishment if sick, and that each adult should receive 3s. sterling per week, each child 1s. per week.

"Dr. Spalding had eighty-eight of these people, and some months after I saw forty-five of them at work in a coffee field, suitably clothed and looking well. Their lodging, however, was very unsuitable, and I complained of it, but the doctor said he was about to erect twenty distinct houses for their reception.

"Since I passed through this property one poor fellow hanged himself on a tree, and a party of about twenty men left the estate to complain to the magistrate of harsh treatment, but all of them returned, and are now I am told, working very well. Two men out of the ship, who went with others to the Port Royal Mountains, turned out very troublesome—one a thief the other a vagabond. All the others doing well.

The *Ulysses*, a Portuguese brig built at Kingston, came in to Montego Bay 12 mo. 6, 1839. This vessel lost on the voyage seven captives only, and landed in a sound healthy condition 311 males, 222 females—total, 533. Burden 216 tons. The voyage was intended as her last trip, and the captain had broken up his own cabin and had stored in it 115 slaves! In twenty-eight days after landing seven died; the remainder, consisting of 222 men, 139 women, eighty-five boys, and eighty girls, were distributed among different properties, chiefly in St. James, Westmoreland, and Hanover, with the exception of seventy young men, who were induced to join one of the West India regiments as common soldiers. The terms of contract as before, except that 4s a-week instead of 3s. was to be given as wages. A considerable number of these people were taken by Thos. MacNeill Custos of Westmoreland, many of whom left his service abruptly about five weeks ago, charging him with cruelty, and came to Falmouth, where, in consequence of the police resolving to secure them and lead them back, a riot ensued in their favour. The superintendent of liberated captives has since procured their release from MacNeill, and they are now located elsewhere.

The *Louisa*, a Portuguese schooner, came to Port Antonio 1st month 13, 1840, and landed her cargo at Navy Island, under quarantine for the small-pox. She took in her cargo at Beissou, 11 mo. 25, 1839; they were then 316 in number. The registered capacity of the schooner only 100 tons, three feet only between the decks, and several of the men were six feet in height, and one was six feet six inches. Between the time of her leaving Africa and her capture, 1st mo. 3, 1840, thirty-seven of the captives died!

From the latter date to her arrival at Port Antonio, sixteen died, and during the quaratine of nine weeks at Navy Island *sixty-seven* died! not from the small-pox chiefly, but from the effects of starvation and brutal treatment in the middle passage. Many of the wretched remainder, now reduced to one hundred and ninety-six persons of both sexes and all ages, were distributed by special justice Lambert, a most humane and intelligent public officer, to properties situate in St. Andrew's parish. One of the captives had been himself a slave-dealer, and was bringing down a gang of slaves to the coast when he was seized by other ruffians, and the whole company were made prisoners, and shipped off together. My wife and I passed a company of these poor people on the road, as they were on their way to the property of baron Reielholdt, of Chancery Hall, St. Andrew's, and have since been to visit them in their new domicile. They were weary and emaciated when we first saw them, but they had found a good master in the baron, and were now doing well. Another company of about thirty men were settled on Knowesly coffee plantation, in the mountains, and I received a very kind and pressing invitation from Alexander Forbes, the proprietor, to visit them there, but have not yet been able to do so. All the late liberated adult captives receive board, lodging, medicine, and a dollar a week as wages when at work, but many of them are easily persuaded to part with their money for rum and tobacco, of which the new Africans are usually very fond. The Creole labouring population are beginning in some places to give up rum altogether, and to join the abstinence society. With regard to their native country, the liberated captives do not seem to exhibit, so far as I can understand, any great repining at leaving it, their physical situation in Jamaica is probably better than before, and where they find good masters and a kind community, they express no wish to be sent back again. We have spoken to some of the young people who now begin to talk English, who say they like Jamaica better than Africa; and the generality of their people are, I believe, pretty well contented with their lot, but it is very difficult to judge of this matter, as they are deplorably ignorant, and seem hardly able to make themselves understood.

Two or three of the late captives are Mandingoes, and write and read the Arabic language. They were probably superior people among them.

[* It is certainly then to be presumed that she would poignantly feel the loss of her own. How had the senhora proved this tenderness to children? Was it not towards those of her mistress? How gratfully does she return it!]

BARBADOS.—Mr. Prescod has almost choked the whites of this island with rage, by issuing "proposals for a Colonial Union of the coloured classes," in order to obtain for themselves a practical equality of civil and political rights. Two extracts from the island papers will show, by their extreme bitterness, the importance and probable influence of this measure, as estimated by the enemies of liberty.

"Every man, of every class, of sober sense and reflection must read with most righteous indignation, the arrogant, insolent, lying, and mischievous document, called "PROPOSALS FOR A COLONIAL UNION OF THE COLOURED CLASSES." SAMUEL JACKMAN PRESCOD, that most mischievous demagogue, is supposed to be the chief instigator of this wonder-working association, &c. The object of Prescod can be no other than that of shutting out from the pale of society every man who has no African blood in his veins; and in fact, of extirpating if they can, the whole race of purely white people."—*Barbadian.*

"'A COLONIAL UNION OF THE COLOURED CLASSES!' What a farce! It is a compendium of the worst concocted system of revolutionary principles ever got up in the palmiest days of civil anarchy and bloodshed. Even France saw no such man as a Prescod in her Robespierre, her Barras, or her Damouriere. They dealt not in cowardly conspiracies, they sought not to immolate the one-half of their citizens at the altars whic the other had raised to ambition and the *lust of power.*"—*West Indian.*

OPERATION OF THE GAGGING ACT.—Under this act the superintendent of an estate (Holders) has been brought before a magistrate, for

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offering, by his master's direction, higher wages to certain labourers than they had been receiving; and the magistrate has bound him over to answer for this offence in a bond of £50, with two sureties of £25 each, as evincing "a vindictive feeling" against their former employer! On this proceeding the editor of the *Liberal* makes the following remarks:—"It places the object of the gagging bill plainly before the public. If the superintendent of Mr. Perkins's estate had told these people to go to Demerara, and try to better their condition, if they were dissatisfied, he must have paid £50, or gone to prison until it was paid; but we find that the excuse of the mud swamps and colony fever is lost by the present instance. The climate of *Holders* is not remarkably unhealthy. We have never heard of there being any "musquetos," "colony fever," or "mud swamps *there*." Yet we find the *same principle* is in operation. We find that the health and comfort of the labourer is *not* the real excuse. Mr. Perkins gives higher wages than some others. To get his estate into a good state of cultivation—to resist the *monopoly* of his brother planters, he has been compelled to offer and to *furnish* greater inducements, and he is a marked man. He is sought to be ruined, because he has *departed from the rule* and understanding among the bulk of the planters, to employ no labourer who quits his employer without his leave."

ANTIGUA.—SIR WILLIAM COLEBROOKE. [From the *Herald*.] It affords us a very high gratification to record the numerous addresses that have been presented to our highly esteemed governor, on the occasion of his departure for England.

As comparison is one of the most effectual methods of reasoning on subjects of intense interest to an entire community, we have taken the liberty to draw one between our governor-in-chief and his predecessors; the latter of whom (with the exception of Governors Elliott and McGregor) have invariably availed themselves of the earliest opportunity after their arrival in the colony to declare their intention to maintain the privileges of all classes of the subjects of their sovereign alike inviolate, resting satisfied with the empty profession of their intention;—but in Sir William Colebrooke's three years administration we have had abundant and tangible proof that his Excellency's high sense of his duty, as the representative of his royal mistress, was not to be satisfied with empty professions, as the many substantive acts of his Excellency's administration have proved his inflexible determination to maintain *alike inviolate* the privileges of ALL CLASSES of her Majesty's subjects, whereby his Excellency has virtually wrested from the rich and the powerful their *previously enjoyed* authority to inflict injustice and insult on the poor and humble members of this community, and established a salutary precedent for his successor; of which we feel persuaded the liberal and enlightened Major McPhail has every disposition to avail himself.

In parting with a ruler possessed of talents of a high order, and a mind elevated and enriched by study and application, it would be natural to feel *some regret*, but when with these great qualifications are combined the high properties of incorruptible integrity, patriotism untinctured by selfishness, and a philanthropy the dictates of which no opposition has been able to corrupt or counteract—as in the case of Sir William; it is not surprising that our regret on the occasion of our separation is as extreme as it is unfeigned. Such a governor deserves the good wishes of the community. We therefore sincerely wish his Excellency and his estimable family a safe and pleasant passage across the Atlantic and much benefit from the change of climate; so that they may be enabled to return hither as soon as possible.

DOMINICA.—We take from the *Dominican* the following gratifying extract from the speech of Major MacPhail, the lieutenant-governor of this island, on his departure to administer the general government of the Leeward islands during the absence of Sir W. Colebrooke:—"To compensate for some discouraging circumstances, we have cause for satisfaction in the improving aspect and high value of our staple produce. On some coffee estates the stronger growth and bearing of the plant would indicate that it is regaining its productive vigour. The prospect of an abundant sugar crop for the ensuing year is highly gratifying; and the efforts of the peasantry in clearing and improving land for the augmented culture of ground provisions, prove that industry at least is not on the wane.

"It may possibly be objected, that labour thus applied is withdrawn from the cultivation of sugar—but it seems clearly established that where *piece or job work* (now becoming general) is applied, a sufficiency of labour is afforded, though by a diminished number of hands, and I believe that it will be allowed that the example shown by the industrious peasant in raising increased supplies will stimulate the exertions of others—will inure the youthful to toil—will fortify them in habits of industry—and, it is to be hoped, will eventually produce other collateral benefits leading to an extension of cultivation on the neighbouring estates.

"Speaking of the peasantry, I gladly concur in the general opinion entertained of their orderly demeanour and their tranquil and docile character.

"The rapid progress they have made in acquiring and carrying into practice, ideas of moral and social improvement, justifies the favourable estimation in which they are held—and the good feeling which generally so happily exists between them and their employers is most creditable and honourable to the parties."

BRITISH GUIANA.—SLAVE-TRADE.—A letter written by a resident in Surinam, has been received in town. A Dutch government steamer, from the Gambian coast, had arrived at Paramaribo with *fifty wild Africans, indentured to labour as pioneers at the public works for fourteen years*. A French vessel which had attempted the exportation of a similar cargo had been compelled by the English cruisers to set them free, but had sailed in consequence to lay a narrative of the whole occurrence before the parent government.

Holland and France are said to be bent on prosecuting the new branch of trade, which, they contend, does not amount to enslavement, and on trying the question with England, if she dispute their right.—*Guiana Royal Gazette*.

THE sale of two sugar estates which we mentioned in our last, is thus noticed in the *Guiana Royal Gazette*. "At Vendue yesterday, plantation *Montrose*, and plantation *Ogle*, both on the east coast of Demerara, were purchased, the former by Mr. Shand, and the latter by the firm of George Anderson and Co.; *Montrose* brought £38,000. sterling, and was transferred to Sir Michael M'Turk immediately on the conclusion of the sale. *Ogle* was sold for £26,500. sterling. We congratulate these gentlemen on the possession of these properties, which we are told are very fine. When such sums are given for estates by gentlemen of caution and long experience, it is at least a ground of hope that the colony may yet be arrested on its way to ruin. No people have been sold with these states, of course. Query—Would they have brought as much money in slave-time without the people?" To this question we may add, "or with them?"

WAGES.—When the dissatisfied labourers were about to quit the "*Tuschen de Vrienden*," they presented their "checks" or "tickets" for various sums of money earned on the plantation, which the manager refused to take up; and thus they have to a considerable amount worthless bits of cards in place of the money, for which they toiled and laboured hard. These tickets have in some instances been destroyed, from the hopelessness of their ever being paid, but the greatest number of the people still hold them.—*Guiana Reformer*.

AN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was formed on the west bank, Demerara river, at Buxton Town, on Saturday last, the 1st of August, both in commemoration of that day, and also in connexion with the "British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society" for the extinction of slavery throughout the world, and to "watch" over the rights and interests of the "few free men" of British Guiana. The speeches were delivered in a manner creditable to the speakers, generally; the touching appeals of some of the labourers who took part in the proceedings about their sufferings in former days, and the blessings which they *even now* experience, as free men, were at once calculated to pierce and gratify the feelings.—*Guiana Reformer*.

LIBERIA.

[From the *Liberator*.]

We have received within a few days, a copy of the *Liberia Herald* of May 19th, containing an article by a correspondent, from which we make a few extracts, commending them to the attention of those whose brilliant imaginations have pictured the colony as a sort of earthly paradise, peopled by saints and angels.

"Our affairs of government in Liberia at the present seem to exhibit the sickly aspect of an Ephemera, whose short lived existence depends on the termination of a day. Why such a condition of things is allowed to remain in a community, whose progress, to prevent its retrogression, must be onward, can only be accounted for in the all-absorbing interests of aggrandising self.

"You will have to show wherein consist the evils of such a condition, and till the understanding, the judgment, the wills of the people are brought to bear in a direct line upon this point, we may write tekel on our institutions, and give them up to the hopelessness of despair. True, we have now, under the immediate direction of the chief magistrate, an organized system, but it wants efficiency in those to whom the interests of government are committed; and until we can find men in whom the *amor patriæ* predominates over morbid self, we shall have violators of the law in those very persons appointed to guard its sanctions.

"As to the individuals who figure in this arena, you are to say but little, from the certain fact, that, let a man's character be as bad as it may, where there exist no ennobling principles, he will be more solicitous to conceal his faults than to amend them; and hence, under cover of law, the frequent threats, and actual suing for slander of character, by persons who never had any, or if they had, it is only such as they ought to be ashamed of. Mr. Editor, did you ever see people do so many barefaced wrongs to each other, and justify themselves with their exemption from legal punishment? I never did.

"These queries have brought me almost incidentally to speak of individual character, and invidious as it may seem, you will have to say that in a community making so high a profession of the bible, you never saw or heard of so little influence from its principles as is to be seen in the intercourse of our citizens with each other. * * The existence of any such sentiment as fellow-feeling for man is not so much as known or understood. And if such are the people, what must the high priests be? * * If you are a father, or no more than a guardian of our youth, Mr. Editor, I fancy I see you agitated unto trembling, when you contemplate the effects of such malversation upon this rising generation. What public spirit, what sacrifice in the life, what renunciation of the will, what deadness to worldly maxims and customs, are thereby exhibited as beacon lights to our youth and children? None, sir, none; get, get, get, is the sole lesson inculcated on them, and no matter at whose expense."

And this is the training by which the civilizers and christianizers of Africa are to be formed for their work! These are the "missionaries bearing credentials in the holy cause of civilization and christianity," of whom Henry Clay speaks in one of his colonization addresses! But we proceed with our quotations. The next wears the appearance of a history of the past, thrown into the form of advice for the future. The writer proceeds:—

"If the colonists cannot afford you opportunity of practice, take a canoe, no matter whose it be, and a public gun, or anything else, gotten no matter how, and away to the bushes—away and give the proof of your tacticism in cheating the native, for if you do not he will cheat you. Better have nothing to do with them; I think they are too glad to carry missionary goods into the country. If such is now the state of things, what must it be when the present generation of our youths have grown up replete with lessons such as these? In vain do you look to the barriers of law, there are none to enforce them; and the individual influences which might be exerted to better our condition are merged in the barter for gain, or sacrificed at the shrine of popular favour."

The writer concludes by exhorting the editor to—

"Write, print, halloo, stamp, rave, do something, anything, to save our people in this country of their adoption, and direct them to the true and only legitimate source of prosperity in this or any other country—the cultivation of the soil, which, if connected with the improvement of the mind, will ultimately lead to the correction of ills such as are occurrent among us, and make Liberia all that its friends desire it should be."

The editor remarks, that "candour forces us to confess that much of what" his correspondent "has stated, is within the precincts of truth."

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NEW SCHEMES OF THE CUBA SLAVE-TRADERS.

[From the parliamentary papers. Correspondence with Foreign Powers relating to the Slave-trade: 1840.]

British Consulate, Boa Vista, Cape Verds.
November 14, 1839.

GENTLEMEN,

AT my arrival here the 28th September last, I found in the harbour a Spanish and Portuguese schooner, both of which, I regret to say, had every appearance of being employed in the slave-trade; the former sailed the 2nd, and the latter the 3rd ultimo.

A few hours after the departure of these vessels, another suspicious schooner under Portuguese colours came to anchor, and only remained for a few hours.

I have subsequently learnt that the destination of these vessels in the first instance was the islands of Mayo and Brava, and thence to proceed to the Bissagos and the rivers of that neighbourhood on the coast. I was not able to learn the names of the Portuguese vessels, but the Spanish schooner was originally American, called the "*White Horse*," and a clipper of the first order.

It is gratifying to me to have to state, that, since the departure of the vessels alluded to, this port has been free from vessels of a suspicious kind; a circumstance quite novel in the records of the place, as I understand from very good authority, that, for years past, a week has seldom elapsed without an arrival of some kind, connected with the abominable slave-trade.

I am induced to attribute this pleasing circumstance to the late energetic measures of her Majesty's government, for the suppression of slavery under Portuguese and piratical flags.

The intelligence of the passing of that measure has caused the utmost dismay among the slave-dealing gentry of these islands, but who, I understand, still cling to the hope of being able to effect business, nothing having yet appeared to affect their liberty which a little bribery will not overcome. It appears to me that their principal dread rests upon the active part which Great Britain may ultimately take in bringing them to justice, and the probability of one English cruiser at least being detached to these islands.

The notorious slave-paper-giving-governor, Colonel Marinha, left Porto Praya the beginning of last month for Mosambique, with the prayers of most of the people of these islands that he may never return: his secretary, Senhor Vidal, has accompanied him; and the iniquitous proceedings of master and servant are freely discussed by almost every one with whom you may converse.

A gentleman the other day promised to show me a list of the vessels which this Colonel Marinha and his secretary had given false papers to, not one of which had paid less than two thousand dollars: he assured me that he could give the names of at least forty which had been granted by the colonel; and his opinion was that the secretary had given papers to as many more; so that between them they must have divided something like 150,000 dollars. I shall not fail in endeavouring to get a copy of this document.

Report speaks highly of the new-appointed governor-general, Captain de Mello, of the navy, and of an expressed determination on his part to do everything to put an end to the export slave-trade. He is now at the island of St. Vincent, engaged in making the necessary arrangements for the removal of the seat of government from Porto Praya, to that island. I am daily expecting his Excellency here, whom I shall wait to see; when it is my intention to proceed to one of the other islands.

Something has already been commenced towards improvement in cultivation at these islands; and I hail the circumstance as one which, if not crushed by the wily slave-trader, will ultimately be the means of putting an end to the export traffic in slaves at this district of the coast.

A company formed of capitalists residing in London and Lisbon, having large grants of land from the Portuguese government, have begun operations in cultivation at the island of St. Vincent; but I am sorry to hear reports unfavourable to the soil of the place; some of the inhabitants of this and the other islands are said to be jealous of the company alluded to, and these reports, may have emanated in malice.

At this and the island of "Sal" it is said that cotton and ground nuts will be extensively cultivated during the next season, preparations being now made for the undertaking. These islands, including Mayo, produce about ten thousand moyas of salt, equal to 600,000 bushels, which the inhabitants sell at from four to six dollars a moya: the quantity of cattle is great, particularly goats; this circumstance, combined with slave-trading transactions, has caused cultivation to be but little attended to; but present appearances are cheering in this respect, not only here, but in all the other islands; and I hope the period is not far distant, when the natives of these isles will be able to appreciate and enjoy the blessings which are derived from honest industry in the cultivation of the soil.

With the pleasing prospect of an alteration in the present state of things, I wish it were in my power to report a more general disposition to employ free labour than is now the case in these islands.

From the best information I have been able to obtain, no doubt exists of depôts of slaves being established at this and other islands, from which they are taken as necessity requires, or favourable opportunities for shipment arise. These depôts have been formed principally from the Bissaos, and, in consequence of the activity of our cruisers having lately been felt in that neighbourhood by a large seizure of slaves, the receptacles alluded to are not so well supplied as formerly: considering the extent of panic that has lately been created among the inhabitants of these isles, I have no hesitation in stating, that I think the presence of a British man-of-war would be the means of lessening the number and extent of these depôts of human flesh, and prove a check of very considerable extent to the slave-trade in all its shapes.

In addition to these circumstances, I must not conceal from you my belief, that the coast north of the Senegal is not free from the presence of slave-traders, which, coupled with the notorious fact of large depôts of slaves being at Senegal and the Island of Goree, are additional reasons for urging the presence of an English man-of-war at this part of the coast.

I must not conclude this letter without mentioning the arrival here, on, the 16th ultimo, of the steam-vessel "*Taruensa*," bound to the coast of Brazils. This I understand is the sixth vessel of the kind that has called here from Liverpool for a supply of coals, belonging to the same company. Of the employment of these vessels, I can, of course, only speak from report, from which source I am led to understand that they assist the landing of slaves from vessels coming to the coast of Brazils from the coast of Africa.

If this report is founded in fact, it will be gratifying to the friends of humanity to learn that no more vessels of this kind are to be sent out, and that the agents here have orders to sell the remainder of the coals which they have on hand.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) JOHN RENDALL,
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.

Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioners, Sierra Leone.

British Consulate, Boa Vista, Cape Verds,
December 1st, 1839.
(Received February 12th, 1840.)

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit to your lordship copy of a letter which I yesterday addressed to Her Majesty's commissioners at Sierra Leone, in reference to some important information that has come to my knowledge connected with the slave-trade.

Since that letter was written I have had a visit from a captain of a vessel just arrived from the island of Sal, who confirms all that I had previously heard respecting the vessels lying there under American colours, and of its being the intention of the Spaniards to make these islands the rendezvous for the contemplated traffic in slaves between the island of Cuba and the French settlements on the coast of Africa.

From accounts which I have received since my arrival here, by English vessels coming from the coast, I am informed that new-purchased slaves to a very considerable extent are deposited at Senegal and Goree, and that the French traders continue to purchase slaves in their traffic with the natives, particularly in the river Senegal, the coast between Goree and the Gambia, Albreda, in the Gambia, the new French settlement in the Casamanca, as also the Bissagos and the rivers of that neighbourhood.

The slaves so purchased are conveyed to St. Lous, in the Senegal, or to the island of Goree, where they are held in depôt, no doubt for exportation, as there is no occupation at either settlement that could employ them.

I am also assured that the apathy evinced by the French squadron at Goree in all matters connected with the slave-trade is very apparent, which is much to be lamented, as I understand there has lately been made a great addition to the number of the colonial craft at Senegal and Goree, by building upon the spot, and by purchases made from English merchants of the small craft condemned in the mixed court at Sierra Leone.

I have been assured repeatedly that there was a connexion between the French settlements, in slave-trade matters, and the Havana; but my informants were unable to speak to any one particular fact. This circumstance, combined with the information already detailed, will afford strong evidence of the existence of the connexion in question; as it is not likely that a company would be formed to follow a particular plan, unless that plan had been previously tried with some success.

Whatever plans the piratical slave-dealers may have in view in reference to these islands, I beg to assure your lordship, as my firm belief, that the presence of a British man-of-war would at once oblige them to move to another quarter; and as respects their scheme of piracy they may effect much mischief, the outward-bound ships invariably passing in about this degree of longitude.

Under these circumstances I would respectfully recommend to your lordship, that an English cruiser be detached to those islands and that she possess fast-sailing qualities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN RENDALL.

The Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, G.C.B.

British Consulate, Boa Vista, Cape Verds,
November 30th, 1839.

GENTLEMEN,—Information has just reached me of the arrival of two vessels under American colours at the island of Sal, originally from the Havana, but last from the coast of Africa, where it is reported they have landed their cargoes.

They are both schooners, and American built—one a Baltimore clipper, and the other a New York pilot-boat; they have American colours and sailing captains, but the crews are principally Spanish and Portuguese.

The object in visiting Sal is said to be to complete arrangements for taking in a cargo of slaves upon the coast.

A most respectable inhabitant of these islands, who has seen the vessels in question and been in conversation with the parties connected with them, informs me that he has learned of two companies about to be formed at the Havana, one to carry on the slave-trade by vessels which will be ordered to keep at a certain distance from the coast, and there wait to receive their cargoes from small vessels, under the French flag; and the other company to equip a certain number of small fast-sailing vessels, to act as pirates upon the commerce of Great Britain.

My informant's belief is, and I have also heard the same opinion expressed from another quarter, that the vessels alluded to belong to these companies, and that the largest schooner looks for a cargo of slaves from the neighbourhood of Senegal and Goree; and that it is the intention of the pilot-boat to try her luck as a pirate upon British commerce near to these islands. A period of two months is given before they intend returning to the Havana. It is supposed that these islands, from their neglected and unprotected state, will be made the rendezvous for the slave-trading piratical set of Cuba, who seem determined to use every art and exertion which money can command to counteract the recent measures of Great Britain for the suppression of slavery.

I trust that these representations will induce Her Majesty's government to order a man-of-war to these islands; and should there be one at disposal in your vicinity, I have earnestly to recommend her being sent to look after the vessels here spoken of, calling at this port for information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN RENDALL.

Her Majesty's Commissioners, Sierra Leone.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 22.] WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21ST, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

BAPTIST UNION.

AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the BAPTIST UNION, HELD at FEN-COURT, FENCHURCH STREET, October 14th 1840,

W. T. BEEBY, ESQ. in the chair.

A communication from the Anti-slavery Society, containing certain resolutions of the General Anti-slavery convention, held in London, in June last, having been read and considered, it was resolved,

That in the opinion of this committee it is the duty of christian churches to separate from their communion those persons, who, after they shall have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery.

W. H. MURCH, D.D.,
JOSEPH BELCHER.
EDWARD STEANE, } Secretaries.

TO THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—The committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society address themselves particularly to you on the present occasion, and solicit your earnest attention to the following resolutions which were passed unanimously by the general anti-slavery convention on the 18th of June last.

"ON WITHHOLDING CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

"1.—That it is the deliberate and deeply rooted conviction of this convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery in whatever form, or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of christianity, and is therefore *a sin against God*, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

"2.—That this convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed, in a great degree, to the countenance afforded by many christian churches, especially in the western world, which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

"3.—That this convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submit that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade."

You will perceive that, in the last of these resolutions, the convention have expressed their opinion on a part of what they deem to be the duty of the churches of Christ; and, as they did not themselves constitute a church, to express their opinion was obviously all that it was competent for them to do. It is for those only who are united in church relation to *act* in such a matter. It is for this reason that we address you, inasmuch as being churches of Christ, it is competent to you to take a practical step in a case in which the convention could only express an opinion. Should the opinion which they have expressed be your opinion also, you may come to a further resolution that no persistent slave-holder shall henceforth be permitted to sit at the table of the Lord with you. This is the practical step which we wish you to take into serious consideration, and we trust that, with but little if any difficulty, you will see your way clear to its adoption.

If you should be as yet unacquainted with the very great and afflictive extent to which, in some parts of the world, professing christians generally, and professors of the same denominations as yourselves (we include both Baptists and Pædo-baptists) are implicated in the fact of slave-holding, and all its consequent wrongs and sufferings, we request you to read a short pamphlet which has recently been published by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, entitled *American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery*, in which the subject is opened up by an American (Mr. Birney) on unquestionable evidence. The pamphlet may be purchased for a small price; or, if a donation of a few for useful circulation were requested at the Anti-slavery office, they would be readily granted. You would then see that, in the United States alone, there are thousands of christian churches, and hundreds of thousands of christian professors, Baptist, Independent, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal, all alike involved in this criminal practice, and in either perpetrating or sheltering its worst enormities.

That you would feel it your duty and privilege to contribute anything you consistently might towards the annihilation of so horrible a system, and more especially towards the cleansing of the church of Christ from so foul a stain, the committee cannot doubt for a moment. But you will be ready to say, perhaps, that this evil is a great way off from you, and that you are never likely to have American slave-holders request communion with you. Now admitting for the present the probability, or even the certainty of this, we may still say that the adoption of the course we have laid before you will be productive of much good. Professing christians in America are far from being insensible to the good opinion of their brethren, and are known to attach no small value to their present acknowledged standing in honourable fellowship with the churches of similar denominations in Great Britain. If their sister churches in this country should declare, that they have been led to reckon persistent slave-holding a thing so abhorrent to the precepts of christianity, and so inconsistent with its honour, that they cannot recognise the religious profession of a slave-holder such a declaration would make the ears tingle of every slave-holding professor in the American Union. It would not affect those merely who might anticipate an occasional visit to England, and a disagreeable repulse when they should ask for admission to the Lord's table; it would thrill through the whole body, as attaching a stigma of the severest kind to the entire system to which they are clinging. In many it would lead to reflection, and tend powerfully to open their eyes; some, at present doubtful and irresolute, it would confirm in their nascent purposes of good; it would strengthen the hands of such friends to pure and undefiled christianity as might be found scattered through the churches, and would tend to separate the chaff from the wheat, by provoking the hypocritical professors into open rage. All would be useful, and the entire effect incalculably beneficial.

If it should occur to you that little could result from the action of a single church, we might remark, first, that the action of a single church, however small or obscure, would produce an effect quite perceptible, and far too valuable to be lost; and, secondly, that it is only by the action of single churches that the sense of congregational bodies is to be expressed. It belongs to your constitution to acknowledge no external authority. None can either express your sentiments, or oblige your conduct, but yourselves, acting at a meeting of each church. Thus, to take an example from the Baptist denomination, (which is at the present moment in the attitude best adapted for the illustration of the point) the board of Baptist ministers in London have affirmed the resolution of the convention; so likewise has the committee of the Baptist Union; but these bodies, like the convention itself, have found it competent to them only to express their opinion—neither are the sentiments of a single Baptist church declared, nor is the course of a single Baptist church determined, by their decisions. The case would be the same, if the subject were taken up even by the associations of the churches throughout the country. There is therefore no method of ascertaining the views, or of regulating the conduct of the congregational bodies in this country, but by the action of individual churches, and hence it is of the utmost importance that each church should take up the subject for itself. This plan, in course of time, and perhaps with much rapidity, may be acted on by all the churches, and the entire christian body in England of the Congregational order may pronounce its separation from fellowship with slave-holders. Such a consummation is most devoutly to be wished.

We have made these remarks on the supposition that communion at the Lord's table with slave-holders would never become a practical question with churches on this side of the Atlantic. This, however, cannot really be admitted. Slave-holding professors from the United States are continually coming over to England; and there is not a Congregational church in the country but is liable to be asked by such a one for transient communion every ordinance day that passes. We know of one church in which such a request was actually presented only a few weeks ago—we are happy to say, it was also refused. Every church, however situated, should so settle the principle as to be prepared for action whenever the case may arise.

In bringing the question of non-communion with slave-holders under consideration, a church would find, of course, that they

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cannot suitably take it up exactly as it was taken up by the convention. With them it must be, not the expression of an opinion as to the duty of others, but a practical decision as to their own. Will our friends permit us to suggest, that it might conveniently be brought forward in the form of preamble and resolution following:—

"The church, having taken into consideration the fact, that christian professors in various parts of the world are holding their fellow-creatures, and in many cases their fellow-christians, in bondage; and being convinced that such a course is essentially unchristian in principle, and inevitably productive of unchristian and immoral conduct:—

Hereby resolve,

That it is their duty, and henceforth their determination, to withdraw themselves from communion at the Lord's table with every person known to be the holder of a slave."

Upon a proposition thus framed and submitted, the discussion, if one should ensue, and ultimately the sense of the church, might be taken. We can hardly doubt what the sense of the churches would be, throughout the whole country, at least by large majorities. Why should we despair of unanimity? Let us hope, at all events, that the attention of all the churches will be drawn to the subject, that the pastors and deacons of the churches will immediately confer on it among themselves; that they will make themselves and their friends acquainted with the facts of the case, and that they will do all which they may find a scriptural warrant to do in this interesting matter.

There is reason to believe that slavery in the United States would fall beneath the weight of its own enormities if the support of the churches of Christ did not preserve it from ruin. There is reason to believe further, that the churches of Christ in America cannot continue their support of slavery, if they are met with the universal rebuke of their brethren in Britain. The British churches, therefore, should feel that a weapon fitted to give the death-blow to American slavery is put into their hands, and that a very serious responsibility attaches to them for the use they make of it. Most especially does this responsibility attach to churches of the Congregational order. It is in these only that the sense of the church-members is appealed to, or can be taken; it is in these pre-eminently that freedom and facility exist for ecclesiastical action. We hope that our christian friends will feel their privilege, do their duty, and let it be known that they have done it. We shall be very happy to be made acquainted with the names of those churches in which the course we have recommended shall have been adopted.

BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS.—IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

WE lay before our readers the following documents. Some remarks upon them will be found elsewhere.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

New Bank Buildings, 12th October, 1840.

SIR—The Directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association have had their attention called to the last number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in which is contained a letter subscribed "The late Secretary of Gongo Soco."

The writer of the letter was a clerk to the company's commissioner in Brazil, and, on his arrival in London, he set up a most exorbitant and unfounded pecuniary claim against the Association, accompanied by a threat of what he was pleased to term public exposure, unless the directors submitted to his demands.

A copy of one of his letters (and there are several of a similar nature) accompanies this.

The directors altogether rejected his claim, and, having instituted a strict inquiry, ascertained beyond doubt that the statements of this individual were utterly false.

That he should have published in revenge a gross and scandalous libel in no degree surprises the directors, but they do not understand how the conductors of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* can justify the insertion of a document so grossly calumnious, without making any inquiry of the parties affected by it, particularly as it appears by the very letter that the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association has an office in London where full and accurate information of the truth might have been obtained.

The directors, some months since, extracted from a letter of your correspondent the principal charges which appear to be reiterated, nearly verbatim in your paper, and we now transmit to you these, with the replies they received from a gentleman who had the charge of the Blacks on their establishment for seven years, from 1832 to 1839, and who having left the service of the Association, had no inducement to represent any facts otherwise than as they really existed.

These replies could have been extended, and confirmed by others, if time permitted, but, as you have put forth a statement so highly injurious to the Association, we call upon you, as an act of common justice, to insert in your next paper this letter as the answer of the Company, and we trust it will be accompanied with a suitable apology for your own editorial remarks, made without inquiry, in a case not warranting them.

We beg to call for the names of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, under whose sanction the *Reporter* is printed.

We are Sir, your most obedient servants,

J. C. & H. FRESHFIELD.

The Chairman and Board of Directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association.

13, Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row, 19th Feb. 1840.

Gentlemen,—Agreeably to my promise, I now enclose you a copy of the first of a series of letters I shall address to you through the press. When the subject is complete, which shall include a history of every English Mining Association in the Brazils, and a similar *exposé* of the Rio Doce, these shall be condensed into a pamphlet for the information of the Anti-slavery Society, and for the perusal of the public in general, with an epitome in the shape of a petition to both houses, praying that it may be made a felony for Englishmen to hold slaves, working them for the sake of producing a dividend only.

I have already stated that I held the post of secretary for two years and a-half, and I ought to have enjoyed the salary attached to that appointment; that £200 a-year having been most unjustly withheld from me, I consider that I am equitably entitled to these arrears, although you may have my release, which was extorted from me, or I should never have been permitted to return to England. This gross injustice is the more ill-timed and illiberal, because even Mr. Duval, with all his pompous egotism, never had confidence enough to transmit any document of importance to the legislative assembly at Rio, or to the provincial legislature, in Portuguese, without submitting it to me for revision, lest any of his words or phrases might not be strictly correct. They have even been forwarded to me at Gongo Soco from Ouro Preto for this purpose.

I, therefore, at all events, ought not to have been thus mercenarily mulcted.

I will now give you four-and-twenty hours to decide as to the course you mean to pursue towards me, and, if this be not to my satisfaction, no consideration shall induce me to forego my present determination.

In the meantime I request you will give instructions to your secretary, and the clerk in your office, to meddle less with the private affairs of myself and family.

I am respectfully, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

F. A. KENTISH.

MR. F. A. KENTISH'S CHARGES.

Fifty-five fathoms deep in the bowels of the earth they have six or seven hundred slaves, occupied in the most severe toil for fourteen hours a-day, with the exception of the time necessary for their scanty meals.

In the West Indies the slave enjoyed the privilege of inhaling the same fresh breeze which his inexorable tormentor breathed. In the mines of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, this comfort is for ever denied him, until the moment arrives when he has to drag his wearied frame up fifty-five fathoms of ladder, and then he emerges from the dark, gloomy, melancholy caverns, where he has been buried and shut out from the light of day from sunrise until it sets.

The soil of these mines is a black sand, which no art can prevent from falling in. The consequence is, that from time to time numbers are buried alive, and when dug out are dying, mutilated; or dead, and as the water filters rapidly through the sand, this mass of human misery are for ever labouring at the bottom of these swampy caverns, almost knee-deep in mud.

This entails upon them agues and other malignant fevers.

These they endeavour to avoid by drinking inordinately of the strong new rum of the country, which soon produces habitual and confirmed drunkenness.

The slaves of the benevolent Imperial Brazilian Mining Association

ANSWER.

I had charge of the slaves for seven years, and the total number of slaves belonging to the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association when I left Gongo, in January, 1839, were not as Mr. Kentish says, six or 700, but only 413, viz.:

Men	174
Women . . .	116
Children . .	123
Together . .	413

The mine is only fifty-five fathoms deep in one shaft, consequently not more than three or four men could work at a time, and they were regularly relieved every six hours, at the same time that the Englishmen were. Their hours of work are divided into distinct portions of the day, viz. six, eight, and twelve hours out of twenty-four, according to the nature of the work to be performed, and the locality, &c.

The two latter classes have one hour each day for their meals, for which they always come to the surface, exclusive of the time expended in coming up and returning to their stations; the last-named class, or those who work twelve hours, are solely employed on the surface, and never underground; the six hours men are those who work in wet places, and remain that time only underground during the twenty-four hours, at the expiration of which they come to the surface, change their clothes, and have the remaining eighteen hours to themselves, four hours and a half of which they generally voluntarily work at sundry jobs on the surface to gain money, which many of them do to the weekly amount of 960 reis, which, at the rate of exchange fixed for paying your English labourers, is worth nearly four shillings.

During the whole time I was there, not a single fatal accident happened to your blacks in the mine; there were severe falls, &c., but in every instance they completely recovered. The climate of Gongo Soco is proverbial as being one of the most salubrious in the world, neither epidemic nor malignant diseases are ever known, and the mortality amongst the slaves did not average 2½ per cent. per annum during the time I was there. Every man has an allowance of about a quarter of a pint of rum each day, and in no instance are they allowed to purchase any; if proved so doing, they are liable to be punished in various ways, according to the degree and repetition of the offence, nor do I know a confirmed drunkard amongst them.

The utmost any man works during the week is 62 hours, and that only

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work ninety hours weekly: that is, from four in the morning until six in the evening, or fourteen hours daily for six days, and the half of Sunday.

on the surface. Saturday being always a holiday from two o'clock—they never work on Sundays, excepting on very urgent occasions, the necessity for so doing but very seldom happens; they are all obliged to parade in their uniform clothing, and go regularly to chapel every Sunday. The men are divided into two divisions, one of which work by day, the other by night, and these divisions change every alternate week.

The merciful Imperial Brazilian Mining Association permit their male and female slaves to be stripped indiscrimately, and most severely flogged at the whim or caprice of the persons appointed for the time to superintend them.

No female slave was ever stripped and flogged, the men only, and that but seldom, and only when all lighter means of punishment had failed.

The cat-o'-nine tails is made of knotted whip-cord, and at every swing it tears away portions of flesh from the back and shoulders, which are, when well mutilated, pickled in brine, and this adds so insufferably to the tortures of the whip, that it is almost a refinement of the studied cruelties of the ancient Spanish inquisition.

The cat-o'-nine tails is much the same as that used in the army, but not so severe. Such a thing as brine having been put on the slaves' backs after punishment, or used in any shape, never once took place.

Another mode of torture practised by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association on their male and female slaves is this; a piece of Brazil wood, which is as hard and as heavy as iron, in length about 20 inches and 1¼ inch thick, is selected. This is shaped into a long handle with a thong at the end, that the tormentor may secure a firm grasp of it, and a round flattened ball is left at the extremity, big enough to cover the largest black's hand. The victim is forced to hold out his or her hand, which is struck with this terrible instrument with the full swing and with all the might and force of the most athletic arm. At every blow the sufferer is nearly brought to the ground, and, by the time he or she has received sixty, the bones are bruised, and the flesh of the hand and fingers is swelled to a frightful extent. If anything were placed beneath the hand to prevent its recoil, every bone would be literally smashed to atoms the first blow.

The piece of flattened wood spoken of is about six inches in circumference, and shaped nearly as described. One dozen on each hand is the utmost ever given at one time, and I venture to say, that a rattan struck with force on the hand is a much more severe and lasting punishment; it was never resorted to by me when it could be avoided.

On some occasions the women have an iron mask fixed on the face, and a heavy iron collar round the neck, and, with a number of small bells fastened on their petticoats, they are driven about the village from sunrise to sunset by a ruffian appointed for the purpose.

Iron masks there were none. There were some masks made of tin, which were done away with under the administration of Colonel Skerrett, after which they were never resorted to during the time I remained. Such a thing as an iron collar having been put on a woman never took place; and as to their being driven about the village from sunrise to sunset, it is utterly and wholly without foundation.

Women are kept at hard labour up to the latest stage of pregnancy, and, before they are in a fit condition to labour, they are driven to the works with their child or children tied to their backs: and in this unnatural state they toil until the said child or children are able to take care of themselves, as the Directors will not consent to appropriate a room for their reception in infancy, nor appoint one or two women to watch over and protect them, because they would then be deprived of their services.

Women when pregnant do not work for *two months* previous to their confinement; they remain all day in a large shed, taking care of the younger children. This was the regular rule, and formerly they went to hospital a month or more before they expected to be confined. The system was altered after the departure of Dr. Collier, when they were prohibited from going to hospital till they were in daily expectation of being confined. Two or three women, together with all those who may be in a forward state of pregnancy, attend in a large shed for the purpose of taking care of the children, and do no other work but sweep the shed; and all women, when they leave the hospital after confinement, always remain in this shed during the day for five or six weeks before they go even to light work; this, with a fortnight or three weeks in the hospital, will give them ample time to recover. The slaves at Gongo Soco are both well clothed, and well fed regularly twice each day, with the best provisions that can be procured, they were the most healthy, happy, and contented set of people I ever saw; upwards of £15. was weekly distributed amongst them, with which they purchased what they wished for, or might require; the only thing they were prohibited from purchasing was spirits.

I shall defer to my next the description of the disgusting nightly bacchanalian orgies, in which the black women are brought naked on the scene.

The disgusting nightly bacchanalian orgies mentioned by Mr. Kentish, "in which the black women are brought naked on the scene," is utterly without the slightest foundation.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EGYPT.

Letter of Dr. Madden to Mehemet Ali.

Alexandria, Sept. 6, 1840.

May it please your Highness,—On the 4th September last I had the honour to lay before your highness an address from the delegates of the Anti-slavery Convention, recently held in London, expressive of the gratification it afforded that body to learn that your highness, in your late expedition into Africa, had prohibited the crime of man-stealing, and the practice of paying the Egyptian troops stationed in Dongola, Sennaar, and Cordofan, in slaves, a practice which, on the part of your authorities, had hitherto been pursued without let or hinderance.

The communication I had the honour to lay before your highness further expressed an ardent hope that the slave-trade, in every place that is subject to your authority, would be entirely prohibited, and the great evil of slavery itself ultimately abolished.

These sentiments and wishes, may it please your highness, are well deserving of consideration, and, even on account of the character of those who have expressed them, are worthy of attention.

The persons who composed that convention (some 400 individuals) were men delegated by bodies of great moral weight and influence in every quarter of the globe, to represent their enlightened and benevolent opinions in that assembly.

They were not selected for the sake of their rank or wealth, but on account of their worth and intelligence, their devotion to the cause of civil, personal, and religious liberty, and the boldness of their maintenance of the interests of humanity wherever they were assailed.

The illustrious man who signed that address, the venerable Clarkson, one whose name is familiar to men's ears in Europe and America as that of an old and faithful friend of the good cause of justice and humanity, is now an aged man, full of years, whom the people of his own country revere and honour, and whose title to the best of all renown is based on the bloodless triumphs of benevolence, on the heroism of his patience and his perseverance in this cause, and the singleness of purpose and simplicity of heart with which he has laboured in its service for upwards of fifty years.

The signing of this paper on the part of the venerable man, whose earthly career is now fast drawing to its close, is probably the last public act of his long and useful life: and, subscribed as it is to the expression of sentiments of respect and gratitude for your highness, it may surely be said, without disparagement to the loftiest station or the highest fame, that the greatest of living men might add new lustre to their renown by evincing in their attachment to this cause, and the service rendered to it, that they merited the distinction of receiving from a body of men so justly entitled to respect a similar communication, and one bearing the signature of Thomas Clarkson.

Deputed by that body to communicate these sentiments to your highness, the best token I can give of being in some slight degree deserving of their confidence, is by addressing your highness plainly and unreservedly, without fear or forgetfulness of your authority, or any feeling of distrust in the disposition of your highness to hear the truth, and likewise by distinctly pointing out the glaring evils of this nefarious traffic in human beings, so extensively carried on by your people; and by respectfully but frankly stating to your highness, that the single measure taken at Fezaghan for the repression of this crime on the part of your authorities is utterly insufficient to meet an evil of such magnitude as this.

On the occasion of my presenting the address of the Anti-slavery Convention to your highness, I observed with feelings of unfeigned satisfaction the interest your highness evidently took in the question of the abolition of the slave-trade, and I fully understand that your highness is persuaded of the necessity that exists for the total suppression of it.

While this trade, however, continues (as I am sorry to find it does) to be a source of revenue to your highness, it is in vain to talk of its suppression at Sennaar. I find for each slave sold in the bazaars of Cairo and Alexandria a tax is paid to your highness of one dollar, and on the exportation of each slave another dollar. Independently of these duties levied by your highness on the sale of men, there is a direct permission sold to every gellab to exercise his vile calling, and become a member of the company of slave-dealers, in the same way that the various classes of artizans, bakers, butchers, shoemakers, &c. in Cairo and Alexandria are licensed, and obtain the privileges of a monopoly in the exercise of their respective callings—a license which is called essendof, and is given to the gellabs as to any other company legally sanctioned by your highness. It unfortunately happens that it is not in Egypt only, but at Constantinople, and at Smyrna likewise, that this trade in human beings is turned to the account of government, and that a revenue is derived from it.

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A tax of two-and-a-half per cent. is levied by the Sultan on the sale of every slave, or one para in the piastre of the price of each, on the payment of which tax a paper, called the "penjik," or license, is given to the gellab, and is regarded as evidence of the legality of the sale. Your highness must therefore feel that any application to the mufti at Constantinople, to obtain his consent to the change in the law which I have heard recently suggested, would be preposterous, while the Grand Seignior protects the trade and derives revenue from it.

But I grieve to say that, on inquiring into the nature and extent of the measures which your highness is desirous should be taken to stop this traffic on the part of your officers, nothing whatever has been yet done to give effect to the orders issued for its prevention.

The gratulations of the Convention, therefore, on this subject, must apply to the good intentions of your highness towards this cause, and hereafter I earnestly trust it shall be to the effective measures taken to promote its objects in your country that the felicitations of the anti-slavery body shall have to refer.

Since I had the honour of conversing with your highness on this subject, I have visited the slave-markets of Alexandria and Cairo—the former frequently. I have also anxiously inquired into the truth of the reports we have received in England of the cessation of the slave-hunts on the part of your people in the upper country, and consequently of the limitation of slavery, and the hinderance of the trade in slaves.

I have made these inquiries of persons worthy of confidence, of persons who have even recently returned from Sennaar—of those who had actually accompanied your troops in the African slave-hunts; and, expecting to find the trade impeded, the imports diminished, and the markets depressed, I was grieved to find these markets thronged with slaves as heretofore, every notion of decency outraged, as of old, in the centre of your cities; the women in these stalls, in many instances, exposed to the public gaze in a state of nudity, or exhibited to the purchaser with a scanty covering round the loins, or a greasy rug hanging about their shoulders—the unfortunate creatures still subjected to the same cattle-like treatment, to the same exposure and examination of their persons; and moreover, on the authority of the slave-traders themselves, the continuance of the "hunts," and the extension of the ravages of the Egyptian plunderers, on the borders of Abyssinia, still going on.

It was with great surprise that I discovered that the export of negro slaves from Alexandria to Constantinople and Smyrna was still carried on, under the protection of European flags; that one "cargo" of human beings, only a few weeks ago, had been shipped on board an Austrian vessel for Smyrna, and that fraudulent declarations had been allowed to be made, in which the slaves were described as the "servants" of the shipper.

And with no less wonder have I learned that, within the last twelve months, two slave-hunts have been conducted with all the regularity and parade of a large military movement, and not only were connived at, but were actually aided and abetted by the authorities of your highness at Sennaar and its neighbouring districts.

An opinion, notwithstanding, had of late become prevalent in England that you had taken such measures for the ultimate abolition of the slave-trade as had already sensibly affected slavery itself, or at least diminished the supply on which that system mainly depended for its continuance. It can hardly be imagined how much error has been disseminated on this subject, amongst a class of persons not much accustomed to be deceived by the apologists of those who sanction slavery, or to give to its terrors the blandishments of an under-stated account of its enormities, and a very exaggerated one of the steps that have been taken for their prevention. Nor will your highness be able very readily to comprehend the extent of our credulity, when you consider only for a moment the crowded state of the slave-markets of Alexandria and Cairo. At the present time there are nearly 200 women and children exposed for sale in the slave-markets of Cairo, and upwards of 100 in that of Alexandria. On the 30th of August, 1840, the following were the numbers in the slave-market of Cairo:—

Abyssinian women	17
Ditto . boys	9
Negro . women	75
Ditto . boys	90
	191

These returns were obtained from one of the principal gellabs of the slave-market of Cairo; and the following from the general book of registry, kept by the same person, of all the slaves brought from the upper country in the year ending the 31st of August, 1840:—

Abyssinian women	1700
Ditto . children	120
Negro . women	3000
Ditto . children	270
	5090
Eunuchs	400
Negro-men of different countries, not brought down to the markets of Cairo and Alexandria, and sold in Sennaar, Darfour, &c.	5000
	10,490

So that the number of negros captured by your people, in the different slave-hunts during the year ending the 31st August, 1840, exceeded 10,000!

Now I have positive information, that a large portion of this number were captured by marauding parties, composed chiefly of your soldiers, and consisting of so many as a thousand persons on a single occasion, coming from Sennaar so recently even as 1839; nay, more, that your troops were paid even so lately with the slaves taken in one of these expeditions. My informant, a German naturalist, who was at that period in the service of your highness, and who accompanied your troops on these expeditions, has given me the details at large, and of their fidelity there cannot be the slightest doubt, corroborated as they are by the evidence of other Europeans still in your employment.

This state of things, may it please your highness, and the atrocious mode in which these unfortunate countries are ravaged by your Egyptian and Nubian subjects, the people of England will learn with extreme regret, and the members of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society will lament to find that one solitary act of justice to the negro race, performed by your highness in your expedition to Fezaghan—namely, the liberation of the slaves who were brought to you at that place, and the verbal prohibition of the slave-hunts issued to your officers on that occasion, so far as regarded the payment of your troops with the stolen men—has produced no beneficial effects, and has not been followed up by any other measures of *bonâ fide* efficacy, that are calculated or intended to put a stop to this abominable trade.

The members of the convention will hear with surprise that at Cartoon, in the vicinity of Sennaar, a French *soi-disant* consular-agent, not regularly appointed, but for some years past permitted to retain the title and to exercise the authority he assumed, a man of infamous character—nevertheless recently decorated with the cross of the legion of honour—of the name Vessier, is not only deeply engaged in this odious traffic, but has for some years past been the proprietor of an establishment for the reception and "storage" of slaves, on the plan of "the breeding farms" of Virginia, kept up for the purpose of supplying the Egyptian market with slave-children of a tender age. It will be a matter of deep regret, as well as of surprise to that body, to learn that such a miscreant should be suffered to settle in a place under your authority, and that after a formal complaint preferred by the Duke of Wurtemburg to the consul-general of the French nation at Alexandria, detailing the enormities of this man in the prosecution of his odious trade, he should still be permitted not only to remain under French protection, but be considered a fit person to be recommended to the especial favour of his sovereign, for a mark of distinction that commonly is, or ought to be, the reward of merit. It may not have reached the ears of your highness, that other foreigners of the same nation were associated with this person in his infamous pursuits; that a Frenchman of the name of Tirant, a physician by profession, till lately living at Cartoon, and who recently resided at Sennaar, was embarked in the same trade, and had attempted the introduction into that place of the practice of making eunuchs, in conjunction with his friend Mons. Vessier, the chevalier of the legion of honour, the slave-dealer of Cartoon.

Your highness was pleased to inform me that the great impediment to the suppression of this trade, or the restriction of slavery itself, was the sanction which the latter received from the law and religion of the land; and therefore, to effect any change, it would be necessary to go to Constantinople, and obtain the concurrence of the head of the religion and the law in any measure that should be proposed for the abolition of slavery, or the trade in slaves.

The fact, I am perfectly aware, is not to be denied, that slavery as it existed of old in the form of domestic servitude, is recognized by the law; but your highness must be well aware that the barbarous wars which are made on the people of Africa for the purpose of obtaining slaves—the perfidy that is practised in entrapping the unwary natives—the violence that is employed in seizing on their defenceless women and children—the murders that are committed in the surprisal of their villages, and the surrounding of their habitations, the starving of their people into terms of submission where they have resisted the marauders, the violation of their women, the capture of the young and the robust, the slaughter of the old and the infirm, the burning of their dwellings, the wasting of their lands—in short, that this savage warfare, and the atrocities that follow in its train, are nowhere prescribed or sanctioned by your law.

It would be a calumny to assert that the religion which is founded on that law is chargeable with the crimes that are committed by the wretches who follow this felonious trade. This trade, may it please your highness, is at variance with every law, human and divine, and the wickedness of it being unknown to the giver of your law, the system that has arisen from it and exists only by its continuance, cannot be considered as that kind of servitude that was tolerated by him, and which had for its object the disposal of prisoners captured in wars undertaken for an aim very different from that of the slave-hunts of Sennaar.

It cannot be denied that it is in the power of your highness to prohibit the crime of stealing men on the part of your people, and the introduction of this species of plunder into the countries over which you rule. A governor without power to enforce its

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laws, or authority without the will to curb the violence of lawless men, or protect the weak and the defenceless from their hands, hardly deserves to be respected, and it is hardly to be desired that it should stand.

This evil has been permitted to exist too long for the character of Egyptian civilisation. Lesser evils, whose removal was surrounded with greater difficulties, have been encountered and overcome by Mehemet Ali. One of the greatest calamities that the world has experienced during the last three centuries, is that modern barbarity of subsidising savage nations to wage wars with one another for the purpose of making slaves. This recent custom of ravaging defenceless nations for an object so unjust and wicked as that of making human beings objects of sale and barter no law can sanction, and no prince can be excused in the sight of God and man, who tolerates it on any plea of political or pecuniary advantage.

How then, may I ask your highness, can it be said that such a trade is lawful, carried on as it is by means of wars that are not just nor necessary, and that the state of the men thus stolen and sold into bondage is so sacred that it cannot be touched, nor even remotely affected, without going to Constantinople, and first asking permission of the mufti to effect some change!

It would be in vain to tell the people of England that the slave-trade was to be tolerated in Egypt on the ground of its legality. That plea can only be admitted for its continuance by those who are utterly ignorant of Mohammedan law. It would not be believed that a prince who has the power to triumph over the deepest rooted prejudices of his people, to carry his victorious armies into distant countries, to oppose successfully the greatest obstacles that can be thrown in the way of the accomplishment of his political designs, had not the means at his command of abolishing this trade, and putting an end to the evil practices that have grown out of it.

Amongst these, perhaps, the most barbarous of all is still tolerated, and even encouraged by your highness—the cruel, sanguinary, and most atrocious practice of mutilating men for the purpose of enhancing their value in the market; and, to the disgrace of Egypt, this country still continues to be the only part of the Ottoman empire where it exists.

The civilisation of Egypt, may it please your highness, so long as this disgraceful crime is tolerated by your functionaries, and sanctioned by your highness's purchase and employment of the stolen men thus mutilated, for the especial service of your private dwellings—it will be in vain to boast of.

It will be said, the only country where this barbarous custom exists, is that which is under the rule of Mehemet Ali. This crime, that is attended with such peril to life, such frightful suffering, such degradation to its victims, is too disgraceful to be permitted in Stamboul; the infamy of it is unknown in Smyrna; in any other part of the dominions of the Sultan it would not be endured; it is only in Egypt that it is suffered, and only there that its profits are a source of revenue to the authorities of the place. Is Europe indeed to be told that the barbarous custom is not to be abolished while Mehemet Ali rules over the land! For nearly five and thirty years he has been its ruler, and he has suffered this evil to exist, and when he is told of the scandal its existence is to his government, is he to entrench the barbarity behind the protection of the law, and say—"You must go to Constantinople, because slavery has the sanction of the law!"

Is a custom like this, that slays its hundreds of human creatures every year, that degrades the miserable beings who survive its sufferings in the eyes of their fellow-men, that is sanguinary in its operation, and brutalizing in its influence on the perpetrators of it, to be considered not only a part, but a necessary consequence, of that slavery that has the sanction of the law!

If the sanction that is accorded to slavery were to extend to such a crime as this, what a weapon would be placed in the hands of those who were hostile to that law, or whose opinions were regulated by another code!

It is not, please your highness, from the experience of others I speak of this barbarous practice and its effects. In the year 1826, I was an eye-witness of them at the village of Zawee el Deir, in the district of Siout. The mortality of the unfortunate children who undergo the operation, by the admission of the wretches who live by the performance of it, was such as could only be credited by persons who have visited the place, and heard the detail of its horrors from the murderous operators themselves.

In the course of fourteen years I find that matters have undergone no change at this place. One of the most devoted of the servants of your highness, Clot Bey, in his recent work on Egypt, states that the practice continues as heretofore, that not much above one-fourth part of the children who undergo this operation survive it, and that the number of eunuchs that are made every year is about 300. Some opinion may then be formed of the waste of life that takes place, of the hundreds it is necessary to kill to have the number that is here given of the survivors of it.

There may be some exaggeration in the account of the mortality given by Clot Bey, but it is still great enough to justify the use of the term "murderous" in speaking of this operation. The number of eunuchs made at this place, is, however, underrated by him; in the last year the number amounted to four hundred. It is to be borne in mind, that the persons on whom this cruelty is practised are children from the age of six to twelve, and the price for which they are sold varies from one hundred to two hundred dollars.

The operation is performed under circumstances most unfavourable to the safety of those who undergo it. It is performed by ignorant, brutal, and unfeeling men. It is one of a more serious nature than it is generally understood to be. The barbarous application of heated oil is the medication employed to prevent immediate death from hæmorrhage, and the after treatment, the cruel practice of throwing the unfortunate child on his face in the hot sand, and piling it up about his loins, and then keeping him immoveably fixed in that position for thirty or forty hours, undergoing torments that cannot be described.

These things, may it please your highness, are done in Egypt!

They are done by Egyptians!

They are done on poor helpless children!

And you are the ruler of the land!

What civilisation has reached that land where such savage crimes are committed with impunity?—where they are encouraged by the highest officers of the state, who are compelled by their station to follow the example of your highness, and to surround their doors with a retinue of mutilated men!

In conclusion, may it please your highness, I would beg leave to recal the facts to which I have endeavoured to direct your attention.

1. At the expiration of nearly fifteen years I have visited Egypt for the second time, and I find slavery and the trade in slaves unchanged in their character, and unrestrained by any measures of your highness adopted for their suppression.

2. I find the slave-markets glutted with negro women and children as heretofore.

3. I find the exportation of slaves from Alexandria for Turkey, on board European vessels, carried on openly at the present time.

4. I find the prices of slaves actually lowered by the increase of the numbers brought down to Alexandria and Cairo, and those slaves, children and women, selling from 600 piastres to 1500 a-head, or from six pounds sterling to fifteen pounds each.

5. I find the slave-hunts are carried on by your people, and even by your soldiers, as usual, and the only prohibition that has been issued, is one given in the presence of certain European consuls at Fezaghan, that never has been carried into effect.

6. I find the same evils arising from this nefarious trade, and the same barbarous monopoly in mutilated beings permitted as heretofore, and even encouraged by your authorities in Upper Egypt.

In the mean time, the spirit of reform is said to be moving over the land; we are told the enlightened views of your highness are directed to the removal of all abuses. Those in the administration of the property of the mosques, which for ages had been protected even by the law itself, were got rid of by your highness without the trouble and inconvenience of going to Constantinople, and the sanction of the law itself was set aside to enable your highness to turn these funds to an account more useful to the state.

But when the grand abuse of all is approached, and the outrages are pointed out that are committed on humanity by the subjects of your highness—when the barbarous traffic in the flesh and blood of human beings like ourselves is brought before you—when the question is not one of rents and revenue, of beans and cotton, but one of flesh and blood, of life and liberty, of duty and of justice, the advocate of the negro must be sent to Constantinople to confer with the mufti about the propriety of any change, because the veneration of your highness for the law is such as to extend even to the shadow of it, under which slavery so tranquilly reposes in those countries that are subject to you.

Your highness did not deem it necessary, when you recently established the national guard at Cairo, to send to the mufti at Stamboul (the head of the religion) to consult him on the investiture of the Sheik el Islam of El Masr (or the chief of the law at Cairo) with the military rank and dignity of a general, and yet the law and the religion had made this man their minister, and the exigency of the times made this minister your soldier. Here the law and the custom of ages were opposed to the change, but the wants of the state, and the will of Mehemet Ali, required that it should be made.

The same will I would fain see exerted in effecting another change, and one that would give the death-blow in Egypt to the crime of stealing men, and retaining these stolen men in slavery. I cannot allow myself to believe this will is wanting on the part of your highness. Other matters, unfortunately considered of greater moment and more immediate political importance, have turned away the attention of your highness from this subject, and afforded you but a single opportunity of manifesting a desire to repress the enormities of this traffic on the part of your military commanders at Fezaghan.

That lesson has been lost for want of repetition. It is not a sudden impulse of generosity, or a single effort of benevolence, that is sufficient to encounter and overcome an evil of such magnitude as that of slavery in any of its forms, but a series of energetic

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measures, wisely devised and resolutely directed to the abolition of it.

It is idle to pretend that, because slaves are not purchased in Egypt for the purpose of employment in prædial labour, and are treated with a degree of humanity little known in Christian countries where slavery prevails, the suppression of the slave-trade is not to be desired.

At my recent interview with your highness, in speaking on this subject, you observed that the negros were in a wretched and distracted state in their own country—that they were perpetually at war with one another, but that in Egypt they were well fed and kindly treated, and were far better off than in their own country; and yet they died by hundreds in the barracks, without any assignable cause after all.

Your highness adduced this fact as a proof of the great difficulty of civilising the negros—that after taking them from a state of savage warfare, and making soldiers of them in Egypt (therefore civilising them), they pined away, and they died by hundreds. The civilisation, may it please your highness, that is estimated by the advantage of converting an untutored savage into an Egyptian soldier, I do not understand.

As to the negros being better fed and more humanely treated than in other countries, the injury that was done to them in tearing them from their country surely must have been very great, when so many hundreds of them perished, as you state, without any apparent cause.

The cause of this mortality, may it please your highness, is very intelligible to persons who are well acquainted with the miseries which this traffic is productive of; to those who have some practical knowledge of the sufferings of the negro newly fallen into slavery—of the silent stupor—of the anguish which comes over his mind—of the ties of nature that are broken by his capture—of the throbbings of the heart for house and home of the poor wretch who has been torn from the country (however barbarous it may be) which gave him birth—of the wearing down of his strength and spirits the farther he goes, and the more strongly that he feels "he drags at each remove a lengthening chain."

To assign a cause for this mortality, it is necessary, may it please your highness, to have seen how soon the strongest man sinks under the sense of slavery—how speedily his energies of mind and body are weighed down by it, and how suddenly and silently he pines away in that sickness of the heart which has no hope, except in death.

No matter, however bland and lenient that slavery may be which separates a man from kith and kin—from the place where those nearest and dearest to him lived and died—where the "sheiks" and the chiefs of his tribe are buried, and (your highness can well appreciate the force of that local attachment, amounting almost to a religious veneration for the spot) where, perhaps, the bones of his father and mother are likewise laid—you cannot compensate this man for the wrongs he has suffered, except by the restoration of that liberty of which he has been robbed.

But it matters very little, may it please your highness, to the people of Africa, whose country is ravaged, how the captives are treated who are carried away by the Egyptian "gellabs." Whatever the treatment may be in Egypt, the savagery of the wars in Africa is all the same. The natives are hunted like wild beasts; their fields are wasted, their villages destroyed, and the defenceless people continually exposed to the marauding attacks of the subjects of your highness.

But, previously to the sale of the slaves in Cairo and Alexandria, nothing that takes place on board the slave-ships of other countries, or in the route of the slave "coffle" in their march across the desert to the coast, can exceed the barbarity with which the gellabs, or slave-traders of Nubia and Egypt, treat the unfortunate captives which they carry from the great emporiums of slavery, Dongola, Darfour, Cartoon, Camomel, and Cordofan.

In their route to Egypt, the wretched slaves are huddled together in small boats on the Nile, in the same way that the wretched negros are crowded in one dense mass of human beings, jaded and cast down on board the Spanish slave-ships.* It would be idle to expatiate on the sufferings of these creatures during the voyage, or on the hardships they endured in the previous journey over land.

Suffice it to say, on the authority of persons who have very recently even accompanied your soldiers in the slave-hunting expeditions from Sennaar, and have returned disgusted from them, that nothing can exceed the barbarity of the usage which the captured negros experience at the hands of the "gellabs."

But still, with a confident hope in the justice and generosity of your highness, I look forward to the success of this application to your highness, and I most earnestly desire that the sufferings it details may reach your heart. And in the name of humanity itself I appeal to you, on behalf of the poor natives of Africa, whose country your people have hitherto desolated and robbed of its inhabitants, not only with impunity, but even with the sanction of your highness's officers in these distant provinces.

For the grievous wrongs that have been inflicted on the people, the promptest reparation is due to Africa; and, permit me to add, the debt is one which, in justice to yourself, your highness cannot leave unpaid. When that good work which was commenced at Fezaghan, by the liberation of the slaves that were brought before you, shall be accomplished, as I pray it will be by the immediate emancipation of every captive that is brought into your country, the blessings of the poor strangers who have been so cruelly oppressed, and are at length destined to be delivered by you from their sufferings, will then plead for a benefactor, who, in the discharge of the high duties committed to him, had endeavoured to do that which was "just and equal to all men."

Such, may it please your highness, is the humble prayer of

Your highness's most obedient servant,

R. R. MADDEN.

To his highness Mehemet Ali Pacha,
Viceroy of Egypt, Alexandria.

* In the month of December last, three boats of the above description on the Nile, laden with slaves, were seen by Mr. Weir, an English traveller. This gentleman, on whose authority the fullest reliance may be placed, estimates the number on board of each at 150.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 21ST.

WE are happy that our publication of Mr. Kentish's letter respecting the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association has attracted the attention of the directors, and we have given prompt insertion to their reply. We disclaim all personal feeling or intention of offence. Truth is all that we desire; and most happy should we be if every allegation that has been made on this afflictive subject could be satisfactorily rebutted. In the present state of the discussion it is not for us to say much. Mr. Kentish will no doubt make his rejoinder; and although we should refuse to insert charges against respectable men if they rested merely on rumour or anonymous authority, we cannot close our pages against a writer, who publicly takes the responsibility of his statements, and who both speaks from personal knowledge, and appeals to the authority of official documents in the company's possession. He may have quarrelled with them, and possibly he may have been in the wrong; but the public have nothing to do with this. It is better that the truth should come out in consequence of a dispute, than that it should not transpire at all; and the only question the public will care about is, are Mr. Kentish's statements true or false. The company may be assured that they cannot be got rid of by anonymous contradiction. Mr. Kentish appeals to the memorandum books kept at Gongo Soco. Will the directors order these books to be sent home *unmutilated*, and lay them open to the inspection of the shareholders?

To these remarks we will add but one sentence. The very witness whom the directors have adduced for their exculpation admits that, IN JANUARY, 1839, THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION DID POSSESS 413 SLAVES! Let the shareholders hear this, and then read the following extract from a British act of parliament, 5 George IV.

Be it also enacted, that if any person shall deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter or transfer, or contract for the dealing, trading in, purchase, sale, barter, or transfer of slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, &c., in every such case, the person or persons offending, and all accessories, are declared to be felons, and liable to transportation for fourteen years, or imprisonment and hard labour for five years, nor less than three years.

OUR eyes are steadily and anxiously fixed on the manner in which the important resolutions of the anti-slavery convention respecting religious intercourse with slave-holders are received by the various christian societies of this country. The Methodist conference, we regret to say, with great display of anti-slavery zeal, evaded the main point, namely, that it is the duty of religious societies to separate from their communion all persons who, after they shall have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, shall continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery. The Baptist body have happily taken a different course. A meeting of the Board of Baptist ministers in and around the cities of London and Westminster was held on the 6th instant, when this vital point was affirmed by a large majority—two only, we understand, showing hands in the negative. On the 14th instant a meeting was held of another influential portion of the same denomination, the Committee of the Baptist Union—on which occasion also the same principle was affirmed by a large majority, only one being dissentient. We rejoice most sincerely in these decisions, and feel persuaded that they will lead to similar proceedings in the churches of the Baptist denomination at large.

We wish we could speak with equal satisfaction of the course adopted by the Congregational or Independent body. A meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales has recently been held at Bristol, at which attention was called to the subject of American slavery in the following manner, as reported in the *Patriot*:—

"An important resolution was then submitted by the Rev. Dr. Redford, declaratory of the sentiments of the meeting on the painful subject of slavery in America, and of the conduct of many eminent christian ministers in that country, in their decided advocacy and defence of that frightful abomination. This was seconded by Dr. Matheson, who favoured the meeting with interesting statements of the line of conduct adopted by him, in relation to this subject, when travelling in America as a representative of the Congregational Union, and ably and satisfactorily defended his conduct in this particular from recent attacks by violent abolitionists from that country. After discussion, this resolution was adopted with more

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then unanimity—with warm and strong, but chastened feeling. It was as follows:—

"That this meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales avails itself of the present opportunity—the first that has presented itself since the meeting of the late anti-slavery convention in London—of bearing its unanimous and most decided testimony to the importance of the objects contemplated by that convention—of expressing, in the most emphatic terms, abhorrence of the crime of slave-holding, and deep conviction of its repugnance to christianity—of recording expressions of grief and humiliation in observing the tenacity with which the professing christian public, and christian ministers generally, of the United States of America still cling to this blood-stained and hateful practice—of earnestly imploring those American brethren, for the honour of our common christianity, calmly to consider the deep guilt in which their system of slavery involves them, the impediments it presents to the successful promotion of the gospel, both in their own country and in Africa; and the national disgrace indelibly attaching to the only civilized and christianized people in the world that maintains the practice of domestic slavery—a nation that does but proclaim its own dishonour when it glories in pre-eminent liberty achieved by its own energies, but denied to millions within its own bosom. Nor can this meeting forbear to express warm sympathy with the devoted abolitionists of America in their generous zeal to free their fellow-men from hateful bondage, and their country from the more hateful crime of holding them in cruel captivity; and in the noble courage with which, amidst every disadvantage, they take their firm stand for truth, liberty, and benevolence. Yet this meeting must add, in explanation, that it does not approve, but deplores the extravagance and bitterness, the violence and irregular proceedings, by which some American abolitionists have brought discredit on their holy cause, and placed difficulties in the way of its early, peaceful, and perfect triumph."

On this deplorable subject, the indignation of the meeting was evidently mingled with sorrow; and love for brethren in awful error was no less apparent than condemnation of their sin—while the brethren present no less showed themselves sensible that the holy cause of abolition has been too much damaged by violence, irregular movements, and indiscriminate vituperation of all who have felt unable to adopt every sentiment and measure of some very sincere, but very injudicious advocates of the sacred rights of Africa's injured sons.

In the resolution thus adopted "with more than unanimity," there is much, of course, to gratify us—but there is not a little also with which we are pained. In the first place, notwithstanding the "emphatic terms" in which the resolution is couched, it avoids all reference to the question of religious communion with persistent slave-holders. In the second place, it makes a strange attack on American abolitionists. Yes! It is even a part of the resolution, which was adopted "with more than unanimity," that the Congregational Union of England and Wales, as represented at the Bristol meeting, "does not approve, but deplores the extravagance and bitterness, the violence and irregular proceedings, by which some American abolitionists have brought discredit on their holy cause, and placed difficulties in the way of its early, peaceful, and perfect triumph!" This obnoxious passage has been promptly noticed by the Rev. W. Brock, of Norwich, (a Baptist minister) who, in a letter to the *Patriot*, says most justly:—

"Had the names of any extravagant and bitter, and violent advocates of our good cause been mentioned, no mischief might have been done. They would have been known, and the 'devoted abolitionists' lauded by the resolution would have stood well. Now, however, Birnie, and Stanton, and Miller, with their admired coadjutors, are open to the charge that the Congregational Union of England and Wales has placed its ban upon them. I know the Union might, and probably, would protest against such an application of their censure. Still the opprobrium will be attached to those 'devoted abolitionists,' and they will have the opinion of the Congregational Union worked plausibly and energetically against the decisions of the anti-slavery convention."

We concur fully in these remarks, and shall wait with anxiety for some explanation of an affair which we cannot but reckon somewhat mysterious. If the suggestion of this rider—for it has all the appearance of being such—to the resolution, may be ascribed to local influences (the meeting having been held at *Bristol*), and its adoption to inadvertence, it will be easy to set the matter right. We are sure that there are many ministers of the Congregational body, to whom the resolution must be very unacceptable as it now stands, and we cannot believe that they will suffer it to pass without observation.

We cannot pass from this subject, without noticing the course reported to have been pursued by the Rev. Dr. Matheson upon this occasion. This gentleman, it is well known, visited the United States some years ago as one of a deputation from the Congregational Union, his companion being the Rev. Dr. Andrew Reed. We are told that he "favoured the meeting (at Bristol) with interesting statements of the line of conduct pursued by him in relation to this subject [slavery], when travelling in America;" and that he "ably and satisfactorily defended his conduct in this particular from recent attacks by violent abolitionists from that country." We have never heard till now that either Dr. Matheson or Dr. Reed has made any statement of the course adopted by them in the United States in relation to slavery, although the whole country has rung with the alleged misdoings of a subsequent deputation, the Rev. Drs. Cox and Hoby, on the same subject. At length, however, Dr. Matheson has done so; no doubt it must have been very interesting to the meeting, and as it would be very interesting to us also, we hope we shall be favoured with a full report of it. As for his defence, it is quite news to us that Dr. Matheson has ever been attacked. Remarks on English deputations, indeed, were uttered by some American delegates in the convention, which made every body look at the notoriously accused parties, Drs. Cox and Hoby; but we believe the name of Dr. Matheson was never mentioned, nor was any pointed reference made to him. He has found, however, a cap that fits him, and it is his good pleasure to wear it. But, as the accusation which he has applied to himself was public, so surely will he make his defence. For a Bristol newspaper reporter to tell us that it was "able and satisfactory" will do nothing towards his vindication, either on the other side of the water or on this. The entire anti-slavery public will wait to know what the remarks in the convention were which Dr. Matheson deemed applicable to himself, and what are the grounds of his defence. All we call for is a full and faithful report of his speech. We should like to know, also, whether Dr. Reed feels himself called upon for a similar effort, or whether he leaves his vindication in the hands of his companion in travel.

In his most interesting letter to Mehemet Ali, Dr. Madden has nobly acquitted himself of his duty. The ruler of Egypt may be assured that the feeling of admiration which was growing up for him in this country, will be rapidly exchanged for one of the deepest abhorrence and indignation.

We are happy in being enabled to lay before our readers further details of the meetings which have recently been held in the West of England, on behalf of the anti-slavery cause. We give them as communicated in the correspondence of Mr. Scoble with the secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

"September 25th. Devizes. Agreeably to arrangements made by our friends, the Rev. Messrs. Johnston, vicar of Felshead, and Elliot, of Devizes, and G. W. Anstie, Esq., of the latter place, we held a meeting on the morning of that day, R. Biggs, Esq., the mayor, in the chair. It was principally attended by ladies, who appeared deeply and painfully interested in the details laid before them of the extent and horrors of slavery and the slave-trade, as they at present exist in various parts of the world. There were also some friends of our cause from different parts of the surrounding country present; and, could we but have remained at Devizes and in its neighbourhood a few days, they might have been well occupied in visits to Trowbridge, Bradford, Calne, Chippenham, &c. Our pre-engagements, however, prevented this. Upon the whole I trust that good has been effected by our visit, though I could have wished the meeting had been held in the evening instead of the morning, as in that case more persons would have attended. You will have learnt from the *Wiltshire Independent* that, in addition to the resolutions passed, a memorial to government was also adopted on the state of the law in Jamaica and Barbados. It was the intention also of the dissenters to make an appeal against the Jamaica Marriage Act, which is so flagrantly unjust, and so entirely opposed to that in force in this country.

"Monday, 28th. We held an important meeting in the assembly rooms, Princes Street, Bristol, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, a large number of persons attended. Our old and long-tried friend, Mr. Sanders, was in the chair. Birney and I were followed by Captain Stuart, who had accompanied us from Bath, and the Rev. Messrs. Crisp, Birt, and other gentlemen, and the whole of the proceedings went off exceedingly well. In Bristol I think we may calculate upon effective support.

"Tuesday, 29th. Bath. We held a morning meeting in the splendid room at the Town Hall, W. T. Blair, Esq., in the chair. Some interest was attached to this meeting from the fact that a Mr. Morgan, represented to be an extensive planter in the West Indies, had called in question the accuracy of the statements made by me at a former meeting in the same place. This he did in a most insolent letter to our friend Mr. Blair. Morgan, however, did not attend the meeting, but his friend Mr. Caldecott did. Of course I justified my former statements, and I believe, in the estimation of the meeting, triumphantly refuted Mr. Morgan. Mr. Caldecott was evidently non-plussed, and, contrary to his usual habit, remained perfectly silent. Our friends Captain Stuart and Mr. Hunt did us good service at the meeting.

"Thursday, 31st September.—Taunton. At this place we held a meeting in the evening in the Friends' meeting-house, the Rev. Mr. Davies, in the chair. It was very numerously and respectably attended, and went off with a good deal of spirit.

"Friday, 1st October.—Exeter. On our arrival we found that a hoax had been played off upon the inhabitants of this city a few weeks ago. Large placards, convening a great anti-slavery meeting, were forwarded from London to Mr. Congdon, the proprietor of the assembly room, requesting him to have them extensively circulated and posted, and stating that a deputation composed of the honorable and rev. Baptist Noel, Dr. Scoresby, late of Exeter, and Mr. Birney, from New York, would be present on a certain day, to address the audience on the anti-slavery question. The result was, that, at the appointed hour, an immense assemblage of persons were collected; for more than an hour they waited with great anxiety the arrival of the deputation, and, of course, were greatly disappointed and angry; when some gentleman present stated that he was convinced his townsmen had been hoaxed, as it turned out they had been. It is supposed that Mr. Congdon has discovered the party who played him the trick, or has received a remuneration for the expenses he had to bear in preparing for the meeting. When I heard of what had taken place I feared it might have some influence on our meeting, but

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was delighted to find that it had not, for we had a very large auditory. The mayor most cheerfully and kindly took the chair, and we were assisted in the proceedings of the evening by Rev. M. Vicars, Mr. Wilkinson, and other influential friends.

"I spent the Sabbath at Kingsbridge, in the neighbourhood of which resides our truly excellent friend, Mr. Richard Peek. We saw each other for a moment or two, as I was entering the town and he was leaving it. In the evening I was requested to assist in the religious services, which I did, and gave an address which enabled me to call attention to the obstructions which slavery and the slave-trade offer to the progress of the gospel in the world. I had a large audience, and a deep impression appears to have been made.

"Monday, 4th October.—Plymouth. The meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institute, which was crowded to excess, and numbers obliged to leave for want of room. Mr. Prance, one of the magistrates of the corporation, was in the chair. In addition to our addresses, eloquent and impressive speeches were delivered by Rev. Mr. Hatchard (Church), Rev. Mr. Smith (Independent), and Rev. Samuel Nicholson (Baptist), and the meeting went off well.

"On Thursday evening, the 7th, a meeting was held in the Town Hall, Reading, and was very numerously attended, the Rev. Mr. Eyres in the chair, when an auxiliary was formed, particulars of which will be forwarded by the secretary.

"Friday the 8th. The meeting held at Oxford in the evening was a splendid one. The Town-hall was most kindly lent by the mayor for the occasion, and he would have presided had not previous engagements absolutely prevented. His place however was well filled by Mr. Paxton, and the proceedings were well conducted throughout, and are likely to lead to important results. Such a meeting was never before held at Oxford. An auxiliary was formed, particulars of which will be transmitted to you by the secretaries, Messrs. Paxton and Bartlett. Though term had not commenced, several gownsmen were present, and the Rev. Mr. Cox, vice-principal of one of the colleges, would have taken part in the proceedings had he not been obliged to quit at an early hour. Thus we finished this series of meetings, and although we much regretted that we were not able to stay long enough in the various places we visited to deepen the feelings created by the public meetings, we yet rejoice that a vast mass of important information has been laid before many large and intelligent bodies of men, and has received a still further extension through the medium of the press, as our proceedings have been well reported everywhere."

A meeting having been fixed for Edinburgh on the 14th, the deputation hastened thither. Mr. Scoble continues.

"In the evening we held our meeting in the large and commodious church belonging to the Rev. Mr. French. Our Scotch friends gave the deputation a warm and cordial reception. I followed our friends Birney and Stanton in a short address, making way for our friend Mr. Anderson from Jamaica, who much interested the audience by the testimony he bore to the negro character, and the beneficial results of emancipation. The resolutions were ably moved and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Dickson, of the kirk of Scotland, the Rev. W. Alexander, Independent, the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, of the Secession church, Rev. Messrs. Robertson and Muir, of, I believe, the same denomination, all influential men; and Adam Black, Esq. who is on the eve of being elected Lord Provost. The speeches of these gentlemen were short, but eloquent and impressive. The breakfast meeting will be on Friday morning, when I am expected to speak on the general results of emancipation in the West Indies, and the duties which still devolve on British abolitionists. The dejeuner is expected to be well attended.

"I have thus brought to a close a rapid and very imperfect account of the interesting and important meetings which have been held in various parts of the country since I last saw you, in all of which the proceedings of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and of the late great Anti-slavery convention, have been fully sustained. But what I principally hope for is, the effect that will be produced by them on America. In this respect I feel we may go on and take courage. The testimonies gathered up in our journeys, and sent to the United States, must work conviction in the minds of many, and, at all events, will greatly strengthen the hands of our friends, who are so zealously labouring in the cause of the oppressed."

By a copy of the *Scottish Pilot* with which we have been favoured, we learn that on and about the platform at the Anti-slavery meeting were the following gentlemen; the Rev. Drs. Dickson and Ritchie; Revs. Henry Grey, W. L. Alexander, and J. Robertson; Revs. F. Muir and G. D. Cullen, of Leith; Commissary Wemyss, George Thompson, C. L. Remond, Carnegie, Ritchie, Adam Black, and T. B. Tod, Esqs.; and Councillors Falkner and Tait. The public breakfast was held at the Royal Hotel, Prince's Street, Dr. Greville again in the chair. On this occasion Mr. Scoble entered at large into the results of emancipation in the British colonies, and was followed by Messrs. Stanton and W. W. Anderson. Their speeches were succeeded by resolutions of a warm, congratulatory, and grateful character, moved and seconded respectively by the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, and Messrs. Wilson, Thompson, and Remond. To this last named gentleman Mr. Scoble made a direct reference at the public meeting, as to the light in which the people of colour in the United States regarded the Colonization Society; an appeal to which Mr. Remond is reported to have made the following reply.

"Mr. Remond was happy in having an opportunity to answer that question, the more so that he understood the Rev. Mr. Gurley, the secretary of that society, was at this moment in Edinburgh. He begged distinctly to say, that the free people of colour looked upon the African Colonization Society with the same feelings that the slaves regard slavery. (Loud cheers.) They have remonstrated against its operations times without number."

OUR readers are already acquainted with the fact that Sir Joshua Rowe, the chief judge, and the only professionally educated judge, of the supreme court in Jamaica, is now in England. Some circumstances little creditable to him are connected with this fact. As the law stood up to the present year, the chief judge could not leave the island and retain his office. In the celebrated judicial bill of 1840, his honour persuaded a friend of his in the house of assembly to introduce a clause enabling that officer—namely, himself—to be absent without loosing his situation. No sooner had this bill received the sanction of the governor, than there appeared in the list of persons about to leave the island the name of Sir Joshua Rowe! It was a time at which his departure was extremely inconvenient to persons interested in pending proceedings at law, and disadvantageous to the course of public justice. But all this was little to the chief judge: he was loose, and nothing should detain him. For what objects he effected so prompt a departure can only be conjectured; but we do not find any one who has even suspected that they had any connection with the *public* interest. Many persons have in fact suffered severely by his absence, among whom the Rev. Samuel Oughton, the persecuted Baptist missionary, is one. To his absence is owing also the pernicious and disgraceful strife about precedence, which has been maintained during two successive assizes among the assistant judges of the supreme court. Mr. Bernard, to whom the right of precedence clearly belongs, and to whom Sir Charles Metcalfe has assigned it, has been opposed by Mr. Mais; and this petty affair has elicited so much bitterness and party feeling, that not judges enough (the law requires three) could be induced to sit on the bench to conduct the business of the court! The inconvenience, injury, and expense thus occasioned to numerous parties, both in civil and criminal cases, is beyond calculation. The honorable and notorious Hector Mitchell has taken so prominent and offensive a part in this contemptible squabble, that the governor is stated by the last papers to have suspended him from his office of assistant-judge. We see that this honorable intriguer against the government is now caressed and flattered by the conductors of the *Morning Journal*. Messrs. Jordan and Osborn, however, must not suppose it forgotten how vehemently they themselves formerly denounced him as one of the greatest oppressors that ever existed in Jamaica, and as the Robespierre of the island. Could not these gentlemen, who have done good service to the cause of freedom in former times, be more useful now than in lending themselves to the schemes of Mr. Hector Mitchell! That it may not be supposed we have spoken too severely of the parties on whom we have here animadverted, we add a short extract from a recent number of the *Falmouth Post*.

Anxious as Sir Joshua Rowe was to make the best of his way to England, for the purpose either of securing to himself the situation of Vice-Chancellor, or answering for some portions of his conduct with which government has every right to be dissatisfied, leave of absence ought not to have been granted to him until a proper provision had been made to supply his place. Since his departure the public interests have been sacrificed, and the hall of justice has been converted into a scene of confusion, in consequence of the indecorous disputes that have been indulged in on the subject of precedency. Now, whether the right of presiding rests with Mr. Bernard or not, this fact is certain, that he is the only one of our puisne judges who is competent to take the place of the chief during his absence; and the time, we hope, is near at hand when the Salmons, and the Maises, the Longmores, and the Grants, will be relieved of duties that ought never to have been trusted to their care. In the dispute which retarded the business of the assize court, Mr. Hector Mitchell thought proper to use the most insulting language towards his Excellency the governor, who, it seems, appointed another judge to act with Mr. Bernard, because Messrs. Mais and Mitchell would not sit, unless precedence were given to the former. His Excellency has therefore deemed it necessary to suspend Mr. Mitchell, and we trust that the approval by Her Majesty's government of the Judicial Bill will, long before the commencement of the new year, give Sir Charles an opportunity of acquainting the rest of our "unlearned" lawgivers, that the country is to be happily rid of their future services.

UNITED STATES.

WE find in the papers the following indication of the progress of ecclesiastical action on the subject of slavery.

Withdrawment] of Fellowship.—Will you please publish the following resolutions, passed by Angelica presbytery at the late session at Nunda?

1st. *Resolved*,—That presbytery regard the system of American slavery as one of the most high-handed abominations practised among the children of men.

2nd. *Resolved*,—That we do feel solemnly bound to protest against this enormity; and to withdraw the hand of christian fellowship from all who practise or apologise for this sin.

New York Evangelist. Attest—ABIAL PARMELE.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 23.] WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 4TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

AT A MEETING OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST
OF THE
PARTICULAR BAPTIST DENOMINATION,

ASSEMBLING IN CANNON STREET, BIRMINGHAM,

held on the Evening of the 28th of October, 1840, the following Resolution was unanimously passed:—

"That this church, deeply impressed with the melancholy fact that, in various parts of the world, and especially in the United States of America, that land of boasted liberty, christian professors, and even christian ministers and deacons, are holding their fellow-creatures and also their fellow-christians in bondage; and convinced that such a course is essentially unchristian in principle, and inevitably productive of immoral conduct;—hereby resolve, that as it is their bounden duty, so henceforth, it is their solemn determination to withhold communion at the Lord's table from every person known to be the holder of a slave, or the abettor of such as persist in maintaining a system so cruel, iniquitous, and unchristian."

THOMAS SWAN, PASTOR.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

REMONSTRANCE FROM THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF SCOTLAND.

To our Fellow-Christians in AMERICA, *the Address of the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland, held in Dundee, on Thursday, the 16th day of April,* 1840.

OUR BELOVED BRETHREN,—In fulfilment of a resolution passed at the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland, held in Dundee, on the 16th day of April, 1840, we again address you. We feel the utmost freedom in renewing our communications with you on the painful subject of slavery, because we are more than ever satisfied of the truth and urgency of the reasons against the system of slavery, which have been embodied in the addresses, emanating from the same body, for several years successively: because in pressing our views upon your careful and devout consideration, we are using a right which our common profession of christianity gives; and especially because the representations of former years have been received and acknowledged by some Christian communities amongst you, in a manner so kind and fraternal, that it would be as ungenerous as unwise in us, not to renew these tokens of our fervent interest in your spiritual welfare and religious reputation.

It gives us the highest pleasure to know that so many of you are convinced, as well as ourselves, of the sin of slave-holding and slave-dealing; and that you are moved, in consequence, to use the most strenuous and persevering exertions to cleanse the land from its abominations. Brethren, our hearts are entirely with you,—our prayer is, that the number of such may be "greatly multiplied," that your counsels may be wise, your zeal untiring, your efforts united and effective, your success speedy and abundant. It is a much more grateful task to concur and congratulate, than to remonstrate and reprove. We would rather be called to stimulate our American brethren, when they were already active—to touch responsive chords in the bosoms of those who were "willing of themselves"—to strengthen the firm purposes of sincere and vigorous godliness, than to complain of sinful apathy, or to arouse from inactivity, which implicates them in the crime which they do not denounce. It is with disappointment, and distress, and shame, to which you can perhaps scarcely give credence, that we look at so large a body of professing Christians in your country at this moment consigning their fellow-men, some of whom are professors of the same faith with themselves, to the wrongs and indignities of hopeless bondage; whilst many more, not slave-holders or slave-dealers, are the strenuous defenders of the existing system; and many more, protecting and fostering it by their connivance and countenance. The slave-system, as it exists in your country, is awfully comprehensive of evil; the crimes which feed and sustain it are nameless for their enormity; the vices which it nourishes in its various departments are wide-spreading and execrable; the wrongs which it inflicts on the body, mind, and spirit of the bondsman (and of him who holds him in bondage) are incalculable; and our amazement exceeds utterance, that any professing the name of Christ should not see and own the system to be throughout intensely criminal,—should not, at every hazard and sacrifice, escape from the contact and contamination of such a physical and moral pestilence,—should not, as by the instinctive and irresistible impulses of his nature, devote himself to denounce and destroy it. We cannot but think, that if our brethren would calmnly examine the system, by the light of Holy Scripture (not to speak of natural reason and equity), and deliver themselves from the delusive subtleties of abstract speculation, they must surely conclude that they could not in consistency with their Christian profession, without a dishonourable stain on their character, without a withering blight upon vital religion, and a most manifest bounty upon worldliness and infidelity, actively support, or in any way countenance such a system. With what truth can they hold forth the gospel of Jesus Christ, as a system of which the features, and withal the fruits, are righteousness, mercy, love and purity, if it can cover under its name, or shelter by its doctrines, a system, of which oppression, and cruelty, and crime, are "the spirit and power?"

To hold their fellow-men in bondage, as absolute saleable property, is a sin in any; and can the professed followers of Christ, who bow to his sceptre, venerate his laws and have learned at his feet the spirit of meekness and benevolence which he breathed and inculcated, put their hand to this work of wickedness? Experience and observation teach us the great power of prejudice in biassing the judgment; and for this, brethren, we would allow amply in your favour; but, can you hide from yourselves, that in countenancing and supporting slavery, you are living in sin? Are you not assured, if you reflect, that while this sin is cherished your souls must be blasted and withered; that insincerity must be established, as if by a law, in the hearts of the worshippers of that God who will have men to "lift up holy hands" unto him; and that the godliness which will survive such habitual quenching of the Spirit, must be transformed into the "spirit of bondage"—the very drudgery and dregs of spiritual life?

You allow it, brethren, to be a truth in morals, that our consciences may be charged with the guilt of practices in which we do not actively or indirectly share, if these practices are sheltered by our countenance, and protected by our silence respecting their enormity, or our inactivity towards their restraint and abolition. On this principle if you leave any legitimate means unemployed, or any practicable or probable methods unattempted, for removing this disgraceful and cruel system from your borders, you become its patrons and protectors. It is possible that we, at this distance, may not be fully acquainted with all the difficulties of your position as a nation, especially of the several States in relation to the Union; and it is possible we may have underrated these difficulties. We are not conscious of wronging you even in thought. But, taking these obstacles at their highest estimate, unless they forbid any movement whatever on your part in this great enterprise of mercy, you are bound, as men and as Christians to make what exertions you can. If you have not full liberty of action, it is yours to use the liberty you have. You have not every advantage desirable or possible for contending with this gigantic evil; but great advantages may be procured and created. Inactivity cannot be guiltless until you have done "whatsoever your hand findeth to do." Brethren! "necessity is upon you," and, harsh as the judgment may seem, we cannot see our escape from the obligation, but by dishonouring or abjuring your most holy faith.

A most urgent reason for immediate and uncompromising hostility to the system of slavery, arises from the fact, that thousands who are members of your churches are the active agents of its unmitigated horrors. A most injurious and fatal element is thus diffused throughout the religious community: "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." Association tends to bring men to a common level. In the soil of such hearts godliness cannot flourish. The other portion of the church must, by communion with them, be deteriorated and corrupted. The tone of spiritual principle and sentiment is lowered. The whole church is brought into fearful danger and certain injury. There is, of necessity, a reserve in the general heart in favour of notorious injustice and iniquity,—sound spiritual health is therefore impossible. And by so much as the character of the church is stained, its influence for good is diminished. Men are compelled, despite of every contrary inclination, to view with suspicion even the religious activity and enterprise of a community thus seriously vitiated;—what would in other circumstances be regarded as the unequivocal indications of spiritual prosperity are distrusted, and with apparent reason, as if they were the uncandid attempt (not unknown in the history of the church) to cover the neglect of one duty by counterbalancing zeal in the discharge of another. Bethink you, dear brethren, of these consequences, which your own spiritual sympathies will set before you, we trust, with greater effect than the most elaborate portraiture by us. If vital godliness decay in the church; if the fountain of spiritual health be poisoned, whence are to come the streams to refresh and beautify the thirsty land, and change the wilderness into a fruitful

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field! There is but one way in which such a dreadful calamity may be averted:—"Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before the eyes of the Lord; cease to do evil; learn to do well, *seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.*"

But such a change we cannot anticipate while the great body of you admit and cherish so inveterately the prejudice against colour. This prejudice, of which the friends of justice and humanity complain, as one of the main supports of the slave-system, and one of the greatest barriers to their successful struggle with it, we can think of, only with amazement approaching to incredulity. It is a weakness we can scarcely allow in you. It is an infringement of right reason quite unworthy of an enlightened people. It is based on a falsehood, to which facts, palpable as noon-day, are giving contradiction; for the persons who are despised for a peculiarity merely corporeal and superficial, are the owners of the high faculties of man; and many of them, by the cultivation of their mind, and the virtue of their character, may be an honour to any country, and an ornament to any society. It is vexatious injustice to punish as a crime what none can with any show of reason allege to bear that character. It is an indication of impiety; for it pours contempt on the work of God, and quarrels with the decrees of his providence.

If it were necessary to extend our reasons further for the course to which we affectionately invite you, we should bid you cast your eyes on your rising youth, the pride of the nation, the hope of the church. This stain on your name and religion cannot escape their observant eye. They will very likely be perplexed and confounded by the manifest contrariety of your principles and your practices. When they see a system so "earthly, sensual, devilish," supported by some of you, countenanced by others, tenderly dealt with by most, they will very likely cast the weight of your example into the scale of their worldly interests,—perhaps thenceforward despise the authority, or deny the origin, and certainly corrupt the quality of the religion you would teach them; and when your eyes see, or your foreboding hearts shall prophetically picture to you, your posterity denying the power of that religion whose form they retain, or in proud and presumptuous infidelity defying heaven in their courses,—conscience may say to you, in embittered accents: "Have ye not procured these things for yourselves?"

Nothing seems more truly calculated to gratify the cravings of the scoffer at our holy religion, than your countenance of slavery. The gainsayer takes his stand upon your practices, and you are not the defenders of the faith that can weaken his position. You may therefore reasonably question whether your connexion with slavery is not doing greater injury to religion than the most combined and self-denying efforts can do for its defence and propagation.

Brethren, what shall we say more! We might appeal *to your reason as men*: disown the great practical untruth to which you have given currency under your hand, that man may lawfully hold his fellow in bondage,—may give to man the place of the brute, and change the living responsible agent into a mere chattel!—*to your wisdom as politicians*: attempt not to bind your society together with that which now weakens, and may ultimately dissolve and desolate your nation:—*to your consistency as Americans*—the friends and advocates of freedom: whilst you exult in liberty and independence, lift your foot from the neck of your prostrate brother; belie not in your acts the boastings of your lips: turn not the lofty notes of freedom into the croakings of hypocritical selfishness:—*to your sincerity as patriots*: foment not these smouldering and scarcely hidden fires that may suddenly burst forth to desolate your altars and your homes:—*to the tender sympathies of domestic and relative affection*: do not wrench and sacrifice those affections in others, which constitute the honour, and happiness, and excellence of your own being: but we appeal especially, and with lively hope, to you, *as the disciples of Jesus Christ. If your Lord's commands are binding on you*, you will "do justly and love mercy"—you will "do good to all men as you have opportunity," and at least render to them that which is "just and equal"—you will "owe no man anything," and therefore not withhold from him his dearest rights and pleasures. *If your Lord's spirit be attractive to you*, and you "know the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ," you will cultivate "the mind which was also" in Him; you will "condescend to men of low estate:" you will "look, not every man to his own things, but every man also on the things of others." *If your Lord's love constrain you*, you will "glory in his cross," and thus "be crucified to the world, and the world unto you;" you will not suffer worldly advantage, nor any other idol to dispute his supremacy, or restrict his honour and obedience as the Lord of the heart and conscience. *If your Lord's cause be dear to you*, you will "hold forth the word of life;" you will, by "manifestation of the truth," commend it "to every man's conscience in the sight of God," and by embodying in your life the equitable and benevolent spirit of the gospel, give no "occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme."

To those bearing the christian name engaged in slave-holding, we say, with all fidelity and affection,—Review once more the first principles of the gospel. Own, as you surely must perceive, the sinfulness of the traffic in the pilfered rights and liberties of your fellow-men. Wash your hands at once from the dishonourable defilement. Deliver your consciences from the crushing load of guilt. Break the fetters in which your souls have until now been held. Enter into the full liberty of Christ, which consists in honouring his authority and laws. Suffering and loss may await you; but were it martyrdom itself, the spirits of sainted martyrs invite you to the sacrifice; Christ's promises will sustain you—his shadow will cover you—and his unchanging favour be your everlasting crown.

Let those whose hands are not engaged in the work of oppression, keep their hearts free from contamination. The guilt of those whom you own as brethren, should open up the fountain of sorrow in your spirits. By so much as they come "short of the glory of God," be it yours to stand forth with "garments unspotted," as witnesses for the righteousness, and benevolence, and purity which the gospel inculcates. Suffer not sin upon your brethren, or you may make it your own. Abjure all maxims of worldly policy, when they would set aside the authority of Christ. Deliver your souls at once and for ever from co-partnery in crime. Inactivity is guilt in the sight of your Divine Master. Compromise is treachery to his interests. Timidity is distrust and disaffection. Abandonment of the cause of the poor and oppressed, is apostacy from your high calling. "Be strong, quit you like men."

Let our coloured brethren who have obtained the blessing of freedom bear, with the meekness of Christ, the wrongs to which they are still subjected. You, dear brethren, need no stimulus from us to hate slavery, and hunt the loathsome system to the death. "Go, and the Lord be with you." You will repress, however, as befits you, every excess of natural indignation at the remembrance of your own, or the sight of your brother's injuries, lest natural passion should hurry you into word or act that would embitter your spirit, defile your conscience, and ultimately injure your great and godlike enterprise.

Our dearly beloved brethren who are still in bonds—we would remember you as bound with you. We would mingle our tears of sympathy with your tears of suffering. But you have a fuller and more efficient sympathy than ours. Ye are the Lord's freedmen. Your souls exult in the liberty that sanctifies and expands the immortal spirit. In all your sufferings the eye of heaven beams on you with pity. The Lord puts your tears into his bottle. "For your shame you shall have double." "In your patience," dear brethren, "possess ye your souls." In the furnace of suffering your heavenly Lord is brightening and beautifying your spirits to adorn his diadem of glory.

Finally, beloved brethren, our "heart's desire and prayer to God" for all of you is, that "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report," you may "think on" and "do;" and that the God of peace may be with you."

Subscribed in the name of the meeting,

RALPH WARDLAW, D.D.
DAVID RUSSELL, D.D.
JAMES R. CAMPBELL, M.A.

A correct copy of the original in my possession.

JAMES R. CAMPBELL.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE STUDENTS ATTENDING THE THEOLOGICAL HALL OF THE RELIEF SYNOD,

At present assembled in PAISLEY, *on the subjects of* SLAVERY *and* PREJUDICE *against* PERSONS *of* COLOUR, *with all the* CHRISTIANS *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA, *who are engaged in, or advocate, the* SYSTEM *of* SLAVERY, *and countenance that unfounded* PREJUDICE *against* FREE MEN *of* COLOUR, *so prevalent among them.*

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN,—We, the candidates for the office of the holy ministry, in connexion with the Synod of Relief, beg to approach you in the exercise of brotherly love, and affectionately, but earnestly, to expostulate with you on the flagrant sin of holding property, and trafficking in human flesh, and subjecting multitudes, whom you recognize as free men, to the most painful disabilities, on the sole ground of the colour of their skin. It has been represented to us that in the United States of America, many of those who profess the religion of Jesus, and even those who have been called to serve him in the gospel—whose office it is to proclaim peace on earth and goodwill to all the children of men, not only countenance and palliate slavery, but attempt to defend the horrid system from the doctrines and precepts of the Holy Bible,—yea, even that many of them are themselves engaged in the unchristian practice of holding their fellow-men in that cruel bondage, and of buying and selling human beings like cattle, or any other article of merchandise. It is with sincere and deep sorrow that we have heard that any, professing the benevolent principles of our holy christianity, can be guilty of such glaring inconsistency, and of such inhuman conduct; but especially do we lament that the followers of Jesus, in that land which has emphatically styled itself the land of liberty, where the churches so rapidly attained to such honourable eminence in piety and active exertions in the cause of philanthropy and religion, whose magnificent plans for evangelising the heathen have been so successful in carrying the light of the gospel to many benighted corners of our globe—do still persevere in the practice and support of that unrighteous system which denies, to a numerous class of their fellow-beings, liberty—the inalienable right of every man; and claims the right of binding them in chains, compelling them to labour, and even of disposing of them as personal goods or chattels.

We might appeal to you as American citizens to withdraw yourselves from all connexion with this dire system, and to use your utmost endeavours in accomplishing its total abolition, and thus maintain your individual consistency as members of that state which has solemnly and publicly protested before the world, "that all men are created equal."

We might expostulate with you, as you value the sacred cause of liberal principles, and desire their spread over the earth, to strive mightily

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to have the foul sin blotted from your statute book. Then the charter of American independence may be held up for the admiration of the world. Then may the friends of civil and religious liberty point the abettors of despotism to the banner of freedom waving unsullied over millions of their fellow-men in the United States of America—then the oppressor might be seen to weep, when he beheld the grand experiment successful, and when he heard the knell of his craft rung in his ear.

But, as members of the christian church, and as candidates for the christian ministry, we remonstrate with you, in all affection and kindness, as brethren in the Lord, as you regard the authority of our Saviour and master, and desire to recommend his religion to all mankind, to purge yourselves from the heinous sin, and stand out before the world, in imitation of the great high priest of our profession, and our elder brother, who is now passed within the vail, as the devoted friends and lovers of the whole species. Christian brethren, it is a solemn charge which the founder of our holy christianity has committed to his followers, the preservation and propagation of the truths of that religion which he established on the earth; and it ought to be the subject of the grave consideration of every particular church, and of every member of the church, whether, by their conduct, instead of recommending the religion of Christ to the men of the world, they are not strengthening the prejudices of the enemies of our faith, and preventing any from receiving the truth as it is in Jesus If, by any part of our conduct, we be the occasion of preventing a single soul from coming to Christ, shall we not be guilty of the blood of that man? And how, dear brethren, can the professing christain, who holds a fellow-being in the cruel and unrighteous bondage of modern slavery, preach or recommend the gospel to his miserable victim? Will you tear a man from the bosom of his family, lead him, like an ox, to the market for sale,—or wrench the last particle of strength from him by labour and the lash, then leave him to die unheeded, because he can toil no longer,—and during all this, tell him that the Son of God died that men might be redeemed from the curse of sin—that he established a religion which breathes love and peace to all mankind—that the votaries of this faith are known for their devoted attachment to one another, and their love to the whole human race—that you yourselves have experienced its melting influence upon your hearts, and that you now entreat him to become a disciple of the meek and lowly Jesus!. Oh, the thought is monstrous! And will hundreds of professing christians in the United States of America countenance, and support, and practise the horrid system which binds nearly three millions of human beings in the chains of slavery? Are these three millions of your fellow-mortals all christians already? Then, when you have separated husband from wife, and parents from children, manacled them, driven them to market and sold them as chattels, or scourged them to their labour,—will you bid the men of the world take notice, by your conduct, that you are followers together of Him who has declared this to be the mark of discipleship?—"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if you love one another." Are many of these three millions of slaves yet strangers to God and the hope of the gospel? Then, you dare not, as you value your own immortal souls, refuse to invite them to be partakers of that salvation offered by Christ to every descendant of Adam. And can you bind them in chains, and treat them in all respects as the inferior animals, and then entreat them to accept of the glorious liberty with which Christ has made his people free? But what is the fact? Do you not find it necessary, in order to perpetuate the cruel and inhuman system, to deny to your slaves the privileges of education and the knowledge of the means of salvation? Have your legislators not made it a heinous offence, in some parts of the United States, to teach a slave to read or write, purely out of dread that the spread of light would speedily prove fatal to the barbarous system? We would have you, dear brethren, pause and think. Are you, who profess the religion of Jesus, and who support this system, which is obviously the means of preventing so many of your countrymen from enjoying the benefits of education and the knowledge of salvation, prepared to stand in their room and bear their guilt, on the great day when the Lord shall call every man to give account of all the deeds done in the flesh?

And Christian friends, we beg to remind you that a more extensive work than that of preaching the gospel to your fellow-citizens, has been laid upon you by the head of the church. To the church of the United States of America, in conjunction with those of Great Britain, the vast work of evangelising the globe has been committed, and to them the eyes of the whole world are turned, praying them to send the bread of eternal life. And can the churches of America, which are polluted with the foul stain of slavery, go forth to the enlightening of the dark places of the earth? Can you go forth "to proclaim deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them that are bruised," when you are preaching the doctrine of man's right to hold a fellow-man in chains, or to barter him for gold into perpetual bondage? When the nations have gathered around the standard of the cross, planted by you in foreign lands, anxious to enlist in the service of the Captain of Salvation, and to go forth themselves and fight the battles of the Lord, shall they not turn away in terror and disgust, when they behold black spots of slavery on the banner which appeared in the distance to be pure and unpolluted?

We might urge you, by many other reasons, to withdraw yourselves from all connexion with the unchristian system, and to lend your endeavours to accomplish its total abolition, in every nation where it exists, but at present we forbear.

Suffer a few words of remonstrance on the other evil to which we have alluded, and then we have done. We have been grieved to learn that multitudes of individual christians, and also christian churches throughout the United States, entertain so strong prejudices against that class of their fellow-citizens whom they denominate free men of colour, that they reject them not only from their society, but also from seminaries of education, and refuse to engage promiscuously with them in the ordinances of our holy catholic religion. Is it thus you have learned the will of that God who hath made of one blood all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth, and received the truth from that Saviour with whom there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female; for all are one in Christ Jesus? Many of those you recognise as brethren in the Lord, by admitting them to the ordinance of the supper, and other privileges of the church, and yet you will not engage in the solemn exercises of the sanctuary with one of these brethren seated in the same pew. You surely cannot suppose that there will be curtains hung to separate one class of the righteous from another in the sanctuary above; and will you refuse to engage promiscuously in the worship of our God and Saviour in the church on earth, with those with whom you expect to unite in praising the Lord throughout eternity, in the general assembly of the redeemed in heaven.

In conclusion, we entreat you, as you respect the dignity of human nature—as you desire to promote the happiness of man in the present life—as you regard the honour of that religion which you profess, and wish its spread over the world—as you desire the eternal welfare of the souls of many of your fellow-creatures, and to stand, yourselves, acquitted of your Saviour and your Judge in the great day, to withdraw yourselves from all connexion with the evils to which we have alluded, and to lend your utmost aid in the promotion of religion, and philanthropy, till every chain, which is unrighteously bound on human flesh, shall have been snapped asunder, and all men shall look on one another, as fellow-creatures and brothers.

(Signed by all the students.)

John Thorburn	James Martin,
George Alison,	James Bonnar,
John M'Coll,	James Lambie,
William W. Clogstone,	James Drummond,
Archibald Muir,	William S. Reid,
Bryce Kerr, A. M.	David Donaldson,
William Miller,	Robert D. Scott,
Peter M'Farlane,	David Buchan,
William Wood,	David Young,
Thomas L. Findley,	Thomas Stevenson,
William Watson,	John Davidson,
John S. Giffen, A.B.	Alexander Barr,
Alexander M'Leod,	Archibald H. Milligan,
John Donald,	John Munro,
James Ewing,	Peter Logan,
Archibald Russell,	John L. Aikman.
James G. Stewart,	Allan Maclean,
Robert Rutherford, A.M.	Robert Gemmel,
Henry C. Gray,	W. H. Ramage,
David Drummond,	Robert B. Beatie,
James Simpson,	John Brown, A.M.
William Simpson,	William Morton.

RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

FURTHER evidence on this most interesting topic has just been laid before the British public, from the pen of Joseph John Gurney, Esq. It is well known that this gentleman has been for about three years prosecuting a religious visit, as a member of the Society of Friends, through various parts of the western world. While in the West Indies, his attention was, of course, particularly directed to the consequences, as then apparent, of the great measure of negro emancipation; and in a volume of Familiar Letters, now before us, the result of his observations is communicated. It was the author's more immediate design to furnish to the people of the United States, on whose future condition the experiment of British philanthropy is destined to exercise no evanescent influence, an authentic testimony of the state of the West Indies under freedom; and with this view he has addressed the Letters into which his materials are thrown, to that distinguished American statesman, Henry Clay. In this form the volume has already been published on the other side of the Atlantic, and they are now re-published on this. The work is written in the pleasing and elegant style for which the writer has long been distinguished, and breathes throughout a spirit of pure and universal benevolence. It will entertain and instruct any reader, and cannot but win an extensive circulation.

Before reaching any of the British colonies, Mr. Gurney visited the Danish island of Santa Cruz, and St. Thomas. His remarks on these are too important to be overlooked, but we must notice them hereafter; at present we hasten onwards to his account of the British colonies. He visited Tortola, St. Christopher's, Antigua, Dominica, and Jamaica. In all these he furnishes us with specific facts, and he afterwards frames from them a general view, which we quote without abridgment.

"My narrative respecting the British West India islands being now brought to a close, I will take the liberty of concentrating and recapitulating the principal points of the subject, in a few distinct propositions.

"1. *The emancipated negros are working well on the estates of their old masters.* The evidence of this fact contained in the foregoing letters is, I hope, clear, and ample. Thou wilt be pleased to recal the case of Tortola—especially the evidence of President Isaacs, who has fifteen hundred free-labourers under his care—of St. Christopher's, that scene of industry and prosperity—of Nevis and Montserrat, of which the official accounts are so cheering and satisfactory—of Antigua, where, after the trial of freedom for six years, the produce of sugar is largely increased, many estates thrown up in slavery are again under cultivation; and the landed property once sinking under its burdens, is already delivered from its mortgages—of Dominica, where, notwithstanding the lack of moral culture, and the superabundance of fertile wild land, the peasantry are working as peaceably and diligently on their old locations, as in Antigua itself. Nor does Jamaica, when duly inspected and fairly estimated, furnish any exception to the general result. We find that, in that island, wherever the negros are *fairly, kindly, and wisely* treated, there they are working well on the properties of their old masters; and that the existing instances of a contrary description must be ascribed to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom. Let it not, however, be imagined, that the negros who are not working on the estates of their old masters are, on that account, idle. Even these are in general busily employed in cultivating their own grounds, in various descriptions of handicraft, in lime-burning or fishing—in benefiting themselves and the community ough some new, but equally desirable medium. Besides all this,

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stone walls are built, new houses erected, pastures cleaned, ditches dug, meadows drained, roads made and macadamized, stores fitted up, villages formed, and other beneficial operations effected; the whole of which, before emancipation, it would have been a folly even to attempt. The old notion that the negro is, by constitution, a lazy creature, who will do no work at all except by compulsion, is now for ever exploded.

"Taking the same population of black people, a larger proportion of them is *operative* (in various ways) under freedom than was the case under slavery; and of the operative part, each individual on an average performs more work than he did before. Thus the whole quantity of work obtained by the stimulus of wages is considerably greater than the amount formerly procured by the terror of the whip. When I speak of the stimulus of wages I allude especially to *its most effective form*—payment by the piece or job. The peasantry of the county of Norfolk, in England, afford a fair specimen of industrious labour on day's wages in a cool climate. My own observation has led me to the conclusion that a free negro in the West Indies, paid by the day, will, in general, perform about three quarters of the quantity of work which would be called a fair day's labour in Norfolk. But employ and pay him by the job or piece and he will soon equal, and even exceed the day-labour standard of the Norfolk peasant. I presume it was chiefly to job-work that a most intelligent magistrate of St. Christopher's alluded, when he said to me with great *emphasis*,—'They will do an *infinity* of work for wages.'

"2. An increased *quantity* of work thrown upon the market is, of course, followed by the cheapening of labour. That this is the case in Jamaica, is in the clearest manner demonstrated by the experience of A. B. and his friends, in the parish of Manchester. Great is the pecuniary relief experienced by many of the planters, in the several islands which we visited, in consequence of their deliverance from the dead weight of their slaves. In some cases, the saving amounts to the half of their former outgoing. A planter who owned three hundred slaves, for whom he provided food, clothing, bedding, household utensils, and medical attendance—not to mention white men for watchers, whips, and bilboes—is now delivered from the whole of this burden: pays one hundred free-labourers instead; and soon, by dint of job-work, mechanism and short processes, reduces that number to sixty or seventy. Thus his *debit in account* comes to be almost as much decreased as his crosses and his cares. Remember A. B.'s declaration that he had rather, for the profit's sake, 'make sixty tierces of coffee under freedom, than one hundred and twenty under slavery.'

"True indeed it is, that the circumstances of different estates, and even of different colonies, varied considerably as to the expenditure occasioned by the support of the slaves; and the figures, in the comparison now instituted between slavery and freedom, will vary in proportion. But so far we have omitted to take into the account the interest of the capital invested in slaves, and the dead loss occasioned by the excess of deaths over births—items which used to produce tremendous debits in every fairly arranged balance sheet of a West Indian slave-holder. Bring these items into view, and the saving of expense on the side of freedom is undoubted, uniform, and, in many cases, very large.

"3. We prove the correctness of a sum in division, by a corresponding process in multiplication. Just so do we prove the truth of the two preceding propositions by a fact of which there is now taking place a gradual but sure development, *in all the islands which we visited; viz. that real property has risen, and is rising in value.* In the towns, both the enhancement and improvement of property are very extraordinary. In the country, the value of the slaves, to say the least of it, is already transferred to the land. Remember the declaration of our friend in St. Christopher's, who had bought an estate before emancipation for £2000, and now would not sell it for £6000; and that of our friend in Jamaica, who sold G——— estate for £1500, and now remarks that it is worth £10,000. I wish it, however, to be understood, that the comparison is not here made with those olden times of slavery, when the soils of the islands were in their most prolific state, and the slaves themselves of a corresponding value; but with those days of depression and alarm which preceded the act of emancipation. All that I mean to assert is, that landed property in the British colonies has touched the bottom, has found that bottom solid, has already risen considerably, and is now on a steady ascending march towards the recovery of its highest value. One circumstance which greatly contributed to produce its depreciation, was the cry of interested persons who wished to *ran it down*; and the demand for it which has arisen among these very persons, is now restoring it to its rightful value. Remember the old gentleman in Antigua, who is always complaining of the effects of freedom, and always buying land. 'It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer? but when he is gone his way *then he* boasteth.'

"4. The personal comforts of the labouring population under freedom are multiplied tenfold. In making this assertion, I do not mean to insinuate that they enjoyed no comforts under slavery. On many of the estates they were well fed and clothed and were kindly treated in other respects. Their provision grounds were often ample—the poor and infirm were supported with the rest—medical attendance was given—and many of them found opportunities for saving money. On the other hand, I am fully aware, that since the date of full (nominal) freedom, they have been partially subjected in some colonies, to grievous vexation and oppression; that in others their wages are too low; that the poor and infirm are not always adequately provided for; and lastly, that medical attendance in many cases has been withdrawn.

"Yet, on the whole, the improvement in their physical condition and comforts is wonderful. In the first place, they are no longer suffering under the perpetual feeling of compulsion; they are enjoying the pleasures of independence—the whip, the bilboes, the tread-wheel, are all withdrawn. And, secondly, their dress and diet are both of them very greatly better than they used to be under slavery. They are constant customers now at the stores of the hosier, the linen-draper, the tailor, the shoe-maker, and the grocer—of which delightful fact, we find both sure evidence, and a happy consequence, in the vast increase—almost the doubling—of imports. Bread and meat are now commonly eaten by them. Remember their beautifully neat appearance at our meetings, their handsome wedding dresses, the eggs consumed for their wedding-cakes, the wine in their cottages freely bestowed on weary pilgrims, their boots and shoes which they are so much afraid of spoiling in the mud, the mules and horses on which they come riding to their chapels, their pic-nic dinners, their social feasts of temperance and freedom. Above all, remember their thriving little freeholds—their gradual, but steady accumulation of wealth. Wherever they are fairly treated, the labourers of Jamaica are already most favourably circumstanced. Teach them to improve the structure, arrangement and furniture of their cottages, and to exchange all items of finery and luxury for substantial domestic convenience—and it will be in vain to seek for a better conditioned peasantry in any country of Europe.

"5. Lastly, the moral and religious improvement of this people under freedom, is more than equal to the increase of their comforts. Under this head there are three points deserving respectively of a distinct place in our memories. First, the rapid increase and vast extent of elementary and christian education—schools for infants, young persons, and adults, multiplying in every direction. Secondly, the gradual, but decided diminution of crime, amounting, in many country districts, almost to its extinction. Thirdly, the happy change of the general and almost universal practice of concubinage, for the equally general adoption of marriage. 'Concubinage,' says Dr. Stewart in his letter to me, 'the universal practice of the coloured people, has wholly disappeared from amongst them. No young woman of colour thinks of forming such connexions now.' What is more, the improved morality of the blacks is reflecting itself on the white inhabitants—even the overseers are ceasing one after another, from a sinful mode of life, and are forming reputable connexions in marriage. But while these three points are confessedly of high importance, there is a fourth which at once embraces and outweighs them all—I mean the diffusion of vital christianity. I know that great apprehensions were entertained—especially in this country—lest, on the cessation of slavery, the negros should break away at once from their masters and their ministers. But freedom has come, and while their masters have not been forsaken, their religious teachers have become dearer to them than ever. Under the banner of liberty the churches and meeting-houses have been enlarged and multiplied, the attendance has become regular and devout, the congregations have in many cases been more than doubled—above all, the conversion of souls (as we have reason to believe) has been going on to an extent never before known in these colonies. In a religious point of view, as I have before hinted, the wilderness in many places has indeed begun to 'blossom as the rose,' 'Instead of the thorn,' has 'come up the fir-tree, and instead of the briar,' has 'come up the myrtle tree, and it shall be to the Lord *for a* name—for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.'"—pp. 177—184.

To this most gratifying extract we may add one which contains the author's view in relation to the deficiency of produce.

"I will take the present opportunity of offering to thy attention the account of exports from Jamaica, (as exhibited in the return printed for the house of assembly) for the last year of the apprenticeship, and the first of full freedom.

	Hhds.
Sugar, for the year ending 9th month, (Sept.) 30, 1838	53,825
Sugar, for the year ending 9th month, (Sept.) 30, 1839	45,359
Apparent diminution -	8,466

"This difference is much less considerable than many persons have been led to imagine; the real diminution, however, is still less; because there has lately taken place, in many parts of Jamaica, an increase in the size of the hogshead. Instead of the old measure, which contained 17 cwt., new ones have been introduced, containing from 20 to 22 cwt.—a change which, for several reasons, is an economical one for the planter. Allowing only five per cent. for this change, the deficiency is reduced from 8466 hogsheads to 5175; and this amount is further lessened by the fact, that, in consequence of freedom, there is a vast addition to the consumption of sugar among the people of Jamaica itself, and therefore to the home sale.

"The account of coffee is not so favourable.

	Cwt.
Coffee, for the year ending 9th month, (Sept.) 30, 1838	117,313
Coffee, for the year ending 9th month, (Sept.) 30, 1839	78,759
Diminution (about one-third)	38,554

"The coffee is a very uncertain crop, and the deficiency, on the comparison of these two years, is not greater, I believe, than has often occurred before. We are also to remember that, both in sugar and coffee, the profit to the planter may be increased by the saving of expense, even when the produce is diminished. Still it must be allowed that a considerable decrease has taken place, on both the articles, in connexion with the change of system. With regard to the year 1840, it is expected that coffee will at least maintain the last amount; but a farther decrease on sugar is generally anticipated.

"Now, so far as this decrease of produce is connected with the change of system, it is obviously to be traced to a corresponding diminution in the quantity of labour. But here comes the critical question—the real turning point. To what is this diminution in the quantity of labour owing? I answer deliberately, but without reserve, '*Mainly* to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom.' It is, for the most part, the result of those impolitic attempts to force the labour of freemen, which have disgusted the peasantry, and have led to the desertion of many of the estates."—pp. 171—173.

In the following passage Mr. Gurney bears a gentle but effective testimony to the truth of the harrowing accounts which have from time to time been published respecting the violence of managers, and the injustice of the rent system.

"From Papine, we went forward to the Hope sugar estate, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham. Under the apprenticeship, it had fallen into almost entire decay from mismanagement, and was a very losing concern; but it is now leased, together with a coffee estate of greater value, to Joseph Gordon, a respectable resident planter, for £2000 per annum—I believe sterling. This gentleman is bringing the property round, by free labour, and will doubtless make it answer his purpose. He has about one hundred and fifty labourers upon it, *well at work*, under an able overseer. We had much pleasure in visiting them in the fields. A large company of men were holing, at job or task work, and were earning at least two shillings sterling per day. Many of them indeed finish their two shillings'

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worth by noon; and can double it, if they please, before sundown. On the other hand, they pay their landlord a fair rent for their cottage and provision grounds—generally half a dollar per week.

"The fairness and propriety of this arrangement cannot be questioned; and all that is required to render it complete, is to give to the tenant, by deed or otherwise, an independent lien for a reasonable period, upon his little tenancy. He will then have the opportunity of taking his own stock in trade, namely his labour, to the best market—free from all compulsion, except that of voluntary contract, to work on any particular estate, or for any particular rate of wages. Wherever the peasantry of Jamaica have been thus trusted and honourably treated, they have seldom failed to work on the properties of their old masters, which are the most familiar to them, and the nearest to their homes—provided always that fair wages be given, and these paid weekly in cash. But it has been the unhappy lot of this colony, to be much perplexed with this subject of rent, which was prematurely forced on the attention of the people, immediately after the date of full freedom. Had it been permitted to find its own way, by degrees, on the common principles which regulate the affairs of men, there can be no doubt that the labourers of Jamaica would have been just as little disturbed and unsettled, as those in Antigua and Dominica.

"As it is, the question of tenancy has been mixed up with that of labour, on a great proportion of the estates on this island. In case of any misunderstanding between the overseer and the labourers, on the subject of the work, either as to its duration, or price, threats of ejectment have followed. These threats in many cases have been put in forcible execution. Cottages have been unroofed and even demolished. Cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees have been cut down; provision grounds have been despoiled by the hand of violence, or trodden under-foot of oxen; and thus the labourers have been driven to seek for themselves a new home, either by moving away to other properties, or by purchasing little freeholds on the neighbouring mountains. We often heard of these instances of violence, and *saw* something of them; yet I would charitably believe that they have been comparatively rare. Not so, the plan of doubling or trebling the rent, or even multiplying it fourfold, upon the arbitrary decision of the employer, or of charging it *per capita* against husband, wife, and each of the children, as a *penal exaction*, to compel labour—the screw for this purpose being completed, in many cases, by distraint of goods and imprisonment of person. Sorrowful to say, this plan has been practised through the length and breadth of the island. Every one must perceive that it classes under slavery, of which the very essence is, *compulsory labour*. The discontent, heart-burning, and desertion of estates, to which it has given rise, are the natural consequences of the infraction of pure justice; and they form the principal explanation of the discouraging accounts, which have from time to time been given of Jamaica, since the date of freedom.

"On the other hand, the estates which have been managed on those just and equal principles which allow full scope to the freedom of the labourer, have in general been blessed with tranquillity and prosperity. The favourable and unfavourable accounts from Jamaica (allowing for a little exaggeration on either side) are both essentially true; and with little exception, they are the respective results of two opposite methods of management. But the evil is correcting itself; a better understanding is gradually taking place; and masters and labourers are increasingly in the way of being bound together—not by unfair methods of compulsion, but by the surer, safer bond of a common interest.—pp. 99—102.

Mr. Gurney was favoured with an interview with Sir Charles Metcalfe, the account of which we extract, the rather because of the important observations on the magistracy which are wrought into it.

"At the hour appointed for the purpose, we were introduced to the governor, Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, with whom we enjoyed the privilege of a long and free conversation. He bears about him all the marks of long experience, knows the world well, makes a generous use of his large pecuniary resources, and, by his urbanity of manners, and substantial kindness, readily engages the affections of those who surround him. We fear, however, that his well-intentioned efforts to please all parties in Jamaica, will not in the end succeed. We cannot but believe that an individual of such evident benevolence and integrity, will soon find it his place to make a decided stand against the various encroachments upon the rights and privileges of the labouring population, which are but too evidently making a silent and insidious progress.

"We were sorry to hear that several *overseers* had lately been appointed to the station of local magistrates, for since the questions which come before the justices are almost uniformly between the labourers and overseers, it must surely be a dangerous expedient to constitute the latter judges in their own cause. Between the two evils of no magistrates at all, and magistrates thus circumstanced, the latter appears to us to be the greater.

"The same remark applies in a considerable degree to the higher grade of 'attornies,' and we apprehend that nothing would more serve the purpose of good order and tranquillity in the colony of Jamaica, than the settlement of a magistracy wholly independent of all parties in the island, and paid by the home government. The present stipendiary magistrates, with many of whom we had the opportunity of making our acquaintance, appeared to us to be already, to a great extent, answering this purpose. Many of the peculiar functions which they exercised during the apprenticeship have now ceased, and they are in general acting in the simple capacity of local magistrates. That they are (with little exception,) invaluable defenders of the rights of the peasantry, in all the islands which we have visited, we are bound honestly to testify; nor have we ever observed in any of them, any indisposition to promote the fair interests of the planter. They have now large experience of the moral and civil condition of the communities in which they act. To remove them from their posts, would, in our opinion, be little short of a death blow to the peace and liberty of the colonies. We venture with great deference to express our decided judgment that their original number ought to be filled up, and their office, as local justices of the peace, rendered fully efficacious, and *permanent*. These remarks are made without any feeling of ill-will or prejudice against the planters and their agents, localized in Jamaica. We entertain warm feelings of regard and friendship towards many of these persons; from *all* of them, whom we saw or visited, we met with unvarying kindness and civility. We give them credit, in general, for honourable intentions. But we know the effect on the minds of men, of the circumstances in which they are placed, and have watched the silent influence of *local bias*. It is a true, though trite remark, that

> 'When self the wavering balance shakes,
> 'Tis seldom right adjusted;'

and hence it obviously follows—I am sure the planters of Jamaica will admit it—that in him who holds the scales of justice, self ought to have no interest whatsoever in the questions to be decided.

"We were glad to compare notes with Sir Charles Metcalfe. Like ourselves, he had just returned from a tour of inspection, in other parts of the island. It was therefore a great satisfaction to us, to find that he had imbibed the same convictions as we had, respecting the impropriety of mixing up the questions of rent and wages, and of all other attempts to compel the labour of free men; that he rejoiced, as much as ourselves, in the rapid increase of villages of independent negro settlers; and that he fully concurred with us, as to the most efficacious modes of ensuring the continuous labour of the people on the estates of their former masters. These are the regular weekly payment of wages in cash, the system of job or piece work, the letting or selling of tenements and plots of ground to the people, within the properties of the planters, and lastly, moral and religious instruction. On one point we somewhat differed. Sir Charles seems to be of the opinion, with many other persons, that the planting interest of Jamaica is suffering from the want of a larger population. That there is scope in that island, for a great increase in the numbers of the people, is unquestionable; and we are by no means opposed to any reasonable scheme of immigration. But the result of our own inquiries is, a conviction that the present population of Jamaica, if its force be but fairly applied under a just and wise management, will be found more than adequate to its present extent of cultivation; and that, as the population multiplies, under the righteous sway of freedom, the cultivation may be indefinitely increased."—pp. 167—170.

We cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of making one more extract, the length of which will be forgiven on account of the interesting details it supplies. It relates to Jamaica.

"We were now come to the residence of an enlightened planter and attorney, who has the care of twenty coffee-estates, and whom—not having the liberty to name him—I shall call A. B. He was not at home; but his servants supplied us with a comfortable meal, and good lodging; and greatly were we pleased and satisfied, in having found a resting-place, in the midst of delightful scenery, and a happy population.

"A. B. joined us the next morning; and we also received visits from two individuals, the benefit of whose acquaintance, we had particularly desired—Dr. Davy, the Custos of Manchester, and Dr. Stewart, a clergyman of enlightened views and extensive influence—I believe the stipendiary curate of the parish. Nothing can be more reasonable and effective, than the system adopted by A. B. as well as by Dr. Davy, in the management of the estates under their care. Both these gentlemen are said to have been, in former times, much opposed to emancipation; but they have been wise enough to sail with the stream, and to give freedom a fair, confiding trial. They entirely separate the questions of rent and labour—charging rent according to the money-value of the tenements, and payable quarterly; and on the other hand, giving fair but moderate wages, which they constantly pay weekly, and in cash. They adopt the system of job or piece work, by which the stimulus of wages is vastly increased. They build comfortable cottages for their labourers, and let or sell to them plots of ground, so as to render them absolutely independent. Thus they secure an ample home population: and for this population, education and religious instruction are provided on a large scale.

"The consequence is, that the people are well at work on the properties under their respective care; the employers are satisfied, the labourers contented and orderly, the whole district in a state of comfort and prosperity. 'I came to this district,' says Dr. Stewart, in a letter which I have since received from him, 'in April 1834. There was one place of public worship, not one-third filled. It contained 1250 square feet then. It has since been twice enlarged, and now contains 2427 square feet, and is not half large enough for the congregation. I have also in the same district, another place of worship, capable of holding 600 people, which is regularly attended every Sunday, and is always full. The average attendance has increased from 300 to 1600, at least. The communicants have increased from 27 to 289. In 1835, the bishop confirmed, in my chapel, 47. In 1840, he confirmed in the same place, 635. During the same period, two very large Moravian chapels have been erected in the same district. In the last six years of slavery, the number of marriages at this church, was 421; in five years and a-half of partial or entire freedom, 2614. When I came here, I found two adult negros who could read a little, but there was no school in the parish: now more than 100 adults can read, and almost all the rising generation and schools are rapidly increasing.'

"This delightful report of the rapid progress, under the banner o freedom, of education, morals, and religion, perfectly corresponds with Dr. Davy's account of the decrease of crime. 'The parish over which I preside,' said he, 'contains 22,000 souls. There is no crime in it now. The jail has only three inmates—one old convict, and two persons for an assault.'

"Now I am sure, my dear friend, thou wilt agree with me in the sentiment, that even if emancipation had for ever brought to a close the cultivation of coffee, in the parish of Manchester, such a circumstance, however undesirable, would have been as nothing in the scale, when weighed against these rich blessings, social, moral, and religious. Had all the planters in the district been deprived of their profits, it would still have been a small point in the comparison. But happily, the prosperity of the proprietors, is linked by an indissoluble tie, to that course of justice, mercy, and wisdom, which insures the well being of the population at large. The experience of A. B. and of his friend Dr. Davy, affords the clearest evidence, that a fair arrangement with the labourers, on the ground of full and unrestricted freedom, *answers for the pocket.*

"In the first place, they have discovered, that a good rental may be obtained from the labouring population, under the character of an independent tenantry, to the great advantage of the proprietor. A. B. showes me a rent-roll of £1270 per annum, (whether currency or sterling, I know not,) which sum he was levying, on a few of the estates under his care, without the smallest difficulty to himself, or uneasiness on the part of the people. And secondly, they have ascertained the fact, that a free-

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man, under the stimulus of wages, (paid on job-work especially,) will do a great deal more work, than a slave under the impulse of the whip; and therefore that work on a small scale—as in some particular job—or work on a large scale, as in the whole conducting of an estate—may be obtained at a much cheaper rate now, than it was under the old system. The argument, when fully stated, stands thus: the population being in both cases the same, a larger proportion of it becomes operative in freedom than in slavery; and of the operative part, each individual does more work, in freedom than in slavery—and thus more labour is thrown upon the market—and of course labour becomes cheaper—in freedom than in slavery. But this truth, with A. B. and his friends, is matter not of argument merely, but of account. The expense of working one of A. B.'s estates in 1837, during the apprenticeship, was £2400 currency; in 1839, since freedom, it was only £1200 currency—exactly one-half. In this case the produce was somewhat diminished, but the *profit* was increased.

"This is a point worthy of peculiar attention. The prosperity of the planters in Jamaica, must not be measured by the mere amount of the produce of sugar or coffee, or compared with the time of slavery. Even where produce is diminished, profit will be increased—if freedom be fairly tried—by the saving of expense. 'I had rather make sixty tierces of coffee,' said A. B., 'under freedom, than one hundred and twenty under slavery—such is the saving of expense, that I make a better profit by it—*nevertheless, I mean to make one hundred and twenty, as before.*'

"'Do you see that excellent new stone wall round the field below us?' said the young physician to me, as we stood at A. B.'s front door, surveying the delightful scenery—'That wall could scarcely have been built at all, under slavery, or the apprenticeship; the necessary labour could not then have been hired at less than £5 currency, or 15 dollars per chain. Under freedom, it cost only from three dollars and-a-half to four dollars per chain—not one-third of the amount. Still *more* remarkable is the fact, that the whole of it was built under the stimulus of job-work, by an invalid negro, who during slavery, had been given up to total inaction.' This was the substance of our conversation—the information was afterwards fully confirmed by the proprietor. Such was the fresh blood infused into the veins of this decrepid person, by the genial hand of freedom, that he had been redeemed from absolute uselessness—had executed a noble work—had greatly improved his master's property—and finally, had realized for himself, a handsome sum of money. This single fact is admirably and undeniably illustrative of the principles of the case; and for that purpose, is as good as a thousand.

"A few more particulars, however, which bear on the same point, may be interesting and satisfactory. They are contained in the letter already cited, from my friend Dr. Stewart, dated 'Mandeville, Jamaica, March 28, 1840.' 'With regard to the comparative expense of free and slave-labour,' says he, 'I give you the result of my experience in this parish. *Wherever rent and labour have not been mingled together*, prices have been reduced, in the picking and curing of coffee, *from one-third to one-half*; from £10 per tierce, to from £5 to £6. 10s. Grass land is cleaned at one-third of the former expense. A penn in this neighbourhood, when cleaned in slavery, cost, simply for the contingencies of the negros, £80. The first cleaning, by free-labour—far better done—cost less than £24. Stone walls, the only fence used in this rocky district, cost £5. 6s. 8d. per chain, the lowest £4, under slavery. The usual price now is £1, the highest £1. 6s. 8d. per chain. To prepare and plant an acre of woodland in coffee, cost, twenty years ago, £20; up to the end of slavery, it never fell below £16. In apprenticeship it cost from £10. 13s. 4d. to £12. Now it never exceeds £5. 6s. 8d. I myself have done it this year for £5; that is the general price all through the district. In 1833, I hired servants at from £16 to £25 per annum. In 1838, 1839, and since, I have been enabled to obtain the same description of servants, vastly improved in all their qualifications, for from £8 to £10 per annum.' These are pound, *shilling*, and pence calculations; but they develop mighty principles—they detect the springs of human action—they prove the vast superiority of moral inducement, to physical force, in the production of the useful efforts of mankind. It is the perfect settlement of the old controversy between wages and the whip.

"'I know the case of a property,' observes Dr. Stewart again, 'on which there were one hundred and twenty-five slaves—the expense amounting (at £5. per annum, for the maintenance of each slave) to £625. The labour account for the first year of freedom, deducting rents, was only about £220, leaving a balance in favour of freedom, of £400. More improvement had been made on the property, than for many years past, with a prospect of an increasing extent of cultivation. On a second property, the slave and apprenticeship expenses averaged £2400; the labour account for the first year of freedom, was less than £850. On a third estate, the year's expense, under slavery, was £1480; under apprenticeship, £1050; under freedom, £637. On a fourth, the reduction is from £1100 to £770.'

"Allowing a little time for the calming of apprehensions, and the development of truth, such results must infallibly find their way into the value of landed property. That they have already done so, in Jamaica, to a considerable extent, is undeniable. A person in the parish of Manchester, who never held slaves, availing himself of the general alarm, bought a property, at the date of full freedom, for £1000 currency. The free-labourers work the better for him, because he never was a slave-holder. He cleared the whole purchase-money, besides his expenses, the first year. He would, of course, make a miserable bargain, were he now to sell the property for five times the amount, *i. e.* for £6000.

"There can be no better testimony in Jamaica, on this subject, than that of A. B. He assured me that landed property in that island now, without the slaves, is worth its full former value, including the slaves, during the times of depression, which preceded the act of emancipation. It has found its bottom, has risen, and is still gradually rising. 'I believe in my conscience,' says Dr. Stewart, 'that property in Jamaica, without the slaves, is as valuable as it formerly was with them. I believe its value would be doubled, by sincerely turning away from all relics of slavery, to the honest free-working of a free-system."—pp. 150—157.

From these extracts, which are but a sample of the general contents of the book, it will be seen that, in relation to the results of emancipation, Mr. Gurney's testimony is of the most satisfactory kind.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES CONTRASTED WITH FREEDOM IN THE WEST INDIES.

(From *A Winter in the West Indies*, by J. J. GURNEY.)

"I know something of the slave-states of North America—many interesting weeks have I spent in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina; and some little time both in South Carolina and Georgia; and although I strictly confined myself to my functions as a minister of the gospel, I travelled with my eyes and ears open on the subject of slavery. I will therefore freely submit to thy consideration the result of my own inquiries and observations in the slave-states of your Union, on the five points now alluded to. These are, first, the quantity of labour procured under slavery; secondly the comparative expense of the system; thirdly, the effect of it upon the value of property; fourthly, the comforts of the labouring people; and lastly, the state of morals and religion. On these several points, I beg leave to offer the following remarks:—

I. The quantity of labour.—Many a time have I seen the slaves of Virginia and the Carolinas, at work in the fields under the surveillance of a white overseer; and I could not believe that the work obtained was in quantity comparable to that of freemen; for the slaves were labouring without vigour, and the overseer was doing nothing. On inquiry, in South Carolina, especially I found that the quantity of work procured from the slaves was even much less than I had anticipated. I understood that in a body of slaves on any estate, the proportion in active service, at any given time, is not greater in America than it was in the West Indies. There are the old, the infirm, the sick, the shammers of sickness, the mothers of young infants, the numerous children, &c. &c. All these belong to the dead weight, and they leave about *one-third* of the black population in actual operation. Now, this operative class has no stimulus to labour, except compulsion, i. e. the whip; and people neither *will* nor *can* perform by compulsion, an average quantity of *continuous* work. That they should do so, is contrary to the laws of nature—to the constitution, not only of the negro, but of mankind in general.

The result is, that many of the cotton and rice planters of Georgia and South Carolina, are contenting themselves with half a day's work from their negros. Their task is finished by twelve, one, or two o'clock; and for the rest of the day they are left to themselves. Most willingly do I allow that this arrangement is to the credit of the benevolence of their masters, though I fear that this prevailing kindness has its many painful exceptions; but the plain fact is, that the slave cannot, without great violence, do more, or much more, than he is now doing. Compel him to perform the task of a free-man, and you drive him to death. True indeed it is that *driving to death*, whether more or less rapidly, is a frequent concomitant of slavery. The exaction by brute force of such an amount of labour, as entails the unnatural wearing up of the labourers, with a corresponding excess of mortality, was formerly a common circumstance in the British West Indies; it is dreadfully prevalent in Cuba; nor can it be doubted that numerous instances of it are still to be found in the slave-states of North America—especially in those *which are in the practice of importing supplies of slaves, fresh and fresh as they are wanted, from other parts of the Union*. But my present argument is addressed to that better class of slave-holders, whose profession and intention it is, not to exact from their slaves a greater quantity of work than consists with the object of preserving them in a fair average condition of health and vigour. These persons will, I am satisfied, be willing to confess, that a slave does not and cannot perform by compulsion, more than half the work of a free labourer of equal powers, under the inducement of wages. Where the only stimulus to labour which survives under slavery—I mean the whip—is withdrawn, the work of course becomes light in proportion. I can easily believe that the slaves of my friend, Isaac E. Holmes, M. C. for Charleston, who would not if he could help it hurt a fly, lead a quiet and easy life. May they continue to enjoy that privilege, until they are finally set free! It appears then, that the work obtained from a body of three hundred slaves in your southern states, cannot, in many cases, be estimated as more in quantity than the fair day's labour, on wages, of one-sixth of the number, that is, of *fifty freemen*.

That which was true in the days of Pliny the naturalist, is equally certain now. "To cultivate land by slaves," says that ancient writer, "is the worst of follies; for all work is badly done by people in despair."*

II. But the whole three hundred slaves must be maintained; and the expense of supporting them in your states, is vastly greater than it was in the West Indies. I was surprised to hear, on excellent authority, when lately in South Carolina, that the average expense of maintaining a slave, on estates where they are liberally treated, is not less than 50 dollars per annum. Three hundred slaves, at 50 dollars, is 15,000; or take it for moderation's sake, at 30 dollars, and the result is 9000. But these 300 slaves represent an enormous capital. Even now, the price of a good male slave at Savannah and Charleston, is 000 dollars—often it has risen to 1500 dollars. Take 500 dollars as the average price of men, women, and children, and your 300 slaves represent a capital of 150,000 dollars, on which interest at 6 per cent. is 9000 dollars. This added to the other 9000 dollars for their support, makes

* Coli rura ab ergastulis pessimum est, et quicquid agitur a desperantibus. lib. xviii.

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18,000 dollars—a terrible debit indeed in any man's annual profit and loss account. Such a debit may be overborne for a time by high prices of rice, cotton, or sugar; but it is ruinous in its nature, and ruin in the end it is pretty sure to produce. Pay 50 free labourers 2 dollars 50 cents per week as wages, and charge them half a dollar weekly for rent, (allowing two weeks in the year for holidays) and the result is the small comparative annual expense of 5000 dollars. Independently however of this calculation in figures, we are to remember the collateral truth, that slavery is wedded to extravagance; whatever may be the particular exceptions, its general tendency is to engender in the *slave-holding* population. those habits of indolence and wastefulness, which have as thou canst not fail to be aware, accelerated the downfall of many a reputable family, and many a noble estate.

III. The value of landed property.—As the favourable working of freedom in the West Indies is *proved* by the rise in the value of property, so I think it must be allowed, that a *proof* of the ruinous tendencies of slavery is forced on the view even of the most superficial observer, who travels through Maryland, Virginia, North and South Caroline, and Georgia. Thousands and tens of thousands of acres, which were once cultivated and productive, have fallen back, under the blight of slave-labour into a wilderness; not indeed, the wilderness of olden times, which teemed with the luxuriance of nature, but one without fertility and without hope. The properties to which I allude, the appearance of which cannot fail to be familiar to thyself, were once doubtless of considerable value; now (notwithstanding the general rule that land rises in value, as a nation rises) they are worth little or nothing. A change for the worse in the appearance of the country is conspicuous enough, even when one passes the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland; but I am told that it is still more striking to the traveller who crosses the river from the state of Ohio, into thy own Kentucky. The soil on either side of the magnificent stream being of equal fertility, the *free-bank* (it is said,) blooms with prosperity, while the *slave-bank* presents the evident symptoms of neglect and decay.

I know that the monied value of property depends on a variety of causes—that it will of course rise when the wilderness becomes settled, and when the population increases, as on the fertile shores of the Mississipi. I am also aware that the richness of an alluvial country, as in Louisiana, and frequent irrigation, as in the rice-grounds of South Carolina, will long counteract the causes which would otherwise produce decay. But it is the privilege of a philosophical statesman, in his examination of the statistics of his country, to analyse and classify causes and effects. On this ground I am sure it cannot be concealed from thee, that slave-labour viewed in its distinct character, and separated from circumstances with which it is not essentially connected, has a uniform tendency to the exhaustion and depreciation of land. It is a consequence which belongs to the order of nature: but let us remember that the order of nature is the ordinance of God—"He turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein."

IV. Comforts of the negros.—Nothing can be farther from my wish, than to heap abuse on the slave-holders of the southern states. Those with whom I have become acquainted are amiable and benevolent men, and I give them credit for kindness and consideration in the treatment of their slaves. I can perfectly understand what must have been the faithful and affectionate feelings of thy own servant Charles, when in Canada he had thy full permission to take the flight of freedom, but averred that if all Canada was offered to him as a present, he would not leave his master. Had I been in your company, however, when this conversation took place, I might perhaps have addressed him in the language of Paul—"If thou mayest be made free, use it rather"—avail thyself of the opportunity—take the upward step in character and condition, which a good Providence opens before thee. And this advice would have been founded on the conviction that it can never tend to any man's comfort, *in the long run*, to be the subject of unqualified and arbitrary power. I am very much mistaken, if under these circumstances, happiness is not the exception—discomfort the general rule. Ignorance of his own nature and destiny is the only condition, as I believe, in which a slave can be permanently *comfortable*. But the infractions of comfort, to which the slaves of the United States are liable, are too notorious to be disputed. The treatment of them, as it regards food and raiment, must and will depend, not merely on the dispositions, but on the *means* of their masters. The want of ready money in the slave-holder, often bears more severely on the slave, than the want of kindness. Again, we well know that masters are sometimes driven for many months from their properties, by the insalubrity of the location, and that the slaves are left under the care of overseers—persons of sufficiently low grade, to be induced to risk their lives for a pecuniary compensation. This must be a fruitful source of suffering.

In order to form a correct view, however, on the present subject, it is enough for me to recur to scenes which I have myself witnessed. Although, in travelling through some of your slave states, I have often observed the negros well clad, and in good bodily condition, their general aspect has not appeared to me to be that of happiness. Seldom have I seen anything among them, like the cheerful smile of the peasant of Jamaica; and sometimes they have been half-naked, and wretched in their demeanour. When I saw large companies of black people following either the masters who owned them, or the merchants who had bought them, to some distant state, the lame ones compelled to keep up with their associates, and yet limping behind, from very weakness—when, in one of the sea islands of South Carolina, I looked on a gang of them, ginning cotton, working as if they were on the tread-wheel, their sweat falling from them like rain, and the overseer sitting by, with his cow-hide alongside of him—when, in the negro jail of Charleston, I was surrounded by a large number of negros, who had been sent thither, without any intervention of law or magistracy, but at the sole will of their holders, to be punished on the tread-wheel, or with whipping (not exceeding fifteen lashes) according to directions on the accompanying ticket—when, lastly, in the iron-grated depôt at Baltimore, I visited the poor creatures who had been sold away from their families and friends, and were about to be transmitted on speculation, like so many bales of cotton or worsted, to the far-distant south—when these scenes passed one after another, in review before me—it was impossible for me to think highly of the *comforts* of your enslaved negros.

The slave-market in Charleston is held, as I understand, in the open streets, immediately under the walls of the exchange. There our fellow-men are bought and sold without reserve. True indeed it is, that many benevolent holders refuse to sell their slaves under any circumstances, and that many others avoid selling them, except in undivided families. But the laws of bankruptcy and executorship are fraught with no such tender feelings; and, in the breaking up and disposal of estates, husbands and wives, parents and children, are often sold—irrespectively of each other—each to the highest bidder. With such liabilities at hand, where can be the solid happiness of the slave of North America? I would, however, recur to my original ground—no man, who has sense and knowledge enough to reflect upon *himself*, can enjoy true comfort, while the law regards him as the property of another. One of your most enlightened senators furnished me with an instructive anecdote in reference to this subject. A pro-slavery Methodist minister, in our friend's presence, was one day questioning a well-educated negro, much respected by his master, and amply supplied with the conveniences of life. "You have your wife and family about you," said the minister; "you have a good house; you and your children are well clad; you sit down, day by day, to a well provided table; you are even engaged as a preacher to your brethren—why then are you anxious to be free? what can you wish for more?" "Sir," replied the negro, "I wish to lay my hand on my heart, and say, My flesh is MY OWN."

V. Morals and religion. That there are, in the slave-states of North America, a great number of persons, both white and black, who are both moral and religious, I cannot in the least degree doubt. I have witnessed some plain tokens of the fact, in a large number of decent and attentive congregations, consisting both of masters and slaves, who have kindly given me their company at meetings for worship of my own appointment. Far be it from me to exclude either of these parties from the pale of salvation; or to forget the applicability of our common christianity to bond and free. Nevertheless, as slave-holders give way to the development of divine truth in their own minds, they will not fail to hear a voice whispering within them—"Touch not the unclean thing—*cease* to do evil." That slavery is sinful, not only in its abuse, but in its own nature, seems to me to be evident from its practical results. Two of these, with which an American statesman cannot fail to be familiar, I may now briefly mention—they are in themselves amply sufficient to prove my case. The first is the dreadful licentiousness which notoriously prevails in slave-states, not merely among the negros themselves, but more especially between whites and blacks. Here indeed amalgamation speeds its course without reserve, and in a criminal form. An institution which constantly leads to this result—under which fathers are sometimes known to bequeath or sell their own children—must needs be, *in itself*, a desperate moral evil. The second result alluded to is *compulsory ignorance*. Evil in its root—incurably evil—opposed to the will of an intelligent and benevolent Creator—and deadly in its moral tendency—must be a system which shuts out half or two-thirds of the population of a state, from even sipping at the fountain of knowledge—which proclaims to a multitudinous rising generation the stern decree, "You shall *never* be taught to read the Bible!"

I have now drawn a contrast between freedom in the West Indies, and slavery in North America, on five distinct points—the quantity of labour, the expense of cultivation, the value of real property, the comforts of the negro, and lastly, morals and religion. I have endeavoured to avoid exaggeration in the statement of either side; but who shall deny that the scale preponderates with immense weight and power on the side of freedom? Who can doubt that the American statesman is bound, by every principle of philosophy as well as philanthropy, of policy as well as justice, to desist from the support of slavery, and henceforth to labour in the good old cause of *emancipation*?"

ANTI-SLAVERY NEW CHURCH U. S.—The *First Free Baptist Church of Providence* was constituted on Thursday last. It is called the "West Baptist Church," and is designed to occupy a populous and increasing part of the city. The constituents are mostly from the Pine Street Church—the doors of whose chapel, as is known to many, were closed against anti-slavery meetings some time last winter. The brethren composing this church have thereforequietly withdrawn, in the spirit of the meek and lowly Jesus, and unfurled the standard of mercy and free discussion, on the soil of Roger Williams.—*Christian Reflector.*

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Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 4TH.

OUR appeal to the congregational churches of Great Britain and Ireland on the question of religious fellowship with slave-holders has been promptly responded to. The association of Baptist churches in London has affirmed the resolutions of the convention, and recommended them to the consideration of the churches they represent. One of these, the church at Tottenham, has already acted on this recommendation, and others, no doubt, will shortly do so. In the country similar proceedings are in progress. The Baptist church at Cannon Street, Birmingham, has declared itself; some churches in Essex have done the same, and some in the county of Bucks; not a few others are on the eve of it. Of these particulars we have received information; and we have no doubt that an extensive movement exists of which no intelligence has been sent us. We request as a favour information of all proceedings in relation to this matter, to which we undertake to give the earliest publicity. We have been informed that, both in London and Liverpool, American slave-holders applying for communion have actually been refused. We learn also that the committee of the Baptist union have addressed a letter to the slave-holding churches in the United States, of which we hope hereafter to be able to obtain a copy. We insert from the *Glasgow Argus* the Remonstrance of the students attending the theological hall of the Relief synod; what are the committee of the Congregational Unions of England and Wales, and, from a copy which has been forwarded to us, that of the Congregational Union of Scotland, about all this while! Surely they cannot really mean to strengthen the hands of the pro-slavery party in America. But of course we shall hear something of them shortly, since the committee of the Anti-slavery society have transmitted to them the following resolution:—

"A resolution passed at a meeting of the Congregational Union recently held at Bristol, was laid before the committee, in which these words appear. 'Yet this meeting must add in explanation, that it does not approve, but deplores the extravagance and bitterness, the violence and irregular proceedings, by which some American abolitionists have brought discredit on their holy cause, and placed difficulties in the way of its early, peaceful, and perfect triumph.'

"Resolved, that this committee cannot but regret the indefinite phraseology employed in the foregoing resolution in reference to American abolitionists, inasmuch as it may, and probably will, be applied by the enemies of the cause to the whole body; and hereby express their conviction that it is due to all parties to indicate the persons against whom the complaint is directed."

We beg to recommend to the attention of the Independent churches generally the following passage from the Evangelical Magazine for July, 1840. We present it as quoted in an American paper, and with the italics as marked by the American editor.

"Perhaps the most important matter discussed was *the conduct to be pursued in reference to slave-holding professors of the Gospel*. Most earnestly do we hope that our Christian brethren in America will not lend a deaf ear to the voice of Truth, which sounds across the waters to them from *this mighty Convention of the friends of human kind*. O! if all the ministers of Christ in that land would do their duty, *the portentous cloud of vengeance which now spreads itself over the western world* would soon be scattered by the uplifted voice of Truth. *We must come to a stand with American professors of the Gospel, and refuse to have fellowship with them, if they will not join the anti-slavery ranks!* Who is to stay the plague, if they are to stand by unmoved, *or to rank themselves on the side of the enemy!*"

ALL friends of Africa must have learned with much pleasure the appointment of Mr. Jeremie to be governor of Sierra Leone. His superintendence, we understand, is to extend through forty degrees of latitude, twenty degrees to the northward, and twenty degrees to the southward of the colony. From his enlightened views and strength of character much good may certainly be anticipated. The committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, have addressed him on his appointment, in the following letter:—

"To His Excellency John Jeremie, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of the colony of Sierra Leone, and its dependencies.

"SIR,—The committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, present to you their sincere congratulations on your appointment to the high and responsible office you now hold.

"It is to them a source of unfeigned gratification that the administration of a colony so peculiarly important as Sierra Leone, from its connexion with the efforts of this country to extinguish the slave-trade, and from its powerful bearing on the welfare of Africa itself, should have devolved on one whose views on the subject of slavery are so enlightened, and whose course of devotedness to the cause of freedom has been so long and so consistently maintained.

"Painfully aware of what Sierra Leone has been, we are sure that your Excellency will strive to render it what it ought to be, and what we would fain hope it may yet be—conducive alike to the happiness of Africans released from the horrors of slavery, and to the welfare of the entire continent.

"It is pleasing to know, that with respect to religious liberty, to freedom of trade, and the elevation of the Africans in all respects, to an equality with Europeans in intellectual culture and civil privileges, your views are of the most liberal and enlightened kind; —and we trust you will find no insuperable obstacles in the way of carrying out these christian principles to the fullest extent.

"In earnestly commending these children of misery to your enlightened and benevolent regard, we beg to express our especial hope that your Excellency will closely watch the operation of that system of emigration from Sierra Leone to the British colonies in the West Indies, which is stated to have received the sanction of Her Majesty's government. To emigration really free we do not mean to express the shadow of an objection; emigration otherwise than free we assure ourselves you never will permit.

"In conclusion, we express our hope that the providence of God may preserve your life and health in a position which has so many perils, and may enable you to accomplish those beneficent plans for Africa, which, we believe, lie near your heart.

"On behalf of the committee, I have the honour to be, &c.

G. W. ALEXANDER, *Chairman*."

"British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,
27, New Broad St., Nov. 3rd, 1840.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

9, Bentinck Street, Nov. 3rd, 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg you will do me the favour to accept my warmest thanks for your very affectionate address.

My principles are perfectly well known to you, and, I am happy to add, are entirely identical with those which you have set forth with so much clearness, in this, to myself, most valuable document, whilst my acceptance of my present office is the best pledge I can offer of my determination to persist in maintaining them.

Believe me with the most cordial esteem,
Gentlemen, your most faithful servant,
J. JEREMIE.

WE have a large quantity of West India papers, but very little news of importance. It appears now to be certain, that an official communication has been made to the governors of the West India colonies and the governor of Sierra Leone, giving the sanction of the colonial office to a system of emigration from the latter to the former.

Jamaica papers bring the gratifying intelligence that the Rev. S. Oughton has been finally released under the insolvent act. He has publicly expressed his willingness to stay proceedings in error, if Mr. Grant will enter up a satisfaction for the judgment against him.

They mention also, that one of the obnoxious laws of the last session—the fisheries bill—has been disallowed by the Queen in council, and many amendments suggested to others. We shall know shortly what they are, and what the House of Assembly will do with them.

A still more important piece of information is, that Sir Charles Metcalfe has issued a circular to stipendiary magistrates directing the resumption of their official reports. Our readers know that, almost immediately on his arrival in Jamaica, the present governor put an entire stop to the system of reports by the stipendiary magistrates, which had been kept up monthly ever since their appointment. This was, of course, a concession to the planters, a part of Sir Charles's boasted plan of conciliation. The notice taken of this very objectionable step by persons in this country, seems to have led Lord John Russell (who on all occasions has said that he was not aware of the change) to send out directions for returning to the former course. Sir Charles Metcalfe, however, has taken care to do it very partially, and with a very bad grace. The reports are now to be sent, not every month, but every six months. The circular states also, that "information is not to be sought by inquisitorial inquiries into the management of particular properties, nor to be accompanied by remarks or detail painful to individuals." A writer in the *Colonial Gazette* (who does not seem to know, however, that the stipendiaries' reports had been absolutely stopped,) tells us that "the planting interest hail this as a boon." No doubt they do—the effect of it evidently being that the truth is neither to be told nor ascertained. How particular properties are managed is not to be asked, and if wrong doers are detected they are not to be exposed. We are to have the name of reports, but no information. Yet further, it is remarkable that the governor's circular has been sent, not to all the stipendiaries, but to a select number only. On whatever ground this distinction may have been made, it is evidently unwarrantable. That it has been made on party principles we should be very unwilling to believe; but Sir Charles Metcalfe has clearly laid himself open to such a suspicion, without reply. If Lord John Russell really appreciates the importance of the reports of the stipendiary magistrates, let him be entreated to restore the system to an effective condition, and not to tantalize us with a shadow and a mockery.

We find in the papers a rumour that Sir C. Metcalfe is to be made governor-general of India.

Several of the islands, as well as some parts of Jamaica, were suffering severely from drought.

By private letters we are informed that the diminution of crime most happily continues. At the last quarter sessions in Trelawny only two bills were sent in to the grand jury. One was ignored, and the other was against a young girl for stealing a string of glass beads. This in a population of 35,000 persons. We are truly sorry and ashamed to learn that working in chains is again in use as an instrument of punishment—the chain attached round the waist, passing down each leg, and fastened to each ankle!

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On the 20th ult. a public meeting of the members and friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, was held in the Rev. G. Ewing's chapel, the principal object of which was to hear addresses on the condition of slavery in the United States, from the Hon. James G. Birney and Henry B. Stanton, esq., secretaries to the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society; also to hear John Scoble, esq., of London, detail information regarding the results of emancipation in the West Indies; George Thompson, esq., who was expected to present the report of the delegates from Glasgow to the late Anti-slavery Convention in London; and to hear an address from Charles R. Remond, esq., the gentleman of colour who has for some time past been on a visit to our neighbourhood. The attendance was respectable, admission having been obtained by tickets. On the motion of George Thompson, esq., the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw was called to the chair. In the course of the proceedings a reference was made to the Rev. Mr. Breckenridge, whose visit to this country will be in the recollection of many.

Mr. Thompson wished to put a question to Mr. Birney, to which, he was sure, the meeting would be most desirous to hear his answer. At a discussion which he (Mr. Thompson,) had in this city, with an American gentleman on the subject of slavery, it had been stated that that individual had emancipated all his slaves, having imitated the example of the honourable gentleman now present. The chairman of the present meeting, who also presided on the occasion to which he referred, intimated that statement to the audience on what was considered good authority. They were subsequently informed that it was not the fact; but the information had been only partially diffused, or through a medium that was considered questionable by many in this city. Now, he knew that Mr. Birney had taken occasion to ascertain the precise position in which Mr. Breckenridge stood in relation to his slaves. He had found a copy of the deed which Mr. Breckenridge had made before he visited our shores; and he (Mr. Thompson,) should like to hear from Mr. Birney, the real facts of the case, and what was the nature of the deed referred to?

Dr. Wardlaw should like to hear an explanation of the circumstance brought before them by Mr. Thompson. He had stated, as a fact, and upon what he had reason to regard as good authority, that Mr. Breckenridge had emancipated his slaves; and that gentleman never contradicted the statement.

Mr. Birney said he had been personally acquainted with Mr. Breckenridge since he was very young. When he saw the account from this country of the debate between him and Mr. Thompson, he was surprised that he should have sat and heard such a statement as that made by the chairman. He was informed at that time that his slaves were not emancipated, but he had also heard that he had filed in the clerk's office a deed for their prospective emancipation. He had some recollection, likewise, that some time before this he had manumitted one man, and sent him to Liberia. He (Mr. B.) adopted measures to obtain possession of a copy of the deed, said to have been filed by Mr. Breckenridge. He wrote to a friend in Lexington, to procure him a copy, duly identified, that is, having the sign manual of the clerk. The answer was, that he could not have one unless it was wished for some judicial proceeding. He then asked his friend to go to the place, and make out a copy of it, on the accuracy of which he could rely. He did so, the copy was procured, and the document was published in the abolitionist papers. At the time the debate took place, there were not more than two or three entitled to emancipation by that deed, and it was prospective, some to be emancipated in eighteen months, and the remotest time extended to 1843. The terms of the deed were very singular; the emancipation of the slaves was not to be unconditional at the end of this time, but on receiving the certificate of the owner that they had behaved in such a way as to show that they were entitled to freedom. And his Mr. Birney's impression was, that the slaves were all at work, as slaves, at this day. (Hear, hear.) He had inquired, but had never been able to learn that any of them were emancipated, and Mr. Breckenridge still retained the property.

On this occasion, also, the Colonization society was pointedly noticed by several speakers, and a resolution condemnatory of it was adopted by the meeting. Mr. Remond's address on the occasion is inserted in another column.

On Wednesday morning a highly respectable company of ladies and gentlemen sat down in the saloon of the Trades' Hall to breakfast, in honour of the American gentlemen and other strangers who had taken part in the proceedings of the above meeting. Robert Kettle, esq., occupied the chair, and the Rev. Mr. Bates acted as chaplain. On the withdrawal of the cloth a deeply interesting conversation took place, and

Our friends *en route* visited Carlisle, where a public meeting could not be held on account of the chartists. Our stedfast friend Mr. Head, however, invited a select party of influential friends, including the mayor and several ministers of the gospel, to meet the deputation at his house, where, we are informed, a decidedly useful and favourable impression was made. At Kendal, the Tract society having priority, our friends for the second time suffered a disappointment.

The delegates then proceeded to Dublin, where two important meetings were held; one held at the Adelphi theatre in the evening; and another at noon the following day, at the Rotunda. At the former, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, a numerous and respectable audience assembled, and, amongst them, on the platform and through the body of the house, we observed many ladies and gentlemen belonging to the Society of Friends. James Haughton, esq., was called to the chair, and Mr. Richard Allen acted as secretary. Some use was made on this occasion of the circumstance that Mr. Birney is of Irish descent. Ladies and gentlemen, (said the chairman) in introducing to you my honoured friend, Mr. Birney, it will not detract from his claims upon your attention and kindness to state that his father was an Irishman (great cheering); and also, that his mother was an Irishwoman (continued applause).

Mr. Birney, on presenting himself, was received with great enthusiasm. He said that, though conscious of his Irish descent, he had not yet had knowledge of the pleasing gratification of addressing himself to an exclusively Irish assembly. He knew of but few more pleasing feelings than the consciousness of his Irish parentage. He had been for the last two years, wandering through various countries, circulating the facts resulting from his own experience, as well as those gleaned by that society from which he had been delegated, and he could assure them that he felt more at home in that assembly of Irishmen than amongst any whom he had for a long time addressed, (cheers). But, independent of the associations arising from the fact of his parentage being Irish, there were other and more holy associations connected with his feelings of pleasure in addressing them. At a distant period the accursed system of slavery was voluntarily abandoned by the Irish, (cheers). Their slaves were not of colour; they were the white children of Britons, whom they bought from their English parents; and this trade the Irish people voluntarily abandoned. The pleasure he felt in addressing them was enhanced by the conviction that a sympathy would be felt for the coloured slave by a people, who, in a voluntary spirit, had abandoned the infamous traffic in human flesh, which spirit, he was sure, had not yet wholly expired. But he did not come there for the mere purpose of empty praise, or raising an impotent shout of execration against slavery; he came there to tell them that Irishmen possessed a great power in the struggle to abolish American slavery. They (the abolitionists) sought the aid of the Irish people; they did not look for any interference in the measures of their rulers, but demanded only the help of that moral influence whose exertion was legitimate to all the people of the world, (hear). Yearly, monthly, daily, great multitudes of Irishmen emigrated to America; but, alas! they were prone to lose a great portion of that spirit of liberty which they cherished on this side of the Atlantic. Some even—and he stated it with deep regret—who had to make America their home, for reasons connected with the assertion of liberty, forgot in that land the spirit which they breathed from their mother's breasts, and which they had asserted amidst their native hills, (cries of "oh," and "shame").

Mr. Stanton was introduced to the meeting "in a short but spirit-stirring speech" by Mr. Richard Allen; and after Messrs. Stanton and Scoble, Dr. Madden, who has recently acquitted himself so nobly in Egypt, spoke at great length. The resolution he proposed was seconded by Mr. Torrens McCullagh; and the absence of Mr. O'Connell was apologized for by "pressing engagements elsewhere."

At the meeting at the Rotunda the following day, in the absence of the Lord Mayor, whose official duties prevented his attendance, Mr. Haughton was again in the chair; and the attendance, although not very numerous, highly respectable. Mr. R. Allen commenced the business by giving some account of the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society. After Messrs. Birney and Stanton had spoken, Mr. John O'Connell, M.P., rose to move a resolution condemnatory of American slavery, making, in the course of his speech, the following remarkable statement:—

He was connected with the Repeal Association, to which he alluded only for the purpose of saying that communications had been made to them, that, if they kept apart from the anti-slavery movement, sums of money would pour into the funds of the association to advance its purposes: but their answer was that they scorned the offer—that they spurned it; and that, if they wanted any reason to make them come forward in such a sacred cause, such a base offer would stimulate them to do so. (Loud cheers.)

Doctor Madden begged to ask from what quarter the offer had been made to the Repeal Association, if they would hold back and take no part in the present movement against slavery?

Mr. O'Connell replied, that if he had said the offer was made directly, he was wrong, and begged to withdraw the expression, because the communications which were made, offering a large sum of money to some individuals connected with the political party to which he had the honour to belong, if they opposed the objects of the anti-slavery agitation, contained that offer in rather indirect terms, but too clear to be misunderstood.

"In the evening of this day (says Mr. Scoble) we met a large party of ladies and gentlemen at the house of our friend Richard Allen, Esq., and I trust were enabled to deepen the impressions made by the public meetings which had been held. It appeared to be the unanimous, as it was the expressed wish of those who were present, that the Deputation should again visit Ireland to hold a series of meetings in some of the principal towns for the purpose of diffusing the information we possess more thoroughly and extensively than we could do by a mere flying visit like the present."

Of a meeting subsequently attended by our friends at Belfast, we derive the following account from the correspondence of Mr. Scoble.

"A meeting of the Belfast Anti-slavery Society was held on the 29th ult., in the very elegant and commodious Presbyterian chapel, Rosemary Street, the Rev. Mr. Drew, Episcopalian, in the chair. It was pronounced to be the largest and most influential meeting of the kind ever held in the town, and a fine feeling evidently pervaded the whole of its proceedings. In a speech full of noble sentiment, elevated feeling, and eloquence, the chairman introduced the business of the evening. Mr. Stanton, in the absence of Mr. Birney, delivered a manly and heart-stirring address, which evidently made a strong impression on the audience. I followed him on the results of emancipation, after which excellent resolutions were moved and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Edgar, the Rev. W. Gibson, the Rev. Josias Wilson, J. Stanfield, esq., Rev. Dr. Bryce, and Dr. Scott. Upon the whole this was one of the most interesting and best conducted anti-slavery meetings I ever attended. There were many influential gentlemen connected with the various religious denominations present, and we have no doubt much good was done to our cause. The next evening we met a party of about fifty gentlemen to tea

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at the Victoria temperance hotel; Councillor Gibson presided, and opened the proceedings in a speech of deep feeling. Mr. Stanton and myself spoke at length on different branches of the anti-slavery cause, and so much interested were our friends that midnight arrived before any thought of stirring. As in Dublin, so also in Belfast we have received the warmest and most cordial invitations to return to Ireland, and to hold more meetings. In the course of the evening's proceedings, having understood there were five members of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian body present, I ventured to say that I trusted the subject of American slavery would be taken into consideration at its next meeting for business. Dr. Reed, the clerk of that important body, stated that both in his private and his official capacity, he would exert himself to forward our objects: he also said, that he trusted the deputation would again visit Belfast to address the Presbyterian students at the institution, of whom there are about two hundred, and with them also he would use his influence to direct their minds aright on the subject of slavery, as it was more than probable that hereafter some of them would become ministers of the gospel in the United States."

WE have received Professor Adam's important volume on the Law and Custom of Slavery in India, but are reluctantly compelled to defer a notice of it till our next. The subject of slavery in British India was taken up by the committee at its last sitting, and the following resolution was adopted:—

"That this committee deeply deplore the continued existence of slavery in British India and Ceylon, and hereby declare their determination to use their utmost endeavours to bring this subject effectually before parliament at an early period in the ensuing session."

A COLOURED AMERICAN ON THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The following is the report of Mr. Remond's address on this subject in the *Glasgow Argus*:—

Mr. C. R. REMOND next addressed the meeting, and was received with loud cheers. After a few introductory observations he said, reference had been made to the Colonization Society; and, feeling no small amount of interest in the action of that society, he would occupy the attention of the meeting a short time in discussing a very few of its merits. He felt particularly anxious to do so, inasmuch as the accredited agent and secretary of that society had recently visited this city, and advocated the merits, he should rather prefer to say, the demerits of the society. (Cheers.) He was not a little surprised, in view of the anti-slavery feeling exhibited in this city, and in view of the meeting recently held in the city of London, and before the fire lit up by that great meeting had begun to flicker or grow dim, that the secretary of the American Colonization Society should appear in this country, to advocate the cause of that society, as if it had been an anti-slavery society, having for its object the amelioration of that class of the people in whom it professed to interest itself. Before them there stood one of that number, and he took the liberty to say, as the mouth-piece of the coloured population, and as the agent of more than one society in America, that the Colonization Society had never been the guardian and friend of the coloured race—that it had been repudiated by them from the beginning to the end, and that it ought to be branded as a society opposed to their wishes and their interests. This would be made apparent, if he read one or two extracts, showing what were the objects of that society. It was high time that this colonization scheme were understood in all its bearings. If it was an Anti-Slavery Society, then, in the name of heaven, as well as of truth and justice, let it be made to appear so to the humble individual now addressing them, and he would make the acknowledgment as free and open as ever he had attempted to condemn it; but so long as he held it to be a society that deserved to be reprobated and condemned, not only by him, but by every lover of truth and justice, and humanity, the world throughout, he would speak of it with freedom according to its deserts. (Cheers.) Of the Rev. Mr. Gurley, he would speak with respect as a man, but as the agent of the American Colonization Society, he felt for him no respect whatever. Mr. Remond then read the following extract of the origin of the American Colonization Society.—

"On the 31st December, 1800, the following passed the House of Delegates of Virginia, in secret session.—

Mark its origin. It began in secret. Why should it originate in the dark? It is vice, not virtue, that needs the darkness. (Great applause.) Again,

"The General Assembly of Virginia, January 22nd, 1805, passed a resolution instructing their senators, and requesting their representatives in Congress to 'exert their best efforts, for the purpose of obtaining from the general government; a competent portion of territory in the county of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of colour as have been, or shall be, emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety.' Governor Page, in communicating the resolution to the senators and representatives, says,—'From the nature of the delicate business contemplated in the resolution, you will see the propriety of its being considered confidential.' In 1816, the subject was again brought forward in the legislature of Virginia, and a resolution was adopted, requesting the executive to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place. After labouring in vain for sixteen years, the project was abandoned by the legislature of Virginia, and a meeting was called in Washington, 21st December, 1816, Hon. H. Clay, presiding for the purpose of forming a Colonization Society. It has been stated that every one who spoke at its formation was a slave-holder! In the memorial of the managers of the society to Congress, soon after the organization, it is stated—'This brief and correct history of the origin of the American Colonization Society, evinces that it sprung from a deep solicitude for southern interests, and among the most competent to discern and promote them.'"

Those who sympathised with the Colonization Society, know that Mr. Clay, dearly as he loved his wife, would as soon give up his wife as give up his slaves. He asked Mr. Gurley, he asked Mr. Clay, he asked the entire society, which was made up chiefly of slave-holders, if they would insult an enlightened audience, by pretending that the colonization scheme was one that was ever intended to benefit the coloured man? (Cheers.) Mr. Clay said, for example, that Africa was the better place for him to live in. That consideration alone stamped the society with disgrace, so far as his feelings were concerned. (Cheers.) Why not allow the coloured men to be the judges in the premises? (Cheers.) The question was never asked whether they would go to Liberia or not. (Hear.) But the society was instituted; and then they were to go with a free consent. And in what way was the consent given? The coloured people had been persecuted not a little to induce them to comply. Laws of the severest kind had been enacted against them; and those who held respectable situations, and had good employment previous to the origin of the society, had since been denied those situations. (Hear, hear.) Seven years ago, he met with a coloured man who had five children, and who occupied the situation of a pilot on one of their southern rivers. During the time of the fever of colonization to Liberia, he was obliged to give up his situation, or, in other words, it was taken from him, and every means adopted to drive him to that region. This was by no means a singular case; the same kind of conduct had characterised the country during the last seventeen or eighteen years. There was not a man belonging to that society but was aware that, if the coloured man was allowed equal advantages in the slave-holding states, he would not go to Liberia. If the advocates of the Colonization Society had acted upon the principle of a song long worn out, then there might have been some justice in their scheme. A song he had often heard in his boyhood ran thus—

"If you love me as I love you,
No knives shall cut our love in two."

Now since they were determined that the coloured men should taste the blessings of Liberia, if they had gone with them, the coloured men would have been better able to judge, and to judge equally too. (Laughter and cheers.) He would now, to show them what was the nature of the society, from its very commencement, read another extract, showing what were its objects:—

"In the African Repository, Vol. I. No. 1, it is stated, that the Colonization Society owes its existence principally to the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey. It is said, he begun in 1816, to disclose to his friends, and to the public, the scheme which he had been for some time meditating, and which he prosecuted, 'until, principally, through his instrumentality, the Colonization Society was formed in Washington, in December, 1816.' In a letter from Mr. Finley, dated 14th February, 1815, he says:—'Could they (the free blacks) be sent to Africa, a three-fold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them;—we should send to Africa a population partly civilized, and christianised, for its benefit; and our blacks, themselves, would be put in a better situation."

"*Object of the Society.*—The second article of the constitution, is in the following language:—'The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.' Such other place! It was not the good of Africa then that was contemplated by the founders of this society. No; it (the Colonizaton Society) sprung, as we have seen, 'from a deep *solicitude* for southern interests,' and by those 'most competent to discern and promote them.' That is, the object of the society was to protect domestic slavery in the United States, by removing free people of colour out of the country—and the evangelizing of Africa was not thought of. The expatriated people of colour were to be sent to Africa, or elsewhere!'

By removing these people (free blacks), we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design they may conceive.—Address to the Colonization Society in Virginia, Af. Rep. vol. i. p. 176.

"Are they (the free blacks) vipers, sucking our blood! We will hurl them from us."—Address to the Lynchburg Colonization Society, Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 201.

"In the second Report, p. 9, they declare that the 'colonization of the free people of colour will render the slave who remains in America more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and consequently more useful to his master."

Mr. R. then proceeded to read further extracts to show that, up to the present time, the objects of the Colonization Society were the same as at the commencement. Take the following as part of the report of the committee to a meeting at Stockton, Alabama, which was adopted:—

"After a due examination of the plan of colonizing the free blacks out of the country, with their own consent, we believe it safe, philanthropic, and of vital importance to its tranquillity; because it requires, to the fullest extent, the inviolability of private rights and private property; because it proposes to remove from among us the degraded, useless and vicious race, who are but nominally free, to a place where they can be free and happy; because the plan has been advocated and supported by such men as Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Crawford, Marshall, Bushrod, Washington, and many other great and good men, whose wisdom and patriotism cannot now be questioned; and because we consider the measure, of all others, best calculated to produce good order and proper discipline among our slaves. For, notwithstanding the laws of most of the individual states, prohibiting immigrants within their limits to reside, it is notorious that they pass from state to state, and from one part of a state to another, without exciting the particular attention of any one, and, of consequence, are peculiarly accessible to designing fanatics, who may, through their instrumentality, disseminate their disorganising doctrines, involving in their spread, insurrection, massacre, and servile war. Therefore, we deem the plan of removing them from the United States the most effectual method of counteracting the ultimate designs of the abolitionists. It is notorious that they (the abolitionists) are the most violent opponents which the scheme of colonization has to encounter."

At a meeting in the city of Cincinnati, the following resolutions were adopted:—

"Whereas, The citizens of Cincinnati, having for a length of time endured, with a patience and forbearance as commendable to their good

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taste, as a law-abiding and peace-seeking people, as it was abhorrent to their good feelings, high sense of justice and unquestionable patriotism, the active operations of a *meagre clan*, who style themselves *Abolitionists*, and seek, by the public exposition of doctrines conceived to be not only dangerous, but fatal to *order*, *liberty* and *law*, consider it due to themselves, at this time, as American citizens, in a public and solemn manner, to protest against their proceedings, to denounce their measures, and, by a full, clear and emphatic expression of public sentiment, as it really exists with almost the entire mass of our population, to repress their efforts, to repudiate the doctrines of this misguided and dangerous association, and in the most public manner to convey this sentiment abroad, with the seal of their indignant reprehension and rebuke—be it therefore,

"Resolved, That any association calculated, by its principles, to break this contract, is a breach of faith to the dead, an absolute wrong to the living—detestable alike for its bad faith and its insurrectionary and most treasonable designs.

"Resolved, That so long as these societies exist, and continue their exertions, we will oppose them, by such legislation as will place the aiders and abettors of such schemes in their true positions, as parricidal enemies to the land that has fostered and protected them, and use all honest efforts to make the propagandist of their doctrines amenable, by law, to the penalties appropriate to a mischievous internal foe.

"Resolved, That, in the agency of the Colonization Society, we discover the only sure, safe and feasible prospect of relief from the ills of slavery, and cordially embrace it, as the most mild, and rational, and philanthropic means of African freedom, and emancipation for that population now resident in America."

Mr. R. then proceeded. This society had been pushed in America in opposition to the remonstrances of the people of colour, from the first moment it was known; and they had endeavoured in every possible way to hold up the character of the coloured man as degraded and vicious; but, admit it to be as black as their faces, was that any reason for the course which the Colonization Society had pursued? If they were low, besotted, vile, and irreligious, was that any reason why they should be sent to Liberia, to be elevated and civilised? Why, America was the land of all others fitted to elevate and civilise and educate them; but there they must not remain; they must be taken from the land of Bibles, and education, and christian instruction, to benighted Africa, to be elevated and civilised, and refined! (Cheers.) He wished the people of Glasgow would call another meeting to denounce this scheme of African Colonization, to hear coloured men explain their meaning of the term, and to aid in promoting the interests of that too long injured people. Mr. R. then proceeded to observe that he had received some kind hints, in the way of rebuke, for sentiments which he had too strongly expressed at a former meeting. He had no desire to speak more strongly than he ought; but perhaps, when his kind friends reflected on the sufferings of the freemen of colour, they would pardon those expressions. (Cheers.) If the coloured men used strong language, let it be set down to the position they occupied—set it down to these two institutions, slavery and colonization. (Cheers.) After stating his determination to do everything in his power to put down, if possible, the last feeling which could favour the abominable scheme of colonization. (Cheering)—Mr. Remond said, that, strongly as he felt on this subject, the coloured people of America felt equally strong with himself, they had called public meetings, and condemned the Colonization Society, yet, in the view of that fact, the secretary of the society came to this country to lay before the friends here its claims to their support and approbation. (Hear.) But he hoped an opportunity would be given of expressing the sentiments of the people of Glasgow upon this subject. There was no anti-slavery advocate in America who had yet been proved guilty of a falsehood, in regard to that society. (Cheers.) They hated the middle ground on which this society acted. They wanted either slavery or liberty, and no middle ground. It only afforded a place for those who were ashamed to say, on the one hand, they were in favour of slavery, and who were equally ashamed to say they were abolitionists; these people were glad to call themselves colonization men, and thus they cut both ways.

BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS.—IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

(To the Editor of the Anti-slavery Reporter.)

SIR,—In No. 22 of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* there is a letter from the solicitors of the above association, partly in reply to my communication.

It has surprised me that Messrs. Freshfield, who stand so high in their profession as solicitors to the Bank of England, should consent to be mixed up with what is so disreputable, in order to serve their clients *as slave-owners!*

When these gentlemen asserted that I was *not* secretary to the association at Gongo, they knew my appointment had been made by the authority of the directors, and officially notified to the establishment as follows:—

"Mr. Kentish, who has hitherto acted as assistant and private secretary, is hereby appointed to the office of secretary, and the charge of the dispatch of the business of the office is placed under his responsibility.

(Signed) G. V. DUVAL."

These gentlemen, whose knowledge of the existence of this document is to be assumed, have assured the community that I have *falsely* designated myself secretary!

This is a dishonourable mode of calling my veracity in question, and of endeavouring to shake public confidence in the truth of my statements relative to the cruelties practised upon the slaves of the association. I have been confidentially informed that the board have unanimously agreed that *I must be crushed, or the Association would be ruined;* and as the directors are aware that they cannot impeach my honour, integrity, and industry in promoting the welfare of the establishment whilst it possessed my services, they have hit upon this disreputable method of attempting to discredit the facts I have stated.

Messrs. Freshfield declare to the world that these statements are "*utterly false,*" although (as we shall immediately see) the defensive document accompanying their own letter proves them to be substantially true. The superintendent admits that the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association have 413 slaves at their mines in Gongo; but he omits between two and three hundred more, who are hired from slave-holders in the vicinity at very high wages, on condition that the said slaves shall belong to the said Association after a certain period in consequence; that is, they are actually bought, and thus paid for by instalments, and these slaves are subject to the same discipline and severities as the rest.

He admits that the slaves work, six, eight, or twelve hours daily, as their regular task in certain occupations, but he omits to say, that they continue to toil in what is called overwork, making up fourteen hours daily to each, and for which he receives *nine pence* per week, and not *four shillings*, as is affirmed. This is evident, because the £15. divided amongst 413 slaves, at an exchange of 48 pence, as stated by him (the actual exchange is only 30 pence), amounts to 200 reis each, or about nine pence. At the real exchange it would be only sixpence. If anything occurs to prevent this overwork, then the weekly gratuity is *one penny*, and a glass of the spirits of the country.

He admits that they work on Sundays in cases of urgency. Now these cases of urgency occur *every Sunday in the year, without exception!*

He admits that the torture of fixing a mask over the entire of the face and head was usual, but says that it is made of *tin* and not *iron*. Now he must be aware that what is called tin is iron, tinned. I may here remark, that this mode of punishment (which was in constant practice up to my departure) is cruel in the extreme. A few holes are punched in the front of the mask, that the wretched victim may breathe, that is, that he may not be *absolutely suffocated*. Metal being a conductor, the rays of a burning clime are condensed on the brain and over the whole head, which is shaved, so that, were the said head fixed into a moderately heated oven, no more torture could be inflicted than is thus occasioned. The wearer carries this infernal machine locked upon him or her, for sometimes a whole week, and as it is never removed, except for two horse-bean meals a-day, he or she suffers a maddening intensity of heat, and of course fever, without the possibility of allaying a parching thirst, as all means of conveying water to the mouth are directly cut off.

He admits that the cat-o'-nine tails is similar to what is used in the English Army, and that the male slaves are flogged with it in the way I have stated; but denies that the female slaves are ever flogged, and that brine is applied to the wounds after the flagellation. The superintendent well knows that *sex makes no difference*, and that the black slave who is at the head of each gang flogs male and female indiscriminately, when so ordered; and I now call on him solemnly to affirm, whether he does not also know that female slaves, taken as *chères amies*, are frequently flogged when discovered to have committed infidelities, even in favour of their husbands. I ask the superintendent to name the parties who are and have often been guilty of this abomination, and, if he fails to recollect them, I will assist his memory; but no initials of a name can be more familiar to *him*. As to the brine, I have witnessed its application; but, in order to leave no doubt upon these subjects, I refer the share-holders to the *general memorandum book*, already spoken of, and if that be presented to them *unmutilated*, the entries therein will fully confirm the facts.

He admits that the instrument of torture applied to the hand, and which would smash every bone the first blow if anything were placed below to prevent recoil, is as I have stated, with the exception that it is a few hairs'-breadths less in circumference than I described it to be. I said it was large enough to cover a black's hand, which it really is.

He admits that, since Dr. Collier left the establishment, about two years ago, black women are kept at hard labour up to the latest hour previous to actual confinement.

He denies that the nightly bacchanalian orgies ever took place, as mentioned by me, in which naked black women were introduced to perform dances for the moral amusement of those present. Now, I again call on the said superintendent to try to recollect the name of *one, at least*, who thus nightly diverted his visitors; and if his memory should here again fail him, I will at once remind him that the initials of the name are something very much like H. L. B.

He denies that iron collars are put upon the female slaves, and that they are driven about the village with bells fixed upon the petticoats. I can only say I have repeatedly witnessed both, as a very common infliction, and that the collars and the bells are hung up with the other instruments of torture in the very office of the superintendent at the mine.

As he has not denied anything about the tread-mill for all the male and female children, nor the stocks in which the head and legs are inserted from sun-rise to sun-set for two days, and sometimes longer, without intermission; nor the former application of the *thumb-screw* and other matters, it must be taken for granted that what I have related on these points is strictly fact.

With all these STARTLING ADMISSIONS on the part of the superintendent, how can Messrs. Freshfield in conscience assert that my statements "are utterly false," at the time they themselves were actually sending the very document to prove them substantially true!

As my present communication is as long as you may possibly

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find it convenient to insert, I reserve the two or three minor objections to comment on and explain hereafter, as well as the assertion of the solicitors that I "set up a most exorbitant and unfounded claim," the contrary being the fact, that I required only half the claim which I am fully and justly entitled to!

Messrs. Freshfield say that the superintendent's explanation could be confirmed by other parties, if time admitted. But if every officer in Gongo had put his name to the same document, and it evidently was his interest to have done so, in what way would the association have been benefited by it? I lay well-grounded accusations against the association, and in honour have given them *ever since February last*, that they might send out to the Brazils to prepare the best defence which the nature of the case admitted, either real or simulated, and the only explanation they have to offer after nine months' delay are the assurances of an *anonymous* superintendent, all which were deliberately weighed, well considered, and cautiously agreed upon by the chief commissioner and Junta, formed expressly for that purpose, and yet no individual could be found shameless enough to put his name to it. Messrs. Freshfield would in all probability not have been satisfied with as many years as they have had months.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
F. A. KENTISH.

22nd October, 1840.

HILL COOLIE IMMIGRATION TO MAURITIUS.

A FILE of the *Cernuen*, Mauritius paper, which we have just received, brings accounts of the high expectations raised in that island by the proceedings of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons in February last, together with a copy of a letter from Messrs. Barclay and Irving, (whom the *Cernuen* styles its *agents*) in London, in relation to them. We are pleased to say that the letter of these gentlemen contains excellent advice; and we trust it will be diligently followed in the disappointment which later intelligence from Europe must have inflicted on the colonists. The letter is as follows:—

[TRANSLATION.]

London, 11th February, 1840.

SIR,—We have the honour of acquainting you, in order that you may communicate the same to the inhabitants of Mauritius, that since the date of our last letter we have had different interviews with Lord John Russell—the secretary of state for the colonies, with the president of the board of control for the affairs of India, as well as with the chairman of the court of Directors of the East India Company, and it appeared to us that that they conceded the principle of the introduction of Indian labourers, subject to certain modifications and restrictions. The intention was, that this measure should have been accomplished by means of an order in council in virtue of the prerogative, and under the authority of the crown; but the opposition manifested upon the subject in the House of Commons, will prevent its execution in that manner, and it is by the introduction of a bill that the measure will be proposed by government. It will thus undergo the full discussion of parliament.

We do not conceal from you that we expect considerable opposition, on account of the prejudices existing as well in the house itself as among the people generally; and that, if the measure be adopted, we have reason to fear it will be accompanied by so many restrictions as to render its execution difficult and expensive, and to prevent the colony from deriving all the advantage that it might have reasonably expected from it. The immigration of Indians without their wives, upon which considerable stress is laid, will doubtless, however futile the objection, prove a fertile source of difficulty. Having had an opportunity of discussing the objections raised by several members of both houses of parliament who are opposed to any modification of the now existing prohibition, we believe we may announce to you with a certain degree of confidence, that at all events no opposition will be made to the Indians who are already on the island renewing their engagements, upon terms which may be mutually agreed upon.

We are given to understand that the emigration of Indian labourers to such of our colonies as are, equally with yourselves, in want of their assistance, will continue to be strictly prohibited; and we entertain no hope that the introduction will be allowed into Mauritius of labourers from Madagascar or from any part of Africa. In such an unsettled state of the question, and penetrated as we are with the conviction of the fatal consequences that must result to the landed proprietors of your island from the indulgence of hopes and expectations which may never eventually be realized, we consider it our duty to recommend you, in the most urgent manner, to turn your attention to the African race at present existing in the colony, whom you should regard as the most certain source whence to derive the labour which your estates require. Endeavour by every means in your power, by indulgent and conciliating conduct, and by offering rewards for industry, to rouse them from their present state of apathy, and to inspire them with a desire to return to the cultivation of the soil. Your colony is now undergoing what was undergone by the colonies of the other hemisphere at the termination of the apprenticeship; and although the evil existing is still great, yet an evident progress has been made, and there is a manifest tendency to gradual improvement. The heavy expenses occasioned by the new system of labour must necessarily considerably diminish the profits of cultivation, at least until things have acquired a certain degree of consistency, and have been put into a regular train. We had flattered ourselves that, as the principal nourishment of the blacks at Mauritius was that for which they were entirely dependent upon other countries, they would have been induced by habit to resume the labour of the field, as a means of procuring the food to which they were accustomed. We do not comprehend why this has not been the case.

Before the departure of your new governor, which will take place in the month April, we shall have an opportunity of conferring with him, and we shall endeavour to impress him with the necessity of effecting some changes in the general system of government of your important and interesting colony.

We have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) John IRVING.
D. BARCLAY.

To A. CHEVREAU, Esq. Attorney,
Port Louis, Mauritius.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

THE third Methodist Anti-slavery Convention closed its session of three days, October 8th, Orange Scott, President, and La Roy, Sunderland, Secretary. Two hundred ministers and laymen were present, from all parts of the country. Letters were read from several influential ministers who were unable to attend. Great harmony prevailed, notwithstanding several nominal abolition ministers attended, apparently for the purpose of neutralizing the proceedings. There were more talent and influence in this than in any former Methodist Anti-slavery Convention, and many popular ministers were present who never attended an anti-slavery meeting before. An "American Methodist Anti-slavery Society" was formed—Rev. Cyrus Prindle, of Middlebury, Vt. President. The Convention closed with a prayer meeting of very great interest.—*American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

THE REV. ROBERT NEWTON IN THE UNITED STATES.—[*From the Watchman and Wesleyan Observer.*]—We do not marvel at the anxiety of Mr. Bunting to speak a word in favour of the course which he thought Mr. Newton took, while in this country. But, (excepting what Mr. Newton said, in presenting the official address of the Wesleyan Conference, at Baltimore,) if he ever spoke publicly *against* slavery, it is more than we know, or believe; and that he did speak against the abolitionists, we do know. The fact is, he was surrounded by slave-holders and their apologists immediately on his arrival in this city, and we believe no means were left untried to prejudice his mind against the anti-slavery cause. And that these means were but too successful there is no room left to doubt.

PERILS OF ABOLITIONISTS. [*From the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.*]—A considerable agitation has been produced among the friends of the slave, on account of the tarring and feathering of a Mr. Kendall, a seceder minister. He was sent by the Synod, (which met in Baltimore some time last spring, to a few churches in North and South Carolina. The ministers who laboured at these churches, were pro-slavery ministers, and, as I understand, they have been removed by the Synod from the sacred office of the ministry. This no doubt irritated them in some degree against Mr. Kendall. He, however, proceeded to discharge the duties imposed upon him by his church; and on one Sabbath was surrounded by a mobocratic throng, who remained outside of the house, until Mr. K. had finished his discourse. They then seized him, conducted him some fifteen or twenty miles distant, and shut him up in a small room of a house, with a guard to keep him. They next sent for a lawyer, who searched Mr. K's. papers, but found "nothing worthy of death" about him. The mob being determined not to leave him without some *disgrace*, (as they might think it,) took him off *into* some dreary place in the woods, and gave him a coat of tar and an additional cover of feathers.—This outrage was committed in South Carolina. After it took place, Mr. K. fulfilled his other appointments, notwithstanding his *life* was threatened, if he did not leave the state in ten hours. He has been at home two or three weeks, and is, if possible, more the friend of the slave than ever.

THE following is the reply from a postmaster in the land of freedom to a packet of abolition papers:—

Post Office, Rockville, Md. July 17, 1840.

SIR,—I return your abolition papers directed to the Rev. Mr. Mines and Jones, and request you not to send any more like them to this office, as they will not be delivered out. And to give you an idea of the contempt held in this section of country for your sect, and the full belief of the murderous consequences that will certainly grow out of your principles, if persisted in, I need only inform you that, if any one of you dare come this side of Mason and Dixon's line, and avow your sentiments, you would be hung by the neck, with as little remorse of conscience as would be felt by our people at killing a venomous reptile, or a ravenous mad dog.

SAMUEL C. VEIRS, P. M.

TEXAS.

CAPTAIN MAILLARD, of the Barque Woodstock, has addressed the following letter to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti slavery Society:—

Barque Woodstock, 15th Aug. 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—Having just arrived in the British channel from the Republic of Texas, a country where slavery is universally cherished, I hasten to lay before you a brief sketch of the horrors of the system of slavery in that country, as they really exist at this moment:—

The slaves in Texas have been imported from the United States* by

* Some few have been taken from the island of Cuba to Texas, but I think the number small, perhaps eighty, not more.

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dealers, labour-masters, (men who hire slaves in the states and let them out again to Texas,) and insolvent planters, who carry their slaves to Texas in order to evade their creditors. From a thousand to fifteen hundred slaves are annually imported into the country by such persons, and it will scarcely be believed that they are imported from the United States across the Gulf of Mexico, *i. e.* from the Mississippi to Texas, a distance of 400 miles, in the steam packets which run between those two places, in the face of every treaty and law now in force for the suppression of of slavery. I happened to be at the city of Galveston, Texas, in February last, when the steam packet "Columbia" arrived in Galveston harbour from New Orleans, with no less than thirty or forty slaves on her deck—and again in May last, while I was at Galveston a second time, the same boat arrived with twenty slaves. Thus the traffic is carried on, and it certainly appears to me that vessels engaged in it are liable to be seized, and that this did not strike Captain Ramsey, of her Majesty's ship Pilot, who was at Galveston in February, when the slaves arrived in that port in the Columbia, is very strange; whether Captain Ramsey protested against it at the time, or whether he has since reported it in the proper quarter, I am not prepared to say.

The slaves, however, are well treated while on board the steam packets, but they are not so ashore. The instant the slaves land they are carried away to the interior of the country, to work on some plantation, where they have to work from sun-rise to sun-set under the eye of their cruel task-masters, whose base conduct I have too often witnessed. On one occasion, I was so terrified at the savage barbarity of a planter towards a poor negro woman, that I almost sank to the earth. The planter here alluded to is a young man about twenty-three years of age, the son of a widow named ——, who occupies a plantation on the Brazos river, about three miles above the city of Richmond. On the 20th of March last I had some business to transact in the immediate neighbourhood of Mrs, ——'s plantation; as I rode along the boundary fence I heard the most agonising cries of a female, in the direction of a cotton patch within the fence. I hastened as near the spot as I could get on horseback, where I beheld the most revolting scene imaginable. A poor negro woman, who complained of being ill, was seized by the planter, James ——, who, after striking her several times with his clinched fist, called her husband from the gang then at work in the field, made him take hold of his wife, place her head between his (her husband's) legs, take up her clothes, and give her a cow-hiding, which the husband did, and then led his poor tortured wife back to the gang, who stood watching the execution of the inhuman monster's sentence.

The next outrage that came under my own immediate notice, was the trial of a man named Vince, at the last term of the second Judicial District Court, held at the city of Richmond, Texas, in the first week in April last. An action was brought against Vince by a planter, to recover the value of a negro whom Vince had shot. The defendant openly acknowledged that he shot the negro, which was not deemed murder, the action being brought merely to recover the value of the man. The jury after hearing counsel on both sides, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, and the murderer of the negro was allowed to leave this court of justice without a reprimand. But any man in fact may go out and shoot any number of slaves in Texas, provided he is able to pay for them; and indeed if he cannot pay for them, he has only to make an affidavit to that effect, and all remedy at law is at an end. These few facts will, I trust, gentlemen, enable you to form some idea of the horrors of slavery in Texas, which loudly call for the interference of civilised men on behalf of the poor negro in that country. I have the honour, &c.,

NICHOLAS MAILLARD.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—THE REPORTS OF THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES are to be renewed, according to the following circular:—

King's House, 1st August, 1840.

"SIR—I am directed by the governor to request that you will transmit to me, once in every six months, a report on the progress of agriculture of the ——————; with a statement of the price of labour, and its general character, whether easily procured, and continuous, or otherwise.

"2. The information desired is to be of a general kind, such as is usually obtained in ordinary intercourse with the community, and is not to be sought by inquisitorial inquiries into the management of particular properties, nor to be accompanied by remarks or details painful to individuals.

"3. Subject to the same reservations, you are further requested, in the proposed reports, to notice the following points:—

"The general result of the crop with regard to the produce supposed to be realized in the staple articles of sugar and coffee.

"The progress of the rural population in establishing themselves as small freeholders.

"The effect of small independent freeholds on the supply of steady labour, whether conducive thereunto or otherwise.

"The condition of the new interior towns and villages created since the abolition of slavery, and their effect on the internal retail commerce of the colony.

"The state of education among the children of the towns and rural districts. The state of crime.

"4. The proper periods for sending in these reports will be on the termination of crop, and six months afterwards, and so on in succeeding years. The first report, with reference to the recent crop, now probably terminated, or about to be, may be furnished as soon as suits your convenience.

"I have, &c.

"J. M. HIGGINSON, Secretary.

Extract of a letter dated September 15th, 1840.

"I wish you could see us, and present us as we are to the eyes of the British people. Our cane-fields bloom; our pastures, that used in slavery and apprenticeship to be covered with foxtail and bush, are now clean and pleasing to look at. Labour is abundant wherever the people are fairly treated, and in some cases where they are not fairly treated. The law allowing only seven or twelve hours notice (I forget which,) is laid hold of as a powerful engine to oppress. The people are threatened to be turned off, and their houses are locked up in some cases, if they dare to work where they like best; and when they work at home, they are kept out of their money for four or five weeks, and then they receive five shillings. William James, a deacon of Fullersfield church, residing at St. Albans, suffered in this way only last week; he received five shillings, the remainder (amounting, as he was told, to £2 1*s.* 8*d.*) being stopped for rent. At the request of a few of the friends, I purchased for them a run of land behind Blackness, of about 140 acres, but what is that among so many? One person in that neighbourhood having bought two acres, has called his property Save-Rent. The prospects for next crop are very promising. Lincoln Estate, lately bought by Mr. McNeil from the house of Beckford and Rankin, London, is doing much better under him as proprietor, than it did under his management as attorney. It made nine or ten, or thereabouts, last crop; it expects thirty this next, and is preparing for a much better for 1842, when, I dare say, it will be brought up to its proper standard. Monteagle only made about the same as Lincoln last year, it expects eighty or ninety this next crop, and work is going on there now very well, since the change of attorney and overseer. Another of our neighbours has rented 100 acres of land from Geneva estate, their cane-fields being too small for these times of freedom, and they have sent out for an engine to replace their cattle-mill. These are only a few cases; I wish I had room to give you more. Wherever I have been, I have witnessed improved fields and prospects; but it seems the aim of some to keep up, if possible, the present exorbitant price of sugar, &c. &c. Many large estates that gave me an opportunity of beating them with this small estate last year, seem determined that that shall not happen again. I have been trying to purchase an estate in this neighbourhood, but have been unsuccessful, though three applications have been made through parties at home. It is only when a property is sold that we hear of its being in the market."

BARBADOS.—THE PLOUGH is getting into active use, and that implement alone will open the eyes of the planters. It will show that they have labour enough, and more than enough. They know that —emigration act or no emigration act, they cannot keep the labourers at home so long as higher wages are offered elsewhere, and they are adopting the only rational plan—that of resorting to the use of agricultural implements, to supply the loss which emigration may occasion. The use of one plough is superior to that of one hundred emigration acts!—*Liberal.*

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.—The lieutenant governor, Mr. Cunningham, has addressed the following message to the legislature. In the Assembly it was sharply resented.

Gentlemen,—I am sorry to believe that the peasantry are emigrating from this island in considerable numbers. Farther, I deem it my duty to make known to your honourable houses, that, having made personal inquiries from many of the most intelligent of these emigrants, as to their reasons for leaving their homes, all assign the same causes—viz., the uncertainty of the tenure by which they hold their houses and grounds, and the summary ejectments which in consequence of this uncertainty, many of them have suffered. It is with much pain that I bear witness to the existence of those causes. I have the highest authority for believing such summary ejectment, without that full notice to which a tenant at will is entitled, to be absolutely illegal. Be this as it may, since opinions differ on this point of law, since some individuals have taken advantage of this difference of opinion to exact and enforce labour, since beyond all doubt the minds of the peasantry are at this moment greatly disturbed and unsettled thereby; I earnestly entreat your hon. houses to declare by legislative enactment by what tenure the peasantry residing on estates hold their cottages and grounds.

C. C. CUNNINGHAM, Lieut.-Governor.

Government House, Sept. 3rd. 1840.

TRINIDAD. The *Standard* says, 235 immigrants have arrived this month, (July) of whom 163 are of African descent—the total number arrived since 1st January is 2,125.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Letters from Demerara to the 4th of September represent the colony as most thriving; the weather as remarkably fine, and sugar-making as proceeding prosperously in every direction. Plantation Richmond had been sold for £35,000, Plantation Belair for £20,000 and £40,000 had been offered for Plantation Greenfield. The merchants had at a private meeting agreed that instructions should be sent to their friends in Guiana to discontinue their opposition to the government—*Patriot.*

An Estate on the River Demerary, worth £80,000, was sold for £25,000 some time ago. The proprietor who had been frightened by the representations sent home, is, we understand, now repentant of the sale.—*Royal Gazette.*

THE *Royal Gazette* administers the following resolution to the alarmists of Guiana: "If the Colony be fast running to decay, in the name of heaven, why is it that men are so anxious to purchase estates in it? and why is it that several plantations have of late been sold for sums nearly doubling in amount their original purchase money? What conclusion must we be driven to, when we behold a public man in his place in the legislature, prophesying the impending ruin of the country, and in a few short days, advising (if not participating in) the purchase of an estate by his brother-in-law? Can we believe that man to be sincere? and what other inference can we draw from his conduct, but that he has had a motive in giving such a representation of the province, which he contradicts by his subsequent action, and that if he be not an "indigent," he most certainly is a "crafty" speculator?"

MAURITIUS.

MAURITIUS.—Mauritius papers to the 17th of July, notice the arrival the day before of the transport Reliance, having on board the new governor, Sir Lionel Smith, his family and suite. Sir Lionel was the same day duly installed before the Legislative Assembly. The Free Labour Association, which had for its object the encouragement of the immigration of the natives of India, Madagascar, Mascate, and other con-

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tigious places, and was formed under government sanction, had issued their prospectuses, which had excited some attention in the island. The sloop of war Lily had arrived out, having on board 260 slaves, which had been rescued from the Portuguese slaver the Jose, which had gone ashore on the coast of Mosambique when chased by the Lily. In the first instance there were 500 slaves on board the Jose; but one-half either were drowned or escaped. The small-pox had made its appearance on board the Lily, and in consequence she had been placed under quarantine. It was a matter of much speculation what would be done with these slaves. It appeared to be desired that they should be employed on the public works.

ALLEGED DEFICIENCY OF LABOUR IN THE SUGAR COLONIES.

WE extract with much pleasure from the *Times* the following letter, by a correspondent of that journal, who signs himself *Britannicus*. We rejoice to see such just sentiments in a quarter where they are likely to be so extensively influential.

(To the Editor of the Times.)

SIR,—In some of your late discussions on the subject, you have shown that the demand which has been made for the admission of foreign slave-grown sugars into British ports at reduced rates of duty, in order to make up for the deficient supply from the West Indies, cannot be entertained until a real, and not merely nominal, a complete, and not merely partial, equalization of duty has been established in favour of the products of the sugar-cane in our East India possessions, and due encouragement has thus been given to the development of their vast resources for the supply of the British market. We justly complain of the limited supply and high price of sugar, but, in order to mitigate or remove this evil, there is no excuse for the introduction of foreign slave-produced sugar to the domestic consumption of England, which has paid so dear to free herself from the contamination of slavery, while the most palpable and unjust restrictions upon the profitable production of free-grown sugar in British India continues to be blindly and obstinately maintained.

The second evil formerly noticed, connected with the present condition of the West India colonies, is the danger of deterioration and ultimate ruin to which the vast capital invested in those colonies is exposed from the want of an adequate supply of labour; and the remedy that has been proposed for this evil is immigration. Of the advantage of transferring labour, the circulating capital of the world, from one country where it is superabundant to another where it is scanty, and in greater demand, there can be no doubt; and of the necessity of such a transfer in any given case, those must under ordinary circumstances be the best judges who on the one hand possess the labour to be supplied, and those on the other who experience inconvenience and loss from the want of it. The chief points to be considered are the sources from which the supply is to come, the circumstances under which the required amount of labour is to be transferred, and the need of caution that greater evils are not created or encouraged by the transfer than those which it is intended to remove.

The first source from which an additional supply of labour would appear to be obtainable, is the West India colonies themselves. It is impossible to read the accounts which all parties concur in giving of the increased physical comforts of the negros, of their improved habits of life, and especially of the greater frequency of marriage, without being convinced, unless all past experience of the laws of nature and society shall prove a false guide in this instance, that population must rapidly increase; and, although it is of course to be admitted that the supply from this source will be slow and gradual, and will not meet present exigencies, yet in the present state of the West Indies, it is one of the plainest dictates of prudence that every impediment should be removed to its coming into operation. There is strong proof that this subject has not received the attention to which it is entitled, either from the home or colonial authorities, in the continued existence of discouragements to negro marriages, and restrictions and expenses attendant on them, equally injurious to all classes, although immediately and chiefly affecting the coloured population. Independently of this prospective natural increase of population, it is to be borne in mind that there are certain of the colonies in which even at present there is no deficiency of population. There has been no call for additional labour from the island of Antigua, where not only is the population perfectly competent to cultivate all the land at present under cultivation, and no estates have gone out of cultivation, but it is in evidence that some estates which had been dismantled for many years, and thrown entirely out of cultivation, have been re-established between 1834 and 1840, and brought into a very thriving condition. In another colony, Barbados, there is not only a sufficiency, but a superabundance of population, the whole population at the last registration for the compensation-money having been 83,000, of which it is estimated that, under proper arrangements between labourers and their employers, one-third could be spared to other colonies. Instead of sparing it, however, there are local laws and usages in force that not only impede the diffusion of this superabundant portion of labour throughout the other colonies, which are much in want of it, but even the free circulation of labour throughout the island itself. (See Parliamentary Paper 527 of 1840, page 409—416.) It is perfectly clear, that in order to supply the existing acknowledged deficiency of labour in some of the colonies, the first step to be taken is to remove all discouragements to negro marriages, and all impediments to the free circulation of labour, both within each colony and between the respective colonies. Until this is done, there can be no security that emigration from any other quarter will not be attended with positive injury instead of benefit to the general interests of the colonies which embrace the welfare and protection of the labouring population, as well as of their employers.

A second mode, in which an additional supply of labour may be obtained by the West India colonies, is by the importation of liberated Africans, *i. e.*, enslaved Africans captured by her Majesty's cruisers, and liberated under the authority of the Mixed Commission Court at the Havana. I have now before me a statement, showing that during a period of about six months, in 1839—40, not less than three cargoes of liberated Africans were landed at Jamaica, amounting in the first instance, men, women, and children, to 875 persons, of whom some were induced to join one of the West India regiments, and others were placed under contract for one year's service, on different estates. The supply from this source will probably soon be much increased by the operation of the measure about to be adopted by the Spanish and British governments with a view to check the slave-trade, viz., an enlargement of the powers of the Mixed Commission Court, so as to throw the burden of the proof of slavery in any given case, not as hitherto upon the slave, but upon the slave-holder, the effect of which will be to liberate thousands held in illegal bondage in Cuba and Porto Rico.

An additional supply of labour has been obtained from the United States, and will probably be obtained to a still greater extent both from that country and from Canada. Agents have been sent to the United States from Demerara, from Trinidad, and from Jamaica, and a deputation has been sent by a portion of the coloured population of the United States to Demerara, and their report, which has been published, is encouraging to the immigrant. The free-coloured population, that may be expected to emigrate, is divisible into three classes—those of the non-slave-holding states, those of the slave-holding states, and those resident in Canada. The first class consists of those who are least likely to emigrate, because, however invidious the disabilities under which they labour, their condition is, on the whole, comfortable, and they are under the influence of the abolitionists, who need their co-operation and assistance. It is remarkable that the colonial agents who have gone to the United States, seem to have applied exclusively to this class, and their success, in consequence, has been inconsiderable, only about 800 having emigrated to Trinidad, and 70 to Demerara. Those who constitute the second class, the free-coloured population of the slave-holding states, are more likely to emigrate. Speaking of this class, the author of *Despotism in America* says—"The emancipated class is studiously subjected to mortifications and disabilities without number. They are considered as noxious vermin, whose extermination is required for the comfort and security of the privileged order. They are hunted down by legislative enactments as bears and foxes are in other states; and, by depriving them of all the rights of citizenship, advantages of society, and opportunities for labour, the attempt is made to render them, if possible, even more miserable than the slaves." Hence the American Colonization Society, and the American colony of Liberia, which are simply devices of the slave-masters and their friends to get rid of the free-coloured population, who are regarded as nuisances and standing incitements to servile insurrections. Even this trodden-down class has strong local attachments; but it would seem probable that a free passage, good wages, and kind treatment, would induce many of them to emigrate. These two classes in the United States probably do not fall short of 500,000 in number. The third class are the free refugee blacks, said to amount to 12,000, and every year increasing, who have escaped into Canada from slavery in the United States. These persons have no local attachments; they are unused to the cold Canadian winter; they have been accustomed to labour under a sultry sun; and, if proper means were employed, many of them, especially on their first arrival in Canada, might be induced to emigrate to some of the West India colonies.

A considerable number of German and Scotch, and some English labourers have emigrated to Jamaica; but the success of these experiments has not been such as to justify their prosecution. The mortality has been considerable, the discontent great, and these immigrants are fitted to become small independent farmers rather than field labourers. European emigrants have also been sent to Trinidad, but the selection does not appear to have been made with much care. According to Mr. James, the prisons of Malta and Madeira lost some of their inmates to supply the demand; and in British Guiana some Portuguese labourers have been found more troublesome than useful.

It has also been proposed to conduct systematic emigration to the West Indies from the coast of Africa. There would be this advantage—that the emigrants from Africa being of the same race would readily coalesce with the prevailing body of labourers in the colonies; and while I admit this, I also discard altogether the objection founded on an apprehension that such an intercourse might degenerate into something of the nature of the slave-trade through any fault of the planters, who I am quite willing to believe, sincerely desire to co-operate with the people of England in putting an end to slavery in every form. But the sound objection to emigration from Africa is founded on the facts, that slavery exists in Africa, that kidnapping is extensively practised there, that the slave-trade continues to be carried on along its coasts, and that no government agency can prevent the same means being employed to supply the legal that are employed to supply the illegal traffic. There have been a proof and illustration of this in the abuses that arose out of the exportation of the natives of India to New South Wales, to the Mauritius, and to the West Indies, under a system of government superintendence.

Some strictures which have obtained a large private circulation strongly urge the legalization of the Hill Coolie traffic, to which West Indian planters appear chiefly to look, instead of drawing forth the resources that are more within their reach. There is a mistake affecting this question, into which the parties, following high authority, have fallen. They speak of thousands of the Hill Coolies having perished within the last few years in India of starvation. It might have been said that hundreds of thousands of the natives of India under the British government have so perished; but they were not Hill Coolies, and the scene of this calamity was hundreds of miles from the tract of country which they occupy. That tract, instead of being over-peopled, is probably as thinly inhabited as British Guiana. It is also proposed that the Coolies should enter into no contract whatever at the place of embarkation, but should be left perfectly free to form whatever engagement they please on their arrival in the colony. Now, it is quite certain, that without specific agreements and actual payment in advance no Coolies would embark, and the moment that such agreements are formed, and such payments made, a wide door is opened to kidnapping and fraud, which all the vigilance of a government agency will be unable to prevent, and which are already far too prevalent in India to require any additional stimulus. Suppose that these evils are prevented, and that sufficient provision is made for good treatment during a long passage, and for just protection in a foreign country; the result is, that the Coolies are introduced into a colony of which the climate, language, religion, customs, and modes of life are different from their own, and that, as experience shows in New South Wales, in the Mauritius, and in Demerara, without coalescing with the existing labouring population they continue, even when discontented, permanently detached from their native country and kindred. They are not placed in the circumstances of

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Englishmen emigrating to an English colony, or of Africans emigrating to a country where the stock population is and must remain African. The emigration of the Hill Coolies from India to the West Indies is an unnatural disruption of the ties that bind man to his fellows; a segregation of him from those who can sympathise with him and with whom he can sympathise; an isolation amidst those with whom he has no fellow-feeling, no common interests, or rights, or obligations. All humane men should always protest against the renewal of this traffic.

It will thus be seen that the means by which an additional supply of labour may, in my opinion, be obtained for the West India colonies, are the natural increase of the population, and the unrestricted circulation of labour in the colonies themselves; the importation of liberated Africans, and the immigration of the refugee blacks in Canada, and of the free-coloured population of the slave-holding states of the American Union. I am firmly persuaded that the planters will only waste their strength and resources on an unattainable object, if they seek the sanction of the country to measures for promoting emigration either from Africa or India.

BRITANNICUS.

Home News.

AT A QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE LONDON BAPTIST ASSOCIATION, held at Providence Chapel, Shoreditch, on the 21st of October, 1840, it was by a large majority resolved,

1st.—That the resolutions of the General Anti-slavery Convention respecting christian communion with slave-holders, are expressive of the sentiments of this association.

2nd.—That we recommend the churches in this association to take into their early consideration that resolution of the convention, in which they submit their opinion that it is the duty of christian churches to withdraw from communion with slave-holders.

One of the churches comprehended in this association has promptly acted on the foregoing recommendation, and favoured us with the following account of its proceedings.

"At a meeting of the church of Christ, under the pastoral care of John Jordan Davies, assembling at the Baptist chapel, Tottenham, Middlesex, held on the evening of Thursday, October 29th, 1840.

The resolutions touching the *essential sinfulness of slavery*, passed by the General Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in the month of June last, having been read, and various statements having been made illustrative of the extent to which slavery prevails in the United States of America,—of the cruelties which are inflicted on the oppressed, and the crimes which are committed against Heaven, in connexion with it—of the unnatural and unjustifiable prejudice against the coloured race, by which 400,000 freemen are habitually subjected to the grossest insults and wrongs—and of the extent to which christian pastors and churches in the United States are implicated in these evils—an extent so great as to justify the painful assertion that "the American churches constitute the bulwarks of American slavery:"—It was

"Resolved, 1st, That this meeting fully accords with the sentiments expressed in the resolutions of the General Anti-Slavery Convention which have now been read; and avails itself of this opportunity of expressing its deep conviction, that SLAVERY IS A MORAL EVIL OF FEARFUL MAGNITUDE; since the apostle classes '*men stealers*' with the vilest of the species, and this meeting can perceive no real moral difference between those who steal and those who sell or buy their fellow-creatures, or who hold them in unrighteous bondage.

"Resolved, 2nd, That this meeting regards the maintenance of slavery as pre-eminently criminal in those who avow themselves the disciples of Him who hath said, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' and by his apostle has commanded masters to render to their 'servants that which is *just* and *equal*;' and believing that all who live in the commission of any known sin disqualify themselves for the communion of saints, this meeting expresses its deliberate conviction that those professors of christianity *who hold property in their fellow-men* are not entitled to participate with them in the memorials of the dying love of Him who came to our world to 'proclaim liberty to the captives.'

"Resolved, 3rd, That this meeting, hoping that its voice, together with that of the thousands of our British Israel who may address them on the same subject, may be heard by their American brethren, would implore them, in the name of our common humanity, to 'let the oppressed go free;' and thus, by the renunciation of their sin, restore themselves to the affection and confidence of British christians.

"Resolved, 4th, That this meeting expresses its deep sympathy with the 200,000 of their fellow-christians, and the 2,500,000 more of their fellow-creatures, who are held in unrighteous bondage, and with the 400,000 freemen, who, simply on account of their colour, are subjected to the most cruel indignities by the white citizens of the United States of America.

"Resolved, 5th, That this meeting expresses its entire sympathy with those friends of humanity in the United States, who, amidst 'cruel mockings and scourgings,' the spoliation of property and the constant danger of death, are devoting their talents, their lives, and their all to the sacred cause of abolition; and hopes that, encouraged by the sympathies and prayers of their fellow-labourers in Britain, and sustained by the blessing of heaven, they will persevere in the course on which they have entered, until all who tread the American soil shall be free, and the coloured race be raised to the dignity of men, and to their proper station in society."

BUCKINGHAM.—At a meeting of the Independent church assembling in Church Street Chapel, Buckingham, Bucks, October 29th, 1840, it was

"Resolved,—That slavery, under any form and modification, is repugnant to the unvarying principles of justice, and to the letter and spirit of christianity; and is highly aggravated by the light that has been thrown on the subject in the present day, and during many years past; and that it is therefore utterly inconsistent with a profession of the religion of Christ. And that in consequence of this view of the case, the church are convinced that, it is their duty to hold no christian communion with any person known to sanction the buying, selling, or holding of slaves, as the property of any person whatever."

FROM THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES AT SOUTH OCKENDEN AND AVELY, Essex, the following letter has been forwarded to Mr. Tredgold.

South Ockendon, Essex, October, 27th, 1840.

DEAR SIR,—On the receipt of your circular I proceeded to lay the resolutions of the convention before the members of the churches of which I am the paster at South Ockendon and Avely, and am very happy in having it in my power to state that, without one dissenting voice in either, it was determined to refuse admission to the Lord's table to any person known to be an upholder of the sinful system of slavery.

Wishing your society the most enlarged success. I am, &c.

A. BROWN.

J. H. Tredgold.

The Lords of the Treasury have sent a minute to the Custom-house, to pass foreign refined sugars at the same rate of duty as foreign brown and Muscovados.

THE COLONIZATION METHOD OF EVANGELIZING AFRICA ILLUSTRATED!

(From the Journal of Commerce.)

THE Colonization packet ship *Saluda*, Captain Parsons, arrived last evening from Liberia, Africa, after a passage of thirty-eight days.

On the 15th of March, an attack was made by about three hundred natives, under a chief named Goterah, upon the Methodist Missionary station at Heddington [King Tom's.] After an hour's fighting, the assailants were repulsed, with the loss of their leader and thirty or forty men, which achievement was effected chiefly by two Methodist Missionaries and two native converts. The village contains fifty-two houses. The following account of the engagement is from the pen of Rev. George S. Brown, one of the missionaries.

Last Saturday morning, about four o'clock, we were awakened in our town by the firing of a gun, about two miles distant: and while we were musing on what it could mean, we were again alarmed by the voice of several of our people exclaiming,—'War is come! war is come!' Brother Sion Harris got out of bed immediately, and went out in town. But he returned in about one minute, and told me to be out of bed and load the guns, for war was at hand. I immediately arose, slipped on my clothes, and was on my knees to ask God to help us. By that time the enemy was within musket shot of the mission-house. Brother Harris went down and gave them the first shot, and was answered by ten or twelve muskets from the enemy, while I was loading the musket in the chamber. The natives came on the path leading from Millsburgh, crossed the creeks near our house, and struck into my casa patch, at the corner of the woods, and in a straight direction towards the house. They completely covered the casava patch. It now began to be a little light. The engagement by this time was well under way, and increased rapidly. Tom's people sallied down towards the lower gate, and gave them a few shots, at which time one of his men received a slug through his bowels, and immediately came in my chamber with his intestines in his hands.

And notwithstanding Tom and his men retreated under the lee of the mission-house, yet they turned, as it were, the left wing of the enemy, who soon fell into the main body, directly back of the mission-house. And in less than one minute, they were running up and down the picket fence, about three rods from the house, as thick as the bees around a hive.

Brother Bennet Demory and brother Harris were the only two that stood in front, between the enemy and the house. They both stood their ground and cut them down like mowers cutting grass. Meanwhile brother Jarvis Z. Nichols came into the chamber where I was loading muskets, (for we had eighteen muskets in the chamber, which we knew would go at every snap, and 100 ready-made cartridges, and a keg of powder beside,) and poured a stream of lead down upon them from the window, as fast as two boys could hand him loaded muskets. In the midst of all this, the enemy broke through the fence, and poured into the yard like bees. Brother Harris and Demory now retreated to the door, in which both stood side by side, about two rods from them, with two muskets apiece, throwing buckshots into their bowels, hearts and brains, like a tornado. Soon brother Nichols received a slug in his breast, at the window, which brought him to the floor. He cried out—"Daddy, gun catch me." The blood poured forth freely. I then sent him into a bed-room in the lee part of the house. He had given the enemy, who were not more than eight rods from the window where he stood, as thick as they could stand loading and firing, about twenty shots. Beside all this the air was darkened with poisoned arrows flying in every direction.

At this time, i. e. the fall of Nichols, I stepped immediately into his tracks, having eleven muskets loaded, and renewed the fire from the window. At this time the sun was up: Goterah had got into the yard with a considerable number of his men, growling like a mammoth lion, and rolling about on the ground, and saying to his men,—"Come on, come on." But he soon fell a lifeless corpse, within two-and-a-half rods of the house; supposed to be from a shot by brother Harris, who then stood with Demory. At this time I was directly over their heads, taking deliberate aim at fifties who stood in thick groups, about five or six rods from the window; at which time some one of the enemy shot a nice tube out of my watch key and spoiled it. The ball or

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slug went through the partition of sister Harris's room, and after straightening her hair, went out the lee window.

Three of her slugs entered the house about eight inches from the side of the door five about ten inches, in various directions, around the window where I stood, However, they soon found the current too strong, and the water too deep.

They laid hold of Goterah, their head man, made him their tail, turned their backs, and dragged him off, while Harris and Demory were peppering their hands with buck shot. While they were gathering up their dead to tote off, I had the best chance of any to fire into the groups. But they soon slung their shattered bodies, and went off as if the wicked one was after them. But we were quite willing to see them go. And if all hell had been let loose at once, they would not have made more noise, hooting and screaming as they did. There was terror in their war horns.

The engagement continued one hour and twenty-two minutes. After they were gone, we went out on the battle ground; and although they had carried off all their dead, except three big slab-sided fellows, yet I never saw such a scene before. There was blood and brains in every direction. We picked up their greegrees in handfuls. But oh, the path in which they went was one complete gore on both sides, yea, it stood in puddles. We picked up their fingers by the wayside.

There could not have been less than 300 warriors, and Goterah, the great champion leopard at their head.

CASE OF THE AMISTAD.

PARLIAMENTARY papers just published furnish gratifying evidence of the part taken by her Majesty's government in relation to this vessel, in the following letter of Mr. Jerningham to the Spanish minister.

Madrid, January 5th, 1840.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that her Majesty's government received information that in the course of the last summer the *Tecora*, a vessel under Portuguese colours, imported from Africa direct to the Havana a cargo of negros as slaves, and that, about six weeks after the arrival of these newly imported negros at the Havana, forty-nine of them were purchased in the public slave-market in that place by Joze Ruiz, and four more by Pedro Montes.

Ruiz and Montes then engaged the Spanish schooner *Amistad* to carry these negros, together with themselves and stores, to another port in Cuba. During the passage the negros, with a view of recovering their liberty, seized possession of the vessel, put the master to death, and ordered the remaining whites to direct the course of the vessel to the coast of Africa. These whites, however, navigated the vessel towards the coast of the United States of America, until they were fallen in with by the United States brig of war, Washington, which conducted the *Amistad* to the port of New London.

The negros were subsequently put upon their trial before the district court at Hartford for the murder of the Spanish captain; but it appears that this court expressed doubts of its having jurisdiction in the case, and that in the mean time the Spanish minister at Washington demanded that the negros should be given up to the authorities of Cuba, as the property of Messrs. Ruiz and Montes.

It is however to be observed, that since the year 1820, according to Spanish law, it has been illegal to import negros from Africa into the Spanish dominions. As, therefore, these negros had been newly imported from Africa into Cuba, and as, according to the law, they could not be imported as slaves, they must in the eye of the law be considered as free persons.

I have consequently been instructed by my government to call upon the government of her Catholic Majesty to issue, with as little delay as possible, strict orders to the authorities of Cuba, that, if the request of the Spanish minister at Washington be complied with, these negros may be put in possession of the liberty of which they were deprived, and to the recovery of which they have an undeniable title.

I am further directed to express the just expectations of her Majesty's government that the government of her Catholic Majesty will cause the laws against the slave-trade to be enforced against Messrs. Jose Ruiz and Pedro Montes, who purchased these newly imported negros, and against all such other Spanish subjects as have been concerned in this nefarious transaction.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. S. S. JERNINGHAM.

To his Excellency Don Evaristo Perez de Castro,
&c. &c. &c.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE BIGHTS OF BENIN AND BIAFRA.

WE take the following interesting and important information on this subject from Mr. Jamieson's *Letter to Lord John Russell* against the expedition to the Niger.

However the case may have been in 1834, we are prepared to show, by the testimony of respectable men, commanders and supercargoes of vessels trading to the coast—testimony, the correctness of which we presume may any day be satisfactorily ascertained at the Admiralty, by reference to the log books of our cruisers on the coast—that a great and important change has taken place in 1838–9. From such testimony procured in writing, now lying before us, we select the following:

TO ROBERT JAMIESON, ESQ.

"Liverpool, 16th July, 1840.

"SIR,—Being on the point of sailing for Africa, I, at your request, state in writing, what I have already mentioned in your hearing, that I was in Bonny last voyage, from the month of October, 1839, to the month of March, this year, during which time there was but one slave-vessel there.

"That I was likewise in that river in 1838, from four to five months, during which time there was only one slaver there;—and that it is my opinion the export of slaves from Bonny River is at an end, if the same watchfulness be shown by H. M. cruisers as at present.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,
PETER DOUGLAS,"
Commanding the Barque Brutus.

"Liverpool, July 22nd, 1840.

"SIR,—I now state in writing, what I have before stated to you verbally, namely—that I was in the command of the barque Boddington, of Liverpool, in the Old Calabar River, Africa, from the 23rd of February to the 21st of September, 1839, and that the only vessels that were engaged in the slave-trade in the river during that time were two small schooners from Prince's Island, owned by a man of colour at Prince's, both of which were taken by H. M. cruisers, shortly after leaving the river; and I firmly believe that the slave-trade is entirely at an end in Old Calabar, and will continue so, if the same vigilance is kept up by the same class of H. M. cruisers on that station; for the men-of-war have such easy communication with the river from Fernando Po, that it is quite impossible for a slaver to escape from Calabar, if vigilantly looked after.

"These facts I am ready to give my solemn declaration to before a magistrate, if required.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,
W. Moss."

"Liverpool, 23rd July, 1840.

"SIR,—In reply to your inquiry, I beg to inform you that I was with the barque Chatham, and schooner Killermont, at Cameroons, from the 10th of April to the latter end of November, 1839, and that during that time there was no slave-vessel there or in the neighbourhood, with the exception of a small schooner belonging to the Island of Prince's, and manned by blacks. She might carry about twenty slaves, but left, after remaining three months without obtaining one. I was likewise at Cameroons in the Strathmore and Killermont for four months in the year 1838; and there was no slaver there then, nor had been for a considerable time previously.

"This I am ready solemnly to declare before any magistrate, if required;—and it is my firm belief, that the slave-trade on that part of the coast is entirely extinguished, should our cruisers continue to keep as bright a look out as they have done.

I remain, your very obedient servant,
JOHN DICK,
Late Master of the Barque Chatham.'

"Liverpool, 18th July, 1840.

"SIR,—At your wish I now state on paper what I had before done in your presence verbally, namely—that I was lying in and off the river Benin, or Formosa, from the middle of December, 1839, to the 22nd of March, 1840, during which time no slave-vessel was there, with the one following exception.

"In the month of Februrary last, a Brazilian brig, the Santa la Rosa, came to anchor off the bar, sent in her cargo by boats, with a supercargo and three men to form, it was believed, a slave-factory on the river. Soon after (the brig having left the mouth of the river) the whole of these men were massacred, and the property plundered by the natives, with, it was believed, the sanction of one of their principal men.

"On a former voyage, in the early part of 1839, I was both at Bonny and Benin; saw no slavers whatever, neither did I on the passage home.

"These facts I am ready and willing solemnly to declare before a magistrate, if required.

JOSEPH GIBSON,
Brig Satisfaction."

SUGAR FROM BRITISH INDIA.—The latest commercial accounts received from Calcutta contain, among other encouraging information, the following statement:

Since the British parliament performed that tardy act of justice in equalising the duties on East and West India sugar, the production of this article in Bengal has increased to a very great extent. Instead of seven thousand tons of sugar exported five years ago, the export this year will reach *forty thousand*. In Calcutta, nothing but sugar meets the eye at every turn. Out of a hundred boats which arrive there freighted with the agricultural produce of the interior, forty of them are sure to be laden with sugar. And all this arises out of no bonus offered by the government for growing sugar—not a cowrie of the land tax has been remitted—but simply because, after half a century of oppression, the discriminating duties on sugar have at length been removed by the British parliament. In as far as this, and unfortunately only this, article is concerned, this country is placed on a par with the West Indies; and, to use the words of a Bengal paper:—

The resources of India, no longer depressed by the authority of parliament, have recovered their elasticity, and Bengal will this year have the happiness of supplying England with one-fifth of the sugar she will consume. Our supplies will progressively increase. Capital is crowding into this department of agricultural industry. Sugar factories are rising up on every side; the cultivation of the cane is spreading rapidly through the country. The removal of those protecting duties, which were designed to depress the scale of free-labour, and to elevate that of slave-labour has led to the discovery that the objection raised against our sugars, that they did not contain the same quantity of saccharine matter with the West India sugar, was altogether a fallacy. Thus do the delusions which commercial jealousy and injustice had conjured up vanish away. Our sugars already rival those of other colonies in quality, and beat them in price. We are gradually advancing in the discovery that India is well able to supply all England with sugar. It is now certain that two hundred thousand tons of sugar may be raised, without being felt as an encroachment on other crops.—*Patriot.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 24.] WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

AT a PUBLIC MEETING of the BELFAST AUXILIARY to the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held on Thursday Evening, October 29th, 1840, in the Presbyterian Church, Rosemary Street (in connexion with the General Assembly ;)

The Rev. THOMAS DREW, in the Chair,

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

Moved by the Rev. Dr. Edgar, and seconded by Rev. William Gibson—

"1. That the warmest sympathy and most hearty congratulations of this meeting are hereby tendered to that noble and self-devoted band of emancipators in the United States of America, who, with a zeal and power reflecting honour on the human name, are labouring to free their coloured brethren from a degrading slavery, sanctioned by the American government, and to the disgrace of religion, patronized by American churches; and that they be encouraged to persevere in their noble efforts by the success which has already crowned the labours of British emancipators, as well as by the plain assurance of the word of God, that liberty shall yet be triumphant."

Moved by the Rev. Josias Wilson, and seconded by James Stanfield Esq.—

"2. That, while we applaud the christian enterprise, and admire the national greatness of the Americans, we look with shame and abhorrence on her legalized system of slavery, and are constrained to express our opinion, that the British churches should refuse the right hand of christian fellowship to such members of the churches of America as shall continue to be participators in the sin of slavery."

Moved by the Rev. Dr. Bryce, and seconded by Dr. Scott—

"3. That having heard with deep regret, that certain Irishmen in the United States, Cuba, and the Brazils, are slave-owners, and that others of our countrymen in America are hostile to the abolition of slavery, this meeting express, with the strongest feelings, their abhorrence of such conduct, and hold it up before the christian world as deserving the execration of all friends of liberty, and of all influenced by the spirit of the gospel of Jesus."

THOMAS DREW, Chairman.

Dr. Drew having left the chair, and the Rev. William Gibson being called thereto, it was moved by the Rev. Dr. Edgar, and seconded by Rev. Josias Wilson :—That the warmest thanks of this meeting be returned to the Rev. Thomas Drew, for his very proper conduct in the chair.

WILLIAM GIBSON, Chairman.

TO PERSONS CONVERSANT WITH TROPICAL PRODUCE.

WANTED, a person practically acquainted with the best mode of cultivation, and the soil best suited for the growth of Cotton, to fix upon a locality fit for a Cotton plantation, and to settle and superintend the same under a tropical climate.

A knowledge in addition, of the cultivation of Sugar and Coffee would be a great recommendation.

None need apply but those who can produce satisfactory testimonials as to activity, industry, intelligence, and moral and religious character.

The remuneration would be liberal.

Apply, by letter, to A. B., care of Mr. Bellchambers, Bookseller, 63, King Street, Westminster.

BRITISH SLAVE HOLDERS. THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR—The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in combination with your *Reporter*, will confer more benefits on the world at large than any benevolent institution yet formed. It will effectually remove one portion of the creation from the suffering inflicted upon them for centuries, and will bring such merited and universal odium upon those who are the authors of such unrighteous oppressions, that the dread of general execration must ultimately terrify them from a pursuit, however lucrative, which is so opposed to justice, the benignant laws of heaven, and the merciful feelings of human nature.

It behoves every one, therefore, possessed of information on the subject, to furnish the society with such prominent points of intelligence as may enable it to perform this sacred and most charitable duty, without reference to the evils which may result to himself in consequence.

On this principle I have acted in my previous communications relative to the cruelties inflicted on their slaves by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association ; and, had I not stated facts too notoriously known to many to be altogether denied, the directors would never have admitted them with their feeble palliation, as attempted in your last number but one.

It is surprising that men who are perhaps remarkable for their forbearance towards their hired white male and female servants, or who treat even their house dog with humanity, lose all sympathy for the black beings they purchase as slaves, whose existence is passed in the hardest of toils, the most barbarous of inflictions, and the severest wants and privations ; and yet this extraordinary anomaly is almost universal amongst slave-holders, who subsist upon, and become rich by, the labour of these wretched and unfortunate victims.

This, I think, is pretty strongly exemplified in the conduct of the wealthy individuals who compose the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association.

In opulent families, where servants have been faithful through a long life, they are usually sheltered from houseless destitution and absolute famine, when too old and too decrepit to be any longer useful. Not so with the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. When age or infirmities have rendered the being incompetent to work, then he or she is freed, turned off the association's domains, and left unbefriended, houseless, and famishing, to die of hunger in the lanes or ditches beyond its boundaries.

That this fact may not be doubted, I present the following example. Joaquim, and Maria his wife, were employed as nurses, or attendants, the one for the male, and the other for the female slaves in the hospital. They had been so long in this station, that their experience rendered the presence of the doctor frequently unnecessary, except in serious cases. They at length became enfeebled from age, were, consequently freed, and were as customary, obliged to quit the estates of the association. During the last twelvemonth of my residence I never heard what became of these two old, infirm, but formerly energetic and faithful slaves. They had no home, no friends, and were totally incapacitated from exertion to insure the most scanty subsistence. Their only fate, therefore, must have been death by inclemency of weather and starvation ; for there are no poor laws, no mercy nor charity to be met with amongst the residents of the surrounding vicinity, when an old decrepit slave is the object.

Now, as the only food of the slaves is boiled horse-beans and a little farinha mixed up with a morsel of bacon fat, the utmost expense that the future subsistence of these two unfortunate creatures could possibly have entailed upon the association, as a reward for past services, would have been threepence per day for both. Their freedom is reported in the chief commissioner's letter-book of correspondence with the directors.

The Imperial Brazilian Mining Association have, on the average, about 200 English miners at Gongo. When they are engaged in this country, the directors agree to give them perhaps a hundred pounds a-year ; but they take care to stipulate in the articles, that it shall be paid them in Brazil at the rate of forty-eight pence per milreis, although they are aware that the real exchange has been as low as sixteen pence, and never for years higher than thirty pence per milreis. Thus these poor fellows are unconsciously deprived of half their salaries, in a country where every article of provision, clothing, &c. is excessively dear, having received on the average half the amount of Portuguese money only, instead of double that sum. Fifty pounds thus saved from each of these two hundred men amounts to £10,000 per annum, which the directors retain without remorse for the miners know nothing about the exchange, and fancy their arrangement is all in good faith, until they find themselves in distress. The officers being fully cognizant of this difference, they are, of course, paid in full.

As Messrs. Freshfield have asserted that I have made an unfounded claim on the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, I will now give you a short history of my demand.

I had been eight or nine years in the General Mining Association, under Mr. Duval, in their office in London. This company had also extensive mines in the Brazils, were very extensive slave-owners, and Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, of Ludgate Hill, were the largest shareholders. Those mines were abandoned, and the slaves all *sold by public auction*. When Mr. Duval was appointed chief commissioner to the Imperial Brazilian, he entreated I would accompany him, my conduct for so many years having been exemplary and indefatigable. He knew I was familiar with French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian ; he declared he could

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not do without me, principally on account of Portuguese; and assured me that if I would consent he would advance my interest in conformity. I at length consented, was introduced to the Imperial Brazilian, engaged, went out, and, from the moment I reached Gongo, I had the chief business of several departments thrown on me, as everything is conducted in Portuguese, which few of the English officers understood much about, particularly the secretary, whose business required him to be intimately acquainted with it. In addition, I was requested to take the magisterial department of the police for the same reason, and to officiate at the butchery, to obviate the plunder that had been carried on there. These various employments kept me constantly in action day and night, so that I rarely got above four hours rest in the twenty-four. At length the secretary was appointed cashier, and I succeeded to his station, as was proved in my last communication. The income attached to the secretaryship is £400 a-year, (it was formerly £1000) and the chief commissioner promised me £200 a-year additional for my very arduous extra duties, which made rapid inroads on my health. What, then, was my surprise at the end of the quarter, instead of being permitted to draw a £150 bill, as was at first tacitly agreed, I was informed that the Directors had recommended economy, and that I could be permitted to draw only £50, that is £200 per annum instead of £600 per annum! I immediately resigned my office, and requested leave to withdraw my services from the association; but I was informed that was impossible until the bill was passed in the Legislature for reducing their duties on gold, because all the correspondence with the government, senate, and chamber of deputies, depended on me. I constantly protested against the outrage of thus detaining me; but, although two years and a-half expired before their aim was accomplished, I still continued to perform the whole of my varied duties as before, most conscientiously. The chief commissioner at length confessed, that, unless I would consent to give him a release, he would not acquiesce in my departure until the expiration of the term of my first agreement, although cancelled by subsequent appointments. Impatient to free myself from so onerous an engagement, I suffered the release to be thus extorted. On my return, therefore, I laid my claim for arrears as secretary only before the Directors, amounting in two years and a-half to £500, not insisting on the £200 a-year verbally agreed on for extra services, which would have been £500 more, and which the Directors know I am justly entitled to: but Messrs. Freshfield, relying on the extorted release, say I have made an unfounded claim, although I doubt if a court of equity would confirm such decision, if I were to sue for the whole sum.

In my next communication I shall lay before your readers some further information relative to the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, the mode of conducting the slave-trade in the Brazils generally, and interesting matter about some other mining associations, whose operations are all carried on there by slaves, whilst their offices, directors and share-holders are in LONDON.

I am respectfully, Sir, your obedient servant,

F. A. KENTISH.

13th November, 1840.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

[From the work of Prof. Adam.]

THE BRITISH LAW OF SLAVERY IN INDIA.

IT now remains to show what is the British law of slavery in India: and this might be stated in a single sentence, viz., that it is a confirmation, with modifications, of the Hindu and Mohammedan laws of slavery; but in order to do justice to the British government of India, and to furnish a clear conception of the whole case, it is necessary to explain the principle on which that confirmation professes to be based.

An extensive territory, by cession or conquest, had through the agency of the East India Company, become subject to the crown and sovereignty of Great Britain. A primary and essential duty of every just government towards its subjects, is that of publishing and enforcing an equitable system of law, adapted to their actual condition and circumstances, and calculated to protect them in the secure enjoyment of their rights, natural and acquired. In the view of this obligation, by various statutes in the reign of George III., a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three other judges, was established at Calcutta, and the benefit of the laws of England, as far as applicable to India, was extended by the legislature to all persons residing within the town of Calcutta, and subsequently to all British subjects, natives of Great Britain, or their descendants, resident in India or elsewhere within the limits of the East India Company's exclusive trade. But the laws of England were justly deemed inapplicable to the native population, who, whether Mohammedans or Hindus, were previously in possession of their respective written laws, under which they had acquired property by descent, purchase, gift, and other modes, and which they had been educated and habituated to regard and venerate as sacred. There was accordingly in the statutes above-mentioned, a reservation of the laws and usages of the native inhabitants of Calcutta in cases of inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party, as well as the rights and authorities of fathers and masters of families; that is, in all such cases, native laws and usages were to be recognised and maintained. In 1772, the laws and usages of the native inhabitants of the provinces were as distinctly recognised. In that year, a plan for the administration of justice in the provinces was adopted, and it was provided 'that in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages or institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to Mohammedans, and those of the Shaster with respect to Gentoos, shall be invariably adhered to. On all such occasions, the Moulavies,' (interpreters of the Mohammedan law,) 'or Brahmins,' (interpreters of Hindu law,) 'shall respectively attend to expound the law, and they shall sign the report, and assist in passing the decree.' Instead of the judicial plan of 1772, a more comprehensive system of law and regulation was established by the Marquis Cornwallis in 1793, and in that system also the following rule was laid down for preserving to the natives their own laws and usages. 'In suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, the Mohammedan laws with respect to Mohammedans, and the Hindu laws with regard to Hindus, are to be considered the general rules, by which the judges are to form their decision.' This then, was an original, and has always continued to be a primary rule of British law in India; and if the fundamental principle of all civil laws, is, that they ought to be 'suitable to the genius of the people,' subject to their authority and operation, the wisdom, the justice, and the humanity of adopting and adhering to it, must be pronounced equally honourable to the British nation and government, and conducive to the protection and contentment of the natives of India.

Under this rule, however—this wise, just and humane rule—for giving the natives the benefit of their own civil laws regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, caste, and all religious usages and institutions, the question early arose whether it was applicable to cases of slavery. In 1798, this question was referred to the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, the supreme court of civil judicature on all questions of native law, and it was explicitly admitted by that court, that slavery was not included in the letter of the rule. Slavery, as we have seen, both in the Hindu and Mohammedan systems, has provisions of law proper to that subject, and distinct from those which regulate succession, inheritance, marriage, and caste. Nor can slavery be deemed one of the religious usages or institutions either of the Hindus or Mohammedans. The rule is not, at least directly and strictly, applicable to questions of personal freedom and bondage, and the Sudder Dewany Adawlut had the strongest ground for denying that slavery was included in the letter of the rule. And yet, in the face of this admission or denial voluntarily made by the court—that body, as if straining a point—not to protect the interests of the community, not to extend the shield of justice over those whom the mere letter of the law would have left unguarded,—but to inflict a lasting curse on society, and to rivet the fetters of the slave, whom, by their own acknowledgment, the plain and direct letter of the law would have liberated from his bonds—that body, as if straining a point for such a purpose, delivered the opinion that the *spirit* of the rule for observing the Mohammedan and Hindu laws, was applicable to cases of slavery, and this construction was confirmed by the governor-general in council, under date the 12th April, 1798. This construction has never been reversed, and it is the foundation on which slavery in British India legally rests at the present day.

ANOMALIES OF THE LAW AND PRACTICE OF SLAVERY UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

How strange and anomalous is that state of the law of which we have now taken an imperfect survey! First, we see the British government, which has placed itself at the head of a crusade against slavery in Europe, Africa, and America, blindly permitting a delegated government to legalize it amongst a hundred millions of British subjects in Asia. Next, we see, that delegated government legalizing, not one system, but two distinct systems of slavery; calling one of them out of a state of illegality which had lasted seven or eight hundred years, into a state of practical and effective legality; and legalizing both of these systems of slavery, not by a formal, well-considered, and carefully framed enactments, which would have been of course submitted for the approbation or disapprobation of the Imperial parliament, but thus depriving hundreds of thousands of its native subjects of their personal liberty, and consigning them and their posterity to slavery, by a side-wind, by a mere interpretation, and, as I contend, by a gross misinterpretation of a rule which gives Hindus and Mohammedans the benefit of their own laws in all suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, but which makes not the slightest mention of slavery. Next, we see two branches of this delegated government, at Madras and Bombay, professing to give full effect in all its provisions to the act of parliament which makes the slave-trade felony, and the legal adviser of the latter government even holding that it commands the liberation of discontented slaves, and prohibits the restoration of fugitive slaves; while another branch of this delegated government, in Bengal, assumes the power, by its own sole authority, to set aside one-half of the same act, that which relates to the importation and exportation of slaves by land into the East India Company's territories, in place of which it applies another enactment, with different penalties of its own, and recognises the absolute and unconditional obligation of restoring runaway slaves, not only to their masters, being British subjects, but even to the governments and subjects of foreign states. Next, we see, as an effect of these proceedings, that while under the Madras government the importation or exportation of slaves by land or sea is punishable as felony; under the Bengal government, the importation and

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exportation of slaves by sea only is punishable as felony, the importation of slaves by land is punishable as a misdemeanor, and for the exportation of slaves by land no legal punishment whatsoever has been provided. Lastly, while the Madras government continues to permit the sale of slaves by its own officers, at least in satisfaction of judicial decrees, and generally by private slave-owners, and while the Bengal government recognises all transfers of slaves by sale, gift, or succession in the oldest provinces subject to British sway, the provinces most familiar with the spirit and practice of the British government, and in which a prohibition of the traffic in human flesh might have been enacted with the least danger to the public order and tranquillity, and the least injury to individual rights; we see the latter government in the southern Mahratta country, a new acquisition, where the British rule was strange, where native customs and usages were little known, where the danger and injury were likely to be the greatest, suddenly, totally, and absolutely prohibit the sale of slaves—slaves hitherto deemed 'a marketable commodity,' and the sale of them 'an established custom'—and this done, as far as appears, without murmur or objection on the part of the people, without the slightest effervescence of public feeling. If slavery is to continue in India, it must surely be admitted that the state of the law relating to it which I have exhibited, abounding in inconsistencies and contradictions, demands investigation, revision, and amendment.

THE NUMBER OF SLAVES.

'In attempting to form such an estimate, we must, I think, put out of view the calculation that in Southern India there are 3,000,000 of Pariar, all of whom are slaves, since this probably does not sufficiently distinguish between those classes of natives who are socially degraded without being slaves, and those who are held as slaves in the strict and legal sense. In estimating the total number of slaves in British India, properly so called, we must also omit the estimates that have been given respecting the number in native states and jagheers, as Cochin, Travancore, Mysore, and Coorg, and the jagheers of the Southern Mahratta country which are governed by native princes and chieftains. Thus in Travancore it has been estimated that there are 130,000 slaves, in Cochin 12,000, in the Southern Mahratta country 15,000, of whom one-half may be assigned to the Mahratta Jagheers and to the dominions of the Kolapore Raja, while of the number in Mysore and Coorg no estimate has been obtained. It is, however, to be borne in mind, that although the British government cannot be held answerable for the existence of slavery in these dependent native states and principalities, yet its indirect influence over them is powerful, and any measures tending to the improvement of the condition of slaves or to the extinction of slavery in the neighbouring British provinces, if accompanied by proper representations to the native princes and chiefs, would probably lead to the adoption of similar measures in their dominions and territories. With these omissions, the following estimates of the number of slaves in British districts and provinces would appear to be approximations to the truth:—

Silhet	80,000
Behar	22,722
Tirhoot	11,061
S. Mahratta country, (British portion)	7,500
Arcot	20,000
Canara	80,000
Malabar	100,000
	321,283

This is exclusive of the following districts and provinces, respecting which no definite estimate of numbers has been obtained; viz:—Dacca Jelalpoor, where 'the custom of disposing of persons already in a state of slavery is common throughout the country; Backergunge, where 'women of the poorer classes when left widows sell their children to procure food;' Rungpoor, where 'among the domestics are both male and female slaves,' and where all the girls belonging to seventy-eight sets of female dancers and singers 'are purchased when children;' Dinajpoor, where 'slaves are very few;' Purneah, where there 'are various classes of slaves;' Assam, where 'all the domestics are slaves,' and where, according to the latest account, 'slavery still continues to a very considerable extent;' Arracan, where 'slavery is tolerated in all shapes;' the Tenasserim provinces, where 'the custom of debtor-slavery or mortgaged labour prevails universally;' the Mergui Archipelago, where the inhabitants are hunted to be made slaves; Boglipoor, where slaves are stated to exist; Ramghur, where they are employed by native chiefs for the purposes of private revenge; Gorakhpur, where both bond slavery and unconditional slavery exist; Dehra Doon, where 'slavery is dying a natural death;' Bellary, where domestic slaves do not 'exceed one or two hundred; and Tanjore, where 'prædial slaves' 'amount to many thousands.'

Upon the whole, I am of opinion that the very lowest estimate we can form of the total number of slaves, subjects of the British government in India, is 500,000; and I deem it highly probable that a thorough and faithful census would show that the number does not fall short of ONE MILLION.

THE VARIOUS SOURCES OF SLAVERY.

Of the various sources of slavery that have been mentioned, there is not one that every Englishman, every subject or citizen of a free government, must not condemn. The enslavement of captives in war, the sale of free children by their parents, the kidnapping of children, the importation of slaves, the sale of criminals, outcasts, concubines, and their offspring, the sale of freemen by themselves—all are either expressly forbidden by law, or are the customs of barbarous times and governments to be mentioned only to be denounced. Can it be consistent with justice and humanity, by perpetuating slavery, to perpetuate the operation and effect of causes which justice and humanity must and do condemn.

TREATMENT OF AGRESTIC SLAVES.

The food, clothing, and habitations of the field-slaves are on the lowest possible scale. With respect to their dwellings, Buchanan states that they erect for themselves small huts that are little better than large baskets; and so very impure are all castes of slaves held that they are obliged to erect them at a distance from the habitations of the free castes. In Malabar the allowance of clothing consists of a waist-cloth to men, and a fragment to females which is just large enough to wrap round their loins, and is of the value of 6d. to 1s. In some districts this is given but once a year, but more generally twice. As a substitute for these waist-clothes it is very common with slaves, especially in the retired parts of the country, to wear bunches of leaves, generally of the wild plantain tree, supported by a fibre of some tree or vine. In Canara the allowance of clothing is six cubits of cloth, a blanket, and a cloth to cover the head, for a man; four cubits of cloth for a woman; and four cubits for a child. Hindu female slaves, according to established custom, wear no upper garments; but female slaves, particularly those belonging to Mohammedan masters, adorn their persons with necklaces of cowry shells, glass beads, brass bracelets, and finger and ear rings. In Canara the daily allowance of food to a male slave is one and a half sers, or about three pounds, of coarse rice, two rupees' (say a dollar's) weight of salt, and a little betel-nut and leaf, the three last-mentioned articles being optional; to a female slave one ser, or two pounds of rice; and to a child, three-fourths of a ser, or a pound and a-half. In Malabar the allowance to a male slave is from one and a-half to one and three-quarters sers of rice, that is, from three pounds to three pounds and a-half; and to a female slave from one to one and a-quarter sers, that is, from two pounds to two pounds and a-half. The young and aged are generally allowed half of what able-bodied men and women receive, provided they do some work. The daily wages of a field-labourer, who is a freeman, is about a-third more than that of a slave, and moreover he works only till noon, whereas the slave has to toil from morning until evening, with no other sustenance than his morning's rice-water and his evening meal, after which he has to keep watch by turns at night. When the slaves are not regularly employed, the daily allowance of food is seldom more than half of what it is in working seasons, and very often even that scanty allowance is withheld, which obliges them to seek work from strangers; or if residing in those remote parts where there is no demand for their labour, they are left to eke out a miserable existence by feeding upon wild yams, and such refuse as would be sought after only by extreme wretchedness, and not unfrequently they are tempted by the cravings of hunger to rob gardens of their fruit. Mr. Græme, recently acting governor of Madras, uses the following language:—'the slave in the interior is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature, stinted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, whose state demands that commiseration and amelioration which may confidently be expected from the humanity of the British government.' Alas! the expectation, however confident, has hitherto been vain and fruitless! In Tanjore, indeed, the government humanely attached to the house of each of the slaves, in common with the other householders who are not landowners, a small piece of land as garden, tax-free; and this is the only instance of care for the personal comfort of the slaves that I have found on record, and to this the government was stimulated by the benevolence of one of their own servants. It should also be mentioned that on occasion of marriages, deaths, and other extraordinary events either of joy or sorrow, small presents are made to the slaves by their masters, of money, clothes, oil, pepper, salt, and tobacco, but the two latter, especially the tobacco, though a necessary of life in a humid climate like Malabar, (where the annual fall of rain averages 140 inches, being more than three times what it is in the adjoining province of Coimbatore, or in any part of the Coromandel coast), are less common than formerly, owing to the greatly enhanced price to the consumer, especially in the vicinity of the Ghaut mountains, *since the establishment by the company of a monopoly in those two articles.* Thus we see the East India company's government, under temporary and individual influence, increasing the comforts of the slave in Tanjore; and under the permanent influence of its own grasping and monopolizing spirit, lessening those comforts in Malabar.

By the ancient laws of Malabar a proprietor is accountable to no person for the life of his own slave, but is the legal judge of his offences, and may punish them by death. At the present day all slaves are under the nominal protection of the law. Masters cannot take their lives without incurring the penalty of murder. They are also perfectly competent witnesses in all cases, civil or criminal, whether against freemen or others; and yet the evidence is strong that the law, in its actual administration, does not extend its shield over them. Mr. Græme, already quoted, says that 'the interference of the magistrate' for the protection of

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slaves 'is so systematically withheld, that they could not with any prudent regard to the interests of themselves and families resort to a higher power.' 'How stands the fact between the slave and his master!' asks Mr. Baber. 'Can it be denied that their excluded condition, their ignorance, their poverty, their impurity, compared with the ability, the affluence, the influence, and high bearing of those they have to contend with, do present insuperable obstacles in the way of their getting redress, unless their masters step forward to see justice done to them!' And is it to be expected that their masters will step forward to see justice done to their slaves against their own injustice? In like manner, Mr. Campbell states that violence and cruelty on the part of the master are punishable; but he does 'not think that the civil magistrate has sufficient summary power to interfere for their due protection.' The usual modes of punishment are flogging, putting in the stocks, and working them in chains. Formerly the practice prevailed of cutting off the noses of the slaves, and although this is now illegal, the practice has not wholly ceased. Mr. Baber tried a case in which it was proved that four slaves, belonging to the same owner, had had their noses amputated, and that although the case had come before the magistrate, no steps had been taken to bring the perpetrators of such horrid barbarities to justice. The slaves themselves preferred no complaints, for having no means of subsistence independent of their owners or employers, their repairing to and attending upon a public court is a thing physically impossible. Even if those provisions of the regulations that require all complaints to be preferred in writing were dispensed with in favour of the slaves, and they were exempted from the payment of tolls at the numerous ferries they would have to pass, and an allowance were made to them by government during their detention at the courts, still, unless forfeiture of the right of property over slaves was the penalty for ill-usage, their situation would only become more intolerable than it was before they complained. Slaves are thus practically at the mercy of their masters, and beyond the pale of the law. 'There is hardly,' says Mr. Baber, 'a sessions of gaol-delivery the calendars of which *(though a vast number of crimes are occurring which are never reported)* do not contain cases of wounding and even murdering slaves, chiefly brought to light by the efforts of the police; though generally speaking, they are the most enduring, unresisting, and unoffending classes of the people.'

THE SLAVE POPULATION STATIONARY OR DECREASING.

By a census taken in 1807 of all Canara, the total number of inhabitants was found to be 576,640, and in 1827, the gross population amounted to nearly a million; making an increase of 70 per cent. in twenty years, while the slave-population has been stationary. In like manner in 1806-7 the general population of Malabar was, according to Mr. Wardon's estimate, 700,000, and in 1827 it amounted, by Mr. Sheffield's returns, to 1,003,466. The increase in the general population has thus been nearly as great as in Canara, while, according to Mr. Warden's evidence before the select committee of the House of Lords, the slave-population of Malabar has been diminishing. How are these facts to be explained except on the supposition that the increase of the slave-population has been checked by scanty fare, hard work, and cruel treatment?"

THE PRICES OF SLAVES.

A slave of the highest class may be hired from his master for seven and a half fanams per annum, equal to 3s. 9d. The lowly Pooliar Cherumar, who compose more than half the aggregate lave-population, may be hired for two and two and a-half fanams per annum, equal to 1s. and 1s. 3d. The average annual hire of a slave is estimated at five fanams, equal to 2s. 6d. The sale-prices are correspondent. A slave of the highest class will fetch 250 old gold fanams, equal to 6l. 5s. A man of the lowest class will fetch 48 fanams, equal to 1l. 4s.; a woman, 30 fanams, equal to 15s.; a boy, 20 fanams, equal to 10s.; and a girl 15 fanams, equal to 7s. 6d. The average selling price of all castes, of which twenty are enumerated, is 132 old gold fanams, equal to 3l. 6s. Such is the market value of human cattle in British India.

REVENUE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY SUPPLIED BY SLAVE-SALES.

In the preceding sketch of the incidents belonging to prædial slavery under the Madras presidency, there are many circumstances which cannot but be regarded with shame by every British subject possessed of the common feelings of humanity; but the sale of slaves away from their birth-place and families for arrears of revenue to the government furnishes the last touch to the dark picture. When the people of England are informed, on the undoubted authority of trusted and experienced servants of the East India company, that the enormous revenue of that company is not only wrung from an abjectly impoverished people, but that up to 1819, it was in part obtained by the open and authoritative sale of slaves belonging to revenue defaulters, involving the permanent separation of parents from each other and from their children; and that at the present day the sale of slaves, not by the government, but by their masters, for the payment of government revenue, is still practised, it may be hoped that public indignation will be so distinctly expressed as to draw attention to the entire system of Indian government of which this is only one feature.

TREATMENT OF DOMESTIC SLAVES.

I am equally doubtful of the uniform good treatment of domestic slaves. Although I do not question the kindness and lenity with which in a majority of instances they are regarded, yet there are several facts and considerations which prevent this admission from being made without exception. It is scarcely conceivable that the absolute authority which the master possesses over the slave should not frequently be abused, and accordingly many of the cases brought before the courts are cases of maltreatment of various kinds and in various degrees. Exclusive of cases of this kind brought before the company's courts, I recollect that during my residence in Calcutta a Mohammedan lady was tried before the supreme court for the murder of a slave-girl, and I should add was acquitted, according to my recollection of the case, but the proof of cruel treatment was overwhelming. Another consideration is, that, according to Mr. Colebrooke's statement, it is chiefly from the class of domestic slaves that the concubines of Mussulmans and Hindus are taken; and that, in conformity with the law of slavery, the persons of all unmarried female slaves are at the absolute command of their masters. It is impossible to doubt that such a relation must produce much degradation and suffering to the female slaves. Then, again, the profligate sisterhoods of Rangpur, described in a former paper, all of which consist of girls purchased when young, and to be reckoned as domestic slaves, no doubt are contented with their lot, but it is contentment with prostitution and infamy. If we turn to the male domestic slaves, we shall find many of them equally degraded and maltreated. A considerable class of them is composed of eunuchs—a name which describes them as objects of the most barbarous and inhuman cruelty. Still further, in Ramghur male slaves are employed by their masters for purposes of revenge and assassination; if they succeed and are apprehended, to be sacrificed to the laws, if they fail and return to their masters, to be sacrificed by them. To all this, it is necessary only to add that the custom of the Gorakhpur district gives the master the power to sell the members of a slave-family apart from each other: and we shall be convinced that the treatment of domestic slaves under the Bengal presidency is by no means universally of that mild and considerate character which it has been described to be.

THE SPIRIT AND OPERATION OF THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT IN RESPECT OF SLAVERY.

The reforms of the law and practice of slavery that have been unsuccessfully proposed by the good and wise in India, enable us to estimate the spirit and operation of the East India company's government in connexion with that subject. However uninformed and apathetic the majority of European residents in India may be respecting slavery, its evils are known and acknowledged, undenied and undeniable, by the government. The persevering and disinterested representations of some of the most enlightened and philanthropic servants of the East India company have left the government no excuse on the plea of ignorance; and to remedy the admitted evils of slavery in India only two methods can be proposed, viz., regulation or abolition. All the reforms that have been enumerated, contemplate regulation—not without a view to abolition ultimately, and by gradual approaches—but primarily and principally regulation of an existing institution still to be maintained and enforced. Now it is a fact that since 1808, when Mr. Richardson under the Bengal presidency, and since 1812, when Mr. Baber under the Madras presidency, first endeavoured to awaken the attention of government to the claims of humanity in connexion with this subject, the law and the practice of slavery under the British government in India have remained essentially the same, without improvement or mitigation, up to the present year, 1840. During the whole of that period nothing whatever has been done to control the power of the master, to protect the rights, to lighten the burthens, and to increase the comforts of the slave, or to prepare the way for placing master and slave in a different relation to each other. This fact would seem to admit of different explanations. It may be that the governing powers both in India and England deemed that slavery originating in crime and violence, maintained by cruelty and oppression, and productive only of vice and misery, did not admit of regulation, and that its only effectual cure was abolition—extinction—the immediate and complete emancipation of the slave. No such idea appears to have entered their minds. Slavery has continued to be the law of the land, and therefore necessarily in some measure a subject of regulation: and not a single movement has been made towards the enfranchisement of the slave-population. It may be that the governing powers in India and England, dissatisfied with the inadequate reforms of Messrs. Richardson, Harington, Baber, and Campbell, which would have unquestionably left much evil unremedied, have been engaged in devising and discussing and settling other and more searching and effectual measures of their own. It might have been expected that such deliberations would have produced some fruit before the year 1840, stimulated as they ought to have been by the express requisition of the Imperial parliament in 1833, addressed to the government of India, to mitigate the state of slavery, to ameliorate the condition of slaves, and to extinguish slavery in India as soon as practicable. But the fact is, that, with the exception of occasional calls for information from the subordinate local officers of government, official letters in reply to these calls written amid the pressure of current revenue, police, or judicial business, and abstracts of these letters by a clerk, or reports founded on them by an under-secretary, only to be added to the mass of papers already existing on the subject unread and unregarded—With these exceptions the East India company's

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government have equally neglected the recommendations of their own ablest servants and the requisitions of the Imperial parliament. The painful and disgraceful truth is, that the East India company, admitting—compelled by the testimony of their own most trustworthy servants to admit—the existence of slavery and the reality of its evils, have been content to continue to legalize slavery, to tolerate its evils, and to discourage, reject or consign to forgetfulness every suggestion dictated by justice or benevolence for their removal or mitigation. In this matter they have deliberately and systematically disregarded and neglected a grave and solemn duty of government, involving the rights and liberties of hundreds of thousands of British subjects placed under their authority, and they have thereby, so far, shown themselves unworthy of the high trust reposed in them by the crown and parliament of Great Britain—unworthy of the respect and confidence of the friends of humanity and civilization throughout the world.

THE TIME TO ABOLISH SLAVERY IS COME.

Either then slavery in India is the halcyon state which it has been described to be, or it is not. If it is, then let us lose not a moment; let us avail ourselves of the fortunate occasion; let us abolish slavery without delay, while the master is so favourably disposed towards the slave, while the slave has so loyal an attachment to the master, while the fetters have been allowed almost to fall off by the one and are scarcely felt by the other, and while every circumstance promises an easy passage from a state of servitude to a state of liberty. This is just the time and the occasion which a wise statesman would desire, and which he would signalize by a prompt and decisive act of liberal policy. But if the case is otherwise,—if slavery in India is not the mild and gentle, the innocent, harmless, and benevolent thing which it has been represented—if in a very large majority of instances it presents a picture of nakedness and starvation; of perpetual, compulsory, and unrequited labour; of stocks, floggings, chains, and murders; of slaves sold to strangers and torn away from their birth-place, families separated, and all the bonds of natural affection snapped asunder to meet the demands of a foreign, a cruel, and an avaricious government; of temptations held out to kidnappers to steal children, and to hard-hearted parents to sell their own offspring to supply the demands of private debauchery and of public prostitution—if these are the chief features of slavery in India—if these are the crimes whose cry ascends to Heaven to witness against us,—in this also let us lose not a moment; let us relieve ourselves, our nation, and as far as depends upon us our race, from the oppressive burthen of such dire, such black, such flagrant iniquities; and if the English people have hitherto in ignorance tolerated such abominations, practised or permitted in their name, let them do so no longer, but with a voice of indignation, that shall strike shame and dismay into the hearts of its money-seeking rulers, demand that slavery in British India be instantly and for ever abolished.

CONCLUDING APPEAL.

But it will be said that the question does not lie between the master and the slave, but between the master and the government which has legalized slavery and legalized the master's property in the slave. To this it may be replied, that human law is merely an expression of the will of individual men, and that no man, or number of men can change wrong into right. The right, therefore of the slave to himself is unaffected by the act of any government, But a government cannot be expected to admit its own solemn act to be wrong without good reason assigned, which may or may not convince, and, therefore, let it be further remarked, and repeated, if necessary, a thousand times, that even according to the existing law of slavery in British India, on the high authority of Mr. Macnaghten, '*THOUSANDS are at this moment living in a state of hopeless and contented, though* UNAUTHORISED *bondage.*' Let it be further observed, that slavery in India has not been legalised by a formal enactment of the British parliament, nor even of the British Indian government, but by a mere interpretation, and, as I firmly believe and maintain, by a gross and palpable mis-interpretation, of a rule of law which, it is admitted by the expounders, makes not the slightest mention of, or allusion to, slavery. If this alleged misinterpretation of the law should be established by competent authority, then the whole question of slavery, in India is settled, and in no instance does the master possess a legal any more than a rightful property in the slave.

"Finally, let it be assumed that the law of slavery in India is what it is generally supposed to be, and that the legal property of the master in the slave is undisputed and indisputable. Then let the government and people of England consider the small number of slaves compared with the whole population, at the most, probably one million in a hundred millions; let them remember the low prices of slaves in India as already specified; let them reflect on the eighteen or twenty millions sterling annually wrung from the people of India, and lavished on unnecessary wars and armaments, or on wasteful civil establishments, at home and abroad, by which an official aristocracy are enabled to trample on the necks of the subject people; and then let them determine whether a small portion of this revenue might not be more justly, more humanely, and more honourably employed in purchasing from their masters the freedom of a million of British subjects held in legal bondage. Nor let it be forgotten that the decree has already gone forth from the parliament of Great Britain, that means shall be taken 'forthwith' to mitigate the tate of slavery, to ameliorate the condition of slaves, to extinguish slavery itself throughout British India, 'so soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe,' and to prepare and transmit drafts of laws and regulations for these purposes; but that up to the present time, that is, after a lapse of seven years, or a full third of the period for which the government of India has been delegated to the East India company, notwithstanding the urgency of the injunction addressed to them from the highest authority, slavery has not been extinguished; the condition of slaves has not been ameliorated; the state of slavery has not been mitigated; drafts of laws and regulations for these purposes have not been prepared and transmitted; nothing whatever has been done or attempted by the East India company or by their local government to render the accomplishment of the will of Parliament more practicable or more safe than it was or was deemed in 1833; and from criminal inattention to a high and sacred trust, everything remains in the state in which it then was. Shall these things be and not excite shame, indignation, reprehension, reform! It is for the people, the parliament, and the government of England to determine.

TEXAS.

[As the recognition of Texas has been lately mooted again in some of the papers, we insert the following letter from the pen of Mr. Birney, which appeared in the *Times* a few weeks since, but which has not yet been put on record in our columns.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—My attention has just now been particularly called to an article signed "A.," in the *Times* of the 8th ult. in which reasons in great variety and abundance are set forth, why the policy of the British government in refusing to recognise the Texans as an independent state should be changed.

Although differing widely from the writer of that article in several of the statements and opinions he has hazarded, I should not, being a stranger, feel it incumbent on me publicly to attempt their correction, if any other person had taken on himself that task; and if, as a citizen of the United States, earnestly desirous of seeing the peaceful and lawful extinguishment of slavery there, I did not fully believe that a departure now by this government from the course it has heretofore observed towards the Texans would, in a great degree, neutralize the effect of the example set in her Slave Emancipation Act in the United States, and render comparatively ineffectual the efforts in behalf of negro emancipation now being made there, because of the aid and encouragement it could not fail to give to the slave interest in that country.

"A." ought to have remembered that the present unanimity of the people and government of England in making opposition to slavery and the slave-trade—the settled policy of the country is the result of not less than half a century's discussion of the subject in all its evil relations and bearings. So persevering and so sincerely (as its great cost will prove) has England pursued this policy, that her reputation has become to a considerable extent identified with its consistent maintenance; and she is too wise to undervalue, and I would trust, too virtuous to relinquish, the solid advantages in every point of view, both at home and abroad, of a national character based on justice and humanity. "A.," if an Englishman, ought not lightly to have derogated from that character by insinuating that his countrymen would look on the act of formally re-establishing slavery, where it had once been totally abolished, as less criminal and detestable when done by the Texans, because they were of British and Protestant descent, than they would had it been done by people of another stock and of a different faith. To the impartial, the advantages which their descent and their religion are supposed to confer only make their deed of shame appear the more execrable, and therefore the more worthy of public rebuke and condemnation.

The truth is, England is the last nation on the globe to which the Texans ought to have come asking anything in the way of comity or respect. With the United States success in their application to be treated as an independent power was to be expected as a matter of course. The United States is a slave-holding nation, and its government for the last twenty years has been administered almost wholly in accordance with the views of the slave-holding interest within itself. Indeed, had the Texans made their application to the United States with their insurgents' armour on, they should not have looked for a denial from an administration, which had long winked at the unlawful, yet notorious, midday enlistment of soldiers in every part of the country for their treacherous onset on the Mexican territory. Neither with France ought the success of the Texans to have been unlooked for, so far as slavery entered into the *pros* and *cons* of the question of recognition, for France is yet a slave-holding nation. By this I would not be understood to mean that there were not other grounds on which France, in a manner the most honourable to herself, might have refused to recognize the independence of Texas. But that the Texans should expect of England any public testimony of her respect, or any return on her part corresponding to the offer of comity that has been made, so long as they persist in holding the position in which they voluntarily placed themselves at the outset of their career in relation to the African race, shows either an unaccountable ignorance of what England would consider as due to her own character, or a surpassing effrontery that makes them still more worthy of rebuke. I would ask your correspondent "A." to consider for a moment the attitude of the two parties. On the one hand, we have England pleading on the score of humanity, and, where that motive was not prevalent, subsidizing

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the civilized nations of the world to unite with her in putting an end to the slave-trade, sending her ships into every sea, and watching every coast suspected of entertaining the slaver, and paying, as the price of emancipation in her own dependencies, treasures more than enough to have bought Texas twice over; on the other hand, we have the Texans presenting to the world their deliberately written constitution of government, in which it is provided:—

1. That slavery shall be established.
2. That the Legislature shall have no power to emancipate.
3. That the slave-holders shall not be allowed to emancipate without the consent of the Legislature.
4. That the Legislature expel from the country such of the coloured people as had not been reduced to bondage. [It is but a few months since the authorities of Texas issued a proclamation commanding the free coloured people to leave the country.]
5. That Africans and negros might be introduced without limitation from the United States.*

This is downright malice—malice propense and aforethought—aimed too at the peace and happiness of that part of the human race whose unmerited sufferings for centuries ought to commend them to the warmest sympathies, as their weakness ought to the fullest protection, of the truly magnanimous and powerful nations of the civilized world.

If to this treatment of the African race be added,

The ingratitude of the Texans for the unexampled hospitality which Mexico showed to them as strangers;

The treachery with which they repaid the lavish generosity of Mexico, shown in donations by the league of the public domain, no other condition being required of them except to settle on the land, and behave themselves in a peaceful and orderly manner;

The false and hypocritical outcry made to excite in their behalf the sympathy of Protestants, insinuating a denial of the well-known liberality of the Mexican government in permitting such of them as were not of the established religion of the country to observe their own forms unmolested;

Their treatment of the natives (Indians) since they seized on the country, scarcely condescending even to the form of treating with them for their lands, but waging a relentless war of extermination against them;

Their menaces and efforts to enlist the desperate of all countries with the intention to push their conquests to the very gates of Mexico, and to re-establish slavery throughout that vast empire. If, I say, all this—omitting a multitude of other things of the same type—be brought into the account against the Texans, they seem rather to resemble the strolling freebooters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, or the buccaneers of a later period, and to be better qualified to be received on equal terms of comity and intercourse with such bands than with the civilized nations of the nineteenth century.

Lest it may be thought that I have used terms of greater severity than the conduct of the Texans will justify, I take leave to add the following narrative, taken from an American newspaper of this year. The editor says, "It is the account most favourable to the Texans:—

"By a recent treaty with the Comanche Indians, it was stipulated, that if they would bring in thirteen white prisoners which they held in bondage, terms of peace would be granted to them. This they promised to do, and on the 15th ult. Colonel W. Cook, Adjutant-General M'Leod, and several other gentlemen repaired to San Antonio at the time agreed on. On the 19th, sixty-five of the Comanches arrived, and with them they brought only one prisoner, a daughter of Mr. Lockhart; for refusing to perform the other part of the treaty they refused to give any reason.

"In the meantime the terms were explained to the chiefs, which would have been offered in case they had complied with their engagements; and, as the troops under Captain Howard had become stationed, the twelve chiefs were informed that they were prisoners, and would be retained until they should send word to the rest of their company to restore the white captives in possession of their tribes.

"As the commissioners were retiring from the room, one chief sprang forward to pass the sentinel at the door, who in attempting to prevent him was stabbed by the Indian's knife. Captain Howard received a severe wound in the same way.

"The rest of the chiefs in the meanwhile drew their knives or their bows and arrows, and made a general attack. The soldiers fired and killed the whole twelve. The warriors in the yard fought with desperation. The company under Captain Reid soon repulsed them, and forced them to take shelter in the stone building near. A party after a while escaped, and gained the opposite side of the river, but they were pursued by a number of mounted men, under Colonel Wells, and all killed except a renegade Mexican, who was suffered to escape; the Indian women fought like tigers.

"The Texan loss was six killed and eight wounded; among the former was Judges Thompson and Hood.

"All the fighting men of the Camanches, thirty-two in number, were killed, also three women and two children, who fell in the very midst of the *melée*; twenty-seven women and children, and two old men, were made prisoners; not an individual escaped but a Mexican."

As far as your correspondent "A." is entitled to an answer, I may deem it enough to say, that he has brought forward no new ground of claim for the Texans—nothing, indeed, that was not competently known in this country when they first made their application to England to be treated as an independent power. But, as he is entitled to be set right as to some of the "facts" on which he seems to rest, and others to be guarded against too implicit a reliance on them, I propose examining a little further some of his statements.

That there is much of the Texas land well suited to the cultivation of cotton and sugar, is not to be denied; but that Texas is generally admitted to be, in point of health, beauty, and fertility, the "garden of the continent," is an assumption that is almost wholly unfounded, unless in the stories of speculators, in Texas lands, and other classes of adventurers, who find their account in permeating not only the United States but other countries to publish the praises of Texas, praises that are proportioned in their extravagance to the ignorance and gullibility of those to whom they address themselves. To what extent favourable accounts put forth at a distance by the Texans are to be relied on, the following extract from a Texas newspaper (the *Houston Morning Star*) of February 17, will serve to show. It purports to be a letter from Dr. Francis Moore, jun., one of the Texan senators, in reply to one of his constituents, who had asked him why he opposed taking the census, by which his county would have been more fairly represented in the legislature. "Dr. Moore says, in the first place:—

"It was proved beyond a doubt that the population of the republic was not sufficiently great to authorize a constitutional increase of the representatives, and, consequently, the measure would have been useless, and the expense wasted. To those who have been accustomed to hear the magnified reports of the population of Texas, as published in the United States journals, this account may seem chimerical; but if any individual doubts this assertion, by turning through the files of the *Telegraph* and noticing the votes in each county at the annual election, he will be convinced of this truth.

"The second reason that induced me to vote against the bill, was, that it would injuriously affect our foreign relations. We are just on the point of opening communications with several foreign powers for the recognition of our independence and the extension of our commerce. If a census were taken at this juncture, and the result should be published to the world, showing our population to be less than one-fifth of its estimated limit, England, Belgium, Spain, and other Powers might be disposed to regard us as too diminutive to deserve notice. Indeed, General Henderson, when the bill was before the Senate, informed me, that in negotiating with the French minister for the late treaty, he was compelled to refer to the exaggerated reports of the United States journals, in which the population of Texas is rated at from 300,000 to 500,000. Had the census been taken, and the French minister enabled to refer to the statistical tables of the republic, and found the population less than the least sum above-mentioned (even Dr. Moore will not venture to say how much less), General Henderson observed, he might not have considered the question relative to our recognition of sufficient importance to engage his attention."

This account of Dr. Moore leads me strongly to suspect that your correspondent's "30,000 choice riflemen, raised to resist foreign invasion," are, after all, but little else than "men in buckram," or, if they be still insisted on, it must be admitted they are the largest standing army ever known to be raised out of so small a population, including masters, and slaves, and overseers, and fugitives from justice, and supported by one so poor as the people of Texas must necessarily be. But the story of the "30,000 riflemen," taken in connexion with the 40,000 bales of cotton, the annual product, by no means tends to corrobate the statements of "A," that Texas is "almost the only climate where the white man may raise sugar and cotton," and "the only slave country where white (free) labour is encouraged and suffered to stand in competition with black (slave)." The quantity of raw cotton that it will take to make 40,000 bales is not an immoderate crop from 40,000 acres of the best land of Texas, if its fertility has not been overrated. The 40,000 acres can be cultivated, and the product prepared for market by 8000 average (slave) field hands, men, women, boys, and girls, taken promiscuously, besides as much Indian corn or other articles of food as will be required for the support of themselves and the cattle employed in the cultivation. Now, on the supposition, that owing to the peculiar circumstances of Texas as a new country, only one-half the working slaves are employed in raising the staple article, we have 16,000 for the whole number of working slaves. Add to this number even more than a third, or 9,000, for all such as do not work, from whatever cause, and we have 25,000 for the whole number of slaves in Texas.

Uncertain as these data for ascertaining the number of the slaves must necessarily be, there are none at hand even to be so much relied on for ascertaining the number of the whites. In their absence, however, it may be stated, that the emigrants to Texas in 1834, 1835, 1836, were for the most part adventurers in

* It may be asked why the provision authorising the introduction of Africans from the United States is made a part of the written constitution, when it is not to be presumed that Africans have been imported into the United States since 1808, when Congress abolished the foreign slave-trade? I know of no practical use for the provision, unless it be after blinding the eyes of strangers, ignorant of such devices, by declaring the direct importation of African slaves piracy—to continue the importation of African slaves, by first landing them on the United States' side of the Sabine river (the boundary), and then ferrying them across to the Texas' side. This would be "importing or admitting" them from the United States, and therefore no violation of the letter of the constitution. It is said, that a brisk business is already carried on in this way on the Sabine.

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the strictest sense—"landless resolutes," without slaves, and indeed with but little of anything that they could call property. Since that time quite a considerable emigration of slave-holders of some substance has taken place from some of the more exhausted portions of the older slave states of the Union. Many of the Mississippi and Louisiana slave-holders having embarrassed themselves by their wild speculations in slaves and lands, and become insolvent by the change of times within the last two or three years, have escaped to Texas to avoid the process of the courts, running off their slaves with them. From these considerations, which, indefinite as they are, do yet furnish some clue, it may safely be said, that the whites do not exceed the slaves in a greater ratio than 2 to 1, or at the utmost 3 to 1. The slaves being set down at 25,000 (a larger estimate), and the whites at 75,000, the whole population is 100,000. A good deal of confidence is felt that the number here given is the *maximum;* and the opinion is strengthened by the fact, that the cotton-planting region of the United States, whence a large majority of the Texans emigrated, has suffered no perceptible diminution of its population, unless in a few insolvent neighbourhoods of Mississippi and Louisiana. It would be otherwise if 400,000, or 300,000, or even 200,000 people had removed from this section of the United States within the last four years. "A" would have his readers believe that the climate of Texas is decidedly more favourable to labouring white men than that of the adjacent and other southern portions of the United States. He mistakes, if he supposes that this point is by any means a settled one. He has been much misled if he supposes that in Texas sluggish streams are nowhere to be found, nor rivers that never overflow their banks, nor swamps of great extent; or that a prairie country is more salubrious than one abounding in timber, or that his other fancies about the constancy and purity of the "trade breeze" in Texas will ever be realized. Texas is about as salubrious as Louisiana, or Albama, or Mississippi, the causes which usually produce diseases in warm countries being nearly the same in all of them. But the climate of Texas, as of the states just mentioned, is dangerous, and equally so to the health of labourers, black or white, who are not acclimated. Proof of this, in regard to the former, is found in the fact, that the planters in the southern states make a wide difference in value between acclimated slaves and such as are brought fresh to their markets from the markets of Virginia or Kentucky, only five or six degrees further north. When, too, a planter wishes to sell his slaves, he does not fail to make known the fact that they are acclimated. Thus General Felix Houghton advertises for sale in a Natchez paper, of April 6th, 1838—"thirty-five very fine acclimated negros." The blacks of the south labour exposed to the sun without danger, and when the newly introduced white labourers sicken and die under its influence. It is not because one set is black and the other white, but it is that the blacks have been born and brought up in the south, and the whites have been born and brought up in higher latitudes. If two labourers, a white and a black, brought up in England, and equal as to health, physical powers, &c., were transferred to Texas to labour in field cultivation, the chances of health and life would continue equal with them. I am not unaware, that gentlemen of the first intelligence would dissent from this opinion so far as the West India islands and other tropical countries are concerned. I am giving the conclusions to which my own mind has been led by long observation in the southern states, where the poorer classes of people who have no slaves labour in the fields as regularly as the slaves do, and with no greater injury to their health. No difference between them and the slaves, as to their capacity for labouring in the sun, is once thought of among themselves. The notion that the black only is qualified by natural temperament to cultivate the south is an apology for slave-holding that has no just support in facts, and that will be put aside, it is to be hoped, by the philosophic inquisition already begun on this whole subject.

The statement that Texas is "the only slave country in which white (free) labour is encouraged, and suffered to stand in immediate competition with black" (slave), is one to which it is difficult to attach any very satisfactory meaning.

If it mean no more than that a white man may work in the fields, and receive the avails of his labour, then Texas has nothing peculiar in this part of its economies: this is common in all the slave states of the Union. But if it mean that the Texans having first adopted a system of slavery, intended to be perpetual, set on foot at the same time a systematic encouragement of free labour, its antagonist element, then I must say, I cannot credit the statement; I am driven rather to believe that "A." is misinformed, than that the Texans would attempt what would be so ineffective, so absurd; for so any project looking to a regular encouragement of free labour by the side of slave must appear to those who are at all conversant with the blighting influence of the latter.

No: free labour and slave labour cannot both prosper for any length of time in the same country. Labour, honourable as it is in itself, becomes dishonoured by being handed over to slaves. The free labourer feels his very occupation contaminated. To avoid degradation himself he flies from it, and resorts for support to any device or stratagem that will remove him furthest from assimilation in character or condition to the slave, who, despised by others, at last falls under his contempt.

There are other topics presented in the communication of "A." which I should be glad to examine were it not for the great length to which this article is already extended. They ought not, however, to be passed over wholly without notice.

As a free state, Texas would very early be settled by an industrious, growing, planting, population, who would soon become important customers to those who could supply them on the best terms with such manufactured articles as they would stand in need of. That it may yet become a free state is not to be despaired of, if England only remain true to the policy she has thus far observed. As a slave state it can never be a market of much importance to this or any other manufacturing country. As a slave state, too, it will be an everlasting eye-sore to the West India population, and in a multitude of ways counteractive of the humane policy of this country in reference to the African slave-trade.

In opposition to what is asserted by "A.," I understand that the Texan flag is not recognized in the ports of this country, and that "A.'s" authority for making the statement he has is questionable. No negotiation, it is believed, has been or is on foot for such object. The comfort of the slave brought up in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and the other slave-selling states of the Union, from which Texas would be supplied, except in so far as African slaves might be fraudulently introduced, would be poorly promoted by his being transported to Texas. In all the planting countries where provisions and clothes for the slaves are purchased from abroad, they are invariably dealt out scantily. The "comfort" of the slave in being sold from one country to another, notwithstanding the transfer involves a breaking up of every domestic tie, has ever been found to be "promoted" only *pari passu* with the master's interest in converting him into merchandise.

It has been one of the stereotyped excuses of the most abandoned traffickers in human flesh from the commencement of the trade on the coast of Africa up to the present day. It prevails equally at the Barracoons of the Gallinas and Virginia.

The remaining statements of "A.'s" article are either so clearly erroneous or so inapplicable to the matter in hand, that I leave them to the reader without comment.

Trusting that the foregoing remarks may contribute in some degree to the better understanding of a subject with which not only the welfare of my own country, but the honour of this, is connected.

I remain, very respectfully, &c,

London, Sept. 5th. AN AMERICAN.

SUGAR WITHOUT RUM.

We earnestly commend to attention, and especially to that of the new British India Sugar Company, the following extract from Mr. Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies:*—

"It is a circumstance much to be lamented, that the distillery is an almost unvarying appendage to the boiling-house, and every two hogsheads of sugar are accompanied by at least one puncheon of rum. The new rum of the West Indies is a tempting, but most unhealthy liquor, and has, doubtless, caused an unnumbered multitude of untimely deaths. Our friend Stevenson drinks only water, and with an honest consistency, manufactures no rum. The 'scummings' of the sugar liquor, from which (with a mixture of molasses) the rum is usually distilled, are, on his estate, pumped back into the clarifier, and converted into sugar as excellent as any that he makes. He is confident that this change of system is economical and profitable; and greatly is it to be desired that his example may be followed throughout the West Indies."

UNITED STATES.

We take from the *Anti-slavery Standard* the following account of a public meeting of the coloured citizens of New York, in reference to British West India Emigration.

According to public notice, the coloured citizens of New York, met at the Asbury church, Elizabeth-street, on Tuesday evening the 29th of September, 1840.

After a prayer the object of the meeting was stated, and the attention of the assembly was called to the claims of the Mirror of Liberty.

Mr. Edward Yates was introduced, and interested the meeting with heart-rending statements relative to the suffering emigrants who colonized from this country to Trinidad, in the West Indies, among whom were himself and family. He left the latter in the West Indies more comfortable than many of his friends; still they are in a suffering state, from which he wished to relieve them.

William Waugh's pamphlet, containing a statement of facts in relation to the customary treatment of the emigrants by the planters in Trinidad, was called for and read.

Mr. Abram Caldwell was introduced to the meeting, and gave a statement confirming all with which the meeting had already been interested.

Several other persons from the West Indies, who were expected to be present, were called for by the meeting, but did not appear.

Mr. Jacob Jones, recently from the island of Trinidad, was invited forward. He stated many things, and underwent a rigid examination by Messrs. Van Rensselaer, Rugles, Olney, Seaman, Frazier, and others.

After a short intermission, Mr. Jones was called for the second time, but did not appear.

The gentlemen who had preceded him were also questioned.

The meeting was appropriately addressed by Mr. David Rue, presenting the British West India emigration scheme in an odious light. His remarks were received with a hearty response, after which the following resolution was adopted:—

Resolved,—"That this meeting commend Edward Yates and his case to the consideration of the hospitable citizens of New York, that they may afford him the means to relieve his suffering family, now in the inhospitable island of Trinidad."

The meeting adjourned. EDMUND CROSBY, Chairman.

WM. WAUGH, Secretary.

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Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 18TH.

OUR friend Mr. Birney has taken his departure for America, after a series of labours in the anti-slavery cause, which have so far affected his health as to render repose absolutely necessary. High and cordial is the esteem which he has acquired wherever he has become known; and the profound attention which has been universally given to him as a public speaker, unequivocally indicates the respect felt for his character, and the reliance placed on his statements. He has done more to make the people of this country acquainted with the actual enormities of American slavery than any other man; while at the same time, he has uniformly evinced the truest love, and the deepest tenderness for his country. His countrymen, we doubt not, will be grateful by and bye, for the wounds of so faithful a friend.

Mr. Stanton and Mr. Scoble are still engaged in their labours. On the 2nd instant, a public meeting was held in the assembly room at Cheltenham, our old and tried friend, Samuel Bowly, Esq., of Gloucester in the chair. It was crowded to overflowing and the addresses delivered made a deep impression. The Rev. Mr. Kennaway, one of the clergymen of the town, who had taken his place in the body of the meeting to observe the proceedings, was so moved by what he heard, that he came to the platform, and pledged himself to our cause.

On the 6th inst., a large meeting was held in St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich, J. J. Gurney, Esq., in the chair. On this occasion he narrated several interesting anecdotes, illustrative of the results of emancipation in Jamaica. The chartists had here mustered in considerable numbers, and, through their leader, requested to be heard. To prevent discussion and confusion, therefore, no resolutions were proposed; but the chairman declared that the city of Norwich and County Anti-slavery Society would henceforth be auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

The platform was surrounded by chartists, some of whom intended to address the meeting, and the cry of "Think of the slaves at home" was raised more than once. Mr. Gurney suggested the propriety of hearing the American gentleman and Mr. Scoble first—and when they had concluded the hour was so late, that he urged the necessity of postponing further proceedings. Three cheers were called for and given by a small portion of the numbers present, for "the slaves at home." We are sorry to understand that several stones were cast through the windows from the outside during the meeting.

On the 11th, a meeting was held in the Town-hall at Bury, George Creed, Esq., Mayor, presiding. Here the cause had the benefit of the assistance of two clergymen of the Established Church, the Rev. M. Armstrong and the Rev. A. Colvill, both of whom have long been the warm and tried friends of the oppressed a as also that of the Rev. Messrs. Elliott and Dewhirst, Independents, and of Messrs. Sabine and Pace. An auxiliary was formed, of which Thomas Clarkson, Esq., is president.

On the 13th, at noon, a highly respectable company assembled in the Town-hall, Wisbeach, — Watson, Esq., the new Mayor, in the chair. Although the weather and other circumstances were much against it, the meeting was most satisfactory. The Anti-slavery Society at Wisbeach is now considered auxiliary to the British and Foreign.

In reference to the conduct of the chartists, we make the following brief extract from the *Norwich Mercury*:—

ON Monday last, a deputation of the Anti-slavery Committee waited by appointment on his Excellency, Sir W. M. B. Colebrooke, governor-general of the Leeward Islands, and were most courteously received. We insert below the address presented on behalf of the Committee. and his Excellency's reply.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR WILLIAM COLEBROOKE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE LEEWARD ISLANDS,

SIR,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, as friends of the lately emancipated population of the British colonies, and deeply interested in their well-being, beg to present to your Excellency a respectful expression of their sincere congratulations on your safe arrival in England.

Fully impressed as the committee are with a conviction that the happiness and welfare of all classes of her Majesty's subjects in those settlements, in which slavery and its demoralizing influence has existed, are essentially connected with a just and humane administration of the executive, they regard it as a duty equally imperative and gratifying to assure your Excellency, how deeply sensible they are of the solicitude you have evinced to secure impartial justice, and to protect the rights and liberties of the recently emancipated bondsmen in the important colonies under your government.

In carrying into effect the humane and enlightened policy which has uniformly marked your Excellency's discharge of the duties of your high office, the committee are sensible of the difficulties which you have had to encounter, and highly appreciate the wisdom and energy which has happily enabled you to surmount them.

Regarding the efforts of christian missionaries and teachers for instructing the coloured inhabitants of our colonies as most important in every sense to their welfare; the committee desire to express to you their cordial thanks for the encouragement and protection which your Excellency has ever readily afforded to teachers and ministers of religion of every name.

The committee [illegible] rejoice at the prospect of your Excellency's [illegible] to resume the duties of your government, and they entertain the full confidence that, when the spirit of slavery shall have passed away as well as its name, and the judicious measures of your Excellency shall come into full effect supported by the influence and power of the home government a degree of agricultural and commercial prosperity hitherto unknown in the leeward islands will be the happy result.

Your Excellency will be met on your return by the gratitude and blessing of multitudes, who must ever regard you as their sincere friend and protector; and the committee desire to express their earnest hope that you may be sustained in the responsible duties of your office by the blessing of the Almighty.

(Signed) G. W. ALEXANDER, Chairman.

TO THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, &c. &c.

Gentlemen,—In returning from the West Indies after a service of six years in those colonies, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to find that, in the discharge of the responsible duties which devolved on me at so eventful a period, I should have succeeded in impressing those who have supported the cause of emancipation in this country with an opinion that my exertions have been effectual.

Never having doubted the capacity of the negro race to appreciate justly the freedom conferred on them, and convinced that the abolition of slavery would conduce to the prosperity of all classes of society, I entered on the charge with a full assurance, that it was only necessary to bring into operation those civilizing influences which have been elsewhere successful, to ensure the moral and social advancement of the enfranchised peasantry.

In the colonies which have been settled under the English law, advantages have been derived from their early admission to the exercise of functions which tend to inspire them with habits of self dependence, and a sense of their responsible relations to society; and in contemplating the general improvement, I would invite attention in particular to the condition of the independent villages in Antigua. Occupying grounds the possession of which is secure to them, they are not more distinguished for the neatness of their homesteads, and their industry as plantation labourers, than for the anxiety they have evinced to support the laws in the choice of respectable householders as constables.

The influence exercised by the clergy, and by the christian ministers and teachers of all denominations, has pre-eminently tended to promote the general improvement, and to lay the only sure foundation for their future welfare; and, if we may be permitted to look forward to the co-operation of the leading proprietors in this country in giving effect to measures in which their own interests are so materially involved, we may look forward, under Providence, to the early attainment of those views of agricultural and commercial prosperity to which the change already effected has so largely conduced.

I estimate the advantages which a temporary residence in this country afford to me in the opportunities of personal communication with those who take an interest in the prospects of the British colonies, and, in returning to them, I shall not lightly appreciate the possession of their confidence.

I beg to return to you, gentlemen, my sincere acknowledgments for the expression of your good wishes.

(Signed) W. M. B. COLEBROOKE.

WE have devoted a large space in our impression of this day. to extracts from Professor Adam's work on the *Law and Custom of Slavery in British India*. The publication of this volume is highly seasonable and important; and the manner in which it has been prepared does the highest credit to the writer. We cannot but hope that it will attract much attention, and thatthe information it contains will, by a wide diffusion, contribute materially to arouse the British public to a sense of the existing evil, and to invigorate the efforts which must be made for its immediate removal.

WE mentioned in our last the remarkable statement made by Mr. John O'Connell at the late Anti-slavery meeting in Dublin, respecting the bribe offered to Irish repealers to keep apart from the work of humanity. This matter having been noticed by the *Morning Chronicle*, Mr. J. O'Connell has addressed an explanatory letter to the editor of that paper, from which we take the following passage:—"The substance of what I stated was this: that an intimation had been made that, if the Repeal association meddled with the question of negro slavery, their doing so would be likely to stop the contributions of an immense number of persons in America who were friendly to the Repeal cause. That to this intimation our answer was, that we would spurn at contributions from friends to slavery; and that if we wanted a reason to take up the above question, it would be our anxiety at once to repudiate such a condition of support. You will perceive this is widely different from your supposition that I stated that 'advances, with offers of large sums of money, were made in private to some of the leading members of the association, to induce them to support the slave owners of America.'

"I subsequently, at a parochial meeting at Baldoyle, near Dublin, and again at the weekly meeting of the Repeal association last Monday, took opportunity to denounce the horrors of negro slavery in America; and, with the full concurrence and approval of the Association, mean to persevere in so doing at all future meetings.

I am, sir, your faithful servant,

"*Dublin, Nov. 4th*, 1840. JOHN O'CONNELL."

WE have heard nothing from the committee of the Congregational Union. We have, however, a letter from a minister of the Congregational body, from which we make a brief quotation.

"As an individual, I am pained by the resolution passed by the Congregational Union lately at Bristol, and cannot but hope, while expressing my own feelings in reprobating the unjust allegation brought against the American friends, I am also conveying the sentiments of many other ministers, in my own denomination more especially."

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Our West India papers are, happily, very barren of news. It appears that, in Jamaica, besides the fisheries bill, the Queen has disallowed the Kingston corporation bill—a step decidedly beneficial. It is understood in the island, that government have accepted the judicial bill, and it is rumoured that Sir Charles Metcalfe has already determined on several appointments under it of a most objectionable character. Is the government not yet convinced of the necessity of putting into the magistracy disinterested and untainted men! How much longer must experience repeat her bitter lessons on this obvious and vital point!

The working of the immigration system is painfully but vividly exhibited in some extracts we have made, both from American and Guiana papers.

TO THE PEOPLE OF HOLLAND AND DENMARK.

In accordance with the wish expressed by the Anti-slavery Convention lately held in London, we proceed to address to you some observations on the subjects of the slave-trade and slavery.

We rejoice in knowing that these deeply interesting and important topics have lately received a larger share of attention in countries professing the benign principles of the gospel, than at any former period. At the same time, we deem it highly desirable, and indeed needful, that evils of such enormous magnitude, whether considered in a physical, moral or religious point of view, should be yet more prominently brought under general notice and consideration.

It is well-known that the slave-trade from the coast of Africa to the islands and continent of America has now been prosecuted for a period of more than three centuries, during which time the various great maritime governments of Europe and America have been deeply implicated in its guilt. It has been estimated that the number of victims who have thus been forced from their native land, and carried into an unjust and cruel bondage since the commencement of the trade, have not been less than thirty millions. In order to procure so large a number of human beings for sale, wars and massacres have extensively taken place in Africa. The deaths thus occasioned, with those which have occurred during the conveyance from the interior to the coast, at the place of shipment, and during the suffocating passage across the Atlantic, probably form, including those who have reached their destination, a total little short of one hundred millions of unoffending Africans sacrificed to the system of modern slavery.

At the present time it is calculated that one hundred thousand Africans are annually transported from the land of their birth, who are carried principally to Brazil, and the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The continued existence of the slave-trade has still the same deplorable effects on Africa which it has ever had, in exciting acts of violence between man and man, and amongst the native tribes, who might otherwise live in harmony with each other. It is also a painful reflection, that this evil is inflicting a deep dishonour on the character of our divine religion, and rendering its introduction extremely difficult throughout a very large portion of that benighted region.

Scarcely less deplorable has been, and remains to be, the influence of the slave trade, in those portions of the western world to which the slave has been transported, to satisfy the cupidity of the slave-trader and slave-owner.

We find at the present time about seven millions of human beings subjected to a rigorous bondage, who have been themselves the prey of the man-stealer, or are the descendants of those who were. What is their physical and intellectual condition, and, especially, what knowledge do they possess of that religion of which many of their masters are making a profession!

In a very large proportion of instances it will be found that the slave is miserably clad, meanly and inadequately fed, and only furnished with a hovel unfit for human habitation; while a large measure of unrequited toil is habitually wrung from him by the whip, and not unfrequently by more cruel punishments. In comparatively few instances is the noble gift of reason cultivated in this degraded class of our fellow-creatures—law, or practice, or both, shut out from his mind one great means of intellectual improvement, by refusing to him a knowledge of the first elements of letters. Thus, too, is the volume of inspiration, and those numerous other volumes with which the poorest inhabitants of a free country may be at once delighted and improved, wrested from the hand of the slave. Deprived, too, in a vast majority of instances of conjugal, and in every instance of parental rights, the slave, to a great extent, lives in the neglect of those ties which religion prescribes, and which minister so largely to the happiness of human existence under more favoured circumstances. In cases in which the endearing tie of marriage has been formed, often have the husband and wife—the parent and child, been separated for life by sale, thus giving rise to indescribable suffering. It is perhaps hardly needful to add, after what has been already stated, that the religious instruction of slaves, which, if it were more extensively bestowed, could scarcely be expected to bear much fruit under circumstances so unfavourable to its growth, is greatly neglected. How deep is the responsibility which rests upon the heads of those who are holding property, the title to which is robbery of the most flagitious character, and who are sanctioning by their example all those circumstances which naturally flow from the unjustifiable power claimed by one man over his fellow-man which slavery bestows!

In addition to the fact of the slave-trade being now principally confined to Brazil and the West Indian islands belonging to Spain, it may be interesting to state that the vessels in which it is carried on appear to be generally those belonging to the subjects of Spain, Portugal, and the United States of America.

Negro slavery exists in the countries which we are about to name. The United States of America, which hold nearly 3,000,000 of slaves; Brazil, an equal or greater number; Spain, in Cuba and Puerto Rico, probably about six hundred thousand; France, principally in the West Indies and the island of Bourbon, two hundred and fifty thousand; Holland, in various colonies, about one hundred thousand; Denmark, in St. Cruz, St. Thomas, and St. John, twenty-six thousand, and the king of Sweden, in St. Bartholomew's, eight hundred.

Among the striking features peculiar to slavery in the United States of America, is a law by which the education of a slave is prohibited under a severe penalty, *in some instances death itself*, and an extensive internal slave-trade, stated to amount annually to sixty thousand men, women and children. These wretched beings are transported from those parts of the Union, Virginia, Maryland, &c., in which human beings are reared for sale like cattle, to the more southerly states to work in the rice, cotton, and cane fields, of which there is a constant and very large demand for slave-labour. What can be conceived more revolting than a law to prohibit instruction, enforced by such tremendous penalties, or an act of greater tyranny inflicted on the slave, or the master who may be disposed to raise the character of his bondsman? Such a law is suited only to a government of the most despotic character that can be conceived, and is a foul blot on the legislation of the nineteenth century.

The internal slave-trade to which we have referred is attended with many of the painful features incident to the African slave-trade, particularly in the frequent dissolution for life of the nearest domestic ties.

We cannot in this address dwell on the slavery of Brazil, and the Spanish islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico. It is, however, generally known to those conversant with the history of slavery and the slave-trade, that, where the trade is carried on, the sufferings of the slave are aggravated, human life being less considered, and more extensively sacrificed by excessive labour and other intolerable hardships. An intelligent friend of the negro, Dr. Madden, lately resident in Cuba, estimates the annual excess of deaths over births on plantations in that island at eight per cent. per annum.

In the French colonies it appears that, in 1837, the respective number of births, deaths and marriages among the slaves were as follows:—

	Slaves.	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Excess of deaths over births.
Martinique	7,012	15	2303	2592	289
Guadeloupe	94,591	19	1857	1883	26
Bourbon	68,195		1001	2359	1358

It is indeed stated in the work from which the above is extracted, that the number of marriages in Bourbon had not been ascertained. This however will be seen to be an easy way of avoiding the acknowledgment in explicit terms of what we suppose to be the fact, that marriage is almost entirely, if not utterly, neglected in a slave population of nearly 70,000. In this island there is a very great disparity of the sexes, a clear indication of the recent existence of the slave-trade, if it be now ceased.

To maintain a system thus destructive and immoral, an addition has been made to the military force in these colonies since the passing of the British act of abolition, at an expense to the French people of 500,000 francs annually. It is a painfully interesting fact, that, to escape from the rigours of French colonial bondage, thousands of the slaves of Martinique and Guadeloupe have attempted an escape to the neighbouring English islands, in which about one-third of the number have succeeded, and a large proportion of the remainder have doubtless perished in the sea, while a few have been retaken to pay the severe penalty incident on the attempt to gain their freedom.

The king of Sweden possesses rule, as has been already stated over about eight hundred slaves in the small island of St. Bartholomew's; an island which is said to be a resort of slavers and pirates.

We come now to speak of the slaves under the government of Holland. We have little information respecting the islands of St. Eustatius or Curaçon; and shall therefore confine our remarks very much to the colony of Surinam, which contains a large proportion of the whole number of bondsmen subject to this power. It is stated that the slaves of Surinam are in an extremely degraded condition—that their number is fearfully diminishing, probably at a rate of from four to five per cent per annum—that they are generally destitute on the plantations of the smallest amount of literary instruction—that a Moravian mission of more than one hundred years standing had, until within the last few years, access to only fourteen estates, out of between four and five hundred which the colony contains; and that at the present time their opportunities are short and few of visiting not more than one-fourth of the plantations. We also learn that marriage among the slaves has been shamefully neglected, and was not, a short time since, sanctioned by law.

The Danish West India islands of St. Cruz, St. Thomas, and St. John, although presenting in some features a superiority to other slave-countries that we have named, affords abundant grounds of

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dissatisfaction and grief to the philanthropist and the christian. The population of Santa Cruz had lessened materially during a period of twenty-six years, from 1810 to 1836, having at the former time amounted to 26,796, and at the latter only to 19,753. It is, indeed, stated that the population of this island is now increasing in a very small degree, the excess of births over deaths having been twenty-five in the year 1837. Education has been greatly neglected, but the attention of the Danish government has been lately directed to this subject, and several schools have been built by its directions. Morality and religion are in a low state among all classes, notwithstanding the long existence of a mission of the United Brethren in the Danish islands, in which, under peculiarly interesting circumstances, some humble members of this body first engaged in the good work of preaching the gospel to the benighted slaves. St. Thomas, which is a free port of considerable trade, is frequented by slavers, who are there furnished with supplies.

We have thus shortly sketched a picture sufficiently dark to awaken the sympathy, as we trust, of every impartial person who is alive to benevolent feelings, and the more enlarged charity which the christian religion requires.

We would now ask the question, is there nothing to be done to remedy a state of things so deplorable, and has no step been taken in any instance to put an end to these abominations, and what has been the result where such efforts have been made?

The answer is, there is a country which has been deeply implicated in the fearful guilt incurred by the prosecution of the slave-trade, and by holding our fellow-men in an unjust and cruel bondage—a country, the subjects of which, fifty years since, transported in their vessels one-half of the slaves at that time borne from the coast of Africa, and in whose colonies there were, not seven years since, a number of slaves nearly equal to that held at present under all the other governments of Europe; and this country has long since abandoned the hateful traffic in man, and has recently liberated that large number of slaves, to which we have alluded. Permit us shortly to refer to the circumstances which led to the change which has taken place in the conduct of England in reference to the slave-trade, and the extensive abolition of slavery in her foreign possessions. It deserves to be more generally known than is, perhaps the case, that the abolition of the slave-trade so far as British subjects are concerned, and indeed to an extent greatly beyond this, was materially promoted by a circumstance which might at first appear of a comparatively unimportant character.

In the year 1785, a prize being offered by Dr. Pickard, then vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, for the best Latin Essay in answer to the question, "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?"—Thomas Clarkson, at that time, a young man, and a student in one of the colleges, applied himself to the composition of an essay on the subject. He succeeded in gaining the prize; but, while occupied in collecting the materials for this performance, his mind became so deeply impressed with the magnitude of the evil which had thus providentially been brought under his notice, that he resolved to devote his life, if needful, to the attempt to procure the abolition of a system of such frightful cruelty and complicated wickedness as the African slave-trade. He succeeded, by his writings and travels, in exciting a large portion of sympathy throughout England in the noble object in which he was engaged, and especially amongst the more humane and religious portion of the community. At a very early period of his labours he was associated with the late William Wilberforce, then a young man like himself, and who had recently been elected a member of parliament. To these two individuals is principally to be ascribed, under the blessing of the Almighty, the final triumph, after a struggle of twenty years, of the principles of humanity and religion, in the legal abandonment of the slave-trade by Great Britain. The statement must not, however, be omitted, that these champions of the abolition cause were in no small degree assisted, by several eminent individuals in both houses of parliament, and especially by the reiterated and strongly expressed wishes of the British people, contained in petitions addressed to the legislature.

While the legislature of England was occupied in the discussion relative to the slave-trade, Denmark enacted a law by which her subjects were prohibited from engaging in this traffic, and the example of these two countries has been subsequently followed by all the great maritime powers of Europe and America. It has, however, been found in all countries in which slavery exists, extremely difficult to abolish the slave-trade. This statement might be illustrated by an account of what has taken place in past time, both in British colonies, and in those belonging to France and Holland. It is also sufficiently manifested in the tenacity with which the subjects of Spain, Portugal, Brazil, and the United States of America cling to this cruel traffic in despite of law, the most solemn treaties and the reprobation of all good men.

It was hoped that with the termination of the slave-trade by Great Britain, slavery in her colonies and elsewhere might be stripped of much of its cruelty. Time, however, only served to prove to the people of England the incurable evil and sufferings inseparable from a system of uncompensated and coerced toil. Particular instances of cruelty, and facts of a more general character, might be brought in proof of this assertion. We will only mention two of the latter character; one of them is, the destruction of human life which took place in the British colonies.

It appears from a table drawn up by Sir T. F. Buxton from official returns, and presented to a committee of the House of Lords, that the decrease in the slaves in the West India colonies was, in eleven years, 52,887. The period selected was, when the returns would allow, that between the end of December, 1817, and the same period in 1828. It appears thus that, throughout the colonies more than one-sixteenth part of the slave-population was sunk in the course of eleven years. At Demerara the decrease was in this period one-sixth; and in Trinidad one-fourth of the slave population.

The other fact to which we allude is, that in the year 1829, the recorded number of separate punishments in Demerara, when the prædial slave population amounted to 60,500 was 17,359. In 1830, the number of slaves had decreased to 59,547, while the production of sugar had increased, and the number of separate punishments had also increased to 18,324, the number of lashes in that year being no less than 194,744. In 1831, the prædial population had still further decreased to 58,404; but the punishments had increased to 21,656, and the number of lashes amounted to 199,507.

In 1823 a society was first established in London, having for its object the amelioration and gradual abolition of slavery in the colonies, of Great Britain. In the course of a very few years it was discovered by the friends of the negro, that all their efforts and those of the British parliament to ameliorate in any considerable or satisfactory degree the lot of the slave, while held as such, was a moral impossibility, and that his deliverance from a state indefensible in its character, and necessarily cruel in its nature should, be immediate.

In the year 1833, the bill for the abolition of slavery was passed by the legislature of Great Britain; but, unhappily, the act allowed a period of apprenticeship (so called) to intervene before entire freedom was bestowed, in which much of the character and evils of slavery were found.

As a single illustration of this remark, it may be stated that, while a committee of the House of Commons, appointed in the year 1836, to investigate the working of the apprenticeship system, made an extremely favourable report of the conduct of the apprentices in the island of Jamaica, a large amount of punishment appears to have been inflicted on this portion of the population.

We subjoin an extract from the report to which we have referred, together with a table of punishments, to which we might easily add much testimony of a similar kind.

"In the evidence which they have received they (the committee) find abundant proof of the general good conduct of the appreatices, and of their willingness to work for wages whenever they are fairly and considerately treated by their employers. It is, indeed, fully proved, that the labour thus voluntarily performed is more effective than that which was obtained from him while in a state of slavery, or which is now given to his employer during the time for which he is compelled to work as an apprentice."

Colonies.	Time.	No. of Apprenticed Labourers.	Males Pund.	Females P.	Total.	By Flogging.	Average No. of lashes.	Total amount of lashes.	Other punishments.
Jamaica	22 Mths.	280,000	35,536	22,881	58,417	10,770	22¼	242325	47,647
British Guiana	Ditto ..	72,000	7691	8539	16,230	2608	20	53.360	13,562

The "other punishments" mentioned consisted in hard labour, penal gang, and to be worked in iron collars and chains, extra labour to estates, tread-mill, stocks, dark cells, imprisonment, solitary confinement, imprisonment at night, fines, &c., and in a multitude of cases, several of these various modes of punishment accumulated on the same individual for one offence.

Such cruelties once more aroused the English people to a sense of their duty. Petitions for the termination of the apprenticeship without delay, considerably before the period originally fixed by law, were poured into parliament, having no less than one million of signatures. The apprenticeship was finally shortened by a period of two years, except in the island of Mauritius, where the wishes of the British people were met by the strongest resistance. In this island, however, it was reduced one year and eleven months, by the peremptory direction of the British government. It had been loudly and constantly predicted by the planting interest that the day of freedom would be the signal for the massacre of the whites in the West Indies. How was this prediction realized? The conduct of the negros throughout the late slave colonies was eminently peaceful on the happy day which ushered in the new-born and highly prized blessing of liberty, and it was very extensively observed as a day of thanksgiving and grateful adoration. We will only quote the testimony of the Bishop of Jamaica, an island which contained nearly one-third of the whole servile population, on this deeply interesting occasion.

The Bishop of Jamaica to Lord Glenelg, 6th August, 1838. "I have very sincere pleasure in bearing my testimony to the peaceable and orderly behaviour of all classes, and particularly of the negros, on this auspicious occasion. I never beheld a more impressive and affecting scene than Spanish Town exhibited, where I assisted at the duty; and all the accounts received from the clergy concur in reporting the same correct behaviour generally throughout the island. I had long known the objects of this benevolent measure as the most patient, enduring, and 'long-suffering' people on earth, and 'not easily provoked;' but it was not till the actual promulgation of this great and glorious

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measure of justice and mercy, that I was enabled fully to appreciate their advancement in christian principles, evincing the good effects of religion on 'servants who have hitherto not known,' or very imperfectly, 'their Lord's will.' They have proved themselves worthy of the boon they have received by their conduct, and are much better prepared for it than I could have possibly conceived. The quiet manner in which the whole has passed off has added much to the general effect, and made a deep impression on men's minds. It has encouraged and animated the good, and confounded and disappointed the bad.

"I feel convinced that nothing less than this happy change in their condition could ever have held out to us the hope of effectually improving the people; and, so long as one link of the hateful chain of slavery remained, that great work must have been delayed.

"I have only to repeat to your lordship, that the conduct of all classes of the people on this joyful occasion has been beyond all praise, and I am not aware of any instance of intoxication or boisterous merriment, in either of the large towns in this neighbourhood, to mar the christian character of the late festival."

The late governor of Jamaica, Sir Lionel Smith, very shortly afterwards gave orders for a considerable reduction in the military force in Jamaica, a step which met the entire approval of Lord Glenelg, at that time colonial secretary, who observed that, with the abolition of slavery, the principal occasion for such a provision, that of preventing the rising of the negros, had ceased to exist. In Antigua it had been usual to proclaim martial law, as a measure of precaution, on the occasion of the "Christmas holidays," during the time of slavery; but on the introduction of freedom it was deemed prudent to discontinue this practice. These circumstances may be advantageously contrasted with the increased military establishment we have stated to have taken place in the French dependencies, in which slavery is retained.

Since the passing of the British Abolition Act a great increase has taken place in the exports to the late slave colonies, these having amounted, in a period of five years subsequent to that event, to eighteen millions of pounds sterling, instead of fifteen millions during this same period preceding emancipation. There has been a very moderate decrease in the exports from these colonies, which may be principally accounted for by the following circumstances:—The withdrawal of women and children to a considerable extent from field labour, the former for the purpose of attending to the wants of their families, and the latter in order that they may receive instruction. The number at present receiving education in day schools in Jamaica is about 25,000. To the diminution of labour arising from these causes, may be added that occasioned by the unreasonable and tyrannical conduct of the late administrators of the slave system, who extensively attempted to compel labour, especially in Jamaica, by exorbitant charges for rent, and in other ways no less impolitic than unjustifiable. The export of articles of colonial produce is also lessened, in no inconsiderable degree, by the greatly increased consumption of them by the negros. The principal decrease in the exports from the West Indies appears to have taken place in Jamaica and British Guiana; in the former, in consequence of the conduct to which we have referred; and in the latter colony, owing to an unusual drought during the last year. We confidently anticipate ere long a great increase in the production of the West Indies from free labour. A reasonable ground for this conclusion is afforded by the progressive prosperity in this respect of Antigua, where freedom has now existed six years, being four years longer than in the other sugar colonies of Great Britain, owing to the wise adoption of immediate freedom instead of an apprenticeship, on the passing of the Abolition Act.

The exports from this island were, during a period of five years preceding emancipation, on an average 12,189 hogsheads per annum; and have reached on an average during the subsequent five years 13,545. In 1839, the number of hogsheads exported amounted to 22,883.

As some evidence of the prosperity of the colonies, it may be stated that the estates alone are now generally worth a sum equal to that which they formerly bore with the slaves attached to them, and, many cases, a sum considerably larger.

We may here notice an increase of 600,000 dollars, or £120,000 sterling, in the value of buildings and lots in George Town, Demerara, in a period of three years, from 1836 to 1839, as a striking indication of the flourishing state of trade in that district.

We rejoice in the peace, safety, and prosperity of those colonies which were lately the abodes of slaves.

We rejoice that to a great extent the eloquent language of Lord Stanley, in bringing in the British Abolition Bill, is now realized, on which occasion he said, "I propose then that every slave, on the passing of this act, shall forthwith have the power of claiming to be put in a situation in which he shall enjoy all the privileges of a free man—in which he shall feel no taint of his servile condition—in which he shall be freed from the atrocious system of irresponsible corporal punishment—in which he shall have the full enjoyment of his domestic ties—in which he shall not be liable to see those that are nearest and dearest to him insulted by punishment, or liable to degradation—in which his evidence shall not be disputable in a court of justice—in which his right to property shall be as undisputed as every other class of the king's subjects—in which he shall enjoy every right and privilege of a free man."

We do not quote the exception in the conclusion of this passage referring to the apprenticeship, by which its force and beauty as originally delivered were greatly impaired.

We rejoice that as a consequence of freedom, and those other measures which receive a greatly increased efficacy from its establishment, crime has greatly lessened in these colonies, education is making rapid progress, and the general and almost universal practice of concubinage has given place to the equally general adoption of marriage. To these statements it may be added, that large numbers of the peasantry are manifesting, in the most gratifying manner, by a consistent conduct their attachment to that religion, to the influence of which they have been so much indebted for the spiritual and temporal blessings they now enjoy.

We must not omit to refer to the great liberality evidenced by the lately emancipated negros, which singularly and instructively contrasts with the selfishness manifested by the supporters of slavery.

We quote in confirmation of this observation the testimony of J. Candler, an intelligent and highly respectable member of the Society of Friends, who has lately paid a visit of several months to Jamaica, and who estimates the voluntary contributions to chapel-building and other church purposes in that island at between £50,000 and £60,000 per annum. In Berbice the assistance freely given to a great extent by the same class, to the funds of the London Missionary Society, exclusive of sums expended in the colony on similar objects was £4,102.

It is deserving of notice that several of the largest sums received by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society during the last year were the offerings of those who were lately slaves. They are as follows:

From the auxiliaries formed at Brown's Town, Falmouth, St. Ann's Bay, and St. Thomas in the Vale, Jamaica, £210 have been received by the treasurer of the society, and from that established in connexion with Orange Chapel, Berbice, £50 more, making in all £260. The greater part of this sum was generously contributed by the recently emancipated classes in grateful testimony of the blessings they are now privileged to enjoy.

If the argument for emancipation should be met by a remark, that the English slaves were fitter to receive the boon of freedom than are those of other countries; let it be recollected, that the amount of literary and religious instruction was widely different in the various English colonies, in some very little indeed had been communicated; that the white population of these islands, also, varied greatly in their character, being in some instances Spanish, in others of French, and in others extensively of Dutch origin. We refer particularly to Mauritius, and St. Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana. In all of these the introduction of freedom has been attended with cheering results, and bright prospects for the future; associated as it has been, and will, we trust, ever be, with a lively care for the intellectual, moral, and religious advancement of the emancipated population.

The circumstances of the Danish islands do not appear to present difficulties to emancipation more formidable than existed in the neighbouring island of Antigua, where such consequences so beneficial to every portion of the community have followed immediate emancipation. Surinam, and the other dependencies of Holland, offer to a considerable extent the same features which British Guiana, and other late slave dependencies of England exhibited a few years since.

In conclusion, allow us to entreat you to acquaint yourselves with the details of the law, practice, and results of slavery in your respective countries, and let them be made public. The first step towards the removal of a great evil is a knowledge of its character, the second is its exposure. These should be followed by individual and associated efforts, in every constitutional and peaceable manner, to promote the immediate abolition of evils so great as those which have been ever experienced in connexion with that slavery to which we have sought to direct your attention. Let the year of jubilee dawn upon the slaves in your respective countries; and thus, by your example, will the day be hastened, when the millions of unhappy beings who now languish and die in cruel bondage will be delivered, the guilt of cruel taskmasters cease, and Africa, freed from the plague which has so long preyed upon her happiness, and impeded her advancement in all that is great and good, shall lift up her hands unto God.

DR. WAYLAND AND SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PATRIOT.

I OBSERVE, in the *Patriot* of yesterday, a letter from Dr. Hoby, to which is attached an extract from one of Dr. Wayland, President of Brown University, at Providence, in Rhode Island, United States, which induces me to state that, Dr. Hoby having sent me a kind invitation to meet Dr. Wayland at his house, I declined, because I had ascertained his sentiments on the abolition of slavery by the extracts from "Wayland's Human Responsibility" given in the *Eclectic Review* of June last. Dr. Wayland having publicly committed himself to such sentiments as are contained in the extracts from his own work in the *Review* alluded to, I did not feel it my duty either to meet him, be silent, or to enter upon this subject with him in a private party, any more than I should with a person of equal ability and equally high religious profession, who might come to this country, after publicly avowing that an American citizen ought not to raise his voice against a thief, or the receiver of stolen goods, or the keeper of a brothel, if such iniquities happened to be legalized in any part of the United States; fully believing, as I do that, if there be truth in revelation, the perpetrators of those crimes are not more guilty in the sight of God, than the American slave-holder and his abettors.

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Dr. Wayland says, "I came here a stranger, I hope a follower of our Lord Jesus Christ; and I am, it seems, called upon to plead, as a culprit, guilty or not guilty, before I am admitted to a place among my brethren. On this I would observe, that Dr. Wayland is, in my humble opinion, fully convicted in his own words which he has thought fit to publish to the world; and it is indeed astonishing to me, if he takes as his guide the precept and example of Him, whose servant he professes to be, that he can hold and avow such sentiments: I refer the reader to the extracts themselves in the *Review* in confirmation of what I say; and if he would wish to see the almost incredible depravity of the high professors in many of the so called Christian churches in America, on the subject of slavery I would earnestly recommend him to read a small pamphlet just published, entitled "the American Churches the bulwarks of American Slavery, by an American." It is to be had at Ward and Co,'s Paternoster-row, and is compiled by my friend James G. Birney, whose veracity has never been impeached by his bitterest enemies, and who has liberated all his own slaves. His recent valuable labours in this country in the anti-slavery cause are well-known. He has just returned to America; no confirmation of the fact is, however, needed, as the evidence adduced throughout is from the guilty parties themselves.

I am, very respectfully,
JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, 11th *Month*, 13th, 1840.

[As the sentiments of Dr. Wayland have now become matter of peculiar interest to British abolitionists, it may be at once gratifying to them and an act of justice to him, to present them with his entire chapter on the slavery question.]

It may be proper, at the commencement of this section, to state that I propose to enter into no consideration of the moral bearings of the institution of domestic slavery. My views upon this subject, I have already given in another place. Were it otherwise, I should have no occasion here to examine the question in this point of view. With these topics the present discussion has nothing to do. Granting all that may be said of the moral evil of this institution; granting it to be a violation of the law under which God has constituted *moral beings*, *the question still* remains to be decided, what is our duty in respect to it; and what are *the limitations within which* our efforts for its removal are to be restricted? In every other case we readily perceive that these questions are different and dissimilar. Whether or not a particular act be wrong, is one question. In what manner it be proper to remove or arrest the evil is certainly another and very different question. And it is evident that the considerations which would bear upon the one, would have no bearing whatever upon the other. Whether murder be or be not a crime, must be shown *from the temper of heart which it indicates, and from the* results to which, if unpunished it would lead. But these arguments would be entirely out of place, if they were urged to show that a murderer should be punished without trial, and that every man is at liberty to knock him on the head, wherever and whenever he may meet him.

The right or wrong, the innocence or guilt of slavery, is not the question here to be discussed. Waiving this, and granting it to be a violation of the law which God has ordained between man and man, and granting also, that it is our duty to labour for its removal, I design merely to inquire what are *the limits within* which our efforts, for the accomplishment of this purpose are to be restricted.

Our duty on this subject must, I think, be either as *citizens* of the United States; or as *human beings*, under the law to God.

1. I think it evident that, as *citizens of the United States*, we have no power whatever either to abolish slavery in the southern states—or to do anything of which the direct intention is to abolish it. Whatever power we possess, as citizens of the United States, is conferred upon us by the constitution. This power is *not conferred upon us* by that instrument, and therefore *it does not exist.*

But this instrument has not merely a *positive*, it has also a *negative* power. It not only *grants* certain powers, but it expressly declares that those not enumerated are *not granted*. Thus, it enacts, that all "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it, to the States, *are reserved* to the States respectively, or to the people." Now, the abolition of slavery being a power *not* conferred, it is, by this article, expressly *withheld*. Whatever power we may therefore have over slavery, as *citizens of the several States*, within our own limits respectively, we have none, as *citizens of the United States*. The majority of the people in the United States, have, in this respect, no power over the minority; for the minority has never conceded to them this power. Should all the States in the Union but one, and that one the very smallest, abolish slavery; should the majority of one hundred *to one*, of the people of the United States, be in favour of its abolition, still it would not alter the case. That one State would be as free to abolish it or not to abolish it as it is now. This is a question which has never been submitted to the majority of the citizens of these United States, and, therefore, the citizens of the United States, as citizens, have nothing to do with it.

The same thing is evident, from the most cursory view of the circumstances under which the constitution was formed. Previously to the revolution, each of these States was an independent colony; constituted into a distinct government, by charter from the British crown. Each colony was a government as distinct from every other, as though it had been a thousand miles distant from all the rest; as *distinct*, in fact, as are the different West India Islands from each other, or as any one of the West India Islands, from the colony of Canada, of New Zealand, or of Bombay. They all held of the British crown, but were all independent of each other, and the only bond of union by which they were connected together, was, that they were all subject to the same king, and all acknowledged the ultimate authority of the constitutional laws of the empire.

When the independence of these colonies was established, this link, which bound each of them to the mother country, and thus indirectly to each other, was severed. They became independent States, having, each one for itself, power to make peace or war, or to form alliances, offensive and defensive, with what foreign states soever they severally chose. While in this condition, it is manifest that no State had any power *whatever* over any other State. Any one might have established slavery, or have abolished it, and no other one would have imagined that, in so doing, it was liable to any control from any other, or from all the rest; any more than from Canada, Austria, Russia, or the Sandwich Islands.

Under these circumstances they chose, of their own sovereign will, to form a confederate government. In the formation of this government, each State, or the people of each State, mutually agreed to commit certain powers to the whole, and to submit the ultimate decision of certain questions to the majority of the whole people represented by their senators and representatives in congress. What they have thus submitted to the decision of the majority, and *nothing else*, can be decided by the majority. What has not been submitted, remains precisely as it was before, in the power of the citizens of the several states; and the citizens of the United States have no more to do with it, than they have with the affairs of Iceland.

The principle, in this case, is the same as that which governs partnerships. If twenty men put into common stock, each a thousand dollars, on condition that the whole, for *certain purposes*, shall be controlled by a majority of the proprietors, or of such persons as they may appoint, then the majority has a conceded right to control *that* property for *those purposes*. But that is *all* their power. They have no control over another dollar of the property of any proprietor, nor have they a right to control it for any other *purposes* than those for *which it* was contributed. Still less have they a right to control the political opinions of a proprietor, or to direct in what manner he shall educate his children, or govern his family. The principle in both cases is the same, and it is a very obvious one. It is simply this. No man is bound by any compact, any further than he has bound himself. In forming any society, there are, of necessity, certain individual rights, which a man submits to the decision of the majority. But the surrender of these, involves the surrender of no other, and, in everything else, he is as perfectly independent of the power of the majority as he was before.

As we have, therefore, as citizens, no power over this subject, we have, as citizens, no responsibility. The guilt, if guilt exists, will not rest upon us as citizens of the United States. Whoever supposes himself guilty, because *congress does not pass a law* abolishing slavery in the United States? But this is the only manner in which, as citizens of the United States, we have any power to act in this, or in any other case. If, then, we are not responsible, we have, as *citizens*, no obligation to discharge in the premises. Whether slavery be bad or good, we wash our hands of it, inasmuch as it is a matter which the providence of God has never placed within our jurisdiction.

But this is not quite all. As citizens of the United States, we have solemnly promised to *let it alone*. We have declared that we *leave* to the States respectively, and to the people of the States, whatever powers they have not conceded to us. This is, by universal consent, acknowledged to be *one of* the powers thus left. We have, *therefore*, promised as citizens of the United States, to let *this* alone. The concession has been made by both parties, and we hold the other party to it. Should the majority in congress undertake to *establish* slavery, in one of the free states, we should plead *this very article*, as a bar to their usurpation. But, the slave-holding states have precisely the same right to plead it against *us*, should we attempt any legislation in the case. Both parties have pledged themselves to abstain, and neither can interfere in the matter, without the violation of a solemn compact. In this respect, therefore, the Providence of God, and our own solemn obligations to each other, have precluded any action whatever.

But I go still further. I hold that a *compact* is binding, in its *spirit* as well as in its *letter*. The *spirit* of the compact, I suppose, imposes upon me the obligation not to do anything for the purpose of changing the relation of master and slave, except with the consent of the master. I have no right to declare the abolition of slavery in another state; I have conceded that this is to be left to the *free choice* of the citizens of that state. I have no right to do anything to *interfere* with that *free choice*. I have, therefore, no right to excite such a state of feeling among slaves, that the master shall be *obliged*, from physical necessity, to liberate his slaves, whether he believes it to be right and wise, or whether he believes the contrary. This is as much a violation of the *spirit* of the compact, as an arbitrary act of legislation. The compact concedes, that it is to be left to the *free will* of the states, and I oblige them to act in accordance with *my* will, and not in accordance with *their own*. This is a violation of clear and solemn obligation. I have no control over the manner in which my neighbour shall educate his children; and to interfere by physical force, in order to oblige him to educate them as I please, would be infamous. But if I stir up such a feeling in his family, that he is obliged to follow my suggestions, in order to save himself from being poisoned, I am equally infamous. The violation of right is as great in the one case as in the other. If a question has been left to my decision, I claim the privilege of deciding it for myself, and I thank no one for deciding it for me; much less do I thank him for taking the decision out of my hands, and settling it by physical force. And it matters nothing to me, whether this physical force be exerted by my neighbour *himself*, or whether he stir up another man to exert it. In both cases, it is a palpable and insolent violation of right.

But it may be said, granting all this, yet congress *has* a right to abolish slavery in the *District of Columbia*. Here we are, *therefore*, *responsible*, and of course, *under obligation*. Let us proceed and calmly examine this question.

I grant that the unrestricted legislative control over the District of Columbia, has been ceded to the United States. I grant that congress has the same power over the district, as the legislatures of the several states have over their own states respectively. They have, therefore, the *power* to abolish slavery within that district.

Nay, I am willing to go farther. I am willing to allow that congress has a *right* to abolish slavery in the district. By *right*, I mean that they have the *power*, and that *no legal obstacle* exists to the exercise of that power. There is nothing in the *Constitution* to forbid it. There is *nothing* in the *act of cession* to forbid it. There is nothing in the constitution and laws of the states which does or which can forbid it. The cession to congress was absolute and unrestricted. On these points, I am disposed to raise no question whatever. But it is always to be remembered, that it is *one* thing to say that a man has a *right* to do a particular act, and a very *different thing* to say that it is *right* and just for him to do that particular act. The *right* to do the act may be absolute, but the fitness, and propriety, and justice of *exercising* that right, may be *conditional*. A man has a right to exact the personal labour of his wife, and also of his children during their minority, that is, he may do it, nd there is no law to prevent it; nay, in doing it, the law

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will protect him from interference. But the *justice* of his *exercising* this right is certainly conditional. He may do it justly, if it be necessary for their common support. But, it surely would be an atrocious violation of justice, if he should live in indolence and splendour, and demand that they should thus labour to maintain him. Yet, if he should do this, he might plead that he had a right to do thus, and nobody could gainsay it. A father has a *right* to turn his children out of his house when they become of age, and it may, under some circumstances, be exercised with propriety; but this by no means proves that it would be *right* for parents always to do so. A parent, worth an independent fortune, has a *right* to bind out his child as an apprentice, to the most loathsome and degrading occupation; but is this a right which it is fit, and proper, and just, at all times, to exercise?

It is manifest, then, that, granting a right to exist, in the signification above given, the question still remains, is it a right, fit and proper and just to be *exercised*? In other words, although we have the *right* to do it, yet would it be right and just for us to do it? This is really the point on which it seems to me the whole question hinges.

I ask, then, in the first place, what is the *object* of the act of abolition? Is it ultimate within itself? Is it merely because, as citizens of the United States, we are opposed to slavery in any territory over which we exercise jurisdiction? Or, is it for the sake of something ulterior, that is, for the sake of creating such a state of things in the slave-holding states, that the citizens of those states will be obliged, whether they approve of it or not, to abolish slavery? In so far as this latter is the object, I think it unconstitutional; because we have, by the spirit of the compact, bound ourselves to leave it to their own *free-will*. That free-will, we have no right, either by ourselves or by others, to control; and we have no right to use our power, either of one kind or another, for this purpose. I think, therefore, we have no right, to exercise the power which we possess for the accomplishment of this object.

I ask, in the next place, was the power over the district of Columbia ceded to congress, *for this purpose?* Did Maryland and Virginia ever anticipate that, without their consent, this use would be made of it? Did the southern states generally, when they became parties to this contract, suppose that this power would be claimed and used by congress? I think that all these questions must be answered in the negative. If so, the right has not, in fact been unconditionally given. It is a thing *out of the contract* so far as the *animus* of both parties was concerned. If it be so, although it may be granted by the *letter*, it is not granted by the *spirit* of the instrument, and the right cannot, without the consent of the other party, be justly and honourably exercised. If I make a contract with my neighbour, and by the *letter* of that contract, obtain a power to do some act, which power he never intended to convey, I cannot, as an honourable man, avail myself of it. To do so, is an act of knavery, and every man of sound principles would so consider it.

Now, if it be so, it matters not what may be the *purpose* for the sake of which we propose to take an unfair advantage, I have no more right to impose upon my neighbour, when I intend to use the proceeds of my trickery for purposes of benevolence, than when I intend to use them for the purpose of usury. The real question is, is it right for me to interpret the contract in this manner? If it be, I may so interpret it, let me do what I will with the gain. If it be not right, I may not so interpret it, let my intention be what it may, in regard to the proceeds.

That it would not be right for us thus to interpret the contract, I think may be clearly shewn by the results of an extension of the principle contended for. It must be granted, that the power to *abolish* and the power to *establish*, are the same. Now congress possesses precisely the same power over navy yards, fortifications, arsenals, &c., belonging to the general government, that it possesses over the district of Columbia. Many of these have been ceded to the United States, by the free states, and are still embosomed within them. Congress has precisely the same right to abolish or to establish slavery in all these, as it has to abolish or to establish it in the district. But would it be a just, fit, and proper exercise of this right, were Congress to *establish* slavery in all these little portions of territory? Were such a thing attempted, I ask any candid man, whether we should not, at once, exclaim that *this power was never conferred for this purpose*; and that the contract could not be thus interpreted, without overreaching and trickery! Now, I do not see that any principle is involved in the one case, that is not involved in the other. I say, therefore, that, although the power is conferred by the *letter* of the contract, it is not conferred by the *spirit*; and, therefore, we cannot use it *honourably*; that is, we cannot use it *at all*.

But if the right to use this power be contingent, it may be asked, when will the contingency arise, in which we can rightfully use it? I answer, it may arise in several ways. First, whenever the southern states *agree to it*, it will be proper to use it. Secondly, whenever Maryland and Virginia, or either of them, shall abolish slavery, it will, I think, be perfectly right to use it. The history of slavery, in this country, shows, that the line of demarcation between slave and free labour, has an irresistible tendency to move southward. Right has a natural power over wrong, and the advantages which it confers on all parties, tend, of themselves, to extend its boundaries. Maryland, but for untoward reasons, to which I will not here allude, would, by this time, I believe, have nearly freed herself from the evils of slavery. There can be no reason why Congress should oppose *any obstacle* to the *natural course of events*, in respect to this or any other change of opinion. Whenever the district would have become free, if it had remained a part of the states by which it was originally ceded, then it will be not only the right, but the duty of congress, to abolish slavery. Then we can abolish it without any infringement of right, and then, the whole country, both north and south, must rejoice in the act.

While I hold these opinions, however, I beg leave to remark, that I entertain no light conceptions of the evil of slavery in general, or of the evil of slavery in the district of Columbia in particular. I would not own a slave "for all the gold that sinews bought and sold, have ever earned." My blood has curdled, as I have heard the atrocious wrongs committed in the very district itself, under the eyes of calm, uncommitted persons, who have related them to me. I never have seen them myself, for I have never been in Washington. I have "felt a stain like a wound," when foreigners have taunted me with the fact, that the seat of government of this free people is the great slave market for the country. But deep and degrading as is that stain, I will bear it with patience, rather than wipe it off by an act of injustice, treachery, or dishonour. And more than this, were I a southern, as I am a northern man, I never could consent, as a man of honour, to hold my fellow-citizens committed to a system, which, whether truly or falsely, they feel to be a national disgrace. In that spirit of frankness and disinterestedness, which always has marked the southern character, I would say, "We prefer this system, and we are willing to bear the reproach of it. We receive benefit, and we believe innocent benefit from it. But you have no interest in it, and we will not expose you to reproach, nor hold you to this contract, since it is repugnant to your moral sentiments." Were I a southern, as I am a northern man, I would myself *propose* the abolition of slavery in the district. It is but a small matter in itself, but it is an act, which could only emanate from a noble and patriotic spirit.

And were the subject presented in this light, I do believe that the south is equal to the occasion. I know their chivalric contempt of danger. I know their enthusiastic attachment to personal right. I know, also, their ardent love of country, and that it is with them, a point of honour to be *foremost* in making any sacrifice for the public good. If their rights on this subject were freely conceded, and the question put upon its true ground, the ground of concession to the honest, although they may think it the misguided, moral feeling of the north, I cannot believe that they would hesitate to follow the dictates of an enlarged and disinterested patriotism. When two courses of conduct are before them, I believe them fully capable of appreciating the dignity of choosing the more noble. It is not natural to them gratuitously to inflict pain upon an associate, specially upon a fellow-citizen. This is a pain which need not be inflicted. I am sure the noblest course that could be taken, would be, for them magnanimously to offer to bid it cease for ever.

I appeal, therefore, and I do it with confidence, to the patriotism of the south. I declare that, as a citizen of the United States, I am grieved that the soil in which I have with them a common right of ownership, should have become a universal slave market; that that soil should be polluted with prisons, constructed for the express purpose of collecting together human beings for exportation; and that a regular line of slave ships should sail from the harbours of the district. I have never had anything to do with slavery. I derive no benefit from it, yet I am obliged to bear the pain of being a party to what, in my conscience, I disapprove. Yet, while I thus declare myself deeply grieved, I will respect the rights of the south to the very last tittle, in letter and in spirit. I will bear it all unto the very end, rather than violate, either in form or in fact, the pledge which I have solemnly given. But, while I thus respect the *rights* of my southern brethren, I surely may ask, that they respect my *feelings* in return. The action in this case must come from them. I therefore call upon them, to come forward, with the nobleness of which I know them to be capable, and of their own accord, to remove this cause of grief. I say nothing of consequences, for be these what they may, they as well as I, can look them calmly in the face. I ask them to make this offering on the altar of frank, generous, fraternal patriotism. It will be a sacrifice honourable in the eyes of men, and well-pleasing in the sight of God. And here, for myself, and I believe I may also do it in behalf of all the true friends of man at the north, I solemnly promise, that when it shall be our turn to make a similar offering, we will not be outdone by them, when they have done their uttermost.

A few words more and I have done with this part of the subject. There seems to me a dangerous disposition on both sides, wherever the question of slavery is agitated, to press upon the limits of the constitution to the utmost. At the north, I have no doubt that the subject of slavery has been discussed in a manner decidedly at variance with constitutional liberty of speech and of the press. On the other hand, at the south, it has been held, that the discussion of this subject, in all *manners* and in any *spirit*, was to be *forbidden*. The right of petition has, I doubt not, been abused; topics have been introduced into petitions which have no constitutional right to be introduced, and petitions have been multiplied for the sake of effect, in such numbers as to threaten to exclude every other subject of discussion. On the other hand, this has been met by measures, which seem to me, at variance with the very existence of the right of petition. Every one must see, that wrong on one side is no justification of wrong on the other. Passion is never decorous—least of all, in legislators. Patience and forbearance, calm adherence to right, will in the end come off the most successfully. There is surely no greater wisdom in controversy, than to hold an opponent always in the wrong.

And last, as it respects the annexation of Texas. That the annexation of Texas will extend the system of slavery, I presume there can be no doubt, nor can there be any doubt that by so doing, it will alter materially the balance which exists between the slave-holding and the free states. Yet this is not an argument which I would use as an *American citizen*, because slavery in the view of the constitution, is innocent; and the system has a right to whatever *accidental* advantages may, from the pursuit of the honest and wise policy of the country, accrue to it. On the other hand, as this is strictly a *local* institution, I do not see how *honourable* men can urge a *national* measure *for this reason*. The same principle which precludes the north from *opposing* it, also as it seems to me, precludes the south from *urging* it. It should therefore be decided on general principles of statesmanship.

If it be left to these reasons, it seems to me that there can be but little room for argument. We want not *territory*, since we have, already, more than we need. We need not additional *strength*, and if we did, the annexation of Texas could not give it to us. This is no reason that I can conceive for it, and there are strong constitutional objections against it. The south has always contended *strongly*, and I think *truly*, against the use of *doubtful* constitutional powers. The *best* that can be said on this subject, is, that the constitutional *right* to do the act, is *extremely doubtful*. Let the south then be true to the construction for which she has always contended; and let her manifest her fidelity to her principles, by holding fast to them, even when they seem adverse to her interest. This is the only way in which we can truly increase the practical power of the constitution. Just in proportion as this is strengthened, we shall be united, happy, and invincible.

II. We have now cleared our way through the question, in so far as it concerns our duty as *citizens*. It only remains that we consider our duty in respect to slavery, arising from our relations as men.

When we look upon it in this view, we are to consider it, in general, just as we should consider slavery in the West Indies, or in South America, or in any other part of the world. The principal, if not the

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only difference, is, that it is an evil existing in our own neighbourhood, and a wrong done by our friends and acquaintances: by men who would be more likely to hear argument and motive from us, than from any one else; and, therefore, for these reasons, we are specially called upon to attempt its removal.

In this, as in any case, therefore, we are under the common obligation to make known to our fellow-men, that truth which we believe to be conducive to their happiness, and to the happiness of men in general. Inasmuch as this is a question of practical duty, our appeal is to be made to the understanding and conscience of those whom we desire to convince. Inasmuch as the only reason which renders it obligatory on us to endeavour to convince them, is the general obligation of love to man, it is of the utmost importance for us so to conduct the discussion, that it shall be not only apparent, but incontrovertible, that this is our only motive. Inasmuch as we are endeavouring to convince our fellow-men, that *they* are chargeable with a violation of the rights of others, we should, in all our intercourse, set them an example of the most delicate regard to *their* rights. He will surely labour with very little success, in the propagation of truth, who commences his efforts by uttering a falsehood. And he will labour with as little success in extending the dominion of right, whose first effort is an act of injustice.

We are bound, then, I apprehend, in all our efforts on this subject, most scrupulously to avoid all measures, which could justly be construed into an attempt to infringe the rights of the south. We have a right to attempt to change southern opinions on this question, and to show the master, by argument, that it is for his interest, and that it is his duty, to liberate his slave. But we have no right to take any measures of which the natural tendency is, to excite the slaves to insubordination and civil war. We have a right to change the purpose of the master by *argument*, but we have no right either to oblige him by our own *physical force* to change it, or to excite another person thus to oblige him. I here only speak of the question of *right* to do the act, and not at all of the *practical result* of the act. It is my firm belief, that a general insurrection at the south would end, in the almost entire annihilation of the coloured population.

Nor, again, can I perceive the utility of a system of societies, affiliated, not for the sake of circulating truth at the south, but for the sake of exciting and agitating the people at the north. The only advantage which can be expected to result from this measure, is the increase of abolition *votes*. But this is a matter, as we have attempted to show, with which *votes* have nothing to do inasmuch as it is a question, over which, as citizens, we have no control. In the meantime, the very attempt to multiply votes, on this question, cannot but beget in the minds of the south, the suspicion that we intend to interfere in this very manner: that is, in a manner at variance with our constitutional obligations. The least suspicion of this nature, must, from the necessity of this case, render all our argument useless, and make our very appeal to men's understandings and consciences, a positive annoyance. And in so far as I have been able to discover, such has been the effect of the system of affiliated abolition societies. They have already become the tools of third-rate politicians. They have raised a violent agitation, without presenting any definite means of constitutionally accomplishing their object. In the mean time as combination on the one side always produces combinations on the other, they have embittered the feelings of the south. They have, for the present at least, rendered any open and calm discussion of this subject in the slave-holding states utterly impossible. They have rivetted, indefinitely, the bonds of the slave in those very states in which they were a few years since falling off; and every where throughout the south, they have rendered the servitude of the enslaved vastly more rigorous than it ever was before. While, therefore, I would speak with respect of the motives of those of my fellow-citizens, who are enlisted in abolition societies, (the political intermeddlers, both small and great, always excepted) I must come to the conclusion that their efforts must be unwisely directed, or else they would have led to a more salutary result.

And again, supposing we abjure all unkindness, and speak only in the spirit of love, it is yet to be remembered that we are only held responsible for setting the truth before men. They have a right to decide whether they will accept of us as their instructors or not. They have as good a right to their ears, as we have to our tongues. Hence, if they will not hear us, our responsibility is at an end. We have no right to force our instructions upon them, either by conversation, or by lectures, or by the press. If they still determine to go on, in what we believe to be wrong, we must leave them to God, who is perfectly capable of vindicating his own laws, and executing justice among the children of men. If they will not hear us, the indication is plain, that God does not mean to use our instrumentality in the affair. We must retire and leave the case in his hands, and turn our attention to the doing of good in some other way.

But I do not believe that there is any danger of such a result. Before the present measures were adopted, discussion on the subject of slavery was common at the south. It has never been treated anywhere with greater boldness or ability, than it was a few years since, in public debate, in the Virginia house of delegates, and it was done then without offence. When the present agitations have passed away, there is no reason why it should not be treated in the same manner again. The Quakers have always borne their clear, and decided, and manly testimony against slavery, both by precept and by example; and yet no exception has ever been taken at the course which they have pursued. They have stated explicitly their views on this subject, in their yearly epistles. They have used no opprobrious epithets, but, in the spirit of love, have addressed themselves to the reason and conscience of their fellow-men. I do not believe that a southern man would take offence, if a copy of their Epistles on this subject, should be sent to every slave-holder in the country. It has not been my good fortune to become acquainted with many of my southern fellow-citizens, but with those whom I have known, I have always conversed as freely upon this, as I would upon any other subject. It is due to truth to declare, that they have also heard my arguments candidly and kindly, and have never taken offence at the difference, wide as it might be, which existed between us. I do not, therefore, believe, that any insuperable obstacle exists to labouring in this cause, in the spirit of love. My confidence in the cause of truth and justice, and charity is yet firm and unabated.

Home News.

To the Editor of the Anti-slavery Reporter.

59, Euston-square, Nov. 6th, 1840.

SIR,—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of yesterday, and to inform you, that I have no claim to the rank of Captain, but merely came home as a passenger from New Orleans, in the barque Woodstock. I shall, therefore, feel obliged by your correcting the error here alluded to, at your earliest convenience.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your's very obediently,

N. MAILLARD.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, November 1840.

TO R. R. MADDEN, ESQ., M.D., &c. &c.

My dear Sir,—I am directed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to convey to you an expression of their sincere and cordial thanks for the excellent and manly letter addressed by you to the Pacha of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, on the subject of slavery as connected with his dominions.

The Committee also desire to thank you for the other valuable services you have rendered them, and for the readiness you have on all occasions evinced to afford them your influential assistance in promoting the great and important objects they have in view.

I am, with much regard, my dear Sir,

Your's very faithfully and sincerely,

(Signed) J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

November 13th, 1840, 7, *Panton Square.*

My dear Sir,—I beg you to return my best thanks to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the kind and gratifying manner in which they have been pleased to notice my poor efforts in their cause in Egypt and elsewhere.

If these efforts have ever cost me any trifling sacrifice of personal comfort, or made me obnoxious to persons opposed to their success, I feel myself, I assure you, most amply repaid, by the approbation of men whose approval I consider it an honourable distinction to obtain; and with the blessing of God, for his honour, for the good of his creatures, for my own peace, and for the success of this good cause, I will continue to promote its interest wherever I may be, whether at home or abroad.

There is a phrase in your letter which would make it appear that, in the recent letter I addressed to Mohammed Ali, I was entitled to some credit on the score of the personal risk I might have encountered in thus addressing him. I desire no credit to which I am not entitled. Mohammed Ali did not receive that letter till after my departure, for the simple reason, that its previous presentation would have damaged the mission in whose proceedings I was engaged with Sir Moses Montefiore.

This consideration alone influenced me with regard to the time I had chosen for its transmission, and to make assurance doubly sure of its reaching his highness, I forwarded a duplicate copy through the channel of the French Consulate from Malta. Again begging the Committee to be assured of my grateful feelings for their kind expression of approbation, and yourself for the manner of conveying these sentiments to me

I am, my dear Sir, very truly your's,

(Signed) R. R. MADDEN.

To J. H. TREDGOLD, Esq.

To the Editor of the Anti-slavery Reporter.

November 2nd, 1840.

20, Devonshire-street West, Mile End.

DEAR SIR,—I feel great pleasure in forwarding to you for publication the following resolution, adopted unanimously by the congregational church worshipping in Brunswick Chapel, Mile End, London.

I remain, dear Sir, your's truly,

(Signed) GEORGE EVANS,

One of the delegates.

The church having taken into consideration the fact, that christian professors in various parts of the world are holding their fellow-creatures, and in many cases, their fellow-christians in bondage; and being convinced that such a course is essentially unchristian in principle, and inevitably productive of unchristian and immoral conduct:

Hereby resolve,—That it is their duty, and henceforth their determination to withdraw themselves from communion at the Lord's table with every person known to be a holder of a slave.

(Signed) "GEORGE EVANS, Pastor.
"JAMES JOHNSON,
"WILLIAM COAD,
"ESAU TIBBITS,
"JAMES ARROWSMITH, } Deacons"

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nov. 5th, 1840.

SIR,—I am instructed to hand you the annexed resolution, passed at a meeting of the members of the Tuthill-stairs Baptist Church, of this town, held last evening, and which you can appropriate as you may deem will best promote the benevolent objects of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, whose appeal to the congregational churches of our land, as contained in the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter of the 21st ult., I trust will be responded to with that promptitude which its importance demands.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) JAMES POTTS.

At a church meeting of the Baptist Church, Tuthill Stairs, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, held on the 4th Nov. 1840—

The church having taken into consideration the fact, that christian professors in various parts of the world are holding their fellow-creatures, and in many cases their fellow-christians, in bondage; and being convinced that such a course is essentially unchristian in principle, and inevitably productive of unchristian and immoral conduct:

Hereby resolved unanimously,—That it is their duty, and henceforth their determination to withdraw themselves from communion at the Lord's table with every person known to be the holder of a slave.

(Signed on behalf of the church)

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. RICHARD PENGILLY, Pastor.

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To the Editor of the Anti-slavery Reporter.

Dear Sir,—I took the earliest opportunity of bringing the substance of the resolutions past in the General Anti-slavery Convention beforeheo church and congregation under my care, and am glad of being able t inform you, that a resolution to that effect was unanimously adopted.

I am your's obediently,

(Signed) E. Hughes, Bryn Lion, Holywell.

Thames Ditton, Surrey, Nov. 2nd, 1840.

Dear Sir,—In cordial compliance with the request of the gentlemen of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and thinking it was in no way inappropriate, but rather calculated to increase the desired effect, immediately after the Lord's Supper had been administered, I yesterday brought before the church members and communicants, the resolutions of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, as transmitted to me in your letter; and have now the pleasure to inferm you that, as the result of our conference on the humiliating subject therein embodied, they have unanimously authorized me to forward to the above Committee the following declaration, signed in their name as their pastor.

Your's, Sir, respectfully,

(Signed) James Churchill.

To the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Gentlemen,—We, the members and communicants, now assembled at the sacred table of our Lord and Saviour, having heard with astonishment and deep regret, not only of recent attempts to perpetuate, and even to extend the horrid slave-trade in different parts of the world, but that also, to their utter dismay, in America, the country which we, in this fatherland, have been wont to speak of, as far before us in the great principles of the inviolability of the claims of conscience, and of civil and religious freedom, among all mankind of whatever climate and colour. Yes, it has reached to us, that even there, in many christian congregations, and among their officers in such churches, there are those in their communion, who either abet slavery, or connive at it as slave-holders! Against such a monstrous state of things among the professing followers of Christ do all our christian feelings rise up so powerfully, that, could our voices reach across the sea that separates us, our language of tender regret to the American churches concerned should be—"Come out from among them, and be separate, and touch not the unclean thing."

On such an occasion, we cannot omit tendering our sincere thanks to the above Committee, and to other members of the above societies for their kind services, and especially shall we consider it an honour to have our kindest regards conveyed to the venerable Clarkson, the man whose record is on high, and cannot perish on the earth, as the tried friend of the oppressed all the world over; the benefit of whose exertions only heaven can unfold. Signed, as above requested,

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. James Churchill, Pastor.

At a meeting of the members of the Baptist Church assembling in Ebenezer Chapel, Scarborough, under the pastoral care of the Rev. B. Evans, on Thursday, October 28th—

It was resolved,—That, after hearing the resolution of the Anti-slavery Convention, and some statements from the pastor in relation to the state of slavery in America, and especially in connexion with the church of Christ, in that country, we do solemnly and deliberately record our determination to refuse communion with any individual connected with this horrible and wicked system.

That this resolution be forwarded by the pastor to the secretary of the Anti-slavery Society."

The Rev. J. Godwin, of Oxford, informs us, that a similar resolution has been passed by the Baptist church in that city.

Hounslow, Nov. 2nd, 1840.

At a meeting of the church of Christ, worshipping in the Independent Chapel, Hounslow, held on the evening of Friday, Oct. 30th, 1840—

The church having taken into consideration the fact that christian professors in various parts of the world are holding their fellow-creatures, and in many cases their fellow-christians, in bondage; and being convinced that such a course is essentially unchristian in principle, and inevitably productive of unchristian and immoral conduct:

Resolved unanimously,—That it is their duty, and henceforth their determination to withdraw themselves from communion at the Lord's table, with any person known to be the holder of a slave.

(Signed on behalf of the church)

Charles Fox Vardy, A.M., Pastor.

Horncastle, Nov. 9th, 1840.

My Dear Sir,—I have pleasure in transmitting to the committee of the Anti-slavery Society the following resolution, unanimously adopted at a meeting of the church of Christ, assembling in the Independent Chapel, Horncastle, and shall be glad to see its insertion in the next *Reporter*, with the hope that the other churches may pursue the same course.

And am, your's truly,

(Signed) John Pain.

October 30th, 1840.

Resolved—That, as a church of Christ, we will not hold communion with any person known to be implicated in the crime of holding his fellow-creatures in bondage, or who is favourable to the accursed system of slavery. John Pain, Pastor.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

Penrith, November 12th, 1840.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Dear Sir,—I write a line to inform you that, at a church meeting held last week, it was unanimously resolved, by the members of the Independent church assembling in Ebenezer chapel, Penrith, not to suffer any *slave-holder*, or any *abettor of the horrible system*, to commune with them at the table of the Lord, as they are fully convinced that such an outrage on humanity is alike condemned by the *light of nature* and the *light of revelation*.

Sincerely wishing success to the righteous cause in which you are engaged, and praying that every one's bonds may speedily be broken,

I remain, dear Sir, your's respectfully,

W. Brewis.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

WEST INDIES.

Jamaica.—We have heard it reported that several appointments have been made by his Excellency the governor under the Judicial Bill, but on what authority we are not aware. It is said that the hon. T. J. Bernard, has been appointed chairman of Quarter Sessions for Kingston; Henry Moresby, Esq., chairman of the same court for the precinct of St. Catherine's; Samuel Jackson Dallas, Esq. for St. Thomas in the East; and W. J. Grignon, Esq., for Montego-bay. It is also said that Robert Russell, Esq., Barrister, has received an appointment, but for what place or precinct we have not learnt.—*Morning Journal.*

On this the *Colonial Reformer* observes as follows:—"Well, what shall we say if this report turn out to be true? Why, we shall say that Mr. Samuel Jackson Dallas is an extremely fortunate person—and that so lucrative an appointment will be hailed with exquisite satisfaction, not only by himself, but *by divers other* persons who are deeply interested therein. We suspect that so auspicious an event would create nearly an equal amount of pleasurable excitement with that evinced on Mr. Speaker Panton's elevation to his present office, with the comfortable and seasonable addition to his income of £1500 per annum.

"Mr. Dallas's competency for the office we more than doubt; and his firmness, consistency, and impartiality as a judge are more than questionable. We scarcely know a man of less real independence of character than Mr. Dallas. He ever has been, and ever will be, a mere truckler to the stronger party. He has no fixed principle.

"As to the appointment of Mr. W. Stamford Grignon, that we positively wont believe. We don't think Sir Charles Metcalfe would go quite so far. Why, Mr. Grignon, in the memory of the oldest inhabitant—from time immemorial, has all along been one of the most uncompromising and unscrupulous advocates of the very worst features of the slave-driving system—*both in theory and practice*!

"He, to be chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions? No, we wont believe it.

"Give us, for mercy sake, just, upright, and impartial judges."

We are favoured by the Rev. W. Knibb with the following extracts.

CONDUCT OF THE PEOPLE.

Mr. Clark thus writes—Whatever deficiency there may be in the crops, it is certainly not owing this year to any deficiency of labour. The supply has been greater than the demand. No people on the island have worked more industriously or continuously than the much calumniated Baptists The Methodists, Presbyterians, Independents, and church people, have worked well; but, well as they may have worked, I am confident of this, that the Baptists have not been a whit behind the best of them. Of the general conduct of the people I cannot speak too highly. A few cases have occurred requiring church discipline in regard to our inquirers, and only two as to the members. Excepting one or two rent cases, no charges whatever have been brought into any of the courts respecting our people. I would undertake to prove, our enemies themselves being judges, that no people on the face of the earth have conducted themselves with greater propriety, that none have been more industrious, honest, upright, sober, and virtuous, than those under my pastoral care.

Out of the whole population of the district, estimated at from ten to twelve thousand, I am only aware of two cases of a criminal nature. One of these a man unconnected with any church, for an assault on a female, stands over until the meeting of the grand court; the other is against a man who bought a piece of land at Sturge Town. He is charged by Dr. Raffington, of Green Castle, to which the property was formerly attached, with stealing a jealousie from his old cottage. The man contends that it was his own property that he made. This case has been trumpeted to the world through the pro-slavery papers—the man is said to be a deacon of my church, whereas he is not even a member or an inquirer, simply an attendant. That he acted illegally there cannot be a doubt, but I question whether his conduct is morally wrong. This is the only case the enemies of freedom have been able to bring forward to the disparagement of our people.

From the coming of freedom to this date, not a member or an inquirer at any one of my stations has been convicted of a single offence against the laws. This I believe to be true also as regards brother Abbott's and Dexter's districts.

If you have an opportunity, let me beg of you to denounce the immigration scheme. Do what you can, dear brother, to prevent poor deluded people being seduced from their homes to make their graves in Jamaica, or to spread vice amongst our enfranchised population. Not long since the Mitchells sent out a large cargo of Irish labourers for their estate, Brother Bridge. Nearly, or quite, half of them are dead; most of the survivors are destroying themselves with rum.

Mr. Dexter thus writes—*You ask for statistics of crime in connexion with our churches and congregations.* I am happy to say, that all the information I can give you is, that I have not heard of one member or inquirer having been convicted of any offence at the petit sessions at Rio Bueno since you left, (there had been none before,) and that I know positively that there was not, from November 1838 to the middle of June 1840, one such conviction at Brown's Town, from the properties connected with the stations. Brother Clark can answer for himself, and, I believe, in the same way. Indeed, I believe, if we could *see the returns up to the present time*, it would be found that, from Cardiff Hall to Duncans, and from the sea to the borders of Clarendon and Manchester, no single case of conviction of any of our people has occurred. Let our enemies disprove this if they can.

FREE VILLAGES.

1. *Sturge Town*, 118¾ acres, cost with surveying in lots £1250. Land all sold, nearly all in cultivation, about fifty cottages built or building. A day-school with 120 children in active operation. A regular preaching station, with a congregation of 1000 to 2000.

2. *Clarksonville*, 636 acres, cost with surveying in lots £2400. About 350 acres sold in cultivation. A great number of houses built and building. A station, with congregation of 800 persons. A day-school with upwards of 100 children.

3. *Stepney*, consisting of 140 acres, cost (without surveying,) £700. Nearly all bespoke, and £268 paid in advance. I am under liabilities for the balance. This settlement lies about seven miles east of Bethany, an out-station will be formed there.

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4. *Wilberforce*, near Brown's Town, sixty-four £700. acres surveying, nearly all bespoke, and a part of the money paid.

5. *Buxton*. This is a part of Somerset plantation. Many of our people had bought land, and settled upon the property. I have agreed to purchase the building in which our school is conducted and the remaining land, and shall sell it to the people—here I intend to form an out-station. We have about 100 children in the school, and shall have a healthy flourishing settlement.

Mr. Dexter thus writes with reference to the independent settlements —I find by my books, that at New Birmingham nearly all the hundred town lots have been taken up, and about 350 acres of provision-land sold to more than 150 families. There has not yet been much building in the town, there being only about ten houses shingled at present, but many are getting together their materials, and, now crop is over, I have no doubt will push on with the work. Many others again, whose provision-grounds lie near the road, have built their houses there, so that in going round the property you may see as many as twenty comfortable dwellings, most of them shingled. You know what anxieties I have had in connexion with this place, but I am abundantly repaid when I look at these abodes of peace, and remember that the oppressor cannot now make their inhabitants afraid. At this place there is a chapel and school-house.

At *Lushington* about forty persons have purchased land, most of them in small building lots. Two or three good houses are being erected, and seven kilns of lime have been burnt in readiness for further operations, Most of the purchasers have erected temporary huts, and even these are more comfortable than they were formerly accustomed to.

Some persons feared that the establishment of these villages would encourage squatters, and thus prevent a supply of continuous labour. It would not have been surprising if, from the anxiety of the peasantry to get a home of their own, this had been in some measure the case. I have not, however, heard of any deficiency of labour, but, on the contrary, they two properties from which I have most settlers at Liberty Vale the crop was finished several weeks earlier this year than last. Those properties are Sportman's Hall, and Ulster Spring. From the former fifteen persons have purchased, from the latter twenty-six.

BRITISH GUIANA.—*The Guiana Reformer* has been at pains to collect information respecting the results of immigration, and furnishes us with the following:—

IMMIGRANTS.—Seldom has it fallen to the lot of poor human creatures to contend with such unblushing effrontery—such impudent audacity—such pertinacious determination to mislead—as the inhabitants of this colony have to contend with, in the diversified forms and powers of circulating falsehoods, put into operation by a tyrannical and despotic faction; convicted again and again of the most unchristian virtue of lying on a gigantic scale, they continue to promulgate, until 'tis likely they begin to believe themselves what they promulgate, "that British Guiana is the El dorada of the world. Men have but to land here and their fortunes are made; the labourers in the colony are so happy, so contented—yea, so familiar, and upon such intimate terms, with their masters, that visits are interchanged as matters of course in sickness; the labourers working in the cane pieces of other men can sport horses and gigs, can dine on beef and pork daily, &c. &c."

Now it shall be our duty and care, that these falsehoods shall not go uncontradicted nor unrefuted to the world; and in prosecution of this determination, we to-day give publication to a few important facts respecting the immigrants in the colony—and the faith that can be put in our planters, or in their words. We commence with those from Barbados.

In the standing advertisement of Mr. Day in the Barbados papers, the following paragraph is found:—

* * * * " and should any of the immigrants, after a month's trial, dislike the country (British Guiana,) and wish to return to Barbados, a free passage will be given them at the expense of the said proprietors."

One point may here be raised, i. e. whether or not Mr. Day was authorized by the proprietary body of this colony to assure the discontented labourers a free passage back to Barbados? But this point is easily set at rest, first, from our knowledge of Mr. Day; we know that gentleman must have been authorized to make this offer as an inducement to labourers to try the place. But there is no need of speculating—this condition was published extensively, and not only did our planters not disown the guarantee, but they received the labourers who successively arrived from Barbados under the stipulation mentioned, of which they were not ignorant, and honourable men would have held it inviolate—not only honourable and upright men would have fulfilled the expectations here which were promised in Barbados—but others who may but have the slightest regard for the character of the colony, or their own words.

With two exceptions (Sir Michael McTurk and Mr. Goodman, jun.,) the rest have refused to fulfil the pledges they made through Mr. Day to the labourers at Barbados, and have declared that, not only did they not authorize Mr. Day to assure the people passages back at their expense, but that they would not give it. Among these *gentlemen* with regret we have to name the firm of Troughton, Brothers and Co. Our regret arises more from the circumstance of the younger brother and partner having, by his personal presence at Barbados, sanctioned the deportation of the people, together with the assurance of their being sent back should they be dissatisfied with British Guiana; and yet this firm and others have broken faith with the people in a strange land, and leave them to shift for themselves the best way they can. Then, gentlemen, tell us no more of sending Coolies back to Calcutta; when you, under distinct stipulations, have refused to send the Barbados labourers a short distance of four hundred miles; let this be a warning to the unwary and too credulous. And now to the Coolies.

We have heard much about their "sayings" and happiness; but all that has been said for them, and about them, by the planters and their organs, we pronounce false. On the *Belle Vue*, much need is there to look into the treatment and sufferings of the Coolies; they allege that their allowances are shortened, their houses are in wretched condition; that they are frequently imprisoned by the manager "four or five times, four or five of them together" in the sick-house; they are locked up in it—their manager they dislike,—to use their own words, "Mulligan no good," "cut, cut Cooly rice;" finally, they are treated somewhat after the manner slaves were treated. A striking illustration was afforded yesterday morning: an overseer was seen with a large board, calling them out of their houses name by name, like the telling off of so many cattle for the field. On the celebrated Coolie slave-dealer Gladstone's plantation—*Vriedenhoop*, a house, half of which is occupied by cattle, is occupied by the Coolies, in which, according to the description we have received, twenty-five Coolies are packed in a room twenty-four feet long by fourteen broad. (What the proportion is each Cooley has to pay for house-rent the Rev. Scott may calculate—certainly somewhere about thirty-four gilders!) And these are the men who, for the life of us we cannot help believing, think that men were created for the only object of working to fill their pockets, and are no better than animals of the brute creation; that the world must disgorge her population into British Guiana, for the benefit of the insignificant 300 proprietors she can boast of.

The Bahamians on *Maria's Lodge* deserve a little notice. A few weeks ago a gentleman complained that "a more lazy set of people, than the Bahamians he had not met with."—We supply him with an answer: these people are not allowed to quit the plantation to go to the neighbouirng estates, should it be only to see their friends—much less to earn a few bits after their tasks are finished; they are not allowed to come to town, should they wish it: and we have reason to believe that a rigid system of plantation discipline is carried on on *Maria's Lodge*, and they are unable to leave the estate at all!! This is freedom! This is not slavery? oh, no! Go it gentlemen—many more, will find their way to your El dorada.

It is for Mr. Day to account to the public now. What is the meaning of all this? All the responsibility is thrown upon his shoulders, and no small degree of odium; and we mistake him, if he expose not the machiavelism of these dishonest men.

MR. DENNIS TODD, AN AMERICAN EMIGRANT.

Has addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Times*, complaining of misrepresentations published in that paper about the happiness and welfare of the American immigrants—and with what ease they can perform field labour,—and pointed, it would seem, plainly to Mr. Todd as an example (this individual being the only tanner who has arrived from America, and the description was evidently intended for him, and that he had performed, with no great exertion, two tasks per day (!!!) on a certain plantation.

The cuckoo note of the writer has been suddenly stopped by the prompt refutation of Mr. Todd, and the further explanation of the real feelings of his brother immigrants from America—being those of extreme, unnalloved disgust at the fraud and deception practised on them, and to which they had all fallen dupes, in being brought to a country where they have to work "knee deep in mud," instead of finding the land flowing with milk and honey. An important lesson this, and various circumstances have of late held up to our planters similar lessons—all of which, to our mind, seem to point to one object:—that they should cease their rage for strangers to till the soil, and turn their attention to the husbanding their available resources—the native peasantry; let them cease to oppress and maltreat them—let them treat them kindly,—and, instead of hurrying to make fortunes, and sacrificing their fellow-men to their avarice and cupidity—learn to be content with moderate gains, that so their peasantry maybe happy and contented around them; that they may multiply, and that ultimately we may have a hardy and intelligent race. No set of immigrants have in the most remote degree realized any of the great things promised—all have become dissatisfied—all have bitterly regretted having listened to the "voice of the wise charmers." It is to be hoped the people in the different countries to which our planters look for recruits, will not be left any longer exposed to the deceptious arts of these lying and designing men.

The evils that have attended immigration are many, without yielding any corresponding good, or visible benefit to the colony. Common sense would have discovered at an earlier period that if the description of benefits held out to strangers as obtainable in Guiana by the sticklers for immigration, were true, those blessings and benefits would have become known all over the world without the suspicious trouble of sending agents to represent— or more correctly speaking, to misrepresent them. When will our planters learn sense? Which of the many *cargoes* of people that have arrived in Demerara have given a favourable report of the place?—They have, one and all, declared they were deceived and only want the manliness and intelligence of the Americans to publish their disappointment and sufferings.

We call the attention of our readers to Mr. Todd's letter, and assure them that this gentleman has represented the feelings of his brethren correctly.

(To the Editor of the Guiana Times.)

SIR,—Having just been informed that a very highly coloured statement appeared in one of the newspapers lately, I believe yours, (?) stating that an American immigrant, a tanner by trade, had hired himself on an estate, and, in addition to being perfectly satisfied with his new occupation, laughed at the easy nature of the work he had to perform, after having done his two tasks per day, or words to that effect, &c. &c.—I beg leave to state I am the only tanner by trade (and sorry I am that I ever left my native country at the instance of Mr. Carbery's false allurements) amongst the American immigrants; and that though I did hire myself to Mr. Jacobs, on his estate called Two Brothers, I there soon got sick, owing to the nature of the employment, having to work nearly knee-deep in mud in wet weather; I therefore left it, after having been at it six weeks, during two of which I was laid up with rheumatism. Consequeutly, you and the public will perceive that the statement published was a gross fabrication. And as my fellow-countrymen naturally taunt me with lending myself to the promulgation of falsehoods tending to deceive others, permit me, humble as I am, to beg you will do me the justice to insert this counter-statement in your well-known impartial columns, where, as I said before, I believe the former one appeared.

For general information, I would take leave to state that *one and all of my unfortunate, deceived fellow-immigrants are dissatisfied, and intend returning to Baltimore as soon as we can find means to do so.*

I am, Sir, yours very respectfully,
His
DENNIS ✕ TODD.
Mark

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 25.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2ND, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

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LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

AT A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE, HELD ON MONDAY MORNING, THE 16TH OF NOVEMBER, 1840.

THE PRESIDENT IN THE CHAIR :—

It was Resolved unanimously,

I. That the Committee of the LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, adhering to their original and fundamental principle—the necessity of which is demonstrated by uniform experience—reiterate their deliberate conviction, that until slavery be abolished, the slave-trade will never cease to exist.

II. That this conviction is confirmed by the history of the African Institution, founded by men of high talents and well known philanthropy, with the view of introducing civilization and legitimate commerce into that continent. Its general objects, and the views which led to its formation, are clearly stated in the following resolutions adopted at the constituent meeting on the 14th of April, 1807.

"1. That this meeting is deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous wrongs which the natives of Africa have suffered in their intercourse with Europe; and, from a desire to repair those wrongs, as well as from general feelings of benevolence, is anxious to adopt such measures as are best calculated to promote their civilization and happiness.

"2. That the approaching cessation of the slave-trade hitherto carried on by Great Britain, America, and Denmark, will in a considerable degree, remove the barrier which has so long obstructed the natural course of social improvement in Africa, and that the way will be thereby opened for introducing the comforts and arts of a more civilized state of society.

"3. That the happiest effects may be reasonably anticipated from diffusing useful knowledge and exciting industry among the inhabitants of Africa, and from obtaining and circulating throughout this country more ample and authentic information concerning the agricultural and commercial facilities of that vast continent; and that, through the judicious prosecution of these benevolent endeavours, we may ultimately look forward to the establishment (in the room of that traffic by which Africa has been so long degraded) of a legitimate and far more extended commerce, beneficial alike to the natives of Africa, and to the manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland."

The particular means which this society proposed to employ for promoting civilization and improvement in Africa were of the following kind:

"1. To collect and diffuse throughout the country accurate information respecting the natural productions of Africa; and, in general, respecting the agricultural and commercial capacities of the African continent, and the intellectual, moral, and temporal condition of its inhabitants.

"2. To promote the instruction of the Africans in letters and in useful knowledge, and to cultivate a friendly connexion with the natives of that continent.

"3. To endeavour to enlighten the minds of the Africans with respect to their true interests; and to diffuse information amongst them respecting the means whereby they may improve the present opportunity of substituting a beneficial commerce in place of the slave-trade.

"4. To introduce among them such of the improvements and useful arts of Europe as are suited to their condition.

"5. To promote the cultivation of the African soil, not only by exciting and directing the industry of the natives, but by furnishing, when it may appear advantageous to do so, useful seeds, plants, and implements of husbandry.

"6. To introduce amongst the inhabitants beneficial medical discoveries.

"7. To obtain a knowledge of the principal languages of Africa; and, as has already been found to be practicable, to reduce them to writing, with a view to facilitate the diffusion of information among the natives of that country.

"8. To employ suitable agents, and to establish correspondences, as shall appear advisable; and to encourage and reward individual enterprise and exertion in promoting any of the purposes of the Institution."

Having signally failed, after more than twenty years' fruitless labour and expense, the directors of the African Institution arrived at the conclusion which they announced in the following remarkable words, at the end of their last report:—

"*It is in slavery that the slave-trade has its origin:—it is the market provided by the slave-holder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves, to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture, to the condensed horrors of the middle passage which follow it, and to the misery and desolation of a continent.*"

III. That a society having been recently formed for the extinction of the slave-trade and for the civilization of Africa, under the patronage of distinguished and honoured men, this committee have felt bound to give their most careful consideration to the plans it has set forth in the following terms:—

"Mr. Buxton emphatically declares that, next to christianity, (the great and only effectual cure) the 'deliverance of Africa' is to be sought in calling out her own resources.

"Part of this duty devolves on government, in enforcing the treaties already made for the suppression of the trade—obtaining other and more efficient treaties with native chiefs, as well as with European and other powers—and promoting and protecting the legitimate efforts of individuals engaged in the same object.

"Another part devolves on individuals, which he proposes to divide between two associations; namely, first, a benevolent society to watch over and befriend the interests of Africa; and, secondly, a company which shall cultivate portions of her soil. The object of the one to be charity; of the other legitimate gain; distinct, therefore, in their purposes, and separate in their management, yet both accordant in principle, and conducing to the same benevolent end.

"The present society, adopting the benevolent and pacific portion of Mr. Buxton's scheme, proposes to accomplish the following objects by agents and other suitable means:—

"1. To make the Africans acquainted with the inexhaustible riches of their own soil, and sedulously to direct their attention to its cultivation on a system of free labour. To convince them, moreover, of the immeasurable superiority of agriculture and innocent commerce, even in point of profit, over the slave-trade which excludes them.

"2. To instruct the natives in agriculture and practical science; to cultivate small portions of land as models for their imitation; distribute agricultural implements, seeds, plants, &c.; introduce local and other improvements; and suggest and facilitate the means of beneficially exchanging the produce of Africa for the manufactures of Europe.

"3. To examine the principal languages of Africa, and reduce them, where advisable, to a written form.

"4. To investigate the diseases, climate, and local peculiarities of Africa, for the benefit as well of natives as of foreign residents and travellers; to send out medicines and practitioners, and thus to separate the practice of medicine from the horrid superstitions now connected with it.

"5. To co-operate by every means in its power with the government expedition to the Niger; to report its progress—assist its operations—circulate the valuable information it may communicate; and, generally, to keep alive the interest of Great Britain in the suppression of the slave trade and the welfare of Africa."

From these plans the committee of the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society are reluctantly constrained, from a sense of duty, to withhold their support.

1. Because the present scheme appears, in their judgment, only a revival of the African institution in a modified and less efficient form; after the experience of many years have proved the entire inefficiency of such means as they intend to employ for the abolition of the slave-trade.

2. Because, in particular, all treaties with civilized powers, and still more with the natives, having in view to secure their concurrence in such an object, are of doubtful utility; that, while there may be no difficulty in forming them, the history of the past proves incontestibly that they are likely to be evaded, whenever self-interest and cupidity appear to render it desirable

3. Because the profits which are known to be realized by the slave-trade, even as now conducted amidst considerable risks, on the admission of the best authorities, must render utterly nugatory all means to secure its extinction short of the destruction of slavery itself. Speaking of the failure of treaties, and the inefficacy of laws declaring the trade piracy, Sir T. Fowell Buxton says, "I will make a supposition still more utopian than any of the preceding. All nations shall have acceded to the Spanish treaty, and that treaty shall be rendered more effective. They shall have linked to it the article of piracy; the whole shall have been clenched by the cordial concurrence of the authorities at home, and the populace in the colonies. With all this we shall be once more defeated and baffled by contraband trade. The power which will overcome all our efforts is the *extraordinary profit* of the slave-trader. It is, I believe, an axiom at the custom-house, that no illicit trade can be suppressed where the profits exceed 30 per cent. I will prove that the profits of the slave-trader are nearly five times that amount. 'Of the enormous profits of the slave-trade,' says Commissioner Macleay, 'the most correct idea will be formed by taking an example. The last vessel condemned

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by the mixed commission was the *Firm*. "* There was a clear profit on the human cargo of this vessel of £18,600, or just 180 per cent." [Vide "The African slave-trade and its remedy." pp. 221, 222.]

4. Because, while it is conceded that the introduction of pure christianity is the only available means of operating beneficially upon the natives themselves—of paving the way for the arts of civilization among them—and thus securing their own co-operation in the extermination of this detestable traffic; yet, in their judgment, the African Society can clearly do nothing directly in aid of this design; it is rather to be feared that their proceedings in other respects, more especially in regard to an armed police or protecting force, will prove a serious hinderance to any effective steps to diffuse the gospel.

"Because several of the objects stated in the above printed plan, as directly contemplated, cannot be attempted without an agency to the creation of which the Society is avowedly incompetent: others, although practicable, are wholly inadequate to exert the smallest influence on the end in view; and the remainder may be accomplished more cheaply, and as effectually, by existing institutions.

6. Because, though approving the object and honouring the motives of those connected with this movement, convinced as they are that the measures proposed must prove abortive, they cannot incur the serious responsibility of lending their humble sanction to plans which are calculated in their progress to divert attention, and by their failure to discourage the public mind, from those less imposing, but only feasible and exclusively christian efforts for the destruction of the slave-trade by the abolition of slavery itself.

These reasons determine the course of the committee. They respectfully submit them to the calm consideration of all who are interested in the welfare of Africa, at the same time deeply regretting that they are compelled to differ in opinion from many whom they esteem and honour. But with them the cause of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade is too sacred to be lightly dealt with; and, instructed by the experience of the past, right principles and plans in its promotion are, in their judgment, of paramount importance.

JOHN CROPPER, Jun., President.
WILLIAM BEVAN, Secretary.

FROM THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

TO THE EMANCIPATED POPULATION OF OUR WEST INDIA COLONIES.

DEAR FRIENDS,—We are happy to avail ourselves of the opportunity which the return of the Rev. William Knibb affords us, to assure you all of our continued and undiminished sympathy and kindness towards you. From the period of your emancipation up to the latest arrival from the West Indies, it has been a subject of real satisfaction to us to receive, not only from your faithful christian pastors, but also from other sources, the most gratifying accounts of your uniform good conduct—your exemplary forbearance—your forgiveness of past wrongs and injuries—your submission to constituted authority and law—your habits of sobriety and industry, and, in many instances and in different colonies, your religious consistency, zeal, and devotedness. You have thus approved yourselves worthy of freedom, and capable alike of enjoying and improving it; you have thus justified the expectations which, as your friends, we entertained and unhesitatingly avowed concerning you, and have richly rewarded the efforts which, along with others, we cheerfully and earnestly made to obtain your freedom. Persevere in such a course of peaceful, upright, honourable, christian conduct, and you will assuredly find that it will bring its own appropriate recompense. "Be not weary in well doing; in due season you shall reap if you faint not."

We regret, indeed, that you have any remaining causes of complaint in laws of an unjust and oppressive character, and, especially, that any new enactments should be framed to restrict your liberties, or violate your new-born rights as freemen; but you may rest assured that no efforts on our part shall be wanting to get all such laws altered or repealed.

It is with feelings of great pleasure that we refer to the zeal which many of you have shown in favour of civil and religious liberty; and we would thus thankfully acknowledge the liberal contributions which our society has already received from the following churches and auxiliaries:—

Berbice.	Orange Chapel	£50.
Jamaica.	Brown's Town Auxiliary . . .	30.
„	Falmouth do.	100.
„	St. Ann's Bay do.	50.
„	St. Catherines do.	100.
„	St. Thomas in the Vale do. . . .	30.
*Demerara		15.

We regard this as a tribute of gratitude on your part to the all-merciful Father, through whose gracious providence your liberties were secured to you; and we cordially accept it as a welcome and valuable help to us in the numerous and necessarily expensive measures which we are still pursuing; and on a much more extensive scale, to effect the liberation of your brethren and sisters in every part of the world, who are still in ignominious and unnatural bondage. We cannot doubt your readiness to co-operate with us in this, and in every way you can, to accomplish this most desirable and glorious result.

Let your example continue to show to those tribes and nations of the earth which yet uphold and practise slavery, that, while it is their first and paramount duty to give liberty to their captives, and to let the oppressed go free, their true interests and happiness will be promoted, and that, as among you, they will find the services of voluntary and justly requited labourers far more valuable and productive than those of their goaded and dispirited bondmen.

On behalf of the Committee,

27, *New Broad Street*, JOSEPH STURGE,
London, Nov. 7th, 1840. Chairman.

* Reported but not yet received.

IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

County of Dublin, Rathfarnham, 16th Nov., 1840.

To the Anti-slavery Society, New Broad Street, London.

GENTLEMEN—Having perused the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* of 7th and 21st ultimo, I there find part of a report I some months since sent forward to the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, for the purpose of refuting some recent statements regarding the treatment of the slaves belonging to that association, and reflecting on the character of the person who had the particular charge of them, I beg to lay the following statement before you, which is nearly a copy of what I refer to above. In January, 1832, I took charge of the slaves at Gongo Soco, and held that appointment until my retirement from the service of the association in January, 1839; a period of seven years; and I now beg leave to lay before you some facts which I trust will at once refute any charges that may be brought forward.

I had hoped that the statement I am now about to make, (being facts already well known to all the Directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association) would have been unnecessary from me, as my conduct and treatment of the slaves during the time I was in their service was highly approved of, and reported on by Colonel Skerrett and the subsequent commissioners, as the half-yearly reports during that time, will clearly prove.

The total number of slaves belonging to the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, when I left Gongo in January, 1839, were—Men 174, women 116, children 123—making a total (including the children) of 413, and not as Mr. Kentish says, of 600, or 700. Their hours of work are divided into distinct portions of the day, namely, 6, 8, and 12 hours out of 24, according to the nature of the work to be performed, and the locality, &c: the two latter classes have one hour each day for their meals, for which they always come to the surface, exclusive of the time expended in coming up and returning to their stations; the last named class, or those who worked twelve hours, were solely employed on the surface, and never under ground. The six hours' men were those who worked in wet places, and remained that time only under ground, during the 24 hours; at the expiration of which they came to the surface, changed their clothes, and had the remaining eighteen hours to themselves, four and a-half hours of which they voluntarily worked at sundry jobs on the surface, to gain money; which many of them did to the weekly amount of 960 reis, which, at the rate of exchange fixed for paying the English labourers, was weekly near four shillings. The utmost any man worked during the week was 62 hours, and that only on the surface, Saturday always being a holiday from two o'clock. They never worked on Sundays, excepting on very urgent occasions, the necessity for so doing but very seldom happened; they were all obliged to parade in their uniform clothing, and go regularly to chapel every Sunday. The climate of Gongo Soco is proverbial as being one of the most salubrious in the world, neither epidemic nor malignant diseases are ever known, and the mortality amongst the slaves did not average two and a half per cent per annum during the time I was there. The mine is 55 fathoms only deep in one shaft, consequently not more than three or four men could work at one time, and they were regularly relieved every six hours, at the same time that the English men were. During the whole time that I was there not a single fatal accident happened to the blacks in the mine; there were some severe falls, &c., but in every instance they completely recovered. Every man had an allowance of about a quarter of a pint of rum each day, and in no instance were they allowed to purchase any (if found so doing they are liable to be punished in various ways, according to the degree and repetition of the offence), nor did I know of a confirmed drunkard amongst them.

No female slave was ever stripped and flogged in my time: the men only, and that but seldom (as the punishment book in Gongo will prove), and only when all other lighter means of punishment had failed. I can conscientiously say that my motives were always those of justice and humanity, and that no punishment took place unless the culprit was proved to have been guilty of the crime brought against him, for which he was to receive punishment: punishments were performed openly in the presence of the other blacks, who were first made acquainted with the offence committed. Colonel Skerrett, during his administration, always attended himself at all punishments. I am sorry to say this custom was discontinued by Mr. Duval consequently I was always obliged to request the attendance of the medical officer to relieve my responsibility, and to prevent any false or unfair reports, as there were many ready to attribute to me unjust motives, which could not be the case to the same extent when a surgeon was present. Such a thing as brine having been put on the slaves' backs after punishment, or used in any shape, never once took

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place. Whenever it was necessary to punish, they were always sent to hospital after it, where they remained in general but a few minutes; the number of lashes never exceeded 100, nor did they ever amount to that but in two or three instances, all the time I was there. The cat-o'-nine tails is much the same as that used in the army, but not so severe. The piece of flattened wood spoken of is about six inches in circumference; one dozen on each hand is the utmost given at any one time, and I venture to say that a rattan struck with force on the hand is a much more severe and lasting punishment: it was never resorted to by me when it could be avoided.

Iron masks there were none, they were made of tin, and were done away with during the administration of Colonel Skerrett, who said they might possibly prevent free respiration, after which they were never resorted to during the time I remained. Such a thing as an iron collar having been put on a woman never took place; and as to their being driven about the village from sunrise to sunset, it is utterly and wholly without foundation. Women, when pregnant, do not work for two months previous to their confinement; they remain all day in a large shed, taking care of the younger children (this was the regular rule); and formerly they went to hospital a month or more before they expected to be confined. I am sorry, however, to say, that the system had been altered after the departure of Dr. Collier, when they were prohibited from going to hospital till they were in daily expectation of being confined, and in one instance a woman was confined in her own house; this was owing to her not having been admitted into hospital when her time for so doing had arrived. Late regulations prohibited the slaves from remaining in hospital, unless they were severely ill. Numbers have informed me they could not work on account of illness, and that when they went to hospital they were told they were not ill, and they must go back to their work. I immediately, when they appeared to me to be ill, sent them back to hospital, and this in many instances several times, when they were, with few exceptions, again sent back to me. When this failed, I had no alternative left but to keep them in the wine shed, where several were obliged to remain for many days, quite incapable of doing any work. Here they were exposed to the draft of an open shed, where children were playing and making a noise all the day; this gave me great pain, and, after I had remonstrated with the doctor, I was driven to the painful alternative of reporting the matter officially in writing, but I am sorry to say without effect, which made me feel that I was not properly supported, and made me desirous of quitting the service. The injurious result this had generally, together with the severe regulations adopted in the hospital, made me acquainted with many cases amongst the blacks of persons severely ill, which they would rather endure than subject themselves to the treatment they met with in hospital, or to be told they were only "skulking." A long correspondence took place between Mr. Duval and myself on this subject, but I am sorry to say it ended, like most other things, without redress, which determined me to give it up, which I did in disgust. I however, to the last, never allowed the blacks to work when they reported themselves ill. Two or three women, together with all those who may be in a forward state of pregnancy, attended in a large shed for the purpose of taking care of the children, and did no other work; and all women, when they left the hospital, after confinement always remained in this shed during the day, for five or six weeks before they went to light work, this with a fortnight or three weeks in hospital, gave them ample time to recover. The slaves of Gongo Soco were both well clothed, and well fed, regularly twice each day, with the best provisions that could be procured; they were the most healthy, happy, and contented set of persons I ever saw. Upwards of £15, was weekly distributed amongst them, with which they purchased what they wished for, or might require; the only thing they were prohibited from purchasing was spirits, of which they received a moderate allowance each day. I have always regretted the stop put to emancipation by Mr. Duval, of course with the sanction of the board, as having had the very worst possible effect. The emulation it created to obtain that greatest of all boons to this unfortunate class of persons, and the success which attended the experiment was, at one period, beyond the expectations of the most sanguine—nothing could surpass it, their conduct was the admiration of every one possessing a heart to appreciate. This continued till after the arrival of Mr. Duval, when he informed me he would not free any more, because it had been found not to answer; because, truly, three or four out of fifteen had behaved ill *after his arrival* in Gongo—the remaining 288 were therefore to suffer perpetual slavery on their account! Surely it would be expecting too much to suppose that a man brought up in slavery and in ignorance, could change his nature in a day. What I saw of emancipation in Gongo answered my utmost expectations; many were the appeals to me why it was not to continue, and I am confident that from the hour I was obliged to make Mr. Duval's sentiments known to them, they never were the same. There were many at that time who ought to have had, and did expect their freedom, and I am prepared at this moment with the names of a dozen at least who would now be enjoying that blessing, had Mr. Avaline lived to avail himself of the consent obtained from the board by his predecessor. About five months after the arrival of Mr. Duval at Gongo, the slaves became so careless and indifferent, and crime gradually increased to so serious an extent, in consequence of an altered and new system attempted by him, that I was obliged to represent very strongly to Mr. Duval that, unless some prompt means were put in force to stop it, I could not possibly answer for the consequences, and I begged to assure him I would not remain longer in the service of the Association than to the expiration of my then engagement, 10th January, 1837. Soon after this an order was issued in which the entire charge of the slaves was handed over to me, and which remained in force up to the time of my departure.

The disgusting nightly bacchanalian orgies mentioned by Mr. Kentish, in which the black women are brought naked on the scene never existed during the time I was there; although I have heard that such did exist previous to my arrival in Gongo.

I remain, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

H. L. Bayly.

Late superintendent of the Gongo Soco slaves.

COLONY OF LIBERIA.

From the Times.

A casual allusion to the American colony of Liberia, in our recent remarks on Sir Fowell Buxton's African Civilization Society, has led Mr. R. R. Gurley, the secretary of the American Colonization Society, who happens now to be in England, to address to us a letter in explanation of the objects of that institution, and of the colony which it has founded. We do not publish Mr. Gurley's letter, but we shall briefly state some of the grounds on which we spoke of Liberia as a "slave-mart," and deprecated the creation of "new slave-marts like it." We do not affirm that the American Colonization Society engages in the African slave-trade, or encourages it, but that it finds abetters in their colony of Liberia, which within a very few years has become a focus of that nefarious traffic. For proof we refer to the following authorities:—

In February, 1838, the British consul at Cape de Verds made the following communication to Lord Palmerston:—"On the 15th of February, 1838, arrived at this port a vessel under American colours, named Monrovia, last from Liberia, with a bill of sale and list of crew from the collector of that colony. This vessel had neither a register nor a sea letter. I have ascertained, without doubt, that she is a vessel belonging to Don Pedro Blanco of the Gallinas, has put in here directed to his agent, and that a cargo of slaves is ready for her. There is a black man on board for a flag-captain, who speaks English well. Don Pedro Blanco's agent in Liberia, is J. N. Lewis, commission-merchant."

Again, in 1837, Captain Nicholson, of the United States' navy, reported to his government, that "within a year four slave factories had been established almost within sight of the colony."

Once more, the editor of the *Liberia Herald* published the following remarks in the colony, in May, 1838:—"The first requisite to the prosperity and advancement of the colony is the suppression of the slave-trade in our vicinity. This trade has been gradually acquiring strength for the last four years. Its ravages have been more fearful, and the vessels engaged in it more numerous, than at any former period of the colony's history."

A British, an American, and a Liberian authority will suffice to establish the correctness of our description of Liberia as a slave-mart, and we must confess our surprise that a gentleman of Mr. Gurley's personal respectability should, in his own special department, deny a plain fact resting on such indubitable authority.

Mr. Gurley also calls in question a statement which some time ago appeared in our columns, to the effect that "the American Colonization Society and the American colony of Liberia are simply devices of the slave-masters and their friends to get rid of the free coloured population, who are regarded as nuisances and standing incitements to servile insurrection:" in opposition to which, Mr. Gurley contends that the society and the colony have been formed for the benefit of the coloured race, and the civilization of Africa. On this point also we cannot dwell, and we shall do little more than quote the language employed in the printed constitution of the society, describing its object. "The object," says this document, "to which the attention of the society is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the *free people of colour* residing in our country in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." If there is meaning in language, the object of the society is to colonize the free people of colour, leaving the slave population of the United States still more absolutely in the grasp of the slave-masters, and to colonize them in Africa or elsewhere: so that the civilization of Africa no more enters into the original conception and design, than the civilization of the inhabitants of any other portion of the globe. In the memorial of the managers of the society to Congress, soon after its organization in 1816, it is stated that the correct history of the origin of the society "evinces that it sprang from a deep solicitude for southern interests"—and that southern interests in the United States, as contradistinguished from northern interests, are the interests of slave-holders and of slave-holding, requires no proof. Hence, in the southern states the objects of the society are familiarly and publicly recommended as not at all calculated to weaken or endanger the institution of slavery, but as tending to establish, build up, and confirm it. If the American Colonization Society means so well to the coloured race, and has such a determined hostility to the African slave-trade, why does it not look nearer home, and raise its voice against the internal slave-trade of the United States, which, in some of its features, is not inferior in atrocity to that which is carried on on the coast of Africa, and across the Atlantic!

Of the identity of his principles and plans with those of Sir Fowell Buxton, which Mr. Gurley intimates, we shall say nothing—leaving them to settle their own accounts with each other.

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Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 2ND.

SINCE our last publication, it has been announced that Lord Palmerston has signed with General Hamilton, as the representative of Texas, a treaty with that republic. Among British abolitionists this step cannot but produce severe disappointment and indignant reprobation. It is well known that, in our humble sphere, our endeavours to prevent it were strenuous; and we confess that our mortification is proportionate. To animadvert on it as a measure of general policy is altogether out of our province; but as bearing on the question of slavery, it affects us with affliction and shame. That our feelings in this respect are not without foundation in the judgment of others as well as in our own, may appear by the following quotation from a recent number of the *Times*:—

Texas is a slave-holding country. The emigrants from the United States were chiefly slave-holders, and they carried their slaves with them. There can be little doubt that the determination to retain slave property, contrary to the Mexican laws, and the determination of the Mexican authorities to support the laws on this subject, were the primary causes of the Texan revolt and separation. The African slave-trade, as we formerly stated, has been declared piracy, and there is no reason to suppose that the Texan government is insincere in the enactment or execution of this law; and yet the evidence is strong that slaves continue to be imported into Texas, both from Cuba, and the African coast. But while the African slave-trade is prohibited, the United States' slave-trade is fully and openly legalized. It is not only legalized, but the Texan Congress is actually forbidden to entertain any law against its legalization. The language of the Texan law is, that "Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States;" while, at the same time, "the importation or admission of Africans or negros into this republic, *excepting from the United States of America*, is for ever prohibited, and declared to be piracy." A wide door is thus expressly kept open for the increase of the slave population of Texas, and, as the cultivation of cotton and similar products is extended, the supply will be poured in. At present even the more northern slave-holding states may be more correctly described as slave-rearing states, having furnished to Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas, in a single year, not fewer than 25,000 slaves; and Texas will occasion a demand equal to that of nine or ten additional states as large as Kentucky, so that the whole of the southern states of the American union may be expected gradually to become slave-breeders, and slave-merchants to Texas. This, it must be confessed, affords no very grateful prospect to the national pride of our American friends, or to the hopes and wishes of the good and wise of every nation; but we are not sanguine that such a result will be prevented, although its prevention is one of the most legitimate objects of national consideration.

"The whole of the southern states of the American Union may be expected gradually to become slave-breeders, and slave-merchants to Texas!" And this is to result from a step taken by the British government! When will the shame of this be forgotten, or the mischief of it cease?

In contrast with the common sense article we have just quoted from the *Times*, we may exhibit one of a different quality from the *Colonial Gazette*, which has hailed the signature of the Texan treaty with the somewhat familiar plaudit—"Well done, Lord Palmerston!" In the last number it is written as follows:—

It is confidently asserted by persons well acquainted with Texas, that the salubrity of its climate is such as to admit of the production of the finest tobacco, sugar, and cotton, by the labour of white men. If this should prove to be true, slavery in America may get its death-blow from Texas. Free labour is doubtless the cheaper of the two, because more energetic and more skilful, provided you can but always procure enough of it for *constantly combining* the force of many hands in each particular work. Europe would furnish Texas with abundance of free labour. Let us suppose for a moment that this had been accomplished by means of some potent system of immigration; and then what follows? It follows, that slavery in Cuba, the United States, and Brazil, would be attacked in the only efficient manner—that is, by the rivalry of free labour. It follows, moreover, that Texas sugar, being the produce of free labour, and also being cheap, would not long be excluded from the British market; and that the British West Indies, being most inadequately supplied with labour however free, would either be ruined outright, or permitted to adopt, like Texas, a potent system of immigration. There is more in this wind than many wot of.

We ought, perhaps, to be grateful to our kind-hearted contemporary, for his endeavour to sweeten to the abolitionists this bitter pill; but we cannot flatter him with the hope of being very successful, possibly because we are scarcely so credulous as he takes us to be. Never, we think, were more mistakes and fallacies crowded into a single paragraph. 1. Texas is not fitted for the agricultural labour of white men. Upon the best authority we affirm the direct contrary of this, and say that Texas pre-eminently requires black agricultural labourers.

2. If Texas were adapted to the agricultural labour of white men, free-labour never could generally or extensively co-exist with slave-labour; more especially where, as in Texas, none of the black labourers can be free. It is contrary to all experience and possibility that white free-labour should extensively co-exist with black slave-labour.

3. With whatever quantity of free labour "Europe would furnish Texas," it is well known that Texas does not want it. The republic invites settlers of all kinds for the general purpose of increasing its population; but it does not wish for free agricultural labourers. If it did, why should it not suffer free persons of colour to remain in its territory? The truth is, that the Texans mean to have no agricultural labourers but blacks, being slaves; and that there is neither chance nor possibility of free labour in that republic making head against slave labour, without some alteration of the present system for that purpose.

4. If slave labour is to be permanent in Texas, then vanishes altogether the alleged prospect of its banishment from Cuba, the United States, and Brazil; as well as that of "a potent immigration" into the West Indies by help of Texan free-grown sugar. By the way, what can this writer mean by telling us that Texan free-grown sugar "would not long be excluded from the British market;" when he knows that cheap free-grown sugar from other parts of the world is at this moment excluded, and that treaties exist with countries producing slave-grown sugar which render a distinction in this respect impossible! This is not ignorance but artifice, and agrees but too well with all the rest of this dishonest article. As to the attractions of Texas for European emigrants, we refer our readers to a short description of that country in our paper of to-day, furnished us by Mr. Nicholas Maillard, a gentleman personally acquainted with it, and engaged, as we learn, in writing a history of that republic.

WE have received and inserted in another column a letter from Mr. H. L. Bayly, who, it seems, is now a sub-inspector of constabulary in Ireland, but who was for seven years superintendent of the slaves belonging to the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association at Gongo Soco. It appears that Mr. Bayly is one of the gentlemen to whom the directors of the Association applied, to furnish them with the means of rebutting the charges laid upon their table by Mr. Kentish nearly twelve months ago, and the author of that very report of which a portion, and that portion without a name, was forwarded to us by the directors, through the solicitors to the Association, in its defence. It is honourable to Mr. Bayly that he comes forward to take on himself the responsibility of that document; and, although his letter contains some matter which we have published before, we readily print it again for the advantage of its appearing with the name of the writer. We have at length attained also this additional advantage, that we bring before the public a gentleman to whose testimony the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association can raise no objection. It does not appear that they have had any quarrel with *him*; or that any circumstances have taken place tending to subject his statements to the remotest suspicion of exaggeration or severity. On the contrary, he is one of their good friends, one of the very men to whom they have applied for information, and the man whose statement, in preference to all others, they have officially published in their own vindication. Not the most cautious person, therefore, need hesitate to believe Mr. Bayly, nor can the shareholders, or the warmest friends of the Association, refuse him credence. Let them, then, read his letter, and see—not only (as has been already shewn) how large a portion of Mr. Kentish's charges the writer admits, while seeming to deny them—but how much of what is deplorable and blameworthy he states in addition. Putting out of view altogether what Mr. Kentish has alleged, the state of things opened up by Mr. Bayly is afflictive in the highest degree, and attaches a very heavy amount of criminality, not only to the servants of the Mining Association abroad, but also to the directors of it at home. We do not mean to speak otherwise of the Directors than as most respectable men, and we are willing to give them credit for having been in some measure ignorant of the mischief going on at their foreign establishments; but we may affirm, first, that they ought not to have been ignorant of matters so deeply affecting the rights and happiness of their servants; and secondly, that, now their attention is forcibly drawn to these matters, they ought to institute a searching investigation, and apply an effectual remedy. It does not say so much as we could wish for their honesty in this respect, that they not only published the statement of their superintendent without a name, as though they wished his testimony in their favour to have more weight than it was fairly entitled to; but that they published only a part of it, selecting what might answer their purpose of defence, and withholding the criminatory testimony appended to it. It is clear that the Directors know more than they choose to communicate, and they show no great disinclination to hush the matter up, if possible. We recommend to them a different course. Let them pursue the more frank and generous method of confessing their fault, and renouncing it. In principle they must have known that they were wrong from the beginning. They knowingly violated every principle of justice, together with the law of their country, in becoming owners of slaves. The very first purchase of a slave by their order was an act of felony, both on their own part, and on the part of every person concerned in it. They have been parties to several hundred felonies of this nature; and if instructions to this effect signed by their order could be proved in a British court of justice, they would every one of them, respectable men as they are, be subject to a felon's punishment. Can any honourable man be content to remain in such a position? We think not. But, if the Directors of the Imperial Brazilian can be so, let them be assured that they shall have no rest. Besides the two witnesses who are now before the public, and the whole of whose tale is not told yet, we have information on the same subject from an independent and indisputable source, of which we shall shortly be able to avail ourselves. The slaves held by British mining companies must be set free; and we earnestly hope, that, to save trouble both to others and themselves, the companies will set them free without the necessity of legal proceedings.

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WE recently drew attention to the circular addressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe to the stipendiary magistrates in Jamaica, directing them to resume their official reports, but in a manner altogether unsatisfactory. We have now to lay before our readers a correspondence on this subject between the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society and the noble Lord at the head of the colonial department. His Lordship's reply, we think, will be read with surprise and regret. The committee had presumed that the objectionable limitations in the governor's circular must have originated with himself. Lord John Russell, however, takes the responsibility of them, and coolly tells us that they are in "accordance with his instructions!" That is to say, his Lordship takes it upon himself to destroy the whole value of the system of magisterial reports, thinking to keep faith with the public by retaining the name and the shadow. Let his Lordship know that we understand this very well. We have been accustomed to look with confidence to the parliamentary papers; but now, since it seems we shall find nothing there, we must look to private sources of information, and we request our friends on the other side of the water, accordingly, to be henceforth more copiously communicative. Of facts the publicity of which may be painful to individuals we are now to have no official information; nor will the colonial office, on the other hand, have any proper means of ascertaining what amount of truth may be contained in the statements which may be received from unofficial sources. The following is the correspondence:—

27, *New Broad Street*, 20*th November*, 1840.

MY LORD,—By the direction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, I am instructed to invite your lordship's attention to a circular recently issued by Sir C. Metcalfe, governor of Jamaica, to the stipendiary magistrates in that island, respecting the resumption of their official reports.

The committee, regarding these reports as a most important means of affording information in respect to the due administration of justice in that island, have noticed with deep regret in the circular of Sir C. Metcalfe, that, instead of the reports being directed to be returned monthly, as formerly, they are ordered to be sent in only once in six months—intervals which must render them comparatively useless as a means of affording information.

The committee also beg leave to solicit your lordship's notice to the following instruction, which is given in the governor's circular, that "information is not to be sought by inquisitorial inquiries into the management of particular properties, nor to be accompanied by remarks or detail painful to individuals."

It must be obvious to your lordship, that this instruction may be employed whenever it may be deemed expedient to screen the grossest acts of injustice or oppression, by preventing inquiry relative to the management of particular properties, or by avoiding a disclosure of the truth lest it should be painful to individuals.

The committee, impressed with a conviction that your lordship concurs with them in the view they entertain of the great importance of an immediate return to the judicious system under which these reports were first issued, respectfully but earnestly entreat that you will be pleased to give directions that the reports in question be regularly prepared monthly as heretofore, and without the slightest partiality or favour to any individual whatever.

Presuming that your lordship's well-known attachment to the impartial administration of justice will dispose you to favourably regard this request of the committee,

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

To the Rt. Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P.,
&c., &c., &c.

Downing Street, 25*th November*, 1840.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, requesting, by direction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, his lordship's attention to a circular recently issued by the governor of Jamaica to the stipendiary magistrates in that island, respecting the resumption of their official reports; and I am to request that you will acquaint the committee, that his lordship has not received a copy of Sir Charles Metcalfe's circular to the magistrates—but as that part of the document quoted in your letter is in accordance with Lord John Russell's instructions to the governor, his lordship must decline to interfere any further on the subject.

I have the honour to be,
Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) R. VERNON SMITH.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

OUR files of West India papers have come to hand. The only article we find worthy of extraction from them is one of much interest on the inter-colonial slave-trade.

OUR file of the *Cerneen*, which comes up to the 1st of August, furnishes an interesting account of the early proceedings of Sir Lionel Smith in the Island of Mauritius. His measures have been taken in a frank and conciliatory, but firm and discriminating spirit. He had convened the stipendiary magistrates for the purpose of a conference, at which he informed them of the impression in this country that they had been leaning too much to the side of the master, and commented on some recent decisions, which he showed might have been more enlightened and impartial. He has directed weekly returns of all their proceedings. A society for the encouragement of immigration had held a conference with the Governor. He advised them to wait for further intelligence from England; and promised in the mean time to make a personal inspection of the interior of the island, which Sir William Nicolay had never done.

Second Edition.

London, Wednesday Evening.

BRITISH RECOGNITION OF TEXAS.

AT an adjourned meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held this day, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz.—

1. That inasmuch as the system of slavery forms an integral part of the constituti onal law of the new republic of Texas, this committee have heard with feelings of the deepest sorrow and humiliation that her Majesty's government have been induced to enter into a commercial treaty with its representative, by w hich act that republic has been introduced to the high distinction of a place among the great family of civilized nations; and that thus the moral dignity and national honour of this great country have been outraged, the dearest interests of multitudes of human beings—their liberty and happiness—trampled under foot, a fearful impulse given to slavery and the slave-trade, and the sacred cause of christianity, civilization, and freedom immeasurably retarded.

2. That in view of the great fact that the legislature of this country, stimulated by the christian zeal of its people, has abolished for ever the guilty traffic in human beings, and terminated the atrocious system of bondage which formerly existed in the British colonies; and that the government has perseveringly, if not hitherto successfully, sought the entire suppression of the foreign slave-trade, at an enormous cost of the national treasure, and of human life; the committee cannot but express their great astonishment, as well as their profound regret, that her Majesty's ministers should have entered into friendly relations with a people whose first act, after a successful but wholly unjustifiable revolt, was to engraft on their constitution the system of slavery, to create a slave-trade between the United States and themselves, as well as for the utter expulsion of all free persons of African descent, and the final extirpation of the aboriginal tribes from the soil; and thus to violate every principle of humanity and justice, and to consolidate, extend, and pepetuate slavery and the slave-trade in a country, which, as part of the Mexican Empire, had been previously devoted to freedom.

3. That, therefore, this committee as the organ of the anti-slavery principles and feelings of the country, feel bound to enter their solemn protest against the recognition of the independence of Texas, as a most immoral and impolitic act—alike uncalled for by the justice or the exigency of the case—as fraught with the most injurious consequences to mankind, and as consequently deserving the unqualified reprobation of all good men.

(Signed) JACOB POST, Chairman.

GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

IT will be in the recollection of our readers that the Anti-slavery convention voted an address to ruling powers. One of these has been forwarded to the respective governors of the states which compose the North American union; and one of these governors—Governor Pennington, of New Jersey—has returned a courteous reply, which was inserted in our pages some time since. We find by an American paper now before us, the *Philanthropist*, that three others of this *genus irritabile* have noticed the address, although not after the manner of Governor Pennington. They have fallen upon poor Mr. Gates, a member of Congress for New York, who had given the use of his official frank on this occasion. The editor of the *Philanthropist* says well:—

"The only offence of Mr. Gates—that for which his neck would pay the forfeit if he should chance to be in Georgia, was the act of forwarding highly important intelligence to these semi-barbarians. The mass of slaveholders, we doubt not, will blush for the indecent fury into which these self-constituted guardians of their rights have lashed themselves. The miserable bluster of our republican governors of the South, contrasts woifully with the gentlemanly conduct of the Pacha of Egypt."

GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

We invite the attention of the public to the following letter of the governor addressed to the Hon. S. M. Gates, a whig member of Congress from the state of New York, who has impiously attempted to insult the people of Georgia, by forwarding to their chief magistrate documents from abolition societies in England and elsewhere, the nature and import of which require that they should not be either circulated or published in this state.

The indignant rebuke of the governor to this villanous incendiary whose frank as a member of Congress is so ill-merited by him as an honourable member of Congress of this republic, will, we doubt not, meet the candid assent of every southern man, if it does not reach the sensibility of the destitute creature who has subjected himself to the contempt of every Georgian, by endeavouring thus to meddle with their constitutional rights, and insidiously attempting to offer them an indignity for which his neck would pay the forfeit, if their soil bore his footsteps.—*Milledgeville Union.*

(Copy.)
Executive Department, Ga.
Milledgeville, Sept. 10*th*, 1840.

SIR,—An address to the Hon. George R. Gilmer, my predecessor in office, from a foreign abolition convention, forwarded under your frank as a member of the Congress of the United States, has been received at this department. It was soon followed by another package containing resolu-

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tions of the convention, addressed to the same gentleman, but superscribed to me. The superscription of this package is in the hand writing of that of the first, which leaves no doubt Georgia is indebted to a whig member of Congress of New York for both.

The audacious attempt of a foreign convention to interfere with the free intercourse between the states of the union, is equalled only by your insolence in forwarding a copy of their proceedings to this department.

This is a subject which, with the object intended to be accomplished by it, admits of no argument; and all who seek to agitate it and carry out the above purpose, either by courting foreign alliances or the use of other means, shall be regarded and treated as public enemies, outlaws, and traitors. I am, &c.

CHAS J. M'DONALD.

Hon. S. M. Gates, New York.

GOVERNOR OF TENNESSEE.

From the Nashville Union.

REAL CAUSE OF ALARM.

We have seen in the office of the secretary of State two communications from the *World's Convention of Abolitionists*, under the seal of the British and Foreign Abolition Society, one of them franked by S. M. Gates, a whig member of congress from New York, and both addressed to "his Excellency, James K. Polk, Governor of the State of Tennessee." *They are incendiary*, or we would lay them before the public. We have permission, however, to publish the letter of the governor in reply to Gates, which is as follows:—

Nashville (Tenn.) Oct. 2nd. 1840.

To the HON. S. M. GATES, Member of Congress from the State of New York.

SIR—I have received through the post office a communication under your official frank as a member of congress, containing certain proceedings of a body of men styling themselves "a convention of the friends of the negro, assembled from various parts of the world, convened for the purpose of promoting the immediate, entire, and universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade." This convention, it appears, was holden at London in the month of June last. The envelope covering the communication which comes to me under your frank is post-marked at the city of New York—is sealed with a stamp bearing the pictorial representation of a person in an imploring attitude, and encircled with the words, '*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.*' The communication itself contains an "appeal to the governor of Tennesse to employ all the influence and power with which *Divine Providence has entrusted him to secure* immediate and unconditional liberty to the slave."

The fact is indisputable, that you have lent your official frank to this self-styled World's Convention of Abolitionists, as the means of enabling them to send their infamous publications in manuscript through the United States' mails, free of expense; and the presumption, therefore, is that you countenance and approve the proceedings which you aid them to circulate. In a postscript to the communication bearing your frank, I am requested to acknowledge its receipt in a letter addressed to the "President of the Convention at London." This request I shall disregard. I cannot recognise by an act of mine, official or otherwise, the right of foreigners to make an attempt, in itself so impertinent and impudent, to intermeddle or interfere with the domestic institution of this State. But you, sir, are an American citizen, and by the part you have borne have made yourself equally criminal and responsible with the foreign agitators and fanatics, with whose proceedings you have identified yourself. Were it not for the official station which you occupy, I am free to declare that I should treat the part which you have borne in this dark transaction with the scorn and contempt which I entertain for the proceedings themselves, and which I am sure all patriotic citizens ardently attached to the Union, and desiring its preservation, will pronounce upon your conduct.

It is to be regretted that the affected and hypocritical philanthropy of British and other foreign abolitionists, with whom your official frank identifies you, had not been reserved for the suffering subjects of their own dominions, whose unremitting toil, even in seasons of profound peace, is in many instances scarcely rewarded by the means of procuring wholesome food and decent raiment. Unacquainted as the Convention, whose proceedings you endorse and circulate by your frank, seems to have been with the peaceable relation of master and slave in the United States, their advice is as worthless as it is gratuitous.

The foreigner, in extenuation of his crime, may plead ignorance of our form of government; but from you, sir, his American aider and abettor, no such plea is admissible. He may be actuated by a desire to produce insurrection in the heart of a rival nation. But what apology have you, sir, for lending your official privilege as a member of Congress to aid him in an attempt to produce anarchy and confusion in one of the constituent sovereignties of your own government? Have you seriously reflected upon the dangers of the crusade in which you are engaged—a crusade in alliance with foreigners, which not only threatens the peace and harmony of the union, but may endanger its existence, if the wicked agitation to which you give your countenance is persisted in? Are you so deliberately reckless of consequences, as to be willing to lend the aid of your official privilege to countenance and abet foreigners in proceedings calculated to excite sectional jealousies and heart burnings—to divide the states by geographical lines—to array one section against another, and that too, at the imminent peril of producing domestic insurrection and servile war? Have you yet to be informed that slavery existed in the colonies long before independence was achieved? Have you yet to learn that, at the adoption of the constitution, the adjustment of the slave question presented one of the chief difficulties to the formation of the Union which had to be encountered—and that it was ultimately settled upon principles of mutual concession and compromise? Would you disturb the fundamental compact upon which the Union of the States rests? But I will not argue the point. It is not one which is debateable.

It is a matter of sincere regret that any American citizen should be guilty of such high treason to the first principles upon which the states became united. Your official frank covering these proceedings stands up in judgment against you, as a witness whose testimony is not to be impeached.

The only further notice which I shall take of these nefarious proceedings of foreigners with whom you stand associated, will be to expose them to the indignant reprobation of the people of Tennessee.

JAMES K. POLK.

TEXAS.

OF all the modern impositions, that of getting people to emigrate from this country to Texas, the empire of oppressive taxation, fraud, and depravity, is certainly the most iniquitous. Texas is well known to be nothing more than a continuation of the swamps of Louisiana. The physical construction of the climate of Texas, as well as the western parts of Louisiana, renders the soil worse than useless for nearly two-thirds of the year. The prairies* or swamps of Texas consist of the richest possible virgin soil, it is true; but what can be done to get rid of the water with which they are covered for seven months out of the twelve! These inundations are not to be guarded against, for they arise from two distinct and great natural causes.

First.—The autumnal rains, or 'rainy season,' which sets in about September, and continues until the latter end of March, during which period the rain falls in torrents, with little or no intermission; covering the prairies with water, varying in depth from eighteen inches to four, and in some places to eight, feet.

Secondly. In April the sun suddenly comes forth with great power, and its action on the snow, which covers the Rocky Mountains in the north, causes similar inundations, in the valleys which intersect these mountain regions, where the water thus produced is partially confined for a short period by the waters produced by the first cause. These form the only barrier opposed to the influx of the waters of the gulf of Mexico, which, owing to the strong south-easterly winds that prevail during the rainy season, rises from three to four feet above the level of the low lands; and thus we find one great evil is absolutely necessary to ward off another not less formidable. But towards the close of the rainy season the wind changes to, and continues for a short period to blow with great violence from, the north, driving the water off the praries with astonishing rapidity, when the mountain valleys pour forth their torrents, not unfrequently sweeping everything before them, but never failing to prolong the inundation of the low lands, from about the 1st of April to the middle of June. And it should be remarked, that the temperature of the water which covers the whole face of the country at this season is never less than 20 degrees below the temperature of the water produced by the rains; and at all times not less than from 40 to 45 degrees below the temperature of the atmosphere, which must paralyse for a season all vegetation, and must also prove most injurious to the whole animal family of those regions. However, it is asserted that draining will remedy all this; but such is not the case, for if the low lands (admitting for a moment that it is practicable) were drained so as to carry the water off the surface, the sub-soil must be cut into, and being thus drained, the sub-soil would lose that moisture which it now retains, and which alone supports the vegetation on the surface during the summer months, which are intensely hot and dry. Hence it may be seen that the prairies, or swamps, of Texas, are not susceptible of the improvement which alone can render them worthy of the attention of British agriculturalists.

But again we are told by the romantic tourists and needy speculators who have visited Texas, that the emigrant will not meet with the obstacles above described in the upper or western parts of Texas; but they cannot be ignorant of the fact that all the finest portion of Texas, *i. e.* from the Colorado River to the Rio Grande which comprehends the whole of Western Texas, and from the town of Liberty on the Trinity, hence taking a straight line to the city of Austin on the Colorado (for the southern boundary) to the Red river on the north, is still in the absolute, and indeed the undisputed possession of various tribes of Indians, amounting to about 80,000, who can never be brought into subjection. And if they should, by any chapter of chances, be exterminated, their place would be immediately supplied from the state of Arkansas, where the innumerable tribes of Indians, who have migrated from the valley of the Mississippi within the last thirty years, are now concentrating all their strength; and it should also be remembered, that Texas has recently ceded by far the largest half of "her fine western county," to the new republic of Rio Grande. What can there be more iniquitous than to extol Texas as the "finest region in the world, where all kinds of artisans are wanted, and British industry is generally sure to be rewarded?" This is General Henderson's description of Texas, but who that has ever been in a slave-holding state will for a moment contend that white labour is cherished, where slave-labour exists! Indeed, I never met a Texan citizen yet, (General Henderson excepted,) that did not at once acknowledge that he would rather see one slave enter Texas, than twenty white labourers. The influx of capitalists, however, they hold as essential to the permanent establishment of the republic; but if we consider the oppressive system of taxation established by the Texan congress last session, few would be induced to invest their capital in any kind of property in Texas, and it would be well for those who are about to emigrate to the inhospitable swamps of Texas, to inquire further into the present state and future prospects of that country before they take so serious a step.

London, 9th Oct., 1840. NICHOLAS MAILLARD.

* The Americans in the southern states found the word "swamp" so extremely obnoxious to their brethren in the north, and more especially to Europeans, that they, as a matter of expediency, called these inhospitable regions prairies, which is certainly an improvement.

On the 13th ult. a public meeting was held at the Exchange Hall, Wisbech, for the purpose of receiving Messrs. Stanton and Scoble, as a deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. J. S. Watson, Esq., the mayor, presided, and the meeting closed by the adoption of suitable resolutions.

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EXPORTATION OF HILL COOLIES.

The *Times* of November the 23rd gives the following summary of the views entertained in India on the present position of this important question :—

"The defeat last session of the attempt to revive the emigration of the Hill Coolies is regarded with the greatest satisfaction in the Indian papers of the last arrival, in which parties speak who are well aware of the miseries to which these poor creatures would have been subject. At the same time they earnestly consider the ground on which the clause in the Colonial Passengers' Bill, by which the exportation of the Coolies would have been sanctioned, was thrown out; and this being no other than the impropriety of legislating in the dark on a question of such importance to India, they urge all that know the enormities to which the Coolie trade has given birth to present the English with right data, so that on a topic so momentous they may come to a correct decision. The question, they say, has extended; being no longer whether the Mauritius is to be supplied with labourers from India, or, in stronger words, whether 30,000 men are to be induced to abandon their families to want and starvation, but whether the whole circle of the West India islands, in fact, all the sugar-growing colonies, are to be stocked with Coolies. They then consider the reason why the Coolies are especially desired, and find it to be their ignorance of the countries to which they would be taken. The Coolies, they say, would be introduced wherever the negros refused low wages, that they might starve the latter into compliance. These Indian journalists have evidently watched the progress of the debate very closely, and from different phrases expressive of the anxiety of the West Indians for a system of emigration, collect that the demand of these colonies for Coolie labourers will be insatiable. As such an alarming prospect to their country do they consider Coolie emigration, that they say India would suffer more from the working of such a scheme than from all the conquerors of the last six centuries. The conquerors, they say, still left the elements of reproduction in spite of their ravages, but such a visitation as the removal of Indian labourers threatens to exhaust the country even of its inhabitants. They view with alarm the union of the whole British cabinet against the cause they advocate, and with jealousy the obvious preference that is shown to the West over the East Indies. They believe that the necessity for obtaining additional labour in the colonies has been greatly magnified, that some justification may be offered for the flagrant evils consequent on Coolie emigration. They prefer, however, to hope that it is the want of evidence which has induced the ministers to underrate the miseries of the Coolie trade, and therefore all the journalists of India are urged to unite in one common cause, and let the evils which emigration would inflict be thoroughly known in England. Two parties are contemplated in this view as likely to suffer injustice—the Coolie who is made to emigrate, and the negro, whose endeavour, under any circumstances, to improve his condition is to be kept down by a constant importation of Indian labour."

THE EGYPTIAN SLAVE-HUNTS.

[Extract of Letter VIII. on Egypt and Mahommed Ali, from Dr. Madden to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, dated Nov. 20th, 1840.]

"Solyman Pacha is the person to whom Mahommed Ali committed the introduction of European tactics into his army, and he certainly deserves the highest credit for the manner in which he has acquitted himself of that task. In the year 1822 this revolution in the military discipline of his army was commenced by Mahommed Ali; five hundred of his young Mamelukes were placed at the disposal of Colonel Selves, and with these the Colonel commenced the new system at Assouan. Five hundred more of the sons of the Pacha's chief officers of state, and the grandees of the large towns, were soon added to the number; and these young men having been trained for officers, an army was sought for them to command. The unmanageable Albanian and Turkish soldiers of the Pacha it would have been useless to have attempted to select for this experiment. It was determined to ravage unfortunate Africa for recruits. The slave-hunts were duly organized in Kordofan, and 30,000 negroes were dragged away in chains, and carried down to Manfalout to be made soldiers of after the European fashion: six regiments were formed of these negros, and four of these were sent to the Morea, to fight against the Greeks. I happened to be in the island of Candia when they arrived there from Egypt, in the latter part of the year 1824, on their way to the Morea. Here they were encamped for the winter months, and here about two-thirds of them miserably perished from the effects of cold and hardship, and the despair of ever seeing their own land again. They could not be said to die of any disease—they drooped and pined away; and many a black corpse has been thrown on the beach in the bay of Luda while the army of Ibrahim Pacha was encamped in that place.

"The rest of the negro troops, who were sent into Arabia and Sennaar, perished by thousands; and in a little time the skeleton of a regiment was all that remained of 30,000 stolen men."

November 5th, 1840, at a meeting of the Baptist church, Middleton Cheney, Northamptonshire, it was resolved unanimously—"That this church, being fully convinced of the sinfulness and awful criminality of slavery, feels it to be an imperative duty to withdraw from communion with all holders of slaves."

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

GREECE.

Slave Trade in Greek Vessels.—The *Malta Times* of the 5th instant, in giving the details of a case of transporting slaves on board a Greek vessel, speaks of the fact of Greek vessels being employed in the slave trade as of an every-day occurrence of which no one could be ignorant. This has led to inquiries here. It appears certain that king Otho has been fully aware of it for about two years, that he has been, and still remains deaf to the remonstrances of his ministers, and that he positively will not do anything to put a stop to it, or allow the law to be carried into effect against the offenders, who land their cargoes under the windows of his consuls in Turkey, who never fail to report the circumstances. Nothing but publicity will have the effect of putting an end to this infamous traffic, carried on under the flag of regenerated Greece.

Well may one ask, is this the sort of Greece the allies intended to establish? Will they permit so demoralizing, brutalizing a system as that described above to exist in the heart of the Levant? If they do, we shall soon have the Archipelago dyed with the blood shed by Greek pirates.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Extract of a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, dated 25th August, 1840.—"If emancipation has worked as well in other colonies as it has done here, England has no reason to regret her noble work of having abolished slavery for ever from her dominions. The people here, as might have been expected, are not equal in knowledge to the emancipated slaves in the West Indies; but they are *all and more than all* that could have been expected. By their good conduct they have given the lie to their traducers, and those who were last are indeed becoming first. A few short years, I am sure, will find many of the late slaves not only respectable, but wealthy members of society."

MAURITIUS.

We take from the *Cerneen*, our file of which comes up to the 1st of August, the following account of the proceedings of the new governor, Sir Lionel Smith, with the sentiments of the editor thereon.

PROCLAMATION.

In the name of Her Majesty Victoria, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen.

Lionel Smith. His Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir Lionel Smith Baronet, K. C. B., Governor, &c. &c. &c.

His Excellency lieutenant-general Sir Lionel Smith, bart., K. C. B., &c. having this day assumed the government of the island of Mauritius and its dependencies, in pursuance of her Majesty's most gracious commands, takes this early opportunity of calling upon all public officers to co-operate cordially in the maintenance of the laws and of good order. And he assures the inhabitants that it will be his most anxious desire to promote to the utmost of his power their interests, and to protect equally and impartially the rights of all classes.

Given at Government House this sixteenth day of July, 1840.

By command of his Excellency the governor,

George F. Dick, Colonial Secretary.

We publish in our columns of to-day the proclamation of Sir Lionel Smith, in which his Excellency expresses his desire that all the public officers of his government will co-operate with him cordially in the maintenance of the laws and of good order, and assures the inhabitants that he will do every thing in his power to promote the interests and to protect the rights of all classes of our society. This first act of the administration of our new governor inspires us with confidence, and serves already, in some measure, to realize the hopes we were induced to form, in our last number, respecting the system of government he would pursue. Not being himself as yet acquainted with what is passing in the colony. His Excellency was necessarily obliged to restrict his proclamation; but we cannot help appreciating, and feeling highly grateful for the spirit in which it has been conceived. In the absence of any specific promises, which of course we could not expect it to contain, it breathes good and laudable intentions, upon which we conceive we may rely; convinced as we are, that, when occasion may require them, Sir Lionel Smith will not be deficient in either energy or determination to carry into execution any measure that he may consider likely to prove beneficial. We therefore look forward to the future with trust and confidence.

Sir Lionel Smith arrived only a day or two ago at Mauritius, and we know that he has already occupied himself with certain details of his government. We are assured, moreover, that he intends in a few days visiting the public offices, the schools, the hospitals, &c., in order to judge for himself of the reforms and improvements which it may be necessary to introduce into them. We do not doubt that he will shortly also visit and inspect our country districts; for it is with the state of culture at Mauritius, and with the condition of the labourers, that it is above all important Sir Lionel Smith should acquaint himself by the evidence of his own senses. We are informed that, upon this subject, it is the intention of the planters to adopt the initiative; and that it is proposed to send a deputation from each district of the island to wait upon his Excellency, in order to induce him to take so desirable a step. We strongly approve the project, and recommend its being carried into execution with the least possible delay. It is well known that Sir William Nicolay, during the whole course of his administration, never honoured more than one planter with a visit. We trust that from Sir Lionel Smith we may expect very different conduct.

The levee announced by his Excellency Sir Lionel Smith, was held at Government House on Wednesday last. Long before the hour fixed an immense crowd had congregated upon the Place d'Armes, while the reception rooms of the building were filled to overflowing. Many persons who have been in the regular habit of frequenting the levees held by the different governors who have administered the affairs of this island, have assured us that they never assisted at one which was so numerously attended. This manifestation is significative. We see in it, on the one hand, a proof of the conviction which has been formed in the minds of the inhabitants of Mauritius of the difficulties without number with which

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they have to contend; and, on the other, of the hopes they repose in the government of Sir Lionel Smith. May his Excellency enable us to overcome the first, and contribute to the realization of the last!

"We have been informed that his Excellency the governor has intimated to the stipendiary magistrates of Port Louis and of the country districts, a formal order to transmit to him weekly a detailed report of the various cases which may be brought before them in their respective districts; and to call in and consult one of their colleagues, whenever any of them should have to decide upon a case of a more than ordinarily serious or difficult nature. We hope that this information may prove authentic: for we consider that this double measure is conceived in a laudable spirit, and is likely to be productive of good results.

We stated in our previous number that his Excellency the governor convoked the body of stipendiary magistrates on Wednesday last at Government House. We have since been informed of the cause of that convocation. Sir Lionel Smith frankly avowed to the stipendiary magistrates that they were accused in England of not comprehending the nature of their mission, and of leaning much more to the interests of the proprietors than to those of the labourers subjected to their jurisdiction. Sir Lionel Smith declared to them, that personally, he could neither address to them the same reproach, nor repel it in their name as unmerited, inasmuch as he had not yet had an opportunity himself of appreciating the value and character of their decisions. This reserve on the part of the governor is laudable, even though it be, as it were, imposed upon him by his situation. After having addressed several questions to the stipendiary magistrates, with respect to the mode of their exercising their functions, his Excellency examined and criticised some of the judgments which he had before him, and expressed his opinion that they might have borne the stamp of stricter impartiality, and have evinced a more earnest desire to arrive at a real knowledge of the truth. In conclusion, his Excellency strongly recommends them to acquit themselves henceforward with scrupulous justice and severity, of the duties which had been confided to them.

If our voice were to have any weight in this matter, we would join it to that of Sir Lionel Smith, in impressing upon the stipendiary magistrates that they are no more the exclusive protectors of the masters than they are of the labourers; but that, on the contrary, it is their duty equally to dispense justice to both.

The members of the committee of the Free Labour Association presented themselves upon Thursday last at Government House, for the purpose of submitting to Sir Lionel Smith their plan of immigration. A conversation, of which the following is the substance, took place upon that occasion between his Excellency and the members of the committee.

Sir Lionel Smith counselled them to await the decision of the home government with respect to the question of Coolie emigration; and declared to them that, in the absence of any local laws against the introduction of free labourers from foreign countries, he should not oppose any obstacle to such introduction, provided their emigration was attended with the guarantees requisite for their protection. Sir Lionel Smith did not conceal from them that strong prejudices existed against us in England; and that he had already had occasion to perceive, since his arrival among us, that we had been harshly and unfairly judged. His Excellency expressed his firm determination to punish severely all those who should be guilty of violence or ill-treatment towards the newly-freed blacks; and, upon the other hand, to oblige the latter to resume their duties. He told the committee that he should make a point of looking into everything with his own eyes, that he should visit the different estates in the country, and that, while at Jamaica, he had strongly opposed himself to the system which prevailed there of confiding the management of estates to the hands of hired agents.

In all that related to the question of emigration, Sir Lionel Smith seemed to be deeply pre-occupied with the dread, that in affording to that system his encouragement and support, he might be entailing injury on the recently emancipated blacks. Such appeared, at all events, to certain clear-sighted persons who were present at the interview, the feeling which occasionally displayed itself, although his language throughout was manly, straightforward, and frank. The sentiment is doubtless a noble one, and does him honour. If our late apprentices were inclined to work, and if the number of them so disposed would suffice for the culture of our estates, we should be among the first to desire that a restriction were imposed upon the introduction of labourers from abroad. But, alas! such is far from being the case. When Sir Lionel Smith shall visit our country districts, he will have occasion to observe large tracts of land either entirely abandoned, or very greatly neglected, from the want of hands to cultivate them. When he has traversed the high roads which lead to the different districts of the island, he will be able to understand, what we are told he cannot as yet explain to himself, and that is, the way in which the greater part of the late labouring population contrive to live. He will become acquainted with their place of refuge; and, under the straw huts which they inhabit, be able to form some idea of the means which they employ to make up for their sloth and indolence. A single glance at the surface of our island will suffice to make him comprehend that in the event even of the lately liberated blacks applying themselves again with zeal and activity to the labours of the field, the quantity of land at Mauritius which has not yet been brought into cultivation would of itself require a considerable augmentation of hands.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—INTER-COLONIAL SLAVE-TRADE.—A few weeks ago a Spanish schooner called the *Industria* put into Black River, in consequence, as the Captain alleged, of the want of water, and the mutinous disposition of the crew. It was ascertained soon after his arrival, that the vessel *had five slaves on board*, and information was laid that a part, if not the whole, of these slaves had been purchased or kidnapped during the voyage from off the windward islands.

This information led to an investigation by the local authorities, but, strange to say, either from neglect, or some misapprehension of their duties, or from gross ignorance of the laws for suppression of the slave-trade, though they claimed and detained the slaves, they thought proper to discharge from custody the captain, a person of the name of De Saint, instead of committing him for trial, on charges of which the evidence afforded, is, we are told, most clear and convincing.

Of course, this trafficker in human flesh would at once have put to sea, in order to escape the punishment due to such enormous offences; but it providentially fell out that Mr. M'Leod, the inspector-general of police, and lately a special magistrate, arrived at this juncture at Black River, and the case having been laid before him, he saw at once the mistake that had been committed by the local magistrates, and, with a decision and promptitude highly commendable, he took upon himself to order the re-arrest of the captain of the slaver, and proceeded to take the depositions himself:—notwithstanding the remonstrances and protests of the Spanish vice-consul at that port, (a storekeeper of the name of Wells, also a local magistrate, we believe) that, De Saint having been already examined and discharged, Mr. M'Leod had no right to institute any further proceedings against him.

Mr. M'Leod, very properly disregarding the opposition of this person, continued and completed his investigation; and the result was, as we are told, that sufficient evidence was produced to show, as clear as the sun at noon day, that the vessel was engaged in carrying on the nefarious traffic in slaves between the West Indies and America.

The schooner was, as we have said, under Spanish colours, but the captain, as his name betokens, was a Frenchman; this circumstance he explained by stating that he had for the last ten years been a subject of Spain, and that he had property in a small island in the vicinity of Porto Rico.

The vessel itself was from Porto Rico, and was *apparently* bound to Texas, but it will be seen presently that her real destination was more probably elsewhere. Two cases of the purchase of slaves were satisfactorily brought home to De Saint—one of these victims he had bought at St. Thomas's, but the poor fellow had the good fortune to take advantage of the watch set over him being at the moment less alert than usual, to leap overboard, and thus escape to the shore. The other was a boy still on board, whom this slave-dealing skipper had purchased on the voyage (from which island we have not yet ascertained) for the sum of three hundred dollars!

A letter was also produced and read during the investigation, conveying some information of startling importance, which induces us to believe that the slaver was actually bound to New Orleans. It was from a French merchant at Guadaloupe to his correspondent in that city, and spoke in terms of lamentation of the determination which his government appeared to have come to with respect to the abolition of slavery, and he testifies the anxiety felt by the slave-holders in the French colonies "*to save*," as he expresses it, "*the wreck of their property.*"

How the French planters are endeavouring to effect this is evident—by *selling* their "human cattle" into the more cruel and hopeless bondage of American slavery, in which unlawful trade it is manifest enough that the *Industria* was engaged.

Mr. M'Leod, after a lengthy investigation, committed the captain for trial, taking the precaution of forwarding the depositions to the Attorney General—whose hands, we understand, they never reached. We should have thought that the ends of justice were now in a fair way of being secured, and that the guilt or innocence of the accused party would in due time be decided by the verdict of a jury. We are not aware of any power, not even that of the crown itself, that can constitutionally supersede or annul the committal of an offender by a magistrate, when so committed for trial. We apprehend that the royal prerogative is limited to the extension of mercy to the party *after* conviction. The jealousy of the British constitution will not, we say, allow the executive to interpose, for the purpose of shielding or screening an accused person, *durante lite*, from the grasp of the law and the jurisdiction of its tribunals. How then—on what grounds—under what plea has this man, in disregard of the regular commitment of a responsible magistrate, been liberated, *untried*, from prison—the embargo taken off, and the vessel permitted to leave a British port, with the strongest suspicion on her being unlawfully engaged in a most revolting description of the slave-trade!

It appears this has been done, and that too by a direct order from his Excellency the governor! Prejudiced and hostile as we believe Sir Charles Metcalfe to be to the anti-slavery cause, we would scarcely have given credence to such an extraordinary proceeding, so decided an usurpation of power unsanctioned by the constitution, had not the statement been confirmed on undoubted authority.

How will his Excellency justify the steps he has taken *in this matter*? Even admitting that he acted under the strongest impressions of De Saint being guiltless of the charges laid at his door—he had yet arrived at that conclusion on *exparte* evidence, and without consulting with the committing magistrate, or calling on him to show on what grounds he had taken his measures against De Saint. Irrespective of any considerations as to the guilt or innocence of the accused, Sir Charles Metcalfe's mode of proceeding is highly unconstitutional, and goes to establish a most dangerous precedent. If his right to release De Saint from the gaol to which he had been committed to take his trial be recognized, then may Sir Charles on any other occasion, by his simple mandate, order any prisoner, whatever the nature of the charge against him, to be released from custody.

What will the British government think of this affair? and how will it be received by the anti-slavery party?—*Colonial Reformer.*

The Freedom's Offering, or August collection of congregations attached to the Presbyterian Mission in Jamaica, in aid of the funds of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, amounts to the sum of £46 sterling. Several planters came forward of their own accord with liberal donations to the fund.

The Baptist church at Devonshire-square, London, have unanimously adopted the following proceedings, viz.:—

"The church having taken into consideration the fact that a large proportion of the professors of religion in the United States buy, sell, and hold in bondage their fellow-creatures, and even their fellow-christians, not only without the censure, but with the approbation of the churches to which they belong, hereby declares its opinion that such conduct violates the command of Christ, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'—robs man of his inalienable rights—and, as man-stealing, is classed by the apostle Paul with the most abominable crimes.

"The church consequently expresses its judgment that slave-holders are disqualified for christian fellowship, and its determination to refuse communion to any person known to be the holder of a slave."

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 26.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

Just Published in Demy 8vo.—Price 5s.

POEMS BY A SLAVE IN THE ISLAND OF CUBA,

WITH THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY LIFE OF THE NEGRO POET, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;

To which are prefixed Two Pieces descriptive of Cuban Slavery and the Slave-traffic, by R. R. MADDEN, M.D.

London:—Thomas Ward & Co., 27, Paternoster Row; and may be had at the Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street.

BRITISH RECOGNITION OF TEXAS.

THE following resolutions were published in a second edition of our last number:—

At an adjourned meeting of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad Street, London, on Wednesday the 2nd day of December, 1840; Jacob Post, Esq., in the chair—

It was unanimously resolved,

"I. That, inasmuch as the system of slavery forms an integral part of the constitutional law of the new republic of Texas, this committee have heard with feelings of the deepest sorrow and humiliation, that Her Majesty's government have been induced to enter into a commercial treaty with its representative, by which act that republic has been introduced to the high distinction of a place amongst the great family of civilized nations; and that thus the moral dignity and national honour of this great country have been outraged, the dearest interests of multitudes of human beings—their liberty and happiness—trampled under foot, a fearful impulse given to slavery and the slave-trade, and the sacred cause of christianity, civilization, and freedom immeasurably retarded.

"II. That, in view of the great fact that the legislature of this country, stimulated by the christian zeal of its people, has abolished for ever the guilty traffic in human beings, and terminated the atrocious system of bondage which formerly existed in the British colonies; and that the government has perseveringly, if not hitherto successfully, sought the entire suppression of the foreign slave-trade, at an enormous cost of the national treasure and of human life; the committee cannot but express their great astonishment, as well as their profound regret, that Her Majesty's ministers should have entered into friendly relations with a people whose first act, after a successful but wholly unjustifiable revolt, was to engraft on their constitution the system of slavery, to create a slave trade between the United States and themselves, as well as for the utter expulsion of all free persons of African descent, and the final extirpation of the aboriginal tribes from the soil; and thus to violate every principle of humanity and justice, and to consolidate, extend, and perpetuate slavery and the slave-trade in a country, which, as part of the Mexican Empire, had been previously devoted to freedom.

"III. That, therefore, this committee, as the organ of the Anti-slavery principles and feelings of the country, feel bound to enter their solemn protest against the recognition of the independence of Texas as a most immoral and impolitic act—alike uncalled for by the justice or the exigency of the case—as fraught with the most injurious consequences to mankind, and as consequently deserving the unqualified reprobation of all good men.

(Signed,) JACOB POST, Chairman."

The preceding resolutions have been transmitted to the Foreign Secretary, accompanied by the following letter.

To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston, &c. &c.

27, New Broad Street, London, 7th December, 1840.

MY LORD,—I beg to transmit to your lordship a copy of resolutions of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of the 2nd instant, and deeply regret the occasion which has called these resolutions forth; and permit me to solicit your lordship's attention to them as the unanimous and deliberate expression of their sentiments.

Whilst Great Britain sanctioned by her laws, or by a guilty connivance, the system of slavery and the African slave-trade which formerly prevailed in her colonies, it was impossible, consistently with her own evil practice, to have on this ground avoided the recognition of other states, who, having followed her wicked example in this matter, had sought commercial and political relations with her. But I humbly conceive that, having abandoned both slavery and the slave-trade, and fixed publicly and for ever the brand of moral reprobation on these enormous crimes, it became her duty thenceforward to act in conformity with her noble decisions—and to maintain the honourable position to which she had been exalted among the nations of the earth. It follows, therefore, in my apprehension, that she was brought under solemn obligations to discountenance slavery and the slave-trade, wherever they might exist—to foster the spirit of humanity and justice among the nations with which she might be connected—to encourage free and liberal institutions in new and rising states; and to refuse friendly relations with any people who might seek to establish slavery in countries where it had heretofore been unknown, or to re-establish it where it had been previously abolished. In this way she might have become the guardian of the liberties of mankind; and her mighty influence have been exerted for good, and not for evil, in time to come.

I need hardly state, that few indeed were the native Mexicans or Texans engaged in the revolt which led to the formation of the Texan republic, and which has terminated most unhappily in the establishment of a wicked and cruel despotism, by the overthrow of a generous system of government, which had secured liberty to the slave, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the protection of the aboriginal tribes. The Americans invaded the territory, and by brute force have wrenched Texas from the parent state, reversed the Mexican laws, established slavery in perpetuity, and have already issued a proclamation commanding all free persons of African descent, whether born in the land or not, whether possessed of property or not, to quit the republic within a given period of time; and an army of twelve hundred men has been levied for the extermination of the Indian tribes. Humanity cannot but shudder at the sufferings which must ensue from the working out of this iniquitous policy; and religion must again weep over scenes of devastation and blood, which have too often and too long covered the name of nominal christians with ignominy.

In concluding these remarks, I cannot but contrast the painful fact of the recognition of Texas with the non-recognition of Hayti. In the one case, I perceive a band of marauders and slave-holders, after having deprived a friendly power of part of its dominions and "framed iniquity by a law," admitted to the highest distinctions and privileges this country can confer upon them; whilst, in the other case, I behold a people, who for centuries had been enslaved and oppressed, after having achieved their liberty, and established free institutions on a firm foundation, treated with scorn and indignity.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant.

J. H. TREDGOLD.

To this letter Lord Palmerston has directed Lord Leveson to forward the following reply:—

Foreign Office, December 14th, 1840.

SIR,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, addressed to his Lordship, transmitting a copy of resolutions which the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, passed on the 2nd instant, expressing their concern that Her Majesty's government should have entered into a commercial treaty with Texas, and protesting against the recognition of the independence of that republic by Great Britain.

I am, in reply, directed to state to you, that Lord Palmerston very much regrets that the committee should take this view of the measure which has been adopted by Her Majesty's government in regard to Texas; but that it does not appear to Lord Palmerston, on the one hand, that the refusal of Great Britain to conclude a commercial treaty with Texas would have had any effect in inducing the Texans to abolish slavery within their territory; nor, on the other hand, that the conclusion of such a treaty can have the effect of affording the Texans any encouragement to continue the condition of slavery as part of their law.

It may indeed be hoped, that the greater intercourse between Great Britain and Texas, which will probably result from the treaty, may have the effect of mitigating, rather than of aggravating, the evils arising out of the legal existence of slavery in that republic.

Lord Palmerston desires me to mention, that you appear to be under a misapprehension as to the state of the relation between Great Britain and Hayti; inasmuch as Great Britain has actually concluded a treaty with Hayti, as an independent state; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the specific object and purpose of that treaty is the suppression of the slave-trade.

I am, Sir, our most obedient humble servant,

(Sgned) LEVESON.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq.,
Secretary to the Anti-slavery Society.

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ON THE ALLEGED FAILURE OF THE EFFORTS OF BRITISH ABOLITIONISTS.

(From the Edinburgh Review.)

WE must in the outset meet a most unfair clamour which is raised against the abolition party, by those who have only superficially considered the subject, although it is in some measure sanctioned by careless expressions, and occasionally by exaggerated statements proceeding from individuals of that party itself. We have been engaged, it is said, for above half a century in putting down the slave-trade; and after pluming ourselves on our victory over the enormity, behold, it is found to flourish more than ever. Therefore the general inference is drawn, that all our labours have been in vain, and that if, instead of attempting to destroy the traffic by force, we had set ourselves about preventing it by civilizing Africa, our object might have been attained. Another and a practical inference is, that the old and powerful party of the abolitionists are unsafe guides, because their councils have only led to failure. Now as we have for eight-and-thirty years followed these guides, and as we see no reason whatever to look out for new leaders, we shall briefly state the grounds of our continued adherence, and show how entirely fallacious these objections are.

The abolition of the slave-trade carried on by this country was the great object in view when the contest began, and that has been completely attained. Not a single slave is now imported into any of the British settlements; nor is any British subject concerned in carrying slaves to or from any other country. Slave-trading, as far as we are concerned, has been put down effectually; that is to say, as effectually as any other crime which our laws visit with severe punishment, and much more effectually than many crimes; for it is certain that fewer British subjects are engaged in this, than in the great majority of the offences cognisable by our penal laws. Now let us stop here, and suppose for a moment that nothing else has been done; that the whole of the trade given up by us has passed into the hands of other nations; that not one slave the less has been taken across the Atlantic since 1808, than would have been, had our abolition never taken place; that consequently, as far as Africa is concerned, nothing has been gained; nay, even suppose that by the traffic being under worse regulations, positive injury has been sustained in consequence of our ceasing to commit the crime—still it is quite clear that a very great benefit has been conferred upon mankind, as well as a great step been made by this country:—a great step made by this country, because we have ceased to be involved in the most horrible enormity ever committed by nations;—a great benefit conferred upon mankind, because the only way in which improvements ever can be made, is by one nation taking the lead to do what is right, and others sooner or later following. Strictly speaking, all that is required of any people is, to do their duty and keep clear of reproach. It is an additional good that their example may be followed, and benefit accrue to others as well as to themselves. It is a much better thing if they can confer the benefit sooner, by obtaining a more speedy co-operation. But the main point is doing their own duty; just as an individual has first of all to act honestly and prudently in his own concerns, and justly gains the praise of worth and wisdom, even if he should fail both by his example and his exhortations in gaining any converts to his system. The argument, if such it can be called, against which we are now contending, is as old as the very first moment of the controversy; but then it was only used by our adversaries. "Why give up your slave-trade? If you don't carry it on, others will." The answer was—"Then let them. Because there lurk a gang of robbers in the wood, who you know will pounce upon that wayfaring man, are you, therefore, to attack him before he enters it?" There is great merit in desiring to extend the benefits of our example, so that Africa may be secured from the horrors of the slave-trade; and in working actively for that purpose there is still greater merit. But the primary duty of Great Britain is, to watch over the conduct and the safety of British subjects; and as no one can have the least right to complain of her after she has abandoned all concern in the traffic, by whomsoever or in what extent soever it may subsequently be carried on, so they who have made us free from the guilt of it, have succeeded in the first great object of all their endeavours.

The same may be said of the abolition of slavery. We have succeeded completely in that important measure. Let who will hold men as property, and work them like beasts of burden, this country has no share in such enormous wickedness. If the negro emancipation should diminish the growth of colonial produce in our colonies, and, stimulating the cultivation of new lands elsewhere, create increased demand for African slaves, the crime is not ours. We have done our duty. Nor can it be doubted that our example will sooner or later be followed, long, it is devoutly to be hoped, before the perseverance of others in the guilt of slave-trading and slave-holding shall bring upon their heads, and those of their victims, the fearful visitation of negro insurrection, to which their present course is manifestly leading. Let this then be steadily kept in mind; the enemies of the slave-trade and of slavery in Great Britain have NOT failed; they have succeeded in their main object; they have destroyed both, as far as their own country is concerned, even upon the most unfavourable view which it is possible to take of their exertions as regards Africa and other foreign nations.

But it is not true that no positive diminution of the slave-trade has been effected. Whatever portion of the slaves imported into our colonies were required to keep up the cultivation of the old lands, has been for ever cut off from the traffic. The total number required for our colonies, was more than 20,000 a-year. If we suppose that three-fourths of this number were either sold by us again, or employed in breaking up new lands, and so increasing the amount of produce brought into the market of the world, (surely a large allowance) then our abolition has diminished, by five thousand yearly, the numbers brought from Africa, supposing that Cuba and Brazil succeeded to all the rest of our cultivation. But we must add to this a much larger number, which used to be imported into Guiana, Guadaloupe, Martinico, and Trinidad. In one year this amounted to 40,000, during the war; but that number, of course, included those required for clearing new grounds. As the French and the Dutch have abolished their slave-trade, the restoration of their colonies has left matters as they stood before the peace; or as they would have stood if we had retained those colonies. Therefore, whatever part of this number, 40,000, was destined to keep up the old cultivation, is to be reckoned as permanently taken from the slave-traffic. Now, the mortality was always much greater in the Dutch and French colonies than in ours; consequently, we cannot reckon the number saved by the abolition at less than 10,000, making the whole at the very least 15,000—which would have been torn yearly from Africa beyond the number now taken, had the great question of the abolition not been carried in England. To this number we further must add those lost on the voyage and in Africa, in order to obtain the amount imported; for the numbers to which we have been referring are those actually brought into the sugar colonies. If it be said that the attempts made to check the foreign slave-trade have occasioned a greater loss under this latter head than used to be incurred, while England, France, and Holland carried on the traffic openly, and under the sanction of the law; we answer, that the question now under discussion relates to the merits of the abolition as a British measure; and that whatever may since have been done to put down the foreign slave-trade, is wholly unconnected with that measure. If, immediately after abolishing our own traffic, and obtaining the concurrence of France and Holland to abolish theirs, we had let that of Spain and Portugal alone, the difference to Africa would have been at the least 15,000 a-year, supposing all the extension of sugar and coffee planting which the abolition stopped had been transferred to the Brazils and Cuba.

It is quite necessary to keep these things in view while we are considering this important subject; because the zeal with which men press on to things as yet unaccomplished, is always apt to make them undervalue what has already been gained; and when they are seen to deal in such careless representations, persons of reflection not unnaturally either reckon them unsafe guides, if the statement be disbelieved, or become disheartened, if it be trusted; —asking, what use there can be in exertions to obtain objects which are always described as of paramount importance until brought within our reach, and then treated as utterly insignificant. 'Nil actum REPUTANS dum quid superesset agendum,'—is an admirable principle of action; 'nil actum CLAMANS—would most effectually take away the power of doing whatever remained to be done, at least where any co-operation was required. It is rather in the manner than in the substance of their statements, that Sir Thomas Buxton and others have given occasion to those cavils against which our present remarks are directed. The cavils, we need scarcely add, proceed chiefly from the colonial party, although they are not wholly confined to that body.

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

A VOLUME* has just been published of a very singular character, and of great interest. By means of it a few more of the secrets of the prison-house have made their escape into general notoriety. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that it introduces us to the acquaintance of a Cuban slave of high native endowment and poetical genius. Juan ——, although now happily free—his name, nevertheless, is concealed, lest the publication of this volume should be to his injury at Havana—was a slave for thirty-eight years. Amidst the utmost disadvantages he taught himself to write, he acquired excellence in drawing, he shewed taste in modelling, he wrote a history of his own life, and he composed verses—nay, poetry, and that of a high order too. With advantages of culture, this man must have taken a high rank among persons of literature and taste. In the small space which we can allot to our notice of this publication, we cannot afford many extracts; otherwise we should delight in acquainting our readers with the modes of his self-culture; but we must make good our commendation of his poetical genius by citing a stanza or two. Our selection shall be from an ode, entitled Religion.

Yes, tho' in gloom and sadness I may *rise*,
One blessed strain can soothe my troubled soul;
No sooner wakened than with streaming eyes,
Upward I look, and there I seek my goal.
Soaring in spirit o'er the things of earth,
The spark imprisoned bursts its bonds of clay;
I feel delight above all human mirth,
And, wrapt in love, I *live but* then to pray

To thee, dear Father!—mighty and supreme!
Immense! eternal! infinite! and blest!
O! how the grandeur of the theme doth seem
T' enlarge my thoughts, and to inflame my breast.

* Poems by a Slave in the island of Cuba, &c.

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Hail, blessed faith! thou only hope and trust,
Solace most sweet, and stay of hope most sure;
Thou sole support and shield of the opprest,
The weak, the wronged, the wretched, and the poor.
* * *
In thee I find all purity and peace,
All truth and goodness, wisdom far above
All worldly wisdom, might beyond increase,
And, yet surpassing these, unbounded love.
O! that its light were shed on those whose deeds
Belie the doctrines of the church they claim;
Whose impious tongues profane their father's creeds,
And sanction wrong, e'en in religion's name.

O God of mercy! throned in glory high,
O'er earth and all its miseries look down!
Behold the wretched, hear the captive's cry,
And call thy exiled children round thy throne!
There would I fain in contemplation gaze
On thy eternal beauty, and would make
Of love one lasting canticle of praise,
And ev'ry theme but that henceforth forsake. pp. 102 & 104.

Juan's account of his own life is a piece of autobiography beautifully executed, and deeply interesting. It is, Dr. Madden tells us, a perfect picture of slavery in Cuba; and truly it is a most melancholy one. We can give but a single specimen.

When I recovered sufficiently, my first destiny was to be a page, as well in Havana as in Matanza. Already I was used to sit up from my earliest years the greatest part of the night, in the city, either at the theatre, or at parties, or in the house of the Marquis M—— H—— and the Senoras C., from which we went out at ten o'clock, and after supper play began, and continued till eleven or twelve; and at Matanza, on the days appointed, and sometimes not, when they dined at the house of the Count J., or in that of Don Juan M., and generally to pass the evening in the house of the Senoras G., in which the most distinguished persons of the town met and played at trecillo, malilla, or burro. While my lady played I could not quit the side of her chair till midnight, when we usually returned to the Molino. If during the tertullia I fell asleep, or when behind the volante if the lanthorn went out by accident, even as soon as we arrived the mayoral, or administrador, was called up, and I was put for the night in the stocks, and at day-break I was called to an account, not as a boy: and so much power has sleep over a man, that four or five nights seldom passed that I did not fall into the same faults. My poor mother and brothers more than twice sat up waiting for me while I was in confinement, waiting a sorrowful morning.

"She, all anxiety when I did not come, used sometimes to leave her hut, and, approaching the door of the infirmary, which was in front of the place alloted to the men where the stocks were, on the left hand side, at times would find me there; and would call to me, 'Juan!' and I sighing, would answer her; and then she would say outside, 'Ah, my child!' And then it was she would call on her husband in his grave—for at this time my father was dead.

"Three times I remember the repetition of this scene, at other times I used to meet my mother seeking me—once above all, a memorable time to me—when the event which follows happened:—

"We were returning from the town late one night, when the volante was going very fast, and I was seated as usual, with one hand holding the bar, and having the lanthorn in the other, I fell asleep, and it fell out of my hand: on awaking I missed the lanthorn, and jumped down to get it, but such was my terror, I was unable to come up with the volante. I followed, well knowing what was to come, but when I came close to the house, I was seized by Don Sylvester, the young mayoral. Leading me to the stocks we met my mother, who, giving way to the impulses of her heart, came up to complete my misfortunes. On seeing me she attempted to inquire what I had done, but the mayoral ordered her to be silent, and treated her as one raising a disturbance. Without regard to her entreaties, and being irritated at being called up at that hour, he raised his hand, and struck my mother with the whip. I felt the blow in my own heart! To utter a loud cry, and, from a downcast boy, with the timidity of one as meek as a lamb, to become all at once like a raging lion, was a thing of a moment—with all my strength I fell on him with teeth and hands, and it may be imagined how many cuffs, kicks, and blows were given in the struggle that ensued.

"My mother and myself were carried off, and shut up in the same place; the two twin children were brought to her, while Florence and Fernando were left weeping alone in the hut. Scarcely it dawned, when the mayoral, with two negros acting under him, took hold of me and my mother, and led us as victims to the place of sacrifice. I suffered more punishment than was ordered, in consequence of my attack on the mayoral. But who can describe the power of the laws of nature on mothers? The fault of my mother was, that, seeing they were going to kill me, as she thought, she inquired what I had done, and this was sufficient to receive a blow and to be further chastised. At beholding my mother in this situation, for the first time in her life, (she being exempted from work) stripped by the negros and thrown down to be scourged, overwhelmed with grief and trembling, I asked them to have pity on her for God's sake; but, at the sound of the first lash, infuriated like a tiger, I flew at the mayoral, and was near losing my life in his hands."—pp. 63—66.

In warmly commending this noble-minded man to the further acquaintance of our readers, we need scarcely inform them that he has not written in English. His compositions are translated from the Spanish by Dr. Madden. In addition to these, the volume contains two vigorous and effective sketches in verse by that gentleman himself, entitled, the Slave-trade Merchant, and the Sugar Estate; and in an Appendix are added several valuable and important papers, illustrative of slavery in Cuba.

UNITED STATES.

An excellent proposal has been suggested in the United States. It is to have a convention of abolitionists from various parts of the Union, sitting at Washington during the session of Congress.

TEXAS AND THE WEST INDIES.

The *Colonial Gazette* is determined to break another lance with us, but neither in the sweetest temper, nor with the soundest discretion. Because we are not, like himself, delighted at the treaty with Texas, he says, that we "growl" out our dissatisfaction. Because we called his exclamation—"Well done, Lord Palmerston!"—"somewhat familiar," he says, that we "snarl" at him. Because we said that some of his representations were "dishonest," he affirms, that we "have no sympathies but for negros," and that we brand every man as dishonest who has. He tells the world, moreover, that "anti-slavery lecturers and writers, are making a comfortable living by the trade," and that the unwillingness of "a paid agency" to relinquish its profits is now the main spring of "the Anti-slavery agitation." If our memory serves us, we think we have heard this before from the same quarter. It seems to be a favourite weapon, reserved for cases of difficulty, and when arguments are scarce; but we shall cheerfully leave this gentleman, who is, no doubt, eminently disinterested himself, to gain what credit he can for his affirmation—somewhat of the unlikeliest withal—that the main spring of the Anti-slavery cause is the greediness of gain. He is kind enough, indeed, to ward of the blow which he strikes; for, a few lines further on, he says, "Heed none of us, when we talk lightly or angrily of the others." This is excellent advice, and would have made an admirable motto for the whole tirade.

But we called the article—that part of it, at least, on which we commented—dishonest. We gave an instance of dishonesty, in a statement concerning Texas sugar. While we affirmed to show, "not ignorance, but artifice." Does the *Gazette* deny this? Or does he sustain the assertion, or even repeat it? He does neither, he suffers judgment of dishonesty to go by default, and then denies the justice of the accusation.

"As to Texas," says the *Gazette*, "the anti-slavery organ, with its usual one-sidedness, totally misapprehends that question:" and then the writer goes on to speak of the general considerations involved in the treaty with Texas. Now, so much of one-sidedness" as is implied in passing by questions of general policy is with us, not only "usual" but habitual, it is our declared principle and invariable rule. We profess to look at measures and events exclusively as affecting the subject of slavery, and are therefore open to small blame for adhering to this method. We should not have entered on the Texas question with the *Colonial Gazette*, if our contemporary had not spoken of it in relation to slavery; and we are not to be seduced from our path by his solicitations.

But our reasonings on the subject of slavery have been met, we are told, in a former number of the *Gazette*. And how, do our readers imagine? By the declaration of its own belief, that, unless the Texan government shall adopt the colonization principle of Mr. Wakefield, and set a high price upon every acre of its territory, in order to make it impossible for poor white men to buy any—a contingency of which there is not the slightest probability—"slaves will be procured in shoals, and Texas will become the greatest slave country in the world!" A week before this writer told us, that "slavery in America" was likely to "get its death blow from Texas."

There is something amusing in the air of martial valour with which our contemporary takes up his "position" on the West India question. "Our position," quoth he, "is this—that free labour . . . is cheaper than slave labour." Why, verily, this is "our position" also; and some other of the sayings here oracularly put forth are matters, no doubt, of obvious truth. The pith of the sentence (so far as we can discover it) is, that extensive immigration to the British West Indies "would give a sufficient supply of free labour, to work out satisfactorily the problem, of the superiority of free over slave labour." On this idea we shall offer a remark. We suppose "the problem of the superiority of free over slave labour" to be the question, whether free produce can beat slave produce out of the markets of the world; and the "satisfactory working out" of this problem we suppose to be the actual supply of tropical articles by free labour, at a price with which slave-producers cannot compete. The *Gazette* affirms, that a large increase of free-labourers in our sugar colonies would produce this effect. We ask *how?* No doubt, more labour would raise more sugar; but that would all come into the English market, where, at the present time, it is commanding a high price. Nor would British-grown sugar *ever* get any further than the Britisth market, unless an enormous quantity should be grown; for this plain reason, that the monopoly it enjoys there will always secure it a much higher price than can be got for it anywhere else. The price has generally ranged from 30s. to 50s. per cwt., while foreign sugar, if it could have got in, would have asked only 20s. to 25s. There must evidently be an immense augmentation in the growth of British sugar, before the price of it in the British market can be reduced from its present amount to 35s. per cwt.; and a much larger augmentation of it before the price can be reduced to 25s.: yet, until the price of British sugar shall be reduced in the British market to 25s., no foreign market will ever see an ounce of it, since it will always go where it can fetch the best price.

It follows, then, that it is only by an enormous and all but impossible augmentation of it, that the growth of British sugar can have any bearing on the question, whether free sugar can beat slave sugar out of the markets of the world. British grown sugar has no place in the markets of the world. It is not an article of the world's commerce. It is grown for British consumption, and nothing beyond. It is, therefore, a mere pretence—whether

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honestly put forth or not we shall not inquire—it is a mere pretence, adapted to mislead persons of benevolent mind, that, by sending them plenty of emigrants, we should enable the planters to grow sugar so cheap as to undersell the Cuban planter in the markets of Europe and North America. Immigration can answer no such purpose. It will only make large fortunes for British proprietors.

As the statement we have been examining is fallacious in its principle, so in one respect it is laughably absurd. The idea that British-grown sugar is to drive slave-grown sugar out of the general market, implies that it is to be sold at 20s. to 25s. per cwt. Only imagine this! The British West India planter tells you that he longs to sell his sugar at 25s. per cwt.; and protests it so loud, that he kindles your very benevolence to help him! Why, they are crying out of ruin with sugar at 55s. per cwt.; and yet they implore the benevolence of abolitionists to assist them in reducing it to five and twenty! In September, 1831, owing to over production, sugar in the British market was at 21s. per cwt.; and no one who remembers the dismay of that period will believe that the planters would ever wish to see such a quotation again.

If the question whether free produce could drive slave produce out of the markets of the world were a "problem," it clearly must be solved by placing the two productive powers in similar circumstances. There must be no discriminating duties. But we cannot admit that this question has anything of a problematical or uncertain character. We consider it a settled point, that free labour can and will prevail over slave labour, in fair competition. The free indigo of India has driven from every market the slave indigo of the United States. And so it will be with sugar, only give time and fair play; but the monopoly sugar of the West Indies will not help forward the process.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The first year of the existence of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER will be completed by our next number; and we purpose to furnish with it a title page and index, for the convenience of binding and reference.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 16TH.

THE services most kindly rendered to the anti-slavery cause in this country by our able and valued friends, Messrs. Birney and Stanton, being now terminated, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society have adopted resolutions expressive of their feelings towards these gentlemen respectively. We are sure that the entire body of our friends, both in town and country, will sympathise in the sentiments thus officially expressed. The resolutions are as follows:—

At an adjourned meeting of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad-street, London, on Monday, the 7th of December, 1840,

It was unanimously resolved,

"That this committee are deeply sensible of the services rendered to the Anti-slavery cause by their esteemed friend and co-adjutor, James Gillespie Birney, Esq., whilst in this country, in a course of laborious efforts in which his accurate and extensive information, his wise and judicious counsels, and his power of calm and convincing statement, have become eminently conspicuous.

"The committee also take the present occasion to record their sense of his zealous and disinterested labours in defence of the rights of outraged humanity in his own country, during a period of great excitement and opposition: and of the proof he has given of his sincerity in having twice manumitted the slaves that had come into his possession, a noble example which they trust others will not be slow to follow.

On behalf of the committee,

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON."

"That this committee, in taking leave of their friend and fellow-labourer in the cause of universal emancipation, Henry Brewster Stanton, Esq., record their high estimate of the valuable services rendered by him to that cause, whilst in Great Britain, by his eloquent and powerful advocacy; and, in tendering him their thanks, they express their sincere desire for his success in the great work to which he has devoted himself.

On behalf of the committee,

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON."

A VESSEL fitted and equipped for the slave-trade has been wrecked on the English coast. This singular occurrence has not, we believe, been announced in any of the papers, but we have received from authentic sources the following particulars. In the gale of the 3rd of August last, two vessels went on shore on the Bucksea sands, about ten miles from Brightlingsea, on the coast of Essex. One of these vessels was a collier. The other was apparently of Spanish make, and of about 180 tons burthen; she was in ballast, and appeared to have been abandoned by the crew, of whom, however, or of persons who might have composed the crew, nothing is reported to have been heard. She was taken possession of by a fisherman resident at Brightlingsea, named Joseph Underwood, who found under the ballast a quantity of hand and leg fetters and ring chains, the latter fitted for securing several persons together. Underwood states that the vessel was adapted for swift sailing and shallow water; that she was pierced for guns, and that she had guns on board, some of which are now in use as ballast in several of the fishing boats; and that he has no doubt she had been in the slave-trade. Such are the facts which we have been made acquainted with, and we give them as of unquestionable authenticity. The occurrence is certainly singular, perhaps we might say, mysterious. How could a vessel be driven from the Spanish seas to the coast of Essex! Or is it possible that slavers are equipped in the Thames!

THE Committee of the Congregational Union have, at their earliest convenience no doubt, responded to the appeal of the Anti-slavery committee, by the transmission of a series of resolutions, which we insert below. The Anti-slavery Committee have acknowledged them in a short reply (which also we insert), by which the correspondence will be closed, we trust in the best spirit on both sides, the object of it having been obtained. The following are the resolutions of the committee of the Congregational Union:—

At a meeting of the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held on the 17th of November, the following resolution, transmitted by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, was taken into consideration:—

"A resolution passed at a meeting of the Congregational Union recently held in Bristol was laid before the committee, in which these words appear:—'Yet this meeting must add, in explanation, that it does not approve, but deplores, the extravagance and bitterness, the violence and irregular proceedings, by which some American abolitionists have brought discredit on their holy cause, and placed difficulties in the way of its early, peaceful, and perfect triumph.'

"That this committee cannot but regret the indefinite phraseology employed in the foregoing resolution in reference to American abolitionists, inasmuch as it may, and probably will, be applied by the enemies of the cause to the whole body; and hereby express their conviction, that it is due to all parties to indicate the persons against whom the complaint is directed."

Whereupon it was resolved—

"First—That the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales feels so strong and ardent an attachment to the holy cause of the entire abolition of slavery throughout the world, and particularly in the United States of America, and entertains so high a respect for the judgment of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society on all questions connected with the great objects of that institution; that this committee cannot learn without great regret, that any proceedings of the body they have the honour to serve, should appear to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society to require animadversion, as, in its judgment, injurious in any respect to the great anti-slavery movement.

"Second—That this committee must yet, with great deference, question the justice of the strictures of the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society on the resolution passed by the Congregational Union at Bristol. The committee cannot admit that the language complained of 'may' 'be applied by the enemies of the cause to the whole body,' because, first, it is not employed, as stated in the resolution of the Anti-slavery committee, 'in reference to American abolitionists,' but to 'some American abolitionists;' and next, because, if the clause of the resolution under review 'may' be applied to the whole body of American abolitionists, there will remain no portion of them whatever to whom the foregoing sentences of the Bristol resolution can be applied, which are as follow:—"Nor can this meeting forbear to express warm sympathy with the devoted abolitionists of America in their generous zeal to free their fellow-men from hateful bondage, and their country from the more hateful crime of holding them in cruel captivity; and in the noble courage with which, amidst every disadvantage, they take their firm stand for truth, liberty, and benevolence.' The phraseology in question of the resolution passed at Bristol, as used and connected by the meeting that adopted it, does not therefore seem to this committee to be 'indefinite,' but to define what it condemns; and, if it should be applied to the whole body of American abolitionists, it can only be by uncandid and unscrupulous partizans, knowingly perverting it from its intended application, and against such adversaries no accuracy of language, but only entire silence, can prove an effectual precaution. Neither is this committee able to respond to the call of the Anti-slavery committee, when that committee 'express their conviction that it is due to all parties to indicate the persons against whom the complaint is directed,' both because it is very unusual, and would be highly injurious, for public bodies, in declaring their opinions on great questions and measures of benevolence, to 'indicate persons' as the objects of their censure, and because this committee cannot feel itself authorised to give any such specific direction to sentiments not thus personally applied by a meeting of the body from which this committee receives its appointment, and under whose authority it acts.

"Third—That this committee is, however, prepared to declare its full belief that the resolution on slavery adopted by the meeting of the Congregational Union at Bristol, commencing, as it does, with a reference to the recent Anti-slavery Convention in London, was intended to express generally the sympathy of the meeting with the men, the measures, and the principles which prevailed in that Convention; and to sustain that great movement by an approving and accordant declaration. And though this committee could not commit itself to an entire approval of all the sentiments and measures adopted in the Convention—much less could it so commit the past general meeting of the Congregational Union—yet this committee feels warranted to assert for the members of the Union as a body, the honour of firm attachment to the anti-slavery cause, as represented and sustained by the men whose counsels guided the proceedings of the late memorable Convention, and to claim that all declarations and proceedings of the Union on the subject of slavery, should be interpreted in accordance with these its known sentiments on the subject."

The acknowledgment on the part of the Anti-slavery committee is couched in the following terms:—

At an adjourned meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad-street, London, on Monday, the 7th of December, 1840,

It was unanimously resolved,

'1. That, without entering into the reasonings contained in the second resolution, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society accept the third as sufficiently explicit for all desirable purposes;

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and are happy in being warranted to regard the Bristol resolution as 'intended to express generally the sympathy of the Congregational Union,' with the men, the measures, and the principles which prevailed in the general Anti-slavery Convention whether to be found and recognized on British or American ground.

"2. That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society cannot conclude this correspondence, without reciprocrating the cordial and respectful terms in which the Committee of the Congregational Union have spoken of them and their labours, and acknowledging the justice of the claim put forth on behalf of the congregational body of England and Wales, to the honour of a firm attachment to the Anti-slavery cause.

(Signed) John Beaumont, Chairman."

In our columns to-day, taken from the *Congregational Magazine* of the present month, (in which the proceedings are at length reported, after seven weeks delay) appears the speech of the Rev. Dr. Matheson, at Bristol. We learn from it that he had considered himself pointed out by the language of Captain Stuart, who, early in the sittings of the Convention, spoke in pointed censure of the proceedings of both the deputations which had gone from this country to the United States. It appears also, that, with a view to his own vindication, he wrote a letter to the Rev. T. Scales, one of the secretaries of the Convention, with the view of its being read, Dr. Matheson himself being unavoidably absent. This letter was not read, and the writer has even had some trouble in recovering it. Upon this matter it is incumbent on us to offer a few words of explanation. We have then to say, that the omission of which Dr. Matheson has just cause to complain was not intentional, but wholly a matter of accident. Amidst the multitude of documents in the hands of Mr. Scales, to whose indefatigable zeal and attention we are constrained to bear the highest testimony, the letter in question was over-looked; and so completely was this the case, that, up to a late period, no other person was aware that such a letter had ever been received. On Dr. Matheson's application at the office, search was made among the documents of the Convention, and the letter was found. It is now in the writer's possession, and we express to him our sincere regret that any circumstance should have prevented the use being made of it which he intended. His address will speak for itself. We only wish that the public mind had not been stirred by the announcement of it nearly two months before its publication.

We insert a second letter to-day from Mr. Bayly, in relation to the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. It is in reply to certain references made to him by Mr. Kentish, and we have no doubt will receive from that gentleman due notice. The only observation we feel inclined to make on it is, that, while Mr. Bayly denies his personal participation in the atrocities which Mr. Kentish has described, he to a very great extent, admits their existence as perpetrated by other parties. This is the main point. It is of no consequence to us, or to the public, whether one individual may be less guilty or another more so—the wrong-doers may divide the criminality among themselves just as they please, and, if possible, to their own satisfaction; all that we care about is the system, which, it is now put beyond doubt, is not only bad in principle, as a system of slavery, but also bad in practice, as a system of cruelty and oppression.

What the directors of the Imperial Brazilian are doing we know not, but we are happy to know that some of the share-holders are looking into this very serious and important matter. A letter which has been received from one of them will communicate some information on this subject, and give occasion for one or two further remarks.

"———, Dec. 4th, 1840.

"Many years since a gentleman of this place, a most zealous friend of liberty, became a shareholder in the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, and, forming a high opinion of its prospects, induced many of his friends to purchase shares; and, so great was his power of persuasion, that several hundred shares thus passed into the hands of liberal and christian men. During this time, it was not known to these parties that the company possessed a single slave. As soon as it was known, the directors were called on to liberate the poor creatures thus held in bondage; but they assured my friend that this could not be done, in consequence of such a measure being in direct opposition to Brazilian law—that it was out of the power of the company to liberate a single slave—but that they had done all that was reasonably to be desired to render the condition of their slaves comfortable and happy. They were represented as living *in every respect as freemen*, saving the power to quit the estate possessed by the company—a different representation to the one given in the *Anti-slavery Reporter!* My object in writing is to say, that, if it can be clearly proved that the company have power to liberate the slaves, I believe many shareholders would call upon the general meeting to pass that act of justice; for I know persons holding many hundred shares, were a few years since silenced by a contrary representation."

Some of the matters here stated we shall leave to speak for themselves; but, with respect to the principal point, the allegation that it would be contrary to Brazilian law for the mining companies to liberate their slaves, we can state with confidence that it is wholly untrue. The fact is, that the law of the Brazils has always been remarkable for encouraging emancipation, in direct opposition both to the will and interest of the slave owner. It enacts, that if a certain moderate sum, two hundred milreis, we believe, which at the present exchange is about £25—if this sum be tendered by the slave to the master for his freedom, he has no alternative but to accept it, although the said slave, having acquired skill in some particular art or avocation, may actually be worth ten times the amount. This is an every day occurrence, and, although much complained of by slave-owners, the legislature could never be induced to alter this very salutary enactment. We could specify instances of the general operation of this law; but we shall produce more conviction perhaps, if we quote our examples from the history of the Imperial Brazilian itself. We cite, then, Mr. Bayly, their chosen witness, who tells us, in the letter inserted in our last, that the directors of this company had begun in his time systematically to liberate the most deserving slaves—a plan which Mr. Commissioner Duval (of whom no one seems to speak but in terms of execration) has thought proper to arrest. We are informed, also, of another fact of the same class, although far less to their credit; namely, that they give freedom to old and worn out slaves, that they may not be burdened with their support when they are past labour. It is clear, therefore, that the liberation of slaves is neither contrary to the law of Brazil, nor alien from the practice of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. If ever the allegation stated by the writer of the letter was made on the authority of the directors, it could scarcely have been on their part less than a deliberate fraud. Even if it had been true, however, it should not have satisfied liberal and christian men. Whether or not it might have been in opposition to the law of Brazil to give men their liberty, it was in opposition to the law of God to hold them in bondage; and we can hardly understand, either the christianity or the liberality of men, who can continue, and that for many years, to be slave-holder, because it is against the law of the country to liberate them. What does the slave-holder of Louisiana say more than this? If they could not have been liberated in Brazil, they might have been brought to England, an atonement not at all too costly to have been made for the outrage of "liberal and christian" Englishmen having become buyers of slaves. But now that it is known that slaves can be liberated in Brazil as easily as in England, we hope the zeal of our correspondent and his friends will not evaporate in mere words. The offence is rank, and they should lose no time in washing their hands of it.

We are become somewhat familiar with the sapient character of Jamaica legislation; but we could scarcely have expected such an illustration of it as the following. A clause in the new Insolvent Debtors' Act is to this effect. "That if any person shall execute a conveyance of any estate within two years of his being declared insolvent, such conveyance shall be null and void!" The money is to be paid, of course, but the title is not to be valid for two years! This law must have been intended to prevent altogether estates changing hands; or, if not so intended, it can scarcely have less than this effect. Why, not a proprietor of any class can be secure against bankruptcy within two years; and no person in his senses will purchase an estate, in the face of a contingency which may render the conveyance null and void. We wonder that this has been overlooked by those acute gentry, who are so laboriously depreciating property in order that they may buy it. Nor can we wonder much less that such an enactment should have been passed by legislators, to some of whom the advantageous sale of an estate, if they had one, might be so important a matter. It must, we should think, be a gross blunder, and the rectification of it will be among the changes directed by Lord John Russell.

BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS. IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Rathfarnham, County of Dublin, 30th November, 1840.

Sir—In the twenty-third number of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* I find another letter from Mr. Kentish, in which he gives my initials, and designates me as an anonymous superintendent. I can only say, that my name was not withheld by my consent, and I now beg you will insert in your next number the following remarks, to which I expect a reply. There never were more than fifty hired slaves at any time under my control, and for the last three or four years there were none. In every respect these were treated as those belonging to the association; the books in Gongo will prove this. There are several slaves who work as day labourers under the superintendent of the village; they are under no more restrictions than the native labourers. Mr. Kentish states, "that between two and three hundred negros are hired from slave-holders at high wages, on condition that the said slaves shall belong to the said association after a certain period in consequence, and that they are thus bought and paid for by instalments." I now ask, did Mr. Kentish ever see any agreement of the kind whilst I was in Gongo, or does he know of any slave during that period having been bought or paid for by instalments? If so, state their names, time, and where the document is to be found in the memorandum book. No slaves were hired by the commissioner for the association since 1835, up to my departure from Gongo, in January, 1839; consequently, if such took place, it must have been after that date.

Out of the 413 slaves of the company there were 123 children, leaving only 290 adults to receive the £15 distributed, not to all equally, but according to their occupation for work. I mentioned the men only as those who worked over time, consequently they got what I before stated.

Four or five men only are employed on Sundays (for which they are paid), except on the most urgent occasions, and such occasions are of very rare occurrence—sometimes not for months together.

The masks were disapproved of before my arrival, and only applied by the captains at the mine occasionally, not as a severe, but as a ridiculous punishment; but, for reasons already assigned, they were subsequently prohibited, and never afterwards used during my superintendence; I, of course, know nothing of subsequent punishments.

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I most solemnly declare that such a thing as brine being put on the slaves' backs after punishment never once took place, nor did I ever hear of its having been done previous to my taking charge of them. Will Mr. Kentish name any one person to whom he ever saw it applied, that such may be interrogated as to the truth or falsehood of the statement?

No slave at the head of each gang was allowed to punish the others; all were brought before me for that purpose.

Women, when discovered committing acts of infidelity, were punished by wearing the bell petticoat, or by punishment on the hands: and I do solemnly affirm, that women taken as "cheves amies" were not flogged during my superintendence, nor could I state at this time and distance, without the memorandum book, who the parties were who were guilty of this offence. The book above alluded to will give every information on the subject.

Women were never kept at hard labour up to the latest hour of their confinement. I stated that they were latterly not admitted into hospital till near their confinement, they remained in the mine shed until permitted to go there.

Nightly "Bacchanalian orgies" I mentioned before never took place whilst I was in Gongo. Will Mr. Kentish name the one who he knew diverted my visitors? I most solemnly declare such a thing never took place in my house, and I beg to remind Mr. Kentish that he was bound under a solemn oath to report to the commissioner, did he ever witness or hear of such having taken place; and I now call on him to name the time, and who the parties were that witnessed such scenes. There are two gentlemen in this country who lived in the same house with me, and who can vouch for the truth of my statement, if necessary.

The women wore the bell petticoat when they committed acts of infidelity; it was solely applied to render them conspicuous and excite shame. No instruments of torture ever hung in my office but the cats, which, I repeat, were much lighter and less severe than those used in the army.

The tread-mill was spoken of by Mr. Duval, but never received my sanction. No person's head was ever put into the stocks, their legs only. Who are the parties Mr. Kentish saw with thumb screws on? Such a thing never existed, or was even thought of, whilst I was in Gongo.

Why does Mr. Kentish suppress the fact, that, soon after my departure from Gongo, a slave belonging to the association was struck by a German at Soboleiro, and in a few minutes afterwards dropped down and suddenly died, with the retention (perhaps to this day) of the man in Gongo? This is quite enough to show what the slaves were subject to after my departure.

I am Sir, your most obedient servant,

H. L. BAYLY,

Late Superintendent of the Gongo Soco Slaves.

THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

THE proceedings of the Congregational Union at their recent meeting at Bristol, having been published in two successive numbers of the *Congregational Magazine*, we extract from the December number those which relate to American slavery, and the General Anti-slavery Convention. The matter was introduced in the sitting of the 8th of October.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The Rev. Dr. REDFORD then rose and said—I will now, brethren, occupy your attention for a few moments with an important matter, which, though it was not involved in the regular business of this, has usually formed part of the routine business of our annual meeting—I refer to the subject of slavery. Two gentlemen were appointed as delegates to the meeting of the Convention in May last.

The Rev. A. WELLS said, that four delegates attended, namely, Rev. John Burnet, Rev. J. Woodwark, Joshua Wilson, Esq., and John Remington Mills, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. REDFORD requested one of those gentlemen to make a report. It was stated that neither of the delegation were present (Mr. Wilson having previously gone out.)

The Rev. Dr. REDFORD—Gentlemen, though the delegation are not present to make a report, our brother Scales of Leeds, our brother James of Birmingham, and many others are very anxious that this cause should not stand still. I suppose we all sympathise with them in that feeling, particularly as regards the brethren of our own denomination in America. I have hastily drawn up a resolution in consequence of a letter which I received from brother Scales, who, not being able to be present upon this occasion, has left it to me to address you upon the subject. Not having received sufficient notice, I have not been able to draw up such a resolution as the subject requires; but I shall be perfectly willing to remit it to the hands of the secretaries to alter, or to substitute another conveying the same in substance. If the sentiments of the resolution I hold in my hand meet with your approval, let it be referred to the secretaries to revise and correct in such a way as that it shall meet their views and yours unitedly.

The Rev. Dr. MATHESON then rose, and addressed the meeting as follows—Mr. Chairman, perhaps I am intruding in rising to second this resolution; but I feel deeply at this moment. This question has brought to my recollection—it has been seldom from it since the Convention was held in London—the broad and indiscriminate charges brought against your own deputation to America, in that large and interesting assembly. I was a member of that Convention, but was obliged to be at home after I had attended one day; and in one of the newspapers which gave an account of the proceedings of the Convention, I found that a delegate from America, Captain Stuart, had brought a very strong charge against both the deputations which had visited that country, charging them with crimes and misdemeanors, making charges which, if true, as far as our own deputation was concerned, would almost have prevented me, as an individual, from ever appearing before my brethren, especially in a meeting of the Congregational Union. When I read that account, I had no rest in my mind till I wrote a letter which I addressed to the Rev. T. Scales, as one of the secretaries of the Convention. In that letter I stated simply, and as briefly as I could, my proceedings while in America, on that very question. I stated that in public and in private I spoke of the system of slavery, and reproved the churches and the pastors for not exercising the moral power that they possessed to remove that accursed thing. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) I stated in my letter that in several of the states, where meetings were held to receive the deputation, before thousands of the people, and before very many of the ministers, I declared my conviction that they had been criminal in not using the power they possessed against slavery. And at the last meeting that we had—the valedictory service in New York, where there were two or three thousand persons present, and seventy or eighty ministers, my very last sentence was to this effect, that I should return to England, and should be required to give some account of the state of religion and of everything else in America; their revivals I should have to speak of, and after having given, which I might do, a favourable account of many things that I had seen amongst them, I could easily suppose that some one in the assembly might rise up and say, "You have omitted one thing—you have not told us that there are two or three millions of slaves in America." And I stated more, that I hoped the christians of that land and the churches were so convinced of the evil, that when any other deputation visited them, that deputation would find that there was not a slave in that republican country. (Cheers.) And I should say that the chief friends of the Abolition Society of New York, the morning after, called upon me, and expressed their full and entire gratification that I had been enabled, on that occasion, to bear my testimony so freely and fully to the evil of slavery, and to their sinfulness in not using the influence they possessed to remove it. Now it is grievous, after this, to have the matter so misrepresented, and in such an assembly too! I have not been called upon, and therefore never in public have stated this before; perhaps I need not have stated it now; but there are personal considerations which have compelled me to make this statement to-day (great cheering)—considerations, brethren, as to my own character and your good opinion, which forbade silence; (repeated cheering,) for, next to God and my own conscience, I value the good opinion of my brethren. I ought, perhaps, to state, that my letter to the Convention was not read. I have tried to obtain it back again, but without success; though, perhaps, it may be necessary that I should yet publish it. I wished it to be read in the Convention, that the American delegates might hear it; I wished it to be read there, that it might enable me, if my statements were doubted, to bring forward evidence. What I said on several of the occasions I have referred to appeared in the American Anti-slavery papers, with favourable comments from the abolitionists themselves. My present statement I regard as very important; for Captain Stuart's sweeping censure, though unjust towards myself, was very far exceeded in violence by Mr. Garrison, in a meeting at Glasgow. He asserted that the English ministers who had been to America had become the greatest traitors to abolition. Now, if that were so, I should not have been here to-day. And what I regret is, that there were parties present at that meeting who knew the charge was not true as it regarded myself, and yet they had not the kindness to state what they did know. When the newspapers announced the charge against the deputations at first, some five years ago, I wrote to my friends in Glasgow, stating that it was not true with regard to myself—let others defend themselves, if necessary. This note was sent to Dr. Wardlaw. His reply to my friend, though written at that time, was sent to me only a few weeks since. That reply is now in my hand, and, if you will allow me, I will read a few extracts from it; not supposing you doubt my word, (hear, hear,) but just to show what were Mr. G. Thompson's views respecting myself in this matter, when he returned from America. Here Dr. M. read some passages from Dr. Wardlaw's note, stating Mr. T.'s opinion, and exculpating him from all blame, and speaking of his conduct while in America with approbation. The reverend gentleman proceeded in his address—When the meeting to-day had the subject brought before it by Dr. Redford, I felt that I must speak, and express my regret that the silence of those who could have defended me in London and in Glasgow, has obliged me to defend myself to-day. I have further to say, that, since the time when I was in that country, I have had opportunities of sending, twice a month, communications to one of their abolition journals; and in those journals I have kept this great subject before the American public, and some of the severest charges that could be brought against them, are to be found in those communications that I sent. I do think that I am not guilty. (Loud cheers.) I have stated this to-day only in self-vindication. I blame no other parties; my duty is to clear myself from charges which are unkind and untrue. I went out with the free consent of the committee to use my own discretion. I did so; and I had to engage in a moral conflict with all sorts of opponents, in the house and by the way; for very many hours of my time were spent in discussing this very question, and I never concealed my views of the guilt of slavery, or the guilt of christians in not trying to remove it.

The reverend doctor's address was responded to throughout by loud cheers from the meeting.

The Rev. J. BURDER, of Stroud, was exceedingly glad that Dr. Matheson had had that opportunity of defending himself. The instance before them afforded a proof of the injury which was done to a good cause by ultraism and calumny. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. G. SMITH, of Plymouth, felt almost inclined to regret that Dr. Matheson should have thought it necessary to explain his conduct with reference to American slavery. Those who knew Dr. Matheson would not require from him any explanation.

Rev. A. WELLS—It is not only in respect of some theological sentiments now prevailing in America, that caution on our part is necessary, but also on the subject of slavery itself. It will be impossible for the meeting to express its unqualified approbation of all the proceedings and sentiments of abolitionists in that country. I shall cordially concur in expressions of warm sympathy with the great body of the American abolitionists, if they be explained and limited by a clear statement of its disapproval of ultra and violent proceedings.

E. BAINES, Esq., M.P. rose and said—I had the honour to be a member of the Convention; I had not the opportunity of taking much part in the proceedings; and I must say, although there was a good deal of eccentricity in the conduct of some at the Convention, I believe a meeting of that nature, perhaps, was hardly ever assembled in which there was manifested throughout a more genuine love of liberty. I believe, too, that the results of that Convention will be highly beneficial—that it will exert an influence eventually upon that most degraded position in which the Americans

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stand, that, I mean, of being supremely the friends of liberty, and supremely the supporters of slavery.

The Rev. R. ELLIOTT, of Devizes, said—I wish to know if it is intended that the observations of Dr. Matheson should subside with their expression in this meeting. I quite agree with the gentleman who has just sat down, that any of us who are engaged in an important work must expect to meet with misrepresentations. But there is a peculiar delicacy in the case of Dr. Matheson. That delicacy has shown itself in the circumstance that he has not been forward to vindicate himself. He has suffered a good deal of agitation of mind, as every man must do when his character—I say, his character—is at stake. Is it, then, a proper thing, that we, as the brethren of Dr. Matheson, who believe that he acted most nobly throughout, should allow this explanation to subside without adopting some resolution to show what is our own opinion upon the subject?

The Rev. J. BURDER, of Stroud, said—The only difficulty is respecting our brother, Dr. Reed. I think we are to presume that, if Dr. Reed were here, he could vindicate himself. Therefore, much as I should like to honour Dr. Matheson, I think that to pass a vote would seem by implication to censure our absent friend.

The Rev. Dr. MATHESON—I think I may be allowed to say, that I should very much object to anything that might have the appearance of calling upon the brethren to make what might be termed an invidious comparison. I can say, from my heart, Mr. Chairman, that I have been willing to endure all these things to this day, because I did not wish it to appear as if I had done better than my brethren who have gone to that country; and I was only induced to address you upon the subject to-day by the necessity which was laid upon me from the peculiar circumstances in which I was placed. If I had allowed this motion to pass *sub silentio*, or seconded it without giving an explanation of my conduct, I should have appeared the most inconsistent of men. But I will tell you the chief reason why this came from me to-day. I expect the documents of the Convention will shortly be published; thus putting on historical record the broad unexplained charges against the deputation. Now, I say that that is more painful to me than the passing and exciting remarks which may be made at a public meeting; and, if anything could be done to prevent that—or if there could be a note explaining it—I should not care for anything else. But it is grievous to me to be accused as one who has done that before God and man which I did not do. Ministers have said, "We will give you letters, declaring that you did your duty;" abolitionists have said the same; and when that is the case, I do not want to be handed down to the next age as "a traitor" to the cause.

The Rev. S. S. WILSON, of Shepton Mallett, asked whether it would be proper for this assembly to bind itself to a resolution which was not formally before it?

Dr. REDFORD expressed his confidence in the ability and discretion of the secretaries to prepare a resolution, combining the sentiments he had expressed, with the suggestions of Mr. Burder and Mr. Blackburn.

The meeting agreed to this arrangement.

THE JAMAICANS AND THE IRISH.

UNDER their new immigration act, the planters of the isle of springs are wooing the peasants of the green isle of the ocean. Three vessels are lying at Irish ports—one of them at Limerick, inviting emigrants to Jamaica, under plausible representations, and with considerable success. This matter has been taken up with characteristic warmth by benevolent persons across the channel, among whom we may name particularly our excellent friend, Mr. Haughton. It was introduced by him at a meeting of the Repeal association, where Mr. John O'Connell spoke on it with much force. The *Dublin Freeman's Journal* was the first paper to notice it, and others have subsequently taken it up. It seems that the agents in this affair have circulated, but in a very cautious manner, a paper entitled, *Remarks to Emigrants*, a delusive and Jamaica-like document. It is thus commented on in the *Freeman's Journal*.

It begins with announcing that, "Under the Jamaica act of Assembly *(remember what the Jamaica House of Assembly is)*, passed the 4th of April last, *to encourage emigration*, a large sum of money was appropriated to pay the passage of emigrants."

It then states "that there are two modes of proceeding: one to go out under engagements—the other (and the one upon which we are now acting) is that the people are to go out FREE AND UNFETTERED, EXCEPT (those last words appear in capitals—now let us see the exceptions) under this only restriction, imposed for their own benefit *(very considerate truly)* that the Agent General of Emigration (who is he?—doubtless some creature of the planters), appointed by the Governor to receive them on their arrival (just as though they would be welcomed with drums and trumpets on reaching the land—now mark!), *gives his sanction by a written* PERMISSION to the engagement, first having examined and been satisfied that proper provision has been made for their comfortable accommodation, and that the climate is healthy, and suited for European labourers."

What balderdash? First bring them out, and then see "that the climate is healthy, and suited for European labourers." Why, every one in Jamaica knows that the climate is most deadly to Europeans.

But what follows next is NOT in large letters:—"Persons engaging emigrants without his written permission are made liable to a fine of 50*l. and emigrants for contravention of the same* (what is the meaning of this?—it is very unintelligible to an Irish peasant) are made subject to pay the amount of their passage out."

It then goes on to say, that the rate of wages, &c., is to be arranged between the several parties making bargains—that the law provides the indentures (*alias* Jamaica apprenticeship) shall not exceed THREE YEARS. "The bond (a startling word in Jamaica) will also be for the parties themselves to engage—say from eighteen months to three years, as they may agree upon (but mark the condition) *with the concurrence of the Agent-General.*"

Then it comes out that the person who engages emigrants is to pay half the passage money out "*say* not over five pounds" (ah, this word *say* is very indefinite, and it occurs more than once). "*This*, of course, will form a claim against the emigrants (mind, his wife and family are also to be paid for, and are probably not in the same bond, but doubtless liable for the amount), to be cancelled by the fulfilment of the engagements they enter into."

Alas, they may never fulfil them! Death may intervene. The scorching heat of a tropical sun will stretch them under a burning fever; *the survivors will have to fulfil the bond!*

And then comes the boasted recompence! "The usual rate paid for FARM LABOUR by the day in Jamaica, is from one shilling to one and sixpence!!!" And this is the reward for which expatriation first, and then disease, misery, and death, are to be encountered! including also the three years' apprenticeship, the restrictions, the danger of being in for the whole passage-money, &c., &c.

Our peasantry must indeed be fools to be gulled for a moment by such glaring sophistry!

There is something about "the liabilities for half the passage—SAY not over five pounds—not standing in the way of a good servant employing himself elsewhere," to which we call particular attention.

And this flaming document winds up with some other announcements, amongst which is, that "labour is regular all the year round, and *no winter*." But is there no summer? Are there no days and months in which the white labourer would hardly turn out, except with the negro lash at his back?

The *Dublin Monitor* says, "We never heard or read of a scheme so manifestly intended to entrap as this is, even by the showing of its own handbills, and *Remarks to Emigrants*." The *Journal* further says,—

We are sincerely glad to be able to announce that the energetic measures which have been resorted to are likely to have an excellent effect in staying the headlong course of our peasantry at Limerick. The subject has been actively taken up by the friends of humanity there; they have exerted themselves untiringly and energetically, and have awakened a public sympathy on behalf of those of our countrymen who had swallowed the bait. Thomas Steele, too, has come into the field. "He met the agent of the Robert Kerr (says a Limerick correspondent) and told him plainly, as a guardian of the Irish peasantry, he would feel it to be his duty to prevent any of them sacrificing themselves, as he believed they would do if they embarked in West India servitude.

The same correspondent also says, "The Roman Catholic clergymen are taking up the subject. One in a neighbouring parish (Parteen) spoke of it, and denounced it on last Sabbath. The consequence is, I understand, that the persons belonging thereto who were about to emigrate to Jamaica now refused to do so. The emigration advertisements are withdrawn from the newspapers, whether from the noise made about the affair, or that the vessel is filled, I cannot learn, but I fear the latter."

All this, the West Indians will say, is obstructing free emigration. Our answer is, No, gentlemen; it is exposing artifice and fraud. The cry of free emigration! is very well; but, so long as you make it a pretext for studied and fatal deception, you must be watched and resisted. Learn to be honest, gentlemen; depend upon it honesty is the best policy. We are glad our Irish friends have been so prompt and energetic on this occasion; and we warmly recommend all parties concerned to listen to their counsel.

MAURITIUS.—Extract of a letter from Mauritius, dated 27th August, 1840.

"Our excellent and energetic governor, Sir Lionel Smith, is beginning to bestir himself to the right and left in favour of the oppressed; but at present without exciting the fierce animosity of our party journals. They have tried to flatter him, but their unnatural exertions in that line begin already to languish."

Home News.

TEXAS.

At a special meeting of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee held at the public office, on Friday, December 11th, 1840—The Rev. Thomas Morgan, in the chair.

It was resolved unanimously,

"I. That this Committee has heard with grief and indignation of the virtual recognition of Texas as an independent state, by the British government.

"II. That this Committee feels an invincible repugnance to any step which admits Texas into the honourable position of a place among the civilized family of man, and that for the following reasons:—

"1. Because of the character of the people, composed of rebel subjects of Mexico, a free State in friendly alliance with us, and reckless adventurers from the United States, whose notorious object is to aggrandize themselves by trampling on the rights of humanity.

"2. Because a country in which, while it was an integral part of Mexico, freedom was enjoyed, is now to be cursed with all the ills of slavery.

"3. Because a fearful stimulus will be given to slave rearing and the slave-trade in the United States, by the demand in Texas.

"4. Because almost insurmountable obstacles will be placed in the way of the American abolitionists in their exertions for achieving the liberation of the slaves in the United States.

"5. Because additional facilities will be afforded for the surreptitious importation of slaves from Africa.

"6. Because a grievous wrong is inflicted on the free negros, who, by the constitution of the State, are expelled from the soil; and upon the aborigines, who are doomed to extermination by a merciless warfare.

"7. Because it is palpably inconsistent that Great Britain, which by treaties, expensive armaments, and especially by the sacrifice of twenty millions sterling, has been endeavouring to accomplish the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, should now give them encouragement to an extent which threatens to counterbalance all these exertions.

"III. That, therefore, this Committee protests against the recognition of Texas as an independent State in alliance with Great Britain, and earnestly hopes that measures may be taken to avert the evils which must inevitably result from a perseverance in the course which has been adopted.

THOMAS MORGAN, Chairman."

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ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW IN JAMAICA.

At a meeting of the committee of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at the Public Office, on Friday, the 11th of December 1840, the Rev. Thomas Morgan in the chair,

It was unanimously resolved,

"That this committee have heard with deep regret that the stipendiary magistrates of Jamaica, have been instructed to suspend their monthly reports on the administration of the laws and the condition of the negros in their respective districts, and in future to make reports half-yearly only, and to state nothing which might be painful to individuals!

"That this committee cannot refrain from an expression of their astonishment and sorrow that these instructions should have been sanctioned by the Secretary of state for the colonies; such instructions being little less than a mockery and insult to the legislature and people of this country, who, after paying twenty millions for emancipation, are left without official means of ascertaining the working of the new system.

THOMAS MORGAN, Chairman."

At an adjourned meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad-street, London, on Monday, the 7th of December, 1840,

It was unanimously resolved,

"That this committee having taken into consideration the reply of her Majesty's colonial secretary to their communication on the circular recently issued by the governor of Jamaica, to the stipendiary magistrates of that colony, to resume their reports only half-yearly, and to state nothing which might be painful to individuals, feel it to be their duty to record their severe disappointment that Sir Charles Metcalfe should have obtained his lordship's sanction for such a course inasmuch as thereby one of the great objects for which that body was appointed is defeated, and its general usefulness greatly impaired; the legislature and people of this country are left without official means of ascertaining the working of the new system—and the liberated negros are deprived of that protection which their present circumstances, the character of the laws which have been allowed to go into operation, and the oppressive spirit of not a few of their masters, imperatively demand. The committee, therefore, call upon their friends in Jamaica to watch with vigilance, and to report with promptitude, the movements of the legislature and the local magistracy; to mark every infraction of the letter and spirit of the laws, and to put them early in possession of such information as will enable them to convey to the public of this country correct impressions of the state of that important colony.

(Signed) JOHN BEAUMONT, Chairman."

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BAPTIST UNION to the slave-holding churches of that denomination in the United States, contains the following passages:—

"An apology on your part, with reference to the continuance of slavery, founded on your political condition would, in our judgment, have no force whatever. Have men no rights, or have you no duties, but such as are given or imposed by human laws? Or, is there no authority greater than that of man? Legislators are bound to consider whether in the principle or clauses of a law about to be made, anything be contrary to the law of God. If there be, they have no right to make it. To do so is rebelling against divine law, and using means to make others rebel with them. Should they have done so, by all the superiority which they yield to God in his claim to their obedience, they are bound on the discovery to abrogate it. The protection of crime by human laws cannot change its nature. That congress and all the states are joined in an act of disobedience to God, will never make it right, or justify your participating in it. By your profession of christianity, you have bowed to one who is higher than they.

"We do not address you as labouring under responsibility for actions not within your reach. The clearest precepts of our holy religion require both us and you to have no fellowship with the works of darkness, but rather to reprove them. Though christians may not yet be able to regulate the decrees of congress, or even those of their own states' legislature, they may regulate the resolutions of their own churches. If they cannot at present remove this grievance from the governments of the earth, they may at least cleanse themselves and the churches from these pollutions. It is to this purifying of the church from participation in the crime of enslaving their fellow-men, and of holding them in slavery, that you are now urged; and we hope not urged in vain.

"Beloved in the Lord. We have rejoiced over you with great joy, in many things which manifest your zeal for God and love for souls. We have traced your labours with delight, both at home and abroad. We have seen your activity in the Old World, even to the very place where the Saviour died; and the sound of your prayer has reached us, when, in solemn convocation, you implored direction and mercy for thousands who are perishing in the Western Valley. It is because we love you, and the common cause of mercy, that we say these things: to cast away all fellowship in this immeasurable crime:

"Deeply impressed with the justness and importance of the preceding sentiments, we have received with approbation intelligence of that activity to which some of the American churches have been roused, and the vigour with which they have advanced towards the solemn act of withholding christian fellowship from such as hold property in man. The same course being in progress in this country, we urge you with the utmost earnestness not to force the brethren to the painful consummation to which such proceedings must lead.

"Praying that in this, and in all things, you may be guided and blessed by the Father and Redeemer of our spirits,

"We are, dear brethren, Your's in christian affection."

At a meeting of the Congregational Church assembling in Bedford Street Chapel, Stroud,

It was unanimously resolved,

"That for one human being to have such absolute control over another human being as is now possessed by slave-holders in the United States of America, is manifestly a violation of the royal law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

"That the cruelties practised in innumerable instances by slave-holders in that country, on the wretched victims of their despotic power, are repugnant alike to religion and to humanity.

"That the fact that professing christians in that country are chargeable with these glaring transgressions of the divine law, is matter of the deepest regret.

"That this church cordially approves the sentiment of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, that christians ought not to hold communion with any persons who, having been admonished of these faults, as American christians have been, persevere in such a course of evil-doing.

"That whilst it would gladden the hearts of the members of this church to welcome to their communion consistent christians from the United States, to whatever part of the church they might belong, this church will feel it to be matter of duty to refuse the right-hand of fellowship to every slave-holder.

(Signed) JOHN BURDER, Pastor."

Hitchin, Dec. 12th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in sending you the following Resolution, passed unanimously by the Church under my pastoral care at its last meeting.—I am very sincerely yours, JOHN W. WAYNE.

Resolution passed by the Congregational Church, assembling at Back Street Meeting-house, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, December 6th, 1840.

Resolved—"That, being deeply convinced of the exceeding sinfulness of the Slave-trade and Slavery; and having learned from undoubted authority, that many members of professedly christian churches of different denominations in the United States of America are both slave-dealers and slave-holders; this Church hereby avows its solemn determination not to hold communion with such persons, or with any who are known to be their abettors, defenders, or apologists. Signed on behalf of the Church.

JOHN W. WAYNE, Pastor."

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

Chatham, 3rd Dec. 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—At a church meeting held at Ebenezer Chapel, Chatham, on the 27th ult., the following resolution was unanimously adopted, which I now forward to you to be employed at your discretion.

Resolved,

"That the members of this church, having heard the resolutions of the general Anti-slavery Convention concerning the participation of many of the American churches in slavery, would express their full concurrence on the same; and, regarding slavery as a violation of the rights of man, as a sin against God, as a blot upon the christian name, and as a barrier to the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom in the world, determine to have no fellowship with those churches or individuals who hold their fellow-men in bondage."

I am, my dear Sir, your's faithfully.

(Signed) P. THOMSON, Pastor.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

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Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILD, of 13, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-strand and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine Street, Strand, as aforesaid.—December 16th, 1840. Sold by W. EVERETT, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 27.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30TH, 1840. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE NEW SCHOOL OF WEST INDIANS.

WE have received a copy of a pamphlet which nearly concerns ourselves,as well as the public. It is on *The Present Condition of the West Indies*, &c., &c., by Henry Morson, and "was suggested by a challenge thrown out against the West India body by the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, in its number of the 8th of April last," p. 1. We are honoured by our remarks having become the occasion of so respectable a publication, and will proceed to put our readers in possession of the whole case by the following quotation :—

"The West Indians have been reproached with intolerance, with prejudices strongly fixed, and now hard to be rooted out, with antipathies which, growing with their growth, and strengthening with their strength, have become a part of their nature. Can they make up their minds to forego these prejudices? Will they? It is a question, which, if answered negatively, goes to the upsetting of the very means of their regeneration, and causes it to be a hopeless task—a name—a delusion. If answered affirmatively, the way is smooth and clear before them. They not only can be saved, but will. But it is a question which *must* be answered, and speedily : for already it has been proposed to us, and we are challenged to the reply. In the *Anti-slavery Reporter* of 8th April last, (to which more than once I have alluded) appeared an article, headed 'The New School of West Indians,' which, after quoting the words of an article from the Colonial Gazette of 25th March, to the following effect—'that an influential part of the body of West Indians of the new school are prepared to carry out the principles of emancipation to the end, by abolishing *all* distinctions of colour, socially, as well as politically, in the West Indies, and to aid in forming, out of the ruins of British slavery, a West India nation of the negro-blood,' goes on to inquire whether such a statement may be relied on. 'Can we,' it asks, 'have so cheering a matter in some other shape than that of unauthorised words? Shall any evidence of what is asserted appear promptly in substantial measures, or undeniable facts? Will the young West Indians *come out before the public*, and in some official form declare themselves the holders of such a principle? *Will even any one of them write a pamphlet avowing it as his own!* Concurrent as we should be in a course of immigration conducted on the 'popular' and righteous principle of freedom in all things, we have had too much experience of West Indian artifice to believe that such a thing is intended merely because it is talked of; and whatever gratification it may afford us to meet with an acknowledgment of past errors in the West India body, we must emphatically say, let us have more than professions.'

"The article speaks for itself. The writer asks, 'Will the young West Indians come forth, and in some official form declare themselves the holders of such a principle,' and the question, once more, returns upon our hands—Are there, or are there not, among West Indians any such willing? This is the opinion I would fain elicit from all who are attached to the cause of the West Indies, by the relation of birth, or by the ties of parentage, property, or *business*—this the declaration, the principle which they may affirm by the sanction of their names."—pp. 28—30.

It appears, then, that Mr. Morson is one of the new school of West Indians, the existence of which the *Colonial Gazette* had announced, and that he writes in the name and spirit of that school, partly to his brother West Indians, and partly to ourselves. We do sincere honour to Mr. Morson. He has written in an admirable spirit throughout, and we can assure him that, with whatever West Indians we may have a quarrel, we have none with him, nor with such as he. We quote with the highest satisfaction the following portion of his appeal to the West Indians. He is referring in the commencement of it to the free coloured people of the United States :—

"This, then, is our position. A race of free blacks, neglected, slighted, despised, in their own country; debarred from the right of turning their natural or acquired powers to advantage, or to use them as a means of rising; doomed, not by God's ordinance, but by the hand of man, to remain as they are, without a hope beyond; such a race are willing, *on certain conditions*, to desert the land of their birth, to leave friends and connections, and, establishing themselves with you, to earn their livelihood by the exercise of their labour both bodily and mental—the condition being, 'An equality of social as well as political rights.' This equality, observe, binds no one to receive them into his family on a footing of friendship or intimacy. It means simply, that where a man by his own industry, his own talents, or superiority of intellect, has forced himself to your level, you are not to exclude or drive him back; or think, because you are of a different colour, that *therefore* you are his superior. It means that, whatever conventional differences may exist, there are no *natural* distinctions; and that, let a man be black or let him be white, the court, the camp, the bar, the senate, are alike open to the race which shalldi stinguish itself most. To give in to the principle by halves, would be to make matters worse, by creating dissensions, jealousy, suspicion, heart-burning. If acted on at all, it must be acted on wholly, frankly, openly and honestly; for never should it be said of us, that we had deceived those who had confided in us, and had taken our word in earnest of our performance. Not to do it, is to remain in our present condition, poverty-stricken, and with every prospect of future and growing evil, with this addition, that we receive no pity; have no complaint, but against ourselves; none to thank, but our own foolish pride and vanity."—p. 21.

Most sincerely do we say, let but such sentiments diffuse themselves, and acquire a practical prevalence, and our jealousy of the West Indians will expire.

We have now to cite the author's appeal to the abolitionists and to ourselves.

"To turn to the Abolitionists, (and I address myself particularly to that portion of them whose views are represented by the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*:) I would ask, and I mean no recrimination by the question—Are they, in accusing the West Indians of a want of sincerity, to be fully relied on themselves? Is that truth and candour which they refuse to credit in us, so unimpeachable in them? Their own writings might justify hesitation in according a too ready belief; for, in referring to their pages, where, I ask, is the calm, temperate, conciliatory tone to be found, which goes more than half to convince, and which, at all events, exemplifies that the parties have no reserves behind? In lieu of it, we find violence almost amounting to virulence; a heated and inflamed mind; and, more than all, a desire to prove us wrong and show up our faults, rather than the attempt to point out the one and amend the other. We speak advisedly, but in good part, and with the full intention to show, that among the West Indians are many anxious to join their ranks, and who would be willing at once to enrol their names as fellow-labourers in a cause, which, divested of interested motives, and apart from meaner passions and prejudices, is of the purest and most holy nature.

"In token of the animus of their proceedings, we need but to quote Mr. Prescod's two letters, as published in their recent numbers; and, in token of our sincerity, to admit that, with a large proportion of error, there is mixed a fair allowance of truth in Mr. Prescod's publication. That the conduct of the planters is not yet all that could be desired, that, here and there, remaining vestiges of irritation are discernible, that some part of the late deficiency may be set down to drought as well as to a want of labour, and that, by proper management, conciliatory conduct, and a readiness in proprietors to conform more to their new relations, a *larger* share of labour *might* have been extracted, we are free to admit. But this admission, it will be perceived, must be taken in a modified sense, determinable according to the greater or less weight which may seem to attach to this consideration. The West Indians arrogate no infallibility to themselves, but they can never admit that the error is all on one side. Supposing both parties to share these views, and to be guided by a spirit of doing right, rather than of proving each other wrong, what is to hinder their acting together in furtherance of that principle which both have at heart? The Abolitionists have challenged us to the proof; and, as far as our means permit, we are willing to give it. Let this very writing be a test; but let it not be thrown in our teeth, that here are exhibited the thoughts and sentiments of only one man. We say it advisedly, that there are many—people too of influence, members of the Island Councils, who share the opinions we promulgate, and who would assist in their carrying out."—pp. 18—20.

As this rebuke, according to Mr. Morson, is given "in good part," so we assure him we take it. We think it somewhat of the severest from so candid a writer, but let that pass. We hear from him with the most unfeigned pleasure "that there are many—people too of influence—members of the island councils, who share the opinions he promulgates, and would assist in carrrying them out." All we desire in addition is to see them in action, and to perceive their influence in the management of affairs. Of this there is as yet very little appearance. We have, indeed, yet to learn whether a single resident West Indian will have the courage to avow Mr. Morson's sentiments as his own, or whether his implied censure on that body generally will not be repudiated and resented as a libel. Mr. Morson wishes not to be regarded as expressing "the sentiments of only one man." Will he, then, inform us why, even to the long advertisement of the West India Immigration Company, which avowedly issues from his friends, there is not a single name attached, save the *reverend* Mr. somebody, as secretary?

As to the points involved in the current discussion between the West Indians and the abolitionists, much more is conceded by Mr. Morson than by any former writer of his class. We honour him for his candour, but we are bound to say that we cannot agree with him in the leading sentiment of his book. Like all the other West Indians, he wants for those colonies a system of "wholesale immigration;" and he thinks this may be recommended to abolitionists on two grounds—first, that it will relieve the sugar market from a pressure which threatens to occasion the introduction of slave sugar; secondly, that it will destroy the demand for slave-labour, and so extinguish the slave-trade. Now

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we will admit that these are two very persuasive arguments with the abolitionists; but we have a word to say on them both.

As to the first, the relief of the sugar market will soon be accomplished, without a "wholesale immigration to the West Indies." The enlarged cultivation of sugar in India is (to use the felicitous words of Lord John Russell) carrying the plantation to the labourer; and this is much better than carrying the labourer to the plantation. Give a little time, and we shall have sugar enough. It is worth now 60s. per cwt. in England; in India it can be produced for 10s., and if, under these circumstances, it is not speedily grown in large quantity, there is no longer any faith in the sagacity or cupidity of man; nor, indeed, in any of the laws which have so long and so universally regulated demand and supply.

We are told, however, that a "wholesale immigration" of free labourers to the West Indies would extinguish the slave-trade, by putting an end to the demand for slave-labour. We ask, then, how this is to be effected. Mr. Morson's answer is, that "immigration on a large scale would at once render free-grown produce cheaper than slave-grown throughout the world," p. 16; and would "exhibit it as a solid irresistible fact, that sugar which pays wages can be produced cheaper than that which is derived from the compulsory sweat of man's brow," p. 18. Of course Mr. Morson's idea must be, that British West India sugar should be sold, not in the British market only, but in all the markets of the world, at a less price than the slave-sugar of any country. Now the price which slave-sugars are asking is 20s. to 25s. per cwt. Mr. Morson's plan, therefore, is to reduce the price of British West India sugar to less than 20s. to 25s. per cwt. We may even go further. For, if such a competition were to arise, the probability is that slave-sugar would be sold for less than it brings now—perhaps at 15s. to 20s.; so that Mr. Morson's plan may be described as one for reducing the price of British West India sugar to less than 15s. to 20s. per cwt. We simply ask, would this be satisfactory to the West Indians? Until we are otherwise instructed, we think not. We suppose that at such a price the proprietors would be losing money on every hogshead, and that no increase of quantity could compensate for so ruinous a return. What we say, then, is, that, if it is not consistent with the interest of West India proprietors to sell sugar at 15s. to 20s. per cwt., no copiousness of immigration can enable them to do anything towards extinguishing the demand for slave-labour. The extended production of Bengal sugar may do it; but, by some means or other, the cost of raising sugar in the West Indies has become so large, that they can contribute nothing to so happy a result, and must even be ruined in the accomplishment of it. Such, as far as we can penetrate the mystery, are the blessed effects of the monopoly system.

Mr. Morson's pamphlet affords scope for many other remarks, but we must desist for the present.

BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS.—THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Anti-slavery Reporter.

SIR,—It was never my intention to mix any of the officers up with the cruelties practised upon the slaves of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. I have declared the directors and the chief commissioner to be the authors of those atrocities; and I should not have hinted at any other party personally, had not the above gentlemen had recourse to the superintendent of the slaves as their defender.

Formerly, the word of a solicitor in respectable practice and of wealthy merchants used to be confided in, from the general impression that they would be ashamed of having any dishonourable assertion or transaction traced to them. It seems that it would be dangerous to extend that confidence to the aggregate of these two classes now.

When Messrs. Freshfields, the solicitors to the Association and to the Bank of England, conjointly with the directors, sent a reply to my first communication, they told the world it was written by the superintendent, although they knew they had not only suppressed those parts of his letter which contained matter condemnatory of themselves, but inserted sentences as his, denying some of the facts I had stated—which he never wrote, and which he has since accused them of. What credence are these gentlemen entitled to after this! Not much, the world will be likely, perhaps, to say. But what will society think, when I solemnly affirm that the letters written by the board to the chief commissioner are intended for the eye of the shareholders only! His instructions are all private, in which he is urged not to spare the lash, as it might make a difference of five per cent. in their yearly dividends, and thus let the price of the shares down in the market proportionately. In these private documents, complaint is frequently made that the consumption of the horse-beans and Indian corn is too great, although the hungry slaves have only two scanty allowanced meals of this horse-food daily, and become frequently so faint, in consequence of hard labour and fasting, as to be almost incapable of exertion.

The directors are aware that, as Duval is a large share-holder, in opposition to the laws of the Association, and as he is reputed to be one of the most avaricious men in the creation, but few hints of this nature are requisite.

There is another misery the wretched slaves of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association are doomed for ever to suffer, through the selfish sentiments of the directors. As natives of Africa, they are very susceptible of cold. Gongo Soco lies between high mountains, so that the sun disappears early from the village. Shortly after it sets, a damp chill succeeds, and this increases in intensity until the morning. No one who has never been there can have the least idea of the sufferings these uninterrupted changes occasion; and yet the slave has no nightly protection but a little mud hut, through the crevices and chinks of which the chilly wind whistles. The only bed he has is a straw mat, the thickness of half-a-crown, extended upon the cold, bare, damp earth, and his only covering is a miserably light cotton quilt. There lie the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association's slaves, shaking and shivering the whole night through, and they have frequently declared to me, that they would a million of times prefer to be shot at once, than nightly suffer this infliction alone. A blanket would be an inestimable blessing to the poor, forlorn, and friendless slaves; but a blanket for each would cost the shareholders of the Imperial Mining Association a few pounds, which they cannot afford to part with, out of the many millions in gold which these destitute creatures have obtained them, from the swampy bowels of the deep and melancholy caverns beneath.

Gongo Soco is remarkable for its cruelty and licentiousness—one moment inflicting upon a black female slave the severest tortures and privations, and then rendering her the medium of gratifying the worst of passions. In the chief commissioner's grounds stands one of those large trees with which the Brazils abound. Seats have been fitted up in it for the accommodation of large convivial parties, the branches thus forming an extensive, shady, summer-house, which is reached by steps. Now I dare say the superintendent has heard, that a certain chief commissioner and his friends used daily to be attended and served in this retreat by naked black women; and the standing joke was, to give them a shower bath of brandy and water whilst ascending the steps, and the whip if they were dilatory in their movements.

All these varied depravities have often been represented to the directors, but they never used any means to check or diminish them, not even remonstrance. So that they can have large dividends, they care naught about the morals and convenience of those whose toils ensure them.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
28th December, 1840. F. A. KENTISH.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF JAMAICA.

Letter from Mr. Candler to the Printers of the Chelmsford Chronicle.

MY RESPECTED FRIENDS,—Before I proceed to give an opinion on the present moral and religious state of the late slave population, it will be proper to advert to a few particulars that bear on the question. The area of Jamaica is computed, in even numbers at four millions of acres, and as it contains only twenty-one parishes, there is of course an average of 190,000 acres of land to each parish. Every such parish must, of necessity, from its size, and does indeed for all civil purposes, constitute a country: it has its Custos, or Lord-Lieutenant, and its body of justices, its separate court-house and jails, and its general vestry appointed by the freeholders to tax the parishioners for local purposes. It has, however, but one parish church and one incumbent. Formerly the parish churches, many of them very small buildings, were the only place of public worship in the island, except perhaps a chapel or two of the Scotch kirk. It is quite evident, therefore, that the Church of England could never have contemplated the religious instruction of the slaves, in fact, till within a very short period, it made no account whatever of the black people; its livings afforded in the time of slavery, as they do now, a large emolument, but scarcely a school existed, and generation after generation arose and died away in appalling ignorance and neglect. The Moravians first entered the field as missionaries, then succeeded the Wesleyans, then the Baptists, and ministers of other denominations; long before slavery was abolished, these devoted men had taken stations in different parts of the island, chiefly on the sea-coast, and had begun to communicate religious instruction to such slaves as were permitted by the owners to attend for that purpose; chapels were built, and in a few instances school-houses erected.

The Church of England, stimulated by the rivalry of unwelcome sects, and obtaining help from the House of Assembly, now began to increase its edifices; chapels of ease were erected in the larger parishes, and curates appointed to officiate. There are now in Jamaica twenty-one incumbents and twenty-one curates, the former receiving a stipend of £500 sterling per annum each out of the island chest, together with the product of a parish glebe, the latter £400 per annum each without any other emolument. To these must be added six ministers paid by the government at home, nineteen who are supported partly out of the parish funds or by individuals, and partly by the society for the propagation of the gospel, one by a parish alone, and eight by the church missionary society—making a total of seventy-six ministers of the church of England. The annual income derived by the clergy from the parish taxes, the island chest, the glebe lands, and slave compensation money, including the salaries paid to the bishop and archdeacon, amounts to about £40,000 sterling; but as the house of assembly, during its last session, resolved to double the number of island curates, the total amount payable to the clergy will soon rise to near £50,000 per annum, exclusive of grants for the building of new chapels and school-rooms. The sum voted last year, for the last-mentioned purposes, was £7350 sterling, of which a small part was given to the Wesleyan Methodists. The entire claims of the ecclesiastical establishment of Jamaica, for only a portion of them has been here enumerated, will be found to absorb about one-sixth part of its entire revenue! But, notwithstanding all the efforts recently made, and which are still making, to augment the income and repair the inefficiency of the Church of England, I am compelled to say, and I speak it not invidiously, but as a matter of history, it has but a very slender hold on the affections of the black people. Its ministers, in the times of slavery, evinced little or no sympathy for the unhappy slaves; many of them sprung from and were united to the Creole families, and were themselves slave-holders by virtue of the glebe, and the great body of them had made themselves part

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and parcel of the iniquitous system which kept the people in bondage. Many of the Missionaries, on the other hand, made a bold stand in favour of public liberty, passing through evil report and good report, and endured much calumny and political persecution. When the slaves came to the enjoyment of freedom, they naturally turned for religious instruction to their tried friends, and bent their way to dissenting chapels. Some few of the parish churches of Jamaica are indeed pretty well filled with a black and brown congregation, but the great mass of the population who profess religion at all are dissenters, of whom the largest body are Baptists.

The Baptist Missionary Society has twenty missionaries in Jamaica, occupying seventy-four preaching stations, and having under their care 24,777 members, 21,111 inquirers, and 9159 sabbath scholars: if to these we add those who come to chapel, and children who are very young, we shall have a community of at least 80,000 persons, or one-fifth of the entire population, who are more or less under Baptist missionary influence. The Baptist (native) preachers are coloured or black men, who were once class leaders and have broken off from the main body of the mission, and formed congregations of their own; their number is twelve, with twenty-five stations, and 8264 members and inquirers; they have no school. This body may be estimated at 10,000.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society has thirty-one missionaries, with 23,822 members and probationers, and 2661 sabbath scholars, and may be estimated as having under its care about 40,000 persons. The seceding Methodists, or as they call themselves "The Wesleyan Methodist Association," have eight ministers, five local preachers, fourteen stations, and 4000 members; they receive no help from any missionary or other society in England, but are supported by their own friends and members alone. The London Missionary Society supports eight missionaries, who have several school-masters and mistresses attached to the different stations, and a large number of children in their daily schools, who are carefully educated in the principles of the christian faith. The "Oberlin Institute," of North America, furnishes six young men, four of them married and two widowers, who come out at their own expense, and are supported as preachers and school-masters by the contributions of the people who attend their ministry. The two latter classes of ministers are Independents, and their united congregations number about ten thousand. "The Jamaica Missionary Presbytery," consists of eleven ministers, and six catechists, and has schools at every station. This religious body may be computed at twelve or fifteen thousand. The Moravian Missionaries are eight, with a chapel and school at every station: some of their congregations are large; hitherto they have confined themselves within narrow bounds, but they are now branching out, lengthening their cords and strengthening their stakes. The number of Moravians, or of persons under Moravian influence, may be estimated at fifteen thousand. If we give to the sixty parish churches, chapels, and licensed school-houses of the Church of England, an average of seven hundred persons each (a large estimate) we have Episcopalians forty-two thousand. Our table then stands thus—Baptists 90,000, Methodists 44,000, Independents 10,000, Presbyterians 15,000, Moravians 15,000, Church of England 42,000, Scotch Kirk say 3000, Roman Catholics 2000, Jews 5000—in all 226,000. As the present population does not greatly exceed 400,000, this enumeration of different sects leaves nearly one-half of the people as belonging to no class of religionists whatever; and if we consider the natural unwillingness of man to pursue a religious course, and look at the surface of Jamaica, and observe how numerous its neglected districts, without a school or place of public worship for many miles together both in mountain and plain, we shall not think the statement however appalling, to be far removed from the truth. With all the religious care hitherto exercised, there still remains a dense mass of ignorance and superstition, which nothing but the pure light of the gospel can chase away. More places of public worship must be built, more schools established, and a stronger interest felt and cultivated by the religious public in Great Britain, before the West Indies will become, what we should wish to see them, a bright moral example to all the regions around.

The schools of Jamaica should be multiplied by the help of a paternal government, and efficient masters sent out from the normal schools at home. The children receiving instruction are estimated by the bishop of Jamaica, according to a list, which he obligingly allowed me to inspect, at 31,866, but this number is much too high; an actual inspection of many of the schools enumerated, leads me to conclude that the total number of day scholars in all the schools of the land, cannot exceed 25,000, which is a sixteenth part only of the whole population. There are no schools more really useful than some of these which belong to the Mico charity. These institutions are perfectly unsectarian; they have already received considerable help from the home government, and are deserving of every encouragement and success. Chapels, school-houses, ministers, and teachers are, however, but the apparatus of religion; the question remains to be considered, what proof do the people give that they profit by the advantages afforded them? We see the scaffolding, such as it is; but where is the venerable majestic pile? Many persons have told me, that contrasting the present moral and religious state of Jamaica, with what it was only ten years ago, the transition is as from darkness to light. There are now no crowded "Sunday markets;" the first day of the week is observed as a day of rest by all classes, and solemnly devoted to its proper object by large numbers of the common people. The doctrines of christianity, new to many of them, seem to gladden their hearts; "old things are passing away"—degrading and immoral customs, once so common in every class of society, are now viewed as sinful. Marriage, which a few years ago was almost unknown, and everywhere discouraged, *is now three times more common, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, than in England*; and even some of the planters, stimulated by the example of the despised blacks, ashamed to be thought less moral, are entering into the matrimonial bond with the mothers of their children.

Crime is diminishing. The prisons at Kingston, to which city, as to a common sewer, the scum and filth of the population naturally flow, are perhaps, as full as they used to be; but the jails of the rural districts have very few inmates. At Falmouth, the capital of the large parish of Trelawny, two weeks ago, only two prisoners were brought up to the sessions for trial; one was acquitted, and the other sentenced to a week's imprisonment. At Chapelton, the chief town of the parish of Clarendon, containing 20,000 inhabitants, the prisons last year were thrown open at several different times, and on one occasion for eight days together, there not being a prisoner within the walls. At one of the quarter sessions at Manderville, not a single prisoner was brought up for trial; and one of the proprietors of the extensive Elam estate, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, on which are located 1200 people, assured me, that since freedom, not a single criminal charge of the slightest kind had been brought against any one of them. In the jail at Morant Bay, I found four English sailors committed for an assault, but not a single black or coloured person! At Port Antonio, a shipping town, fourteen prisoners of every class, and at Buff Bay eleven. The walls of the prison at Buff Bay, so little do the authorities care for their convicts, were broken down, and the prisoners walked in and out at pleasure. The arms and accoutrements of the island militia, an active and once dreaded body, arrayed in battalions to preserve order, are left to rust and grow mouldy; the very discipline of their corps is gone; if a muster be called, the privates (white men, of course,) refuse to attend it: and the new police, lately organized by the house of assembly, at a great expense, *in terrorem*, have, in many places, so little to do, that they are ready to create a riot now and then to relieve the monotony of an idle life.

The cause of temperance has numerous supporters; several ministers of different denominations have prevailed on their people entirely to abandon the use of rum; the ministers of the Jamaica Presbytery have distinguished themselves in the temperance reformation; all of them are temperance members, and three-fourths of the body, tee-totalers. In the one presbyterian congregation of Hampdon in Trelawny, consisting of 2300 persons, 1326 are temperance members, and 360 have joined the Total Abstinence Society. When a new brother offers to join the temperance section, the tee-totalers ask him if he wishes to go through apprenticeship again, and tell him he had better come to freedom at once. The labourers on the large Orange Valley Estate, in St. Ann's have all refused to assist in the making of rum; the overseer is compelled to employ strangers to do the work. If the ministers of religion would everywhere do their duty, the vice of dram drinking would vanish from the land, drunkenness, however, is far from a common vice among the black people.

My Essex friends may depend upon the fact, that Jamaica, with the exception, perhaps of Kingston, its capital, where broils, quarrels, and petty assaults, are very common, has pre-eminently a quiet and sober population. The instruction hitherto imparted has produced a most salutary effect: the influence of religion is extending itself widely; the Holy Scriptures, hymn books, and the Pilgrim's Progress, are purchased by the people, in large quantities, and so sensible are they of the advantages conferred on them since freedom, and so grateful to their religious teachers, that they seem willing, much as they love money, to make any reasonable sacrifice to extend and perpetuate the benefit. They build spacious and substantial chapels and school-rooms at their own cost, some of which, especially in the mountains, owing to the difficulty of transporting the materials, are very expensive erections. Many large congregations support their own ministers and schoolmasters, and a few of them, more wealthy than the rest, have contributed to foreign missions, and have sent remittances to the Anti-slavery Societies of England and America. "If the free use of silver would put down American slavery," said William Knibb, at a meeting which I attended, "we would pelt the Americans with dollars," and I have no doubt he would persuade his people to show their liberality.

As a specimen of the ready and cheerful manner with which the claims of chapel building are met by the kind-hearted labourers of this country, I will mention a few interesting facts. The Church Missionary Society required a new chapel at Rural Hill, in St. Thomas of the East: the black people contributed towards it in sixteen months, in labour and money the sum of £709 currency, or £420 sterling. The Baptist chapel at Montego Bay was pulled down by the planters: a new one was resolved on, and in one day, at the opening of the building in 1837, the people contributed £604 sterling! at Falmouth a fortnight afterwards, an equal sum was raised in one day, for a new chapel there. The chapel at Montego Bay was begun in 1835, and has cost with the fencing in, £7800 sterling, of which sum, the labourers alone contributed £5400! A new parish church was wanted at Port Antonio, and a very beautiful building has been erected there; the treasurer assured me that the black people, who love the rector for his kindness and diligence as a christian minister, contributed £1000 currency or £600 sterling towards its erection, because the sum voted by the parish and the house of assembly, fell short of the required amount. I was at Mount Carey, a station of the Baptist Missionaries, on the 6th instant. The people brought in their "First of August" offerings towards the erection of a new chapel in that district: the subscription had been only begun four weeks, and the sum amounted to £315 8s. sterling! My excellent friend, Thomas Burchell, had given notice a few days ago, that he intended on this day to prepare for the foundations of the proposed building, and had requested the people to give him a day's labour to prepare a new road, and make the needful excavations. Early in the morning, the roads, lanes and bye-paths, of this part of St. James, were sprinkled with men and women in every direction, bearing hoes, hatchets, cutlasses, and crow bars, and the numbers assembled on the spot to begin operations were 538! By four o'clock, A. M. trees were cut down, huge rock stones removed, the foundations of the chapel dug, and a substantial road made. Leave the voluntary system in undisturbed operation in this country, and the people will do all that is needful towards providing places of public worship for themselves, without any aid from the state.

I have reason to believe, from data before me, that the despised negros of Jamaica raise among themselves by voluntary contribution for chapel building and other church purposes, at least £50,000 or £60,000 sterling per annum, and in the course of a few years, one of the hundred and twenty missionaries and schoolmasters now in the island, there will probably be scarcely one who will occasion to draw on England for any part of his income. Whilst however, the process of regeneration, by religious and moral means, is going on steadily among the people, it is lamentable to observe how large a number of them are easily acted upon by the most childish superstitions. The descendants of Africa are credulous from the cradle, and soon become the prey of the designing. Superstition, it cannot be denied, still exercises an extensive sway. An old woman died, a few weeks ago, in the parish of Vere, who is reported to have said on her death bed, or after she was dead, "That the people were no longer to work on Monday, but sit down on that day and think

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over what the minister had said on Sunday:" the news spread like wild-fire: on many estates the people stopped working, as though they had heard a voice from heaven, and it has required the earnest interference of the missionaries and other persons of influence to put a stop to the delusion, and restore industry to its proper channel.

I went one morning, with several friends, to breakfast at Papina, one of the large sugar estates belonging to J. B. Wildmen, formerly M.P. for Colchester; when we arrived there, the people instead of being at work, were moving about all restless, like a hive of bees that are going to swarm; we asked them the reason—one said he was sick, another that he should rest to-day, and give the estate Saturday instead; another said, with some mystery in his manner, *there was a matter to settle*. We soon discovered that a young black man, fashionably attired, calling himself a Myall doctor, had come to the property, and was persuading the labourers that somebody had bewitched them, which was the cause of all the sickness they had; he had conversations, he said, with good angels, and could get rid of the wizard and all his effects; he understood the angel language, and by virtue of what they told him he could look into every part of the human body and remove diseases which no white man would attempt to cure. We invited the young impostor to meet us at the "great house," and there questioned him before the people; when he had finished his story, we asked them if they believed it; they said with one voice, "We do believe it;" and on our expostulating with them in regard to their folly, two men, who seemed to be leaders of the band, expressed a devout wish that our eyes might soon be opened to see the truth. The doctor has since been imprisoned, not a very sagacious proceeding, for propagating Myalism, which is an offence against a statute law of Jamaica.

Before I leave the Island of Jamaica, I intend to send you another letter, on the prospects of the proprietary body; this letter, though a very imperfect sketch of the subject it professes to treat upon, is already too long for your readers.

I remain, your friend respecfully,

20th 8th Mo., 1840. JOHN CANDLER.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The title-page and index are delayed till our next, in order that the contents of the present number may be properly inserted. The index will be so arranged as to be easily separable from the first number of the second volume, for the purpose of binding.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 30TH.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society beg to announce to the contributors to this association, to their auxiliary societies, and to their friends, both ladies and gentlemen, in various parts of the country, who have kindly undertaken to collect subscriptions for them, that they intend to publish, in the first *Reporter* of the new year, a list or all subscriptions received. They therefore respectfully request, that all names of subscribers which have not yet been transmitted to their office, may be forwarded without delay, addressed to

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary*.

27, New Broad Street, London.

THE extract from the *Malta Times* which we inserted in a late number of the *Reporter*, in reference to the alleged employment of Greek vessels in the slave trade, has given rise to a correspondence which will be found below. We beg to make the handsomest acknowledgment to M. de St. Anthoine, for the interest he has manifested in this affair; and we trust he will push his inquiries far enough to ascertain the facts, which are anything but disproved by General Coletti's calling the allegation of them "abusive." The following is the correspondence:—

Paris, 21st December, 1840.

SIR,—I could not read without pain the article from the *Malta Times*, announcing that the slave-trade was still carried on under the Greek flag. I have thought it right, as a friend of the cause you support so well, to make inquiries on the subject. I transmit to you two letters, to which the article in the *Malta Times* has given occasion. I honour the man who denounces an odious fact; but it becomes us also to inquire to what nation the pirates belong, who traffic in men under the Greek flag. Inquiries are instituted; I will acquaint you with the results.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration,

HIPPOLYTE DE ST. ANTHOINE,
Hon. Sec. Institut D'Afrique.

To the Editor of the *British Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

(Enclosure No. 1.)

To his Excellency General Coletti, Greek minister at Paris.

GENERAL,—I have the honour of forwarding to you, according to the promise I gave you yesterday evening, at the house of the minister for foreign affairs, the article relating to the slave-trade under the Greek flag. I shall be happy to learn from your Excellency that such an infamous traffic has no existence.

I have the honour to be, General, with the highest regard,
Your Excellency's devoted servant,
HIPPOLYTE DE ST. ANTHOINE.

Paris, 9th Dec. 1840.

(Enclosure No. 2.)

Paris, 15th December, 1840.

SIR,—I have received, together with the letter you have done me the honour of addressing me of the 9th instant, a translation of an article in the English journal, the *Malta Times*, relative to the alleged transport of slaves in Greek vessels, and under the national flag. It is impossible to refute abusive assertions; but I can assure you, Sir, that not only nothing exists in Greece which can justify so odious an accusation, but that, on the contrary, the Greeks would rebuke any act which could tend to cherish or propagate, in their bosom, or in their own persons, a traffic condemned by all civilized nations.

Accept, I entreat you, Sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) P. COLETTI.
M. de St. Anthoine. Greek minister at Paris.
(A true copy.)

The Irish newspaper press has been commendably active on the Jamaica emigration question. We may name the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Monitor*, and the *Register*, among the Dublin papers; with the *Nenagh Guardian*, the *Sligo Champion*, and the *Limerick Reporter*. We notice also, with much pleasure, a spirited article on the anti-slavery question in the *Citizen*, Dublin magazine, of the present month.

THE last mail from the West Indies has brought the speech of Sir Charles Metcalfe on opening the session of the legislature, in Jamaica. The document is of unusual length, and might be called rather an essay than a speech. We have omitted considerable portions of it, and yet we fear what we have inserted will weary our readers' patience.

The length of the speech, however, is by no means its only remarkable property. It is further observable for its direct notice of "the public meetings in England," at which some of the acts of the last session (to use the Governor's phrase) "have been attacked." To notice such attacks specifically, in a document of so much official importance as the speech of a Governor on opening a legislative session, is, we think, altogether unusual, and certainly undignified. Moreover, we deem it directly improper and out of character for the Governor to take up the defence of legislative acts, his functions being, as we suppose, not deliberative, but executive only. As governor of Jamaica, Sir Charles Metcalfe can neither originate a law, nor discuss one with either of the legislative houses, nor take any further share in making one than by a naked assent or dissent in the name of his sovereign; and we cannot but consider it a violation of all propriety that he should officially become the defender of laws which he has not made, and which, indeed, speaking on behalf of his royal mistress, he has had in part to condemn. If the laws of Jamaica need vindication, let those who framed them come to their defence.

We shall not, however, refuse to avail ourselves of the advantage which Sir Charles has afforded us, of knowing the ground on which he deems the acts of the last session defensible. His single reason is, that they resemble, more or less nearly, the law of England; and his single excuse, that, if the legislature of Jamaica have erred, they "have been led astray by the example of the mother country." An allegation more unsatisfactory than this could scarcely have been made, as we shall endeavour to show on two grounds.

In the first place, if it were universally true—if it were true, we mean, that Jamaica law, as a whole, is a transcript of the whole British law—it would be unsatisfactory, because British law, as a whole, is far too coercive for any social state but one of great practical liberty. With all the practical freedom of this country, and all our checks on the exercise of arbitrary power, the law is in many respects so oppressive, that it can scarcely be borne, and cries are continually made for its mitigation; but, without these counter-agents in vigorous play, British law would be little better than a name for systematic despotism. With justices, juries, planters, and peasantry, such as they are in Jamaica, a complete system of British law would be nothing short of a consolidated aristocratical tyranny. We beg to be understood once for all, therefore, that no law for the West Indies can be satisfactorily recommended to us, by its similarity to some of the laws of England.

In the second place, the allegation of Sir Charles Metcalfe is the less satisfactory, because the resemblance between the laws of Jamaica and the laws of England is far from being complete. Where there is a likeness, the colonial legislators have copied chiefly its severer portions. Who does not know that, by culling out of English law, a series of restrictive clauses only, there might be constructed a very slave-code! And is it with any thing like this that Sir Charles Metcalfe thinks the people of England can be satisfied!

Sir Charles admits, however, that there is not in all cases a resemblance. And when there is not, the difference is in favour of coercion and arbitrary power. We quote the law and practice concerning rent and tenancy for an example. Such laws and doings as these would set England in a flame from one end of it to the other.

The Assembly call the Governor's defence of their legislation an "able" one. To us it appears rather to be suffering judgment to go by default. To say that the laws of Jamaica so far resemble those of England, is to say nothing in their favour. Let it be shown that they are just and equitable, that they are congruous with the state of society, favourable to liberty, and conducive to the welfare of all classes, and then we shall be satisfied.

We will not stop to notice the gaudy and fallacious colours in which the governor paints the condition of the island. The speech is altogether that of a planter-partizan and can engage little confidence from considerate readers. We quite agree with the house of assembly, that, in presenting himself before the public in such an attitude, Sir Charles Metcalfe has shown no little "intre-

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pidity"—a compliment which we should think this volunteer defender of the House must feel to be a biting sarcasm.

We cannot close our notice of this document, without giving the governor credit for his just and enlightened views on the rent and labour question. We heartily concur in the following sentiments:—

"I have still, however, to lament the prevalence, on many properties, of the practice of regulating the rent of house and grounds with reference to labour; that is, of diminishing or increasing the demand for rent, as labour is or is not performed. This practice, I have reason to believe, is the fruitful source of disputes and mutual estrangements between the landholder and the peasant, and rather obstructs than promotes the purpose for which it is designed.

"I have from several parts favourable accounts of the success of the opposite system, and am assured that labour is obtained with greater facility, where the rent question is separately settled. The accomplishment of this object, or what, in one respect, has the same effect, by increasing the location of the peasantry on lands which they have purchased, the substitution of job-work for day-labour, and a regular money payment, free from deductions on account of distinct transactions, seem to be the means by which labour is procured to the greatest advantage. I allude to this subject, because it is one of predominant interest to the two large classes of our community—the landlords and the peasantry, and not with any hope that legislation could be interposed to remedy what seems objectionable, without an injudicious interference in the rights of property, that would be wrong in principle, and could not therefore be recommended."

The following is the Governor's testimony to the conduct of the peasantry:—

"I receive gratifying reports of the general conduct of the emancipated population, shewing that they continue to be worthy of the praise graciously bestowed on them in her Majesty's speech to the imperial parliament.

"I am happy to add, that a good understanding between labourers and employers appears to be gaining ground, and that the former are represented as becoming convinced that their own welfare is linked with the prosperity of their landlords."

What amendments to the acts of last session her Majesty's government have recommended, had not transpired when the mail closed; but, apart from these, the governor himself recalls the attention of the legislature to the pound law, the hawkers' and pedlars' act, and the act for preventing cruelty to animals. It will be recollected that these were among those most loudly complained of in this country; and that another, the fisheries bill, has been disallowed by her Majesty in council. So far, therefore, both Lord John Russell and Sir Charles Metcalfe agree with those "public meetings," of which the governor of Jamaica so loudly complains.

Mr. Kentish's answer to Mr. Bayly is, in substance, that he does not war with particular officers of the Gongo Soco establishment, but with the system of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, its directors, and chief commissioner. The useful inquiry is, not whether A, B, or C, are guilty parties, but whether facts of a certain class have existence. Upon this point Mr. Bayly evidently knows much, and he would be rendering valuable service if he would, without implicating individuals, tell the public what he knows.

Home News.

RECOGNITION OF TEXAS.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE HIBERNIAN ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

At a meeting of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Committee, held 2nd December, 1840.

JAMES HAUGHTON, Esq. in the Chair.

It was resolved unanimously,

That our secretary be requested to convey to Lord Palmerston our strong feelings of regret and indignation at the independence of Texas having been recognized by the British government, as we consider such a step to be derogatory to the national honour—opposed to the principles on which Great Britain has acted in abolishing slavery in the West Indies—calculated to rivet the fetters of personal bondage on a large portion of the human race, and certain to retard, to a serious extent, the progress of human freedom, by acknowledging a rebel people, who have made the perpetuation of slavery a part of their constitution.

JAMES HAUGHTON, Chairman.

TO LORD PALMERSTON.

Dublin, 17th of 12th mo. (Dec.), 1840.

It has devolved on me, as secretary to the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society, to forward to Lord Palmerston the accompanying resolution, and to endeavour to convey to him the strong feeling of regret and humiliation, which, as subjects of Great Britain, the committee of that society feel at the acknowledgment of Texas by the British government.

The Texans have been noted mainly for their rebellion against the parent state—for their many crimes previous to their being incorporated as a nation—for their rooted attachment to slavery—and for their having established, instead of the free institutions of Mexico, which included Texas, a constitution of which the permanence of slavery is a constituent part.

It is not necessary, perhaps, for me to go at much length into the reasons which cause so deep a feeling in the minds of the Hibernian Anti-slavery Committee—they appear too obvious to need much explanation; but the Committee ask, of what avail is it to have sacrificed twenty millions of the national treasure to release one part of the human family from bondage, if the right hand of fellowship is given to men who have declared that they will uphold the foul system to their latest breath; who have, as a nation, passed laws so deeply disgraceful and atrocious as the following:—

"Sec. 9. of Texan laws.—All persons of colour who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are *now held in bondage*, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the *bonâ fide* property of the person so holding said slaves as aforesaid. CONGRESS *shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them*, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the UNITED STATES; nor shall CONGRESS HAVE THE POWER TO EMANCIPATE SLAVES; NOR SHALL ANY SLAVE-HOLDER BE ALLOWED TO EMANCIPATE HIS OR HER SLAVES WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS, unless he or she shall send his or her slave without the limits of the republic. No *free* person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be *permitted to reside permanently in the republic*, without the consent of Congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negros into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited and declared to be piracy."

"Sec. 10.—All persons (*Africans, the descendants of Africans whether in whole or in part, and Indians, excepted*) who were residing in Texas on the day of the declaration of independence, shall be considered citizens of the republic, and be entitled to all the privileges of such."

Surely the above laws are alike disgraceful to those by whom they were framed, and injurious to the victims of them, the Africans and the Indians, the latter the rightful possessors of the soil.

Texas is situated in such a position too, that by taking the superabundant slave population of the American slave states, she is certain greatly to retard the progress of freedom in those states.

We believe that, had Britain firmly upheld her moral station obtained by the abolition of slavery in her West Indian colonies, and by her strenuous exertions to abolish the slave-trade, she would have had no small influence in inducing Texas to modify her constitution; she would at least have preserved an important moral position and her own honour, which was undoubtedly pledged to the overthrow of slavery throughout the world.

I am respectfully, &c., RICHARD ALLEN.

REPLY.

Foreign Office, 24th, Dec. 1840.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, addressed to his lordship, transmitting a copy of resolutions, which the committee of the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society passed on the 2nd instant, from which Lord Palmerston observes, that the committee express the regret and indignation which they state that they have felt, at the recognition of the republic of Texas by the government of Great Britain.

I am directed to state to you in reply, that Lord Palmerston cannot but regret that the committee should have been led to take the view described in those resolutions, of the measure adopted by her Majesty's government towards the people of Texas.

It does not appear to Lord Palmerston on the one hand, that the refusal of Great Britain to conclude a treaty with Texas would have had any effect in inducing the Texans to abolish slavery within their territory; nor is it probable on the other hand, that the conclusion of such a treaty can have the effect of affording the Texans any encouragement to continue the condition of slavery as a part of their law.

It may indeed be hoped, that the greater intercourse between Great Britain and Texas, which will probably result from the treaty, may have the effect of mitigating, rather than of aggravating, the evils arising out of the existence of slavery under the laws of that republic.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

J. BACKHOUSE.

Richard Allen, Esq., Secretary of the
Hibernian Anti-slavery Society.

THE WRECKED SLAVER.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of last week, I perceive that reference is made to the wreck of a slaver on the Essex coast. I beg to say, that I was in the neighbourhood of Brightlingsea in the month of August last, and, having heard that two vessels were wrecked on the sands, I made inquiry of the fishermen in reference to them, and was informed that one of the vessels was a slave-clipper, fitted up in every way for the horrid traffic. She was useless for any other purpose. Her timbers were so light, that the fishing boats were stronger and more secure than this large vessel; thereby proving, that the blood-hounds who pursue this cruel traffic, are more regardless of the lives of their crews than our bold and daring fishermen are of theirs. The Bucksea sands, on which the wrecks lay, are about ten miles from the main land at Brightlingsea; and, as the fishermen could only get to the wrecks at low water, their toil and danger in doing so must have been great. Underwood, one of the men, told me, that there were plenty of chains and manacles for securing the poor negros, scattered on the sands round the wreck; but, as they were useless for anything but old iron, he did not think them worth picking up. I begged of him to procure me some, and he furnished me with four pair of hand and leg chains, which I left at Fen-court, for the inspection of that noble friend of the negro race, William Knibb, the baptist missionary. I have written to a friend to procure me some more of the manacles, and also a few of the ring chains to which the captives were chained on each deck, and I shall feel a pleasure in presenting them to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. I hope the fact of such a vessel being wrecked on our shores will arouse the public to support more efficiently the committee, in their efforts to abolish slavery throughout the world. Trusting such will be the result. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

31, *Dowgate-hill, 21st Dec.* 1840. T. H. LEWIS.

IRELAND.—THE JAMAICA EMIGRATION SCHEME.—This day (Wednesday) a meeting was held at the City Court House, for the purpose of dissuading the people from emigrating to Jamaica in the Robert Kerr, now in this port. Sir David Roche, M.P., took the chair. The meeting was addressed at considerable length by Counsellor Moore, the delegate of the Anti-slavery Society, who dwelt forcibly on the miseries and destructive consequences likely to attend such a step. The chairman, William

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Howly, Esq., Thomas Steele, Esq., and Thomas Shannon, Esq., lately arrived from a similar climate, also condemned the measure in the strongest terms. A resolution was then unanimously adopted to that effect. William White, Esq., the respected president of the Chamber of Commerce, and his brother, John White Esq., attended the meeting, as agents for the Emigration Company; but the opposition was so stormy that those gentlemen had to retire, without being allowed to give such explanations as they could on the subject. Mr. White, however, stated there were three times as many applications to him as he could comply with, and that he had returned the money lodged to every one of them that required it, and would continue to do so up to the moment of the vessel sailing. It was also stated by Counsellor Moore, on the authority of the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, that a Roman Catholic clergyman from this diocese has an intention of going out in the vessel; and that he, with some of the Society of Friends, had applied at the office to know his name, and would not be informed. A vote of thanks to the chairman, and to Counsellor Moore, concluded the proceedings, which lasted three hours.—*Limerick Chronicle.*

ANTI-SLAVERY APPEAL TO IRISHMEN.—At the public meeting, held at Dublin in October, to receive Messrs. Stanton and Scoble, one of the resolutions adopted was in the following terms:—"That, having learned with indignation that some Irishmen in America, Cuba, and the Brazils, are slave-owners, and that many others of them oppose and stand aloof from the abolition movement, we are ashamed of them as our countrymen, and are determined to exercise all the moral influence in our power, to affix the stigma of merited infamy upon men so recreant to liberty, justice, and the plainest precepts of our common christianity."

A few days since, a public Anti-slavery meeting was held in the Long Room, Southampton, the Rev. T. Adkins in the Chair. It was supposed that 1500 persons were present; and they appeared to be intensely interested and affected with the extent and enormities of slavery and the slave-trade, as exhibited by Mr. Scoble. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Crabb and Draper, Messrs. Harman, Bullar, and other gentlemen. A committee was formed, auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

An anti-slavery meeting was held at Hitchin, Herts, in the month of November, to receive Messrs. Stanton and Scoble, as a deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. The chair was occupied by W. Langford, Esq., of Wymondley-house, and the usual resolutions were adopted.

A SLAVE-DEALER.—On Monday, at Worship-street, an uncouth-looking personage, who gave his name George Young, and stated himself to be an American subject, was placed at the bar. Late on Saturday night, while the "waits" were serenading Spitalfields, the defendant, half drunk, stumbled against them, and, after violently abusing them for daring to impede the progress of a free man, tendered his card to one of them, whom he challenged to meet and fight him on the following morning. The police endeavoured to persuade him to go home, but he struck one of them several times, saying that in his own country he should know how to settle the matter in a moment; although he had not a poinard, he had a good knife, and would stick it into the first person that ran against him. Mr. Broughton asked him what was his occupation? The defendant unblushingly said that he was a slave-dealer. Mr. Broughton: What a trader to the coast of Guinea?—The defendant said *no*; he was a trader in slaves inland, between the southern states. Mr. Broughton sentenced him to pay a fine of 30s. for assaulting the police.—*Patriot.*

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

STATE OF VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas domestic slavery exists in the district of Columbia, under the express authority of Congress, which, at the time of the cession of the district, re-enacted the slave codes of Maryland and Virginia; and, whereas, the sanction thus given to slavery, and its continued toleration at the seat of government, form a manifest violation by this nation of the first principles of justice, and have a tendency to corrupt the moral sense, and lower the character of the whole people of the United States; and, whereas this nation can have no higher interest, either before or in the eyes of men, than the establishment of justice and strengthening the just foundation of national honour; and, whereas, slavery in the district of Columbia, being thus a national concern, and involving national responsibility, it is the right of the state of Vermont to remonstrate against the common wrong, and the degradation of national character, therefore—

Resolved—That Congress ought to exercise its acknowledged power, in the immediate suppression of slavery and the slave-trade in the district of Columbia; and whereas, by the constitution of the United States, Congress has power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and between the several States of the Union, in the exercise of which power, Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and eight, abolished the foreign slave-trade; and, whereas a domestic slave-trade, as unjustifiable in principle as the African slave-trade, and scarcely less cruel and inhuman in practice, is now carried on between the several states; therefore,

Resolved—That the domestic slave-trade between the several states ought to be abolished by Congress without delay.

Resolved—That no new state ought to be admitted into the Union whose constitution shall tolerate domestic slavery.

Resolved—That our senators and representatives in Congress be requested to use their utmost efforts to give effect to the foregoing resolves.

Resolved—That his Excellency the governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolves to each of the senators and representatives from Vermont in Congress.

Passed in house of representatives, Oct. 29, 1840.

P. T. WASHBURN, Assistant Clerk.

The slave-holders of the south are beginning to agitate for the exclusion of the abolitionists from the religious societies of the north. The following is extracted from one of their latest documents. "We can see NO ALTERNATIVE, but that the PRO-SLAVERY men at the north must choose which of the two they will retain in their fellowship, the northern abolitionists or southern slave-holders. Both they cannot retain. The idea is preposterous."

A large company of gentlemen started from this place on Monday morning for Jamaica, West India Islands. Most of them are mechanics, who are employed by the governor of this island to erect necessary buildings for the purpose of making silk, which he intends to make a staple commodity.—*Northampton Courier.*

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The house of assembly met on the 27th of October, when the governor opened the session by a speech of unusual length. The following extracts are too pertinent to our purpose to be omitted:—

"I have great pleasure, gentlemen, in seeing you assembled again to renew your endeavours for the benefit of the community entrusted to our joint care. I cannot desire more than that your deliberations may be marked by the same zeal and public spirit, the same ability and devotion to your duties, that were manifested during the last session. I am happy in believing that your labours on this occasion will be lighter, although you will still have questions of great importance to consider.

"I congratulate you on the distinguished notice of your proceedings contained in her Majesty's speech at the prorogation of the Imperial parliament, and on the expectation graciously expressed of your cordial assistance in the salutary work of improving the condition, and elevating the character of the inhabitants of this colony—an expectation which, I am sure, will not be disappointed.

"The prerogative of the Crown has been exercised in the disallowance of two of our acts, the reasons for which measure in each case shall be laid before you. I have also to communicate to you several recommendations of amendments in other laws, which, I have no doubt, will be met by you with the attention due to the sentiments of her Majesty's ministers, and with an earnest desire to embrace any improvements that can be suggested, as well as to remove any defects that may be discovered—contingencies from which no human legislation is free.

"You are aware that some of your acts passed during the last session have been attacked in public meetings in England, and that we are accused of designing to restore slavery and coercion in Jamaica by unjust and oppressive laws. From such a charge it might be supposed that some monstrous and unprecedented laws have been enacted, calculated to produce that astounding effect; but the laws so reviled are, in some instances, transcripts of enactments recently framed, and now in operation in the United Kingdom; in others, *mitigations* of laws previously existing in the island; and, where particular parts do not exactly correspond with either of these descriptions, they in no wise warrant the accusation hazarded, or could possibly produce the effects alleged to be designed. No candid man, comparing these laws with those of the mother country on the same subjects, as well in those respects in which they differ as those in which they agree, could conscientiously retain that misapprehension. If these laws were really of the character ascribed to them by our impugners, it would behove those of our fellow-countrymen in the United Kingdom who have joined in the onset, to consider the beam in their eye, before they attempt to pull out the mote in their brother's eye; for these laws are, in most part, their own; and if we have erred in deeming them just and good, we have been led astray by the example of the mother country. Whether they are necessary, beneficial, or perfect—whether they might not be improved, or dispensed with—whether we have been wrong in supposing that English laws are the best models for those of a free country—are fair questions for temperate and impartial discussion; but, to say that we are seeking to destroy liberty and restore slavery, by adopting the laws of the chosen land of freedom, and mitigating those previously in force here, is an accusation at once unjust and absurd. Whatever motives may have given birth to the imputation, I trust that the prejudice and delusion by which it has been too readily adopted will yield to the force of truth, and to your perseverance in a wise and patriotic course.

"All those who are acquainted with the state of this island must know, that there is no more fear of a return of slavery in Jamaica than there is of its establishment in England; that our emancipated population are as free, as independent in their conduct, as well conditioned, as much in the enjoyment of abundance, and as strongly sensible of the blessings of liberty, as any that we know of in any country: and every one who reflects must be aware, that, in a land where the demand for labour is pressing, and the supply inadequate—where the people have, in most parts, means of support which preclude the necessity of continuous labour—where the desire to live at ease may, to a considerable extent, be gratified—and where uncultivated and fertile land is abundant, and procurable at little cost, positive coercion is, in the nature of things, impossible; and that the virtual coercion which, in all countries, is imposed by the necessities of the labouring man, is likely to be less here than in any part of the United Kingdom. To those advantages may be added, that all disqualifications and distinctions of colour have ceased; that men of all colours have equal rights in the law, and an equal footing in society; and that every man's position is settled by the same circumstances which regulate that point in other free countries, where no difference of colour exists—that civil and religious liberty is universally enjoyed in as great a degree as in the mother country, and that we have a press as free as any in the world. Such is the present condition of this colony in those respects, and it may be asserted without fear of denial, that the former slaves of Jamaica are now as secure in all social rights as free born Britons. Let it be our study, gentlemen, to confirm, and, if possible, improve this happy state.

"In addition to the amendments recommended by her Majesty's ministers, which it will be my duty to lay before you, I trust that your attention will be directed to the Pound law, in which the clause requiring a written document for the admission of cattle into the pound, is regarded as likely to operate hardly on those who cannot write. The object proposed by this clause can, no doubt, be provided for in another manner, and this objection be thereby removed. It also deserves your consideration, whether the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act may not be improved, by exempting from its operation certain petty articles of island manufacture, and fruits and vegetables, the produce of this country. The fifth clause of the act to prevent cruelty to animals seems likewise to need revision, with a view to the removal of the objection to which it is at present open.

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"I have been engaged during the recess in endeavouring to establish courts of reconciliation on the system described by travellers as existing, with immense benefit, in Norway, and introduced with success into Barbados. I have received cordial co-operation from all the parochial authorities, and the scheme has hitherto appeared to operate with good effect, and will, I trust, produce beneficial results. It enables the labouring population, by the decision of juries selected entirely from their own class, and therefore peculiarly well acquainted with their habits and feelings, to settle their disputes and collisions of interests, without having recourse to courts of law, and expensive litigation. It has further in view the elevation of the character of that class, by their being accustomed to the discharge of important duties as judges in the affairs of their fellow-creatures; whence we may hope that they may become qualified for the performance of the functions of any office in the community, to which they may raise themselves by industry and virtue. Submission to the decision of these courts is optional. I am not sure that any legislative enactment is at present necessary to give effect to this arrangement, although it may be, when the institution shall have arrived at greater maturity.

"The juries evince aptitude and discernment in the discharge of their duties, and seem duly to appreciate the motives and objects of the jurisdiction entrusted to them.

"I receive gratifying reports of the general conduct of the emancipated population, showing that they continue to be worthy of the praise graciously bestowed on them in her Majesty's speech to the Imperial Parliament. Churches, chapels, and schools, raised with the aid of grants from the mother country and the island, or from the funds of charities and societies, and in some cases at the expense of individuals, or by local subscription, to which, in many instances, the labouring class contribute, are in the course of erection, in addition to many which already exist; and more are continually required to meet the demand for education and religious instruction. Several savings' banks are in operation, of which the labouring population laudably avail themselves; and it may be expected, and is to be desired, that more of these valuable institutions will be established.

"I am happy to add, that a good understanding between labourers and employers appears to be gaining ground, and that the former are represented as becoming convinced that their own welfare is linked with the prosperity of their landlords. When the real union of interests between these parties shall be fully comprehended by both, the happiest results may be expected.

"I have still, however, to lament the prevalence, on many properties, of the practice of regulating the rent of house and grounds with reference to labour—that is, of diminishing or increasing the demand for rent, as labour is or is not performed. This practice, I have reason to believe, is the fruitful source of disputes and mutual estrangements between the landholder and the peasant, and rather obstructs than promotes the purposes for which it is designed.

"I have, from several parts, received favourable accounts of the success of the opposite system, and am assured that labour is obtained with greater facility where the rent question is separately settled. The accomplishment of this object, or what, in one respect, has the same effect, increasing the location of the peasantry on lands which they have purchased; the substitution of job-work for day-labour, and a regular money-payment, free from deductions on account of distinct transactions, seem to be the means by which labour is procured to the greatest advantage. I allude to this subject, because it is one of predominant interest to the two large classes of our community—the landlords and the peasantry—and not with any hope that legislation would be interposed to remedy what seems objectionable, without an injudicious interference in the rights of property that would be wrong in principle, and could not therefore, be recommended.

"In consequence of the combined insufficiency and uncertainty of labour, owing to the scantiness of our population, and to the desire which men naturally entertain, when they possess the means, to follow their own inclinations in pursuit of their livelihood, the minds of all who feel an interest in the general prosperity of the colony, are turned with anxiety towards immigration as the only perceptible mode of alleviating the existing defect. I have availed myself of the powers granted to me by the Immigration Act, and, with a view to give effect to the intentions of the legislature, have nominated a commissioner, who has proceeded to America and thence to Great Britain, and an agent-general in the island. The appointment of deputy-agents at the several ports I have delayed, until they may appear to be required. The attention of the government and of the public in the mother-country, has been attracted to this important subject, and there is some prospect of the immigration of liberated Africans, and other free persons, from the coast of Africa. Whether we shall derive benefit from the plans now on foot for the promotion of emigration to the West Indies, must depend on the advantages that we can offer, compared with those of other colonies and countries, to induce immigrants to settle here.

"With respect to one important point, our beautiful island presents in its highlands a delightful and healthy climate for Europeans and inhabitants of all countries, and on the lowlands one salubrious and agreeable to Africans, and the natives of tropical regions. In other respects, with so great a demand for labour, and such abundance of uncultivated land, we ought to be able to compete with other colonies. It is manifest that immigration on a large scale, is necessary not only for the development of our still latent resources, but even for the successful cultivation of the present staples. How far we can obtain that desirable momentum is doubtful; and in pursuit of it, whatever may be the result, we ought not to neglect any means within our reach of promoting the comfort, content, cheerful industry, and attachment of the peasantry of the island.

EMIGRATION.—The *Colonial Reformer* contains a letter on this subject, from which we quote the following:—"I have had very favourable opportunities of witnessing the working of the emigration speculation—and I contemplate with horror the importation of 50,000 more deluded beings into this country.

"For them no preparation is making *now*—and when they arrive they will add to the numbers of those unhappy victims of cupidity, whose history is short but appalling. They came to this country—they sickened—they died!

"Where, Sir, are the hundreds of our fellow-men—many of them our fellow countrymen, who were tempted by the false promises of captains, planters, and other greedy speculators, to come to this country, within the last four years? *Where are they?* Who can answer? When earth shall render up its dead, the mystery will be unveiled.

"The rum, the sun, and the disappointments of this country, levelled them to the dust in a few short months after their arrival.

"If the individual cases of wretchedness which I have seen were told in the ears of the peasantry of Great Britain, they would submit to all the privations of their native land—to the bread tax iniquity—to the poor-house provisions—to the starving wages system—to anything, in short, rather than come hither—to be destroyed!"

"The trickery employed in this business may be judged of by the following extract of a letter from a gentleman in England, given in the same paper:—

"About ten days ago a wretched and sickly looking man, apparently about fifty years of age, accompanied by a woman of the same age and bearing, came to ask my opinion as to their going out to Jamaica in the capacity of *labourers*. The man told me he was a *horse-hair weaver*—that his work had failed, and some lady had advised him to go out to Jamaica, where he could get employment at a shilling (sterling) per day, with a house and garden rent free, and that there was a great want of labour, as the negros would not work.

"The opinion I gave him was this, that it was altogether ridiculous for Englishmen to go out to Jamaica as *field labourers*—that, especially at his time of life, it was not likely he would live twelve months. I said also, that the promises of the planters were not to be depended on—that they would hold him answerable by his labour for the amount of his passage money—and then, if he became sick or infirm, would turn him adrift. Further I added, that the whole emigration scheme was designed for the injury of the negros—that they were by no means disinclined to labour for proper wages—and that I was assured the planters' plan was to get out as many poor Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen as they could, to work at low wages—and *if possible* compel the negros to come in to their terms. On the whole, I recommended him, if he could in any way manage to exist in England, not to think of going to Jamaica.

"It appears that, previous to the man's coming to me, he with another man and his wife, and their families had, applied to the parish officers to provide them with the means of going out—these dignified personages had agreed to do so, but in consequence of my advice the men declined leaving England.

"In consequence of my advice I have been attacked with some asperity by one of the churchwardens—and to-day have had a visit from the lady and her daughter, who are the actual superintendants of this emigration scheme in Salisbury. In no measured terms they censured my advice and opinion, and the lady told me (on the authority of her son, a resident in Jamaica) that the negros would not work for less than 5*s. a day!! that they were offered* 4*s.!!!* that the climate is so healthy, that out of 500 English and Irish emigrants, who had come to that part of the island, not more than five had *died in two years!!!* that many had realized large property, and that the *foreman received £200. sterling a year!!!* that the negros absolutely will not work, preferring to *lie about on the roads in idleness, &c. &c. &c.*"

On this extract the editor says, "We denounce the whole of these statements as specimens of *enormous lying*. Let the son of a lady in question come forward, and verify his astounding averments if he be able."

A HINT FOR MR. M'QUEEN.—"Of a kin with the foregoing are the 'extraordinary assertions' made by the notorious Mr. James M'Queen, before a committee of the House of Commons, as exhibited in the extract from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* inserted in our last page. He too, speaks of the labourers refusing to labour for less than *four* or *five* maccaronies a day—and of the men luxuriating on "champagne and bottled porter"—whilst our black ladies are flaunting about in "silks and satins!" Habitual lying is exceedingly injurious to a man's morals. It is high time for Mr. M'Queen to reform all such evil habits, otherwise he runs some risk of being sent to—

'The place where very wicked people go.'"

Colonial Reformer.

There is said to be a vast deal of oppression still carried on by various planters against the labourers; high rents and low wages are the order of the day—but these are leading to a very salutary result—throwing the people on their own resources, and driving them to seek independence from the tyrannous control of their former task masters. They are fast purchasing small settlements of their own.—*Colonial Reformer.*

INTER-COLONIAL SLAVE-TRADE.—[From the *Colonial Reformer.*] We have learned since our last, that there is not a doubt but that the allegation of De Saint, that he purchased those slaves for the purpose of navigating the vessel, is a mere flimsy pretext, and that it was no secret to the rest of the crew that the five blacks were to be sold in the Texas market, or perhaps that of New Orleans. They were six in number at one time, but one of them had effected his escape at St. Thomas', by jumping overboard and swimming ashore.

But it was not from one island only that this slave dealer selected his victims—three others were purchased by him at Martinique, whilst a fourth, a very intelligent lad named Alexandre, was procured from Guadaloupe at the high price of 300 dollars, but who, in the Texas market, would most probably realize from ten to twelve hundred dollars.

Thus it is clear enough that they were not Spanish slaves, in the act, of being removed from one Spanish colony to another, but slaves actually purchased during the voyage, from Danish and French islands, and embarked in a Spanish bottom under a French captain, for transport to the Texan slave mart.

There is too much reason to fear that the infamous inter-colonial slave trade is rife in all parts of the West Indies—is carried on to a great extent, and is daily increasing.

CAMELS.—A new scheme for supplying the deficiency of manual labour in these colonies, has just been reported to us as having been suggested by the British Consul at Teneriffe to the Colonial office. We allude to the introduction of *camels*, which, it would appear, have already been used to some extent by the Copper Mining Companies at St. Jago de

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Cubs, as well as by several landed proprietors, as beasts of burden on their estates.—*Royal Gazettee.*

BARBADOS.—Two cases which have lately come before the court of appeal are painfully illustrative of the condition of the peasantry at the present hour:—

Jack Francis is a labourer attached to *Carrington* plantation, under the merciful management of one Mr. Lynch Thomas. He received two bits a day (10d. sterling) for actual labour, and was allowed, as an incident to his service on the estate, and in part wages, to cultivate a quarter acre of land for his benefit. He resided with his parents, who are also labourers on the estate, no separate residence being provided for him by his employer. He is sickly and subject to fits, and for some weeks had been laid up with this disease, had his head shaved and blistered, and been under the care of two medical men. When convalescent and able to come out to his work, he was informed by Mr. Thomas that he was indebted to the estate four dollars and four bits (18s. 4d. sterling) for land rent, incurred during his sickness! The poor man very properly refused to pay this sum, or any portion of it.

In consequence, he was warranted before Mr. Police Magistrate Applewhaite for the amount, and that worthy dispenser of even-handed justice, on the simple showing of the manager, and without any proof to establish the claim, gave judgment for the full amount with costs; and *in four days* after issued execution, the levy on which (a sheep) was sold the next day. The law allows twenty-one days between judgment and execution, and fourteen days between the levy and sale; but, in Mr. Applewhaite's opinion, this was too long a period for a poor labouring man, like Jack Francis; and, as Mr. Applewhaite is a member of assembly, he no doubt thought he had a right, in his legislative capacity, to alter and amend the law in this case, according to his juster view of the matter.

Justice Tinling thought this a singular case—that was the only estate in the island, he thought, on which the practice exists to charge rent, in such cases, during sickness. We beg to correct this mistake, for such it really is. It is the general practice throughout the island, and did our life depend upon it at this moment, we could not name a single exception, although there are very probably a few. The only difference is, that on some estates the rate is higher than on others—and on many, *a large proportion of the wages are cleared off in this manner*, and the expenses of the estate lightened!

Ishmael Thomas was charged two bits (10*d.* sterling) a-day rent, because he did not agree to the task attempted to be imposed on him as a day's work. And his house was built by himself!

And this is the "happy condition" of our labouring population—this the sort of kind and generous treatment they experience at the hands of their over indulgent employers—this the even-handed justice impartially dealt out to them—this the effectual protection which the laws of the country afford them—in a word, this is the state of things which we grossly libel—these are the men whom we maliciously slander—when we affirm that the flock left to the guardianship of the wolf would not be in worse predicament than are these poor people at this moment!—*Liberal.*

TRINIDAD.—[From the *Barbados Liberal.*]—The (London) *Colonial Gazette* sometime ago informed its readers, that there was one colony in the West Indies in which all distinctions on account of colour had ceased, and the white and coloured races were as one in all civil and political matters. This one colony was Trinidad! The honourable William H. Burnley, member of Trinidad council, was then in England on an immigration mission, and had contrived, it seems, to fool the sagacious editor of the *Gazette*, along with others, into this belief. Mr. Burnley's object in making this statement, was to gain over the consent of government to his immigration schemes for the enriching of the Trinidad planters; so that this object was attained, it mattered not what he said. A grosser misrepresentation of the colony—of the condition of the coloured classes, and the sentiments and policy of the whites towards them—could not have been made, than that which Mr. Burnley, with the full knowledge of the real circumstances of the case, imposed for truth upon Lord John Russell and the editor of the *Colonial Gazette.*

So far from the coloured classes being in better civil and political condition in Trinidad than in the other colonies, we should find it difficult to name another colony in which their condition is worse; in which, in proportion to their property, respectability, and intelligence as a body, they actually enjoy, comparatively with the whites, fewer privileges and a smaller measure of right, than in Trinidad. In no one of the colonies are the coloured classes farther removed than in this from civil and political equality with the whites; and nobody knew this better than did the honourable William H. Burnley, at the moment that he was humbugging Lord John Russell, and the editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, with a statement to the contrary.

Our Trinidad correspondent furnishes this afternoon an illustration of this point. The far greater portion of the houses in Port of Spain are the property of coloured persons—the town almost belongs to them. Yet, under the Town Council Ordinance, we find that only *nineteen* of that class are returned qualified as burgesses, whilst the whites have *ninety-one!* The coloured people cannot be prevented from possessing houses in Port of Spain; but, because they own the majority of houses, it would never do to allow them to have the majority of votes in the election of a town council, or even an equal number with the whites.

Of the ninety-one white burgesses, our correspondent says:—"twenty-eight of the most conspicuous characters are not householders," and one, "but a few months since, in open court, declared he had nothing, and prayed to be allowed to pay a small sum due by him in monthly instalments." The object was to swell the list of whites as much as possible; and, if men of property could not be found for the purpose, why not take men of straw? They could not give property—they could not pick up so many white-skinned paupers and give them freeholds, or doubtless they would have done so; but they could give them votes, without property, by the same rule that they could withhold votes from coloured persons who had property.

BAHAMAS.—[From the *Baltimore Patriot.*]—A letter from Captain Chattin, of the schooner Hermosa, dated at Nassau, N. P., October [illegible], announces the wrecking of his vessel. She struck on a reef of rocks near the east end of the island of Abaco, on the night of the 10th of October, the wind blowing fresh at the time, after a run of four days and a half from Cape Henry. She was bound from Richmond to New Orleans with a cargo of slaves (forty-seven in number) and tobacco. She bilged immediately, and is a total loss. The crew and slaves made their escape to the island, where the slaves were taken possession of by the civil authorities, and, after being taken to Nassau, New Providence, (the capital of the Bahama Isles) were set at liberty by the governor. The slaves belonged to Messrs. Lumpkin and Co., of Richmond, and their liberation, we suppose, will form another troublesome question for our minister at the court of St. James, to settle.

ST. LUCIA.—The immigration to this island of the labourers of Martinique, escaping from slavery, which had ceased for some months, partly through the vigilance of their government, and partly in consequence of the prevalence of the opinion that their emancipation was not *very* distant—has recommenced. On Monday two canoes arrived at Gros-Islet, one containing eight, and the other three, all young able-bodied men—most of whom have their relations already settled in the colony. It would appear that the escape of the fugitives had transpired in Martinique, for on Tuesday a French vessel was observed to stand across the channel, and come close under the land at Pigeon Island, but, having missed their object, returned without communicating with the land.—*Independent Press.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—The master of the Peg a Ramsay, P. C. Rebitt, is violently abused by the planters for his readiness to take back discontented immigrants to Barbados. They accuse him of "fingering the gold," and of a very sudden change of opinion. For the former accusation there is evidently no real ground; and to the latter he thus replies, in a letter to the *Guiana Times.*

"I expected that, when the Barbados emigrants went to Demerara and were located on estates, they would have been better treated than has been represented to *me* by many of them. Many of them went over without their families; they were strangers to the colony; they were taken sick; they got no other care than medical attendance; they often applied to their managers for a little sugar, which was denied them. If these people had been treated differently, it is not likely there would have been so much fuss about emigration. You will find that Demerara will be benefited by my bringing back a few of the labourers, as it will be the means of making some of the planters treat them better when they get them; and, if better treated, it is likely they will remain in the colony. Had the Demerara planters not resorted to the means which they used, there would not have been so many complaints. The planters of Demerara sent over to Barbados men who went about and picked up all they could get, they made no inquiries into character, nor did they care how incompetent the emigrants were for the labour required of them, so long as they could muster the number they were sent for, as they were generally promised a management, if they could collect a certain number, or they got some five or six dollars a-head.

"These dealers in human flesh held out false promises to the emigrants, and generally gave them five dollars each, for which they never forgot to make their goods payable in Demerara; although they told the labourers that it was a present to them, in compensation for the time they had lost while waiting to get their passports."

The planters denounce any person who inquires after the condition of the immigrants as bitterly as they did Mr. Scoble. This jealousy speaks volumes. Certificates got up for the occasion avail nothing in answer to it.

TOBAGO.—The legislature of Tobago met on the 10th of September. From the governor's address we extract the following passages:—

"I regret to find that the crop of the present year is somewhat inferior in quantity to that of the last; but by no means so much so as was apprehended in the course of last summer, when, it will be recollected, the prognostications of some of the planters were of the most gloomy description, in consequence of a continuance of unfavourable weather, which had for some time prevailed.

"A counterpoise to the smallness of quantity, may perhaps be found in the present high price of the commodity in the home market, and in the flattering prospects for the year to come.

"That the present gratifying promise of an abundant crop in 1841 may be sustained throughout the year, and in the end be realised by a continuance of favourable seasons, we may reasonably, under Divine Providence, be permitted to hope; and it affords me much satisfaction as connected with this subject, to state my expectation that the reasonable complaints which have for some time been made, of a diminution in the quantity of labour generally to be obtained, will gradually cease to be heard, and that Tobago will yet, in a great measure, be restored—and chiefly by her native population,—to the enjoyment of her wonted prosperity.

"I am induced to entertain this cheering expectation, from the continued unwillingness shown by those individuals who have seceded from estates' labour to leave the island (to most of them the land of their birth), and from the very important fact, that no additional diminution in the number of labourers employed through the last year has taken place on the expiration of engagements on the 1st of August just past, when a considerable falling off was expected.

"Some changes have occurred; but not to any loss of numbers, and the negros have, in many instances, volunteered fresh engagements for the year to come.

"But, gentlemen, be the inclination of the labourers what it may; be it ever so favourable to the planter, it will avail little, while his mind is distracted by the various schemes that are resorted to, to secure his services—schemes in themselves destructive of the confidence which should subsist between master and servant, and which will inevitably end in disappointment to the parties, and prove highly injurious to the general interest of the planter."

The assembly were far from agreeing in the sentiments of the governor. They call aloud for immigration from Africa. They say, however "we would not be understood to detract from the merits of our peasantry, who are highly deserving of your Excellency's favourable opinion."

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ANTI-SLAVERY

REPORTER.

VOL. II. 1841.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LONDON:

KRAUS REPRINT
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1969

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The Anti-Slavery Society, London
KRAUS REPRINT
A Division of
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1969

Printed in Germany
Lessing-Druckerei, Wiesbaden

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. II. No. 28.] WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13TH, 1841. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

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EGYPTIAN SLAVE HUNTS.

[We are indebted for the following affecting narrative to Dr. Madden. To him, on his late visit to Egypt, it was given by the writer, Ignatius Palmé, of Bohemia. It has been translated from the German.]

TOWARDS the end of the year 1838, the viceroy ordered the province of Kordofan to procure 5000 slaves. At the end of the month of November of that year, the ordered corps, consisting of 2400 foot, 750 mograbini, 200 irregular horse, 300 riders on dromedaries, and 1200 country people, armed with shields and lances, with three cannon, commenced to march. As it was impossible to procure the whole number of camels in the short period that remained before their march, many being required to carry water, tents, &c., two of the infantry received but one camel between them. Provision and cattle, as well as the necessary provender for the horses, were provided only for a few days, expecting afterwards to obtain what was necessary by robbery and plunder.

A mountain which had suffered materially in former years from the troops of Mohammed Ali, as well as from the rapacious bakkara, and was almost dis-peopled, being one of the first in the territories of free Nubia, was first commanded to surrender. The sheik readily descended into the camp, and surrendered himself with all his subjects, consisting of 196 souls; he himself was set free and presented with a dress, but the sheba* was fastened round the necks of the young men, and on the following day all the prisoners were transported to Lobeid. The sheik himself told me, that, about eighteen years ago, when the Turks went there for the first time, the population of his mountain amounted to more than three thousand souls; but, on account of the annual tribute of slaves, which was always tenfold increased by the dissatisfied Turks, the number had been reduced to one hundred and ninety-six. These prisoners were treated humanely, and no suicide took place among them; they saw the impossibility of offering resistance, and became reconciled to their hard lot. Having found only a small store of provisions with the poor people of Dohna, the bread of the troops soon failed, and they were obliged to advance. An attack was made upon the next mountain, but the soldiers were sadly disappointed in their expectations when they found all empty. The inhabitants had been apprised of the arrival of the expedition, and had fled with all their goods and cattle; nothing but their empty huts remained, to which the soldiers in their anger set fire, and entirely destroyed everything they discovered.

They then proceeded to the third mountain. The inhabitants firmly resolved to defend their liberty at any price, and were willing rather to suffer death than deliver themselves into the hands of the Turks; they put forth all their strength, in order to make a desperate resistance. The village was stormed, but the negros repulsed their enemy several times; after repeated attacks, however, it was at last taken, and then a horrible scene presented itself to the view of the spectator. Out of the 500 souls that inhabited the village, only 188 were found alive. All the huts were filled with the corpses of young and old; many of those who had not perished in the battle, with their arms in their hands, killed themselves in order to escape slavery. The prisoners were all led away, the place ransacked, and the corpses left unburied, which presented a fearful scene of desolation, upon the return of the few who had been fortunate enough to save themselves by flight.

In order to afford the troops some rest an encampment was made, and a part of the troops sent out to procure some provisions. Such a camp, which is usually pitched in a plain, consists of an irregular square, which is fenced in with thorn hedges, bushes, and sometimes with stones, and in which the regular infantry and the cannon are placed, while the cavalry and the bearers of lances are stationed on the outside. They never place sentinels, or adopt other means of caution, but confine themselves to a mere defence against a *coup de main*. The negros frequently make a sally by night, which may prove destructive to the troops on account of their great carelessness. They generally encamp, however, only for a short time, and this was the case in the present

* The *sheba* is a young tree, or pole, cut to the length of eight feet, such a fork being left at the top as enables it to be fastened round the neck of a slave. The pole then rests on the ground before him; so that, in order to advance a single step, he is obliged to take up the sheba, and hold it in his hands; walking in this way is, of course, dreadfully laborious and slow. When a quicker pace is desired, the slaves are placed in file, and the sheba of each rested on the shoulder of the one before him.

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instance; for, as soon as the soldiers had refreshed themselves a little, and procured some provisions, the tents were broken up, and the march continued to the mountain fixed upon for the next attack.

The cavalry had been sent half-an-hour sooner, in order to surround the mountain; but, when they approached it, they were suddenly attacked by the mountaineers, who were informed of the arrival of the Turks. The negros, strong in number, and only armed with shields and lances, rushed out of their ambush with violence, uttering terrible cries, in which they were assisted by the women who accompanied their husbands. They threw themselves upon the enemy. The cavalry were immediately thrown into consternation, and, unwilling to await the attack, turned and fled. One of the leaders of the Beduini, who was riding on a spirited horse that would not immediately follow the others, was suddenly surrounded. He took his gun in order to fire at the first assailant; this, however missed fire, and, before he could make use of his sword or pistols, or prepare himself in any way for his defence, he was pulled from his horse and immediately killed. None of his people made the least attempt to assist their leader, each one thought only of his own safety.

While the cavalry rallied behind the infantry, the commander ordered them to make an attack on the next day. If it had succeeded, the slaughter would have been terrible, for all intended to revenge the fallen leader of the beduini. It was, however, differently ordained by the God of providence.

As soon as the day began to dawn the infantry prepared for the attack, and the cavalry were kept in reserve, but no enemy was visible; and it was supposed that the negros had retired into their village, which was situated very near a very steep precipice, and wanted to defend themselves there. They advanced with the greatest caution; a few cannon shots directed against the village were useless, all remained quiet. Suddenly, however, when the avant-guard had reached the foot of the mountain, and were about to storm the place, the negros rushed forth from all directions and endeavoured to surround the assailants. The situation of the latter became very critical; for, their attention having been exclusively fixed on the mountain which they were ordered to attack, they had entirely overlooked that two other mountains were situated on the sides of the former, and inhabited by an equal number of negros, who had united with their neighbours, and rushed down with all their might upon the infantry. None of them would have escaped, had not the commander of the Egyptian troops perceived the imminent danger in time, and immediately ordered a retreat, when all fled out of the valley in the greatest confusion; for, surrounded by a narrow valley, with scarcely sufficient room to move, and no assistance to be expected from the cavalry, all would have been lost. As the negros came down the mountains like black clouds, no one could have resisted their attack; for, with an indescribable fury they rush to the battle, heedless of pistols, guns, or bayonets: they use their lances skilfully, and joyfully die, fighting for their liberty. The cavalry did not remain, and the troops only stopped when they found themselves beyond the reach of their enemies. No one thought of commencing the battle again; for, if once defeated, nothing in the world can induce these heroes to make another attack. They are likewise aware that the negros, after being in possession of an advantage, however small, become almost invincible, especially as the guns with bayonets are of little use against the arms of the blacks; for, as I observed before, these wild mountaineers are reckless of danger and devoid of fear; but, blinded with fury, and despising death, they rush into the battle. I myself experienced an instance of the intrepidity of these men. My servant one day came into contact with one of the negros, and when I perceived that the former was in danger, I hastened to his assistance, and pointed my gun at his breast, designing to frighten rather than to do him any harm; yet he remained as immoveable as a wall, and, heedless of the threatening danger, he kept his eye fixed on his opponent, and threw his lance at him, but fortunately he missed his aim, and it was only by kindness he could be pacified.

When the troops had again rallied, and all was set in order, they proceeded on their expedition, and in a few days they succeeded in taking several other mountains, and the prisoners were sent to Lobeid. They then directed their course to the south of the Nuba mountains, which is inhabited by another tribe.

The village of this tribe, situated on a very advantageous part of the mountain, was difficult to be taken by storm; and the commander, in order not to suffer loss, resolved to blockade it, and to force the negros to surrender from want of water. The siege lasted eight days, and, as it was afterwards ascertained, these poor creatures, who did not feel themselves strong enough to defend themselves, had not a drop of water on the fourth day. The cattle were killed on the first day, in order not to diminish the supply of water; on the sixth day, several children and old people perished through thirst; and on the seventh day, the mortality was so general that they resolved to surrender. Some advised to make a sally, but others, feeling exhausted, thought it would be of no use; and when on the eighth day the torments of thirst destroyed hundreds, and many in despair cut open their bellies with their two-edged knives, and thus destroyed themselves, the remainder surrendered to the enemy. Of more than 2000 people only 1049 were alive. When the Turks entered the village, they found the huts filled with corpses. Several were indeed alive, but so exhausted that they could scarcely keep themselves erect: but, with knocks from the butt ends of the guns and flogging, these poor creatures were driven out of their huts, and, suffering all kinds of ill treatment, were dragged into the camp, and from thence sent to Lobeid, but more than 150 died on their way there. On the fourth day of the departure of this transport of slaves, when the caravan halted, and the prisoners as usual lay down in small divisions, an old woman, on account of her former suffering, and from her long march entirely exhausted, could not reach her appointed place with sufficient readiness; an unfeeling soldier gave her a blow with the butt end of his gun, that she sank to the ground almost lifeless. Her son, who witnessed this ill-treatment, not being able to master his feelings, flew with great fury at the soldier, and gave him such a blow with the sheba fastened to his neck, that he likewise sank to the ground. This served as an appointed signal. All the slaves wearing a sheba fell on the soldiers, and knocked several of them down, so that, before they could seize their guns, and fix their bayonets at the end, fifty-six negros, favoured by the darkness of the night and the confusion in the camp, had fled, and safely escaped; while the country people, into whose care they had been committed, remained quiet spectators—a proof of the interest they take in such captures.

The main troops had in the mean time continued their march, and taken a mountain by storm, but not without loss. The village, situated near a steep precipice could only be attacked on one side; and, having a good supply of water, it would have been useless to blockade it. That being the case, they attempted to storm it. With unprecedented fury they fought on both sides, and the assailants had to pay dearly with their blood for every step they advanced. The negros blocked up all the passes, made use of every stone, of every tree and every elevation behind which they could hide, and rushed on the enemy, so that they could only reach the summit with great difficulty. It was impossible for the soldiers to make use of their guns, for, creeping like ants on hands and feet, they were unable to take their arms in their hands, and consequently many of them were pierced with the lances of the negros before they could stand erect, and in their fall they dragged others with them. Firing the cannon was quite useless, and could not be continued for fear of injuring their own troops. The battle was fearful, and remained for a long time undecided; but the soldiers at last succeeded in obtaining a fair footing on the summit of the mountain, and were enabled to make an attack with their bayonets. That decided, and, in spite of the negros most desperate resistance, the village was at last taken. The bloodshed which ensued was horrible. All who defended themselves were killed without mercy; children, women, and old men, were stabbed with bayonets, the huts were burned down, and every thing ransacked —in short these unhappy creatures were treated with the most furious cruelty. All that fell alive into the hands of the conquerors were immediately dragged down into the camp; those who endeavoured to hide themselves in caves or cliffs were driven out again, or suffocated by means of fire and smoke. All imaginable cruelties were practised, and not discontinued till every one of these unfortunate people was either killed, or led away into slavery. All that remained of their poor possessions, and that could not be carried away was destroyed, and at last the whole village was razed to the ground.

But the sufferings of these poor people did not end here—they had to suffer greater torments on their way to Kordofan. I was, alas, myself eye witness of the misery of the prisoners. No pen can describe what cruelties these poor creatures, who were already cast down on account of the loss of their goods, and especially the loss of their liberty, had to suffer on their way. Partly with the heavy sheba round their necks, or tied together two and two with strong leather strings, or their hands fastened with clasps, these poor negros were driven along like cattle, and treated with far less indulgence and much more severity. Most of them covered with wounds which they had received in the battle, or from the friction of the sheba, the leather strings, or the clasps, had to suffer the most excruciating pains; and, if they became too exhausted to keep step with the others, still greater sufferings awaited them. The cries and lamentations of these unfortunate persons, as well as the weeping and crying of the children, who had either lost their parents when the village was taken by storm, or were too much fatigued to follow their mothers, who were still more so—who suffered from hunger and thirst, and did not receive a morsel of bread to satisfy their hunger, nor a drop of water to quench their thirst, from the hard-hearted Turks—all this could move a heart of stone, but it made no impression on these unfeeling captnrers. They walked indifferently by the side of their prisoners, and only stimulated them to advance by blows and strokes. As all who were found alive were carried off, there was a great number of blind, lame, old, or otherwise feeble people, respecting whom they knew beforehand that they would either perish on the way, or fetch no price; but this was not regarded, all were unmercifully taken from their homely hearth, and left to their fate; their only care was to procure the requisite number of slaves demanded by government.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon they halted, the slaves were arranged into different divisions after their ages, and received their food, which consisted of boiled maize (dohna). No salt is given, and the maize is boiled so hard, that it is scarcely possible for adults to chew it; the children, whose teeth are too tender to chew this kind of corn, swallow it like pills, and afterwards perish most miserably, as they cannot digest what they have swallowed, which makes their bellies swell. I frequently saw that mothers chewed it for their children.

When the division of the prisoners was made in the campac-

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cording to their ages, no allowance was made for the children, who anxiously embraced their parents, the sick, and the wounded: the former were violently torn from the arms of their parents, in order that they might accustom themselves to eat alone; and the sick received the same food as the healthy: several of them preferred to throw themselves crying into the sand, and endeavoured to refresh their weak limbs, refusing to take any food. If any one became so exhausted that they saw no possibility of driving him any further, or if he was already dying, they would throw him aside like a piece of wood, and let him either perish from exhaustion, or be torn by wild beasts. Bread is not even heard of, although there is a possibility to bake some on their march. This, however, would in their opinion be superfluous for the poor slaves, and they must content themselves with food which is too bad for cattle. As soon as the signal of decampment was given, every one was obliged to hasten to his detachment; whoever came only one minute too late was beaten with whips, and the butt ends of the guns. Old men and women, who, bent with old age, could scarcely creep along, suffered the same ill treatment, and were left behind in the sand if they were not able to advance; and the children were not allowed to take leave of their dear relatives—with tears in their eyes they could only look at them, and leave them to their fate. In order not to see the father left behind in so miserable a situation, wives and daughters took him between them, and helped him on, while he had his arms round their necks, and he was sometimes carried by them. Children from six years, and even from four years of age, were obliged to run. But they could seldom bear the fatiguing march, and were obliged to be carried by their mothers or sisters. I even saw mothers with a sucking babe in one arm, a child of two years of age in the other, and at last an exhausted boy on their backs, sink under this threefold burden.

Officers who are charged with such a transportation are the chief cause why the soldiers treat the poor slaves so cruelly—either riding at some distance before the caravan, or behind it, they care nothing about the condition of the captives, and leave them entirely in the hands of the soldiers; and it is soon perceived when a humane officer conducts the caravan, for then only few perish. I saw one of them particularly attending to the children and the sick, and, as soon as he perceived that one of them lost his strength, and could not go on with the rest, he ordered that he should be put on one of the beasts of burden—he even took one or two on his own horse.

An hour before sunset they halted again, and distributed boiled corn (dohna) among the slaves. But during the night the misery of the slaves reached its highest pitch. In the month of January, in which the change of the temperature is generally keenly felt, as the thermometer frequently falls to eight degrees, the cold was so intense, that it might be compared with the cold of northern Germany, when four or five degrees below the freezing point. Let the reader remember that the poor negros are naked, without any covering, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and he can judge what these poor people had to suffer; fires were indeed kindled, but, as there was a deficiency of wood, they were not sufficient to protect against the cold. The wailing and mourning of the children, sick, wounded, and dying, were therefore terrible, and one morning they found a sucking child frozen to death, still on the bosom of its mother. The negros have indeed no covering when in their villages, but are quite naked, with the exception of a cotton girdle round their loins; but during the night they lie in their huts, and cover themselves with skins, all of which they were deprived of on their march.

Those who wore the sheba round their necks could not sleep on account of pain, as their necks were so pressed together that they could not move them, and thus not one of them was free from sufferings. A woman near her confinement was delivered one night without any assistance. The new-born babe was wrapped up in a shirt which I had given to the mother, and safely brought to Lobeid. I gave my donkey to the mother to ride on.

It is indeed impossible for me to describe all the misery which I witnessed during the time I remained with them. Language fails. The sufferings which the slaves have to undergo are beyond conception, and no words can describe the pain which a sensitive heart feels when witnessing such scenes. I did all in my power, partly by kind words, partly by small presents, to make the soldiers, as well as the country people who had to escort the slaves, more compassionate; the consequence was, that many of them would take a poor child that could not move his wounded feet any longer in the sand, or that was a burden to his exhausted mother, on his arms, and carry it nearly the whole of the way; but it was impossible for me to put a stop to all the acts of cruelty, and I was obliged one day to see an unfeeling soldier knock down with the butt end of his gun, a poor man, whose feet were quite inflamed on account of the wounds which he had received in battle, and whom pain prevented from keeping step with the others. I was no longer master of my feelings, I drew my sword, and would have hewn this tiger into pieces, if my servant had not stopped me by winding my sword out of my hands; he likewise took my pistol from me, and did not return my arms till he saw that my anger had cooled.

On the eighth day, the whole expedition arrived at Lobeid, where the distribution of the slaves took place, and this is the chief reason that the soldiers treat the slaves so unmercifully: for as they are obliged to take these instead of the arrears of pay, and that at a very high price; and, as the slaves frequently die before they have sold them again, and the soldiers consequently lose all, they try all they can to let the old and feeble perish before they reach Lobeid. If the troops in Cordofan and other provinces received their pay in ready money, I feel convinced that they would treat these unfortunate people with more humanity. But thanks be to the kind care of the magnanimous Queen Victoria, who has cast her compassionate regards upon these distant regions, and upon their poor inhabitants, and through whose interposition thousands and thousands of poor negros, who from year to year were threatened with a similar fate, will now be able to spend their lives in quietude and peace, and the prayers of these henceforth happy people, must and will draw down blessings.

THE UNITED STATES' FLAG AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

From the parliamentary papers of 1840, we glean the following particulars in relation to this painful subject.

The British commissioners at Sierra Leone write thus to Lord Palmerston.

"Although no ship's papers were found on board the *Rebecca*, the private documents, in connexion with the evidence of the witnesses, furnish a complete illustration of the mode in which the American flag is at present employed to facilitate the Cuba slave-trade.

"The American owner of the *Rebecca*, after having disposed of her to an Havana slave-merchant, allowed the former American papers and master still to remain on board the vessel (no longer his property) on the outward voyage to the coast of Africa, and until her return cargo of slaves should be ready for shipment, when the nominal American master of the vessel was to transmit to the former American owner the American register, cut across the middle, by two separate conveyances, so that the owner might cancel his bonds at the custom-house.

"The flag of America, which the *Rebecca* had no right to bear, was thus used by the Spanish slave-merchant to protect the outward voyage of a vessel which would otherwise have been liable to seizure and condemnation, under the Spanish treaty, on the ground of equipment; and the nominal American master (the willing agent of the fraud), employed to give a specious colour to the transaction, was plainly told by his former American employer, that he must no longer look to him for a remuneration for his service, but either to Ealo, the owner at Havana, or Alvarez, the consignee at the Gallinas.

"This the American (Watson) seems to have been quite willing to do; and in a letter, a copy of which was found in his log-book, he informs a correspondent that, on a former trip of the same nature, he had realized a clear profit of 880 dollars, including his wages and the net proceeds of three slaves, who were reserved for him out of the cargo. On the present homeward voyage, the amount of Watson's wages does not appear; but a passage from Gallinas back to Havana, on board the *Rebecca*, was to be found for him, and he was to receive one slave out of the cargo as his perquisite."

They furnish the following example of the conduct of American functionaries in Cuba.

"The zeal and alacrity with which the United States consul at Havana assists such illegal adventures as the present, were, as usual, conspicuous on this occasion. He recognised, as a valid document, a register which had apparently been cancelled, and of which only the left half was produced to him; and he acknowledged Williamson as owner of the *Florida*, and the purchaser of that vessel, although no power of attorney or power of substitution was forthcoming to prove the right which either Kelly, the alleged agent, or Manzanedo, the alleged substitute and seller, had received from Elvear, the original owner named in the mutilated register, to dispose of the property in question; nor does it seem to have excited any doubt in the unsuspicious mind of Mr. J. A. Smith, that a vessel fully equipped for the slave-trade, and bound for the most notorious slave-mart on the coast of Africa, should be cleared out from Havana by one of the most extensive slave-merchants of Cuba, with a crew of which the captain of the flag was the only person who professed to be an American citizen. A striking contrast is here presented between the sensitiveness of the government of the United States, with regard to the honour of the American flag, and the hardihood of the accredited agents, who recklessly invite its prostitution by every pirate and smuggler who can afford to pay the fees of the consular office."

From another despatch from the same parties we make the following extracts.

"Although the flag of the United States has been so extensively employed in the slave-trade that it is now met with in every slave haunt on the coast, it is only lately that such has been the case. The immediate causes which have led the slave-dealers to invoke its assistance, were the expressed determination of America 'not to be a party to any convention on the subject of the slave-trade;' secondly, the concession of an equipment article by Spain; and thirdly, the practical adoption of the principle, that (in cases where the right of visitation and search exists) the national character of a vessel may be fixed by the residence of her merchant-owner, and by the course of trade in which she is engaged, in opposition to the presumption arising from her flag and register.

"Three years ago the abuse, which now so universally prevails as to be a matter of every day occurrence, was only a matter of

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anxiety and apprehension. Since then, the unfavourable anticipations which our experience had taught us, on both sides of the Atlantic, to form, have been too fully realised.

"With such evidence before them as the records of this commission alone have supplied, it would be worse than dishonesty in the government of the United States, to affect to doubt or disbelieve that Spanish and Brazilian slave-trade is carried on to an immense extent under the protection of the American flag. But the unavoidable admission of this incontestible fact places America in a peculiar position. She must either acknowledge herself unfaithful to her 'obligations to the interests of the world,' by having failed to employ the means she possesses for preventing the flagrant enormities which are extensively practised under her implied sanction, or she must acknowledge that even 'a faithful exertion of her own means of detecting and punishing those American citizens who violate her laws,' is inefficient for the purpose; and that a combination of Baltimore ship-builders, outcast American sailors, and her own consular agents, is more than a match for the whole powers of her government.

"It is not only the obscure and desperate individuals who generally act as 'captain of the flag' to the nominal American vessels which carry on the slave-trade on this coast, but the accredited agents of the government of the United States at Havana and elsewhere, who have been denounced over and over again, but without effect, as 'aiders and abettors' of the slave-trade.

"The ground on which, according to the statement of the Honorable John Forsyth, (class B. 1834, p. 81) 'the opinion had been definitely formed not to make the United States a party to any convention on the subject of the slave-trade,' was the belief that America possessed within itself, unassisted by the co-operation of any other power, the means of detecting and punishing those American citizens who violate its laws with respect to the slave-trade. This 'belief,' as might have been confidently predicted by any one acquainted with the subject, has been proved erroneous by the ample experience of the last three years; and justice and humanity alike require that America should at once acknowledge her error, and oppose some remedy to the dreadful mischiefs which she has occasioned. If it was true in 1834, and we have no doubt that it was true then, and is much more so now, that 'the abolition of the slave-trade is an object in which the whole people of the United States feel a deep solicitude,' how will they bear to hear, as hear they will, that under their flag, at this present moment, the slave-trade of the whole world finds protection; that their home government tacitly acquiesces in the monstrous wrong; while the representatives of their commercial interests in foreign countries openly and avowedly lend the whole influence of their official situations to encourage and extend the evil! It would be a libel on the moral and religious feeling of the American people to suppose that they could hear of such things without shame and indignation. 'The discussion of the subject,' which, in 1834, Mr. Forsyth so anxiously deprecated, will then be revived, but under very different circumstances: it will not be confined to the office of the foreign secretary at Washington, and it will meet the government loaded with guilt and disgrace, from which it was then free.

"The courtesy and respect with which we still treat the flag of the United States, notwithstanding the degrading purposes it is serving, whenever it appears before us, will, we trust, meet with your lordship's approbation."

In a subsequent despatch we find the following from the same functionaries.

"The tenderness with which the independence of the United States has been treated, under so much provocation, will, we trust, have its proper effect. Of the actual existence of the evils which were anticipated from America's determined denial of the privilege of search, no doubt can now be entertained; and it is to be hoped, that some remedial measures will at any rate be adopted by herself, to check and punish the abuse, which has clearly resulted from her obstinate retention of a right which other nations, less jealous and exclusive, have consented, under certain circumstances, and for a well-defined and humane object, to waive, without any injury to their national honour.

"We will here only recommend one measure, to which America can offer no reasonable objection. It is, that a force of small brigs, brigantines, or schooners of war should be sent on this coast by the American government, each of which should cruize and visit the slave-trading rivers and stations in company with one of our own vessels. Cruizing singly would have comparatively little effect, as the same vessel which would show American colours and papers to a British officer, might show Portuguese or Spanish colours and papers to an American officer. The crews of such vessels are always composed of Spaniards, with the exception of one American, who, in the presence of the British cruizer, would figure as the American captain; and before the cruizer of his own nation, would declare himself a passenger, and would probably produce a passenger's passport from Havana. Cruizing in couples, on the contrary, would remove the possibility of such evasion. If the American flag and pass were assumed by a slaver, she would be taken charge of by the one; and if she declared herself, or if she could be proved to be, Spanish, Portuguese, or Brazilian, she would be a prize to the other man of war. At present, however, the coast swarms with vessels, apparently American; and a rich harvest of prizes would follow the immediate arrival of a squadron of American cruizers, armed with authority to capture on the [illegible] equipment."

The papers furnish us with a further extract from the same communication.

"A remedy for such a state of things must soon be applied, either by the government of the United States, or by other governments, who will not consent to see the labours of thirty years absolutely thrown away, and rendered altogether useless and inconsequential, by the obstinate jealousy of *one* commercial power. Let the great Maritime States of Europe simply declare—what, indeed, is a truth easily demonstrable from the best authority, but not hitherto acknowledged by public law—that slave-trade is a crime against the universal law of nature and nations; and neither the republican flag of the United States, nor any other, will avail to perpetuate a traffic, of which it is well known our efforts hitherto have only served to increase the horrors, without at all diminishing the extent. But should this general declaration be withheld, let the British parliament alone affirm the same principle, and the same consequences will follow, so far at least as British cruizers and British courts are concerned. To America will then be reserved the peculiar distinction of having been the first to denounce the slave-trade, as carried on by her own citizens, and the last to afford protection to the outcast slave-dealers of all other nations."

The commissioners observe in another despatch, "that the merchants of Havana rely with confidence on the protection which will be afforded by the American flag;" and they quote letters from some of them, in which they tell their African correspondents that "the only difficulty" in the way of sending out slavers is "scarcity of American ships," adding, "as vessels of the description required are constantly arriving, you may reckon with all certainty on one sailing for your place about s specified time.

The papers afford evidence that Lord Palmerston has not been negligent of his duty towards the United States government. In a communication to Mr. Stevenson, in reply to a complaint against a British officer for examining the papers of a United States vessel, his lordship thus writes, under date of February 15th, 1840.

"The undersigned begs to inform Mr. Stevenson, that strict orders have been given to her Majesty's cruizers employed for the suppression of the slave-trade, not to interfere with vessels belonging to countries with which Great Britain has no treaty conceding mutually a right of search. But the undersigned cannot refrain from availing himself of this opportunity of requesting Mr. Stevenson to draw the attention of the president of the United States to the progressively increasing extent to which the citizens and vessels of the Union are engaging in the slave-trade. For not only do vessels which are not the property of citizens of the United States fraudulently assume the United States' flag, in order to cover their criminal undertakings; but, in contempt and violation of the laws of the Union, vessels are built for slave-trade in the ports of the United States, and United States' citizens engage more and more in that traffic.

"Her Majesty's government, therefore, earnestly hope that the President will take effective means for putting down this evil, by enforcing in the ports of the Union the law against slave-trade, and by sending an adequate number of cruisers to the coast of Africa, to prevent the abuse which is now made of the flag of the Union."

His lordship also communicates to Mr. Fox, our minister at Washington, the following extract of a letter from Lieutenant Watson, of H. M. S. Waterwitch, dated off Prince's Island, Oct. 9, 1839.

"On the 8th July, after a chase of five hours, I captured the Portuguese schooner, *Constituçao* (which vessel I had seen, on the evening of the 6th, standing out from Lagos, and followed in her supposed track), having on board 344 slaves. This vessel was sailing under American colours, and by the name of *Dolphin*, until the day she embarked her slaves. She arrived at Sierra Leone, under the charge of Mr. Clarence Taylor, mate, on the 24th July, with the loss of two slaves on the passage. On the 3rd August, I boarded the American schooner *Hound*, completely equipped for the slave-trade; she was direct from Havana, where she was fitted so as to enable her to take her slaves on board at an hour's notice. Her master, two mates, and one seaman, were Americans, the rest Spaniards and Portuguese. This vessel sailed shortly after with slaves, under Portuguese colours, at which time I was absent from Lagos, in search of the Lynx and Dolphin, and to meet the senior officer.

"On the 27th September I captured, after a chase of four hours and-a-half, the Portuguese schooner *Sete de Abril*, having on board 427 slaves and despatched her to Sierra Leone, under the charge of Mr. Wilcox, mate. I had several times boarded this vessel during the last three months, at which time she was sailing under American colours, and by the name of *Mary Cushing*; was not then equipped for slave-trade, though with every appearance of being intended for it.

"It is quite evident that this, as well as all slavers hoisting the American flag, are sailing with false colours and papers. The papers of the *Sete de Abril* are dated in October, 1838, whereas she was sailing so late as the 15th September, 1839, with American colours and papers. The American who formerly acted as master being on board at the time of capture, I have considered it my duty to detain him for the disposal of the senior naval officer, to whom I have specially reported the case."

"You will remind the president," says his lordship to Mr. Fox, "of the many communications which you have had to make to him of late, upon the subject of slave-trade carried on, in various parts of the world, under cover of papers representing vessels in which those papers were found to belong to the United States. And you will express the hope of her Majesty's government, that

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the United States' government will, upon consideration of these facts, take measures for preventing the United States' flag from being employed to protect and facilitate a crime, which is stigmatized as piracy by the laws of the United States."

The foreign secretary states in a subsequent despatch "that, in the year 1838, nineteen vessels, and in the year 1839, twenty-three vessels, bearing the flag of the Union, left the Havana, under the strongest suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade."

Mr. Forsyth, in reply to the communication from the British government, addressed a long note to Mr. Fox, on the 12th of February, 1840. We can give only the following passages :—

"The state of things on the coast of Africa, as disclosed by Mr. Fox's communication, has rendered necessary there the presence, for some time, of an American naval force, as a measure of precaution to protect American vessels from improper molestation in that quarter of the globe, and also to detect those foreigners who may be found carrying, without proper authority, the flag of the United States.

"The president sees with regret, by the contents of Mr. Fox's note, that her Britannic Majesty's government continues to think it important, that the United States should become a party to a convention yielding the mutual right of search to the armed vessels of each other, with a view to detect persons engaged in the slave-trade. Her Majesty's government considers such convention as the most sure and effectual mode of checking that trade. After the determination which the position and policy of the United States have required this government to make, the president would regret extremely to be convinced that in this regard her Majesty's government judges correctly. He cannot but think, on a careful examination of the evidence exhibited with Mr. Fox's note, that her Britannic Majesty's government has overlooked both the causes of the present shocking condition of the slave-trade, and the remedies which are demanded to correct the evil.

"To do justice to his opinion on this subject, it would be necessary for the undersigned to institute a scrutiny into the proceedings of other friendly nations, which might justly be considered uncalled for and invidious. It will be sufficient to appeal to a few broad facts well-known to her Majesty's government, and to apply to them the well established rules of trade and of criminal law.

"There are slave-markets. In these slave-markets, if they can be reached before detection, the profits of the trade are certain and enormous, and impunity is, in that event, unfortunately for the true interests of humanity, quite as certain as profit. Destroy the market and there is no slave-trade. Pursue the criminal into the places where his profit is derived, render punishment there as certain as detection, and detection as certain as just vigilance can make it, and the fear of punishment will be strong enough to overcome the love of gain—the great stimulant under which the laws of humanity are every day violated by worthless members of all human societies. In the largest and most profitable of these markets, her Britannic Majesty's commissioners of the mixed commission have named vessels employed in the slave-trade, mercantile houses as notoriously dealing in that traffic, the number of Africans brought in contrary to legal enactments and treaty stipulations. Like statements are made by her Britannic Majesty's naval officers, and the commissioners of the mixed commission in Sierra Leone. All the evidence furnished points to the source of the mischief, and indicates the only effectual corrective."

We find from the same papers, that Mr. Trist, late United States consul at Havana, has demanded an inquiry into his conduct, principally, we perceive, on the ground, of a view of his misdeeds given in the *British Emancipator*, from the parliamentary papers of 1839. We hope the United States government will do him justice. The sense of the people at the north has been already expressed, at the public meeting which was held in order to obtain his recall, and at which was adopted the following resolution :—

"That, it having appeared by extracts from official documents laid before the British Parliament by Lord Palmerston, that Nicholas P. Trist has, in repeated instances, furnished papers to slavers, for the purpose of aiding and abetting them in carrying on the unholy traffic in human flesh—he has not only abused the power with which he is entrusted by the American government, but has sanctioned, in his official capacity, practices which any American of true honour and philanthropic feelings would shrink from in disgust."

We close our extracts from these papers for the present, with a despatch from Lord Palmerston to the British commissioners at Havana, from which it appears, that there is a prospect of the Eagle, the Clara, and the Wyoming being yet condemned. The Mary Anne Cassard was a slaver of precisely the same class, liberated by the commissioners at Sierra Leone, by a decision of which her Majesty's advocate-general has expressly disapproved.

Foreign Office, November 15, 1839.

"GENTLEMEN,—I herewith transmit to you, for your information, copies of the papers enumerated in the accompanying list, relating to four vessels, the *Mary Anne Cassard, Eagle, Clara*, and *Wyoming*.

"The first-named vessel having been found on the Coast of Africa, sailing under the United States' flag, but equipped for the slave-trade, was taken by one of her Majesty's cruizers, on suspicion that she was in reality Spanish property, and was brought before the mixed British and Spanish court at Sierra Leone. This tribunal, however, decided, that 'it was not competent for any one of the mixed courts to adjudicate a vessel, sailing at the time of the seizure under the protection of the flag and pass of the United States;' and the *Mary Anne Cassard* was accordingly restored to her master.

"When, therefore, the *Eagle, Clara*, and *Wyoming*, were taken under like circumstances of suspicion, the officers who captured those vessels decided upon sending them to New York, to be tried by the authorities of the United States.

"You will perceive that it was decided by the report of the district attorney at New York, that these vessels were really Spanish property ; and the American authorities declined, therefore, to take cognizance of them.

"Under these circumstances, Her Majesty's government have thought it right to authorise the officer in charge of these three vessels, to take them to the vice-admiralty court at Bermuda ; and, if he cannot succeed in bringing them before that tribunal, to proceed to the Havana, and to bring them before the mixed commission there established.

"I have, now, therefore, to call your attention especially to the opinion given by her Majesty's advocate-general, against the decision pronounced by the mixed court at Sierra Leone, on the *Mary Anne Cassard ;* and I have to desire that, should the cases of the *Eagle, Clara*, and *Wyoming*, be submitted to the consideration of the mixed court of which you are members, you will take that opinion as your guide.

I am, &c.,

PALMERSTON."

IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR,—Although my attention was directed, more than two months since, to the correspondence published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* on the negro establishment of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, the repugnance I have ever felt to obtrude on the public, has hitherto withheld me from noticing a subject in which my name has appeared, and in which I have ever taken the deepest interest, until I read your 27th number, of the 30th ultimo.

The motives of your publication command my respect, and mitigate the regret I should venture to express, did I not assume that, in the importance of the object, the means of its attainment are of secondary consideration ; and that any statement is acceptable, if it but tend to keep alive the interest of the public in the wretched fate of the enslaved negro. I must, therefore, infer that plain facts on which your readers may religiously rely may be received with equal effect, and fully answer your humane purpose.

The very strong and almost incredible assertions, that appeared in it previous to the 27th number, have been answered by Mr. Bayly, and it is not my intention to question them, so far as they may allude to any period previous or subsequent to that of my administration ; I shall, therefore, confine myself to what I know or heard from the latter part of 1829 to 1835 inclusive, during which I positively deny in the most unqualified terms, that a single sentiment was ever expressed by the directors, either verbally or in their letters, public or private—collectively or individually, that did not manifest the most perfect humanity and unsparing liberality towards the negros of the company : and, if they did not go quite so far with me in the last act of bounty, (strongly as I urged it) I was myself sensible of the obstacles that opposed it in the customs and prejudices of Brazil, and the guardianship of those interests over which they presided ; nor could I flatter myself that no considerations, no representations, or views but those of their commissioner, would find favour in the calm deliberations of a distant board, subject to be misled by plausible, ignorant, or designing parties. I was, therefore, satisfied with the permission humanely and generously granted, to proceed in the experiment already commenced in 1833 at my own risk, trusting to its ultimate extension in proportion to its success.

Having now broken the ice, I shall proceed to such a general statement as I trust may preclude the necessity of renewing the subject on my part, premising that I have been totally unconnected with the company for many years, and that I have had no communication with the directors, to whom I feel myself by no means indebted, except for the honour of my election. I mention this solely because small minded persons, who do not know me, might imagine my testimony in a matter of mere justice might be influenced by partial or unpleasant feelings. Such is not the case ; the cause is sacred, and demands the truth. Before I received the appointment of Commissioner, in 1829, my sentiments were investigated respecting the treatment of slaves. I fully expressed my disgust at what I had witnessed at the Cape of Good Hope, and stated fairly that I had brought the subject before the Commissioners of Inquiry in that colony, &c. &c. If the directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company did not approve of this, why did they elect me! But, so far from differing with me on the subject, they assured me that their commissioner would be encouraged to use every exertion for the civilization and comfort of the negros, that the amelioration of their condition was only a preliminary to education and every improvement of which they were susceptible, that *every child born on the property* was to be actually free from its birth ; and they allowed me to infer, that, on our success and my future reports, would depend that which I looked forward to with the deepest anxiety, the blessing of emancipation, at least to the deserving. With this understanding I arrived at Gongo Soco. The slaves presented a better and more healthy

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appearance than those I had previously met with; it was evident that the Company had not limited the expenses of this part of the establishment, but it was equally so that it required the eye of an active and honourable man to protect them. The contractor for their meat was dismissed for fraud, and a new system of messing them adopted, which insured regularity and abundance of excellent food. That they had not acquired the Portuguese language sufficiently, was the cause assigned by the paid Padre, for their total ignorance of the worship of the country; and Sunday with them was passed in dancing, and occasionally in riot, till put down with indiscriminate violence as a boasted exploit. An appeal to their reason, accompanied with encouraging promise of reward, was adopted, and found to be quite sufficient, and the strictest orders were issued against any sort of ill-treatment by the English. Their motley and fantastic appearance was represented to the board, and uniform and respectable clothing recommended—the directors sent out forthwith a most liberal supply for both sexes: their bedding was that common to the lower orders in all warm climates, and never was complained of. Medals for good conduct were next suggested; they were as promptly provided, and the comfort, emulation and good order of this little colony soon became the theme of general observation. But I could not carry out my object entirely to my satisfaction until the arrival of Mr. Bayly. Under that gentleman's zealous superintendency, I no longer apprehended secret violence, either on the part of the miners or the feitors (native overseers frequently very worthless characters.) From the commencement of his guardianship, the improvement in their condition became more rapid, the negros responded to his exertions, they felt that they could not any longer be ill-treated without my knowledge, or with impunity; that although their testimony might be rejected in a Brazilian court, in the jurisdiction to which they were then subjected it was respected. It would be absurd to suppose, that from three to four hundred human beings were to be at once released from all liability to punishment or restraint. It is enough therefore to say, that, within the period embraced in this statement, there was not a tenth part of the crime or penalty I have witnessed through life amongst the same number of Europeans, nor was there a single instance of hasty or severe coercion—the profligacy of ruffians, and its lamented effects, were not chargeable to a management instituted for the prevention or punishment of brutality, and the protection of the weak. Such was the principle on which Mr. Bayly acted during my residence at Gongo, and his feelings were at least rewarded by the devoted gratitude and affection of the poor blacks. The deaths (vide 15th printed report of the company) decreased. The casualties of 1826-27-28-29 and 30, amounted to more than a hundred, for the succeeding eighteen months only to *one*; and at length, such was the excellent conduct of the negros, that I felt justified in urging the board to sanction the emancipation of the most deserving. I, in fact, had commened the experiment, and soon after received permission to proceed in it at the limited rate of ten per annum. This long promised boon was attended with the happiest results. Those who were freed (and they were, with one exception, in the full prime of their youth) became if possible more zealous in their duties and attachment, generously remaining on very trifling wages, rather than leave their benefactors, though they were qualified either as tradesmen or labourers to obtain the highest elsewhere; they were likewise actuated by a generous desire to encourage the emancipation of their comrades, by a continuance of that conduct by which they had secured their own. Such was the grateful and noble return of these admirable people. In what country was it ever surpassed! No assumption of superiority was for one moment visible, no symptoms of pride; in all things they were modest, grateful, and obedient, advancing in respectability to the hour of my departure, an hour I shall not easily forget. Is it then extraordinary that I find it difficult to believe their very natures could have altered, that they who for a year and-a-half proved zealous and affectionate servants, could suddenly, by an opposite course, have justified the retractation of a blessing to which all had been permitted to aspire; a blessing, my humble instrumentality in which was the principal solace of my arduous position for so many years, and I am confident, at that time, sincerely participated by all the directors. Their word once passed, it was received by the negros as an irrevocable decree. On the faith of it, (I cannot shrink from the avowal) they worked under a delusion, which although never designed, was, in its bitter effects, not less fatal to their confidence in that high character established for their masters, and which can only be restored by a discharge of the debt contracted on their written authority. Not sixteen, but seventy-three slaves would now have been emancipated, fifty-seven of whom are at this moment still subject to the evils of bondage, and who would, I am confident, have been all voluntary labourers in the company's service, had faith been kept with them, and the system of superintendence remained unchanged. I am entirely ignorant of the cause of their heart-rending disappointment, or whether the children (many of them are now from twelve to fourteen years old) have been either educated, or made acquainted with their freedom. But I must, in the latter case, candidly state the difficulty of the board as to the proper moment for promulgating this happy intelligence, unless the parents likewise were to enjoy the same blessing; all the best affections of their nature might otherwise have been outraged, and it was on this account that I considered it, not only prudent, but humane, to leave the infant part of this establishment, nearly *six years younger than at present*, in ignorance of the blessing they were then incompetent to appreciate, but of which they might have availed themselves in a manner highly prejudicial to the comfort and authority of their less fortunate parents.

I am not disposed to trespass on your columns, and therefore pass over charges that cannot by any possiblity attach to the period embraced in this statement, excepting the plain, undisputed fact, that the company possessed slave-property (happy had it been for so unfortunate a race, could all other slaves have obtained such indulgent masters); nor is it to be supposed, that the strictest superintendence, unless they had been locked up, could have guarded against the ruffian assault, or subtlety of the unprincipled profligate, too often emboldened by the horrible fact already stated, that the unhappy victim would not have been heard in what is called in Brazil, a Court of *Justice*. But there is yet, if possible, a more dreadful crime to which the slave of either sex is equally liable, and one, I am sorry to say, which persons of a higher class remorselessly perpetrate on the most faithful of their servants. Many of them have declared their negro or negress free, have brought him or her to England as a servant. The poor ignorant dupe, unsuspicious of the possibility of such atrocity, and grateful for the short-lived happiness, has willingly returned with his supposed benefactor, and too late discovered that his liberty was but a delightful vision; and when remonstrating against the treacherous return to his ill-bestowed confidence, has been silenced with the lash, or a threat to sell the distracted being to some severe or distant dealer, or to marry her, (if a negress) to some object of her aversion, I submitted the subject to the English commissioners for the protection of slaves at Rio Janeiro. The laws of Brazil were fatal to their cause. I mentioned it to a member of the British government, and to members of the House of Commons, particularly to Sir F. Buxton; I now state it to your society, and from my heart I hope that every influence may be exerted to obtain an act that shall punish or outlaw such English subjects as may be found to act so barbarous a part. I have stated herein facts without partiality and without reserve, facts which I presume by my own feelings to be far more worthy of serious attention than any partial or interested detail. I have long and anxiously waited for the opportunity to place the latter part of them in able and influential hands. I now commit them to your humane society, for whose complete success you have my most fervent wishes.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,

J. M. SKERRETT.

January, 8, 1841.

FRENCH COLONIES: MARTINIQUE.

So very little as can be known in detail concerning the real state of the French slave-colonies, we have particular, though a melancholy pleasure, in being able to lay before our readers, the following extracts of a letter from Archibald Campbell Colquhoun, Esq., of St. Lucia, who has lately visited the island of Martinique. The letter is addressed to Mr. Sturge, and is dated Castries, St. Lucia, November 20th, 1840:—

"One of the first sights that met my eye in the town of Saint Pierre, was an unfortunate gang of culprits, male and female, employed in sweeping the streets, every couple being heavily chained together. All were working under sentence for different periods; some for ten years, some for twenty years, and others for life. Their offences were in general very trivial, such as absconding from their owners, and petty thefts. They were attended by a gigantic driver, armed with a heavy piece of twisted cow-hide, which ever and anon he flourished without mercy. I have seldom witnessed any sight more disgusting, or repugnant to humanity. Most of these unhappy wretches were lame, and had their legs swollen into callous lumps, the effect of the fetters; whilst their bodies were lacerated in every direction, by the instant application of the lash. The chief object sought in this revolting punishment, is to degrade the unfortunate class to which these offenders belong, by publicly exhibiting them chained and tortured in the most humiliating manner; generally every morning the horrid crack of the whip inflicting punishment, is heard for an hour at a time from the jail—and, as it is situated in the centre of the town, the heart-rending screams of the sufferers are audible to thousands, who gaily pass along, and hear them callous and unheeding. My very blood curdled with horror at the sound, and the many harrowing recollections conjured up by it; but what will my readers think, when I tell them that the blessed Sabbath morning is the time usually selected for grand demonstrations of this sort. Yet so it is! and, when the day of retribution comes, as come it will full surely, fearful indeed will be the amount to reckon up. I in vain endeavoured to obtain leave to inspect the *prison militaire et civile*. There is an evident disinclination to allow any strangers, particularly English, to witness the interior of this pandemonium; but the cries of suffering and misery penetrate, even through stone walls.

"The government in Martinique is entirely one of force. Every object is sought to be accomplished by fear, and the repelling of hope. The island is crowded with soldiers, gens d'armes, and police. Armed vessels cruise night and day around the coast, with instructions to detain and search any vessels likely to attempt the deportation of slaves. For a similar reason no vessel (other than French) cleared out for a British port, is allowed to depart after noon of any day. Notwithstanding these obstructions, the multitudes who it is known have perished at sea, and the terrible punishments inflicted on re-capture, many slaves have escaped, and are daily escaping to Saint Lucia and Dominica; and to these

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islands all look forward as a haven of rest, which may or may never be attained. The English laws and character are well known to the poor slaves here, more particularly since the passing of our abolition act; and, when they meet an Englishman, and can do it with safety, they do not hesitate to give utterance to their feelings.

"I am sorry to say, that even now when every civilized nation seems anxious, not only to mitigate the horrors of slavery, but to abolish it altogether, in this splendid French island the worst that ever has been heard, said, or written, of the cruelties and hardships appertaining to the servile condition, is daily more than realized. And this is not in isolated cases, but as a general recognized system of discipline, which the French planters publicly declare their determination to persevere in, and to uphold to the uttermost. The whip is in continual and terrific operation, and the negros are subjected to tyranny and cruelties quite indescribable. For the honour of England and my countrymen I am happy to say, that, for years previous to the termination of slavery in our colonies, no very flagrant act of cruelty or injustice could with impunity be perpetrated on the negro. Philanthropists at home, and the British government and colonial governors, were kept too-well informed of all that went on, to allow of either general or individual oppression; but, I shudder when I write, that *at this moment*, in the French colonies, slavery wears a more hideous aspect than *ever* British character or British laws permitted it to assume in ours. The negro has not a moment to call his own. If there be nominal ordinances granting him some measure of protection, they are but so much insulting mockery, and are, as they are intended to be, perfectly inoperative. The sugar-works in crop time are at work all night, and even on the Sabbath-day. Should an ox or mule happen to die on an estate, and the cause of such loss be not ascertained, the occasion is immediately seized to inflict fresh punishment—to arrest every usual allowance, and to compel the entire gang to work, perhaps for a month, two or three hours at night extra. To attempt to describe the horrors to which females particularly are subjected, through the unhallowed lusts and revengeful passions of their sordid taskmasters, is quite beyond the powers of my pen. The French planters are well aware of the crater over whose murmurs and threatenings they so confidently stand; but they are resolved in no particular to abate the severity of their present system. They will stand the hazard of the die, and '*Fiat justitia ruat cælum.*'"

"I came to Martinique a mere stranger, but with my eyes open, and the inclination to use them. I am in all I say actuated neither by fear nor favour, but by the wish to convey to my readers a faithful transcript of the immediate impression made on my own mind, by personal observation as to the state of affairs. To the authenticity of all I state, I can pledge myself; for, of such matters as did not come under my own observation, I became cognizant through conversation with different inhabitants of the island, as well merchants as planters, some of whose admissions were often reluctantly made."

CAPTAIN STUART AND THE REV. DR. MATHESON.

To the Editor of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.

SIR,—In your twenty-sixth Number, of December 16, page 318, under the head of "The Congregational Union," I find the Rev. Dr. Matheson charging me, on a newspaper report, with having imputed to him and others various "crimes and misdemeanors" of a very serious description, and the Rev. J. Burder, of Stroud, seems to refer the terms "ultraism and calumny" to those charges, so said to have been made by me against Dr. Matheson and others.

Dr. Matheson mistakes, in calling me a delegate from America. I was not a delegate from America. I was a member of *the American Anti-Slavery Society*, and I still belong to it, under its *old* character, but with its new name, "*The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.*" I was a delegate from the Anti-Slavery Union of Jamaica.

I have no knowledge of the newspapers from which Dr. Matheson received his impressions of my imputed charges; nor have I any record of what I said. I spoke as moved by the occasion. But I feel called upon to state distinctly what I *do* feel, and have long felt, on the subject in question, as a matter of justice to Dr. Matheson, to myself, and to the sacred cause of christian liberty.

I was in Boston when Dr. Matheson was there, and heard much of him. I remained in the United States after he returned to England; and, as far as related to his individual conduct in the anti-slavery cause, I was led to adopt those favourable opinions of him, which it has since given me great gratification to express freely wherever I have spoken of him.

Still it is true, that I *do* emphatically censure the proceedings of *both* the ecclesiastical deputations from this country to the United States, of one of which Dr. Matheson was a member.

What are the facts?—They are simply these:—

1st, That the churches of the United States, *taken as a body*, are "the bulwarks of American slavery." See the pamphlet by *An American*, proving this fearful point.

2nd, That United States' slavery is the most accomplished system of legalised oppression, hypocrisy, and cruelty, which now disgraces and afflicts the world. See "Slavery as it is; testimony of a thousand witnesses."

3rd, That *both the deputations in question* neglected, or refused, to bear their testimony, publicly and emphatically, against the intolerable guilt and dreadful danger of their sister churches; these churches, all the time, actually forming the chief bulwarks of this inexpressibly nefarious system.

Now, whatever may be justly said in commendation of Dr. Matheson's individual conduct—the more and the more shall I rejoice—or whatever excuses others may make, or admit, for the above conduct of the above deputations, I regard it as emphatically guilty. Nor, in my opinion, has any single greater injury been inflicted upon the cause of holy liberty in the United States, than by the general conduct *in the United States* of the deputations in question.

The Bible blasphemed by being adduced in defence of slavery—freedom, social, intellectual, and spiritual, all wounded and bleeding—the advocates of liberty and truth outlawed without a crime—all united in imploring from them the generous advocacy of the Christian and the British heart. And what was their reply!

Was it uttered in the thunders of God's wrath, revealed from heaven against all such things? Was it proclaimed in the warnings of Christ's love, calling to immediate and thorough repentance? No! no! The slave-master, with all his outrageous guilt about him, was treated as a brother; the mouth of the deputations was either not opened to plead the cause of the dumb, or was opened so carefully as to avoid offending his insolent and cruel oppressor; and the outraged servants of God and of their down trodden brother, the lawlessly outlawed abolitionists, were kept at a very expedient distance.

I regret exceedingly that the Congregational Union of this country refuses to particularise their general charge; for, in its present form, their censure, however just against some persons, will, I doubt not, be wielded injuriously against many to whom they would not apply it, and will lose almost all its force against those for whom it is intended.

But I refrain—merely adding, in conclusion, that I trust no other ecclesiastical deputation will ever be sent from this country to the sister churches of the United States, until such deputations shall be instructed to obey the divine command in Prov. xxxi. 8, 9; in Isa. lviii. 1—6; and in Hebrews xiii. 3.

Bath, 7th January, 1841. C. STUART.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THOSE INTERESTED IN JAMAICA AND OTHER WEST INDIA COLONIES.

THERE is one peculiarity to which Jamaica, and, I presume also, the other islands of the West Indies, is subject, viz., the derangement of its monetary affairs, by the continual draining from it of its gold and silver coin. This takes place chiefly in the corn trade with America. The Americans will accept the price of their cargo only in gold and silver, and return with empty ships—thereby, of course, saddling the importation with the cost of a double freight. Were it possible to alter this, a most important improvement might immediately be effected in the island affairs. There are two ways in which I think this might be accomplished:—

1st. By taking means to raise corn, and greater abundance of provisions of all descriptions, in the island. No one doubts the extent and capability of the soil, not under cultivation for the staple productions, to afford all that can be required by the inhabitants for food; but where is the labour, seeing that the effective population on the island is stated to be at present insufficient to work the plantations, and save from loss the heavy capital sunk in them? No one, I think, could object to see even white emigration, with the object of bringing the high lands into cultivation for the necessaries of life. Adverse as I have been to much of the Jamaica policy, yet experience convinces me, that, were the emigration of whites conducted on prudent, humane, and liberal principles, the measure might be made beneficial to both parties. The mountain climate is pleasant and healthful—the soil is fruitful—and with a small capital, either of his own or lent to him, an emigrant in a good locality could not fail of benefiting himself immensely. There have, however, been errors in the former emigration schemes of such magnitude and fraught with so much evil, as should be sufficient to induce those interested in that now before the public, to obtain for it the immediate oversight and protection of government. Indeed, the arrangements should be made with express reference to what has been found defective in past proceedings. The intolerably high prices of provisions in the Jamaica markets would thus be lowered, and a great amount of labour remain free to work the capitals invested in estates. The labour of whites never can be applied to estates with the least chance of profit; but they might, with great advantage to themselves, and to the general prosperity of the island, be introduced for the purpose I have mentioned.

Or, 2nd. It appears that we might receive supplies of corn, rice, and other provisions from the coast of Africa, which is only about five weeks' sail from Jamaica, at a far less cost than from America; and, being imported by British capitalists, the value could be settled in our exchanges, as that of other British imported goods. The trade would prove a profitable one for all parties. In the first place, as to the Africans themselves, it appears from the parliamentary report on Sierra Leone and Fernando Po, which embraces also various parts of the coast betwixt these localities, that civilization and the progress of christianity amongst the inhabitants of these places are seriously hindered for want of a stimulus to their industry. They are most willing to work, and anxious above all things to obtain European goods. They will, in exchange, give what they can raise or obtain in the

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country—corn, rice, gold, ivory; and why not, also, yams and cocoas (the tropical potatoes) from Africa, as properly as potatoes and hay, which are now being imported into Jamaica from England and Ireland, instead of being raised, as they ought to be, in Jamaica itself! Were timely notice given that cargoes of corn, and rice, and yams, were wanted, any quantity could easily be had from various parts of the coast betwixt Sierra Leone and Fernando Po. One of the witnesses, John M'Cormack, before the sele t committee on these settlements in 1830, speaking of the delta to the south of Sierra Leone, stated,—"In three years' time you might get sufficient rice there to supply the whole of the West India market, or any other, at a much lower rate than it can be brought forward from the United States." (Besides, let us remember that American rice has on it the *stain of slavery*.) Again, another witness, Mr. Jackson, says,—"The blacks on the Gold Coast raise sufficient to maintain themselves, and to export corn. There have been several cargoes of corn exported from the Gold Coast—five or six cargoes in a year." Were a ship, therefore, to proceed with a lading of merchandize to the coast of Africa, and dispose of it, taking in exchange corn and rice, or other articles of food (which could be raised there at far less expense than in the United States of America), so far as their value might go, and gold dust and ivory for the balance, and proceed to Jamaica, and there take in a cargo of sugar or coffee, there could be no loss of freight in the voyage, and results of the most beneficial description would accrue to all concerned. It would,

1. Make us independent, in a great measure, of the profitless trade with America.

2. It would assist, therefore, in obviating the necessity of exporting our gold and silver coin.

3. It would cheapen provisions, and consequently labour, and add at the same time to the general welfare and comfort of our West Indian community.

4. It would benefit Africa enormously, and be the means of commencing an intercourse of the most humanising kind, betwixt the comparatively civilized and instructed British negros of the West Indies with those of their father-land, and might ultimately lead to *voluntary* and frequent interchanges betwixt the population of the two countries, ultimately tending much to the benefit of both. W. W. A.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 13TH.

IT has not yet, we believe, been publicly announced, that G. W. Alexander, Esq., with an associated friend, has undertaken a journey to Spain for the promotion of the anti-slavery cause. We have the pleasure of inserting below a communication from him to Mr. Tredgold, from which some idea of his proceedings and prospects my be derived.

Madrid, 12 mo. (December) 21st, 1840.

MY DEAR FRIEND—On the eve of leaving Madrid for Valencia, I write a few lines to say that we have been busily occupied here, have seen many persons, including several of the most distinguished men in Spain; and hope some benefit will result from our visit. We have this day been favoured with an interview by the Duke de la Victoria, to whom we have presented the address to Heads of Governments agreed upon at the Convention, and the annexed on the subject of the Amistad. I hope in my next to be able to give more details of our proceedings, and their results hitherto. G. W. ALEXANDER.

To J. H. Tredgold.

To the Duke de la Victoria, president of the regency of Spain—

Respectfully sheweth, that, in the latter end of June in the past year, fifty-three slaves, who appear from evidence furnished to have been introduced six weeks previously from Africa, contrary to the laws of Spain, were bought by J. Ruiz and P. Montes, Spanish subjects at the Havana.

That these slaves were subsequently embarked for Puerto Principe in the Amistad, but, soon after leaving Cuba, rose upon the crew of the vessel, whom they killed, sparing J. Ruiz and P. Montes to navigate the ship, in which they hoped again to reach the coast of Africa.

That in this hope they were disappointed, Ruiz and Montes having conducted the vessel near the coast of the United States, where an American brig of war took possession of the Amistad, secured the negros, and took them with the vessel to New London, in the state of Connecticut.

That the circumstances already mentioned have led to legal proceedings in the United States, in which Ruiz and Montes and the negros have been involved, the particulars of which it is not needful here to recite.

That, while these proceedings were pending, A Caldevon de la Barca, and afterwards the Chevalier d'Argaiz, who succeeded him as ambassador from the court of Spain to the United States, interceded on behalf of Ruiz and Montes, that such steps should be stayed as were prejudicial to their character and interests; and that the negros, whom they appear to prejudge as having committed the crimes of piracy and murder, should be given up to the authorities at Cuba.

The undersigned desire further to state, that the legal proceedings referred to are still continued, but may be terminated during the month of February the approaching year, when it is feared hat the negros may be surrendered to the authorities in Cuba.

That, under the circumstances which have been named, the strong evidence which exists that the negros in question were not legally slaves; that their case appears to have been prejudged, doubtless on the representation of Ruiz and Montes, or of persons at Cuba; and especially on account of the notorious fact of the very extensive illegal importation of slaves into Cuba, a fact which proves the inefficacy of the law to protect these injured and defenceless victims of oppression in that island, the undersigned respectfully but earnestly request, that the government of Spain will not allow any sentence which may be passed in Cuba upon the negros to whom this statement has reference, to be executed until a full account of the proceedings which may take place against them be submitted to the consideration of the home government.

The undersigned also entreat the government of Spain to cause legal proceedings to be instituted against Ruiz and Montes for a violation of Spanish law, and of the sacred principles of humanity and justice, in purchasing slaves who had been illegally imported; and also that the officers whose duty it is to protect the rights of slaves should claim as freemen, all those unhappy individuals at present in Cuba who have been introduced contrary to law.

It is respectfully submitted, that in this manner will the slave-trade, which has so long been continued to a fearful extent in Cuba, and which also exists in Puerto Rico, in defiance of Spanish law and the reprobation of all good men, be effectually discouraged; while the conduct recommended in the case of the protectors of slaves, can alone procure for them a confidence in their honest and conscientious protection of that unhappy class of persons, confided to so great an extent to their guardianship.

GEORGE W. ALEXANDER,
BENJAMIN WIFFEN.

WE cannot insert without much gratification, the following letter from the Rev. H. M. Waddell, of the Scottish mission in Jamaica; not only on account of the contribution it accompanies to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, but far more on account of the excellent sentiments it expresses on behalf of the members of his flock.

Little River St. James's Jamaica, November 10th, 1840.

SIR,—I wrote to you in the month of May last, informing you of the desire felt by the members of the Scottish Missionary Church of this place to assist your admirable Society in its operations, by contributions of money, and by such other means as were in their power. I gave you at the same time some information as to the good working of freedom in this part of Jamaica, both for servants and masters. On the part of the members of the church, I now beg to present the inclosed collection of forty-six pounds ten shillings currency, in a bill of exchange for twenty eight pounds sterling, drawn on the Treasurer of the Scottish Missionary Society in Edinburgh. They wish it to be received as a small proof of their gratitude, for the exertions your Society made in time past to obtain their freedom, and of their desire that other countries, still suffering under bondage, may benefit by your labours on their behalf. They desire me also to assure you, and through you, all their friends in Great Britain, that they highly value the many great benefits which they have received by the late happy change in their circumstances. The hardships which some of them have occasionally to endure, arising from their former condition as slaves, they reckon as nothing compared with the blessings they enjoy as freemen, and it is their desire to bear such difficulties in christian patience, aware that no condition of life is without trials of one kind or another.

They are exceedingly grieved to learn, that, owing to the falling off in the crops in some parts of the country, their friends in Britain, who paid so much for their freedom, should also have to pay double price now for sugar, and that the poor should be unable to procure it, whereas, it should come to them cheaper and more plentifully: and they are determined as far as in them lies, that no complaints shall lie against them on this score. They can say however with truth, that, on nearly all the estates where they reside, the crops during the past year have been very good, larger than the year before, and nearly an average with preceding years. On the few estates in this neighbourhood where it has fallen off, they are bold to say, and I am able to confirm the statement, that the fault did not lie chiefly with them. They know that peaceable, regular, and industrious habits are the best for them to pursue; and it is their determination to behave in such a proper manner, that the report of their good conduct may promote the cause of freedom among the slaves in other countries.

I remain, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant, in the name of the Presbyterian church, Mount Zion,

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. H. M. WADDELL.

WE have now to introduce another witness to the misdeeds of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, in the person of Colonel Skerrett, who was the company's commissioner at Gongo Soco, from 1829 to 1835. His anxiety to represent in the best light his own proceedings, and those of Mr. H. L. Bayly, who is his nephew, is very natural, and we shall enter into no controversy on this part of the subject. Our readers will not fail to observe how very careful Colonel Skerrett is to speak of no period, either before or after that of his own commissionership; nor will he fail to recollect the authority—it is that of his own lips—on which we state his conviction, that, however pure and benevolent was his own administration, atrocities fully bearing out Mr. Kentish's statements have existed at Gongo Soco. It will be observed also, that Colonel Skerrett admits the existence of much evil under his own administration, which he was not able to correct. But chiefly remarkable is the very heavy charge which he brings against the directors of the company, in relation to the promised freedom of the children from birth, and the pledged emancipation of well conducted slaves. This is an aggravated item

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in the account, and shews that the directors cling to the system of slavery with a determined grasp, even against their interest, and that of the shareholders. Colonel Skerrett's testimony will now satisfy "liberal and christian" share-holders, that nothing in the laws of Brazil hinders the emancipation of slaves.

It has long been known that not only the mines of the Imperial Brazilian, but those also of the other mining associations in Brazil are wrought by slave-labour. Unexpectedly, however, we have alighted on an official confirmation of this fearful fact, in the slave-trade correspondence laid on the table of parliament during the last session. It occurs in a despatch from Sir George Jackson and Mr. Grigg, the British commissioners at Rio de Janeiro, to Lord Palmerston, and is as follows :—

"In a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners, dated the 10th August, 1837, it was stated that the property of the Candonga Mining Company in this country was, by express instruction of the Association in London, to be worked wholly, or as much as possible, by hired negros. We since learn that this has been found impracticable, and that this Company now goes into the market for its slave-labour, like any other establishment."

We attach considerable importance to this intimation. We gather from it that the proceedings of the Mining associations have become matter of official observation and report to British functionaries in Brazil; and that, if they have been so once, they may be so again. Why could not these gentlemen, who know so well how the works of the Candonga company are carried on, and state so clearly that it "goes into the market for its slave labour like any other establishment," ascertain and report the proceedings in this respect of the other companies also? And why, further, could they not know and report the number of slaves held by each establishment, together with the particulars of their purchase, and the parties actually implicated in this felonious breach of the law of England? Certainly the attention of the Foreign secretary should be directed to this matter; and his lordship should feel that he has within his reach a number of British subjects, who have been guilty of several thousand distinct felonies of the most revolting kind. Ought Lord Palmerston to suffer these criminals to go unpunished? More especially when their felonious proceedings are still going on, and, if unchecked, will become indefinitely enlarged? We cannot think that his lordship will be inattentive to so important a matter, especially when the fact is thus officially brought under his notice. Determined as he has shewn himself to prevent the slave-trade being carried on by other nations, he cannot surely be indifferent to the criminal advantage taken of it by British subjects.

In addition to this appeal to Lord Palmerston, however, it is a not unimportant advantage to have on official authority a fact even previously notorious. Let the public remember that the Candonga Mining company "goes into the market for its slave-labour, like any other establishment" in Brazil. Here is crime both moral and legal—man-stealing and felony—charged on them officially by British functionaries. Are they going to do nothing to clear themselves? Shall there be found no means of prosecuting them for the penalties to which they have subjected themselves? Are they to hear nothing of this in the Imperial parliament? They will do well to prepare themselves for their defence, both in the House of Commons, and before the tribunal of their country.

SINCE our last we have received a paper containing a full report of the anti-emigration meeting held at Limerick. We have received also Mr. O'Connell's speech against West India and Texas emigration at one of the repeal meetings. Mr. Richard Allen of Dublin, has got into a correspondence with the Land and Emigration Commissioners, to whom Lords John Russell and Morpeth have referred the letters which that gentleman had addressed to them. The Commissioners have requested Mr. Allen to "give his reasons for the charges he has made, in order that they may proceed with an investigation of the circumstances under which this emigration is conducted." Mr. Allen's reply, which is vigorous and to the point, is contained in one of the papers on our table; we shall hear, perhaps, something further from the Commissioners. By an extract quoted from some London paper (the name is not given) which we confess we had not seen, it appears that the new West India emigration company have sent one, and are about to send other cargoes of emigrants from our shores. They are, however, if the fact be so, proceeding very quietly; but the Anti-slavery committee, doubtless, will not be asleep on the subject. We have noticed also the formation in Ireland of a most respectable West Indies and Texas anti-emigration committee. We are tempted to extract from Mr. Allen's letter to the commissioners, the following statement of two of the intended emigrants by the Robert Kerr. "The milk of a cow" is a capital hit. But it is all alike.

"Tim Connell examined, and saith—He went to Mr. White's office; got a paper, 'Remarks for the Information of Emigrants;' had no money to give as a deposit; if he had, would have been entered by paying 1*l.* sterling for each member of his family; has a wife and five children; required security from him before he would enter him; got such in the person of Martin Organ, a butter buyer, who signed his name in seven different places in a book, to the amount of 12*l.* 12*s.*, or 36*s.* each for the family; was promised a free passage and diet for self and family, and from the day he landed at Jamaica 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, equal to 2*s.* 6*d.* Jamaica currency, his eldest son to get the same.

"The other inducements, as in the printed advertisements, were held out, such as the oatmeal and herrings, milk of a cow, &c.. &c.

"No remarks were made to him respecting the distance, nor the difficulty of returning; no inquiry made as to his state of health, or if he were fit for such labour.

"James Enright, wife and one child, states that he went to the agent's office in Limerick; was told he would be very comfortable if he went to Jamaica; would get on landing 6 cwt. meal, ½ brl. herrings, the milk of a cow or 2*d.* per day; that it was a very good country; would have a comfortable good place, and 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, British currency, five days in the week; that it was a wholesome good place; made no inquiry about his health, nor that of his wife and child; did not tell him of the distance, nor the difficulty of getting back; did not ask him was he any way incapacitated from work; the only persons he saw were very distressed persons offering for passage; further states Mr. White told him he might change his employer in eighteen months, if he did not like him; but did not think he was to be bound for that time; gave as his security John Coleman, a pensioner, in the sum of 3*l.* 12*s.*, for himself and wife; all the information he got was in favour of going; in conclusion, he stated he knew no more about the country than the child unborn."

THE Jamaica papers supply us with the communications of Lord John Russell to the governor of Jamaica, for the benefit of the house of assembly. We have given the substance of them in another place, and think they will be read with satisfaction as far as they go. The house is said to be very busy in the work of amendment, with very little speech-making. Out of forty-five members, however, of which the house consists, sixteen are absent.

The official communication from Lord John Russell to the West India governors, on the subject of emigration from Sierra Leone, is found among the papers communicated tothe Jamaica house of assembly by Sir C. Metcalfe. We insert it below.

Downing-street, 9th of June, 1840.

SIR,—I transmit to you enclosed a copy of a despatch which I have received from the governor of Sierra Leone, reporting the wish which is entertained by many of the Maroons and original settlers of that colony to immigrate to the West Indies, and I have to desire that you will transmit to me any information which you may consider likely to be acceptable to governor Doherty, in explanation of the advantages which might be placed within the reach of any able-bodied natives of Africa, who may be desirous of transferring their labour to Jamaica.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. RUSSELL.

The Right Hon. Sir C. Metcalfe.

Extract from a communication from the governor of Sierra Leone to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

At this moment it likewise happens that many of the Maroon and settler population, having been informed of the encouragement given to immigration in Trinidad and others of the West Indies, express the wish and purpose of removing thither with their families, and, in my opinion nothing ought to be done to discourage their departure, which, if, as they conceive, it would be beneficial to themselves, would undoubtedly be not less so to the colony. But I am desirous of knowing from your lordship what course it would be advisable for me to pursue, in the event of any considerable number of liberated Africans being induced by their example to decide upon removing likewise to the same part of the world.

I have, &c. (Signed) R. DOHERTY, Governor.

Under the title of *Suggestions for the consideration of those interested in Jamaica and other West India colonies*, we insert to-day a paper drawn up and privately circulated by W. W. Anderson, esq., now in this country from Jamaica. The long experience and extensive local knowledge of this gentleman cannot but render his suggestions of much practical value, while his well-known character, as a firm and enlightened friend of liberty and the negro, entitles his remarks to the confidence of abolitionists. We draw attention particularly to his sentiments on the subject of emigration. He lays it down expressly, that "*the labour of whites can never be applied to estates with the least chance of profit.*" He adds, however, "no one, I think, could object to see even white emigration, *with the object of bringing the highlands into cultivation for the necessaries of life.*" We hope persons who do emigrate from this country will observe this distinction. Let them accept no offer to labour on estates; but let them make a point of going to the mountains, "where the climate is pleasant and healthful," and where, "with a small capital, either of his own or lent to him, an emigrant in a good locality cannot fail of benefiting himself immensely," by "cultivating the necessaries of life."

IN another column we have inserted extracts from a letter of Mr. Colquhoun of St. Lucia, giving a most melancholy account of slavery in the French colonies. We here present another extract from the same letter, containing a valuable and gratifying testimony to the conduct of the peasantry, not only in the island of St. Lucia, but in the West Indies generally.

"Our friends and yourself will be glad to learn that matters in thi colony (St. Lucia) wear a most cheering aspect, only disturbed occasionally by the scurrilous invectives against all virture and good, issued by a miserable and venal faction, who are the worst enemies of the colony. The prospect for next crop is excellent, the diminution of crime very considerable, and morality, education, and industry are making rapid advances amongst our peasantry. In all the other British islands I am certain similar favourable testimony may be borne respecting the deportment of the emancipated negros; and I assure you, (and from experience and intimate knowledge I am competent to do so) that, whenever the results of freedom have seemed defective, this has been solely caused by the ignorance, incapacity, or wilful negligence of the planters themselves. There never existed a more well-disposed body than the late apprentices, and this character they have earned for themselves under a

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most abominable system of persecution, extortion, and deception. Should you honour me with further correspondence, I shall furnish you with proofs innumerable and irrefragable in support of my assertions: meantime be assured that the people and the cause are worthy of the noblest efforts."

THE parliamentary papers on the slave-trade for 1840, afford the explanation which has been desired in relation to the treaty between Great Britain and Hayti. It appears from them that the British government have been negotiating with the various powers of the western world, for the conclusion of treaties "for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade." Among those with which they have been successful is the republic of Hayti. We observe, however, that the Haytian treaty is negotiated with a reference to the French consul, and is called a "treaty of accession to the conventions between Great Britain and France for suppressing the slave-trade." This is rather a significant peculiarity. The treaties in the other cases are simple treaties with Great Britain, without any reference whatever to existing conventions with France, or any other power.

Poetry.

TO DR. MADDEN,

ON HIS LEAVING ENGLAND FOR AFRICA.

God speed thy mission, whatso'er it be!
One not t'enslave, but rather to set free.
'Tis not to wrong my brother in distress,
But rather teach the fruits of righteousness.
'Tis not to take the blood-stain'd merchant's gold,
Or fill with human stores the cursed hold.
'Tis not to break the bond of kindred ties,
To pierce the heavens with frantic wails and cries;
To seize the husband—son—the maid—the wife—
Or dash the youngest offspring out of life.
O no! we know it—and the world can tell
Your mission *must* be one which augurs well
For Africa! It must be one of love,
To British freemen dear—and seal'd above.
To Afric's swarthy race some blessing take,
Some potent charm which may their sufferings break,
A timely warning to their cruel foes,
Alleviation to unnumbered woes.
God speed thy course, and keep thee on thy way,
Protect, preserve, and bless thee night and day!
Above the mighty deep—'mid perils there,
In storms or calms—almighty be *His* care!

JOSEPH SOUL.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

THE ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—[From the *New York Journal of Commerce.*]—Reference is made in the late Message of the governor of Georgia, and also, we believe, in those of the governors of some other slave-holding states, to a circular letter which had been received by their Excellencies from the Anti-slavery Convention recently held in London. They complain of the letter as an impertinent interference, and also blame Mr. Gates, a member of Congress from this state, for franking it. The circumstances which led him to do this, we understand, were as follows:—*The parcel containing the circulars* was received by a gentleman of this city, who, happening to be with Mr. Gates as he was passing through town on his way to Genessee County from Washington, requested him to frank them, which he did, without knowing their contents, though aware that they proceeded from the aforesaid Convention. We, however, do not perceive that the letter contains anything very dreadful, especially as it was addressed, not to the slaves, nor even to their masters, but to the executive, who, of course, could make such disposition of it as he thought proper. Some curiosity will naturally be felt to know what the letter is, about which so much noise is made at the south. This curiosity we have it in our power to gratify, a copy of the letter having been obtained from Governor Pennington of New Jersey, as follows:—[The letter is then inserted.]

PENAL SLAVERY.—The following letter from the *Mobile Chronicle*, affords a curious insight into the working of the criminal law in the United States. It is addressed to the mayor of Mobile by the executive department of Virginia:—

"Sir,—On the 12th of September last, a man calling himself Randolph Littlejohn, purchased the following named slaves, who had been condemned to death for offences against the laws of this state, and subsequently reprieved by the governor for sale and transportation beyond the limits of the United States; giving bond in the penalty of 27,000 dollars, being 1000 dollars for each slave, conditioned for the transportation of all and every of the said slaves beyond the limits of the United States, according to the true intent and meaning of the law of Virginia.

"To this bond a man calling himself William H. Williams is the security, and the governor has received information since the purchase which justifies the belief, not only that Williams was the real purchaser, but that an attempt will be made *to sell* the slaves so purchased for transportation beyond the limits of the United States, either at New Orleans or Mobile. The brig Uncas, Nathaniel Bouthe or Bouche, master, sailed from the port of Alexandria on Saturday last, the 10th instant, carrying about seventy slaves, some of them the property of Williams, and including the twenty-seven purchased as before-mentioned, under the penalty of 1000 dollars each unless transported beyond the limits of the United States.

"The governor deeming it incumbent upon him not only to see, as he is required to do by the constitution, that the laws of his own state are faithfully executed within his jurisdiction, but that no injury shall be done to any of our sister states by means of such contracts as that referred to, has directed me to give you this information, and to request that you will cause such measures to be taken at Mobile as will lead to detection in the event of an attempt being made to land or sell the slaves there."

In reference to the slaves above spoken of the *Mobile Chronicle* has the following:—

"The brig Uncas, with the convict slaves from Virginia, reached the bar of our bay yesterday. We do not know exactly what was done by our authorities to get rid of them, but we believe that they were prevented from traiding here, and that the next place where an attempt will probably be made is New Orleans. The authorities there are doubtless on their guard."

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—THE FIRST IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED STATES.—Fourteen of these persons arrived at Kingston on Thursday last, in the Isabella from Baltimore—the first fruits of Mr. Barclay's mission thereto. From what we have seen of them they appear rather a superior order of people, and better calculated for domestic than field purposes. Larger shipments are, however, expected immediately. From the late period at which the sub-agent for the district, Dr. Paul, received his appointment, on preparation had been made for their reception.—*Royal Gazette.*

The governor has communicated to the House of Assembly, various despatches, and extracts of despatches, from Lord John Russell, from which we take the following:—

Fisheries' Bill.—In this act I find that many of its provisions are unnecessarily severe, and that some of the offences which it would punish are not described with sufficient precision for a penal statute. Under these circumstances I have deemed it proper to advise her Majesty to disallow this act.

Kingston Corporation Bill.—This act raises the qualification of candidates for the office of common councilman, to an extent which must virtually exclude the coloured population from the enjoyment of privileges from which they should no longer be debarred.

Her Majesty's government will not consent to the raising of the qualification in any shape, either for municipal or parliamentary elections, and I have therefore advised her Majesty to disallow this act.

Immigration Act.—Her Majesty's government entertain a decided repugnance to the introduction into the colonies of laws for the apprenticeship, for any term of years, of adult persons. Such laws, as all experience shows, are either ineffectual for their purposes, or are rendered effectual only by compulsion and terror. Men will not labour strenuously and cheerfully at a low rate of wages, in fulfilment of contracts of this kind, when fully aware that a high rate of wages might be obtained if they could procure their discharge from the engagement. They serve grudgingly and ill, and the result is a constant succession of petty disputes, ending in the disappointment of the hopes and plans of the employer; or if, to escape this consequence, the law provides compulsory means for enforcing the performance of the engagement, the compulsion must be so prompt, formidable, and decisive, as to render the servitude under apprenticeship distinguishable in name rather than in reality from the state of slavery. This dilemma has practically arisen as often as the experiment has been tried. English apprentices hired for a term of years in the Australian colonies, under the authority of acts of parliament which authorized such hirings, have invariably been discharged after a short time as useless. The labour of slaves is profitable only because the owner possesses the means of instant punishment. The labour of convicts has been profitable, exactly in proportion as the dread of penalties imposed by the magistracy could be brought to bear on them.

For these reasons, I think that no contract of service under the Immigration Act should ever be made for more than twelve months; or if entered into for a longer period, it should be a part of the agreement, that the service should cease at any time after the expiration of the twelve months, if either party should give three months' notice of his determination to dissolve the engagement. The master and the servant would thus meet and act towards each other in the spirit and under the motives of freemen. On the side of the servant, while yet a stranger in the island, there would, during the first year, be many inducements to prove his capacity for useful labour, and to conciliate the good will of his master. On the side of the master, there would, from the first, be powerful motives for securing the confidence and attachment of his servant. There would not be, on the one side, the dejection produced by the prospect of a long service, employed in working out a debt, and on the other side, there would not be, the indifference to the feelings of the servant, which the conscious security of retaining his services might so readily engender. The first year past in the interchange of good offices on either side, would probably lead to a lasting and voluntary engagement, and the power of dissolving the contract would probably be found the most effectual security for its real continuance.

You will, in whatever manner may appear to you best calculated to produce the desired result, make known to the legislature of Jamaica that such are the views of her Majesty's government on this subject, and that they will not be able to advise the Queen to sanction this act, unless it shall be amended in such a manner as to limit to twelve months the duration of any apprenticeship, or contract for service, into which the immigrants may enter; or at any rate to provide, that, after the expiration of twelve months, either party may put an end to the contract by giving three months' notice.

Criminal Law Bill.—This very important act was unaccompanied by any report from the Attorney General; and, when it was at length supplied at the desire of my predecessor, it simply stated that the act "carried on the progressive assimilation of the island law to that of England."

It appears, however, that this act is open to very serious objections. Among misdemeanours to be punished by imprisonment with or without hard labour, are enumerated "any disturbance at any place of public amusement," "open and notorious lewdness," "publicly exposing the naked person in an indecent posture," "forestalling, regrating, or engrossing," "having enclosed any open or enclosed ground with intent

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there to aid or abet, or assist any person or persons illegally to destroy, take, or kill game." Some of these, as forestalling, regrating, and engrossing, cannot I conceive properly be considered offences to be prosecuted; others, as *open and notorious lewdness*, are too vaguely defined; and others, such as any *disturbance at a place of public amusement*, ought not to be visited with the infamous punishment of hard labour. I observe also, that bigamy or polygamy is in the catalogue of misdemeanours, while it is considered felony by the British law. Another serious objection to this act is, that it creates capital offences in escaping a second time from prison and being at large after a sentence of transportation.

Fire Arms Act.—The Act, No. 336, for registering fire arms is, as you observe, revived in opposition to Lord Glenelg's instructions of 4th July, 1838; and moreover, instead of being passed for four years, like the last corresponding act, is perpetual in its duration. I must request you to propose its amendment.

Vagrant Act.—The Act, No. 315, on the subject of vagrancy, is reported by you to be founded on the Order in Council of 7th September, 1838, and to contain most of the provisions of that order. I observe, however, some important deviations from that model. The terms of imprisonment are considerably lengthened. The definition of vagrancy is greatly enlarged. In one case it is declared an act of vagrancy if a man shall run away from his wife and children, so as to leave them burthensome to any individual. Rogues and vagabonds may, under this act, be committed to labour on the public streets and highways. In the absence of a police officer any man is authorized to arrest a vagrant, and a record of conviction by a justice of the peace is to be admitted as evidence on a second conviction in aggravation of the punishment. Whatever may be the causes of these deviations from the model, they are at least unexplained; and the tendency of all of them is to render the law, more severe and stringent.

SIR C. METCALFE'S EQUAL JUSTICE.—A policeman in St. Thomas in the Vale, whilst serving a summons on a labourer, observed a fowling-piece lying over the man's bed; suspecting it had not been registered, he, on his return, mentioned the circumstance to the magistrate. He was ordered instantly to go back (without any warrant, or written authority) seize on the gun, and bring it to the magistrate. This was done; the labourer was cited to appear; confessed to non-registration; was fined 40s. (we believe,) and the fowling-piece confiscated. Shortly after this occurrence, a *respectable* person, that is, a man with a white skin, was charged before *the same* magistrate, associated with two others, with some matter of assault, and firing off a pistol or pistols. In the course of the investigation, it was admitted by the defendant that these "fire arms" were not registered according to law. At the conclusion of the proceeding, the two associate justices urged upon their senior colleague that he ought, in common fairness, to adopt the same steps towards this "respectable" person, as he had done towards the labourer. But in vain—he turned a deaf ear to all their remonstrances—"*the law was not intended to affect the respectable part of the community.*"—We have since learned that the upright, intelligent, and impartial magistrate that acted this part, was no other than MR. PETER GARRIGUES.—*Colonial Reformer.*

THE REV. T. E. WARD.—In this prosecution for obstructing the police in the execution of their duty in the matter of the Africans, which is, no doubt, fresh in the recollection of our readers, the enemies of Mr. Ward suffered a signal defeat. It appeared that the whole of the proceedings against the Africans were illegal; and that, had the right parties been tried, Messrs. Chrystie, his Policemen, and Mr. Vermont, ought to have been put to the bar of their country for their unlawful and unwarrantable conduct."—*Baptist Herald.*

BARBADOS.—What may be done under the administration of Sir Evan McGregor? —Two poor men, William Morris and George Leacock, Mr. Alexander Morris, another planter, magistrate, and member of assembly, placed at the bar of his court, *without any summons or previous notice of the charge to be brought against them*, and convicted them in penalties of £50 each, for reducing away labourers from the island! The poor men gave notice of their intention to appeal against this illegal proceeding—the very conviction itself being unsustained by evidence such as the law of the case required; but, as they had no previous notice of the charge against them, or of the intention of the magistrate to put them on their trial, they were unprovided with sureties, and in consequence were sent to gaol, and kept there (Mr. Morris refusing to furnish them copies of the proceedings against them)—one for eleven and the other for eight days! The Court of Appeal, on their petition, quashed the proceedings against them, and liberated them from prison. But that is all the redress they can get; and Mr. Morris, for any check that this will have on his conduct, may do the same thing again to-morrow, and every day of his life.—*Liberal.*

ANTIGUA.—Extract of a Letter from W. Thabou, Esq., to Mr. Sturge, dated Nov. 19th, 1840:—"Our labourers are busily engaged in cleaning the cane for the next crop, and opening lands for 1842. Task work is the order of the day, opening lands at 1s. 3d. per 100 cane holes. I know of two persons earning £1 4s. 9d. currency in two days, at weeding the young canes. The prospect for the next crop is cheering after the severe drought, it will however be late, generally speaking. I may say all things are going on well. The laws, with perhaps some few exceptions, are fairly administered—the village system is progressing—the labourers are purchasing lands wherever an opportunity presents itself. Some of the proprietors are almost disposed to dispose of portions of unproductive lands, and the people are every day becoming fully sensible of their own importance and worth to the planters, who, in their turn, are preparing to meet the march of events."

DOMINICA.—An Act providing, after the fashion of the mother country, for the free discharge, without payment of official fees or expense, of persons brought before our criminal courts, but against whom the indictments preferred by the Crown may be ignored by the grand jury or who may be acquitted by the petit jury, has been assented to by the Board of Council.—*Dominican.*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

IN LONDON AND ITS VICINITY.

Should any inaccuracy be discovered in this List, the Secretary will feel obliged by his being informed of the same in order to its correction.

	Donations. £	s.	d.	Ann. Sub. £	s.	d.
Allen, Stafford, Cowper-street				2	2	0
Allen, William, Plough-court				2	0	0
Friends per Ditto	16	4	6			
Bax, Thomas, Bishopsgate-street				1	1	0
Beaumont, John, Northampton-square				1	0	0
Bennet, George, Hackney	2	2	0	1	1	0
Betts, Lucy, Islington	0	10	0			
Booth Isaac, Hackney				1	0	0
Bowsar, William, Parsons-street, Wellclose-square	2	2	0			
Brooks, William, Islington				0	10	0
Birchall, S. J., Doctors Commons				1	1	0
Birchall, S. J., ditto				1	1	0
Buxton, Sir T. F. Spitalfields	10	10	0			
Campbell, Lieut.-Colonel, Whitehall				1	1	0
Clarke, John, Moorgate-street				1	1	0
Collected at Exeter Hall	69	6	3			
Cooper, Joseph Lawrence, Pountney-lane				2	2	0
Delegate, A, per Robert Forster	100	0	0			
Ewart, William, M. P., Pall Mall				5	0	0
Friends, per H. Sterry	0	10	0			
Friend, A	0	10	0			
Gilbart, J. W., London and Westminster Bank	3	3	0			
Gilkes, Alfred, Spitalfields				1	0	0
Grimshaw, William, jun., Goswell-street				0	10	6
Gurney, W. B., Abingdon-street	10	10	0			
Harvey, Robert, Gracechurch-street				1	1	0
Hinton, Rev. J. H., A. M., Finsbury-terrace				1	1	0
Hubbert, John, Hull-street, St. Lukes				0	10	0
Johnson, Robert, Watling-street	5	5	0			
Kinder, Mr., 9, Cheapside	0	10	0			
Latchmore, John, Layton's-buildings, Borough				1	1	0
Lecesne, L. C., Fenchurch-buildings				2	2	0
Lister, D., Berkeley-square	10	10	0			
Livesay, Thomas, Triangle, Hackney	2	0	0			
Lushington, Right Hon. Sir Stephen, M. P.	10	10	0			
Lushington, Charles, M. P.				1	1	0
Masters, H. W., Wilson-street, Finsbury				1	1	0
Neatby, Joseph, Kennington	5	0	0	2	2	0
Norton, Thomas, jun., Bermondsey				1	1	0
Oborn, R., Guildford-street, East				0	10	0
Oliver, James, Newington-causeway				1	1	0
Palmer, Edward, High-street Southwark				1	1	0
Peek, James, Love-lane	5	5	0	1	1	0
Poile, Rev. W. F., Ampton-street, Grays-inn Road	0	10	0	0	10	0
Post, Jacob, Islington	12	10	0	1	1	0
Robarts, Henry, Conduit-street	10	10	0			
Robinson Joseph P., Leadenhall-street				1	1	0
Savory, Joseph, Cornhill	5	0	0	1	1	0
Sheppard, Charles H., Pump-court, Temple				1	1	0
Smith, Ebenezer, Billiter-square				1	1	0
Smith, Rev. Dr. J. P., Homerton				1	1	0
Sterry, Henry, Borough				3	3	0
Sterry, Richard, Ditto				1	1	0
Sterry, Joseph, Ditto				2	2	0
Sterry, Joseph, jun., Ditto				1	1	0
Struthers, William, Parliament-street	10	10	0			
Taylor, William, New Ormond-street	5	0	0	2	2	0
Thompson, Thomas, Keppel-street				1	1	0
Thorowgood, S., Houndsditch				1	0	0
Tredgold, J. H., Wellclose-square				1	1	0
Tuckett, Henry, South-street				1	1	0
Warner, John, Jewin-street				2	0	0
W. S.	5	0	0			

The following are the names of friends who have contributed to the Funds of the Society, but their addresses are unknown.

Brown, G. B.	5	5	0			
Brown, Henry Knibbs	5	5	0			
Everett, A.				1	0	0
Fletcher, Edmund	10	0	0			
Griffin, N.	1	0	0			
Langton, Mr.	5	0	0			
Mills, Samuel	5	0	0			
Parker, F. G.,				1	0	0
Pryor, James	0	5	0			
Ramsay, Rev. S., A. M.				0	10	0
Robinson, Samuel	0	10	0			
Robinson, George	0	10	0			
Smith, Elizabeth				0	10	0
Walker, S., per G. W. Alexander	10	10	0			

CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE COUNTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

(Exclusive of those in London and its Vicinity.)

BEDFORDSHIRE.						
Ampthill						
May, Samuel				1	0	0
Bedford.						
Alliott, Rev. William	0	5	0			
An Absent Friend	1	0	0			
Kilpin, Thomas, and Son	1	0	0			
Langley, Miss				1	0	
Livins, George P.	1	0	0			
Malden, Ebenezer	0	5	0			
Manning, William	0	10	0			
Metcalfe, C. J. (Roxton)	2	0	0			
Metcalfe, C. J. Jun. Do.	2	0	0			

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	Donations £ s. d.	Ann. £. s. d.	Sub.
Metcalfe, C. J. Jun., for Cong. Church, Roxton	1 0 0		
Metcalfe, John	1 0 0		
Metcalfe, Mrs. and Miss	1 0 0		
Sharman, A.	1 0		
Smith, Mrs. William		1 1 0	
Leighton Buzzard.			
Grant, John		10 0 0	
BERKSHIRE			
Farringdon.			
Reynolds, Jane	10 0 0		
Reading.			
Willis, John	1 0 0		
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.			
Olney.			
Bass, Henry	0 2 6		
Bell, Sheppard		3 0 0	
Eccles, Rev. Mr. R. C. P., Weston Underwood	0 5 0		
Gauntlett, Samuel		0 10 0	
Gribble, Rev. C. B. A.M.	0 5 0	0 10 0	
Killingworth, John	0 5 0		
Killingworth, William	0 5 0		
Killingworth, Thomas	0 5 0		
Longland, G.	0 5 0		
Maltby, Hugh	0 5 0		
Morris, Rev. John	0 2 6		
Old James		0 10 0	
Palmer, Joseph		0 10 0	
Palmer, Mary	0 2 6		
Perry, James, Lavendon	0 5 0		
Raban, Sophia	0 5 0		
Smith, Anne Hopkins	100 0 0	3 0 0	
Smith, Elizabeth		0 10 0	
Swannell, William, Weston	0 5 0		
Talbot, John H.		1 0 0	
Talbot, John		1 0 0	
Taylor, John	0 5 0		
Whitlock, James	0 2 6		
Woodroffe, Joseph	0 2 6		
CAMBRIDGESHIRE.			
Cambridge.			
A Friend, at Queen's College	1 1 0		
A Friend, at St. John's College	1 1 0		
Ashton, W. G.	1 0 0		
Bond, Joseph	0 5 0		
Brimley, A. G.	1 0 0		
Calthrop, Rev. J. H.	1 1 0		
Chaplin, J. R., Fulbourn	1 0 0		
Dee, W. H.	0 5 0		
Elliston, W.	0 10 0		
Forster, Richard	3 0 0	1 1 0	
Forster, Edward		0 10 0	
Golshead, James, Jun.	0 10 0		
Graham, Rev. J., D. D.	1 0 0		
Gunning, F. J.	1 0 0		
Hall, Rev., F. R., D.D.	7 2 0		
Hurrell, Swann	0 10 0		
Johnson, Elijah	0 5 0		
Johnston, R.	0 10 0		
Lee, Professor	1 0 0		
Kitter, James	1 0 0		
Proctor, John	0 10 0		
Roff, Rev. Robert	0 10 0		
Shippey, W. and E.	0 10 0		
Wood, Thomas	0 5 0		
Wisbeach.			
Dawbarn, Robert	1 0 0		
England, William, M. D.	1 0 0		
Holmes, John (Leverington)	1 0 0		
Jackson, E.	1 0 0		
Jackson, Rev. Jeremiah	0 7 6		
Leach, Henry (Mayor)	1 1 0		
Leach, Matthew	0 10 0		
Metcalfe, Charles, jun.	0 10 0		
Peatling, Thomas	0 10 0		
Peckover, William	5 0 0		
Stanton, Stephen	1 0 0		
Usill, A.	1 0 0		
Usill, J.	1 0 0		
Weatherhead, J. R.	1 0 0		
Wherry, R.	0 10 0		
Whitshed, J., M. D.	1 0 0		
CORNWALL.			
Burncoose.			
Williams, J. jun.	12 0 0	2 0 0	
Camborne.			
Budge, John	2 2 0		
Liskeard.			
Abbott, Samuel	0 10 0		
Allen, John	1 0 0		
Allen, Franck	0 10 0		
Bowden, John	0 5 0		
Brown, Solomon	0 10 0		
Bustin, Jacob	0 5 0		
Elliott, John	0 10 0		
Jackson, Clement	0 10 0		
Kingston, Ann	0 10 0		
Rundle, Samuel	1 0 0		
Sansom, James	0 5 0		
Wadge, John	1 0 0		
Perran.			
Fox, Charles	2 2 0	1 1 0	

	Donations. £ s. d.	Ann. £ s. d.	Subs.
Truro.			
James, S.	2 10 0		
James, J.	2 10 0		
Tweedy, William		2 2 0	
CUMBERLAND.			
Carlisle.			
Ferguson, Joseph	5 0 0		
Head, George Head	50 0 0	10 0 0	
Sutton, Lydia		1 1 0	
Cockermouth.			
Brown, Joseph	0 2 6		
Harris, Jonathan	0 10 0		
Spencer, Jeremiah	1 0 0		
Penrith.			
Wauchope, Capt. R. N.	2 0 0		
Wauchope, Master W. Box, for the extinction of slavery	2 8 11		
Whitehaven.			
Bell, Joseph	0 5 0		
Forster, Ralph	0 10 0		
Gordon, Thomas	0 5 0		
Miller, Joseph	1 1 0		
Nicholson, William F.	0 10 6		
Peele, George	1 1 0		
Rundleson, William	1 1 0		
Spencer, John	1 0 0		
Turnass, Hannah	0 10 0		
Wilkinson, John	0 10 0		
Wilkinson, William	0 10 0		
Woodville, Rebekah	0 10 0		
DERBYSHIRE.			
Chesterfield.			0 10 0
Prince, Dr.			
Friends, per ditto	2 2 0		
Derby.			0 10 0
Steer, John			
DEVON.			
Exeter.			
A. B.	0 5 0		
A Child's Offering	0 0 4		
Alexander, Daniel			0 10 0
Another Child's Offering	0 0 4		
A Friend, per Mrs. Glyde	0 5 0		
Balle, Thomas	0 5 0		
Binham, Miss Esther	0 5 0		
Colson, J. W.	0 10 0		
Cross, Henry	1 0 0		
Davis, S.			0 10 0
Drewe, William			1 1 0
Dymond, Robert			1 0 0
Dymond, John			1 0 0
E. S. C.	0 2 6		
Evans, R.	1 0 0		
Glyde, Mrs.	1 0 0		
Godfrey, Major	1 0 0		
Jacomb T.	0 10 0		
Knott, Thomas			1 1 0
Ladies' Auxiliary Society, per Mrs. S. J. Dymond	10 0 0		
Lee, William			1 0 0
Macgowan, Dr. E.	1 0 0		
Mackintosh, J., Sen.			1 0 0
Neyle, Mrs. Catherine, per Miss M. Dymond	0 10 0		
Ottley, Drury	1 0 0		
Palk, John	1 0 0		
Pope, Rev. J. W.			0 10 6
Sawer, F., Sen.			1 1 0
Sercombe, J. C. and G.			1 1 0
Sheppard, J.	0 10 0		
Sparkes, Thomas T.			0 10 0
Sparkes, Sarah	5 0 0		1 1 0
Sparkes, Rachael			1 1 0
Stabback, the Misses, per Miss Sparkes	1 0 0		
Sundry Donations, per Miss M. Dymond	0 10 0		
Treffrey, Henry			1 0 0
Were, Joseph	1 0 0		
Westlake, Robert	0 5 0		
Wilcox, J. C.	1 0 0		
Wilkey, J. F.	1 1 0		0 10 0
Wilkey, Sarah			0 10 0
Wilkinson, W. H.	5 0 0		
Hazlewood.			
Peek, Richard	6 1 0		1 1 0
Heavitree.			
Wright, Miss			1 1 0
Modbury.			
Prideaux, George	0 5 0		
Plymouth.			
White, James			0 10 0
Spiceland.			
Friends, per W. Fry	1 17 0		
Uffculm.			
Milward, Thomas	0 10 0		
DORSETSHIRE.			
Marnhull.			
Hatcher, J.	1 0 0		
Poole.			
Binns, William	4 0 0		1 1 0
DURHAM.			
Barnard Castle.			
Friends, per Rev. W. L. Prattman	3 14 4		

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	Donations. £ s. d.	Ann. Subs. £ s. d.
Bishopwearmouth.		
Richardson, William		1 0 0
Darlington.		
Backhouse, Edward	5 0 0	
Backhouse, Jonathan	70 0 0	
Pease, Joseph, Sen.	10 0 0	
Pease, Elizabeth		5 0 0
Sams, Joseph		1 1 0
North Shields.		
Ladies' Auxiliary Society	10 0 0	
Sunderland.		
Paull, George		1 1 0
Ransom, John		1 1 0
ESSEX.		
Bardfield.		
Smith, Joseph	0 10 0	
Chelmsford.		
Candler, John		1 1 0
Christy, Thomas	5 0 0	
Clayton, Hollis	2 0 0	
Gray, C. J.	1 0 0	
Greenwood, M. and S.	10 0 0	
Greenwood, E.	3 0 0	
Johns, W. and T.	2 0 0	
Knight, Ann		1 0 0
Marriage, Caroline	3 0 0	
Marriage, Joseph	3 0 0	
Marriage, Joseph, Jun.	2 0 0	
Marriage, Mary	1 0 0	
Ridley, William	3 0 0	
Various small sums	5 0 0	
Wills and Perry	10 0 0	
Coggeshall.		
Doubleday, William, Jun.	0 10 0	
Kay, Rev. John	0 10 0	
Pattisson, Mrs.	1 0 0	
Pattisson, J. W.	0 10 0	
Colchester.		
Auxiliary Society, per the Secretaries	7 0 0	
Bradnack, Mr.	0 10 0	
Catchpool, Thomas	7 0 0	2 0 0
Catchpool, Mrs.	3 0 0	
Chaplin, John (Lexden)	0 10 0	
Cross, William	1 0 0	
Cross, John	0 10 0	
Esdell, J. C.	0 5 0	
Fenton, F.	0 5 0	
Francis, W. W.	2 0 0	
Garnon, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Gubb, Jonathan, (Lexden)	2 0 0	
Knight, Thomas	0 10 0	
Levett, Robert, (Birch)	2 0 0	
Marriage, Edward	2 0 0	
Mills, John	5 0 0	
Papillon, Mrs. E., (Lexden)		2 0 0
Rowe, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Saville, George	2 0 0	
Tabor, James	0 10 0	
Taylor, John. Jun,	0 10 0	
Major Thurley	1 0 0	
Felstead.		
Friends at	2 0 0	
Maldon.		
Knight, Thomas	1 0 0	
Marriage, Robert	2 0 0	
May, George	0 10 0	
Pattisson, Joseph	1 0 0	
Read, W. P.	1 0 0	
Wilmshurst, John	1 0 0	
Stanstead.		
Hicks, Charles		1 0 0
Upton.		
Fry, Mrs. Elizabeth	1 1 0	
Gurney, Samuel	250 0 0	
Sturges, Miss	1 1 0	
Woodwark, Rev. J.		0 10 0
Woodwark, Mrs.		1 1 0
Witham.		
Bolt, William	1 0 0	
Butler, William		0 10 0
Butler, Thomas	1 0 0	
Catchpool, James		0 10 0
Catchpool, Thomas		1 0 0
Dixon Benjamin, Wickham Mills	0 10 0	
Dixon, R. W.		1 1 0
Foster, James		1 10 0
Kendall, Eliza		0 10 0
Pattisson, W. H.	5 0 0	1 1 0
Pattisson, J. H.		1 1 0
Piper, D. H.	0 5 0	
Shoens, the Misses		0 10 0
Smith, Thomas		0 10 0
Unwin, J.		0 10 0
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.		
Bristol.		
Ash Edward, M.D.	10 0 0	
From one who purchased twenty shares in the Imperial Brazilian Mines, without the knowledge of their being worked by slaves. In trust to be applied for the benefit of the slaves employed in the said mines.	10 0 0	

	Donations. £. s. d.	Ann. Subs. £. s. d.
Harford, Summers	1 0 0	
Harwood, Edward	1 0 0	
Ovens, Paulina	1 1 0	
Reynolds, Hannah		1 0 0
Thomas George	25 0 0	
Cirencester.		
Auxiliary Society, per F. Brewin, Treasurer	10 0 0	
Clifton.		
Guilleband, Rev. P.	10 10 0	1 1 0
Lindoe, Dr.	5 0 0	
Lindoe, Mrs.	5 0 0	
Frenchay.		
Tuckett, P. D.		1 1 0
Tuckett, Francis		1 1 0
Gloucester.		
Harward, Capt. R.N.		1 0 0
HAMPSHIRE.		
Alton.		
Crowley, Henry	10 0 0	
Crowley, Abraham	5 0 0	
Holmes, William		0 10 0
Basingstoke.		
Lefroy, C. E., (Westham.)	10 0 0	
Fordingbridge.		
Neave, Josiah		1 0 0
Petersfield.		
Vick, J. O.	0 10 0	
Southampton.		
Clarke, Thomas, Sen.	2 0 0	
Winchester.		
Knight, Miss	5 0 0	1 0 0
HEREFORDSHIRE.		
Leominster.		
Newman, George		2 0 0
Pritchard, John	2 0 0	
Southall, Samuel		2 10 0
Southall, Edward P.		2 0 0
Southall, John		1 1 0
HERTFORDSHIRE.		
Bedwell Park.		
Smith, Sir C. E., Bart.	5 5 0	
Harpenden.		
Curtis, James		1 1 0
Hertford.		
Cole, Joseph	0 10 0	
Lucas, James		0 10 0
Lucas, Elizabeth and Susan		0 5 0
Manser, William		0 10 0
Pollard, William		0 10 0
Shillitoe, Richard		0 5 0
Squire, Henry	0 10 0	
Hitchin.		
Auxiliary Society, per Joseph Sharples	25 0 0	
Hoddesden.		
Manser, James P.		0 10 0
Ware.		
Cranstone, George		0 10 0
Hooper, Maria De Horne		1 0 0
Messer, Joseph		0 10 0
Squire, Joseph Hooper		0 10 0
HUNTINGDON.		
Houghton.		
Brown, Potts	2 0 0	2 0 0
Goodman, Joseph	2 0 0	2 0 0
St. Ives.		
Auxiliary Society	5 0 0	
Bliss, Rev. Thomas, B.A.	1 0 0	
Gillens, Edward	0 10 0	
Holland, Rev. J. K.	1 0 0	
Paul, T. D.	1 0 0	1 0 0
Ulph, John Birt	0 10 0	
Upcher, Joseph	1 0 0	
KENT.		
Margate.		
Auxiliary Society, per Capt. Dove, R.N.	6 0 0	
Sharples, Joseph	35 0 0	
Rochester.		
Tatham, William		1 0 0
Wheeler, Samuel	1 0 0	
Strood.		
Wheeler, Frederick	2 0 0	
LANCASHIRE.		
Fearnhead.		
Cropper, the late James	25 0 0	5 0 0
Fletcher, Martha		2 0 0
Manchester.		
Clare, Peter		1 1 0
Crewdson, Isaac	10 10 0	
Hall, James, jun. (Salford)		1 1 0
Liverpool.		
Benson, Robert	50 0 0	
Cooke, Isaac	3 0 0	2 0 0
Cropper, John	25 0 0	
Cropper, Edward	25 0 0	
Crossfield, George and Co.	25 0 0	
Kay, William	20 0 0	
Rathbone, Richard	5 0 0	
LINCOLNSHIRE.		
Boston.		
Anderson, T.	0 5 0	
Brand, William	1 0 0	

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	Donations. £ s. d.	Ann. Sub. £. s. d.
Garfit, William	1 0 0	
Gilson, H. R.	0 10 0	
Knowles, T. and Son	0 7 6	
Man, T.	0 5 0	
Man, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Noble, John	0 10 0	
Oldrid, John	0 10 0	
Reynolds, R.	0 10 0	
Small, William	0 10 0	
Smith, Thomas	1 0 0	
Smyth, J. F.	0 10 0	
Veall, T., Sen.	0 5 0	
Veall, T., Jun.	0 5 0	
Wake, Mrs.	0 2 6	
Wright, C., (Mayor)	1 0 0	
Yeatman, F.	0 10 0	
Bransby.		
Spencer, Thomas		1 1 0
Gainsborough.		
Brown, Simon Man	0 10 0	
Kitching, William	0 5 0	
Palian, Thomas	0 5 0	
Watson, Edward	0 5 0	
Louth.		
Auxiliary Society	10 0 0	
Barker, Francis	5 0 0	
Lardner, Joseph	5 0 0	
Manby.		
Collected at the Parish Church after a Sermon per Rev. Thomas A. Dale, A.M.	1 5 0	
Spalding.		
Cutto, Abraham	0 10 0	
Johnson, Theoph. F.	0 10 0	
Massey, William	5 0 0	
Neave, James	0 5 0	
Smith, Thomas	0 10 0	
MIDDLESEX.		
Hampstead.		
Forster, W. E.		1 1 0
Hounslow.		
Ashby, William		1 0 0
Isleworth.		
Beck, Edward	2 2 0	
Staines.		
Ashby, Thomas, Jun.		1 1 0
Stamford Hill.		
Beaumont, Abraham	10 0 0	
Stoke Newington.		
Alexander, G. W.	125 0 0	5 5 0
Homan, Francis		1 1 0
Hunton, Joseph		0 10 0
Rosling, Miss Ann	0 15 0	
Thompson, W.		2 0 0
Ladies' Auxiliary, Mrs. Jefferson, Treasurer		
Ackroyd, J.		0 5 0
A Friend		0 5 0
A Friend		0 5 0
A Friend	0 5 0	
A Friend		0 2 6
A Friend		0 2 6
A Friend		0 2 6
Alexander, Mrs. S. C.		1 0 0
Alexander, Miss S. A.		1 0 0
Allen, Eliza		0 5 0
A Servant		0 0 6
Barclay, Mrs.		0 5 0
Beaumont, R.	1 0 0	
Beck, Mrs.		0 5 0
Beck, Mrs.		0 5 0
Blackwell, ——		0 5 0
Briant, Mrs.		0 2 6
Burgess, Mrs.		0 5 0
Burnell, Mrs.		0 10 0
Clark, Mrs. F.		0 5 0
Clark, Mrs. H.		0 5 0
Clark, Misses C. and M.		0 10 0
Clay, S. A.		0 5 0
Clements, J.		0 2 6
Clements, Miss		0 2 6
Collected at Public Meeting	7 15 10	
Cooper, Mrs.		0 5 0
Cox, ——		0 2 6
Croyer, ——		0 2 6
Cullen, Mrs.		0 2 6
Dawes, E.		0 2 6
Day, Mrs.		0 5 0
Dimsdale, Mrs. S.		0 5 0
Dixon, E., senior		0 6 0
Dixon, E., junior		0 6 0
Engisch, ——		0 2 6
Evans, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Evans, Misses		0 10 0
Evison, Mrs.		0 2 6
Farmery, Mrs. M. A.		0 5 0
Fisher, Miss		0 5 0
Forster, Mrs.		0 5 0
Forster, Mrs.		0 5 0
Forster, Sarah		0 10 0
Forster, S. and L.		0 10 0
Gardner, Mrs.		0 3 0
J. Grant,		0 10 0

	Donations. £. s. d.	Ann. Sub. £. s. d.
Hanbury, Mrs.		0 5 0
Harcourt, Mrs.		0 5 0
Hensley, Mrs.		0 10 0
Hertford, M.		0 1 0
Homan, Mrs.		0 10 0
Honeyball, —		0 5 0
How, Mrs.		0 5 0
Hows, Mrs.		1 1 0
Hunt, Mrs.		0 10 0
Hunton, Mrs.		0 5 0
Jacob, Mrs.		0 4 0
Janson, Mr.		2 2 0
Janson, Mrs.		0 5 0
Jefferson, Mrs.		0 5 0
Jefferson, Misses M. and J.		0 5 0
Jones, Mr.		0 5 0
Kitchener, Mrs.		0 10 0
Kitching, Mrs.		0 10 0
Laing, Mrs.		0 5 0
Lane, Mrs.		0 0 5
Lawrence, J.		0 2 0
Lawrence, G.	0 5 0	
Lewis, Mrs.		0 5 0
Lister, Miss S.		0 5 0
Masters, Mrs.	0 10 0	
Maugham, Mr.		0 5 0
Messer, Mrs.		0 5 0
Messer, Miss S.		0 5 0
Moline, Miss L.		1 0 0
Moline, Mrs. T.		0 10 0
Newton, Mrs.		0 2 6
Pace, Maria		0 2 6
Pellum, Mrs. J.	0 2 6	
Post, Mrs.		0 5 0
Post, Miss		0 5 0
Post, E.		0 5 0
Potts, Miss C. E.		0 5 0
Price, J.		0 5 0
Rawlings, J.		0 5 0
Reed, Mrs.		0 5 0
Robinson, M. A.		0 5 0
Roslyn, Miss Ann		0 10 0
Rust, Miss		0 5 0
Rutter, P.		0 10 0
Savory, Mrs. A.		1 1 0
Savory, C. and E.		0 5 0
Scoble, Mrs.		0 5 0
Scott, Mrs.		0 5 0
Sex, Mrs. Edward		0 2 6
Southall, Constance		0 2 6
Southwaite, —		0 2 6
Steadman, A.		0 10 0
Story, Miss		0 5 0
Tegg, George		0 1 0
Thomas, —		0 2 6
Timpson, —		0 3 0
Watts, —		0 2 6
Webb, —		0 2 6
Willis, Mrs.		0 5 0
Wright, Miss H.		0 2 6
Subscriptions £30 18 6		
Donations 10 3 4		
	£41 1 10	
Expenses	5 0 0	
	£36 1 10	
Teddington.		
Hathaway, W. S.		1 1 0
Tottenham.		
Ball, William	10 10 0	2 2 0
Forster, Josiah		2 2 0
Forster, Robert		1 1 0
Howard, Robert		5 5 0
Stacey, George		2 2 0
Stacey, Rachael	5 0 0	
NORFOLK.		
Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary, per J. J. Gurney	160 0 0	
Bignold, Thomas	5 0 0	1 1 0
Forster, William		1 1 0
Gurney, Joseph John	150 0 0	5 5 0
Wereham.		
Sewell, Philip	3 0 0	1 1 0
Yarmouth.		
Clowes, E. G.	1 0 0	
Creak, Rev. A.	1 1 0	
Sewell, Edward		1 0 0
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.		
Kettering.		
Friends, per J. G. Gotch	7 16 6	
NORTHUMBERLAND.		
Newcastle-on-Tyne.		
Beaumont, William	5 5 0	1 1 0
Finlay, James	2 2 0	
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.		
Nottingham.		
Clarke, C. H.	5 0 0	
Fox, Samuel	25 0 0	
OXFORDSHIRE.		
Banbury.		
Gillet, Edward	0 10 0	

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	Donations. £. s. d.	Ann. Subs. £. s. d.
Gillet, Joseph A.		1 0 0
Charlbury.		
Albright, Nicholas	5 0 0	
Albright, William		0 10 0
SHROPSHIRE.		
Coalbrook Dale.		
Bartlett, Rev. John		1 1 0
Darby, Abraham	110 0 0	2 2 0
Darby, Alfred	10 0 0	2 2 0
Darby, Deborah	10 0 0	2 2 0
Darby, Lucy	10 0 0	2 2 0
Darby, Mary	10 0 0	2 2 0
Darby, Richard		1 1 0
Dickinson, Barnard		1 1 0
Graham, Thomas		1 1 0
Harrison, Thomas	0 5 0	
Norris, William	0 5 0	
Pritchard, George		1 1 0
Pritchard, John		1 1 0
Reynolds, Hannah		1 1 0
Rose, Ann		0 10 6
Sankey, Elizabeth	0 5 0	
SOMERSET.		
Bath.		
Auxiliary Society	15 0 0	
Ladies ditto	15 0 0	
Blair, W. T.	2 0 0	
Dilwyn, Thomas	5 0 0	
Stuart, Captain C.	10 0 0	5 0 0
Bridgewater.		
Brown, Captain G., R.N.		0 10 0
Brown, Miss		0 10 0
James, Rev. W.		0 10 0
Jeffries, E.		0 10 0
Nicholls, H.		0 10 0
Peach, William		0 10 0
Thompson, J.		0 10 0
Thompson, C.		0 10 0
Thompson, F.		0 10 0
Whitby, J.		0 10 0
Frome.		
Bunn, Thomas	0 10 0	
Taunton.		
Ladies' Auxiliary	2 10 0	
Clark, Samuel		0 10 0
Dawe, Mary		1 0 0
Dymond, Miss M.		1 1 0
French, William		0 5 0
Smith, Mrs.		1 1 0
Thompson, Hon. Mrs., Poundersford Park	10 10 0	
Young, John		1 1 0
Wellington.		
Fox, Henry	1 0 0	
Fox, Sarah	1 0 0	
Fox, Sylvanus	1 0 0	
Horsey, W. D.	0 10 0	
STAFFORDSHIRE.		
Camp Hill.		
Wedgwood, Sarah	40 0 0	
SUFFOLK.		
Bury St. Edmund's.		
Adams, Samuel	0 10 0	
Armstrong, Rev. Matthew, A. M.	0 10 0	
Creed, George, (Mayor)	1 0 0	
Dalton, William	2 0 0	
Elliott, Rev. Joseph	0 10 0	
Friends, per ditto,	6 0 0	
Fennell, Samuel	1 0 0	
Gedge, Johnson	0 10 0	
Grayson, Matthew	0 10 0	
Hastead, Rev. Henry, A.M.	1 0 0	
Le Grice, Henry	1 0 0	
Moore, George	1 0 0	
Pace, John	0 10 0	1 0 0
Portway, George	0 10 0	
Portway, George, Jun.	0 10 0	
Ridley, John	1 0 0	
Ridley, John Jun.	0 10 0	
Ridley, Thomas	0 10 0	
Ridley, Thomas, Jun.	0 5 0	
Sabine, John	0 10 0	
Watson, John	0 5 0	
Ipswich.		
Abbott, Samuel	0 10 0	
Alexander, R. D.	5 0 0	
Braine, Benjamin	1 0 0	
Burton, C.	1 0 0	
Clarkson, Thoma, Playford Hall	15 0 0	
Clarkson, Mrs., ditto	3 0 0	
Conder, George	0 10 0	
Conder, Thomas, Jun.	0 10 0	
Conder, James	0 10 0	
Cowell, S. H.	1 0 0	
Cowell, A. K.	1 0 0	
Everett, J. D.	1 0 0	
Goodchild, William	1 0 0	
Harmer and Ransome	1 0 0	
Head, Jeremiah, (Hill)	2 0 0	
Lacey, Robert	0 10 0	
Long, Peter B.	0 10 0	
May, Charles	0 10 0	
Miller, Henry	0 10 0	
Moseley, Rev. Robert	0 10 0	
Neve, John	0 10 0	
Notcutt, John	1 0 0	
Notcutt, S. A.	0 10 0	
Paul, N. and W. F.	0 10 0	
Pitcairn, the Misses	0 10 0	
Pollard, William	0 7 0	
Ransome, Robert	1 0 0	
Ransome, J. A.	0 10 0	
Ray, Shepherd	1 0 0	
Ridley, John	1 0 0	
Ross, T. B.	0 10 0	
Shaw, Robert Newton, (Kergrave Hall)	2 0 0	
Shewell, John T.	5 0 0	
Shewell, Thomas	1 0 0	
Smyth, J. B., Stoke House	3 0 0	
Steggall, Samuel	0 10 0	
Thompson, Robert	0 10 0	
Towell, George, and Son	0 10 0	
Webster, W. H. B.	0 5 0	
Needham Market.		
Maw, Thomas	2 0 0	1 1 0
Rushmere.		
Fox, Thomas	2 0 0	
Ransome, James	1 0 0	
Stowmarket.		
Cornell, W. G.	0 10 0	
Cutting, James B.	1 0 0	
Fison, Joseph	0 10 0	
Hant, John George	1 0 0	
Hewett, William	1 0 0	
King, Benjamin	0 10 0	
Knewshaw, William	0 10 0	
Lankester, J. A.	2 0 0	
Prentice, Thomas and Co.	5 0 0	
Prentice, William	1 0 0	
Stevens, John W.	1 0 0	
Stevens, George	1 0 0	
Ward, Rev. William	0 10 0	
Webb, Joseph A.	5 0 0	
Webb, Lankester	1 0 0	
Sudbury.		
Bass, William		1 0 0
Woodbridge.		
Auxiliary Society, per Rev. H. Taylor	7 10 1	
Ladies' Auxiliary, per Miss Evans	4 0 0	
Subscriptions per Rutt Taylor		
Alexander, J. B.		0 10 0
Corrana, F. W.		1 0 0
Good, Rev. A.		0 10 0
Jessup, A.		0 10 0
Lamb, G.		0 10 0
Moor, Major		0 10 0
Negro Friend Society	2 0 0	
Oakden, B.		0 10 0
Ross, J.		0 10 0
Shaw, R. N.		1 0 0
Smith, Miss		0 10 0
Small Sums		0 12 6
Silver, T. T.		1 0 0
Taylor, Rev. H., A. M.		0 10 0
Thomas, G.		1 0 0
Thompson, P.		1 0 0
Webster, Rev. G.		0 10 0
Amount Collected £12 12 6		
Less expense of Public Meeeting 19 6		
	£12 13 0	
SURREY.		
Clapham.		
Horne, J. S.	10 0 0	
Croydon.		
Barrett, Richard, (Waddon)		2 2 0
Bedford, Peter	2 2 0	
Frith, Philip		5 0 0
Towell, John		1 0 0
Kingston-on-Thames.		
Runyard, W.	1 0 0	
Peckham.		
Cash, William	2 0 0	1 1 0
Jeffrey, Russell		1 0 0
Norton, William		1 1 0
Walworth.		
Harris, Mrs. Jane	10 0 0	
Harris, Miss Jane	5 0 0	
Harris, Miss Lydia	5 0 0	
Wandsworth.		
Bell, John	70 0 0	2 2 0
Phillips, Mrs. Mary	20 0 0	3 0 0
SUSSEX.		
Brighton.		
Bass, Isaac		1 1 0
WARWICKSHIRE.		
Birmingham.		
A Friend, per Joseph Sturge towards special expences	10 0 0	
A Friend to the cause	1 0 0	
Atkins, Thomas	1 1 0	
Bache, Rev. Mr.	0 2 6	
Baker, James	2 0 0	
Baker and Swinburne	0 10 0	

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	Donations. £ s. d.	Ann. Subs. £ s. d.
Beilby, Thomas	2 2 0	
Birmingham Auxiliary	15 0 0	
Ditto, Ladies' ditto	30 0 0	
Ditto, West Bromwich Ladies' ditto	25 0 0	
Boultbee, William		1 1 0
Brewin, Thomas	5 0 0	
Butler, Joseph	1 0 0	
Cadbury, R. J.	2 2 0	
Catler, T. H., Alderman	1 1 0	
Chapman, Mr.	0 5 0	
C. M., of Birmingham, per Joseph Sturge	10 0 0	
Collins and Son	0 10 0	
Dickinson, Francis	1 0 0	
Dickinson, Mrs. Rebecca	1 0 0	
Edmonds, Mr. George	0 10 0	
Elliott, William	2 0 0	
Evans, Sarah, and sisters	0 10 0	
Ferguson, Joseph	5 0 0	
Gedge, Lydney	0 10 0	
Glover, Mrs. S.	0 5 0	
Goodman, Thomas	0 10 0	
Goodwin, George	1 1 0	
Hammond, Rev. Mr.	0 10 0	
Harris, Rice	1 1 0	
Harrold, W.	2 0 0	
Hickson, Mrs. Sarah	2 0 0	
Hoby, Rev. J., D.D.	2 2 0	
Homer, John	1 1 0	
Hudson, Benjamin	0 10 0	
James, Rev. John Angell	5 0 0	
James, James	2 0 0	
Lawdon, Caleb	0 10 6	
Ledsam, D.	2 0 0	
Lee, J. P.	2 2 0	
Lee, T. E.	0 5 0	
Lepard, Mr.	1 0 0	
Lloyd, Samuel	5 0 0	1 1 0
Lloyd, Thomas	5 0 0	
Lloyd, James	5 0 0	
Lloyd, Samuel, Jun.	2 0 0	
Lloyd, G. B.	2 0 0	
Lloyd, Samson	0 10 0	
Lucy, William	1 0 0	
Middlemore, W. and J.	1 1 0	
Micklin, Edward	1 0 0	
Moseley, Rev. Thomas	5 0 0	
Nutter, William	1 1 0	
Parker, Mr.	0 10 0	
Partridge, Mr.	0 5 0	
Phillips, Mr.	0 5 0	
Phipson, William	2 0 0	
Pope, Jacob	1 1 0	
Pumphrey, Josiah	1 0 0	
Riland, Rev. John	10 0 0	
Room, W. F.	2 0 0	
Rowlinson, D. T.	1 0 0	
Salt, A.	0 10 0	
Scholefield, Joseph, M.P.	5 0 0	
Scholefield, W.	1 0 0	
Short, Thomas	0 2 6	
Shorthouse, Rebecca	1 1 0	
Shorthouse, J.	1 1 0	
Smith, Thomas	0 10 0	
Southall, T. and W.	3 3 0	
Sturge, Joseph	150 0 0	5 5 0
Ditto towards special expenses	45 0 0	
Sturge, Charles	25 0 0	
Sturge, the late John	10 0 0	
Sturge, Edmund	5 0 0	
Taylor, R. H.	0 10 0	
Thornton, James	1 0 0	
Wright, John	1 1 0	
Coventry.		
Atkins, Arthur		1 0 0
Cash, Joseph		1 0 0
Gulson, John		1 0 0
WESTMORELAND.		
Kendal.		
Braithwaite, Isaac		3 3 0
Crewdson, W. D.	41 0 0	
Wilson, Isaac	10 0 0	
WILTSHIRE.		
Devizes.		
Clarke, Miss	0 1 0	
Anstie, G. W.		2 2 0
Melksham.		
Finch, Mrs. Mary	1 0 0	
Fowler, John	2 2 0	
Melksham.		
Jefferys, Thomas	4 0 0	
Matravers, William		1 0 0
Phillips, J. L.	1 0 0	
Powell, Mary	0 10 0	
WORCESTERSHIRE.		
Evesham.		
Burlingham, Richard		0 10 0
YORKSHIRE.		
Ackworth.		
Friends, per Francis Barker	2 12 6	

	Donations. £ s. d.	Ann. Subs. £ s. d.
Cleck Heaton.		
Kidd, Mrs. Jane	5 0 0	
Driffield.		
Anderson, D.	15 0 0	
Leeds.		
Friends at, towards the Expenses of the Convention, per Robert Jowett	50 0 0	
Dyson, William	1 0 0	0 10 6
Jowitt, Robert		1 1 0
Tatham, G. N.		1 0 0
Pontefract.		
Barker, Francis	5 0 0	1 1 0
Dibb, John	0 5 0	
Grimshaw, Mrs. Hannah	0 2 6	
Horner, William	0 5 0	
Jowitt, Benj. (Carlton)	1 1 0	
Knight, Samuel	0 5 0	
Shepherd, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Shirtcliffe, William	0 5 0	
Taylor, T. L.	0 5 0	
Wood, John, (Carlton)	1 1 0	
Scarborough.		
Rowntree, William		1 0 0
Stickney, Isaac		1 0 0
Tindall, Robert	5 0 0	
Thornton.		
Priestman, Joshua		1 0 0
Priestman, Joshua, jun.		1 0 0
Wakefield.		
Leatham, William	20 0 0	
Warnsworth.		
Aldam, W.	10 10 0	
York.		
Fletcher, Caleb		0 10 0
Jephson, Catherine	0 10 0	
Waller, Robert	5 0 0	
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Carlow.		
Leekey, Mary James, (Kilnock)	20 0 0	
Cork.		
Doyle, James	1 0 0	
Dublin.		
Allen, Richard		1 0 0
Calvert, Adam	1 1 0	
Haughton, James	3 0 0	
Humphrey, Joseph	1 0 0	
O'Connell, Daniel, M.P.		1 0 0
Pim, Jonathan	1 0 0	
Webb, R. D.	1 0 0	
Webb, J. H.	1 0 0	
Webb, James	1 0 0	
SCOTLAND.		
Edinburgh.		
Dunlop, John	2 2 0	
Gardiner, Mrs.		1 0 0
Thompson, George		1 0 0
WALES.		
Swansea.		
Price, J. T., Neath Abbey	20 0 0	5 0 0
FOREIGN.		
West Indies.		
Berbice	50 0 0	
Jamaica.		
Brown's Town	30 0 0	
Falmouth	100 0 0	
Little River, St. James	23 0 0	
St. Ann's Bay	50 0 0	
St. Catherines	100 0 0	
St. Thomas in the Vale	30 0 0	
KINGSTON.		
Russell, Robert		1 1 0
Havanna.		
Turnbull, David, British Consul	1 1 0	
Hayti.		
M. L'Instant	1 0 0	
Sierra Leone.		
His Excellency, Sir John Jeremie, Governor		1 0 0
South America.		
Rio Janerio.		
Stevenson, David	5 0 0	
North America.		
Montreal.		
Dougall, Capt. John	10 10 0	
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Dawes, William	2 0 0	
Paris.		
Gilchrist, Dr.	1 0 0	
Denmark.		
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Birch, Edward, and Co.	5 0 0	
Holland.		
The Hague.		
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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXIX. Vol. II.] No. 2. WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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Emigration to Jamaica.

WHY SHOULD NOT ENGLISHMEN, IRISHMEN, AND SCOTCHMEN, GO TO JAMAICA!

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are not opposed to emigration, when conducted on honourable principles, for the purpose of improving the condition of their countrymen; and would not, therefore, restrict the market for free labour in any part of the world. But they are decidedly opposed to emigration to the island of Jamaica under existing circumstances.

First.—Because the laws of that colony regulating immigration are bad. They are opposed to the model order in council forwarded to the colonies in 1838, which was designed to protect the immigrant labourers, to give them the choice of their own masters and employments when in the colony, and to enable them to obtain prompt redress from an independent magistracy, when injured or defrauded by their masters. The laws actually existing do not afford, either a guarantee against fraudulent contracts for labour on the part of the planters, or security to immigrant labourers against oppression and wrong.

Secondly.—Because these laws, framed by the planters for their own benefit, will be administered by them as magistrates and judges in their own case.

Thirdly.—Because these laws, notwithstanding they have not received, and will not receive, the sanction of the crown, are nevertheless in force in the colony, and therefore all contracts made under them, however injurious to the immigrant labourers, will be binding upon them when there.

Fourthly—Because the representations now currently made to induce immigration to the West Indies, are of a character in the highest degree delusive and fallacious, and are calculated only to seduce the credulous and unwary to their ruin.

But besides these reasons, which may perhaps be temporary, there are considerations of much weight of a permanent kind. The general employment of the colony, viz. the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, is found by experience to be dreadfully destructive of the health and lives of Europeans; while the climate of the colony, except in the mountainous districts, which are only suitable for the cultivation of provisions, is altogether unfitted, on account of its intense heat and the malaria engendered at certain seasons of the year, for European labourers.

For these reasons and considerations, along with others which might be given, the committee would earnestly call on their fellow-countrymen, in every part of the United Kingdom, to turn a deaf ear to the false representations and delusive promises of interested agents. None but small farmers going to the mountains to cultivate provisions, or artizans who would have to work only under shade, could find it either safe or profitable to resort thither. To such as these they would say, Form no engagements in this country; enter into no contracts here; go as freemen; make your own arrangements on the spot. Remember that, when once there, the difficulty of returning to your native land—the bosom of your families, and the circle of your friends, will be almost insurmountable.

On behalf of the Committee,
J. H. Tredgold, *Secretary.*

N.B.—This address can be had in any quantity, at the office of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London, for gratuitous circulation at the principal outports, or other suitable places.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS IN SPAIN.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Barcelona, 1st month (January) 6th, 1841.

After leaving Madrid on the twenty-third of last month, we visited the city of Valencia, where we were introduced to the acquaintance of a gentleman who entered warmly into our object, and offered all the aid which he could give towards its promotion. We arrived at Barcelona on the third instant, and have seen the authorities of the place, and a number of individuals, several of whom enter, with more or less earnestness, into our cause. It was suggested by one of these, that it would be useful to state briefly in writing, our views, and the information which we desired to procure. The following address was in consequence written, which a printer of this city offered voluntarily to translate and print immediately, at his own expense; which generous proposal was accepted. We expect to have this evening the company of the three to whom we have referred, and others, at our hotel, for the purpose of explaining more largely the views of the friends of the cause in England, and of receiving their opinions respecting the best means of promoting the object in view in this country. I remain respectfully,

Benjamin B. Wiffen.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY, ADDRESSED TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY IN SPAIN.

It is well-known that the subjects of the slave-trade and slavery have long and deeply occupied the attention of the people of England. It is also well known that the former of these evils has been abolished by law, and to a great extent, (in fact, so far as British subjects are concerned) for a period of many years past; while, more recently, between seven and eight hundred thousand slaves in the British colonial possessions have been emancipated. It may deserve remark, that any grace which may attach to the performance of an act imperatively required by the principles of humanity and justice, in the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, has been by some improperly and falsely attributed to political considerations on the part of the British government. It is unnecessary to answer such a statement, when addressed to those who are acquainted with the history of abolition; but, for the sake of those who may be less intimately acquainted with

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this subject, it may be proper to state, that emancipation in the British colonies was much less the act of statesmen, than that of the great mass of the most intelligent and virtuous part of the people of England, who supplicated for the termination of the crime of slavery, with an earnestness and perseverance which compelled the act of justice on the part of the government.

In the course of the long struggle to which allusion has been made, the nature and consequences of the slave-trade and slavery became intimately known to the English people. This circumstance, while it increased the earnestness of the friends of the negro in England for the abolition of slavery in their own colonies, does not allow them to rest without respectfully and earnestly imploring the inhabitants of other countries, where these evils still exist, to inform themselves of their extent and character, and to use every other suitable means for promoting their early and entire removal. It is conceived that one of the first steps needful to the removal of great evils, like those to which we are now referring, is a knowledge of their circumstances; a second, the diffusion of this knowledge; and the third, a constitutional appeal on the part of the community at large for their abolition. These are the means which have proved to so great extent, effectual in England, for the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery; and they will, it is presumed, meet with similar success, in a period more or less limited, in every country in which they shall be adopted. It appears especially needful, in regard to the existence of an evil at a great distance from the mother country, to obtain and circulate information; because, otherwise, enormities, however great, may continue for an unlimited period, owing to their not coming under the notice or consideration of those who are most likely to take an interest in their removal—those whose judgments are not biassed by pecuniary considerations, or steeled by the constant sight of human sufferings. The information to be sought may be comprised under the following heads:—As respects the slave-trade, the number of slaves annually carried into Cuba and Puerto Rico at the present time; their sufferings and mortality during the passage, and in their seasoning; the persons implicated in the violation of the law respecting the slave-trade, whether official or others; bribery, or other considerations, which induce this contempt of the laws; the number of slaves in Cuba and Puerto Rico who have been illegally introduced, and who are consequently entitled to their freedom at the present moment, by the laws of Spain. In reference to slavery, the number of slaves in Cuba and Puerto Rico; their diet, clothing, lodging, punishment, and hours of labour, distinguishing carefully the situation of the town slaves as compared with those in the country, and particularly on the sugar estates; what literary, moral, or religious instruction; to what extent marriage exists, and how far the conjugal relation is recognized and protected by the law; the proportion of the sexes; the mortality among the slaves, distinguishing those during infancy and at a later period; and the number of births and deaths which occur annually. It may be noticed, that the slave population of Cuba and Puerto Rico is probably about 500,000; that from one-third to one-half of this number may have been illegally introduced; and that it is believed, that the reply to the questions given will generally be found, if correct, to present the most melancholy results. It is also desirable to inquire what is the general state of morals, especially in Cuba, where the principal slave population exists; and, in this inquiry, particular attention should be paid to ascertain the general character, as regards morals and humanity, of the overseers of slaves or plantations, to whom the happiness and welfare of the bondsmen is to a great extent committed, and whose character, unless we are greatly misinformed, is corrupt and flagitious in the highest degree. Should a result be obtained from the answers to these questions, that the law respecting the slave-trade is openly violated to a great extent, and that this has been winked at or sanctioned by the highest persons in authority in Cuba, it will afford a strong presumptive proof that other laws intended for the benefit of the negro are also extensively disregarded. If the state of slavery should be proved to be in Cuba, as it is generally known to have been, and still to be, in the West Indies, a system opposed to human improvement, happiness, and life, it is surely right to adopt measures for removing this crime from the nation and government of Spain. It will be the duty of the friends of the negro in England to furnish the friends of humanity in Spain with statistical, official, and other documents, proving the immense advantages which have followed emancipation in the British colonies,—the peace, prosperity, moral and religious advancement, and the vast addition to the happiness of nearly three-quarters of a million of human beings, entitled to the same rights with ourselves, and now in their peaceable enjoyment.

If it should be said that the pecuniary rights of the colonial proprietors should be respected, or that this consideration opposes an insurmountable obstacle to emancipation by the government of Spain; we reply, that if on the one hand, the pecuniary rights of a comparatively few proprietors should be respected, it cannot be less a duty on the part of the government and people of Spain to regard the happiness and lives of half a million of her subjects, who have no less a claim upon her justice and protection. If the gold of the Cuban proprietor is to be weighed against the just happiness and the life of their degraded bondsmen, we think that no person of right feelings, who understands the question, can for a moment hesitate in determining that the rights of the latter are the more sacred, and cannot be abandoned without a serious dereliction of duty and national dishonour. If in times of comparative ignorance of the nature and circumstances of the slave-trade and slavery, European nations have allowed these crimes to be committed, this cannot be considered as an excuse for continuing to do so when their wickedness is generally known and acknowledged.

It may, however, be shown that in the present instance as in others, the homely proverb is true, that honesty is the best policy; in proof of which, we appeal to the results of emancipation in the British colonies, so far as they are hitherto known. In a vast number of instances estates are now worth as much (or more) without the slaves, as they were previous to emancipation with the slaves upon them; voluntary labour being no less profitable to the owners of estates, and in many instances much more so, than toil extorted by the lash from ill-fed, grief-worn, and dispirited slaves. Adam Smith, one of the greatest political economists of the last century, stated, before the question of slavery had so extensively occupied public attention as at present, that slave-labour is less productive than that of free men, a sentiment which we have no doubt will be confirmed by every instance in which emancipation shall be fairly tried—where it shall take place, not as the result of domestic or external convulsions, but as the deliberative act of a great and reflecting people, and accompanied by those other measures which are calculated to raise the character of the unfranchised slave—education, moral example and precept, and the inculcation of the benign doctrines of christianity. These are means which are not now untried, and which have been attended with those results to which we have alluded. Finally, we would say, Follow the example of other countries, in which societies have been formed for the abolition of slavery; among which may be named, in addition to England, the United States, France, Holland, and Sweden. Encourage and help each other in this good work; and adopt measures to have it brought forward and supported in the approaching Cortes. The sympathies of every right-minded Spaniard will be with you, and those of the civilized world. Your efforts will, we humbly trust, be blessed by Him who hath made of one blood all men to dwell upon the face of the earth, and who wills the happiness of all his creatures.

GEORGE W. ALEXANDER.
BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN.

To this we are enabled to add some further gratifying intelligence, from a letter of Mr. Alexander to Mr. Scoble, dated Valencia, December 29, 1840.

"I HAVE received some interesting and important information during the time that I have been in Spain, showing the enormous wickedness and cruelty, incident to slavery in Cuba. The information was communicated by a person who was for a considerable number of years resident at Cuba, and had many opportunities of visiting plantations. On our return home, however, we shall be able to present a more complete picture of Spanish slavery than we can do at present. We have had intercourse with many influential persons, and were favoured with an interview with the Duke de la Victoria, on the day preceding our departure from Madrid. We may, I think, indulge the hope, that our visit to Spain has already had the effect of procuring, in the capital, a larger amount of attention to the subject of slavery than it has heretofore received. On the eve of our leaving Madrid, an allusion to the object of our journey, and to the circumstance of two members of the Society of Friends having visited the city, was thus made in the *Corresponsal*, one of the daily papers, in an article of which I send you a translation."

[The following is the article referred to.]

To the Editors of the Corresponsal.

"SIRS,—Observing that you have alluded, in your number of yesterday, to the fears of the inhabitants of Cuba, that a treaty may be entered into between England and Spain for the abolition of slavery in our possessions, I do not think it superfluous to state to you, that this news is not a novel circumstance, independent and unexpected, but a natural consequence of the march that has taken place, with respect to the slave-trade and its abolition, by every government. Spain has agreed to this abolition of the slave-trade since the year 1817, and has received of England, as an indemnity, the sum of twenty-five million dollars, or five hundred million reals. Notwithstanding the solemnity of this treaty, the slave-trade has continued to be carried on in the island of Cuba, in contempt of all the remonstrances of the English government. On the other hand, the suppression of the trade should have been considered as the preliminary of emancipation, for which the supreme government, and the authorities and inhabitants of the island, ought to have taken all the preparatory steps which might prevent angry feelings and troubles, when the period of emancipation shall arrive. Thus have England and France acted, but Spain has done nothing, except continuing to authorize a scandalous traffic prohibited by the laws. There have been presented to the British parliament every year, documents proving the continuation of the slave-trade in the island of Cuba, the protection lent to this traffic by its authorities, and the tacit approbation of the Spanish government; and, connected with these statements, have been presented those of the expenses incurred by England in repressing and checking this trade, conformably to the express terms of the treaty. There exists then an open account against Spain, on account of the trade which has continued to be carried on in the island of Cuba; and which we, or our children, will undoubtedly have to pay.

"With respect to emancipation, the inhabitants of Cuba may continue the discussion the peculiar manner in which suits their particular interests; but emancipation is at present a resolved problem, and will only be modified as regards the greater or less distance of time when it will take place. All the threatenings, all the pictures of disasters and calamities, which the Cubans are pleased to make, can have no weight in the opinion of Europe, which undoubtedly will become general in

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Spain as it is in France, against the interested vote of some colonial proprietors.

"In order to procure more precise data concerning the state of slavery in the Spanish possessions, there have arrived here within the last few days two English Quakers, individuals of the Society of Friends, which has contributed so much by its ardent and christian zeal, to accelerate the emancipation of the slaves in the English possessions. The ministry of Spain can hear from the mouth of these two individuals, confirmed by official documents, a faithful relation oi the present state of the question, of the progress, that it has recently made, and of the advantageous results which may be confidently expected from following the movement, in the point of view of colonial production by free labour. In this respect, as in many other questions of local interest, the illusion is melancholy which exists among the inhabitants of Cuba. As in Spain, we are not surrounded by an atmosphere which so monstrously disguises the form of objects, it is to be hoped that the government may understand well and clearly the state of the negro question, when the negociations commence, which are announced, and which the Cubans so much dread.

"Be pleased to give a place in your esteemed periodical to these observations, which may be useful even to those who at present regard them as dangerous, because they are blindly prejudiced, and compromise their own interests in seeking to maintain them contrary to the principles of reason, and the justice of existing treaties.

"AN IMPARTIAL SPANIARD."

"*Madrid, Dec.* 30, 1840.

SLAVE-MARKETS: BRAZIL.

RIO DE JANEIRO.

THE place where the great slave-mart is held is a long winding street, called Vallongo, which runs from the sea at the northern extremity of the city. Almost every house in this place is a large ware-room where the slaves are deposited, and customers go to purchase. These ware-rooms stand at each side of the street, and the poor creatures are exposed for sale like any other commodity. When a customer comes in, they are turned up before him; such as he wishes are handled by the purchaser in different parts, as I have seen butchers feeling a calf; and the whole examination is the mere animal capability, without the remotest inquiry as to the moral quality, which a man no more thinks of than if he were buying a dog or a mule. I have frequently seen Brazilian ladies at these sales. They go dressed, sit down, handle and examine their purchases, and bring them away with the most perfect indifference. I sometimes saw groups of well-dressed females here, shopping for slaves, exactly as I have seen English ladies amusing themselves at our bazaars.

* * * * * * The ware-rooms are spacious apartments, where sometimes three or four hundred slaves, of all ages and both sexes, are exhibited together. Round the room are benches on which the elder generally sit, and the middle is occupied by the younger, particularly females, who squat on the ground, stowed close together, with their hands and chins resting on their knees. Their only covering is a small girdle of cross-barred cotton, tied round the waist.

The first time I passed through the street, I stood at the bars of the window looking through, when a cigano came, and pressed me to enter. I was particularly attracted by a group of children, one of whom, a young girl, had something very pensive and engaging in her countenance; the cigano, observing me look at her, whipped her up with a long rod, and bade her with a rough voice come forward. It was quite affecting to see the poor timid shrinking child standing before me, in a state the most helpless and forlorn that ever a being, endued, like myself, with a reasonable mind and an immortal soul, could be reduced to. Some of these girls have remarkably sweet and engaging countenances. Notwithstanding their dusky hue, they look so modest, gentle, and sensible, that you could not for a moment hesitate to acknowledge that they are endued with a like feeling, and a common nature with your own daughters. The seller was about to put the child through all the attitudes, and display her person the same way he would a man; but I declined the exhibition, and she shrank timidly back to her place, and seemed glad to hide herself in the group that surrounded her.

The men were generally less interesting objects than the women. Their countenances and hues were varied, according to the part of the African coast from which they came; some were soot black, having a certain ferocity of aspect that indicated strong and fierce passions, like men who were darkly brooding over some deep felt wrongs, and meditating revenge. When any one was ordered, he came forward with a sullen indifference, threw his arms over his head, stamped with his feet, shouted to show the soundness of his lungs, ran up and down the room, and was treated exactly like a horse put through his paces at a repository; and when done, he was whipped to his stall.

Many of them were lying on the bare boards; and, among the rest, mothers with young children at their breasts, of which they seemed passionately fond. They were all doomed to remain on the spot, like sheep in a pen, till they were sold; they have no apartment to retire to, no bed to repose on, no covering to protect them; they sit naked all day, and lie naked all night, on the bare boards or benches where we saw them.

A great number of those who arrive at Rio are sent up the country, and we every day met cofilas winding through the woods, as they travelled from place to place in the interior. They formed long processions, following one another in a file. * * * * * It was another subject of pity to see groups of these poor creatures cowering together at night in the open ranebros, drenched with cold rain, in a climate so much more frigid than their own.

* * * * A scene now presented itself highly repugnant to European feelings, particularly those who witness it for the first time. We had overtaken on the road several troops of slaves bought at Rio, and driven like sheep into the country, to be sold at the different villages. A market was here opened just before the inn-door, and about thirty men, women, and children, were brought there. The driver was the very model of what I conceived such a fellow to be. He was a tall, cadaverous, tawny man, with a streak of black hair hanging about his sharp, but determined looking visage. He was dressed in a blue jacket and pantaloons, with buff boots hanging loose about his legs, ornamented with large silver spurs. On his head he wore a capacious straw hat, bound with a broad ribbon, and in his hand was a long whip, with two thongs; he shook this over his drove, and they all arranged themselves for examination, some of them, particularly the children, trembling like aspen leaves. He then went round the village for purchasers, and when they arrived, the market was opened. The slaves, both men and women, were walked about, and put into different paces, then handled and felt exactly as I have seen butchers feel a calf. He occasionally lashed them, and made them jump to show their limbs were supple, and caused them to shriek and cry, that the purchasers might perceive that their lungs were sound.

Among the company at the market was a Brazilian lady, who exhibited a regular model of her class in the country. She had on a round felt hat, like an Englishman's, and under it a turban, which covered her head as a night-cap. Though it was a burning day, she was wrapped up in a large scarlet woollen cloak, which, however, she drew up so high as to show us her embroidered shoes and silk stockings; she was attended by a black slave, who held an umbrella over her head, and she walked for a considerable time deliberately through the slaves, looking as though she was proudly contrasting her own importance with their misery.

On turning away from a spectacle where every thing, though so novel, was so revolting, we were accosted by a man with a gaudy flowered silk waistcoat, who spoke a little English, and said he was a German doctor settled in Aldéa. He informed us that the people in the neighbouring valley treated their slaves with the greatest inhumanity. They allowed them but a scanty portion of farinha, or feijao, and never any animal food; yet on this they compelled them to work fourteen hours a day, exposing them to the alternations of heat, cold, and wet, without the smallest regard to health, comfort, or life. The consequence was that the deaths exceeded the births in such a proportion, that, if it was not for the constant supply sent down in this way, the negros of the district would soon become an extinct race.—*Walsh.*

SLAVE-MARKETS: EGYPT.

GRAND CAIRO.

I was induced, from curiosity, to visit the slave-market, which has been long established in this quarter. Although I may attempt a description of the objects which I witnessed, yet no idea can be conveyed of those painful sensations which I experienced on this occasion. The place set apart for this most scandalous traffic is a large court of the principal street, in the form of a quadrangle, with a range of apartments around, elevated about twenty feet from the ground, to which there is access by a stair-case at one end, and a sort of platform or gallery in front of the apartments, not unlike what we meet with in the yards of inns in London. In one place I observed a Turkish woman bargaining for the purchase of a young female, who was stripped previously for the purpose of examination, turned round, her joints felt, her tongue inspected, and, after a deal of negociation, refused to be purchased. In others I saw wretched creatures, of all ages up to fifty years, in a state of nudity, and absolutely huddled together in hovels, like cattle. At the door of a miserable den sat the cold-hearted guardian, or keeper, of this receptacle of woe; a tyrannical looking fellow, seated on the ground, cross-legged, and smoking. He was watching for the arrival of purchasers; and, having presumed I had come to market with this view, he demanded in a growling tone, if I wanted a boy or a girl. At this time a poor helpless child was turned out. I could not suppress a tear at the incident, and the unfeeling conduct of the barbarian; and I hurried away from a scene in which it would be difficult to determine, whether human nature appears in its most guilty or its most abject form.

This depôt continues always well stocked with slaves of both sexes, who arrive in prodigious numbers in boats, from Nubia, in Upper Egypt. Upon any person being observed to enter it, (which is always concluded to be for the purpose of buying these despised creatures,) they are turned out from their den quickly, as such person passes along, when they are ranked and exhibited by their inhuman keeper. Such, indeed, appears to be their own anxiety to be purchased, so as to be liberated from their captivity, that there seemed to be a marked rivalship and emulation among them, by looks and motions, which of them should attract most attention. Some of them were completely black, with an excellent set of teeth, were finely formed, and had a mere rag thrown round part of the body.—*Wilson.*

ALEXANDRIA.

ON visiting the slave-market, I found it as it existed twelve years ago, crowded with female negros, mostly children under fourteen years. I saw only one Abyssinian, and no white slaves at all. On inquiring the prices, I found that of the female children about one-third more than that of the male. A female child of ten or twelve years old sixty-five dollars; a boy of the same age forty; an adult negress eighty dollars. There was not an adult male negro slave in the bazaar. The sheds of the slave-mart in Alexandria have fallen into decay since my last visit.

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Fortunately for humanity, there were no Greek lands to be ravaged by the soldiers of his highness; and, consequently, there were no christian women exposed for sale in the markets. I inquired particularly for white slaves, having heard of the fate of the unfortunate Druse women of Syria, who were recently enslaved, carried away, and sold by the Albanian soldiers of Ibrahim Pacha—those lawless mercenaries whom Mohammed Ali could not keep in Egypt on account of their turbulence, and who were let loose on the unfortunate people of Syria, in the late insurrection. However, I had the satisfaction to find that none of these poor women had been carried to Alexandria, and that the Pacha had given orders to have them taken out of the hands of the Albanians, and restored to their friends. One of the slave-dealers in the market directed us to a lane off the bazaar, where he told us some merchants were to be found who had white women for sale. On proceeding there we were informed, that at that moment there were no women, either Circassian or Georgian for sale, the last they had were sold. These women christians are not permitted openly to purchase, but the negro-slaves there is no objection made to their buying.—*Dr. Madden's Egypt and Mohammed Ali.*

SLAVE-MARKETS: UNITED STATES.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

"Let us proceed, gentlemen," cried the seller of human flesh, in a stentorian voice; "let us proceed; a woman for sale!"

"An excellent woman; not a fault! And a little boy in the bargain. How much for the mother and child? 250 dollars; very well, sir, 250 to begin. Some one has bid 250. Truly, gentlemen, they sell cattle for a larger price. 250? look at these eyes, examine these limbs—shall I say 260? Thanks, gentlemen, some one has bid 260. It seems to me that I heard 275;—go on, gentlemen; I have never sold such a bargain. How? 280 for the best cook, the best washer, and the best dress-maker in Virginia? Must I sell her for the miserable price of 280? 300; two gentlemen have said 300. Very well, gentlemen: I am happy to see you begin to warm a little; some one bid 310—310, going—330—335—340—340, going; upon my honour, gentlemen, it is indeed a sacrifice to lose so good a cook: a great bargain for 340 dollars. Reflect upon it a little, and do not forget there is a little boy in the bargain."

Here our auctioneer was interrupted in his harangue by one of his customers, a man whose appearance had inspired me, from the first moment, with a feeling of horror, and who, with the indifference and sang froid of an assassin, made to him the following observation: "As for the negro, child, it is good for nothing; it is not worth a day's nourishment; and if I have the mother, I will give away the child very quick; the first bidder will be able to have it a cheap bargain."

I glanced at the unfortunate mother, anxious to see what effect this barbarous proposal would have upon her. She did not speak, but a profound sadness was impressed on her countenance. The little innocent which she held in her arms fixed his large eyes on her, as if saying, 'mamma, why do you weep?' Then he turned towards the witnesses of this heart-rending scene, with an impression that seemed to ask what they had done to his mother to make her weep so bitterly. No, never will this moment escape my memory; it has confirmed me for all my life in the horror that I already felt at this infamous traffic. The auction continued, and finally the crier, striking a heavy blow with a hammer, pronounced the award to Mr. ———, for 360 dollars. The victim descended from the table, and was led away by the purchaser. The other slaves were sold in the same manner as poor Betsy. Julia was sold at 326 dollars, and Augustus at 105. They both fell to the same individual who had purchased the former lot."—*Arfrewdsen.*

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

I saw droves of the poor fellows driven to the slave-markets kept in different parts of the city, one of which I visited. The arrangements of this place appeared something like our northern horse-markets, having sheds, or barns, in the rear of a public-house, where alcohol was a handy ingredient to stimulate the spirit of jockeying. As the traders appeared, lots of negros were brought from the stables into the bar-room, and by a flourish of the whip were made to assume an active appearance. 'What will you give for these fellows?' 'How old are they?' 'Are they healthy?' 'Are they quick?' &c. At the same time the owner would give them a cut with a cowhide, and tell them to dance and jump, cursing and swearing at them if they did not move quick. In fact, all the transactions in buying and selling slaves partake of jockeyship, as much as buying and selling horses. There was as little regard paid to the feelings of the former as we witness in the latter.

From these scenes I turn to another, which took place in front of the noble Exchange buildings, in the heart of the city. On the left side of the steps, as you leave the main hall, immediately under the windows of that proud building, was a stage built, on which a mother with eight children were placed, and sold at auction. I watched their emotions closely, and saw their feelings were in accordance to human nature. The sale began with the eldest child, who, being struck off to the highest bidder, was taken from the stage or platform by the purchaser, and led to his waggon and stowed away, to be carried into the country; the second and third were also sold, and so until seven of the children were torn from their mother, while her discernment told her they were to be separated probably for ever, causing in that mother the most agonizing sobs and cries, in which the children seemed to share. The scene beggars description; suffice it to say, it was sufficient to cause tears from one at least 'whose skin was not coloured like their own,' and I was not ashamed to give vent to them.—*Stone.*

THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, &c.

WE copy from the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, the following interesting letter of Mr. Whittier to the editor of that paper.

Amesbury, Ninth month 24th, 1840.

DEAR FRIEND,—Welcoming the "FREEMAN" this morning, as I would the familiar face of an old friend, I am induced, albeit not in the writing mood, to send thee a line: and thus commune in *letter* as well as in *spirit* with my Pennsylvania friends. I am glad to see the details of the World's Anti-slavery Convention published at length in the Freeman. The more I examine the proceedings of that meeting—the moral and religious worth, talent, rank and political influence combined in it—its steady, undiverted attention to the one great object—the wide range of its inquiries, and the sober, business-like manner in which they seem to have been prosecuted—the more I am constrained to acknowledge, that it has fully realized my most sanguine expectations. How refreshing, how animating, has been the voice which it has sent over the waters, those of us can tell, who have listened unwillingly to the mutual criminations and reproaches of those once dear to each other as labourers in the cause of Emancipation—at a time, too, when, under the mighty temptation of party politics, our once firm and unbroken host is every where going over to the enemy. It has awakened new hope—a livelier faith—it has been as water in a dry land, as food in the wilderness, and we feel that, like the Tishbite of old, we can go long days in the strength thereof.

The rejection of the women delegates from this country, however it may be viewed by some of our friends, seems to me to afford no just grounds, or even excuse, for a general and sweeping condemnation of that great and important meeting. Our enemies, of course, will do all in their power to disparage it, and counteract its influence. Let us beware how we aid them. Let pro-slavery editors glean nothing from anti-slavery journals or speeches in support of their assertion that it was a "failure." Whatever may be our opinions of the disposal of the question of women's rights, or of any other distinct and extraneous matter, let us see to it that we do not gladden the heart of the slave-holder, by depreciating and undervaluing its really glorious ANTI-SLAVERY character. Well and fully, in my view, it fulfilled its great mission. The work which was given it to do, it has done to the uttermost. For this let us rejoice. If our friend Garrison could not conscientiously sit in it, he did right in holding himself aloof, and I respect him for it; but let him not make his own conscience the standard for others. Let him consider, too, whether, if the decision had been in accordance with his own feelings, and, contrary to the intentions of those who called the convention, and the established usage of European abolitionists, women had been admitted as delegates, and James G. Birney had felt conscientiously bound, in consequence, to withdraw from the meeting, together with all who agreed with him in sentiment, he would have treated *their* consciences with the respect which he now claims for his own.

I have seen, in a letter written by William Howitt, (who was not, by the way, a member of the Convention, and who has never taken any especial interest in the cause of emancipation,) a singular reason assigned for the decision of the Convention. It is stated that the "Orthodox Friends" of England, were unwilling to sit in convention with Lucretia Mott, on account of her heterodoxy! The letter entire bears evidence of a disaffected and bitter spirit on the part of its writer towards the Society of Friends, whose discipline and testimonies he has long since discarded. Who are the men, whose characters are assailed in this miserable suspicion? The Sturges, Allens, Forsters, Gurneys, Alexanders, and Staceys, —the "Orthodox Quakers" of England—the men who, according to the concurrent testimony of all, have been the very soul and sinew of the Anti-slavery enterprise from the outset: who, in the prosecution of their benevolent labours, have associated freely and unhesitatingly with all classes and sects in the United Kingdom; and who were the first to welcome to the warm hospitality of their families and fire-sides the philanthropic and gifted stranger, not as a "Hicksite Quakeress," but as a friend of the perishing slave. I cannot, without farther and better evidence, credit for a moment the idea that they have made their abolitionism thus pitifully subservient to sectarian prejudice.

The gifted editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, who was one of those who declined a seat in the convention, says, that "the great mass of British abolitionism is more despotic, as well as more servile, than our republican pro-slavery!" "I would sooner," he adds, "trust our enterprise in the hands of *our pro-slavery mob*, than in the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society!" I am not aware how far the "pro-slavery mob" of Concord and vicinity has improved since 1835—when it hunted for the life of George Thompson, and, failing of that, seemed disposed to take myself and the lamented Kimball as substitutes; but really, had friend Rogers been, like myself, the target for its brick-bats on that occasion, he would have hardly complimented its leaders, abettors and actors, by representing them as more trust-worthy friends of emancipation than the Scobles, Prices, Sturges, Jameses, Allens and Buxtons of England. "They have no *freedom* in England," he continues, "and how can they have *Anti-slavery*?" Logical and convincing might this be, did not 800,000 FACTS to the contrary, in the redeemed and disenchained islands of the West Indies, start up before us—did not the voices of emancipated men, and women, and children, in those islands, rising above the roar of many waters, bemurmuring the "still vexed Bermoothes," invoke blessings upon the heads of the men whom our brother has termed "despotic" and "servile"—less worthy than our "pro-slavery mob." Well might that band of philanthropists point us to the West Indies—contrast our nicely woven abstractions with their glorious practice—and show us the broken chains and unrivetted fetters, which they have torn from the limbs of nearly one million of human beings, while we have been establishing a "platform"—settling "first principles," and blowing up, doubtless, with much expenditure of breath, soap-bubble resolutions, which the first blast of party politics dissipates into thin air. The truth is, our friend Rogers has little sympathy with any thing staid, sober-paced, prosaic, and formula, fettered; and we suppose he found most of our English brethren mere non-conductors of his fervid, imaginative, electric sparkling abolitionism. He went dreaming of setting a whole world free from all kinds of oppression—mental, physical, social, religious and political; millennial fore-shadowings fell about him in his pathway across the waters: he went to receive, and in turn communicate, an enthusiasm which was to go round the world, the *pharmakon nepenthis* for all its evils—and they gave him dull reports, plans for abolishing the slave-trade, and for cotton growing in the East—passionless, and *figurative* only in tables of statistics. Fresh from the excitements of our own anti-slavery gatherings, where Greek meets Greek, and old and new organization, with male and female combatants, discuss "great principles" —and liberate the two and a half millions of law-bound slaves by resolutions, as General Hull conquered the Canadas by proclamation—he found himself amidst quiet Quakers, sturdy impassive country gentlemen, begowned clergymen, and baronet M.P.'s, sitting down to the work of abolishing slavery, with as much coolness and imperturable self-possession, as if they were engaged in reckoning the interest of the British National Debt. Staid philanthropists "of respectability and standing," they wended their way to the convention with one fixed idea, in a methodic, business-

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like manner, to devise ways and means for the abolition of "*negro slavery*."

"The head and front of their 'assembling,'
Had this extent, no more."

They came prepared, with statistics, reports of parliamentary committees, colonial laws, and such living witnesses as Sturge, Scoble, Stuart, and Knibb, who, not without toil and peril, had taken the "gauge and dimensions" of slavery and emancipation in the West Indies—to show that the particular system of oppression called *slavery*, whereby one man becomes the absolute property of another, was an abomination which no christian nation, or Tarter horde even, should tolerate—not admirers of "the largest liberty" as exemplified in our slavery-ridden republic, and naturally enough cherishing their English pride, by contrasting the 800,000 new made freemen of the colonies of "Victoria I., by the grace of God, Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland," with the two and a half millions chained in our land of democratic enlightenment, their fetters rattling to the jar of patriotic cannon, let off in celebration of the day on which the fathers and grandfathers of their masters declared "ALL MEN BORN EQUAL" They came to welcome American abolitionists to their hearts and homes, and join them in promoting the extinction of chattel slavery. They did not, however, come prepared to adopt our new doctrines of human equality; and probably knew little of them—our declarations, immortal in lithograph and satin; our "*platform*," on which men and women lose their distinctive character, and become "souls without sex"—our long "reports," and indignant "protests"—old and new organization tactics—hair-splitting metaphysics of the Joseph Tracey school—poetical and rhetorical flourishes—transcendentalism engrafted upon puritanism; Cousin's "*Progress and Reform*," and Cromwell's "Sword of the Lord and of Gideon"—our discussions of ethics, theology, politics, "foreknowledge, will and fate," "long drawn out," although not always, with the "linked sweetness" Milton speaks of! The faintest possible rumour of all this had alone reached our British fellow-labourers. They came to meet American abolitionists, as men altogether like themselves—intent upon the one common object. That object they supposed might be attained without subscribing to our Yankee doctrines of equality, or sexless democracy. For was not Wilberforce himself a Tory? Did he not with one breath denounce the slave-trade, and with the next defend that Church Establishment which Milton, eloquently indignant in the name of his abused and plundered countrymen, declared had been, "for twelve hundred years, a sad and doleful succession of blind guides to the souls of Englishmen, a wasteful band of robbers to their purses?" Was it to carry into practice any abstract doctrine of equality, that the measure of West India Emancipation received the votes of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament? Did William IV. in giving his royal assent to that bill, become a radical democrat—a second Monsieur *Egalité*? And now, when members of the Royal Family, Lords and Knights and Right Honourables—England's chivalry and her highest born, grace the platforms of Anti-slavery meetings, will Ireland find redress for her wrongs—will China, swallowing opium poison under the guns of the British navy, obtain a respite—will the starving murmur of the miserable chartist be answered less sternly with pistol shot and sabre cut? Not at all. It were as unreasonable to suppose it, as that we ourselves, by reason of our abolitionism, should be found perfect patterns of consistency, meekness, self-denial, and kind-dealing—with no segment wanting to complete the circle of our perfectibility. Our British friends, I suspect, after all, upon a rigid scrutiny, will be found quite as consistent as ourselves.

In making these hasty comments, I take it for granted that the editor of the Herald will understand that they are offered in a spirit of kindness. We have known each other too long and well, to permit slight differences of opinion to disturb our settled esteem and friendship; or rank us in the number of those, who, after toiling and suffering together for years, in the cause of humanity, have allowed a hastily uttered word, or an honest disagreement upon topics not immediately connected with our great common object, to separate them from each other; and who now—

"Stand aloof, the scars remaining,
Like cliffs which have been rent asunder—
A dreary sea now flows between,
But, neither rain, nor frost, nor thunder
Shall wholly do away, I ween,
The marks of that which once hath been."

I was pleased to see, in a late number of the *Freeman*, an excellent letter upon slavery in the Methodist Church in the United States, addressed to a Methodist gentleman in England by our worthy friend, James C. Fuller. The editors of the *New World*, for whose talents I have a high respect, sometime since published in their widely circulated sheet, a severe article upon friend Fuller, virtually, if not in express terms, inviting outrage upon him on his return from Europe. His offence seems to have been, that of suggesting to the great champion of free principles, Daniel O'Connell, the expediency of addressing a letter to the Irish emigrants in this country, urging them to do nothing, by their votes or otherwise, to *uphold* and *perpetuate* the system of slavery. Is this a crime? Is it evidence of a lack of patriotism, for an American citizen to ask that *foreigners* shall not interfere with the progress of republican principles—that the fruits of the Declaration of Independence may not be withheld from us by emigrants from despotic or monarchial governments? It would puzzle, I am persuaded, even the ingenious editors of the *New World* to show what particular danger is to be apprehended from a correspondence of O'Connell with his late countrymen. Is he the enemy of our free institutions? Ask Sir Robert Peel, ask the Duke of Wellington, or that tory portion of parliament before whose shrinking eyes he has so often flared the truths of our glorious Declaration. Is it likely that he will advise our Irish-born population to assail our liberties, and build up in this country the despotism which they fled from, and which he is so stoutly grappling with? But, if friend Fuller's offence be held as unpardonable, what will be done with one THOMAS JEFFERSON, a man of some note in his day, who wrote a letter to Dr. Price of London, urging him to send his pamphlets on slavery (as "incendiary" as O'Connell's,) to the young men of William and Mary's College in Virginia? Thomas Jefferson sleeps in the shadows of his Monticello; he cannot be *lynched* with friend Fuller, but it is not too late for modern patriotism to burn him in effigy.

I have little that is new to communicate in regard to the anti-slavery cause in this region. The Societies here are by no means so active as formerly; but the anti-slavery *feeling* (somewhat diluted I admit,) has become pretty generally diffused through the community. In the present mad whirlwind of party excitement, however, its voice, I fear, will be scarcely heard, or its influence felt. Party has, in a great measure, ceased to fear us. Politicians count upon our votes for slavery-pledged candidates with entire confidence. Amos Kendall appeals to the democratic abolitionists of New England to support the author of the veto pledge, and *they will do it*. Webster pledges to Preston and his southern friends, at the Alexandria slave market, the whig abolitionists of New England in defence of "the domestic institutions of the south," and *his pledge will be redeemed*. As for Massachusetts, neither old nor new organization will be able to hold back their members from the ranks of party. Here and there only will be found a man unwilling to be collared and handed over to the keeping of party managers, numbered and labelled, "GOOD FOR A PRO-SLAVERY VOTE."

I notice with pleasure that thou art able to devote a considerable portion of thy time to lectures and discussions in the country, and that our friends in the city and adjoining counties, do not "omit the assembling of themselves together," as unhappily the "manner" of too many is, at the present time. Incapacitated as I have been, owing to protracted ill health, for active mental or physical exertion, for some months past, I can do little more than cheer on and encourage those who, like thyself, are yet able to "carry the battle to the gate." Will you do anything in the way of petitions this season? Or will those who vote for slavery at the coming elections think it unavisable to petition against it? Viewing, as they now do, their National Bank and Treasury matters as of vastly more importance than the abolition of slavery, will they not, on the whole, think it expedient to embarrass Congress, while engaged in settling these profoundly important concerns, with these troublesome and unwelcome petitions? Most probably—and satisfy their consciences by deploring, in anti-slavery conventions and monthly concerts, the "sin of our southern brethren," in the weak utterance of a faith dying for lack of works. "Sins of our southern brethren!"—yes, friends, it is a sin,—monstrous and abhorred of humanity the world over. What, then, are we who prostitute our glorious rights of freedom and citizenship to strengthen and perpetuate it? Slavery in the district of Columbia, and Florida, and the domestic slave-trade, stand or fall with *the votes of the north*. Here Congress, with its majority of free-state members, has the constitutional power to legislate—and it *has* legislated—but, thus far, *always* on the side of slavery. The sin of that slavery and that slave-trade is our own. While we neglect to use our best exertions for its abolition, we are condemned out of our own mouths. But what shall be said of us, if, while our lips are eloquent with professed abhorrence of it, we vote for those who stand trebly pledged to sustain it! So fatally inconsistent—and presenting in ourselves such a manifest solecism—what virtue will there be in our solemn "appeals to our southern brethren," our prayerful wrestlings, our "*moral suasion!*" Has it not been said of old time—that "the hope of the hypocrite shall perish?" I have strong faith in the efficacy of moral power, wielded by pure hands. The testimony of John Woolman—to outward seeming, one of the weak and poor of this world—what a potency was there in it! The humble and self-abased instrument now rests from his labours—but that testimony still lives—its holy mission not yet accomplished—for it was the testimony of a spotless life—a living epistle of charity, love and obedience,—all men recognizing its unsullied truthfulness and beauty. The "moral suasion" of such a man is as the power of God,—the christian's "unresistible might of weakness," stronger than "the blasts of the terrible ones, which are as a storm against the wall." Let us then endeavour to "wash our hands in innocency" of any voluntary participation in the evil we deprecate—let us do so at any sacrifice, and against the strongest temptation, and then may we hope that the blessing of the all merciful Father of mankind will attend our efforts, and the redemption of millions of our countrymen from the manifold ills of slavery—the oppressor from his sin, and the oppressed from his suffering—bear witness to the holy and regenerating influences of *the* TRUTH in *purity* and *love*.

Ever, and affectionately thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS. THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR,—When Colonel Skerrett had an interview with some gentlemen at the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, I believe he confessed that my account of the cruelties inflicted on their slaves by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association was correct; and that several individuals then in London could confirm it. The above gentlemen, therefore, would doubtless be somewhat surprised at the tenor of the colonel's communication inserted in your last *Reporter*. He first admits verbally that such atrocities have really been perpetuated; then in writing he assures the world, that the conduct of the very directors, so practising or authorizing them, had been remarkable for its humanity and liberality, throughout the whole course of his administration as chief commissioner at Gongo Soco. Surely there is some little inconsistency here, or the said directors are most extraordinary men; at one period just and benevolent, at another hard-hearted, selfish, uncharitable, and merciless.

The colonel further affirms, that "the association resolved and determined that every slave-child born from the commencement, and thenceforward, was to be *free from its birth*, many of them now being from twelve to fourteen years of age;" but that "he is entirely ignorant whether they have ever been made acquainted with their freedom."

If, as chief commissioner, the colonel did not make them and their parents acquainted with their freedom, the moment he received instructions from the board of directors in London to that effect, then he neither performed his duty, nor satisfied his own sensitive and philanthropic conscience on the subject; because, after having obtained their emancipation, he left them in slavery, not only

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during his superintendence, but at his departure, and ever since—for no such order from the directors has ever been proclaimed.

The colonel's reason for thus neglecting his duty, and sacrificing the gratification of his own feelings, is somewhat singular. He says "he considered it not only prudent, but *humane*, to leave the infant part of the establishment in ignorance of the blessing they were incompetent to appreciate, unless the parents likewise were to enjoy the same blessing," because "they might have availed themselves of it in a manner highly prejudicial to the comfort and authority of their less fortunate parents." Now the very reverse of this always occurs. The moment a child is freed from slavery, not only the offspring, but the parents consider themselves raised several degrees in the scale of human nature, and this sentiment insures the utmost steadiness and regularity. As a proof of this, the colonel, when speaking of those who were emancipated, observes, "that they became, if possible, more zealous in their duties and attachments, generously remaining on very trifling wages, rather than leave their benefactors, though qualified to obtain higher wages elsewhere. They were likewise actuated by a generous desire to encourage the emancipation of their comrades, by a continuance of that conduct which had secured their own. No assumption of superiority, no symptoms of pride were visible. In all things they were modest, grateful, and obedient, advancing in respectability till the hour of his departure." Here, then, with all these proofs, without an exception, of the beneficial results of freedom, the colonel leaves the infants and their parents in ignorance that they, the children, had been emancipated, lest the knowledge of it should be productive of evil consequences!

As a proof how little it was ever intended that the children should be freed at birth, I will here state, that one of the colonel's nephews having a mulatto child affiliated on him by a black slave, he was forced to pay—and therefore the association received from him, *as breeders and sellers of slaves*—a certain sum for its emancipation, or the child would have remained in fetters; as is the case with several on the estate, though proceeding from chief commissioners, &c. &c.

I have already said, that I do not desire to call in question the conduct of any officer connected with the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, beyond that of the present chief commissioner and directors. I am obliged to implicate them, or I could not have exposed the system. One question, however, I will take the liberty to ask Colonel Skerrett, although he is, of course, not forced to answer it. How happened it, that, with the heavy obligations due to the colonel for his exemplary administration, and with the most ardent desire on his part, and on the part of the directors at his instigation, to be merciful and kind to the slaves, and to render them all comfortable, contented, and happy, that the said directors did not renew his engagement at the expiration of its term; but, on the contrary, levied, as I have been informed, a heavy fine upon his sureties, for the breach or the non-performance of a portion of the terms of his agreement, entered into when he was appointed!

I know the history of every transaction relating to the operations and arrangements of Gongo Soco, from the moment that property passed into the possession of the association; but an exposition of it would be superfluous on the present occasion. I will, however, state what I have recently learned; namely, that, after frequent deliberations at the board, the directors have come to the conclusion, that, when the shareholders call a special general meeting, to take into consideration what has recently been laid before the public, they may possibly be dismissed, and others appointed; and have agreed that, if Colonel Skerrett would undertake their defence, they would use their influence with their successors to get him re-appointed chief commissioner.

What appears to me unaccountable is, that, although the shareholders must individually have known, for months past, the very serious situation they have been placed in as shareholders, and the odium that must have attached itself to them in consequence of the cruelties exercised towards their slaves, by the authority of their directors and chief commissioner; yet, up to the present time, no one has considered it his duty, or seems to have indicated the least inclination, to call a special general meeting, in order that he might obtain needful information on so important a subject This apparent indifference must certainly induce a general belief in the minds of the community, that the shareholders approve of the conduct and proceedings of the directors and the chief commissioner from the very period of the formation of the association, in 1825, a year after the law declared the purchase of every separate slave a felony.

In an early article, I shall give an exposition of the killing and slaying of one of the slaves of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, which the late superintendent of the slaves called my attention to in his last communication.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

19th January, 1841. F. A. KENTISH.

IMMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.

THERE is nothing more marvellous to us, in the present proceedings of the West India body, than their incessant appeals to the public. These gentlemen have been accustomed to manage their affairs in a very different manner. They have hitherto generally had the ear of the government, and have prevailed to the attainment of their ends, by influential whispers in the cabinet. Whether the private influence of the West India party is grown feeble, we know not; but certainly some member or other of it is much more frequently coming before the public. It is not a month ago since we met with Mr. Morson; and, for nearly a fortnight, there has been lying on our table the pamphlet of Mr. Greg. This gentleman, indeed, introduces himself under somewhat of a disguise. He entitles his pamphlet *Past and present efforts for the extinction of the African slave-trade;* and he devotes the first and second parts of it to lamentations over the actual failure of Mr. Wilberforce, and the coming failure of Sir Fowell Buxton. All this, however, is nothing but a *ruse de guerre*, a mask for his battery. He really comes forth as a West Indian, to swell the clamour for immigration, to which subject his third part is entirely devoted. He brings his argument to bear in three formal propositions.

"I.—The only effectual way to suppress the African slave-trade is to extinguish the demand for slaves.

"II.—The only sure way to extinguish the demand for slaves, is to procure the abolition of slavery in all slave-holding countries.

"III.—The abolition of slavery by the present slave-holding countries can only be accomplished, by proving to them *experimentally* that slavery is an expensive and unwise system; and that the produce of free is cheaper than that of compulsory, labour."—pp. 58, 59.

With respect to the first two of these propositions we shall not pick a quarrel with the author; but we are far from agreeing with him in the last. For an authority we will quote one which Mr. Greg will certainly not depreciate, from the twenty-ninth page of the pamphlet before us; where, in relation to Sir T. F. Buxton's use of the same principle, it is said, "Mr. Buxton will find himself mistaken. Both with civilised and savage men, much more is requisite to induce them to pursue any proposed course, than merely to show them that it is their interest to do so." But to let this pass. Mr. Greg's desire, he says, is to make the produce of free-labour in the West Indies cheaper than that of slave-labour; and his method of accomplishing it is "a large immigration of labourers." We must say a word on both.

Without charging Mr. Greg with insincerity, we demur to his accuracy when he states his object to be the making of free-labour produce cheaper than that of slave-labour. If we understand it rightly, it is rather to make the produce of the British West Indies cheaper than that of the foreign colonies in the same region. His view clearly extends no further. But this is not the same thing as making the produce of free-labour cheaper than that of slave-labour. These two kinds of labour exist in other parts of the world besides the West Indies, and their relative economy in that region is not to be taken as determining it in other regions. A fallacious conclusion results from this way of putting the case; namely, that, because free sugar from the British West Indies is dearer than slave sugar from Cuba, therefore free labour is as yet dearer than slave labour all round the world. The fact is quite the reverse. The sugars of Manilla, Siam, and Bengal are free produce, and they are made quite as cheap as those of Cuba or Puerto Rico. Free sugar in the British West Indies is dearer than slave sugar in the foreign West Indies, not because free labour is dearer than slave labour—which it is not—but because sugar is made in the British West Indies under circumstances which artificially enhance its price, and for no reason besides. We protest, therefore, against the relative prices of British and foreign West India sugar being taken as a standard of the economy respectively of free and slave labour.

If, moreover, it is clear, on the one hand, that Mr. Greg wishes no more than to make British West India sugars cheaper than foreign, we must be permitted to question whether he really wishes this. We will simply ask him the question, and request him to give us a direct answer. Cuba sugars are offered at 20s. to 22s. per cwt. Does Mr. Greg wish that the market price of British West India sugar should be lower than this? We surmise not. But we will wait for his answer.

Let us suppose, however, that this writer really does wish to reduce to such an amount the market price of British West India sugar, by what means would he seek the end? He tells us, by "a large immigration of labourers." How is this to operate? Mr. Greg has the candour to avow that it is by a reduction of wages. "The scarcity of labour has made wages inordinately high in the West Indies," says he; and he adds, that the evil "clearly points to its natural and easy cure."—p. 81. Now plantation daily wages in the West Indies range from 4½d. to 1s. 6d. sterling; and Mr. Greg has the heart to think this too high, and to call for "a large immigration to reduce it!" But, if daily wages be too high, the masters have an easy mode of reducing it, by employing task work. To a considerable extent this has been done; and the result is, that every species of labour is done cheaper by task work under freedom, than it was under slavery. Instead of paying more for free labour than they did for slave labour, the planters are paying less. It is a pure fiction to allege the contrary. If they now want emigration that they may reduce wages, it is not because labour is made dearer by freedom, but because they cherish an unbridled avarice and cupidity.

To go a step further, however, with the writer before us. Suppose wages were reduced, and sugar made at less cost in Jamaica than in Cuba; would this demonstrate the superior cheapness of free labour? Clearly not. That is to be demonstrated, not by what sugar costs the producer, but by what it costs the purchaser. Now, there are two circumstances which, at the present moment, prevent British sugar from being sold cheap, at however small a cost it may have been

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produced. The first is, that the demand in the English market very much exceeds the supply; the second, that a monopoly of that market is given to the British producer. Hence, if sugar were made in Jamaica cheaper than it is in Cuba, it would, nevertheless, not be sold cheaper, because the monopoly always secures for British sugars in the English market a higher price than foreign. The experimental proof of the superior cheapness of free labour, which Mr. Greg would seem so ardently to long after, in order to give the death-blow to slavery and the African slave-trade, cannot be afforded by any amount of immigration to the West Indies.

This conclusion being so plain, and so often stated, it is difficult to believe that it is not very well understood by the West Indians themselves. And, if what they profess is not the real object of their immigration zeal, it may be asked by what other they may be conceived to be actuated. Without assigning a motive, we will only adduce Mr. Greg's statement (p. 91) of the cost of sugar making. All charges paid, but exclusive of duty, he thinks the cost of sugar from British Guiana may be 29s. to 35s. per cwt.; from Trinidad 35s. to 38s.; from Jamaica, and other of the West India islands, 35s. to 41s. Let us take the average, which is about 35s. Now sugar has for a long time been selling at an average of 55s. per cwt.; so that, by Mr. Greg's own showing, which is far below the truth, the producers of sugar have been realizing a clear profit of 20s. per cwt., or more than fifty per cent. on the entire cost of the article. It is no wonder they want "a large immigration of labourers!"

BARBADOS GAGGING ACT.

To the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The humble memorial of Samuel Jackman Prescod, of the island of Barbados, in the West Indies,

Sheweth,

THAT, in the report of a select committee of the council and assembly on your lordship's despatch of 26th June last, to his Excellency the governor general, on the subject of the act to regulate the emigration of labourers from this island, &c., the committee state, in reference to your lordship's objections to the third clause of the said act, that it "was neither intended, nor carried into effect, in any other spirit than the one recommended by your lordship."

That, as this statement is a virtual denial of the truth of the allegations contained in the address to her Majesty, and the petitions to the two houses of parliament, got up at a public meeting in April last, at which your memorialist presided as chairman; and as your memorialist, moreover, finds himself individually alluded to, in this report of the select committee, as "the most clamorous adviser" of "the peasantry," and his words and conduct misrepresented and distorted; he humbly and respectfully avails himself of this constitutional means, to bring your lordship acquainted with the following facts illustrative of the "spirit" in which the said act has been, and is yet being "carried into effect," by the magistrates and others in authority.

1. On the 6th of April, by adjournment from 30th of March, Thomas Day, emigrant agent for British Guiana, was convicted before police magistrate Applewhaite, of St. Phillip parish, in the extreme penalty of £50, or three months' imprisonment, for acting as such agent. The Assistant Court of Appeal reduced the fine to £25, which, on Mr. Day's further appeal to the Court of Error, composed of the governor and council, was confirmed by that court. It was not stated in the charge, nor shown in evidence, that any particular person or persons had been contracted with, enticed, or persuaded by defendant to leave the island; but simply that he had acted, and was acting, as an emigrant agent. And neither before the magistrate in the first instance, nor on either of the subsequent appeals, was it shown in evidence that he had "promoted his object by falsehood or fraud."

2. On the 2nd of April, Mrs. Jane Dayrell, a poor widow woman of Bridgetown, was summoned before the police magistrates of the town for a breach of the act; one of the said magistrates, in passing the street, having overheard her jocularly recommending a labourer, who had asked her an exorbitant price for a bundle of fuel, to go to Demerara, where he would make a better living. After a week's adjournment of this case, it was dismissed for want of sufficient evidence to convict. One of the magistrates (as Mrs. Dayrell informed your memorialist in a letter which was published at the time) holding out a threat to her that they would bear the charge in mind if she ever appeared before them again for the slightest offence.

3. On the 18th of May, Thomas Day was a second time convicted by police magistrate Applewhaite, on a similar general and vague charge as in the former case. Neither falsehood nor fraud was shown in evidence. The penalty imposed was the extreme one of six months' imprisonment, to which the magistrate observed hard labour would have been added but for the apparent delicate health of defendant. The assistant Court of Appeal, without entering into the merits of the case, quashed the proceedings, on account of the magistrate's refusal to furnish appellant, on demand, a certified copy of proceedings, agreeably to a rule of that court.

4. On the same day, (18th of May) John Thomas Brown, a shop-keeper in the parish, examined as a witness in the preceding case, was convicted by the same magistrate in the extreme penalty of £50, or three months' imprisonment, for aiding and abetting Mr. Day in his agency. It was shown in evidence, that Mr. Brown had served labourers in the parish about to emigrate with provisions from his shop, by order of Mr. Day, taken the baggage of emigrants to town, whence they embarked for British Guiana. The Assistant Court of Appeal reversed this judgment on Mr. Brown's appeal.

5. On the 8th of June, Cadwallader Redman was convicted by police magistrate Bascom, of St. Andrew parish, in the extreme penalty of £50, or three months' imprisonment, for a breach of the act, the charge and conviction resting on his having solicited a labouring man, some time in March, to accompany him to Demerara (whither he was himself about to emigrate as an overseer), in the capacity of a servant; and also on the frequency of his absence from his parish, which the magistrate thought suspicious. The Assistant Court of Appeal reversed this decision on the 20th, after Redman had suffered twelve days' incarceration for want of bail pending the appeal.

6. On the same day, (8th of June) W. C. Hoppe was convicted by the same magistrate, in the extreme penalty of £50. or three months' imprisonment, for acting as emigrant agent. Defendant admitted that he was a salaried agent, but it was not shown in evidence that he was "promoting his object by falsehood or fraud." The Assistant Court of Appel diminished the fine to £25, and otherwise confirmed the decision of the magistrate.

7. On the 6th of October, E. C. Whitlock, a planter from Demerara, was convicted by police magistrate Scantlebury, of Speights town, in the extreme penalty of £50, or three months' imprisonment, for a breach of the act. There was a written statement in the island, signed by five or six labourers whom defendant had already sent to Demerara, complaining of disappointment and deception on his part: this paper was not produced, and neither falsehood nor fraud appeared in evidence against him. He appealed, but left the island before the case was heard, and the Assistant Court of Appeal confirmed the decision of the magistrate, on his non-appearance in court to prosecute his appeal.

In review of these cases, your memorialist begs respectfully to call your lordship's attention to the following circumstances:—First, That in all of them, (except No. 2, in which there was no conviction,) the extreme penalty of the law was invariably imposed by the convicting magistrates:—Secondly, that in none of them did it appear in evidence that the party had "promoted his object by falsehood or fraud:"—Thirdly, that Messrs. Applewhaite and Bascom, the convicting magistrates in cases 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6, are members of assembly, and therefore competent to know the "spirit" in which the act was "intended:" —Fourthly, that Mr. Bascom, if not Mr. Applewhaite also, was upon the select committee to report on your lordship's despatch; and, as senior member of the committee of the House, is officially reported in the minutes of 15th September, published in the official gazette of 31st October, as the member by whom the report was brought up:—And fifthly and lastly, that the governor and council, sitting as a court of error, finally disposed of the case No. 1, by confirming the decision of the assistant court of appeal.

Your memorialist trusts that he has already made out his case, and clearly shown, in the preceding statement of facts which cannot be controverted, that the said act has been "carried into effect in another spirit than the one recommended by your lordship,' if the following passage from your lordship's despatch of the 26th of June aforesaid, be understood as conveying your lordship's recommendations; namely—"If an emigrant agent be defined to be a person who, for hire or other emolument, is employed to induce labourers or artificers to emigrate from Barbados, I shall not object to such a person being subjected to moderate penalties, for promoting his object by falsehood or fraud." On the contrary, it will be seen by the above cited cases, and the documents in the subjoined appendix to which your lordship's attention is respectfully directed, that this act has, in very fact, been all along construed and extended, as your lordship apprehended it might be, "to the infliction of very severe punishments on any person found recommending or assisting any other person, being a labourer or artificer, to leave the island of Barbados." And the governor and council in their judicial capacity, and members of the house of assembly in their capacity of magistrates, having been parties in so construing and extending it, your memorialist is fairly warranted in inferring, that, in their legislative capacity, they so intended it.

Your memorialist would further respectfully call your lordship's attention to the second clause of the amendment act, which has been passed by the legislature to meet your lordship's objections to the original act. In that clause, the mere acting as an emigrant agent without the sanction of Her Majesty's government, is declared to be unlawful, such agency being altogether undefined. And although the grammatical construction of the clause would seem to confine the penalty to those persons only, and their abettors, who "for hire or other emolument," shall, "promote their object by falsehood or fraud"—yet this being precisely the construction of the third clause of the original act, the abuses of which your lordship has seen in the above cited cases, your memorialist, and other friends of civil liberty in the island, are reasonably apprehensive that this said second clause of the

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amendment act will be open to similar abuse, and the very evil which it is your lordship's aim to prevent be carried out into full operation.

And in evidence that this apprehension is not without foundation in fact, your memorialist begs to state for your lordship's information, that, since the passing of the said act, five convictions have taken place, in not one of which has it been clearly shown in evidence, that the party convicted was receiving "hire or other emolument," or had "promoted his object by falsehood or fraud." These cases were—

1. William Morris, convicted on the 12th of October, by Alexander H. Morris, police magistrate, and member of assembly for St. Lucy's parish, in the extreme penalty of £50, or three months' imprisonment, for a breach of the act. Proceedings quashed by assistant court of appeal, on account of the magistrate's withholding certified copy from appellant; Morris having in the mean while suffered eleven days' imprisonment, for want of bail pending his appeal. Morris says that having gone to the magistrate's office to get a certificate to emigrate, he was put upon his trial as an agent, without notice or previous summons.

2. George Leacock, convicted by the same magistrate on the 15th of October, also in the extreme penalty of £50, or three months' imprisonment. Proceedings also quashed, as in the preceding case, by the assistant court of appeal, after Leacock had suffered nine days' imprisonment for want of bail.

3. Thomas Day, convicted by the police magistrates of Bridgetown, on the 4th of November instant, in the extreme penalty of £50, or three months' imprisonment, defendant admitting that he was acting as an emigrant agent. The appeal in this case is still pending.

4. Cudjoe Rowe, convicted by police magistrate Alexander H. Morris, on the 3rd of November instant, in the extreme penalty of £50, or three months' imprisonment, for a breach of the act, and conviction confirmed by the Assistant Court of Appeal, on the 9th. Has further appealed to the Court of Error, but meanwhile suffers imprisonment for want of bail to await his appeal.

5. George Leacock, (the same as in case 2,) again convicted by police magistrate Alexander H. Morris, on the 7th of November instant, in the extreme penalty of 50, or three months' imprisonment, for a breach of the act, the charge, witnesses, and matter in evidence, being with little variation, the same as in the former case, the proceedings in which were quashed by the assistant court of appeal, on the 24th of October; the informers in the two cases being different. The assistant court of appeal reversed this judgment on the 19th, Leacock having the meanwhile suffered twelve days' imprisonment for want of bail.

Your lordship is respectfully referred to the proceedings before the magistrate in this case; in which it will be seen, that all the witnesses who speak to time refer vaguely to a period "about three weeks ago," "a few Sundays ago," "near or about four weeks ago," and "about a month ago." This case was heard on the 7th of November, and Leacock had remained in gaol pending the appeal in the former case, from the 15th to the 24th of October, when the appeal was determined; only a fortnight having elapsed between his liberation from prison in the one case, and his conviction and imprisonment in the other.

Your memorialist respectfully and earnestly entreats your lordship's particular attention to this case, inasmuch as it clearly and conclusively evidences great danger to result, in the present state of affairs, to the civil liberty of her Majesty's subjects of poor condition in this island, and to the tranquillity and prosperity of the island, from any law, however plausibly worded, to restrict them in the free exercise of their undoubted right to carry their labour to another colony.

In the above cited cases of conviction under the amendment act, the one No. 3 excepted, the parties on whom the extreme fine of £50 has been imposed, with the alternative of three months' imprisonment, are of the labouring classes, and without any ostensible property, save the clothes on their back, and, it may be, a few mean articles of household furniture. And in the case of Cudjoe Rowe, (No. 4,) whose conviction had been confirmed by the assistant court of appeal, and who is still suffering imprisonment pending his further appeal to the court of error, which may not hold for another month, your lordship will perceive, by the copy of certified proceedings before the magistrate in the first instance, the amount of guilt which the magistrate and the assistant court of appeal consider, in the case of a poor labouring man, worthy of punishment under the said amendment act, by a fine of £50, or three months' imprisonment amongst felons.

That your memorialist has no other object in addressing this memorial to your lordship, than to bring your lordship acquainted with the facts herein stated, with which your lordship may not otherwise be made acquainted, and thus to enable your lordship and her Majesty's government to come to a just decision.

And your memorialist respectfully entreats your lordship to take this memorial, with a copy of which his Excellency will be furnished, his information, and the facts herein stated, into deliberate consideration, in connexion with the Amendment Act, and the report of the select committee aforesaid, and advise her Majesty to disallow the said Amendment Act, and the original act of the 21st of March; and also to institute an inquiry into the general tenor of laws which affect the labouring classes of this island, and their administration by the local magistrates and others in authority. And your memorialist will ever pray, &c. &c.

S. J. PRESCOD.

Barbados, Nov. 21st, 1840.

ERRATA

In the list of donations and subscriptions published in our last.

Cambridge.			
For James Golshead, jun.	*read*	James Gotshed, jun.	
" James Kitter	"	James Nutter	
Liskeard.			
For Franck Allen	"	Miss Allen	
Leominster.			
Samuel Southall	"	Don. 3 0 0	An. 2 0 0
Hitchin.			
Joseph Sharples	"	Don. 35 0 0	
Auxiliary Society, per ditto	"	25 0 0	
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For Miss M. Dymond	"	Miss S. Dymond	
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Rev. Joseph Elliott	"	" 0 10 0	
Samuel Fennell	"	" 1 0 0	
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Birmingham.			
For R. J. Cadbury	"	R. T. Cadbury	
" T. H. Cutler, Alderman	"	J. H. Cutler, Alderman	
" Lydney Gedge	"	Sydney Gedge	
" Mrs. S. Glover		Don. 0 5 0	read Don. 5 0 0
" Edward Micklin	"	Edward Nicklin	
" W. F. Room	"	W. & F. Room	
" Joseph Scholefield, M.P.	"	Joshua Scholefield, M.P.	
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Corrand, F. W.	"	F. W. Corrance	

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 27TH.

MR. G. W. ALEXANDER, our readers will be gratified to learn, has arrived safely from his anti-slavery journey in Spain. An interesting communication from him may be expected in our next.

WE learn with pleasure, by the papers, that Mr. Birney has arrived in safety at New York. A special meeting of the New York City Anti-slavery Society was to be held on the 12th of December, when he would give some account of the proceedings connected with his visit to this country.

WE have been informed that Mr. Alexander Barclay, a member of the Jamaica House of Assembly, is in this country, and in communication with Her Majesty's government respecting the emigration of Africans from Sierra Leone to the West Indies. It is added by our informant, that Mr. Barclay is about to proceed to Sierra Leone, under the sanction of the colonial office, with a view to carry this measure into effect. We shall return to this very important subject in our next.

MR. KENTISH, in a letter which we insert to-day, has thrown some valuable light on the communication of Colonel Skerrett, in our last. Certainly the directors of the Imperial Brazilian seem to be wise in their generation. They are anticipating the calling of a special general meeting of the shareholders, and the loss of office, with a vote of censure; and they are making provision for the worst. But are they sure that this is the worst that will happen to them, unless they relinquish their illegal grasp of more than four hundred of their fellow-creatures! Colonel Skerrett's testimony to their purchase of slaves may do more to convict them as felons in a court of law, than all his protestations of their humanity can do to exculpate them.

But a word to the shareholders, some of whom have publicly claimed to be, and doubtless are, "liberal and christian men." In common with Mr. Kentish, we do feel surprised that none of them have yet taken any measures for calling a special general meeting, on this heart-rending subject. Does the recollection sit so lightly on them, that they are implicated in the commission of several hundred felonious breaches of English law; that they are the real purchasers and holders of more than four hundred of their fellow-creatures as slaves, who are daily flogged by their authority, and by whose slow murder they are to be enriched! Every shareholder is as responsible to God, to man, and to his own conscience, as if all this were done with his own hand. Do "liberal and christian men" need to be told this twice!

THE following curious letter has been handed to us for publication. It is from General Harrison, the president elect of the American Union, and is in reply to a letter addressed to him on the 2nd of September last, by Messrs. Tappan, Leavitt, and Dresser, on the subject of slavery.

Cincinnati, Oct. 2nd, 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—Your kind letter of the 21st ultimo, came duly to hand. The subject on which you address me, I look upon as one of the greatest importance to the people of this country, though I have generally refused to answer the numerous queries addressed to me, generally from my political enemies, knowing they have intended to injure me with the south. In my letter, however, to judge Morris of Massachusetts, which he had the liberty to use in any way that he thought proper, *except to publish*, I expressly state my views on the abolition question. I therein state that I joined an abolition society in Richmond at the early age of eighteen

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and that I have seen no reason to change my views on the subject since. And I will now further state, that I believe Congress has full and complete power to legislate on all subjects relating to the district of Columbia, and should use that power by abolishing slavery in the district. And although Congress, perhaps, has no power to interfere with slavery in the several states, yet so anxious am I to see this immense evil put down, that I would willingly sign a bill, should one pass Congress, appropriating all the surplus revenue for the purpose of purchasing the slaves, or for indemnifying the states that should voluntarily abolish the system. The appropriating the surplus revenue for this purpose is no new idea with me. It is one I have long entertained, and have more than once so expressed myself, and I hope yet to live to see so desirable an object accomplished.

You are aware, gentlemen, that this is a delicate subject for the peace of the south, and, whatever is done, should be done with much caution. You probably have seen my letter to Mr. Lyons, of Virginia. You will, of course, know what kind of estimate to place upon that, written as it was to a *southern man*, and a slave-holder. I have refused, gentlemen, to make promises or pledges to any great extent during this canvass; but as the great contest is so near at hand, I have no hesitation in declaring the above as my sincere sentiments, and hope you will find them to accord, at least in part, with your own.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. H. HARRISON.

THE President's message contains a reference to what has been done on the part of the United States for the suppression of the African slave-trade under its flag. The naval force employed for this purpose has consisted of two vessels, a brig and a schooner; and "the *apprehension* of their presence," Mr. Van Buren complacently tells us, "has, in a great degree, arrested the prostitution of the American flag to this inhuman purpose," along the whole coast of Africa! Prodigious! The terror of the American navy must be marvellous indeed. This boast, however, is evidently designed to cover the fact, that these tremendous vessels have done nothing, but cruised about "till the commencement of the rainy season," and then "returned to the United States for supplies." What, indeed, could such a paltry force be expected to do, when both the brig and the schooner are commanded by the sons of southern slave-holders!

The President makes parade of a suggestion for prohibiting the citizens of the United States from all traffic with the slave-factories on the African coast. No doubt this would be useful, if it could be effected; but what would such a prohibition be, more than waste paper? We subjoin the following remarks from the *Morning Chronicle*:—

While slavery continues, there can be little hope of the destruction of the trade. Nor can we perceive any solid basis for Mr. Van Buren's boast, on behalf of the Americans, that they were the first to declare it piracy. Considering how fast slaves are bred in the United States, the abolition of the African trade was a cheap philanthropy. The home manufacture is adequate to the consumption. Those who can sell their own offspring, have little occasion for foreign supplies. They are in a condition to become exporters, rather than importers, of the human commodity. The slave-trade with which Congress should grapple is carried on within its own territories: the traffic between state and state. A vigorous effort to put this down would be a far better pledge of sincerity and earnestness, than any number of frigates stationed off the African coast. Each State may be supreme within its own boundaries; but the roads are under the control of Congress. The mail runs on Sundays in spite of Boston sabbatarianism. A free transit should be made the transit only of freemen. If every single state be independent enough of the Union to violate within its boundaries the first principle of the American constitution, its power need not extend one inch beyond. Its own slaves should satisfy its own slavism. To this restriction Congress is perfectly competent. The internal regulation may be left sacred to the state sovereignty, and yet the home trade between the states proscribed. Why does not Congress attempt this? And why prolong so gross an infraction of the solemn document, and great charter of human right under which it exists, as is afforded by the existence of slavery in the district of Columbia? There at least, Congress is omnipotent. There, its real disposition is manifested, and its example given to the different States with all the moral power of nationality. And Columbia, the sacred ground of the American constitution, is a slave state.

WE are sorry to find the island of St. Christopher in a disturbed state. Till lately it was eminently peaceful and prosperous; but the avarice of the planters has led them to introduce the Jamaica rent system, by which the otherwise contented labourers have been universally disgusted. They are endeavouring to leave the island in swarms, as their only refuge from this causeless and wicked system of oppression.

MR. SCOBLE has put into our hands the following extracts of private letters from Demerara, from a gentleman of high respectability. They will be read with much interest. As for the gentlemen who have been sent by foreign governments to inquire into the working of emancipation in the British colonies, (with two or three distinguished exceptions) they have notoriously been of the most prejudiced pro-slavery school. Some of them have been selected from the resident planters, and there is too much reason to believe that they have been employed for the purpose of procuring unfavourable reports, in order to counteract the numerous and authentic statements of a contrary kind. We particularly request our French friends to notice what sort of an agent has been employed to obtain information for them.

"*Demerara, October 24th*, 1840.

"It has occurred to me that you might wish to be in possession of a specimen of *seekers after truth*, who visit the West Indies from our neighbours the French. On the 23rd of September last, a French man of war schooner arrived here from Cayenne and Surinam, having on board a *Monsieur Chabot de la Freite*, invested with authority to examine the working of freedom in the several islands. I dined with him at the governor's table, on the 24th of September. He then stated publicly that he was come out from France in search of the truth; to ascertain faithfully how the labourers worked in a state of freedom. He spoke loud and vehemently, and evidently with much irritation. His words were these, as near as I can give them, 'Gentlemen, I am convinced that the English have done wrong in giving liberty to the slaves; they have ruined their colonies; the negros will not work generally, and those who do work demand such excessive wages, that the proprietors cannot eventually exist. Behold what the English have done for them!' To which it was replied, that, as the wants of the negros increased, they would labour to supply them, and that it only required patience, and mild explanation with the labourer, to induce him to do his duty. At this his rage knew no bounds, and he exclaimed 'What! reason with the negros? God has given them to *us* to work; they are by nature idle, wicked and covetous; they have the head and the form *of the monkey!*—the beasts!! They ought not to be free; God has never willed it.' He continued in this strain for some time, so that no one could be heard but himself. At length a gentleman present told him that he might bluster and make a noise, but he could not convince the company of the impropriety and impolicy of freedom, and that he would not be permitted to choke them with his opinion, that the company had their opinions also, and would maintain them. He then said, 'I am a journalist, and I must support the views of my countrymen.' To which it was replied, that he had said he came in search of '*truth*,' and yet he was overwhelmed with prejudice, which was a great stumbling-block in the way of its attainment. He left the colony a few days after this, to report that the slaves ought not to be set free!

The same gentleman adds, "'This colony is in a sad state: the ports thrown open, no colonial duties received whatever, party feeling, discord, and contention everywhere prevailing amongst the public men, and carried even into private life. Governor Light on a bed of thorns, because he has no opinion of his own, no conciliation of temper—and, but for the present enormous price of sugar, the colony would be destroyed by *actual bad management*."

Another extract from a Demerera letter to Mr. Scoble, says, "Colonel Dogherty has written to Lord John Russell, to say that there are a great many men, liberated Africans, at Sierra Leone, who have nothing to do, and that they would not object to go to the West Indies as emigrants. Lord John has communicated this to Trinidad, &c., and they have been adopting means to induce Lord John to accede to their removal. Keep your eye on this, and on Colonel Dogherty, who is a pro-slavery man, and known to all West Indian planters."

Lord John has acceded to the wishes of the planters in this matter, and under circumstances which render it absolutely necessary that the friends of humanity should watch the proceedings with the utmost jealousy, or we shall have to lament the existence of another Coolie affair.

PORTUGUESE SLAVE TRADE.

FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

"*Foreign Office, November* 2, 1839.

"GENTLEMEN,—With reference to my despatches, marked slave trade, of the 25th of August and of the 3rd of September last—the first enclosing copies of an address upon slave-trade from the House of Peers to Her Majesty, and her Majesty's most gracious answer thereto; and the second enclosing a copy of an act of parliament recently passed for the suppression of the slave-trade—I have to acquaint you that the Queen has been pleased to command, that orders should be given to the commanders of Her Majesty's cruizers to detain vessels engaged in slave-trade, and sailing under the flag of Portugal, wherever met with; and also to detain vessels engaged in slave-trade but hoisting no flag, and destitute of any papers proving their nationality.

"Orders have also been given to establish British courts of vice-admiralty at any places within Her Majesty's dominions and colonies abroad, where such courts may be requisite for the adjudication of vessels detained as before mentioned.

"Thirdly, orders have been given, that the crews of Portuguese slave-vessels so detained shall be sent to that port of the Portuguese dominions to which it may be most convenient to convey them, in order that they may there be delivered up to the Portuguese authorities.

"Fourthly, orders have been given, that negros found on board such detained vessels shall be landed at the nearest British port or settlement, and shall there be placed under the care of the governor, or other officer in command.

"And, fifthly, orders have been given to the governors of Her Majesty's forts and settlements abroad, to make the necessary arrangements for the care and support of the negros who may be landed and set free under these orders.

"The officers commanding Her Majesty's cruizers employed for the suppression of the slave-trade, have, at the same time, been acquainted that nothing contained in the before-mentioned act of parliament is intended to confer upon British cruizers any new right of search, as to any vessel sailing under the flag of a state with which Great Britain has no treaty granting a mutual right of search; and that, with respect to vessels sailing under the flag of a state with which Great Britain has a treaty granting a mutual right of search, that act of parliament is not intended to authorize Her Majesty's naval officers to visit and search such vessels, in any other way than that which is prescribed by such treaties, and by the instructions annexed thereto. I am, &c.,

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

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Anti-slavery Publications.

SLAVERY IN INDIA.

THAT very persevering friend of India, the Rev. James Peggs, has again laid the public under obligation to him, by putting forth a pamphlet on *The Present State of East India Slavery*. He has taken the pains to wade through the voluminous parliamentary papers which have from time to time been produced on this subject, and he has furnished a valuable exhibition of their most important contents. The heads under which he has arranged his materials will appear by the contents of the four chapters into which the work is divided.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks.—Origin, Nature, and Evils of Slavery in India, and the Eastern Islands.

CHAPTER II.

Nature and success of efforts for the abolition of the Slave Trade in India and the adjacent Islands.—Melioration of Slavery by the Hindoos, Mussulmans, French, Dutch, and British.

CHAPTER III.

The present state and extent of Slavery in British India.—Probable number of Slaves.—Want of more correct information.

CHAPTER IV.

Methods proposed for the melioration and abolition of Slavery in India.—Answers to objections to its abolition, arising from the supposed kind treatment of Slaves—The preservation of Children and Adults in famine, by selling themselves for support—The indifference of the Slaves to Emancipation—Decreasing the population of an island or district—Mahomedan prejudices, prohibiting any others than Slaves attending on their women; and the interest of Slave-owners and the Government.—Concluding appeal.

The appearance of Mr. Peggs's pamphlet is highly seasonable, and we hope it will have an extensive circulation. The time is come for doing something effectual on this painful subject. The government commission have completed their labours, and have sent home their report and voluminous evidence. When parliament meets this will soon be laid on the table, and there will be no longer any pretext for delay.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

WE commend to all who are concerned to know what United States' slavery really is, a volume which has just been published by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Its title in short is, *Slavery and the internal slave-trade in the United States of North America*. The matter of it has come from the *free* republic itself, and has been furnished by a body no less well-informed and responsible than the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In truth, in anticipation of the general anti-slavery convention, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society circulated queries in many quarters, for the sake of obtaining copious and authentic information. One series was addressed to the committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the answers which were kindly furnished to these constitute the important volume which is before us. Tenaciously disputed as the allegations of abolitionists have been, and vehement as have been the protestations of pro-slavery men that American slavery is mild and equitable, the present volume may be received as an arbitrator to end the strife; for its allegations, although put forth by abolitionists, are made upon authorities which southerners can never contradict.

RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

WE have received a copy of a pamphlet on the eve of publication, by the Rev. Dr. Cox, of Hackney, entitled, *The Scriptural Duty of churches in relation to slave-holders professing Christianity*. The subject is one of great importance, and of general interest. The pamphlet has arisen out of a discussion which took place in the quarterly meeting of the London Baptist Association, in October last, on the resolutions of the General Anti-slavery Convention, which had been officially transmitted to that body. The sentiment of those resolutions was affirmed by a large majority; but, as the question of withholding religious communion from slave-holders was perceived to have difficulties in itself, and to have been thoroughly considered by very few, it was thought that a few remarks explanatory of it might be useful. Dr. Cox was consequently requested to write, and he has written well. His observations, although extending through twenty-four closely printed pages, are inexpensive—the price being only three-pence; and we may hope, therefore, that they will be widely circulated and extensively read. Although the appeal made by the resolutions of the Convention, and enforced through our columns, has been far from fruitless, there remain a large body of British professors and British churches who have not discharged themselves of the responsibility which attaches to them. The plea for inaction is, that there are difficulties in the question, and that they cannot see their way clear to the course recommended. This, however, we beg them to observe, is no plea for inconsideration. It becomes rather the more incumbent upon them to think the question resolutely through, and to solve the difficulties of it on some principle or other. To refrain from acting in a matter so interesting to humanity and religion, unless they have valid reasons for doing so, can hardly be satisfactory to persons of benevolent and pious mind. Let them, then, look the alleged difficulties of the question in the face. Perhaps, on a scrutinizing view, assisted by the valuable pamphlet before us, they may disappear; and then these excellent friends will, of course, hasten to become coadjutors in the holy effort.

Home News.

RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

Gateshead, Jan. 6th, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—At a Church Meeting held at Melbourne-street Congregational Chapel, on Thursday, the 31st of December, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, which I beg to forward to you for insertion in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Resolved,

That the members of this church, having heard the resolution of the General Anti-Slavery Convention concerning the participation of many of the American churches in slavery, express their full concurrence in the same; and, regarding slavery as a violation of the rights of man, (being a breach of God's command to love our neighbour as ourselves) an exceeding sinful blot upon the christian name, and a barrier to the Redeemer's kingdom in the world, determine to have no fellowship with those churches or individuals (professedly Christian) who hold their fellow-men in bondage.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

(Signed) EDWARD TASKER.

J. H. TREDGOLD, Esq.

At a meeting of the Baptist Church, Bugbrook, Northamptonshire, December 18th, 1840;

It was resolved unanimously,

That it is with grief and shame we learn that many Baptists in North America most pertinaciously attempt to justify themselves in the iniquitous practice of holding slaves, and buying and selling them at pleasure; and that, under a deep conviction that 'for man to hold property in man' is a gross violation of the law of Christ, Matt. vii. 12, "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you that do unto them likewise," we declare our determination not to hold Christian fellowship with any person known to be guilty of the sin of slave-holding.

(Signed) JOSEPH LARWELL, Pastor.

At a full meeting of the Baptist Church-meeting, held in Charles-street, Leicester, December 28th, 1840, it was resolved unanimously,

That we will hold no communion with any church abetting slavery, and that we will not hold occasional communion with any member of a slave-holding church: believing that slavery is a most flagrant violation of the laws of justice and our common Christianity; that a divine revelation was no more necessary to prove the unlawfulness of slavery than that of robbery or murder; and that it is the duty of every Christian church to denounce and discourage it by every lawful means.

(Signed) JAMES SIMMONS, Pastor.

The following resolution was passed unanimously by the second Baptist Church, Northampton, January 1st, 1841:—That this church, believing slavery to be a daring sin against God, and a gross violation of human rights, hereby determine to hold no fellowship with those who support, advocate, or practise it, in any of its forms.

(Signed) RICHARD TUNLEY, Pastor.

At a meeting of the Independent Church, Long Buckby, Northamptonshire, held January 1st, 1841, it was resolved unanimously,

That we, the members of this church, are fully convinced that slavery, in any form or degree, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and to the spirit and precepts of christianity.

That we cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that any christian churches should countenance, encourage, or practise such an enormity, a sin both against God and man. And, therefore,

That it is our incumbent duty, and our deliberate determination, to hold no fellowship with the advocates or abettors of slavery, under whatever name or profession, in any part of the world.

DANIEL GRIFFITHS, Pastor.

At a meeting of the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. R. Pool, in Providence chapel, Great Driffield, held on the 25th of November, 1840, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That this Church considers the whole system of slavery as anti-christian, and resolves to hold no communion with any minister or member, of any denomination, who is known to hold the opinion that man may be deprived of liberty, sold like a beast, and kept in perpetual bondage; being fully persuaded, that what is wrong in itself cannot in any circumstances be right, but will always continue a violation of the law of Christ, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them, for this is the law and the prophets."

The following resolution was unanimously passed by the Baptist church meeting at Great Driffield, November 25th, 1840.

Being fully convinced of the intrinsic evil of slavery, and of its utter inconsistency with the Christian religion, we do hereby declare our abhorrence of the system, and our determination to have no religious fellowship with slave-holding churches or ministers.

JAMES NORMANTON, Pastor.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE contains the following reference to the African slave-trade:—

"The suppression of the African slave-trade has received the continued attention of the government. The brig Dolphin and schooner Grampus have been employed during the last season on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of preventing such portions of that trade as were said to be prosecuted under the American flag. After cruising off those parts of the coast most usually resorted to by slavers until the commencement of the rainy season, these vessels returned to the United States for supplies, and have since been despatched on a similar service.

"From the reports of the commanding officers, it appears that the trade is now principally carried on under Portuguese colours; and they express the opinion that the apprehension of their presence on the slave-coast has,

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in a great degree, arrested the prostitution of the American flag to this inhuman purpose. It is hoped, that by continuing to maintain this force in that quarter, and by the exertions of the officers in command, much will be done to put a stop to whatever portion of this traffic may have been carried on under the American flag, and to prevent its use in a trade which, while it violates the laws, is equally an outrage on the rights of others and the feelings of humanity. The efforts of the several governments who are anxiously seeking to suppress this traffic must, however, be directed against the facilities afforded by what are now recognised as legitimate commercial pursuits, before that object can be fully accomplished. Supplies of provisions, water casks, merchandise, and articles connected with the prosecution of the slave-trade, are, it is understood, freely carried by vessels of different nations to the slave factories; and the effects of the factors are transported openly from one slave station to another, without interruption or punishment by either of the nations to which they belong, engaged in the commerce of that region. I submit to your judgments whether this government, having been the first to prohibit, by adequate penalties, the slave-trade—the first to declare it piracy—should not be the first also to forbid to its citizens all trade with the slave factories on the coast of Africa, giving an example to all nations in this respect, which, if fairly followed, cannot fail to produce the most effective results in breaking up these dens of iniquity."

A SLAVER CONDEMNED IN NEW YORK.—In our September number we mentioned that the schooner *Catharine*, captured by a British cruiser, and sent into this port, had escaped condemnation owing to a defect in our laws. It has since appeared, that, in unlading her, a quantity of fetters were found, which, with other evidence, leaves no doubt of her having been on a slave voyage. Judge Betts has lately condemned the schooner *Butterfly*, which was captured by H. B. M's Brig of War *Dolphin*, while sailing also under American colours on the coast of Africa, August 26th, 1839. The mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone declined to take jurisdiction of said vessel, because she had American papers and colours, but sent her to the authorities here under a prize master. The *cargo* escaped condemnation, owing to a provision in the law, that unless it shall be brought in by an *American* officer, it shall not be condemned. *But the British consul, Mr. Buchanan, considers the Catharine and Butterfly, and their cargoes, still in his possession*, on the ground that if our courts do not condemn them, they remain with him statu quo. This is as it should be. Francis Montero, of Havana, claims the cargo of the *Butterfly* He must now demand it of Queen Victoria.—*American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

VOLUNTARY LIBERATION OF SLAVES ON THE CANADIAN FRONTIER. [From the *Detroit Advertiser.*] We have seldom witnessed a sight which gave us more unfeigned pleasure than one which came under our own eyes yesterday, in Jefferson Avenue. We allude to the parting scene between an aged and pious couple, Mr. Mordecai Myers and lady, from distant Alabama, and several slaves whom they had journeyed with from a southern home, and left among our Canadian neighbours,

"Free as the winds that blow."

The parting words of kind advice, and the sobs of the freed men, at thus sundering the links which had so long bound them together, sank deep into the heart of every by-stander, and should elicit the warmest sympathy of the lovers of freedom throughout the land.

A BRIBE FOR KIDNAPPING.—The governor of Virginia has offered a reward of three thousand dollars, for the three coloured men who assisted some of their fellow-creatures out of slavery, and whom the governor of New York refused to surrender on the demand of the governor of Virginia.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

TEXAS.

SLAVE-TRADE.—A gentleman recently returned from Texas states, that within eight months, the period of his residence in that country, he heard of two cargoes of slaves imported directly from Africa. They were landed first in Cuba, in some obscure spot, then brought to town, sold to their owner, carried to some out-of the-way place on the coast of Texas, and landed in the night. In the morning, the vessel was out of sight, and all was right. He did not witness the transaction himself, but it was common talk in Metagorda Every body seemed to know and approve of it. He says, the Texans are driven to the importation of African slaves, because white people cannot work, and the slaves brought from the United States frequently become worthless, from being assailed with certain fatal diseases so soon as exposed to a Texas sun. One disease is elephantiasis; another, inflammation of the brain, producing insanity. In this last condition, they are often flogged for obstinacy till almost dead. One man was mentioned, who took down about sixty slaves from Kentucky, and lost nearly all of them.

Another gentleman from the south, well acquainted with Texas, informs us, that there is a great tide of emigration from Great Britain to Texas. English emigrants of course become slave-holders. No one can calculate what a tremendous stimulus will yet be given to the slave-trade by the settlement of this slavery-cursed territory.—*Philanthropist.*

It is reported in the papers, that the Americans who have lately come into Texas, have brought with them "an immense amount of negro-property." Not less than ten thousand slaves are stated to have been thus introduced into Texas within the last year.

WEST INDIES.

BARBADOS.—On the 6th of November, a deputation of the friends of Mr. Prescod, the editor of the *Barbados Liberal*, presented him with a purse of £126., as a token of esteem. A large portion of that amount was contributed in small sums by labourers in the rural districts.

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—The vessel that arrived this morning from St. Christopher, brings intelligence that the labourers in that colony are leaving the estates, not by twos or twenties, but by hundreds, and flocking to town, with the view of emigrating. Considerable numbers had left for Demerara; not that they preferred it to Trinidad, but because there were no vessels to convey them to this island. Private letters state that the island is in a most deplorable state.—*Port of Spain Gazette*, Oct. 10.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Private letters from Demerara, to the 18th November, represent the colony as improving. The weather was fine, and there had been some useful heavy rain. It was anticipated that the produce made on estates during the December quarter of the year, would prove considerably larger than it had been for the corresponding quarters of the four preceding years. The export of sugar to the 30th September last, exceeded the exports up to the same period in 1839: it was also expected that the annual crop would be more than 40,000 hogsheads. Sugar was selling in the colony as high as seven and a-half stivers the pound, about equal to forty guineas the hogshead. Some estates had sold for very large sums.—*Colonial Gazette.*

CUBA.—DESTRUCTION OF A SLAVER. "The well-known fast-sailing clipper, *El Arrogante*, was run on shore and completely destroyed, on the 5th of July last, after a chase of some hours in the most gallant manner, by H.M. schooner *Pickle*, commanded by Lieutenant Frederick Holland. This officer, while lying at the Havana, noticed a slaver ready for sea, and determined to stand out into the offing, and await her appearance. On the following day, among a large fleet of merchantmen working to the eastward, the "rogue" was easily singled out by his peculiar rig, well set sails, and white canvass, and chace was immediately given. *El Arrogante*, as soon as she discovered her mistake, strained every nerve to get back to the Havana, distant only eighteen miles; but, finding that the *Pickle* had cut her off from her port, she shaped her course dead on shore, followed by H.M. schooner to within a quarter of a mile of the land, when it was deemed prudent to haul off. *El Arrogante* went on shore on the Rincon reef, about nine miles to the eastward of the Havana, and became a total wreck: the crew were saved. 'The governor in his palace, and the worthy inhabitants of Havana,' says Lieutenant Holland, 'must have heard our guns at that short distance. What disgrace it reflects on one of the (so-called) principal powers of civilized Europe, to be necessarily so insulted, as to have a vessel cleared out of one of its chief ports on one day, and knocked to pieces on the following by the ship of a friendly power, who is merely aiding her to repress the nefarious traffic of her own subjects. May such ever be the fate of those who 'keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope!' When British naval officers are again taunted in the House of Lords with neglecting to capture or destroy outward-bound slavers, I trust that the case of the *Arrogante* may not be forgotten.'—*Friend of Africa.*

FRENCH COLONIES.

[FROM THE JOURNAL DES DEBATS.]

NEWS was received a few days ago of the opening of the session of Colonial Councils at Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Guiana. The speeches made by the governors of these three colonies on the occasion were also received. These speeches deserve particular attention, inasmuch as it is the first time that the government signifies officially to the colonists its desire to abolish slavery. It consults them at the same time upon the various systems put forward for emancipation. *Apropos* of this, we must observe there is a difference in the language held at Guiana and Guadaloupe by Messrs. Gourbeyre and Jubelin, and the terms made use of by Rear-Admiral Duval d'Ailly, on opening the session at Martinique. M. Gourbeyre and M. Jubelin announced that the government, better able to appreciate the necessity of a reform in the colonies, had at last irrevocably decided to accomplish it; and that, its firm intention being to respect vested rights, and keep work going, it addressed them, calling upon them for their advice, as to the most preferable mode of execution. The language of M. Duval d'Ailly is much less clear; he merely announces to the council that some copies of the first report of a society formed at Paris for examining questions relative to the colonies will be transmitted to them, and he begs the attention of the council upon this preparatory report. These palliatives, employed designedly, contrast still more forcibly with the language held in the two other colonies. M. Duval d'Ailly, recently called to Martinique to replace the Count de Moges, brought himself from Paris the decisions of the government, and could not be mistaken as to its intentions.

We willingly acknowledge the difficulty of the position at this time of the governors of our slave colonies. The inhabitants, in general misinformed upon the state of the public mind in the metropolis, think it their duty to resist a measure now inevitable. On the other hand, the naval officers to whom these governments are entrusted find themselves in a delicate position, the time of their government not being counted in their years of service, and the consciousness of a good act being their only recompense for the obloquy and difficulties attending their duty.

WESTERN AFRICA.

Extract of a letter to Sir T. F. Buxton.—"Your cruisers have recently been unusually active and vigorous, and have almost completely blockaded the celebrated marts of Gallinas and New Cess. They have invested these points so vigilantly, that the slavers, unable to ship the slaves with any probable degree of security, have kept them pent up in the baracoons, where they have died by scores from hunger and disease. Indeed, it is rumoured that the slavers have been so annoyed of late, that they talk of abandoning New Cess entirely. A vessel captured off Trade Town, a few days ago, by one of her Majesty's cruisers, is said to have had only sixteen inches' space between her main and slave decks.'—*Friend of Africa.*

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

We have heard, on authority which we fear is too correct, that the Boers who have emigrated beyond the Orange River, on the banks of the Vaal and elsewhere, are treating the natives, especially the bushmen, with an inhumanity worthy of the good old times. Our informant says (we shudder in giving his statement) that these unhappy beings are shot with reckless cruelty, and their children taken into the service of the emigrants, amongst whom they are transferred from hand to hand at a *price!* not to reward the wretched labourers for their service, but for the gain of the man who disposes of them! This is slavery, call it by what mitigated terms we may. And are these things *really* done on the very verge of British dominion, and by men who are still British subjects; although, having placed themselves from under the dominion of all law, they can thus

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trample upon the sacred rights of humanity and justice? Surely some inquiry will be made into these matters. It becomes both the English settler and those of Dutch origin to clear South Africa of such a blot, and to brand with merited infamy, if the facts be true, the parties who are guilty. *Frontier Times.*

MOZAMBIQUE.

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.—The *Debats* quotes letters from Bourbon, giving the following further details of the capture of the Portuguese pirate slave-ship by the *Prevoyante*:—

"The *Prévoyante*, Lieutenant Jehenne, engaged in making hydrographical surveys in the Mozambique channel, when at one of the islands, found a brig manned by a numerous crew of Spaniards, but showing Portuguese colours, that she might the better carry on her nefarious traffic in slaves. Having no commission to interfere in the trade, the Lieutenant contented himself with doing all in his power to warn the natives. The brig, having discovered this, stole away in the night, having, however, contrived to get some blacks on board from a point of the island where she was unperceived by the *Prévoyante*. After a lapse of a fortnight, this ship put in at the Comora islands, where a French ship of war had never before made her appearance. Here she learned that a brig engaged in the slave-trade had got under weigh as soon as she came in sight, and lay concealed from her at the back of the island. The inhabitants further stated, that the brig had committed acts of piracy on the island. This warranted Lieutenant Jehenne in running round to the brig, laying his ship alongside of her, and making a search. In her hold he found 220 slaves closely packed, but it required greater scrutiny before he could discover ten of the islanders, who had been forcibly carried on board, and who expressed the utmost joy on being released. This fact, and the declarations of the sailors on board the brig, authorized the commander of the *Prévoyante* in seizing the brig as a slave-ship, also engaged in acts of piracy. She was called the *Pocha*, and is believed to be one of the Mexican ships of war taken by Admiral Baudin, at Vera Cruz, in 1838, when she was named the *Iturbide*. She was sold to a French merchant, who gave her the name of the *Atar Gull*, which, on her being transferred to the Spaniards, was changed into that which she now bears. When seized, she was on her third voyage in the slave-trade. At Mozambique she had taken on board seventeen Portuguese sailors, as passengers to the Havana, but, when out at sea, the captain informed them that was not his destination, for he was engaged in the slave-trade. He had on board, besides these men, a resolute crew of forty-seven men, all Spaniards, except three or four who were Portuguese. In an arm chest on deck were fifty muskets, all with bayonets, and some of them loaded, but they made no defence, as they knew the French did not interfere in the slave-trade, and hoped that the islanders they had piratically taken would escape detection. It was not as a slave-ship, but as a pirate, that the *Pocha* was detained. The supercargo, on being taken on board the *Prévoyante*, demanded a private interview with Lieutenant Jehenne, stated that, if he was taken to the Portuguese settlement of Mozambique, he would be a lost man; and that he had a large sum of money in the *Pocha*, of which the Lieutenant might take as much as he pleased, if he would release him. This offer was not only refused with indignation, but the supercargo put in irons. The poor blacks were eaten up with the itch, but eight or ten died from nostalgia (regret for their country) before the vessels reached Mayotte. Their countenances became expressive of the deepest distress, and they retired into corners, rejected all endeavours to make them take food, and at the end of a few days they expired. The captain of the *Pocha* one day coolly stated, that, when the negros had not the itch, it was the custom of the traders to purchase several who had the disease in the most virulent degree, and take them on board to infect the others, as the complaint cured them of nostalgia, and rendered the mortality among them much less. He added that, when one-tenth only of the number died in the course of a voyage, it was considered as having been a very successful one. The capture of the *Pocha* has given satisfaction to the authorities of Bourbon, and the governor of the colony has addressed a very flattering letter to Lieutenant Jehenne, in answer to his report of his proceedings, highly approving of his conduct, and declaring that he had acted as he ought to have done, whatever may be the judgment pronounced on the validity of his prize. The slave-owners, however, are indignant at the capture having been effected."

The *Temps* says, that the *Pocha* is to be brought to Brest, under the guard of the French brig of war *Lancier*. The value of the merchandise and money found on board her is estimated at 250,000f.—*Times.*

MAURITIUS.

In the *Mauricien* mention is made of a considerable excitement among the working population, in consequence of expectations formed from the past policy of Sir Lionel Smith in the West Indies. Since his arrival in Mauritius, he had declared that he was prepared to do justice to all parties, and this had augmented the excitement: some supposed that this declaration was meant to express a determination to include the planters in the general justice; others, that it conveyed a censure on former governments of the island, and indicated a disposition to do greater justice by the working-people. The *Mauricien* thinks that the fairer construction is to be put upon Sir Lionel's intentions. Nevertheless, the labourers had built upon a declaration which they construed in their own favour: they had increased their demands for remuneration, and besieged the doors of Government-house with applications for the Governor's attention to their claims. The paper admits that some colour is given to their generally unreasonable demands by individual cases of injustice.—*Colonial Gazette.*

We find in the *Cernean* the following account of the movements of Sir Lionel Smith "His Excellency the governor continues his visits to our different public establishments. A few mornings ago he proceeded to the Bazaar; and we are assured that the high prices asked for certain articles exposed there for sale struck him with astonishment, and impressed him with the necessity of establishing a regular tariff of rates for market articles. We ourselves long ago suggested the expediency of a measure of the kind.

"On Tuesday last, his Excellency accompanied by the Colonial Secretary, and attended by his aide-de-camp, visited the civil prison of Port Louis; where he was received by the members of the prison committee, who conducted him over the whole of the establishment, and furnished him with every information he desired respecting it.

"The attention of the governor was directed to every class of prisoners. The different kinds of labour to which they are severally subjected, the nature of the crime for which they are suffering punishment, together with their mode of treatment, were all the objects of scrupulous and laudable investigation on the part of his Excellency, who listened attentively to the observations made to him by the members of the committee with respect to the improvements that yet required to be made in our penitentiary system, and promised his support in aid of them.

"Sir Lionel Smith afterwards exercised one of the noblest prerogatives with which, as the representative of our Sovereign, he is invested—that of awarding pardon to eighteen prisoners, and of directing the immediate enlargement of twenty-nine others who continued in confinement after the expiration of the term of imprisonment to which they were condemned, merely because they were unable to defray the expenses to which their prosecution had given rise. To each of the prisoners of whom he ordered the liberation, Sir Lionel Smith addressed a paternal exhortation, earnestly counselling them, upon their release from prison, to try and improve their condition by industrious, sober, and regular habits."

STATE OF THE ABOLITION QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES:—THE BAPTISTS.

The Rev. C. P. Grosvenor thus writes to the Rev. J. Morgan, of Birmingham. "Let it not be believed by you that the influence of the English Baptists is either inoperative or injurious in America, when exerted for the purification of the church from error and sin. The slave-holder frets under it, I know, but this fact proves that he feels it; and christian influence, if it is foreign, is from its nature unavoidably salutary. Brother Galusha, in his letter published in your *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, has told you of the bitter feelings expressed by some of our fellow-citizens towards us who had presumed to take seats in the World's Convention—a Convention whose good effects will flow down through ages to come, in an ever-widening current. I hope, however, our English brethren will not draw too strong conclusions from such facts. The religious men of the north, not abolitionists, do not much sympathise in this hostility of the south, and of the apologists for slavery in the north. I have been treated by the New England men with uniform respect, since my return; and the fact of my recent nomination to a somewhat important office, may indicate to you that no opprobrium attaches to my name from its publication in the catalogue of the convention, i. e. in the opinion of politicians. By an examination of the papers I send, you will obtain some evidence that our northern Baptist action on slavery is producing a strong sensation among our southern churches; while the pro-slavery party of the north are enchained *sub silentio*, for the present at least. You will not indulge any terrifying apprehensions on our behalf, lest, by the combination of slave-holders with northern moderate men, we may be excluded from the fellowship of the denomination. If (which we by no means expect) we should be so thrust out, it would neither injure us, nor deter us from persevering in this God-ordained enterprise, nor alienate us at all from the Baptist faith. If we live, we shall be Baptist abolitionists—if we die, it will be fighting under the Baptist flag. We do, indeed, anticipate an energetic contest; it may be a long, and not a very pleasant, commotion of the elements; but we know our duty, and must do it; and, God being on our side, they that are for us are more than they that are against us. Let us, then, enjoy the continued co-operation of yourself and other English brethren, who pity the oppressed, and would rejoice to see the church purified from this foulest of stains. We shall labour in hope, and so much the more as we see this day of trial approaching.

"The ground taken by the slave-holding Baptists, is that slavery is approved of God—that only its *abuses* are sinful. If they hope to be countenanced in this by the "moderate brethren" at the north, they are deceived; for, although such men as Daniel Sharp, Francis Wayland, and co., are well pleased to rebuke their abolition brethren, and censure them, and join with the slave-holders in reproaching them as "mad deluded fanatics," and do all in their power to weaken their hands and discourage their hearts, they dare not, if they were disposed, utter the opinion here, that slavery is right. They would not dare utter that opinion in England. If either of them should visit London, you may expect to find them *very anti-slavery*. They have hoped to keep us quiet at the north, by talking a little against slavery, while they fail not to condemn our *measures*. These men are, however, under a tuition at present, in which they will learn that their croaking against the weakness and folly of their abolition brethren, and their attempt to maintain a neutral position, (as they would call it, though their hostility is manifest against abolitionists exclusively) will not carry them safely through the straits. *Their masters* at the south are now dictating to them to "take sides," and that "they shall *not* stand neutral." Whether they will continue to bow servilely to their old masters, or will take alarm and make to their duty, is yet to be seen. One of the signs of the times is the fact, that, although *formerly* most of the northern Baptist newspapers, while they condemned abolitionists *to please the south*, occasionally called in question the righteousness of slavery, to satisfy, and, if possible, quiet the north. Yet, since the south have come forth from their retreat, and have avowed their belief in the divine right of slavery, and their determination to maintain it for ever in defiance of all opposition, these papers have become quiescent, waiting probably to ascertain their future course, by observing which way their *patrons* will be best pleased to have them take."

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"All parties are looking forward to the triennial convention to be held in Baltimore, in April next, with a lively interest. I feel no anxieties in relation to what may then be done. That convention has always refused to entertain the subject of slavery, when it has been proposed for their consideration by abolitionists, on the plea that the constitution of the convention limited its action exclusively to one subject, viz. Foreign Missions. Will they entertain it when introduced by slave-holders? We shall see. It would gratify us to have it so introduced, but we believe they will not dare do it.

"Of the state of anti-slavery feeling in our northern churches, you will form some opinion when I inform you, that very many of the associations who have held their anniversaries since my return, have adopted strong resolutions in favour of immediate abolition. An advance has evidently been made since the last year's meetings."

The Slave-trade.

We proceed to give such further extracts as are interesting, from the parliamentary papers of last session on the slave-trade.

SIERRA LEONE.

From an official return we find that, at this colony, between the 1st of January and the 1st of June, 1839, there were released from eight vessels, 1588 Africans. The entire number of registered Africans up to that date was 49,933.

In addition to their complaints (which we gave in our last) of the use of the American flag, the commissioners give the following statements, implicating British subjects in this atrocious traffic.

"The long detention of the *Maria* in the Rio Pongos was owing to a war, which had been carried on in the river for some time, between the mulattoes (descendants of European and American traders) and some of the native chiefs, and which completely prevented slaves from passing down in security. The *Maria* was consigned to Mrs. Faber, or Madame Fébre, as the Portuguese and Spaniards write the name, who took part with the native chiefs; and another Spanish schooner which was there at the same time, was waiting for a cargo of slaves from Mrs. Lightburn, who supported the mulattoes. Each vessel assisted the party with which it was connected by interest, and angry and threatening correspondence ensued between the opposing captains. The capture of the *Maria* has put us in possession of part of the correspondence, from which much useful information has been obtained.

"Mrs. Faber is a Sierra Leone woman, and one of the Nova Scotian settlers. She lived in the Rio Pongos for some years, as the mistress of an American named Faber, who, having amassed a fortune in the slave-trade, returned to his own country. Mrs. Faber, however, still continues to carry on the business, and is extensively engaged in slave-trading pursuits. She is assisted by a young man belonging to Sierra Leone, of maroon family, and who was formerly a clerk in this place, of the name of Parkinson. Both these persons are British, and therefore, we should suppose, amenable to the laws which they are continually violating."

Nothing can be more revolting than the facts here stated, and we hope Lord Palmerston has not permitted them to pass unnoticed. The next excites scarcely less indignation.

"We beg to call your lordship's attention to papers No. 12 and 13, showing that guns and gunpowder were purchased by the *Dos Amigos*, very shortly before her capture, at the British settlement of Cape Coast. This is by no means a solitary instance of vessels, equipped for slave-trade in every respect, being allowed to exhibit their guilty intentions within reach of British law, in our settlements to the southward of this colony; and we can hardly complain, with reason, of the conduct of Spain in this respect, if we hesitate to require from our own authorities on this coast a strict search, with regard to the equipment of every foreign vessel which anchors in a British port."

Before quitting this colony, we must quote a dispatch of the Commissioners, which shows that parties who make a fictitious use of the American flag, are sometimes caught in their own trap.

"My Lord,—With reference to our despatch marked separate, of the 31st ultimo, on the subject of the detention of the American schooner *Florida*, David Bell Williamson, master, we have now the pleasure to inform your lordship that the object of Lieutenant Hill, the captor, has been fully accomplished, by the total destruction of that vessel.

"The assertion of the ship's papers that Williamson was the owner of the *Florida*, coupled with the anxiety of that person to obtain the amount due to him for his services on board, and then to free himself from all further connexion with the vessel, induced Mr. Macaulay to suggest to Lieutenant Hill, that Williamson's object might be obtained, if, as the acknowledged owner of the *Florida*, he would direct her to to be treated in all respects as a condemned Spanish vessel, and to be sold at public auction.

"The suggestion was approved by Lieutenant Hill, and was immediately acted upon by Williamson, who had previously removed from the protection of Her Majesty's brig *Saracen*, to that of an American merchant-vessel lying in the harbour. Accordingly, without the intervention of Lieutenant Hill, who sailed on a cruise, or of Her Majesty's Commissioners, who had no communication whatever with Williamson, but with the assistance of the mercantile agent employed by Williamson for the purpose, the *Florida* was dismantled, her stores, spars, sails, and cargo were landed, and she was then conveyed to Destruction Bay, where the hull was beached, and cut into four parts. The whole was soon after sold by public auction, and the proceeds handed over to Williamson, who declared his intention of paying himself therefrom in the first instance, and of handing over the balance to the real owner of the vessel whenever he might chance to meet with him.

"While the process of dismantling and cutting up the *Florida* was going on, the rage and astonishment of the Spanish officers belonging to her may be imagined. Application was made by them to the principal lawyer of the place for advice and assistance, and a large sum of money was offered to him, if he would save this new and beautiful vessel from destruction. They declared that she was owned by merchants of Havana, and that Williamson was only a seaman on board. But all was in vain. The papers under which the *Florida* sailed, verified and attested as they were by the American Vice Consul at Havana, proclaimed Williamson to be 'the true, lawful, and sole owner.' He followed only his own inclinations with respect to the disposal of his own property; and, having realized the sum which its sale, in detached portions, produced, he sailed on the following morning for New York, in the American brig which had for some time previous afforded him shelter and protection from the vengeance of his late messmates. We have, &c.

H. W. Macaulay.
R. Doherty."

CAPE DE VERD ISLANDS.

The British consul resident here, communicated to Lord Palmerston the following extract of a letter from Lieutenant Stoll, of H.M.S *Bonetta*, dated December 11th, 1839.

"French subjects seem to be largely engaged in the slave-trade. I have captured three vessels within the last twelve months, commanded and practically manned by Frenchmen, besides having come into contact with several more; there are many other vessels publicly known as commanded by them. The two slave-agents in the river Congo are Frenchmen."

In forwarding this to Lord Granville, Lord Palmerston says:—

"I have to desire that your Excellency will present to the French government a note, in which you will embody the substance of the enclosed communication respecting the slave-trade of France; and you will state, that Her Majesty's government feel assured the French government will learn with regret, that the laws of France against slave-trade have thus been broken through. You will add, that Her Majesty's government hope the government of the king of the French will take decided measures, in order to prevent this proscribed traffic from being carried on with impunity, either from the possessions of France, or under cover of the French flag, or in any way by the assistance of French subjects or of French capital."

HAVANA.

The papers relating to this quarter present several atrocious cases of kidnapping British subjects. The following is a letter from Mr. Tolmé, the late British consul at Havana, to the Captain-general of the island of Cuba.

"*Havana, November 20th*, 1839.

"Most Excellent Sir—I had the honour, so long ago as the 24th November, 1838, to address your Excellency on the subject of a young man named 'Wellington,' who, in the year 1834, was kidnapped in Jamaica, brought to Santiago de Cuba, and, after legal inquiry as to his quality, was deposited with the protector of slaves, to be delivered up to the British authorities whenever claimed; but who, notwithstanding these facts, and in spite of application for his release made by their Excellencies the Marquess of Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith, successively governors of Jamaica, and by myself in the name of the latter, is still held in bondage.

"Her Majesty's ship *Racer*, arrived this day from Port Royal, brings me dispatches from his Excellency, the right hon. Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, the present Governor-general of Jamaica and its dependencies, by which I am desired again to call your Excellency's notice to the matter, as I have now the honour of doing.

"I am also to request your Excellency to be pleased to cause inquiry to be made, as to the case of a person called Henry Shirley, who, it seems, was stolen from Jamaica by a Mr. Antonio La Damont, or La Dezma, a shopkeeper of Santa Cruz, once owner of a schooner trading to Montego Bay, called the *Lucea*; for this unfortunate individual, Shirley, though discharged by the late Governor of Santa Cruz, is still held in slavery; and I am further to ask, if this statement be true, of which there is little doubt that Shirley may likewise be set at liberty.

"The justice and benevolence which characterise your Excellency's administration are a sufficient guarantee for the release of these unhappy people, as soon as the iniquity and cruelty of their detention engage your Excellency's attention: but when, moreover, I learn, from public documents, that her Catholic Majesty's government has expressly declared to her Britannic Majesty's representative at Madrid, that the penalties of the Spanish laws upon those who venture to commit the crime of kidnapping a freeman are as severe as those of England can be, 'and that her Majesty the Queen would issue orders to the Captain-general of Cuba to persevere in his zealous investigation for the delivery of free British negros, illegally and surreptitiously reduced to slavery,' I am convinced that your Excellency will not only

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liberate the two individuals who are more peculiarly the subject of the present despatch, but likewise others who may be or become enslaved under similar circumstances, and punish with the utmost severity of the law those who are the authors of their misfortune. I am, &c.

(Signed) "C. D. TOLME."

Mr. Tolmé reports also the cases of two youths who had been kidnapped from Sierra Leone. On behalf of one of them, Daniel Speck, his interposition was successful.

The commissioners write as follows concerning the wretched treatment of the liberated Africans remaining in Cuba :—

"There is a report very prevalent in this place, that a royal order has been received from Spain, directing the Captain-general to deliver up to the British government the negros who have in former years been liberated by decree of the mixed court of justice, and left in this island. We trust the report may prove correct, as nothing can be more vile than the treatment which those poor beings have received. Those who have been taken by the government for employment on the public works, have been tasked for that purpose with felons and other offenders, until the name of 'emancipado' has become a bye-word of scorn among the people of their class. And even those who have been hired out to the inhabitants, as your lordship will remember, at so much per head, having been in effect so sold, were of course treated as in reality slaves. Thus we know several instances of 'emancipados' being allowed to work out, as other slaves are often allowed to do, upon the condition of bringing home so much per day, or month, to their masters."

In relation to the same subject, we meet with the following despatches from Lord Palmerston to Mr. Aston, a British functionary at Madrid :—

"*Foreign Office, March 30th*, 1840.

"SIR,—I herewith transmit to you a copy of a communication which I have received from Her Majesty's commissioners at the Havana, stating the conduct which has been pursued by the government of Cuba towards the negros who were taken in the year 1832, in the slave vessel the *Negrito*, and who were afterwards emancipated by sentence of the court of mixed commission at the Havana.

"Eight years have now passed, since these persons were nominally emancipated by sentence of the mixed court; but, from the accompanying communication, it appears that they are still held in a state of bondage; it appears also, that, at the time of their emancipation, it was declared by the governor of Cuba, that they were to be employed solely on the public works, and not in the service of individuals; and yet, that, in the face of this declaration, they were assigned out to individuals, who purchased their services at so much per head.

"It appears also, that recently the captain-general of Cuba has made fresh assignment of them for money, and has taken the price of their assignment as a perquisite for himself; that the persons to whom they are assigned let them out again to others on hire, and that thus these emancipated negros undergo the evils of slavery, without even enjoying the advantages, such as they are, which are granted to slaves in Cuba. I have to desire that you will communicate by note to the Spanish government the substance of the enclosed communication, that you will remonstrate against this violation of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, for the suppression of the slave trade, and that you will say that, as it appears that the government of Cuba practically sells as slaves those negros who have been emancipated by judgment of the mixed commission, and whose full and complete liberty the Spanish government has bound itself by treaty to secure, her Majesty's government demand that those negros, so emancipated by judicial sentence, but actually held in slavery, shall be delivered over to the superintendent of emancipated negros, to be by him sent to a British colony, where their liberty would by law be secure. I am, &c.

(Signed) "PALMERSTON."

"A. ASTON, Esq. &c."

"*Foreign Office, March 30th*, 1840.

"SIR,—I have received Mr. Jerningham's despatch, slave trade, of the 14th instant, containing the answer given by M. Perez de Castro to the offer of Her Majesty's government to take charge of negros liberated by the mixed court at the Havana.

"I have to desire that, in reply, you will present to the Spanish minister a note, in which you will quote the case of the *Negrito*, explained in my other despatch, marked slave trade, of this date, as proving that the condition of the negros nominally emancipated by sentence of the mixed commission in Cuba is not that of practical freedom, as supposed by M. Perez de Castro.

"You will urge the Spanish government to comply with the request contained in my despatch above mentioned, with regard to the negros taken on board the *Negrito;* and, with respect to the other negros emancipated by the mixed court, you will propose, that, with a view to ascertain with certainty that nothing like compulsion is exercised over these negros, they shall all be brought before the mixed commission, and the superintendent of liberated Africans; and that each of those negros shall be asked separately whether he is in a state of perfect freedom, and whether he prefers remaining in Cuba or removing to a British colony, and that, if he prefers so to remove, the superintendent of liberated Africans should make the necessary arrangements to enable him to do so.

"The negros should be produced according to the list made out when they were emancipated, the questions put to each, and the answers given should be taken down in writing.

"You will observe to the Spanish minister, that a strong impression prevails that these negros have been practically reduced to slavery; and you will say that an examination and inquiry, such as are now proposed, would afford the best means of vindicating the honour of the Spanish government, and of satisfying the just uneasiness of the British government on this matter.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "PALMERSTON."

"A. Aston, Esq. &c."

RIO DE JANEIRO.

Our readers will recollect a former despatch of the commissioners at this place, implicating, more or less directly, British capital and British merchants in the slave-trade; and Lord Palmerston's note, requesting such information as might lead to the prosecution of guilty parties. We have now the commissioners' reply to this request, of which the substance is as follows :—

"In reply, we beg leave respectfully to represent to your lordship, that our statement in the despatch referred to seems to have been misunderstood, and that a greater latitude appears to have been given to our expressions than they were intended to convey. That there is nothing to prevent any British subject from buying and selling slaves in Brazil, every day's practice fully demonstrates; and the case of Dr. William Cullen—by *no means*, we regret to say, a solitary one—is an instance of a British subject making purchases of blacks imported since the promulgation of the law of the 7th November, 1831, by which, as your lordship is aware, every African entering the territory of Brazil after that date, with only two exceptions, becomes *de facto* free; but that British merchants are concerned in the slave-trade we never meant to affirm, although we certainly did, and still must very distinctly advert to the indirect, if not, as we before said, direct interest which both they and British capital derive therefrom.

"In confirmation of the former we observed, that it was chiefly with British goods, technically called *coast goods*, that the African market was supplied through this country, and that the payment of the same had been in some instances refused, temporarily or conditionally, by those whose speculations had been ruined by the capture of their vessels.

"As regarded British capital, which, we have been assured on what we consider good authority, has suffered severely in this city from the recent captures, we reminded your lordship that the various undertakings going on in this country, which are every day multiplying, and which are for the most part the result of British enterprise, are all dependent on slave-labour."

The following despatch presents an instructive account of the difficulties amidst which the court of mixed commission has to carry on its proceedings at this place.

"*Rio de Janeiro, April 24th*, 1839.

"MY LORD—We have refrained from troubling your lordship with any mention hitherto of the various petty insults and annoyances to which we have been uniformly exposed, on the capture and condemnation of slave-vessels in this port; because, however distressing to ourselves, we were willing to hope that the consequences might go no further.

"Of the threats held out to deter Mr. Stevenson from acting as proctor for the captors in any future case, your lordship is already aware, as also of the zealous endeavours of her Majesty's consul to supply the deficiency.

"Latterly similar attempts at intimidation have been extended to the commission, which, on the arrival of every successive prize, have been repeated and enforced.

"On Saturday, the 20th instant, one of the principals concerned in the slave-vessel *Ganges* made his escape, on his return from his examination before the court, in a way, and under circumstances, which sufficiently confirmed the determination, long previously declared by the traffickers, to oppose the proceedings of the commission by open violence.

"In the enclosed translation from the *Jornal do Commercio* of the 23rd inst., will be found the best account which has reached us of this transaction, except that one very material fact is omitted, namely, that, on landing, the prisoner immediately jumped into a carriage which was in readiness, a proof that the whole affair was preconcerted. Her Majesty's government will, however, doubtless receive the fullest report of what passed from Commodore Sulivan.

"On the following night a most melancholy catastrophe occurred. A Brazilian gentleman was mortally wounded by a musket shot from the *Ganges* slave-vessel; but we do not trouble your lordship with the details, as we consider the occurrence to have no immediate connexion with the business of the commission, and refer to it only as having been artfully and studiously seized by the traffickers to increase the excitement already raised by the success of her Majesty's cruisers, and the condemnation of the slave-vessels. This excitement was so great that, when the court met on Monday for the examination of two other prisoners, it was found that their landing had been obstructed, and that, though attended by a small force, both of police and national-guards, the efforts of the populace to rescue the prisoners had been so serious as to oblige the party to take shelter in the guard-house of the palace, opposite the landing-place, till an additional force could be obtained.

"At length, after waiting till late in the afternoon, the prisoners were brought to the court, but followed by several hundreds of the mob, who were very clamorous, and with difficulty restrained from more open violence.

"On the return of the prisoners from the court to re-embark, the mob increased in number and excitement. The troops were assailed with every kind of missile, and several persons were wounded; and every individual known or taken to be English, was attacked when met.

"All this time the police were in constant communication with the court, which was surrounded by the mob; and at last the commissioners

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were told they must not venture out into the street for some time, and must wait for an escort, which would be ready to attend them.

"On the following morning the mob was only to be seen here and there in groups, by one of which her Majesty's commissary judge was hooted and insulted; but, at the meeting of the court, the Brazilian commissary judge, after consultation with the authorities, proposed a suspension of the proceedings of the commission for a few days; and, just before it broke up, an informal recommendation to the same effect arrived from her Majesty's charge-d'affaires, to whom we must refer your lordship for the course which may be pursued in this business.

"In the mean time, it continues unsafe for the members of the commission to appear in public; and even a guard, which was promptly given to her Majesty's commissary judge, has not been sufficient to preserve his house from indications of violence.

"Various untoward causes have contributed to produce this state of feeling. The deep conviction in the public mind, which nothing can eradicate, and which, we are sorry to say, is shared by individuals who, whether from station or personal bias, are little disposed to give easy credit to anything to the prejudice of British honour and interests, that blacks were sold from the first two prizes brought into this port last year; the irritating demonstration which, during several successive days at the early part of this year, was made by the slave-vessels actually condemned by the court; the distribution of the negros belonging to the *Flor de Loanda*; the escape of an individual enjoying British protection, a native of Malta, after having been apprehended on board of that vessel, whither he had repaired to complete the purchase of some of them, for whom, as he alleges, he had already paid a sum in advance, under circumstances but too well calculated to give colour to the report that he had been allowed to escape because he could tell too much, and because he was English; the recent sale, by public advertisement, and the auction of the hull of the *Flor de Loando*;—these several causes, combined with the severe losses which the traffickers have lately suffered, and are daily apprehending, have produced a spirit of hostility to the commission and its proceedings, in all cases covered by the Portuguese flag (and none other are to be expected), which we much doubt whether it will be in the power of the Imperial government, even supposing them to have the will, to withstand. The hesitation to proceed with the business of the commission strengthens this impression; and there is too much reason to fear, that the first attempt to bring another prisoner before the court—and, still more, any fresh capture which may be made—will cause a repetition of the scenes of the last few days."

The following is the extract from the *Jornal de Commerces* referred to in the foregoing despatch.

"Saturday evening the captain of one of the prizes now in this port, who had been brought ashore to be examined before the mixed commission, was returning on board, accompanied by some marshalmen; in the act of embarking the prisoner attempted to escape, but was retaken and put again on board of the English boat, which had scarcely shoved off, when some persons on the beach called out to the prisoner to throw himself into the sea, which he immediately did, and made for shore. Upon this, a shower of stones fell on the boat, with a view to cover the flight of the prisoner, who, in fact, effected his escape.

"Another scene, of a more grave nature by its possible consequences, occurred yesterday. Two prisoners were brought on shore, to appear before the mixed commission. They had scarcely landed, when a multitude assembled on the quay gave signs of wishing to rescue them. The escort that accompanied them being few and weak, they withdrew them to the palace guard-house. In the meantime the assemblage increased, and became tumultuous. The justice of the peace arrived, and some time after the chief of police, who hastened to address an harangue to the assembly, which, being received with respect and attention, appeared to pacify them.

"The chief of police then availed himself of this, and ordered the prisoners to be taken to the mixed commission, where they arrived without accident. But the English boat, which was to take them again on board, had already arrived at the quay. The multitude became again exasperated, and attacked it with stones. The boat retreated to the Marine Arsenal. The mob directed itself in mass to that point, the (boat receiving orders to withdraw,) but did not disperse, to commence anew the same disturbances shortly afterwards. At six o'clock the prisoners left the court in the midst of a great concourse of people; at the corner of Rue dos Pescadores stones and bundles of wood were thrown at the 'permanentes' of the escort, but they at last succeeded in getting the prisoners into the Arsenal, and embarking them in two armed boats belonging to the same, which took them on board.

The commissioners subsequently ascertained, that an association of above 200 individuals, almost entirely Portuguese slave-dealers, had been formed for the purpose of arming vessels, and of making an attempt to cut out a slaver moored in the harbour.

The state of feeling at Rio may be further judged of by the following remark of Mr. Hesketh, the British Consul, when Lord Palmerston had directed him to procure the printing and circulation of two notes of Lord Howard de Walden to the Portuguese government. "The influence of the slave dealers," says Mr. Hesketh, "is so general and so powerful, that the editors of all the newspapers in this place have refused to publish these notes, declaring that their interests would be seriously injured by allowing their newspapers to become the means of such a publication; and one editor even going so far as to declare, that he conceived his life would be endangered by acceding to my request."

To this may be added the language of M. de Castro, a chief of police, in reply to an order he had received to take measures against slave traders. "The law of the 7th of November, 1831, it is said to tell your Excellency, has become a complete nullity. The traffickers in human flesh, knowing the propensity and the wishes of this district, not to say province, do not hesitate to run the risk, because the interest of gain speaks louder to their hearts than the principles of humanity, and the assured impunity does the rest. In one word, your Excellency, there exists in all a complete conspiracy in favour of the traffic, and against the law of the 7th of November, 1831. I find myself without the means of preventing or remedying the evils consequent upon so great immorality, the causes of which I know, and therefore lament the future fate of my country."

On the state of the liberated Africans, the correspondence of the commissioners furnishes the following extracts:—

"Having seen the working of the instructions respecting the distribution of the Africans from on board the vessels lately captured by Her Majesty's cruizers, issued by the present minister of justice, and communicated in our despatch of 22nd April last, we must beg leave, at the risk of appearing tedious, again to state our conviction of the total failure of the present system in fulfilling the humane intentions of Her Majesty's government, and in affording any return for the great expense incurred by it, with a view to the benefit of the negros.

"In the recent distribution, the different departments of government and the various public works, whether carried on in this capital or at a distance, have been allowed to select the able-bodied of either sex, leaving the young and sickly to be given out among private individuals. The separation of children from their parents is not the only evil resulting from this course. The remnant, whose tender age or debility made them of present trifling value, have been given into hands from which, for the most part, they have little chance, even if they survive, of ever receiving, either their wages or their liberty.

"Indeed, the objection to tolerating free blacks in this country is becoming stronger every day, from the influence which their existence might have on the slave population. This feeling is so strong, that we are persuaded that, even among those most hostile to the traffic, and most ready to oppose the introduction of new Africans into this country, we can never look for any real, cordial co-operation in securing liberty to such as may once be imported."

"With regard to the distribution of emancipated negros, all that we have advanced in our preceding despatches becomes more notorious every day; and the statement made in our despatch of the 27th October, 1838, of the political use that had been made of them, has even been admitted and justified in the chamber of deputies, by some not very discreet friends of the late administration."

"If arrangements, in concert with the imperial government, could be made for sending them to a British settlement, their ultimate freedom would naturally be secured; whereas, under the present system, the poor African, by his nominal emancipation, is much worse off, with very few exceptions, than he would have been if sold as a slave by his importer.

"In the one case he is considered and treated, if only from motives of self-interest, with comparative care, as property; in the other, the object of the hirer is to turn his acquisition to as good an immediate account as he can, whether by overworking, or transferring him to another for pecuniary consideration, conscious that, at the worst, he incurs no positive loss beyond that of his services."

It will be recollected that the attention of the foreign secretary has been forcibly drawn to the fact, that British functionaries abroad have become purchasers and holders of slaves, thus involving themselves, and the country they represent, in a glaring and mischievous inconsistency. Lord Palmerston seems to have expressed his wish that such a state of things should no longer exist; and the following we take to be the very unsatisfactory answer of Sir George Jackson on the subject:—

"*Rio de Janeiro, September 10th*, 1839.

"MY LORD—Your lordship's despatch of the 8th May last reached me in due course, and I have allowed myself to delay my answer thereto somewhat longer than I should otherwise have done, in the expectation that possibly the completion of some general arrangement with regard to the destination of Africans liberated under sentence of the mixed commission, might enable me to reply to your lordship's instructions on this occasion more satisfactorily than I am at present enabled to do.

"In the first place, I do not distinctly understand whether your lordship intended that those instructions should have a retrospective operation. Had, however, any arrangement for the reception of such individuals in any of Her Majesty's colonies been concluded, I should not have hesitated in giving at once the utmost latitude to your lordship's directions, and in including those now in my family in that arrangement; but I own, when I consider what would be the almost certain fate of these beings, were I to relinquish their possession without any such security for their future welfare, and the length of time which they have been with me; that they entered my doors in an almost dying state, so much so, that my medical attendant advised me not to receive them; and that some have now infants belonging to them, that I cannot bring myself, without previously stating these particulars to your lordship, to take a step which would be equivalent to cancelling the period of apprenticeship they have already served, and reducing them to a state of hopeless slavery.

"Actuated by the motives, and under the impression explained in the concluding part of my despatch of the 14th February last, I had made application for, and obtained the promise of, other emancipated Africans belonging to the recent prizes, before the receipt of your lordship's despatch of the 8th May.

"These, of course, I have not thought it right to keep myself, but have entrusted them, provisionally, to persons on whom I can depend, to await your lordship's final determination. "I have, &c.

(Signed) "GEORGE JACKSON."

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A letter from the British Consul at Bahia, Mr. Whateley, contains the following, under date of October 24th, 1839 :—

"The slave-trade has no doubt considerably diminished in this province lately; and the arrivals of vessels are by no means so numerous as the departures, which I attribute to many being fitted out here, which proceed with their slaves to Havana and other ports. The falling off of the import of slaves in this province is to be attributed to the increased vigilance on the part of her Majesty's cruisers on the coast of Africa, and also to the great losses sustained by many interested in the trade, by the burning down of the factories situated at Onim, containing property to a large amount, which has damped speculation for the present."

Mr. Watts, British Consul at Pernambuco, writes as follows of the effect of the measures consequent on the passing of Lord Palmerston's act, on the 1st of February, 1840 :—

"The knowledge of the actual enforcement of these efficient measures has made a strong impression among the slave-dealers in this province, who are evidently becoming more seriously apprehensive of the dangers which now menace their future enterprises in the prosecution of the African slave-trade, particularly since they have heard of the increased vigilance of British cruisers on the African coast."

The British Consul at Para, Mr. Cowper, suggests the establishment of another slave commission, either at Para, or at Maranham. He writes on the 1st of March, 1840, and says :—

"My reasons for venturing to make this proposal to your lordship, are as follows :—Although from physical causes, I mean the fact of the country being impassable to strangers from the denseness of the vast forests which cover its surface, it is impossible to obtain anything like a correct account of the number of slaves which are imported into the northern provinces of Brazil, it is undoubted that half of the whole quantity smuggled into the empire are brought to them. This arises from sundry causes—first, the want of population, which, secondly, renders them the best markets for slaves (I have known 1000 dollars in silver asked for a a good workman); and lastly, from the great facilities offered to the smugglers, by the many tributaries of the Amazon, which all run into (except to them) impenetrable forests. The Portuguese had a great advantage until the passing of this act, namely, the contiguity of these provinces to the Equator; and, although that advantage has now ceased, it is highly probable that they will still frequent their old markets. I, therefore, conceive, that it would be most advantageous to station one or more of her Majesty's cruisers upon this part of the coast, with a court at one of the above-mentioned ports, in which their prizes might be condemned; for at present, supposing a capture to be made between Para and Maranham, the man-of-war is obliged to proceed with her prize to Sierra Leone, the Havana, or Rio de Janeiro, and cannot return to her cruising ground from either of these places under three months; and I humbly imagine that the expenses of her Majesty's government would thus incur would be greater than those of the commission, which latter would unquestionably give increased effect to the recent act of the imperial parliament."

SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS AND HAYTI.

It appears from these papers that the British minister has been somewhat vigorously engaged in negociating treaties with the various powers of the western world, "for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade." Such treaties have been concluded and ratified with the republics of Buenos Ayres, Chile, Hayti, Monte Video, and Venezuela. Negociations are pending with New Grenada, Mexico, and Peru. The proceedings of the last named, Peru, are altogether scandalous. We must give the despatch of Mr. Wilson without abridgment :—

"*Lima, January 11th*, 1840.

"With reference to my despatch, marked 'slave-trade,' of 30th November last, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a note, which on the 27th ultimo I addressed to Don Manuel Ferreiros, the Peruvian minister of Foreign Affairs, renewing my request for a reply to my note of the 25th of the previous September, requesting to know generally, for the information of her Majesty's government, whether that of his Excellency General Gamarra be willing to adjust and conclude with her Majesty, a treaty for the entire suppression of the slave-trade, and for declaring the crime of slave-trade to be piracy; the receipt even of which note, I have only been able to procure after two months of urgent representation.

"I profited also by this opportunity to invoke the serious attention of the government of his Excellency General Gamarra to the circumstance, not only of the injurious moral effect upon the national character of Peru, but also of the general impolicy and fruitlessness of attempting, by legislative or other means, to encourage a trade in slaves from New Grenada or the Brazils; it being notorious that, to promote that traffic, the congress of Huancayo had omitted to introduce into the new political constitution thereby issued, the customary constitutional guarantee, 'that nobody can enter Peru without immediately becoming free.'

"At the time of sending in this note, I waited upon Mr. Ferreiros, for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent his government was prepared to encourage the traffic in slaves; and he, Mr. Ferreiros, made no hesitation in stating to me, that the import of slaves from the Brazils, or any other country but Africa, would be favoured by his government; who, with this object, was fully resolved, upon the arrival of the first cargo of slaves in Peru, to repeal the decree issued on the 24th November, 1821, by General San Martin, declaring that 'any slave arriving from that date in Peru, should become free by the mere act of setting his foot upon the Peruvian territory.'

"A translation of this decree is herewith transmitted.

"Subsequent to this interview with Mr. Ferreiros, I, in common with every individual who has perused the law, and who is possessed of a particle of humanity, have been scandalised by the publication of a law issued by the congress of Huancayo, on the 27th November (a copy and translation of which are herewith enclosed,) declaring that the children of slaves, declared free by the decree of the 12th August, 1821, shall remain under the protection of the owners of their fathers until they shall attain the age of fifty years, and authorizing the masters to cede their so called patronage to a third party, by any of the means sanctioned by the law for the transmission of rights.

"This law robs of their birth-right men declared by law to be born free, and dooms them to a state of continuous slavery, until the period of their lives at which, in the debilitating and unhealthy climate of the coast of Peru, manual labour can no longer be available to a task-master; and when life itself, in these unfortunate men, is generally but disease and wretchedness.

"By a supreme decree, dated 24th November, 1821, it is enacted, that as a just retribution of the expenses incurred by the master in the maintenance and education of their freed men, particularly in their infancy, these are obliged to serve their patrons till the age to be thereafter determined by law, namely, twenty-one years.

"The so called patrons have, however, universally neglected to perform this their duty imposed by law towards their freed men; whom on the contrary, they have kept in an unmitigated state of slavery; nevertheless, in the second article of the preamble of the law under discussion, it is set forth as a justification for retaining these freed men in slavery till the age of fifty years, that they have neglected to procure education for their children under the protection of their former masters, that is, under the protection of men, who, with impunity have set at defiance, the law which imposed upon them the duty of educating these very freed men, in whom it is thus denounced as a crime, that they have omitted to procure an education for their children from patrons who have withheld it from themselves.

"It is a lamentable fact that the congress of Huancayo, by consenting to the before-mentioned omission in the constitution of the usual guarantee prohibiting the import of slaves into Peru, and by the promulgation of the law above referred to, has been induced to set at defiance a vital principle of universal morality, and of Peruvian national policy; namely, the complete extirpation of the traffic in slaves and of slavery itself in Peru, out of deference alone to the personal interests of three large slave-holders, political partizans of the actual government.

"The curse of slavery is therefore another of the many evils inflicted upon Peru, by the overthrow therein, by the arms of Chile, of the honest and enlightened government of his Excellency General Santa Cruz, which stood formally pledged to conclude with Great Britain a treaty for the entire suppression of the slave-trade, and for declaring the crime of slave-trade piracy."

PURCHASE OF SLAVES BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

THE parliamentary papers contain the following despatch of Lord Palmerston on this subject, to the British minister at Paris :—

"*Foreign Office, April 2nd*, 1840.

"MY LORD,—I herewith transmit to your Excellency, for communication to the French government, a copy of a letter and of its enclosure received at this office from the colonial department, containing a report that French vessels of war have been making contracts on the coast of Africa, for the purchase of slaves to serve as soldiers in the French West Indian colonies.

"You will endeavour to learn whether this statement is well founded; and, if it should turn out to be so, you will represent to the French government, that though Her Majesty's government do not in the least doubt the liberal intentions of the French government, in respect to the future treatment of the negros so to be bought, yet the transaction is a real case of slave-trade, and tends to revive, among the tribes with which the contract is to be made, all the bad and cruel habits connected with the slave-trade; that it must necessarily occasion those acts of violence, rapine, and bloodshed in the interior, which are inevitably necessary for the procuring of slaves—and that it will lead the natives away from their recent habits of legitimate commerce, and tempt them back again to their former practices of man-stealing.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) "PALMERSTON."

SLAVERY IN THE LEVANT.

THE parliamentary papers contain the following document, issued by the Tuscan legation at Constantinople :—

"The Tuscan legation at Constantinople, and all the consuls and other agents of the grand duchy in foreign parts, particularly those who have their residence in ports of the Ottoman Empire and of Africa, will for the future by no means permit blacks, attached to the service of individuals or families of any nation whatever, under the name and in quality of domestics, to be admitted on board Tuscan vessels.

"The admission of these black domestics on board, shall only take place in cases in which the person to whose service they are attached shall issue in writing a declaration, setting forth that these blacks are not at all in a state of slavery, and that they shall be treated as free men, enjoying the right to quit their actual service every time that they demand it, whether from the captain of the ship, or from the authorities, civil or military, of the port where the vessel touches. Such declaration shall in each case be made in duplicate; one copy shall be deposited in the archives of the legation or consulate, the other shall be placed in the hands of the captain of the ship, in order that he may make use thereof in behalf of the black domestics, in case they shall show a desire to quit the masters in whose suite they have embarked."

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXX. Vol. II. No. 3.] WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS IN SPAIN.

NARRATIVE OF MESSRS. ALEXANDER AND WIFFEN.

Deeply impressed with the importance of endeavouring to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the colonies of Spain, we left town on the 18th of the 11th month, in the past year. On the day of our arrival at Madrid, we learned that A. Vail, recently appointed ambassador there from the United States of America, and who had previously, as acting secretary of state in his own country, conducted a considerable part of the correspondence relative to the Amistad, was an inmate of the same hotel with ourselves. On the following morning an interview was obtained with him, and the probable time ascertained at which the case of the slaves of the Amistad would be decided in the United States; a circumstance respecting which it appeared desirable to have early information, in order, if needful, to make immediate application to the Spanish government in their behalf. It will be seen in the sequel that this subject received some further attention. The interview with the American ambassador afforded us an opportunity of expressing our desire, that he would be one of those who would use his influence to promote the righteous cause of negro freedom, especially in his own country. A copy of Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies* was presented to him; and he subsequently stated that he had read great part of its contents, and with much interest. He added, that, if the results of emancipation were such as they were stated to be, they must exercise a powerful influence in promoting the abolition of slavery where it at present exists.

We called upon a considerable number of persons in Madrid, including the Duke of Victoria, president of the council of regency in Spain; — Ferrar, and — Gamboa, associated in the same high office; A. de Arguelles, M. D. Aquilar, M. de Marliani, and other distinguished individuals. In doing this, we were greatly assisted by the kind offices of S. Usoz y Rio, brother of a gentleman of the same name who attended some of the sittings of the Anti-slavery Convention. The persons whom we saw, with little or no exception, expressed a disapproval of the system of slavery and the slave-trade; but few were found who were willing to unite in efforts for the termination of these evils. The objections made to such a course, in many instances, arose from a fear that active measures for such an object, on the part of the Spanish government, would lead to a separation of Cuba from the parent country. In some instances other political considerations, or the opinion that the time was unfavourable for the attempt, were urged as the motives for not taking up the anti-slavery question at the present moment.

It is not surprising that such sentiments should extensively prevail, in a country whose attention has of late been almost exclusively directed to its own internal concerns; and in which the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade has been seldom spoken of, except as the favourite scheme of the people or statesmen of England. A few persons, however, expressed a willingness to unite in an anti-slavery society at Madrid; and they have determined to make application to others, for the purpose of establishing such a society. It is also satisfactory to state, that M. de Marliani, the talented author of a recent History of Spain, has expressed his willingness to serve the cause in any way which is in his power. The information obtained during our stay in Spain will be given at the close of this statement, and will be found to confirm that lately furnished by Dr. Madden, in his address to the Anti-slavery Convention, and by D. Turnbull, in his work on Cuba; thus furnishing an additional evidence that the enormous cruelty and wickedness of slavery under the Spanish rule, is at least equal to that produced by the same unrighteous system in other lands.

Before leaving Madrid, the address of the Anti-Slavery Convention was presented to the Duke de la Victoria, and at the same time a memorial from ourselves on the subject of the negros of the Amistad, and the case of Ruiz and Montes. The latter document has already appeared in the *Reporter*.

On the evening preceding our departure from Madrid, an encouraging notice of our visit and its object appeared in the pages of the *Corresponsal*. This also has been transferred to the columns of the last number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

At Valentia a few calls were made. Among the persons seen at this place, were Antonio Soaune, Captain General of Valentia and Murcia, who had witnessed in South America the calamities incident on slavery and the slave-trade, and who behaved towards us with much courtesy. It is due to Dr. Barlez, rector of the university, to mention that he expressed a deep interest in the abolition of the evils brought under his notice, and a readiness to render his assistance.

In referring to the steps taken at Barcelona, we may remark, that this town contains 120,000 inhabitants, being in population the second city in the kingdom, and that it is the principal commercial town of Spain. It may, indeed, be regarded as the Liverpool of that country; deriving much of its importance from extensive manufactories in the neighbourhood, and from its foreign trade. The finest range of buildings which it contains, and which is of modern erection, is the fruit of money acquired by the dishonest system of slavery. It is not long since, that a large vessel, notoriously intended for the slave-trade, sailed from the port of Barcelona for Cuba.

At Barcelona interviews were procured with General Facundo Infante, governor of the town, the Condé de Pezzacamps, Captain General of Catalonia, and several other individuals. It was hoped that in this town, from its close connection with the Spanish West Indies, some information might be obtained respecting the slavery which prevails in those colonies, and the extent and circumstances of the slave-trade carried on with them. This, however, did not prove to be a very easy task; and it was suggested that the general views entertained by us, as well as this particular object, might be promoted by a written statement of the precise character of our mission to Spain, and an enumeration of the topics respecting which knowledge was desirable. Such a statement was accordingly drawn up without delay, and kindly translated into Spanish the day on which it was written, by Antonio Bergues. The same individual printed a thousand copies by the following morning, at his own cost, having refused payment for them. We feel that we, and the cause of abolition in Spain, are already much indebted to him, for the interest he has manifested in the object of our visit, and the pains he has taken in its promotion. It may be interesting to know, that Antonio Bergues is an extensive printer, well acquainted with several languages, including the English; and, from his previous knowledge of the anti-slavery question, and just appreciation of its importance to the cause of human happiness and improvement, as well as of religion, eminently qualified to serve the great cause in which he is now enlisted. His assistance was valuable at a meeting held at our hotel, at which information was communicated respecting slavery and the slave-trade in the Spanish colonies, and the formation of an anti-slavery society at Barcelona was recommended. At this meeting, where a deputation from the patriotic society of the town attended, it was concluded that such a society should be formed; and it is very satisfactory to know, that it is contemplated, in connection with it, to establish a monthly periodical. An early attention to the case of the slaves of the Amistad was recommended to the

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society. A considerable number of important documents, including abstracts of parliamentary reports on the results of freedom in the British West Indies, parliamentary reports on the slave-trade and slavery for 1839 and 1840, Turnbull's *Cuba*, and Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*, were left for the use of the committee. There is reason to hope that the friends of the negro in Barcelona will be able to establish anti-slavery societies in some other towns of Spain.

Copies of the observations to which reference has been made, were sent to the persons who had been seen by us in Barcelona, to many of those to whom we had been introduced at Madrid and Valentia, and to some other persons. At Barcelona it was concluded to relinquish the intention which had been entertained, of proceeding at this time to the South of Spain and Portugal. In making this alteration, it was determined to return home by way of Perpignan; and, in doing so, we availed ourselves gladly of the opportunity of seeing some friends at Thoulouse and Montanban, with whom we had communications on the Anti-slavery question. The result has been, that a considerable portion of interest has been revived or excited on this subject, in these two important towns in the south of France; and an Anti-slavery Society, it is believed, will be shortly formed, consisting of individuals residing in them. It was suggested at Montanban, that the cause of abolition in France would be materially promoted by a compilation, comprising the general facts and arguments of the abolition question, with references to authorities, to be contained in a pamphlet of thirty or forty pages. Among other particulars which it is desired should be included, are an account of the results of emancipation in the English colonies; a comparison of the present state of the French colonies, which are alleged to be unprepared for liberty, with those of England, or a portion of them, previously to the passing of the abolition act; and a statement of the facts relative to the introduction and results of liberty in St. Domingo. A correct knowledge of these subjects will, it is believed, furnish the means of refuting the principal objections urged against the immediate introduction of freedom in the French colonial possessions, and supply irresistible arguments in favour of such an act of justice, humanity, and enlightened policy. Our friends in the South of France propose to use the information they seek as the basis of a French publication, which they wish at once to put into extensive circulation. We may add, that the French and English work might be extensively useful in various parts of Europe and America, besides accomplishing the object originally contemplated.*

G. W. ALEXANDER
Stoke Newington, 2nd Mo. 1840. BENJAMIN B. WIFFIN.

* Such a statement is in course of preparation.—ED.

INFORMATION RESPECTING SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE IN CUBA.

In giving the result of the information we have obtained in Spain respecting slavery and the slave-trade in the island of Cuba, we may observe, that we make no statement which has not been communicated to us on testimony of the highest character. It will be seen, also, that the particularity of some of the facts mentioned shows an intimate knowledge of the subject. In order to account for the form in which the statemen appears, we may observe, that it consists almost entirely of answers to questions on the subjects referred to. One omission may be noticed, that it contains little statistical information. This important particular has been illustrated by D. Turnbull, the Baron de Humboldt, and especially by R. de la Sagra in his volume on Cuba, the complete edition of which last is at present unhappily out of print. It is very desirable that a work easily accessible from its price should be published, containing the latest and most complete information on this subject.

We may remark generally, that the slave-trade in Cuba is variously estimated at from 20,000 to 60,000 Africans annually introduced; while more than 400,000 human beings are probably involved in the wretchedness and degradation of slavery in that island.

PHYSICAL CONDITION OF THE SLAVE.

The climate of Cuba is favourable to the African constitution, while it is unfriendly to that of the European.

FOOD.

The food given to the slaves, consists principally of rice, bananamaize ground, various roots of the country, and salted meat from the contiguous coast of South America and from Buenos Ayres; six ounces of meat are allowed daily, sometimes salted cod. The negros also, occasionally, but rarely mix pork, raised by themselves, with their other food. The quality of the provisions supplied by the owners of slaves is generally good, and the quantity sufficient for ordinary labour; but, in a great number of plantations, the overseer does not give the whole, retaining a part for his own profit.

CLOTHING.

The clothing is sufficient for the climate, but inadequate in a moral point of view; the men in the country being half naked, while the women wear only chemises, which do not sufficiently conceal their persons.

LABOUR.

The usual hours of labour in the field are during the whole day, from sunrise to sunset, which in Cuba, is from eight o'clock in the morning to half-past eight in the evening. During this time, however, an hour for dinner, and half an hour for breakfast, is allowed. In the large plantations, the latter meal is often hastily taken walking. The slaves do not enter their huts, except to dine and sleep. During the crop, they are compelled to labour during a part of each night in the manufacture of sugar, and while this season continues, which is of three months duration in each year, they have only a rest of four hours in the day and night.

TRAVAIL FORCE.

A practice exists in Cuba, which is not regarded there as in moral, called 'travail forcé,' which may be thus explained. The proprietor of an estate is, from the temptation of high prices, desirous of augmenting the quantity which he is accustomed to raise. On such an occasion he writes to his manager, and inquires whether he can make 2000 instead of 1500 boxes of sugar. The manager replies, that the negros are looking well, and it can be done, but it will occasion a loss of twenty-five labourers. The proprietor makes a calculation of the money value of the extra quantity of sugar, and that of the twenty-five slaves; and, finding that a gain will arise from the excess of the former over the latter, gives the order 'force them.' Thus a number of the wretched bondsmen are sacrificed by the excessive labour exacted from them. The inducement to perpetrate such acts of almost super-human wickedness is greatly increased by the existence of the slave-trade, which enables the owners of plantations to supply the place of their murdered slaves at a moderate cost.

LABOUR ON SUGAR ESTATES.

The whole of the slaves, both men and women, perform a large amount of labour generally on sugar estates, and the weaker sex work like the rest, when under circumstances which peculiarly require consideration.

LABOUR ON COFFEE ESTATES AND COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF SUGAR.

The slaves on the coffee estates are better off than those on sugar plantations, a less amount of labour is required, and the punishments are much less numerous. In gathering coffee, it is usual to require that a certain quantity be brought in daily by each slave, and little regard is paid to its being ripe. Three or four owners of coffee estates on the island give a sum of money if the coffee thus furnished is all ripe, a course which is found to work well, being productive of the object sought, and is thus a mutual advantage to the proprietor and the slave.

As an illustration of the different manner in which sugar and coffee estates are regarded in the towns, it was stated that it is customary to send a domestic slave for a small fault to a coffee plantation, and for a great offence to one on which sugar is cultivated.

ESTATES CONSIDERED TO BE WELL REGULATED, AND THE REVERSE.

Well regulated estates are said to be very rare. On some which are considered of this description, no slaves have been bought since 1817, and a surplus arising from births have been sold. The contrast which these plantations afford to the generality of those on the island is said to arise from the encouragement of marriage. The mortality of children on estates conducted on the common system, is very great, and on these properties they are obliged to purchase slaves every year.

PUNISHMENTS.

The overseer always carries a whip in the field, as the only means of discipline and obedience. It is used continually. There are also special punishments, which vary from twenty to two hundred lashes, in the infliction of which the physical capability of the slave is considered, and the punishment given in different days. The deaths of negros from punishment is, notwithstanding, more frequent than is reputed, owing to such circumstances being often concealed. A very large power of punishment is vested in the overseer, without any necessity of applying to a judicial tribunal. In cases in which this power is abused, and complaint made to the master, such an act is generally found to bring down the severe displeasure of the overseer, who seldom fails to visit, on the part of the slave, with severer treatment for the future. Hence the worse than futility of complaint to proprietors, on the part of their bondsmen.

LAW AND JUSTICE.

Justice is unattainable by slaves in the country. The laws are in general good, but the social position of the master, and the practices of the country, render them nugatory. The judge is also a proprietor of slaves, and is named by the municipality, and not by the crown.

Among the punishments inflicted, are the privation of dinner, and the dungeon; but the last is the most usual, being the most advantageous to the master, by interfering least with the performance of labour. Sometimes the slaves wear a bell attached to the head.

EDUCATION, LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS.

Education of slaves in letters is considered dangerous, and does not exist. Religious education is also unknown. There are some schools for free people of colour in Cuba, but this circumstance is extremely unpalatable to the white inhabitants of Cuba, and it is said there that it will cause the destruction of the country.

MORALITY.

As respects morality, the African is degraded by being subjected to the deteriorating influence of slavery. His temper and disposition is generally good, he is generous, affectionate, mild, and attached to his family; but the principle of slavery destroys all his virtues, by the example which it places before him in the conduct of the whites.

WANT OF RELIGION AMONG THE WHITES.

The whites in the country are, to a great extent, negligent of religion. There are few churches in these parts, and the priests are very immoral. In the town the churches are frequented only by women, some old men, and free people of colour. At the Havana these are regarded as the most frequent attenders of divine worship.

MARRIAGE.

Marriage begins to be favoured in Cuba, but not for the sake of morality and the ties of family, the latter of which are frequently broken for the interest of the master. Husbands and wives, parents and children, can be separated. The natural disposition of the negro is to marry; slaves, when they have the means of doing so, first buy their wives, afterwards their children, and lastly themselves. The law permits them to visit their wives on Saturday evening, and on Sunday.

COMPARISON BETWEEN TOWN AND PLANTATION SLAVES.

There are few slaves who buy their liberty in the country, many in town. Slaves in towns have a great advantage over those in the country, in their clothing, lodging, and pecuniary means.

DESCRIPTION OF OVERSEERS.

The overseers in Cuba are of two classes, either Creoles, who are generally married, or natives of the Canary Islands, who come to Cuba to seek their fortunes; these are unmarried, and leave the country when they have acquired a fortune. Both are ignorant brutal tyrants, and plotting continually against the interests of the master. They are immoral, and acknowledge no principle of humanity or of honesty. All these defects are acknowledged by the inhabitants of the country, who are always complaining of them, but have no means of dispensing with their services.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE WHITES.

There is no industry among the natives of the country; the Creoles regard work as despicable and degrading. It is considered ignoble, as the

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adjunct of slaves. Europeans employ themselves in some employments which require labour, and begin to change the general sentiment. The state of morals is intimately connected with the existence of slavery, by which its principles are destroyed. The influence of slavery in the demoralisation of the whites is greater than that which it exercises on the unhappy slaves.

FEELING RESPECTING SLAVERY.

Since 1817, no law has been passed on the subject of slavery. The abolition of slavery is considered as impossible, and as an event which would lead to the destruction of the island. It is also supposed that this measure is excited by England to accelerate the loss of the colonies of other countries, and to increase the advantages which it desires from its possessions in India. Every proposition to ameliorate the condition of the slaves is listened to with contempt, with hatred, and considered as altogether contrary to the interests of the country. No Creole is willing to hear anything on the subject.

OFFICIAL AND GENERAL ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The authorities encourage the slave-trade. The captain general receives for each slave from eight dollars and a half to seventeen dollars (half an ounce to an ounce of gold). The slave merchants also make presents to the judges of the country, and to the maritime commanders of the coasts, by means of which recompence the entry of the slavers is protected. The present price of slaves newly introduced from Africa is lower than before the treaty made with England. The mixed commission established at the Havana may be useful to furnish information to the English government, but is of no value for repressing or lessening the slave-trade. The traders, proprietors and authorities, in a word, the whole country, have taken measures to evade the laws. The penalties contained in statutes against the captains of slave vessels are rendered nugatory, by means of a certificate of death at the hospital to which they have been taken under pretence of illness. The age of slaves imported, is generally from twelve to twenty-five years; probably one-third are males, and the proportion of males was formerly still greater.

DIFFICULTY OF PROCURING STATISTICAL INFORMATION.

It is very difficult to procure a correct account of the number of the slaves, as, when sought, it is frequently stated by the proprietor to be much less than is the case.

SLAVE DEPÔTS.

There are slave depôts in the small plantations in the neighbourhood of the Havana, at the distance of half-a league, where every body goes to buy them.

ABOLITIONISTS.

The only individuals favourable to the abolition of slavery in Cuba, are some young people whose ideas have been acquired in Europe, but not a single proprietor.

IMPORTANT MOVEMENT IN BRAZIL.

(From the Colonial Gazette.)

SINCE the suppression of the slave-trade in Brazil, about ten years back, the difficulty of keeping up a supply of labour by means of the illict trade in negro slaves has occasioned many projects for procuring a supply of free labour from Europe, which have failed through various causes—partly in consequence of internal dissensions, but principally, it appears, through bad management. Since 1839, the political economists of Rio de Janeiro have become aware that the chief point in the bad management was the neglect of providing any basis for European colonization, in lands set apart for the purpose: for in Brazil, as in most new countries, the land has been given away with that reckless profusion which prevents the real use of it by a nominal appropriation. The subject was indefatigably discussed in the newspapers of the capital; and, at the opening of the Chambers in 1840, the Emperor, in a speech from the throne which is described as giving voice to the wishes of the whole community, drew the attention of the general assembly most pointedly to the subject of immigration. A project of law was already before the chamber of deputies, having been presented by a select committee in 1838. Meanwhile, the report of Mr. Ward's committee, articles from the *Spectator* and *Colonial Gazette*, and other English writings on this subject, had appeared in Rio de Janeiro, having been translated and largely commented upon by a Brazilian gentleman, who had imbibed the new theory when residing in England; and, when the old project of law came under active discussion in May last, Senhor Souza Franco and many other members found it so inadequate for the desired end, and proposed such sweeping amendments, all founded upon reasons avowedly drawn from the above documents, that at last it was determined to send it back to the committee, to which Senhor Franco was added. During the debates, Senhor Franco insisted upon the policy of selling all public lands, and applying the whole of the proceeds, without exception, to immigration. The discussion in the chamber seems to have given a new impulse to the discussion which had already taken place out of doors; and the *Journal of Commerce*, *Despertador*, and *Diario*, pursued the subject with a spirit and intelligence which would do honour to any European press. On the 23rd May, that journal contained an exposition of the evils under which the country laboured, recommending a total change of system. It showed how the competition of slave-labour with free-labour tended to exclude the latter, by beating down wages; and it recommended that a bounty should be put on the introduction of free immigrants, that free-labour should be employed in public works, and that relief from imposts should be given to those employing free instead of slave-labour. By this means, a great deal of negro labour would be disengaged for employment in the agricultural districts, while preparation would be made for the gradual substitution of free for slave-labour throughout the country. Postponing for the present the discussion of a redemption or resumption of unused appropriated lands in the more settled districts, or of a tax upon such lands, all the leading papers recommended the immediate application of the Wakefield system to the provinces of Santa Catharina, Bahia, Parà, and Goyaz, and the districts of Goyatacases and the Rio Doce. In a second paper on the subject, on the 14th June, the writer showed that he was fully alive to the theory as well as the rules of the system. These articles are highly interesting, as illustrating the progress of economical knowledge in one of the states of South America but yesterday deemed semi-barbarous.

This paper especially urges the advantages offered by the system in the extinction of slavery—

"One of the most valuable advantages of the system we wish to inculcate, is *the powerful influence which it must necessarily exercise over the extinction of slavery amongst us.* Brazil is to be likened to a patient who suffers from inveterate ulcers, which, fortunately, in God's infinite goodness, are not yet incurable: one is indifferentism in religion, which is the cancer of the mind; the other is slavery, which is the cancer of the body. Leaving the care and cure of the first to whom it concerns, we shall occupy ourselves solely with the second. Slavery is an insatiable gulf for all the goods and property of the Brazilian planter. Look to the interior, to the provinces, and you will see how the embarrassed planter sacrifices the last bag of coffee, the last bale of cotton, and the last cask of sugar, for buying more blacks and more blacks; and thus, there goes off to Africa all that he possesses, like water which is absorbed by the earth without ever returning."

It might be dangerous, however, observes the *Journal of Commerce*, suddenly to destroy the evil, as it is suddenly to close up bodily sores, "without first having removed the necessity for them."

A striking proof of the progress of opinion in Brazil was given in the report of the Deputies committee, which was presented on the 16th of June, accompanied by a new project of law, and published in the papers on the 22nd of the same month.

The report begins by explaining why the planters of Brazil have resisted the abolition of slavery—

"Your committee is persuaded that the resistance which the greater part of our agricultural proprietors have offered to the laws which forbid the introduction of blacks into the country, proceeds not so much from their ancient habit of cultivating their lands by means of these, as more particularly from their not finding readily, and without great expense other hands or labour which would yield them profit: wherefore it is of opinion, that it is a rigorous duty of the political powers of the state to facilitate by all means, and with whatsoever heavy sacrifice, the introduction of free labour into the country, in proportion as the labour of blacks is becoming scarcer and more difficultly obtainable. Your committee is further of opinion, that it is necessary to convince the proprietors of lands in Brazil, how very useful to themselves would be a change in the present manner of their possession of lands. Setting aside the considerations by which it might be proved, that the landowner amongst us does not draw a real and solid advantage from the perishable capital which he is obliged constantly and successively to invest in slaves, who are disinclined to labour, and who perish after a few years, your committee only observes, that the difficulty which the proprietors will have henceforth to encounter in obtaining this labour will reduce them to poverty, (though they possess rich lands,) if perchance they will not in time resolve in changing their mode of ownership; that is, if they will not contract with agricultural settlers, whether for the renting of their lands or their cultivation, they receiving from such colonists any stipulated part or proportion of their production. If, by such contracts, the lands should produce to them less than what they now apparently draw from them, this product would be a net product, and would not have to be employed again in the purchase of fresh slaves, who would disappear in succession, and perish from many co-operating causes. The agriculturists of Europe, who rent the land from the original proprietors, are comparatively much richer than our very richest planters."

The Report goes on to show, that the planters would be mistaken if they expected to derive advantage solely from the reduction of wages by the copious introduction of free labour; and that they might benefit greatly by disposing of their land under contract to secondary proprietors (tenants). It was desirable, therefore, that government should encourage the introduction of agricultural settlers from Europe, and the formation of agricultural settlements: "and really," observes the report, whatever sacrifices were made, "every expenditure made by government on account of the settlers, though it be not in a direct way returned by them, yet it indirectly returns to the public treasury in a very few years, not only by the increase of production from their labour, but also by the consumption which they necessarily cause of home produce and of goods from abroad, the duties on which will increase in proportion to the number of consumers."

"Your committee, however, judges, that, by the system laid down by it, the introduction of promiscuous immigrants, and the establishment of agricultural settlements on a more comprehensive plan, by which both the country and the landowners individually will derive great advantage, can be obtained without a great sacrifice from the public treasury. It is this—by means of the gradual sale of the national waste lands, and by an indirect obligation imposed on the owners of many leagues of land to sell that part of it which they cannot bring under cultivation. The committee also thinks, that, at the same time with foreign colonization, it would be expedient to encourage native agricultural settlements, somewhat in imitation of those which were founded in 1818 and 1822 in the northern provinces of Holland, by societies protected by government. Many poor families amongst us have no regular means of subsistence, while yet the country possesses immense extents of waste land; and a government cannot be well organized, said the great Henry the Sixth, as long as it has useless men and lands.

Government, the report says, should set an example in commencing the entire change of system by abolishing the use of slave-labour on its own lands. The report also recommends a loan

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and a land-tax, to be employed exclusively for paying passages of immigrants from Europe—

"One measure your committee considers as of paramount necessity, not only for enabling government to meet the payment of interest and sinking fund of a loan, which by this law it is authorized to contract for the useful purpose it has in view, but also indirectly to oblige proprietors of large extents of uncultivated lands to try to bring them under cultivation, or to sell them to parties who may do so. This measure is a moderate tax upon land, in proportion to its value and extent."

The committee also recommend certain auxiliary measures which were contained in the old project of law, such as the exclusion of slave labourers in certain public establishments, the exemption of companies and coasting-vessels employing free-labour from certain imposts, and some others.

By the project of law which accompanies the report, government is authorized to contract for a loan amounting to 1000 contos de reis (about £120,000) a year, for five years, for the purpose of establishing settlements of foreigners, native-born Brazilians, and native Indians; and to sell certain public lands by annual public sale, at *not less* than 400 milrees or paper dollars* (about £50) the square league;† sacredly employing all money thus received in the extinction of such loan, and, when this is effected, in premiums for immigration. A committee in Rio de Janeiro, consisting of three citizens appointed by government, and presided over by the minister for home affairs, and a similar subordinate committee in each province, under the direction of the president of that province, is annually to fix the price at which land shall be put up to public auction, and will be charged generally with the execution of the proposed law. The amount of the sums voted by the deputies, and realized by the sale of land, is to be expended in importing immigrants from the continent of Europe, not under twelve nor above forty years of age—"married people in preference"—and in the formation of the settlements mentioned above. From the rule of age the parents and children of numerous families are excepted. The committees will contract with private families to effectuate this immigration; or, if there are no tenders, will conduct it themselves on government account. The immigrants will be distributed to persons who apply for them, and who will pay the expense of their introduction into the country; and the immigrants will be provided with food and lodging until they are so distributed. Proprietors taking thirty couples of immigrants, and establishing settlements on their own lands entirely and permanently separate from slaves, shall pay no interest on the bills with which they may pay the expense of immigration, and shall be allowed a deduction of 30 per cent. on the amount. Those who take above sixty couples, and prove that they have established such settlements, shall be allowed a deduction of 40 per cent.; those who take one hundred, 50 per cent.; one hundred and fifty, 60 per cent.; and two hundred, 80 per cent. Proprietors introducing immigrants from Europe at their own expense to the number of one hundred couples, and founding such settlements, are to be allowed a bounty of 80 dollars for each couple. If such settlements are not established on private lands, they are to be formed on the public lands, preferring those nearest to towns or villages; or, if in remote lands, some of the land-fund is to be devoted to the opening of roads; and the settlers are to be allowed the ownership of part of the land which they may bring under cultivation, on condition of paying for it within ten years, at the fixed market value of the land; and to be provided during the first year with habitations, a daily stipend for their support, and tools, repayable in annual instalments commencing in the third year. Slaves admitted by these settlers within the bounds of the settlement are to be forfeited, and declared free. Similar settlements of Brazilians or native Indians, established by private parties or by government, are to be formed under similar regulations. All these settlements are to be free from conscription for ten years; and the foreign settlers are to enjoy the rights of Brazilian citizenship from the second year. A tenth-part of the immigration fund may be devoted to trying experiments in the formation of military settlements on the frontiers. Every proprietor of land beyond the urban boundaries, to the amount of two leagues, shall pay a land-tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the estimated value of his land, provided the gross annual payment does not exceed fifty dollars; the owner of three, $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.; of four leagues, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but not more than one hundred dollars annually; and, if more than four leagues, $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. for every additional league, but not more than two hundred dollars annually. Within three years at least after the publication of the law, slave-labourers are no longer to be admitted into the employ of the public departments, on public works, or in the national farms; and the slaves already so employed shall be freed within three years, if they should be able to pay their own value, or otherwise sold to planters under guarantee that they shall be employed in agriculture. The project of law also provides for exemptions from certain imposts to be made in favour of trading and mining companies, and coasting-vessels, employing free instead of slave-labour.

That the project of law thus outlined is yet by no means a complete measure, nor calculated to remove all the difficulties in the way of the effectual colonization of Brazil, is apparent. The session closed without the project being passed; but it will again come before the chamber in the ensuing session. According to the latest accounts, it seemed still to be under active discussion of the press; and its faults, originating partly in the desire to do too much at once, were freely pointed out—particularly in an elaborate analysis of it, accompanied by the suggestion of very judicious amendments, published in the *Despertador*. One of the most important obstacles to an improvement in the state of the labour-market, arises from the political condition of Brazil. The *Despertador* of the 13th July speaks thus, alluding especially to the proposed settlements of native Brazilians—

"If the lower class of free people take no part in agricultural production, the reason is, because the scale of wages does not permit it, nor ever has permitted it. If it become so rarely an owner of lands, it is because it is oppressed by the large proprietors, who in the country keep it in a state of absolute vassalage; and thus it is that the possessions of the poor are precarious, that their produce has neither a market nor a value, and that their very persons are not secure under the weight of the military conscription and of the local militia, and under the fine caprices of country lordlings. How many habitations were not suddenly forsaken in all the provinces at the occasion of the conscriptions? How many tenants are there not turned out? Hence the precarious existence, the vagrant habits, the dedication to powerful patrons, and the disposition to enlist themselves under whatever banner promises confusion and plunder, in which these people have all to gain, but nothing to lose; hence, in a word, the horrible wars which successively desolate the distant provinces of the empire."

To expect all at *once* perfect legislation among all the difficulties of the case were unreasonable. The remarkable thing is, not that legislation was dilatory and imperfect, but that it should be so earnestly and upon the whole so intelligently and discreetly attempted, in a country torn by internal dissensions, wasted by the old no-systems of colonization, and still so oppressed, as to its commerce, by the effects of mismanagement as to be without a single bank, or a circulating medium deserving the name of money. In that view, the legislature of semi-barbarous Brazil is found to be far in advance of the parliaments of the great colonizing countries of supercivilized Europe, not only in the enlargement of its views, but in its practical zeal. A country which can make such strenuous efforts towards civil and moral improvement, cannot very long be behind in the progress of the great nations of the earth.

* The milree, or paper dollar, equals, at the present rate of exchange, about half-a-crown.

† The Brazilian square league contains about 7,800 acres.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A LOVER OF MY COUNTRY, although excellent in spirit, is scarcely in newspaper style.

MR HAUGHTON'S communication touches on, to us, forbidden ground.

A letter inserted in our last as addressed to *the rev. John Morgan*, was addressed to *Mr.* John Morgan.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should be addressed to the Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 10TH.

A VERY important bill has been introduced by Mr. Labouchere into the House of Commons, for reducing the duty on rum imported from the East Indies. This is a part of the sugar question; and, as tending to favour the cultivation of sugar in India, we cannot but concur in it. Mr. Ewart has given notice of a motion for a more general equalization of import duties. In view of both these measures, it becomes of increasing importance that articles imported into this country should be the produce of free-labour. To this subject the attention of the Anti-slavery committee has been directed; and they have resolved on presenting to the House of Commons a petition of the following tenor:—

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, *in* parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world, meeting at 27, New Broad-street, London,

Sheweth—That your petitioners have learnt that proceedings have been taken in your honourable house which may have the effect of allowing the introduction into this country, under favourable circumstances, of articles the produce of slave labour.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray, that your honourable house will not pass any act admitting for importation into Great Britain the produce of any of the dominions of the crown raised or manufactured by slave-labour, upon the same terms as the produce of those British colonies where slavery has been wholly abolished.

On behalf of the committee,

(Signed) JOSIAH FORSTER, Chairman.

THE narrative of Mr. Alexander's journey to Spain will be read with interest. The success of his endeavours, although small, is greater, we think, than could reasonably have been expected in so neglected a field. It constitutes a hopeful beginning of the anti-slavery cause in Spain; and we fervently hope that the seed will germinate with vigour. Subsequent accounts are encouraging. It is particularly gratifying to know that the subject of the abolition of slavery will now certainly be brought before the Cortes.

WE mentioned in our last the measures which are in progress for facilitating emigration from the colony of Sierra Leone to the

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West Indies. Our anxiety in reference to this measure has not arisen from any idea that the colony so nearly resembles a paradise that it would be much loss to leave it; nor are we uninformed of the fact, that many of its inhabitants are so dissatisfied with it as to be determined not to remain there. More than a thousand, we have been told on good authority, have left it already, and for parts of Africa where they are in imminent risk of a second enslavement. No doubt, they may as well go to Jamaica. But we have felt surprise that Lord John Russell should have done nothing—publicly, at least—to guard against the evils which an uncontrolled system of emigration has so often generated. We learn, however, from a high quarter, that his lordship has laid stringent regulations on the parties engaged, to the effect so much to be desired; and, as the Anti-slavery committee is in correspondence with him on the subject, we hope in our next to be able to announce this on his own authority.

WE call the especial attention of our readers to an article in our pages of this day, relating to Brazil. The facts detailed in it are, in our judgment, very remarkable, and most promising. The empire of slavery is tottering in Brazil; and, it is gratifying to say, not through a pressure from without, but through the operation of home-born elements. Sound opinion among influential persons there is evidently making rapid progress; and the happiest effects may justly be anticipated from it.

IF the explanation which Colonel Skerrett (in a letter which will be found in another column) gives of the observations he made when at the Anti-slavery office is correct, he must have been misunderstood. Were we satisfied of this, we would immediately recall our unintentional misrepresentation. It is distinctly stated to us, however, that his remarks had reference, not merely (as he now affirms) to aggravated facts foreign to the proceedings of the Imperial Brazilian, but to the concerns of that association also. In particular, he said that "Mr. Kentish had understated some things, and had overstated others." Now Mr. Kentish had made no statement which did not relate to the company in question. However, admitting that the Colonel was misunderstood, the case is not altered. The horror which he has lest his *couleur de rose* should affect, in ever so sparse a manner, any portion of the company's history but the administration of himself and his nephews, evinces that he knows, although he will not say, that their proceedings have been rank and abominable.

Colonel Skerrett has spoken in the highest terms of his nephew, Mr. H. L. Bayly; and Mr. Bayly was the person whose testimony the directors of the Imperial Brazilian brought forward to vindicate them from the charges of Mr. Kentish. He is somewhat more candid than his hide-all relative. His letter inserted in our number of the 16th of December, concludes in the following language: "Why does Mr. Kentish suppress the fact, that, soon after my departure from Gongo, a slave belonging to the Association was struck by a German at Soboliero, and in a few minutes afterwards dropped down, and suddenly died; with the retention (perhaps to this day) of the man in Gongo! This is quite enough to show what the slaves were subject to after my departure." To-day we insert Mr. Kentish's account of this affair, of which he was an eye-witness. An atrocious affair indeed it is; but we must not give way to our feelings in speaking of it. Poor Bonifacio! Thy blood lies at the door of English gentlemen—and some of them "liberal and christian men"—by whose money thou wast purchased, and for whose gain thou hast toiled, and died—by the hand of a sheltered and rewarded murderer!

Mr. Kentish notices the fact, that one shareholder in this blood-stained company has sent his last dividend as a donation to the Anti-slavery Society, because he could not with a clear conscience put it into his pocket. For the same reason the anti-slavery committee could not receive it, but on the express condition that it should be in trust for the benefit of that gentleman's slaves. Are there no other shareholders who will follow this example? We do not call upon them to *sell* their shares. On the contrary, we agree with those who have made the just observation, that this would be only shifting the crime and the responsibility to other hands. But, if persons are obliged to hold their shares, they are not obliged to pocket the profits of them. How can they endure to appropriate the reward of felony, and the price of blood! If the dividends of benevolent and conscientious proprietors were put together as a fund to be used for the benefit of the slaves, the amount might afford the means of mitigating in some measure the lot of the oppressed, until their unrighteous bonds can be broken.

IN the House of Commons, last night, Dr. Lushington asked Sir John Hobhouse, the president of the board of control, whether any despatches had been received respecting the state of slavery in India, and whether he would consent to lay such despatches on the table of the house. The right honourable gentleman answered both questions in the affirmative. We shall, therefore, soon know something on this pressing matter.

To a question by Mr. O'Connell, Lord Palmerston replied, that he could not lay before parliament the treaty into which her Majesty's government had entered with Texas, before its ratification. Mr. O'Connell then said, that he should bring forward his promised motion on the subject in due course, without being in possession of the treaty.

BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS. THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR—The concluding paragraph of Mr. Bayly's last communication in the *Reporter*, obliges me to anticipate a fact which would have appeared before the termination of my correspondence, relative to the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, and Duval, their chief commissioner.

The case referred to, was that of a German mining carpenter having committed homicide, manslaughter, or murder, on one of their male slaves; but under which of these heads to class it I cannot determine, because there is nothing in the shape of a coroner's inquest held on the estates of Mining companies in the Brazils, on such occasions. The impression of all present, however, and of myself amongst the number was, that it was a deliberate murder, on an unoffending, amiable, sober, useful, and industrious slave. The following are the particulars:—

A stamping and amalgamating mill was in course of erection at a place called Soboleiro, where the Gongo stream issues from the company's estate. The German mining carpenter was superintending the erection, and had under his direction a party of slaves. My extra duty, as head of the police, requiring my presence in the vicinity overlooking Soboleiro, I witnessed the German strike one of the slaves a violent blow on the epigastric region. The slave staggered, carried his hands convulsively to the pit of the stomach, and fell. My attention having been called off in another direction at the time, a few minutes elapsed before I again looked towards the stamping mill; when I perceived the slave stretched on the grass, surrounded by the other slaves, who all appeared in a violent state of excitement, amounting almost to insurrection. I then hastened to the spot to inquire into the affair, and found the slave, Bonifacio, dead. No doubt existing as to the extinction of life, as pulsation had ceased, and ammonia applied to the nostrils had no effect, I assembled the witnesses, whom I examined; whilst a messenger went for the doctor to the village of Gongo, distant about three-quarters of a mile. The depositions of the slaves and Brazilian labourers present proved that he was in good health and spirits the moment before; that he was willing, active, and obedient under the German's direction; that his conduct had offered no reason for such violence; but that the outrage was one of those bursts of furious and ungovernable passion, which they were constantly suffering from him; and that they had no doubt he was killed on the spot by the blow he had received.

I hastily returned to Gongo, to acquaint Duval with what had happened; and I had laid the general memorandum book upon my desk, with the intention of noting down the particulars, which it was a portion of my duty to do, when he interfered, and insisted that nothing should be inserted beyond a notice that the slave had fallen down suddenly, and expired whilst at work at Soboleiro.

These instructions I informed him that I could not comply with; as such an entry would be in opposition to what I and every one around witnessed, as well as to the depositions I had officially taken; and that, unless every thing were fairly stated, I would, from conscience, lay an account of all the particulars before the board of directors, as soon as the doctor's report was made, whether he approved of it or not. He declared he was convinced the man had died of apoplexy. This, I showed him, was impossible, as he exhibited no symptoms to induce it, the neck being rather long than otherwise, and his habit of body neither robust nor plethoric: hours had elapsed since his scanty breakfast, and, therefore, it could not be caused by repletion; he was remarkable for sobriety; but, had it been otherwise, Soboleiro was too far distant from any village for the slaves, even surreptitiously, to obtain spirituous liquors; indeed, the watch kept over them whilst at labour was too vigilant to admit of any one being absent for ever so short a time. After the doctor's examination of the body, he publicly declared that the slave had been killed upon the spot by the blow he had received. On reaching Gongo, he had a long and private interview with Duval at his residence; but he still maintained the opinion that the slave died of violence, and not of apoplexy.

As no measures nor proceedings were taken against the German, however, the slaves began to be very clamorous; and, when preparations were made for the interment, that clamour broke out into such a general exhibition of insubordination, and expressions of dissatisfaction unless the body were opened, that the burial was delayed, as there was no alternative but to accede to a *post mortem* examination. All the witnesses were, therefore, again examined, and Duval laboured hard to impress each with the idea that he died of apoplexy, and by the visitation of God. They, however, all persisted in declaring that it was by the visitation of the German only, and no evidence differing from what had been already given could be elicited. The *post mortem* examination took place in a private room in the hospital, Duval only present; none of the officers were permitted to see the performance of the operation, nor were they called on to witness the appearances, or to testify their opinion as to the cause of death. Subsequently even, the doctor confirmed his previous opinion; but, when his report was made out at the end of the month, for transmittal to the board, it was stated that the slave died of apoplexy!

I objected to this report being sent unaccompanied by the evidence as taken in the second instance, and inserted in the memorandum book. Duval replied, that, as it was a serious case, and he should have to comment on it in his private letter to the chairman, he would himself copy it for the board. Thus I

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conclude that the directors would have the evidence and report by the same conveyance, each differing altogether from the other; and yet I never heard that they required any further information on the subject. No communication, at least, to that effect ever came under my notice. Thus the German not only escaped prosecution, but he was afterwards promoted, and his salary very considerably augmented. The doctor's salary was likewise very greatly increased. I do not mean to insinuate on this account, I merely state the fact.

One example I will here state of the ferocity of this German's nature; it is recorded in the memorandum book at Gongo. He was in the habit of killing every dog he met with in the village. Being charged with this act of cruelty before Mr. Morgan, who was acting for Duval during his absence, he admitted the fact; but pleaded that he could see nothing blameable in the action, as the dogs belonged to no one, and the killing of them afforded him the only sport he enjoyed in his leisure hours. Mr. Morgan fined him heavily for his brutality, and read him a severe lecture on the occasion. This seemed to stimulate rather than to mitigate his propensity; for, so frequent were similar cases afterwards, that he was deemed incorrigible, and no further notice was taken of them until the arrival of Duval, who dismissed the charges with his accustomed levity, and censured the levying of the fine.

The fact is, the man was Duval's particular favourite and *protegé*. Some years before he had hired him in Germany, to go out in Rundell and Bridges' slave-working company, the General Mining; the other directors being Thomas Bigge, of Rundell's; Edward Blount, M.P; Sir F. H. Doyle, of the Excise; Felix Calvert Ladbroke, banker; John Wright, banker; Baron de Lagos, and A. T. F. Marreco, both Portuguese; and Ambrose Humphreys, solicitor. When the Brazilian operations of that company were abandoned, and the slaves all *sold by auction*, he recommended him to the Saint John d'El Rey slave-working Mining Company, in which he himself is a director on leave of absence for five years, and ultimately received him into the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association; whose directors are Joshua Walker, chairman, Timothy A. Curtis, deputy-governor of the Bank of England, Thomas Gibson, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, George Lewis Hollingsworth, John Shore, Thomas Stokes, Michael Williams, copper-merchant, Thames Street, and John Wray, Fellow of the Horticultural Society.

Duval's wife is a Pole, and, therefore, half a German. As such she has always shewn a strong predilection in favour of this dog-slaughtering ruffian. Her will is law at Gongo. No operation or arrangement, however trifling, is determined on by Duval, until her opinion is consulted, and her sanction obtained. She is in reality the chief commissioner, which readily accounts for the retention and protection of this man.

The directors and servants of a company act for the proprietary generally. In the event, therefore, of any mismanagement, criminality, or the like occurring, in any of the arrangements, the shareholders are the aiders and abettors of these misdeeds, unless they insist on a full inquiry and investigation as soon as the circumstances become known to them. As the above appears to be a very serious case, I trust that some of the shareholders will be sufficiently actuated by feelings of justice and humanity to insist that every document relating to it shall be laid before them. These documents should ultimately be submitted to the consideration of the physicians of some one of the hospitals in London, that a professional opinion may be obtained, as to whether the slave died of apoplexy or violence; because, in the latter event, they must not look for that subordination, even amongst the slaves on their estates, which will tend to promote their *worldly interests*, unless they shew a disposition to protect the said slaves from such unmerited tyranny.

I am happy to observe that, in the list of subscriptions to the anti-slavery cause, a shareholder of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association has given £10 in trust to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to be applied for the benefit of the slaves employed in the mines at Gongo Soco. This subscription, coming from one of the partners owning the said slaves, will doubtless entitle the committee to a list of all the slaves by name on the estate, (which lies at the office of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, in Broad Street) and to all such further information as will enable them to carry such bequest fully into effect. And I further hope, for the sake of humanity, that this example will be followed by every *conscientious* SLAVE-HOLDER belonging to the association.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

22nd January, 1841. F. A. KENTISH.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR,—When I called at the office of the Anti-slavery Association, the end of last October, it was to request I might see those numbers of the *Reporter*, that I had been just informed contained some threatened charges against the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. While the secretary or clerk was in the act of obliging me with them, I did observe, that, "had I sooner known of such an institution, I would have stated facts respecting slavery far more important, and better entitled to public attention;" and my statement that appeared on the 13th ultimo concluded with one of them, sufficiently revolting to justify that opinion.

I have had no communication with or from the Board of Directors, directly or otherwise, for many years. I *was* offered, in gratifying terms, a re-engagement before I left Brazil; my sureties received back their bonds free from any demand, on my return to England. I *did* withhold the final emancipation of the negro children, never having received order or authority to complete an act so singularly inconsistent with humanity and good sense; the declaration of the Directors was never concealed, but perfectly known, and I believe confided in, by the whole establishment. I cannot discover even a remote analogy in the position or the conduct of the liberated adults. The tender age of infancy (demanding incessant care) rendered the separation of children from their parents impracticable; even the oldest class could not have procured food or clothing for themselves—and (unprotected by the company) few of them could have escaped starvation, or the inevitable alternative, *renewed slavery*.

At a more advanced stage to furnish them with the knowledge of some trade, or other means of free and profitable labour, would appear a humane preliminary, and enhance the value of their liberty; but I shall not permit myself to depart from the determination I formerly expressed, to abstain from any subject whatever that does not come strictly within the period of my own administration; and, as I am in possession of documents relating to every part of it, to its termination, that might satisfy the most sensitive mind, I shall not encumber a publication professedly philanthropic further than to observe, that this short explanation is conceded to the respect I must always entertain for the great object of its benevolent subscribers.

I am, your very obedient servant,

February 5, 1841. J. M. A. SKERRETT.

THE TEXAS LAND AND EMIGRATION COMPANY ON ANTI-SLAVERY PRINCIPLES.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR, — Having seen, in the *Times* newspaper of the 25th January, a report of the views and proceedings of a board recently established in London, under the title of the "Texan Land and Emigration Board, established on anti-slavery principles," I sought and obtained an interview with the secretary to that board; and I must say, that, although nothing occurred at that interview to lead me to doubt the sincerity of the parties concerned in this new undertaking, I am of opinion that the anti-slavery views of the board can never be realized, and that any plan embracing those views will be found quite impracticable. In order to enlighten "the Texan Land and Emigration Board" on this subject, and to resolve the doubts of those who take an interest in the Texan slavery question, permit me, sir, to put a few questions to the Texan envoy now in London, through the medium of your valuable paper.

1st, "The Texan Land and Emigration Board, established on anti-slavery principles," state, that they have an accredited agent in Texas. Query—Would any Texan Citizen, or foreigner, dare to undertake an agency "established on anti-slavery principles?" And, if he were, what would be his fate?

2nd, How would British emigrants be received in Texas, if it were known that they entertained anti-slavery principles, or that they were merely sent out to that country by a "board" established in London on anti-slavery principles? Would not that circumstance alone endanger the lives and property of the emigrants?

3rd, Is not the simplest anti-slavery movement that could be attempted in Texas punishable by death, under "the general law for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanours, passed by the Texan Congress, and approved by the president, in January, 1836, or 1837?

4th, Would it be safe, or even possible (here I do not mean to raise a question as to the validity of the board's title to lands in Texas), for an emigrant, or any twenty emigrants going in a body, to locate themselves on lands west of San Antonio de Bexar, which is situate on the frontier of the Comanche Indians' territoy?

5th, Will the Texan envoy (merely as a private individual) guarantee the life and property of a clergyman (while in Texas) belonging to the church of England, or any other church, who would undertake to visit Texas for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the negro population?

These questions are simply such as any one man might put to another, on the score of justice and humanity; and, as they are put in a way that cannot give offence, it is to be hoped they will be answered by those to whom they are addressed. However, in the mean time I feel bound to state, that, during my residence in Texas, I found that a mere suspicion of abolitionism operated like the plague on all around me. And I strongly recommend my countrymen who are about to visit that country, not, as they regard their lives, to express their sentiments publicly in Texas on the subject of slavery. This advice I give on mature consideration, and with a perfect knowledge of the universal, and I fear unalterable prejudice, which exists at this moment in Texas in favour of slavery.

I have the honour, &c.

London, February, 4th, 1841. N. D. MAILLARD.

[We take the following remarks on the same subject from the *Morning Post*.]

It is amusing to see the excessive eagerness with which almost every nation in the civilized world pushes its claims to a participation in the capital of this country, such has been the improvidence with which the millions that might have been usefully employed, have been misapplied in the furtherance of selfish purposes. Even Texas, though not yet confirmed in her alienation from the mother country, is, as was explained by the message of the president to Congress, a copy of which was a few weeks since inserted in our columns, a candidate in our markets for a loan. General Hamilton has been stirring heaven and earth to get a million of money out of our capitalists, but his negociations have proved thus far unsuccessful. No direct loan can be obtained. The wily Texans are therefore making an effort to attain their object through an indirect pro-

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cess. A land company has been got up, as an easier method of raising the wind. It is proposed, upon this principle, to appropriate lands to her Majesty's subjects at the rate of 15s. an acre. It becomes our duty, therefore, as conservators of the public purse, to look a little into the pretensions of those by whom the proposition is made. Texas is supposed to contain 150,000,000 acres, so that, taking the Texan rating of the value of the land to be just, the Mexicans, by their (the Texans,) defection, have lost a territory worth 112,500,000*l.*, for which the Texans have given literally nothing. The Texans offered to pay one million sterling of the Mexican debt due to Great Britain, provided Lord Palmerston would prevail on Mexico to recognize their independence and right to that valuable territory. Now, under the circumstances we have stated, this is not to be wondered at. It would, however, be surprising if Lord Palmerston, in any negociation of the kind, should overlook the following liens which her Majesty's subjects undoubtedly have upon these lands in Texas; namely, 25,000,000 of acres hypothecated for the Deferred Mexican Bonds, and 20,000,000 further, as the proportion of 100,000,000 of acres, falling upon Texas in common with the other departments. These liens were granted by Mexico, the rightful owner of the soil, in 1827. Upon the faith of them the British bondholders consented to the conversion, and it is becoming high time that the latter should look after their property—the hypothecated acres in question—when an office is publicly opened in London for the disposal of the whole of the vacant land in Texas, beginning first with "a section of prairie land in the neighbourhood of San Antonio de Bexar," next to the Comanche Indians, on the west, and the Mexicans on the south, and where the fifteen-shillings-an-acre-paying immigrants are likely to be soonest killed off, in the approaching attempt of the mother country to re-conquer that valuable part of her dominions.

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

As this most important subject will shortly come before the House of Commons for discussion, we have thought it desirable to place before our readers the exact state of the question so far as that House is concerned, and to which we would call particular attention, as furnishing direction as to the course which British abolitionists ought to pursue at this juncture.

On the 13th June, 1833, Mr. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg, brought before the House of Commons, the subject of the East India charter, and in the course of his speech said, "another part of the bill will relate to the system of slavery in India. It will be necessary to pursue a different course in dealing with slavery in the East and West Indies, in consequence of peculiar circumstances connected with the former. It cannot be denied, that on the coast of Malabar there have been some melancholy instances of oppression to the slaves; but generally speaking, slavery is not so severe in the East Indies, in consequence of its being the effect of caste, and connected with religion. I mention these circumstances not as an objection to the abolition of slavery in the East Indies, but as a reason for proceeding to effect this object with caution. I shall, therefore, propose, that, after a given period, slavery shall cease in India, and that the Governor-general shall have the power of appointing commissioners to inquire on the spot into the best mode of effecting this object, with *this proviso, that if he should find himself able to abolish slavery before the period fixed by law, he shall be at liberty to do so.*"

In conformity with this determination, on the 24th June, the president of the India board forwarded to the East India company a summary of the main provisions of his bill, in which he said, "as to the natives, besides placing them on a level with British subjects in point of lands, there are two enactments:—*First*, no person, native or natural-born in India, is to be excluded from any office, merely by reason of his religion, birth-place, descent, or colour. *Second*, slavery after a specified period to be abolished."

These were the just and noble principles on which the government of Lord Grey proposed to legislate for India, and to the application of which, as the law of this great empire, Mr. T. B. Macaulay, then secretary of the India board, said, "come when it may, it will be the proudest day in the English history, when a great people, whom we found sunk in slavery and superstition, shall, under our rule, have been rendered capable of enjoying all the privileges of free citizens. This," he added, "will indeed be the triumph of reason over barbarism, by establishing the imperishable empire of our arts, our morals, our literature, and our laws."

On the 28th June, Mr. Grant introduced his bill for the better government of India, in which the clause respecting slavery ran as follows:—"And whereas it is expedient that slavery should cease in the said territories, as soon as sufficient time shall have elapsed for making such provisions as the change of the condition of the numerous class of persons therein now in a state of slavery, may appear to require; be it therefore enacted, that all rights over any persons, by reason of such persons being in a state of slavery, *shall cease throughout the said territories on the twelfth of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven:* provided always, that it shall be lawful for the Governor-general in council to make laws or regulations for the extinction of slavery, either entirely or in part, previously to the said twelfth of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, throughout the said territories, or any part of them."

The subject having been taken into consideration by the company, the reply of the court of directors to the communication of the government was forwarded on the 2nd of July, and contained the following paragraph:—"Any plan which may be calculated to improve the condition of the natives, by abolishing slavery, *without doing violence to the feelings of caste, or to the rights of property*, cannot fail to meet with the court's cordial approbation."

To the initiated this meant neither more nor less than that slavery ought never to be abolished, inasmuch as it was an affair of caste, and consequently had the force of a religious institute among the people. Sir. R. H. Inglis endeavoured to frame an amendment embracing the views of the directors, but he was told by Mr. Macaulay that it was contradictory in terms, for the clause commences by stating, "Whereas it is expedient that slavery should cease in those territories, and my honourable friend," he observed, "wishes to provide that, in so doing, we shall not interfere with the usages, civil or religious, of the natives. Now according to this, we could not abolish slavery, it is one of the usages of the people."

Nevertheless, in compliance with the wishes of some members of the house, viz., R. C. Fergusson, Esq., Sir R. H. Inglis, and C. Buller, Esq.; and in consequence of the opposition of the East India Company, led on by Sir George Tucker, R. Jackson, and Mr. Jenkins, the clause in the original bill was modified, and stood as follows on the third reading:—And whereas *it is expedient that slavery should cease throughout the said territories.* Be it enacted: That the said governor-general in council shall, and he is hereby required forthwith, to frame laws and regulations for the extinction of slavery, having due regard to the laws of marriage, and the rights and authorities of fathers and heads of families; and that the said governor-general shall, on or before the first day of January, 1835, and on every first day of January from that day forward, report to the court of directors, the progress which he shall have made in framing such laws and regulations, and that the court of directors shall, within fourteen days after the receipt of such report, if parliament shall then be sitting, or otherwise, within fourteen days after the next meeting of parliament, lay such reports before both houses of parliament."

Thus it will be seen, that although the period when slavery was to terminate in India was left indefinite, the House of Commons determined on its extinction, and required the governor-general *forthwith* to frame the necessary measures for that end.

We now follow the clause to the House of Lords, where we find it violently assailed by Lord Ellenborough, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Salisbury, &c. Lord Ellenborough pronounced it not only "useless and unnecessary," but "so far injurious, that it must excite apprehensions in the mind of every individual in India." He further said, "It would not only excite the indignation of the landed proprietors, but it would at the same time shake the confidence and the allegiance of all the native officers." The Duke of Wellington recommended "the striking out of this clause from the bill, and providing the governor-general in council with the necessary power to apply such remedies to the evil, as would check any abuse growing out of the system of slavery prevalent in India." And the noble Duke added; "In my opinion, interference at all (at present at least) would be attended with the very worst and most dangerous consequences."

In consequence of the opposition there met with, the government promised to alter the clause. On the 9th of August, therefore, it was submitted to the Lords, by the Marquess of Lansdowne, in the following terms:—"And be it further enacted, that the said governor general in council shall, and he is hereby required forthwith to take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout the said territories, so soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe; and from time to time, to prepare and transmit to the said court of directors, drafts of laws, and regulations for the purposes aforesaid; and that in preparing such drafts, due regard shall be had to the laws of marriage, and the rights and authorities of fathers and heads of families; and that such drafts shall be forthwith, after receipt thereof, be taken into consideration by the said court of directors, who shall, with all convenient speed, communicate to the said governor general in council, their instructions on the drafts of the said laws and regulations, but no such laws and regulations shall be promulgated or put into force without the previous consent of the said court; and the said court shall, within fourteen days after the first meeting of parliament, in every year, lay before both houses of parliament, a report of the drafts of such rules and regulations as shall have been received by them, and of their resolutions or proceedings thereon." This clause, with a mere verbal alteration, finally passed both houses of parliament, and received the sanction of the crown.

It will thus be seen, that the abolition of slavery in British India was at length evaded in the house of lords, notwithstanding it formed part of a great measure of justice to India, and was agreed upon by the cabinet, and sanctioned by the house of commons!

Eight long years have now passed away since the India bill received the sanction of the crown, and not a single rule or regulation has been laid on the table of the house of commons, by the directors of the East India Company, to show that they have taken a single step, in compliance with the requisition of the law, to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in British India! And thus the law, defective as it is, has either been neglected, or set at defiance by the directors.

In 1836, and again in 1837, Mr. (now Sir F.) Buxton, put questions to the president of the board of control, Sir J. Cam Hobhouse, on which occasion, the right hon. gentleman said, "I beg to state,

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that I will take an early opportunity to call the attention of the court of directors to the matter, with a view to ascertain whether any plans have yet been framed in India, for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves there; and I can assure my honourable friend, that the board of control will direct its best attention to the subject." Mr. Buxton then said; "Certainly my impression at the time of passing the charter was, that slavery was to be abolished in India. If that was an erroneous impression, the fact will create a strong feeling throughout the country."

That slavery in India was not abolished, we have now seen; and that the duty of mitigating slavery even has been utterly neglected by the East India Company, we have also seen. What then remains to be done, but to sweep away the foul abomination at once and for ever! By this means we shall deliver our free institutions from a foul reproach—perfect the great work of West India emancipation—remove out of the way a great impediment to the cause of universal freedom—and cause the hearts of millions of our fellow-subjects in India to rejoice.

The cry of danger to our Indian empire will, no doubt, again be raised. We shall be reminded of vested rights, of immemorial customs, of the sanctity of the zenonas and harems, and of the respect due to the laws and prejudices of Mahommedans and Hindoos. We shall be told that it is an affair of caste, and that to abolish slavery we must abolish caste. It will be said that the system is patriarchal, and the treatment under it mild and gentle, and that we should inflict great injury on the slaves in making them free. But we tell the objectors the system is doomed, that it cannot be longer tolerated by a humane and christian people, and that we cherish the hope that the legislature of this country will, during its present session, do its duty, by terminating this enormous evil, and the slave-trade, which it so extensively cherishes.

In closing these remarks, we would call attention to the language of Mr. Macaulay, when, justifying the course of the government in determining upon the early extinction of slavery in India, he said:—"With respect to the question of slavery in the East, the board of control has been in communication with some of the most able of the civil servants of the company; and they all assure me, that they do not anticipate any danger from our endeavouring to get rid of slavery, if proper caution be used to prevent interference with the domestic habits of the people." And on the same point, the late lamented Lord Suffield, used the following remarkable words in his place in the House of Lords:—"I cannot but express my surprise, that whenever the sacred cause of slavery is attacked, there should always be found certain noble lords its sure and ready advocates. Your lordships are sure to be told, that the subject must be approached with the greatest caution, and that there is danger in any interference at all. I trust," said his lordship, "that I shall be among the first to admit, at all times, the claims of the noble Duke (Wellington) on the gratitude of his countrymen for his great military exploits; but I must be allowed to express my astonishment, that he, by whose exertions the despotism of one man was overthrown, should be, on all occasions, the advocate of the system of slavery by which the despotism of a thousand tyrants is maintained." And in concluding an able speech, his lordship said, "One word more only, as to the pretended alarm. I hold in my hand a copy of a petition presented to the House of Commons, some time ago, signed by four thousand most respectable persons, Hindoos, Parsees, and Mahommedans, in which, after expressing their approbation of the conduct of Sir Alexander Johnstone, the petition concludes with these expressions: "Illustrious legislators, benefactors of the human race, your persevering exertions to abolish the trade of slavery have spread the fame of your humanity over all the world! And," said his lordship, "I think this is a sufficient proof that the natives of India would not be alarmed by the passing of a law for the abolition of slavery."

UNITED STATES.

SLAVE-TRADE.—ANOTHER SEIZURE.—Brig Tigris, of Salem, was at Ambriz, Africa, October 17th, in charge of a prize-officer of the British brig Water Witch, for having a black boy on board, a native of the coast, shipped at St. Thomas as a free lad. Her cargo consisted of 20,000 lbs. of ivory, and some coffee. The captain and crew were to remain on board, and the vessel was ordered to New York.—*Boston Courier.*

MAURITIUS.

The *Mauricien*, October 9, says, "It is the universal opinion that Sir Lionel Smith, the governor means to judge of everything, especially in what concerns the coloured people, by his own eyes. This has excited a universal feeling of disquiet Those of our labourers who kept to their work have always been remarkably docile, now all are alike in commotion. Sir Lionel had scarcely announced that justice should be done to all, than the labourers conceived every man to get land for nothing, or higher wages. The governor could not stop the first absurd expectation, and in various forms wages were increased. It must be confessed too, that in some instances the people were ill-used. Thus things are brought to that pass, that the whole labouring population of the colony is in opposition to their employers, and the ordinary authorities. They are frequently seen in troops at Government-house, asking for justice. Some of our fellow-colonists blame Sir Lionel in this matter—we do not. But we trust the common course of business will at no distant day be restored, and the people be both satisfied and brought to reason.

Accounts from the Mauritius to the 24th of October, state that Sir Lionel Smith had issued a circular to the stipendiary magistrates, to put a stop to the desertion of their work by the bands of Indians who come up to town to prefer complaints against their masters, and whose abandonment of their labours at that critical season of the year was a source of serious injury. Numbers still came to Port Louis.—*Times.*

FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

The following resolution was passed at the first meeting of the Irish Southern Baptist Association, held at Cork, on the 18th of January, 1841.

Resolved—That the brethren representing the churches in this Association deeply deplore the existence of slavery in the United States of America, and feel it their imperative duty to enter their protest against this enormity; and further to declare, that they can hold no fellowship with any professing christian, who in any way participates in the guilt of this great sin.

(Signed) CHARLES HARDCASTLE, Secretary.

Copy of resolution passed unanimously by the church meeting in Providence Chapel, Shoreditch, London, November 27th, 1840.

Resolved—That this church, fully considering that slavery in every form is incompatible with the spirit of the gospel, and desirous of testifying their conviction of the unjustifiable conduct of those christian professors who continue to hold their fellow-creatures in bondage, hereby express their solemn and deliberate determination, to refuse a participation in the elements of the Lord's Supper to every person known to be holder of a slave, or to be engaged in any way in the promotion or support of a system so demoralizing in its influence, so evidently at variance with the golden rule of the Saviour, and so obnoxious in the estimation of a just and equitable Jehovah.

(Signed) WILLIAM MIALL, Pastor.

By the church meeting in Little Prescot Street, London, the following resolution was passed, December 23rd, 1840.

Resolved,—That this church, being convinced that modern slavery is opposed to the laws of the Redeemer, will no longer admit to their fellowship, or commune with, persons who hold property in slaves.

(Signed) CHARLES STOVEL, Pastor.

Dr. Channing has just published an admirable tract, entitled *Emancipation*, under the impulse derived from perusing Mr. Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*. It will go to diffuse the facts of that work more extensively through the United States, and to associate with them a degree of energy, which the quiet manner of the author fails to supply. The whole tract abounds with noble sentiments, and is written with Dr. Channing's usual eloquence. It will be read for its beauty, and it cannot be read without benefit. We had marked a passage for extraction, but the crowded state of our columns forbids it.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

The following Contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged.

	Donations. £ s. d.	Subs. £ s. d.
Northampton Auxiliary Society, per James Atkins, Secretary	10 0 0	
Spilsby and Alford Auxiliary, per W. Rose, Sec.	10 0 0	
Mr. and Miss Bunn, Frome		1 0 0
Josiah Forster, Tottenham		2 2 0
John Paynter, Montpelier Road, Blackheath	5 5 0	
Part of a bequest of the late Hannah Middleton for the benefit of the natives of Africa, per Samuel Fox, Tottenham	30 0 0	
Samuel Fox, Tottenham	1 0 0	1 0 0
Mr. French, Taunton, per Miss S. Dymond	0 5 0	
Samuel P. Pryor, Chesham		1 1 0
Collected by John Morgan.		
Bulley, Thomas, Alderman, Liverpool	2 0 0	
Comer, William "	5 0 0	1 1 0
Cooke, George "	1 0 0	1 0 0
Coward, John "		2 2 0
Cox, George L. "	2 0 0	
Cropper, Edward "	25 0 0	5 0 0
Cropper, John, junior "	25 0 0	5 0 0
Crossfield, Messrs. George & Co. "	10 0 0	
Crossfield, John "		1 1 0
Fawcett, William "	10 0 0	1 0 0
Greene, J. H. "		1 0 0
Hadwen, Isaac "	5 5 0	
Hadwen, Isaac, junior "	5 0 0	
Haigh, Bartin "	5 0 0	1 1 0
Hope, William "		1 1 0
Job, Messrs., Brothers "	5 0 0	
Jones, Robert, and Sons "	5 0 0	1 1 0
King, Alfred "		1 1 0
King, Joseph "	1 1 0	
Morecroft, Thomas "	5 0 0	1 1 0
Rathbone, William "	10 0 0	
Rathbone, Richard "	10 0 0	1 1 0
Robson, H. E. "	1 0 0	1 0 0
Ryley, James "	1 0 0	
Ryley, James, junior "	5 0 0	
Walmsley Sir Joshua "		2 2 0
Waterhouse. Mrs. N. "	2 0 0	
Yates, Richard Vaughan "	5 0 0	1 1 0
Miss Margaret Pope, Staines	5 0 0	
Frederick Ashby "		1 0 0
Charles Ashby "		1 0 0
Bristol.		
Eaton, Joseph	15 0 0	5 5 0
John O'Connell, M.P., Pall Mall		1 0 0
Kendal Auxiliary Society	71 0 0	

In List of Contributions of January 27:—For Thomas Dillwyn, Bath, read George Dillwyn, £5.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXI. Vol. II. No. 4.] WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 24th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

The Amistad Captives.—The case of the Africans captured in the Amistad was, at the date of the last accounts, exciting the deepest interest. Almost the whole of the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*, Nos. 12 and 13, is occupied with documents relating to it; and the feeling entertained by the friends of humanity, in relation to the approaching trial in the supreme court, is thus expressed in the following number of the same journal.

"The crisis approaches. Contrary to the opinion entertained by many for some months, it is now believed that the situation of these poor Africans is indeed perilous! We do not say this merely to induce the benevolent to send money for their relief. Most generously has a portion of the community responded to the appeals of the committee. But the action of influential slave-holders at Washington—the tone of the government press—and letters received from the capital—render it but too certain that powerful influences are in operation to induce the judges of the supreme court—who are but men of like passions with other men—and, as a majority of them are slave-holders, we may say with like passions as other slave-holders—to give a decision unfavourable to the captives. Great alarm is beginning to be felt and expressed by the editors of the leading newspapers who have flesh in their hearts—some have not, "I speak it to their shame,"—at the atrocity about, as is apprehended, to be perpetrated. This alarm, we venture to predict, will rise into horror if any branch of our government undertake—in view of the facts before the American people—to consign these kidnapped and much-wronged Africans to the Spanish minister, who, under the pretence of sending them to Havana, that their claim to freedom may undergo a judicial examination, will assuredly consign them to certain death. A feeling of sympathy and indignation will prevail throughout the free states, and even among many in the slave states. But, even if the worst befals them, God will cause the wrath of man to praise him. Should the supreme court, or the executive, proceed to the extremity so justly feared, Divine Providence, we doubt not, will overrule the flagrant outrage, and stir up an opposition to slavery, and its concomitant, the slave-trade, that will not rest until the accursed system is for ever extinguished on this continent. As the death of the martyrs was the seed of the church, so, undoubtedly, would the MASSACRE OF THE AFRICANS OF THE AMISTAD be the death-knell of the accursed system of slavery in the American Republic."

British Commercial Treaty with Texas.—The *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter* contains the following just and important remarks on this subject:—

"The political newspapers announced some time since that negociations were on foot between Lord Palmerston and General Hamilton, which would probably result in the establishment of commercial relations between the republic of Texas and the kingdom of Great Britain. Very many, in both countries, considered it an idle rumour. They thought, indeed, that it was quite probable that the clever ambassador, once governor of South Carolina, and now an adopted citizen of Texas, was attempting to procure the recognition of his newly-adopted country; but they did not believe that the British government was prepared to recognise this nation, at least until the atrocious feature in her constitution, making slavery perpetual, should be abolished. The English philanthropists were, it would seem, lulled into quietness by the apparent indifference of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the subject, and his seeming acquiescence in the views presented by them in opposition to the measure. At length the negociations were disclosed, and it was found that, while Lord Palmerston was apparently listening with conviction to the representations that were made to him by the friends of universal liberty, he and General Hamilton had been concocting a commercial treaty, which is virtually a recognition, on the part of England, of the republic of Texas. This treaty was signed on the 16th of November, 1840. Texas has now been acknowledged by the United States, England, France, Holland, and Belgium. The abolitionists of Great Britain, disappointed and deceived, have given vent to their feelings of regret and apprehension by passing a set of admirable resolutions, which have been transmitted to us for publication. We insert them, with the letter accompanying them, hoping that they will be extensively published in this country.

"Without professing much skill in penetrating into the secrets of diplomatists, it is quite probable that the Texan ambassador was aided by those British bankers who have negociated loans to the new republic, and who might have been made to believe that the value of the securities depended essentially upon the recognition. It is understood that a special convention has been agreed upon, authorizing England to mediate with Mexico, with reference to the boundary line between that country and Texas. It is understood also, that Texas has engaged to take her portion of the debt contracted by Mexico, as soon as peace shall be declared.

"We would not assert as a positive fact, that any members of the British ministry have found their private interests concerned in the consummation so earnestly and perseveringly sought by Texan ambassadors. But we do know, that British investments, to an enormous amount, have been made in Texan lands and Texan bonds, for which nothing could have been realized, had the Texans failed in their attempts to conclude treaties, &c., by which Texas might be recognized by European powers as an independent nation. Time may disclose other stipulations and promises of advantage that have won the regard of the British cabinet, to a measure that appears, at first view, disastrous to the cause of freedom. Meantime some consolation may be derived from the fact, that this act of the British government puts an end to the expectation long held by the people of Texas, and by a considerable portion of the people of the United States, that the two republics would be united as one nation. We conclude our preliminary remarks by quoting from a letter from a highly respected correspondent, whose tongue and pen have been repeatedly and ably employed in warning his countrymen against the "unholy alliance" into which this country seemed at one time about to precipitate itself.

"'This measure does not dishearten me. According to the usages of nations, Great Britain was not called to inquire into the legitimacy of this new government, but simply whether it could sustain itself, and sustain the usual relations with foreign powers. I doubt not that Great Britain thought much of getting a good customer; but, unless I am deceived, she had two other objects—first to settle a boundary between Texas and Mexico, which she will feel herself authorized to maintain, and next, to keep Texas separate from this country. In both these objects she has a palpable interest. Her West India possessions require that she should not suffer Texas to stretch itself along the gulf of Mexico; and, seeing in this country her great competitor, she cannot but be willing to prevent our extension, and to get up a rival state on our borders. I trust, these foreign alliances have secured us against the annexation of Texas. Her great men, after figuring as heads of a nation, and carrying on diplomatic intercourse with foreign countries, will have little disposition to shrink into state offices under our confederation. You are in the way of much more information than myself, and I may err—but I have a good hope.'

"We unite with our respected brethren and co-adjutors in Great Britain in deploring this untoward event. The avaricious spirit of the British government has not resisted, it seems, the temptation to increase its trade by sacrificing its avowed principles. It is a deplorable affair, and will greatly detract from the high reputation so justly acquired by the British nation for doing so much for the oppressed. In view of this transaction, we are more impressed than ever with the belief that governments, as such, cannot be relied on to achieve anything for the moral reformation of the world. The philanthropists of Great Britain, by enlightening the public mind, and reaching the hearts and consciences of the people, have acted on the government from time to time, and thus accomplished many things for the cause of human rights, by the instrumentality of men who cared little or nothing for that sacred cause. But the aristocracy of any country cannot be relied on to ameliorate human suffering. It is covetous, proud, selfish, and unfeeling. The hope of the oppressed is not in this class, but in the virtue, sympathy, and piety of the middling and labouring classes. The recognition of Texas by Great Britain, deplorable as it is, adds another to the many motives we have to persevere in addressing the moral sense of our countrymen as to the great iniquity of slavery; and convincing them that the great body of the people must arouse themselves, and put down the iniquitous system, or the aristocrats of this republic, as well as the lords of Europe, will not only keep the enslaved in perpetual bondage, but reduce to the same condition all the working men of the civilised world.

"Knowing the ability of England to wield the *precious metals* in aid of her diplomatic skill, and the want of such influences in Texas, we were in hopes that the British government, if she determined on forming a commercial treaty with that power, would purchase an amendment of its constitution favourable to perpetual liberty, by a loan of a few millions sterling. Surely money could never be more wisely and beneficially employed by a great and powerful nation, than in inducing a young and needy republic to perform an act that she had not moral virtue enough to achieve. But, notwithstanding our regret and apprehensions, we think it a point of wisdom to hope for the best, and rely with unshaken faith upon the watchful providence of that great being, who holds the destinies of nations in his hands, and who will guard the welfare of the defenceless from the spoliations of crafty, covetous, and unmerciful men.

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"The English newspapers, of nearly all parties, affect to think the negociation has been brought to a successful issue by Lord Palmerston in a way to reflect great credit upon the administration, while it secures great advantages to the British nation. They say, another power is now established, which will tend to moderate the arrogant pretensions of the slave-trade of America; that Texas will hold the United States in check; that a reciprocal trade will be carried on between England and Texas to the disadvantage of this country, as the former power can supply the young republic with her manufactures without their being subject to the duties imposed by the United States, and then Texas can raise cotton at thirty per cent. less than the southern States can grow it. Whatever commercial or political advantages may accrue to Great Britain from the recognition of Texas, we venture to predict that they will prove of small value, in comparison with the high moral character she would have sustained by refusing, on any terms, to shake hands with a nation that has incorporated into her system the accursed system of slavery, without making it a *sine quâ non* that such an odious feature should be struck from her constitution."

CONDITION OF THE SLAVE STATES.—The same paper contains the following extracts of a letter to Gerrit Smith, a leading abolitionist, from East Tennessee, dated August 31st, 1840:—

"I attended a ——— meeting in ———, and found myself in a crowd of the aristocracy of South Carolina. They treated me politely, even with marked attention. All that were present knew my sentiments respecting slavery. I had spoken plainly of it, and of transactions connected with it in South Carolina. While this was gratifying, I thought it was a circumstance of some importance, as it seemed to confirm my opinion that southern people really respect those who deal plainly with them, and firmly too, showing that they do not wish to invite severe criticisms.

"There were some things at this meeting which were perhaps worthy of remark. Those who were in attendance, and those who were on pleasure excursions, having nothing to do with the business of the meeting, were generally in a style indicating extravagance. They had fine eastern carriages, with a retinue of servants. They spend much of their time in this kind of absenteeism. Very often the money they use is in advance of their growing crop of cotton. With the planters I should presume this is, nine times in ten, the way they raise the means to travel abroad. Those able to go to this extent make but a small proportion of the white population. Those who own but few slaves cannot defray the expense, while the greater body of the white population, who own no slaves, are extremely poor and ignorant. I have no where travelled in the United States, where so much ignorance prevailed as among the great body of the yeomanry. The lands of all are much exhausted, so that they depend on an annual supply of pork, horses, mules, and cattle, from the West, moatly from Kentucky. They live poorly. Coarse corn bread, bacon, sweet potatoes, and cabbage, constitute the principal articles of diet. Milk makes a part, where they are able to keep a cow. In the cities the mode of living is better. The wealthy in the country purchase their flour, &c. South Carolina exports her principal crop, which is cotton and rice, and much of the produce of Georgia and South Carolina, giving her an appearance of wealth, which is unreal. In 1829, the census taken by the state showed something over 250,000 white inhabitants. Previous to the meeting I attended at ———, in September, it had been taken again, showing a white population of about 250,100. If I recollect correctly, the postmaster of ——— told me there had been a decrease in ten years, though he remarked that the most unwarrantable efforts had been used to bring up the aggregate to that of 1829. My own opinion is, that there is a steady decline of the white population—probably of the black too—and from causes not likely to cease; one of the most prominent, their miserable system of agriculture, which soon murders their land. It is estimated by many that one-half of all the cleared lands in the state are thrown out as waste old fields. Much that is in cultivation is so exhausted that it pays but poorly for the labour on it. Another cause, yet more melancholy, is the idleness and dissipation of the young men. A large proportion of them have broken constitutions at the age of twenty-five years; a yet larger find themselves unfitted to become heads of families, and do not make the attempt.

"Yet South Carolina, feeble, old, and poor, thinks she has a kind to prescriptive right to control the Union. She claims the chivalry. The north awards it, which makes them conclude that they are really a superior order of men, who can at pleasure bully the north into any measures—no matter how absurd and destructive to the interests and prosperity of other sections. She must have her way, no matter who suffers. This is bad policy of the north. If they would secure their own interests, or the respect of the south, they should be firm and unyielding.

"On the subject of slavery but little is said, except so far as it is connected with politics. Both parties charge the other with connexions with the abolitionists. Probably neither of them make any political capital out of it. Those really opposed to slavery think that, on account of the political excitement, the times are unpropitious for discussing it. Those who look for remote causes think there has not been a time for many years when they had so much reason to take courage. The decline of cotton has put an end to the slave-trade. Mississippi, the great market for them, is bankrupt. Two weeks since I was told by a planter living near Vicksburg, that, of all the men in business in that town three years ago, only one had escaped bankruptcy. He said one-third of all the plantations in the State are uncultivated; and one-third of all the slaves are taken off. Many have gone back to Virginia. More have been run off to Texas. Others estimate both items at one-half. This has had much effect to lower the one of slave-dealers, many of whom have broke, and planters of cotton too."

MESSRS. BIRNEY AND STANTON.—The return of these highly esteemed friends is thus noticed in the same journal.

"The safe return of these two brethren to their native shores, has given great delight to their numerous friends, and the friends of the cause in this country. At the first meeting of the Executive Committee after their return, they communicated a statement of their labours in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the cordial reception given them wherever they journeyed or lectured. In view of their return, and of the gratifying reception they everywhere met, the committee have adopted the following resolutions.

"Resolved—That the Executive Committee welcome the return of their esteemed associates, James G. Birney and Henry B. Stanton, after a sojourn in Great Britain and Ireland, where they have been engaged in diffusing information respecting American slavery, with zeal, prudence, and fidelity, to the acceptance of the friends of human rights in that country, and the approbation of the members of this committee.

"Resolved—That this committee has heard with the most grateful feelings of the honourable manner in which the delegates from this society to the general anti-slavery conference in London were treated by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society on their arrival in England, and during their sojourn in Great Britain and Ireland.

"Resolved—That they have heard with the same grateful feelings of the multiplied and distinguished hospitalities extended by the said Committee, and Anti-slavery people generally, of Great Britain and Ireland to our Secretaries, Messrs. Birney and Stanton, during their journeyings in those countries with the view of diffusing correct information concerning slavery as it exists in the United States, and particularly as to its unhappy influence on our various religious communions.

"Resolved—That the recording secretary transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society."

FRUITS OF THE CONVENTION.—Extract of a letter from Theodore D. Weld to Charles Stuart;—"The effect of the London Convention upon American slavery is already showing itself thoroughly. Within a few weeks I have been overlooking some hundreds of newspapers in the slave-holding states—alarm pervades them all. The certainty that they are becoming infamous in the eyes of the civilized world, that their shifts and subterfuges and false issues are all exposed, and that, turn which ever way they list, the world's searching and consuming glance blazes upon them, is beginning to burn to the quick. The effect, too, upon the pro-slavery ministry and church of the free-states is very manifest. They are now defending themselves from accusations which have been talked against them for years, but which they have never, till now, been stirred up to ward off. 'Prejudice against colour,' so called, has also set up his howl, showing that the thrust has struck deep. The last two years have wrought mightily against American color-phobia. Oberlin and Oneida are still onward; the former has nearly 500 students—the latter about 80 or 90."

WHAT NEXT!—From the *Charleston Courier* of February 12, 1841.—"Field Negroes, by T. Gadsen.—On Tuesday, the 17th instant, will be sold at the north of the Exchange, at ten o'clock, a prime gang of *ten negros*, accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions, belonging to the Independent Church in Christ's Church Parish."

THE TIGRIS.—The court at Salem has pronounced the seizure of this vessel unlawful. An action of trespass was immediately brought against Mr. Jackson, with damages laid at 4000 dollars. Mr. Jackson was bailed by the British consul at Boston; and it was pleaded on his behalf that he acted under orders and was not personally liable. The court, however, ruled that that was quite another branch of the question, to be referred to the two governments, but that there was clearly within the meaning of the law and the powers of the courts of Massachusetts a ground of action for trespass. A more moderate bail was then demanded; and several citizens of Boston became bound for Mr. Jackson's due appearance when the cause is to be tried.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The Legislature was prorogued on the 22nd of December, after a session of two months, during which they had passed no less than fifty-six acts. The Governor's speech contains nothing worthy of notice. An amended Marriage Act has been passed, containing, according to the *Colonial Reformer*, the following improvements:—

1st.—All documents connected with the registration of marriages exempted from stamp duty—except when married by special license.

2nd.—Dissenting ministers are empowered to marry by license as well as by banns.

3rd.—Penalties imposed by the act, *fine*, or imprisonment.

4th.—Time for recording duplicate marriages extended to *six* months instead of three.

5th.—Time of recording back marriages extended to the 30th June next.

6th.—*De facto* marriages can be recorded up to the same period.

7th.—Clergy of the established church can record *de facto* marriages.

8th.—Marriages solemnized after the passing of the act in April last, but not recorded from want of form—declared legal and valid.

9th.—Publication of banns on chapel doors abolished.

The same paper adds:—"AN ACT TO REGULATE THE DURATION OF A DAY'S LABOUR (!!!) was brought before the house by the indefatigable blunderer, Mr. J. R. Grosett, of St. George's. It was scouted as it deserved to be.

"THE VAGRANT ACT—the infamous ACT FOR REGISTERING FIRE-ARMS, and the FISHERIES' BILL have again passed the house.

"Mr John R. Grosett, in a recent discussion, objected to the abolition of punishment by whipping, because large number of *free immigrants would shortly be arriving, and might require that kind of punishment!!!* Let this fact be proclaimed throughout Europe and America. It speaks volumes, and needs no comment."

The island continues to experience a destructive drought.

The Baptist church at East Green-street, Kingston, have published some resolutions on the liberation of their pastor, the Rev. S. Oughton. We quote the following:—

"That this meeting would acknowledge, with emotions of deep and lively gratitude, the timely and liberal assistance of the committee and subscribers of the 'Jamaica Persecution Society,' together with those friends in England by whose approbation and countenance its pastor was cheered and supported in his privations and sorrows, and who have exerted themselves so actively in his behalf.

"That this meeting cannot withhold a public expression of its admiration of the conduct of the Honorable Dowell O'Reilly, her Majesty's Attorney General, for the very disinterested and liberal manner in which he espoused the cause of their persecuted pastor, and the talent and zeal which he uniformly displayed, and by which (under the blessing of God) he, together with his learned colleagues, was enabled to bring the suit to a successful issue."

The fisheries bill, although re-enacted by the House of Assembly, was thrown out by the council, who have, during the late session, shewn themselves the more friendly of the two bodies to liberty.

A copy of the new Immigration act is given in the *Alligator*. It conforms, in the letter, to the suggestions of Lord John Russell; and, in

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some important respects, only in the letter. The rules respecting passengers and accommodation are copious, but the violation of them subjects the party to nothing more than a penalty of from five to twenty pounds. As to the proportion of the sexes, it is required that one-third shall be females; but the disregard of this enactment subjects the party to no penalty at all. It is, however, enacted, that agreements shall not extend beyond one year, and shall be determinable by either party at three months' notice.

We are happy to learn that the Rev. Mr. Knibb has at length returned to his post. He arrived, together with his friends who accompanied him on his mission, in the barque *Reserve*, on the 8th Jan., and on the following day he was escorted to his residence at Falmouth by an immense concourse of his friends on horseback, to the deep annoyance and mortification, it would seem, of certain parties in that town.—*Colonial Reformer.*

At the St. Catherine's court of quarter sessions, on the 6th of January, Mr. Baynes congratulated the grand jury and the public on the unusual lightness of the calendar; it had, in fact, contained fewer cases than at any sessions within his memory, for the period of nearly seven years, during which he had the honour of sitting on that bench. This was a satisfactory and convincing proof of the moral advantages of a state of freedom, and of the progressive improvement and social advance of the labouring population of this colony, than whom, (he took the present occasion, the last that in all probability he afforded him of bearing witness from that seat) there did not exist a more docile, industrious, or better disposed peasantry on the face of the globe.—*Ibid.*

The lamentable "petition from the inhabitants of the new settlement (free-village) of Porus," which, we see, is carefully quoted by the *Alligator*, turns out to be a fraudulent document, concocted by some enemy of the free-village system.

BARBADOS.—THE AUXILIARY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in this island has transmitted the following acknowledgment of the resolutions of the committee of the parent society of the 17th of July last.

Bridge Town, Barbados, December 14th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—In acknowledging the receipt of your kind letter of the 27th of July, with its enclosure, I am directed by the committee of the Barbados Auxiliary to convey to the committee of the Parent Society, through you, their grateful acknowledgments for the active co-operation and support thus afforded them on, a question of vital importance to the cause of emancipation in these colonies.

As the steps taken by the committee of the auxiliary on the promulgation of the late emigration act of the local legislature unhappily occasioned at the outset an angry division among the members, and exposed the committee to much censure here, not only from the known enemies of freedom, but from some of its supposed friends also; they could not but rejoice to find that the view they had taken of that act was entirely borne out, and their conduct approbated, by the committee of the parent society, in the resolutions of the 17th July, a copy of which was communicated in your letter of the 27th. It will be gratifying to your committee to learn, that Her Majesty's government also had taken the same view of the act, notwithstanding the extraordinary exertions of its framers and supporters to induce a more favourable consideration of its merits. In a despatch to his Excellency the governor, which has just been published, Lord John Russell clearly exposes the vicious tendency of the objectionable clause, and declares, "*It is impossible for Her Majesty's government to advise the confirmation of such a law*;" adding, that, unless amended or repealed "in the course of the present year," he shall feel it to be his duty to advise its disallowance.

It would give me great pleasure, were I able to communicate for the information of the committee of the parent society, that "the difference among the members of the auxiliary," referred to in your letter, has been "reconciled and forgotten," or was likely soon to be. The committee deeply regret that difference in the first instance, and the continued estrangement of the minority in consequence; but, as it could only have been prevented by the abrogation of the principles and views of the society, and the abandonment of its declared object, they trust that, on a candid review of the subject, even the seceders will attach little blame to them for these occurrences.

Permit me, in conclusion, to apologise on behalf of the auxiliary committee for the delay which has occurred in replying to your letter, and to request that you will present their affectionate regards to the members of the parent committee, and assure them of our sincere prayers for strength and support for them from heaven, in the prosecution of their pious labours on behalf of the slave.

I remain, my dear sir, sincerely and respectfully yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL J. PRESCOD, Secretary.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

TRIAL AND CONVICTION OF MR. PRESCOD.—The *Liberal* of December 23rd is entirely occupied with the trial of Mr. Prescod, the editor, for a libel on Mr. Watts, whose activity in getting up a labourers' address to the governor to contradict the statements of Mr. Prescod, may be in the remembrance of our readers. Mr. Prescod was found guilty, and sentenced to three months imprisonment, with a fine of £50, and to give surety in bonds of £100 to keep the peace for twelve months. He conducted his own defence, and, as appears, with eminent temper and ability. Little can be said for the temper of the court. The result, notwithstanding the conviction, is spoken of as a practical triumph of the liberal party. He paid the fine, but remained in gaol only eight days, when his Excellency remitted the remainder of the sentence. Mr. Prescod was attended by an immense concourse of his friends from gaol to his house. At a public meeting on the 28th Dec. the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That the friends of liberty in this island, having felt a deep sense of regret at the incarceration of their zealous advocate, Samuel Jackman Prescod, consequent on his attempt to refute a calumny gratuitously propagated against him at the expense of the labouring population, are happy to observe that, without any compromise of principle on his or their part, and contrary to their anticipations, he is thus early restored to the society of his family and friends." The planters and their organs have come out with a full cry on Sir Evan Macgregor, whom they call by every insulting name, for releasing Mr. Prescod, the indefatigable champion of liberty, from prison.

MARTINIQUE.—At this island the council had requested the governor to dissolve the board, as the members doubted how far they represented the sense of the people upon the question of emancipation—the discussion of which was expected to be brought forward shortly. The governor expressed his regret at their request, but acceded to it.—*Trinidad Standard.*

SAINT LUCIA.—Extracts of a letter from a gentleman at St. Lucia, to Joseph Sturge, dated the 25th of December, 1840.—"At the council board of Martinique the question of abolition has recently been mooted, under the auspices of the new governor, Admiral Du Valdaily. Things are approaching a climax there; and, whether peacefully, or amidst terror and bloodshed, the speedy accomplishment of freedom must be the inevitable result. God grant that soon, and by the former, it may come! For the crime, wretchedness, and brutality which weigh down that unhappy colony beggar description. The miserable slaves, who had been buoyed up in hopes that a war with England would bring them freedom, as these decline are relapsing once more into utter despair. Attempts are again making daily by them to escape from the cruelties which encircle them, and about twelve succeeded lately in escaping to this colony, although pursued to its very shores: but who can calculate the far superior number of those who perish in the effort, or are re-captured to suffer even more? The French refugees in this colony are now a numerous body, and rank amongst its most industrious inhabitants.

"This island is in a peaceable and prosperous condition. A more general diffusion of the English language is, however, highly desirable, and would accomplish much improvement. This great object the exertions of the Mico Charity will, I think, ultimately bring to bear; although, at present, there is but a commencement made, and that confined of course to the rising generation. Crime is diminishing everywhere in these colonies, whilst the march of industry, sobriety, and general morality, is rapid and marked. The sugar crop this year will show an increase of nearly forty per cent over last crop, and no where do I hear complaints, either of the deficiency of labour, or of its dearness. Many establishments have already commenced crop, and new, substantial, and expensive sugar establishments are making their animated appearance, whereas manufactories of any sort were scarcely, if at all, known before. Our friend Mr. M. has done, and is doing, much in this way, and sets a splendid example to proprietors generally. I am happy to add, that he is also unwearied in his exertions to increase the comforts, and advance the rising intelligence of the labourers; and I hope very shortly to see, through his efforts, two or three other respectable and well conducted schools established in the island. Sir John Jeremie's friends here, and they are not a few, are delighted to hear of his appointment to Sierra Leone. It is hoped he may long be spared, and be a means to effect much good. This is Christmas day, and our population, all quiet, orderly, and thoughtful, are thronging to the different places of worship with grateful hearts. It is a cheering, yet solemn sight, and to one who, like myself, can from experience compare the present with the past, it affords much food for reflection.—No martial law, no whips and chains, no drunkenness or profanity, distinguish this season *now*; but, instead, peace, harmony, content, and freedom are with us."

DANISH ISLANDS. [From the *Grenada Free Press*] "The St. Thomas *Times* of the 21st November contains a royal proclamation, dated 1st of May, 1840, setting forth the conditions under which the "unfree negros" in the islands under the Danish government, shall be secured from improper treatment, and for rendering more easy the acquisition of their freedom, whenever their full value shall be paid to their masters, either by themselves, or some other persons who may give them assistance for that purpose. Corporal punishment has been reduced to a mere *name*, and other provisions are made for the gradual emancipation of the slaves without injury to the owner, or any interruption to the present system of agriculture. The royal mandate appears to have been framed in a feeling of justice to both parties, and is evidently based upon the apprenticeship act of the British colonies, in some of its most material points. Whether it will work as badly for the Danish proprietors and their slaves, as it did in these colonies, remains to be seen. It is, however, as with us, intended to pave the way to a state of entire freedom, and raise another altar in this hemisphere to Heaven-born liberty, upon which France, after this noble example, must ere long sacrifice those considerations which keep her so far behind in the race of christian civilization."

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.—The legislature of this island assembled on the 22nd of December. We make the following extracts from the speech of the governor, Mr. Cunningham:—

"I am happy to congratulate the community on the seasonable rains with which this island has recently been blessed. The drought, however, had been of such long duration throughout the greater portion of the island, that it is to be feared our crop for 1841 will fall short of that of some preceding years. But in no instance have I heard this anticipated falling off attributed to idleness on the part of the labourers, or to an insufficiency of labour. On the contrary, I have every reason to believe that the labouring population are working very steadily, and for reasonable wages, and that there are very few estates indeed, on which the supply of labour does not equal the demand.

"At the same time I am sorry to believe that a certain amount of emigration from this island still prevails. It is painful to hear this, not only because, were such emigration to continue, it must seriously affect the interests of this colony, but because, as I am most credibly informed, those who emigrate from their native dry islands undergo much suffering in the colonies of the south. It is painful also to see the sort of individuals, who, from time to time, make their appearance in this island, and, by raising expectations as imaginary as they are splendid, seduce, in too many cases, the young and inexperienced from their homes and natural protectors. It is still worse when these sordid agents prevail upon heads of families to break through the most sacred domestic ties, and forsake those whom God has committed to their trust.

"But, whilst we deprecate this system of decoy on the part of strangers, it behoves ourselves to be very careful so to minister to the happiness, cheerfulness, and content of our labourers, as that the promises of emigration agents may fall harmless on their ears.

"The happy and contented are not restless, and few but the restless, in the lower walks of life at least, will be disposed to seek their fortunes in a strange land. I have always felt and stated as my opinion, that the present system by which houses and grounds are given in reference to the performance of labour, is likely to prove most injurious in its effects. If proprietors pay the labourers from other estates more than their own people, they must in turn expect their own people to work away from

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home. If labourers work away from home, they must expect to be deprived of the advantages which they enjoy at home in part payment of home labour.

"But what are the ultimate consequences? Mutual estrangement ensues—anger on the part of the proprietor, and perhaps ejectment—discontent on the part of the labourer, and perhaps emigration.

"I trust that the proprietary body of this island, whilst I thus simply state my conviction that emigration is more or less connected with the present system of hiring, will feel assured that I wish neither to make complaint nor to pass censure, but to invite calm attention to the adoption of some plan, by which the questions of rent and labour may be placed on a distinct footing—some plan which may render it utterly impossible that any emigrant from hence should have it in his power even to assign summary ejectment as a cause of emigration."

TRINIDAD.—Immigration continues with a steady current.—During the month the number of labourers arrived is 433: of these 390 only had their passages paid by government, this being the number in which the sexes were equal; the remainder had the money advanced to them by planters with whom they entered into arrangements for work. Complaints of a scarcity of hands still reach us, and increase of population has not as yet had the slightest effect upon the price of labour.

A letter from Mr. Burnley stated, that so strong an opposition to emigration had been raised in the northern states of America by the Anti-slavery party, that he should not be able to procure emigrants from that quarter; but that in Virginia, Maryland, and further south, there was not this opposition, and the people were desirous of coming.—*Trinidad Standard.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—The news from this colony is of great importance. Under the influence of Sir Henry Mc Leod, the Combined Court have passed an act making a satisfactory settlement of the civil list; while Sir Henry has conceded the measures desired for the encouragement of immigration—a loan of £400,000, with the immediate expenditure of the £30,000 in the chest. On this occasion Mr. Young, the government secretary, made a long and very interesting speech, from which we mean to make considerable extracts. It appears that the civil list now accepted is less than that proposed and rejected in May last; and the gist of the government secretary's speech is, that a reduced civil list is not accepted through "an opinion of the instability of the remarkable prosperity which this colony now enjoys." He is thus led to take a general view of the state of the colony, a subject on which, he says, "my acquaintance with the colony, both anterior and subsequent to the great change which emancipation has effected, entitles me to have an opinion." His general opinion is, that "the prospects of the colony are highly satisfactory, and every day renders them more favourable." He then goes into detail, as follows:—"I must advert to that foundation of the prosperity of all countries—the people. And looking around me, what do I see?—The spectacle of a peasantry patient of labour, respectful to their superiors, subordinate to the magistrates, obedient to the laws, content with the obscure walk in life in which Providence has placed them, and finding in it as much, if not more, of happiness than belongs to any more exalted position in society. Yet, Sir, this rational acquiescence with their lot does not degenerate—does not sink them into inactivity. They are still emulous to improve their moral and physical condition, eager to learn, retentive of improvement, industrious to acquire, careful of their gains, and sober in the enjoyment of them. Would to heaven the peasantry all over the world was as meritorious as in Guiana! I confess myself to be perfectly astonished at the few exceptions which can by any possibility be established against the general features of the picture which, albeit with weak colouring, I have feebly drawn."

He then notices the alleged increase of crime in Guiana:—"Those who think that the morality of the people has deteriorated of late—that the people are more vicious—more frequently guilty of crime, are hasty in their conclusions, and superficial in the grounds on which they rest their judgment. The apparent increase of crime is attributable to causes of which the native population of this country are innocent. Of the total number of persons in gaol on the 30th of November last, under sentence, forty-five per cent. are emigrants. Of the total number of persons under sentence for thefts in town, nearly thirty-six per cent. are emigrants. Of the total number of persons under sentence for burglary, twenty-eight per cent. are emigrants. Of the total number of persons under sentence for assaults, seventy-one per cent. are emigrants. Of the total number of persons sentenced by the Supreme Criminal Court, forty-one per cent. are emigrants; by the Interior Criminal Court, nineteen per cent. are emigrants; by the police magistrate, fifty per cent. are emigrants; and of those at present committed for trial, or whose cases are under investigation, thirty-four and a-half are emigrants. There are five women in gaol, and three of them are emigrants. But, if it be contended that, admitting the influx of immigrants to have swelled our calendar, there is still a vast increase of offences and punishments, *the court should be informed of this fact, that the number now in gaol under sentence belonging to Demerara, is not greater than the number of Demerarians under sentence on an average made in reference to the last twenty years. I need not say that private prisons in those days had their inmates, which are now found in the common gaol.* Thus those who think that our gaols are fuller now than they used to be, know more of the occurrences of the present day than of the history of the past."

He goes on to say, "Shall I be controverted when I say, that the employer of a free peasantry, by a more equitable distribution of his gains, by a greater diffusion of knowledge and consequent civilization among his dependents, and by an abdication of arbitrary power—has added a security to property, which more than counterbalances a diminished return of agricultural produce? I should expect no such contradiction, even had the increased price of produce not more than compensated for its lessened amount; but when, as now, and for some time past, it has been, and still is notorious, that the value of our exports is undiminished, and the cost of production, if not less, is certainly not more than formerly, I cannot but conclude that there is still less reason to think worse of the condition of the liberal proprietary body of this colony, than of their predecessors. I would fain believe, on the contrary, that, when they contrast past and present times, the increased content, improvement, and happiness of the people, are considered by them to be no insignificant items of the account—no unimportant guarantees for the increase of the population, the peace of society, and the stability of every description of proprietary interest."

Further to show the condition of the proprietors, he adduces the value of the crops. "I have prepared a statement of the value of the crops, for the last fourteen years, in those counties, viz, Demerara and Essequebo, respecting which information was at the moment within my reach. I will read that statement, first premising that the amount of produce is extracted from the returns of the planters themselves, made for purposes of taxation, and, therefore, in my opinion is certainly much under the mark; and that the amount of the produce of 1840 is estimated at 10 per cent more in quantity than the produce of 1839, whilst I verily believe it will be much nearer to an excess of from 15 to 20 per cent. The prices of produce have been extracted from *bonâ fide* account sales, in the possession of a mercantile gentleman of the highest integrity and respectability, who has been engaged in the purchase of colonial produce in Demerara for the last seventeen years.

"Statement of the value of the crops of Demerara and Essequebo for 14 years, ending 31st December, 1840; calculated on the returns of produce from each estate, as rendered for taxation by the proprietors; the prices ascertained from actual account sales; the produce of 1840, computed at ten per cent more in quantity than the produce of 1839.

Years.	Value of Crop in Pounds sterling. £. s. d.	Years.	Value of Crop in Pounds sterling. £. s. d.
1827	1,450,010 0 0	1834	1,141,343 6 8
1828	1,369,129 18 7	1835	1,421,425 5 3
1829	1,421,278 2 1	1836	2,302,785 12 3
1830	1,067,327 9 3	1837	1,618,127 3 5
1831	964,030 17 1	1838	1,173,107 14 2
1832	1,131,985 8 8	1839	1,023,784 2 9
1833	1,498,952 7 8	1840	1,573,311 15 5

"The average value of the crops of Demerara and Essequebo, during fourteen years, is £1,368,971. The positive value of the crop of 1840, on the above low computation, £1,573,311. The largest quantity of produce was made in 1829, and the crop of 1840 much exceeds in value that of 1829."

He then adverts to the market value of estates, and chastises the noisy prophets of evil. "I shall now advert to the sales of estates which have recently been effected, as criteria by which to judge of the estimated security or decay of property. I shall not specify the large prices paid for land by the lower orders, nor the yet larger prices expected from them in some further purchases which they once contemplated. I confine myself to the investment of large capitals. I allude to the very recent sales of Montrose for £38,500, which, in 1837, was valued by Messrs. George Rainy, Collin Simson, and James Chapman, for £26,000; plantation Ogle for £26,000, which, by the same appraisers, was valued in 1831 for £20,000; plantation Bel Air, £20,000, Success, £30,000; Wales, £30,000; Vreed-en-hoop, £35,000, with £2000 more for the services of the Coolies for two years; Kitty, for £26,000, which, in 1819, with slaves, sold for £22,000; Malgre Tout, for £36,000; Richmond, for £35,000. I think from these sales a fair estimate of the value of estates may be formed. I prefer such data to any statements or averments whatsoever. Purchases, or offers to purchase, and refusals to sell, are as useful for ascertaining the real value of property, as the stethescope is for ascertaining the condition of a patient supposed to be suffering from consumption. Tried by this test, the decay of property seems not quite so imminent; the age of property cannot yet have dwindled to its shortest span; its dissolution is at least not expected to take place by learned and experienced doctors—the practical planters of the colony—before the repayment of the large sums which I have mentioned as the prices of the estates named. Sir, I have said that I prefer such tests as these to the most elaborate calculations, to the most plausible opinions of practical men, and to the most affecting descriptions of ruin and decay, which, by no means for the first time in the history of Guiana, are now so rife. I believe the prices actually paid for estates to be substantial proofs of their value; I look upon them as the declarations of a deliberate judgment pronounced by competent judges, under the heaviest of pecuniary responsibilities; and whilst to those gentlemen who are of a contrary opinion I attribute no want of sincerity—no desire to mislead—I must, nevertheless, say that, in my opinion, an over eager desire to attract the attention of parliament to the advantage of recruiting our labouring population has, unconsciously perhaps, led them to conclusions respecting the condition of landed property in this country, which are not only proved to be hasty and erroneous by the numerous sales which I have quoted, but have proved wholly inaccurate in the special instances which were cited and relied on as illustrations of their general predictions. I will read to you a statement made by one of the most influential colonists in Guiana; a statement coupled too with a prediction, which not only appears to have caused a great sensation here on the spot, but, to my certain personal knowledge, excited no less interest—nay, I may say, consternation amongst the Demerarians in London;—not only because of the quarter from whence it came—not only because it emanated from an honorable gentleman at the head of the Mammoth bank of the colonies in Guiana; not only because of his position as a leading and influential member of their court; not only because of his being himself the proprietor of a plantation: but because also of the business like accuracy of the figures on which the honorable gentleman rested his conclusions. I will read to you the prediction:—

"'There was an estate near town possessing every advantage that could be desired to facilitate labour and to encourage the labourers, which in August, 1832, had 614 labourers, by whom 220 hogsheads of sugar were made in the first six months of that year: for the same period of this year, with 440 labourers, it had only made thirty-nine hogsheads; and the falling off in next year's produce would be still greater. (Hear, hear.) The estate to which he alluded was Rome and Houston, where everything had been done to promote the moral and religious instruction of the labourers.'

Sir, this estate, so far from falling off this year, as was predicted, has of late been making sugar at the rate, not of 39 hhds. for six months, but at the rate of 140 hhds. for one month; not at the rate of 220 hhds. for 6 months, as in the year 1832, the year quoted, the year of slavery, but at the rate of nearly 600 hhds. per annum: which has been the crop of 1840, and that of 1841 will be not less than 700 hhds. The disheartening pros-

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pects of 1839 were attributed the unsteady working of the people; to the results of emancipation. Sir, I think myself more than justified in saying that the conduct of the people has been unreasonably arraigned; the character or results of freedom unjustly aspersed. At least, Sir, I claim this admission, that, if the same opinions are now retained which were expressed in November, 1839, in the quotation of the speech which I have read, the condition of plantation Rome and Houston, so far from being corroborative of their accuracy, does most utterly prove their entire fallacy; and I have no doubt that, with the candour and straightforwardness which are so universally attributed to the hon. member, he will feel it to be his duty to take an opportunity of expressing his great satisfaction, that the alarming and prophetic picture which he drew of plantation Rome and Houston has happily not been verified by subsequent events. I will pass from this topic with but one additional observation, and that is suggested by the results of a change of system at plantation Rome and Houston shortly after the delivery of the honorable member's memorable and pathetic prediction. I am, and long have been, of opinion, that we are too much accustomed in this colony, and in other parts of the West Indies, to look beyond ourselves for aid, in those ordinary difficulties and embarrassments which occasionally attach themselves to landed property in every country under the sun. One while we blame the inconstancy of the labourers; then the parent government; and next, and more frequently still, the local government; but, Sir, as a celebrated American—Dr. Channing—has beautifully and truly said, "government resembles the wall which surrounds our lands; a needful protection—but rearing no harvests, ripening no fruits. It is the individual who must choose whether the enclosure shall be a paradise or a waste." And how strikingly is not this illustrated in the case of plantation Rome and Houston? The decay to which it was supposed to be hastening has been proved to be owing, neither to the policy of the government, nor to the impossibility of obtaining continuous labour—for experience has shewn that that which could not be accomplished by the attornies of Hyndman, had been successfully worked out by the spirit, intelligence, perseverance, and liberal, (because prudent) management of the present resident proprietor, Mr. R. M. Jones. A state of ruin and decay has been converted, as by a magician's wand, into a state of princely and secure prosperity! Sir, I will give but one more instance of the little dependence that can be put on the most plausible statements respecting the condition of property, although made, as I have before remarked, with all sincerity and honesty; and how much wiser it is, therefore, to take as our criteria the substantial proofs which the sales of estates afford. If my memory does not greatly fail me, I have seen an elaborate calculation made in 1839, by one of the cleverest practical planters in the colony, in which the constantly increasing abstraction of labour was —I had almost said proved—but was represented to have such an effect on the cultivation, as to afford but little hopes that the estate would survive more than three years. This affecting anticipation of a plantation in a state of rapid and hopeless decline is, however, apparently dissipated—the consumptive property has been subjected to the stethescope test, an offer of purchase has been made and accepted; and it is now generally believed, at least I may infer that it is believed by the purchasers—that the melancholy event of its dissolution will not take place before the re-payment of the £35,080, which was the price paid for it; and I am happy to add, that he who once thought himself justified in pronouncing so unfavourable an opinion of the longevity of the property, has himself become the half owner of it, at the large price I have named. In what I have hitherto stated, my object has been to show that the colony has not sustained the decline of prosperity which is supposed to exist. I will now turn from the proofs which I have adduced that the colony has sustained no injury by the act of emancipation, to the numerous proofs which exist, on the other hand, that there are new and gratifying symptoms of gradual and unprecedented improvement. I allude to the realization of one of the happiest effects, next to personal liberty, which the warmest friends of emancipation expected to follow, from that great measure. There is a vast and useful local diffusion of that wealth, which formerly was expended out of the colony by non-resident proprietors. Our resident proprietors are increasing in number; our exports and imports are undiminished in value; indeed, of the imports there is a vast increase in quantity as well as in value; three hundred thousand dollars per month are circulated in payment of wages to agricultural servants; and the excess of profits over expenditure is not now remitted, as once it was, across the Atlantic, but finds a safe and profitable local investment in objects of general colonial utility; a local bank with a large paid up capital; with large deposits, with an increasing reserved fund; steam navigation; Marine, Life, and Fire Insurance companies; the attention of agriculturists rivetted on devices to substitute mechanical power for manual labour; steamers on the rivers Demerara, Mahaica, Essequebo, and Berbice; new ferries; new warehouses in town and country; new villages; a metropolis whose wealth is estimated at a low computation, by his worship the mayor, at not less than four millions sterling; wages high; an ample revenue, no pressure of taxation. To represent such a state of things to be one of uncertainty, gloom, melancholy, or distress, must certainly indicate the existence in honourable members of extraordinary tragic talents, and power.

——— *Conspicit arcem*
Ingeniis opibusque, et festa pace virentem,
Virque tenet lacrymas, quia nil lacrymabile cernit."

ENSLAVING NATIVE INDIANS.—The *Guiana Times* contains the proceedings in the case of Mrs. Spencer, *alias* Henry, who was tried on the 2nd of December, on a charge of holding in slavery an Indian woman, named Rosina. She was acquitted; and two other charges of the same kind were similarly disposed of. There have been shameful doings, however, at the posts up the river, notwithstanding this verdict.

SPAIN.

Private letters announce that the statements published by Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen, were producing a considerable sensation. Two of the papers in the town of Valentia had opened their columns to the advocacy of abolition.

AT a meeting of the Independent Church assembling in Marshall Street Chapel, Holbeck, in the parish of Leeds, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Cummins, It was unanimously Resolved,—

That to show our utter abhorrence of all slavery throughout the world, we will not admit to the Lord's table amongst us any whom we know to be slave-owners, or hold communion with them in their own churches.

CORRECTIONS IN OUR LAST.

SLAVERY IN CUBA.—Page 34, "Among the punishments inflicted, are 'he privation of dinner and the dungeon"—should read, "the privation of dinner, the dungeon *and the lash.*"

Page 35, "The age of slaves imported is generally from twelve to twenty-five years; probably *one-third* are males"—should read "*two-thirds.*"

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should be addressed to the Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 24TH.

THE westerly winds have brought us in such an accumulation of intelligence, and much of it is so important, that we have been constrained to devote to it a large part of our present number.

We are sure that corresponding sympathy will be felt in this country, with that which now so deeply agitates the friends of humanity in the United States, respecting the Africans captured in the Amistad. The attention of our readers will be well bestowed on an article from the other side of the Atlantic on the British commercial treaty with Texas.

From the West Indies the intelligence is on the whole gratifying. Some amendments have certainly been made by the legislature of Jamaica in the laws of the preceding session, and in the marriage act among them; but no opinion can be safely expressed until the new laws, fifty-six in number, are printed. The new immigration act appears as an advertisement in the *Alligator*.

Another scene in the drama of oppression *versus* liberty has been enacted in Barbados, by the trial of our friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Prescod, for a libel. In such hands his conviction followed of course. Promptly do we assure him, however, that he has risen, rather than fallen, in the estimation of all whose opinion he values, by the course he has pursued. Expecting no acquittal, he made his trial subservient to the advocacy of the cause of freedom in the midst of its adversaries; and for it he has thus gained a popular triumph, of infinitely greater value than the legal triumph of his enemies. We learn by a private letter, that, after his imprisonment, it was suggested to him to petition for the remission of this part of his sentence, a measure of humiliation which he promptly and nobly declined. Subsequently the governor remitted it without petition; assigning as his reason the delicate state of Mr. Prescod's health, but really actuated, no doubt, by far weightier considerations. The persecuted champion of liberty was triumphantly conducted to his house by a mixed multitude of about 2000 persons, watched by a strong body of police, but not interrupted by them. The influence of these proceedings on a large number of the respectable whites is, and is likely to be, most salutary.

The most important intelligence from this quarter, however, is that which announces the settlement of the long pending dispute between the government and the court of policy at British Guiana. Upon this occasion the honourable H. F. Young, the government secretary, made a speech, which we may characterize as altogether remarkable, and highly valuable. It is a survey of the state of the colony, which he declares to be eminently prosperous; and he exhibits the clamorous croakers as children who are determined to cry, although they can find nothing to cry for. Alas! for the pet colony of these tearful gentry! Will they be constrained at last to wipe their weeping eyes!

WE mentioned in our last, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, were in correspondence with Lord John Russell respecting the new system of emigration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, and that we hoped to be able to state, on official authority, what we had then the pleasure of announcing on private information. We are sorry to say that we are disappointed. The noble secretary for the colonies, has directed Mr. Vernon Smith to answer the letter of the committee in a way which fails of affording us the gratifying assurance we had anticipated.

Such of our readers as may take the trouble to peruse it, may perhaps think his lordship's reply wanting in courtesy. Our regret is, that when, as we know, Lord John Russell has taken the pains to frame judicious instructions for the emigration of Africans from Sierra Leone, he should not have availed himself of an unexceptionable opportunity of saying so.

27, *New Broad Street, 4th February*, 1841.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

My Lord,—The attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, having been directed to the despatch addressed by your lordship, to Sir Charles Metcalfe, and other governors of the West India colonies, referring to the removal of the Maroons, and other able-bodied natives of Africa from Sierra Leone, to those colonies; and having obtained information that one or more vessels are now fitting out in this country, under the direction of gentlemen from Jamaica now residing here, to be followed by others from that colony and Trinidad; they would earnestly, yet respectfully, call your lordship's attention to the evils which are likely to result, under present circumstances, from this measure.

1st. While the committee deeply regret that any of the Maroons, or liberated Africans at Sierra Leone should be in such circumstances, as to render their removal from that colony desirable, if not absolutely necessary, they deprecate their removal to any of the British colonies, because they fear it may be drawn into a precedent by other nations, who, under the plea of recruiting their military forces in the colonies, may pass negros

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through their settlements in Africa as free emigrants, when, in point of fact, they may be purchased slaves, as in the late cases of Holland and France. By this means the treaties with these powers may be violated to a certain extent, and Africans transported as soldiers, or as free labourers, may merge into the slave populations of their respective colonies.

2nd. Because the persons who may be removed will undoubtedly be employed in the cultivation of sugar, the most laborious and deadly of all agricultural employments, which may prove greatly destructive of their health and lives, unless expressly regulated by law until they are fully acclimated, and regularly trained to that species of toil.

3rd. Because it does not appear that any regulations have been insisted upon, either with respect to the tonnage and character of the vessels to be employed in the removal of them to the colonies, or the number of emigrants to be put on board such vessels, or the quantity and quality of food and water to be provided for them, or the medical attendance that may be requisite during the voyage.

4th. Because no provision appears to be made for securing an equal number of the sexes as emigrants, a point of the greatest importance, as connected with the morals and comfort of those who may be removed, and, indeed, to the future prosperity of the colonies.

5th. Because no suitable arrangements appear to have been insisted on as necessary on their arrival in the colonies, either with respect to their accommodation, their food, or their health.

6th. Because the immigration laws of Jamaica, which have been so very properly condemned by your lordship, afford no guarantee against fraudulent contracts on the part of the planters, or security to the emigrants against oppression and wrong.

For these reasons the committee would earnestly entreat your lordship to suspend the permission granted to the colonists to remove these people from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, until at least the laws of the legislative colonies are assimilated to those of the crown colonies regulating contracts, as under the order in council of the 7th September, 1838, and the regulations of the British passengers' act for the protection of emigrants be extended to Sierra Leone.—I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

REPLY.

Downing Street February 11th, 1841.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you addressed to this department on the 4th instant, by direction of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, respecting immigration to the West Indies from the colony of Sierra Leone.

Lord John Russell desires me to state, for the information of the committee, that his lordship is sorry to differ with them, but he thinks emigrants are more likely to be free in our own colonies, than in those of nations who still maintain slavery.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) R. VERNON SMITH.

J. H. TREDGOLD, Esq.

WE are now able to state, that some most respectable shareholders in the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association have put themselves into communication with the directors, in relation to the purchase and holding of slaves by that body. We are sorry to learn that the directors have not evinced the readiness which might have been expected from English gentlemen and British subjects to relinquish an attitude, which involves at once the legal guilt of felony, and the moral criminality of oppression. The shareholders at large, however, will now shortly be appealed to; and we cannot allow ourselves to question for a moment what their decision will be. The inquiries which have been made have elicited one fact, which, we are sure, will excite the deepest astonishment and regret. It appears that, with between four and five hundred slaves their property, the directors *have never received any report of the punishments inflicted on them*. This one fact speaks volumes.

The crowded state of our columns to-day will not allow us to insert a letter which we have received from Mr. Kentish, in reply to the last of Colonel Skerrett. The substance is, that the statements which the colonel contradicts were currently made in Gongo, in the presence of his three nephews, without being contradicted by them; and that he has full reason to confide in the intimations he receives of what passes among the directors. The village where the slave Bonifacio was murdered was not Soboliero, but Taboliero.

AFRICANS RELEASED FROM CAPTURED SLAVERS.

On Saturday, the 13th inst., the following memorial on the condition of the liberated Africans in Cuba, Brazil, and Surinam, was presented to Lord Palmerston, by a deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, composed of the following gentlemen, Messrs. Josiah Forster, George W. Alexander, John Beaumont, Joseph Cooper, Samuel Fox, Stafford Allen, Josiah Conder, J. H. Tredgold, and John Scoble, viz.:—

MEMORIAL.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD PALMERSTON, &c. &c.

MY LORD—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society are deeply sensible of the efforts which her Majesty's government, and especially which your lordship in that important department over which your lordship presides, have made for the entire suppression of the foreign slave-trade, by entering into friendly treaties with different nations for the accomplishment of that most necessary and desirable object. And, whatever may be their general views of the inefficiency of all such treaties, arising from the vast demand for slaves, the enormous profits attending the guilty traffic, and the bad faith of the governments interested or implicated in its continuance; and, though they have the most entire conviction that *only* the universal abolition of slavery will secure its complete termination, they most cheerfully and gratefully acknowledge those efforts, as evidencing on the part of your lordship, and of your lordship's distinguished colleagues, a sincere desire to extinguish an evil which has so long desolated Africa, and afflicted and disgraced mankind.

But, my lord, it must be confessed with grief, that, whilst the great object contemplated by those treaties has been defeated by the daring enterprise of unprincipled men, stimulated by the lust of gain, and the great evil has increased, both in extent and horror, under the very system to which the government has resorted to subdue it; so also have the collateral benefits which were anticipated to have resulted from them been defeated, to a very great extent, by the indifference of governments in treaty with Great Britain to the claims of humanity and justice, and to the faith of treaties, or by direct and culpable connivance in practices which have rendered nugatory the designs of the government.

It was unquestionably the design of the government that the captured Africans, liberated by sentence of the mixed commission courts in Cuba, Brazil, and Surinam, kept up at a heavy cost to this country, should, after a certain period of apprenticeship, merge, with their respective descendants into the free population of these respective countries; but your lordship is painfully aware, that, of the many thousands who have been so liberated since the establishment of those courts, only those who have been rescued by the direct interference of the government at the Havana are now in the possession of their liberty.

The sympathy which the committee feel for these doubly wronged individuals, and the sorrow with which they contemplate their hard fate, is mixed with feelings of indignation against the parties who have thus defrauded them of their just rights, as well as against the governments which could allow this state of things to exist; and the more so, when they consider that in addition to the vast expenditure of their own government, in keeping a fleet of cruisers on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade, a large bounty has been paid to the captors of these wretched Africans, and an expensive machinery instituted to deliver them from bondage, without, after all, securing to them their personal liberty, or preventing their becoming the most helpless and abject of slaves. And thus, my lord, unfortunately, arrangements founded in benevolence, though not in wisdom, as the melancholy result has so fully proved, have operated as a bonus to slaveholders, and have increased the victims of the slave-trade.

In addition to the proofs already before your lordship on this painful subject, the committee would respectfully call your lordship's attention to the following extracts of letters in their possession. The first is dated "Rio," &c., and is as follows, viz.:—

Extract of a letter from Rio Janeiro, dated 5th September, 1840.

"My last communications may not, in all probability, reach London very long before this; yet, as one subject has much pressed on my mind, viz. the necessity of, if possible, preventing the continuance of the system of apprenticing in Rio the negros captured by the British cruisers, I am induced to write again sooner than I otherwise should have done. Unhappily, by this system being pursued, all that is effected by this capture is the actual loss to the trader, the poor apprentice is as much a slave as though he had been clandestinely landed; and, doubtless, the proprietors of estates are very glad to get hands at so cheap a rate, and thus reserve their capital for the purchase of more, as occasion offers. Indeed, so much valued is the advantage, that it requires no small influence with those in authority to obtain the apprentices; thus the estate where I now reside has many, but the owner of the same is father-in-law to the Ex Regent, who is of course now out of office from the accession of the emperor. But to return to the actual condition of these unhappy apprentices, who differ not in the smallest degree from the regularly purchased slave. Why, it is notorious, that, when any slave dies belonging to the parties possessing these apprentices, an apprentice is reported dead, (nay, it is declared that they will purchase a dead body for the purpose) whereas he is substituted for the dead slave, and henceforth becomes the undisputed property of the proprietor and his heirs; of course, if the party be a female, slavery is entailed on her issue."

The writer of the foregoing paragraph, after adverting to the capture of the '*Paquete de Bengula*' by Her Majesty's ship '*Wizard*,' on the 29th October last, having on board 284 negros, states 'that these poor Africans are actually to be apprenticed here; say rather to be enslaved.'

Extract of a letter, dated Cape of Good Hope, November 14th, 1840

"I suppose you know that the men-of-war belonging to the Cape station are on the look out for slavers, both on the west and east coast. When captured, they are sent for adjudication to some British port, if convenient, but, if not convenient, then to Rio. If sent to a British port, the ships are broken up; but if to Rio, they are sold. When slaves are taken, they are condemned to the crown, and apprenticed to the inhabitants for three or four years. At Rio the vessels are not broken up, and frequently leave the port in a week or two after they have been sold through the admiralty court, to pursue the iniquitous traffic. As to the captured slaves, the persons to whom they are apprenticed are bound to report any who may die in their service. By bribery they obtain certificates from the priests, that certain negros died and were buried by them. The deaths are duly registered, and the negros counted for dead. The poor creatures being very ignorant are easily imposed upon, and know nothing of the expiration of

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their apprenticeship; when that period arrives, if any inquiries are made by the officials, the priest's certificates are produced. The negros are dead; their curators are discharged, and in due course, the negros become a part of the goods and chattels of the worthy inhabitants."

Now, when we think that the officers and crews of the men-of-war receive a bounty for every slave landed, it is too bad that these atrocities should be tolerated, and slavery perpetuated at the expense of the British government.

But the committee trust they may rejoice in the fact, that these oppressed people are still under the protection of the British government, that their freedom is guaranteed by solemn treaties, and that, in the legitimate exercise of the influence and power with which your lordship is invested, they may yet be rescued from the degradation and misery into which they have been plunged, and placed in such circumstances as shall secure to them the privileges of freemen. Effectually to accomplish this, however, the committee do humbly conceive they should be transferred as early as possible to the British colonies.

In conclusion, the committee would respectfully urge on your lordship the necessity of taking immediate steps to secure to the liberated Africans in Brazil, and in Surinam, as well as in Cuba, the rights which accrue to them under treaties with the respective governments of these countries; to provide for their early removal to the British colonies; and, further, to make arrangements for the proper disposal of any Africans who may be found on board of captured slavers, by directing the condemnation of all such vessels in one or other of the vice-admiralty courts established in Her Majesty's colonies.

(Signed) JOSIAH CONDER, Chairman,

27, New Broad Street, London, 6th February, 1841.

The deputation was received by his lordship with his usual courtesy and kindness, and several papers were read, and statements made by him, to show that the subject had received the attention of the government, and that, for several years past, negociations had been going on with the government of Spain, Brazil, and Holland, for the purpose of realizing the objects contemplated in the memorial. With Spain the government had been so far successful as to secure, for the Africans liberated by the mixed commission at the Havana since the year 1835, their transport to British colonies, where they were now in the enjoyment of their liberty, under the protection of British laws. With the Brazilian government the government had not hitherto been equally successful, although that government, several years since, had expressed its willingness that the liberated Africans should be removed to the British colonies; and similar negociations had been entered into with the Dutch government, for the protection of the same class of persons in Surinam. His lordship frankly stated, that there was too much reason to fear that the allegations contained in the Memorial were true, that the liberated Africans were reduced to a state of slavery; but assured the deputation that government would follow up the measures it had already taken to rescue them from bondage. His lordship stated the number of African slaves liberated previously to 1835 in Cuba, and therefore to be accounted for by the Spanish government, was about 8000; the number in Brazil about 4000; and the number in Surinam 50, with their descendants.

The deputation seized the opportunity of pressing upon his lordship the critical position of the negros of the *Amistad*, whose fate by this time has probably been decided by the American government; and were assured by him that he would lose no time in pressing the subject on the Spanish government, for the purpose of securing them the protection to which they were entitled under treaties with this country.

In alluding to the extensive prevalence of the slave-trade, his lordship said he had reason to hope, that, from the more stringent character of the treaties for its suppression which had been negotiated by the British government with Foreign powers, it had received a considerable check yet that he conceived these were but *palliatives* at the best, and that the *only effective* method of suppressing the slave-trade, was the *abolition of slavery throughout the world.*

Lord Palmerston, who, together with Lord Clarendon, had most kindly favoured Mr. Alexander with such introductions as might be serviceable to him in his late journey in Spain, received from that gentleman, not merely with politeness, but with evident interest, an account of its results in connexion with the anti-slavery cause. He expressed his opinion, also, that armaments and treaties were but palliatives of the slave-trade, its extinction being attainable only by the extermination of slavery itself.

TEXAS LAND COMPANY.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

SIR,—In the last number of your journal you have inserted a letter from Mr. Maillard on the subject of Texas, and of the board which has been recently established in London to promote the settlement of that country by emigrants from England; I hope, therefore, that in fairness you will allow me an opportunity of saying a few words in answer to that gentleman, and of correcting at the outset one or two mistakes into which he has fallen.

1. It was an error to assert that General Hamilton was in London when the last number of your journal appeared; he was, in truth, in Paris, and, although daily expected in London, he has not yet returned.

2. Connected with General Hamilton's absence is the delay which has occurred in replying to the statements quoted and adopted by Mr. Maillard from the *Morning Post*.* These will receive an answer, no doubt, as soon as the General returns.

Having touched upon these points, I will reply *seriatim*, in the absence of General Hamilton, to the questions put by Mr. Maillard.

1. The first question embodies an assertion which is incorrect. It states that the Texan board have represented themselves as having an accredited agent in Texas, this is not true: the Texan board have stated that "agents will be appointed at Galveston," and that measures are in progress for that purpose; but they have not stated that such an agent has yet been appointed. After this error, Mr. Maillard inquires, "whether any Texan citizen or foreigner dares to undertake in Texas an agency established upon anti-slavery principles, and, if he does so, what will be his fate?" Although this question is merely speculative, the Texan board reply, that one of their own members intends, in the course of a few months, to take such an agency upon himself; and they have no doubt that a gentleman will very shortly be appointed at Galveston to take it in the meanwhile.

2. Mr. Maillard asks, "how would British emigrants be received in Texas, if it were known that they entertained anti-slavery principles; and would not their lives and property be endangered?" In reply, the Texan board have no hesitation in declaring their own belief, that a regard to the best interests of Texas would induce the government of that country to abolish slavery; that any British emigrants impressed with this belief, and expressing it in good faith and with good sense in Texas, would be well received; and that their lives and property would not be in danger.

3. I have looked in vain through the volume of the laws of Texas, published at Houston in 1838, for the law mentioned by Mr. Maillard as punishing the simplest anti-slavery movement with death; I cannot find any such law, and I cannot believe in its existence. The African slave trade has already been declared to be piracy, and convictions have taken place under that law The introduction of slaves into Texas is not allowed except from the United States, and that only on the most limited and partial scale. Among the laws I find are some for the relief of free Africans which would lead me to infer that the spirit of legislation towards the negro population is already liberal, and may be rendered more so.

4. Mr. Maillard asks, "whether it would be safe or possible for an emigrant, or body of emigrants, to locate themselves on lands west of San Antonio de Bexar? which is situate," says he, "on the frontier of the Comanche Indians' territory." The assertion at the conclusion of this question admits of an easy answer. If Mr. Maillard will refer to the President's last message, he will see that the country around St. Antonio de Bexar has been lately cleared of the Comanche Indians by General Rusk. Equally unavailing is the reference in the *Morning Post* to the Mexicans. At the present moment it is probable that a treaty of pacification and boundary between Mexico and Texas is under consideration at Mexico. Again, if Mr. Maillard will refer to the best authorities respecting Bexar, he will find that that town is the oldest Spanish garrison or settlement in Texas, and that it contains a population of 3500 souls. The lands of the board in this district are protected by their vicinity to Bexar, a town which is valuable both as a garrison and a market, and the board have no doubt that a body of emigrants, large or small, might settle upon those lands with equal safety and advantage.

5. The Texan board are not aware, and cannot believe, that clergymen in Texas are prohibited from preaching the gospel to negros. It is scarcely possible to imagine a law which would be more injurious than this to the Texan proprietors themselves; and its folly is such that the board cannot believe in its existence.

With the private opinions of Mr. Maillard as to the impracticability of abolishing slavery in Texas, and the unchangeableness of the prejudices which he alleges to exist on this subject, the Texan board have no intention to interfere. They have commenced operations upon their own principles, and are determined, if possible, to carry those principles into operation. *Dimidium facti qui cœpit habet.* They refer with pleasure to the example of Ohio, one of the neighbouring states of the union, in which slavery has been abolished; and to that of Kentucky, in which it would have been abolished but for the indiscretion of the abolitionists. As, on the one hand, there is nothing more dangerous than zeal without prudence, so, on the other, *Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia.* In our own country, there are two classes of allies against whom the abolitionists ought to be on their guard; viz: the Roman Catholics, and the Mexican bondholders. Whatever differences of opinion may exist among these men, in one respect they are united: viz, in wishing to see the government of Mexico re-established in Texas. The one looks to the ascendancy of his religion, and the other to the price of his stock; yet both of them affect to oppose the independence of Texas under the banner of Anti-slavery principles.

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

In the opinion of the Texan Board, it is scarcely possible to conceive conduct more unwise and impolitic, than that of those Englishmen who would resist the independence of Texas. That republic in the south is in England what Canada is in the north; indeed, it may be rendered far more valuable to us than Canada. By the law of nations, we had no better right to make the abolition of slavery in Texas a condition precedent to the recognition of its independence, than any state in Europe would have had to pass a non-intercourse act against us, during the existence of slavery in our own colonies. The origin of slavery in Texas cannot be justified, but it may be extenuated from the overwhelming necessity of the circumstances under which it commenced. Mr. Maillard will find these circumstances fairly stated in the *Colonial Magazine*, for January, 1841. We lament its origin, and rejoice that there is no necessity for its continuance. Let us avail ourselves of this last circumstance to promote its abolition; at the same time, let us act with good temper. I am happy to see that Mr. Maillard gives us credit for sincerity. How could he do otherwise? Our chairmain is a West India proprietor, who possesses two estates on which the slaves have been freed, and who would rejoice to see that done in Texas which has been done in Barbados. Can we offer a better proof of sincerity? He that is not with us is against us; and it would be a singular anomaly to find the Anti-slavery Society in the ranks of our enemies. I remain, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

HENRY PRATER, Sec.

Texan Land and Emigration Board, Exeter Hall, 15th Feb. 1841.

* It is proper to state, that the extract from the *Morning Post* was not sent by Mr. Maillard, nor in any way connected with his letter, except by juxta position from similarity of subject.—ED.

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SONNET

ON THE DEATH OF JOHN STURGE, ESQ., OF BIRMINGHAM.

Gentle, and good, and great—whom death hath bound
Fast in his mute cold cell—ill spare we thee
From holy warfare, where thou erst wast found,
In armour on the field of liberty!
Thou hadst a heart as tender as would grace
Fair woman's lovelier breast. Thou hadst a mind
That led the van in the imperial race
For truth and wisdom, round thy brows to bind.
'Twas thine to give to poor estateless youth
Knowledge and virtue, life's most precious dower;
To break the bondman's fetters by the truth,
That freedom's labour in the greatest power.
But thou hast left these labours for yon world of bliss:
Wife, kindred, all who knew thee, mourn for thee in this!

SLAVERY IN MARTINIQUE.

The following notices of the treatment of slaves in this French colony, are taken from a work recently published in Paris, entitled, "*Souvenirs d'un Creole sur la Martinique*," written by M. Fauvel Gouraud, a white gentleman born in the island, and, it would appear, a planter. The work has been highly praised in one of the principal Parisian reviews, and its author described as a man of excellent qualities, who has written only what he himself has seen. He writes thus:—

"One afternoon, passing through this plantation on my way to the Quartier du François, I called at the house, for the purpose of having a little chat with Madame la Marquise de Bellegarde, and the Chevalier de * * *. This lady was not given to the reading of romances. 'These fooleries,' said she to me, 'corrupt the minds of young women.' She possessed a little library of eight volumes of the works of Voltaire, and, on each occasion that I visited her, I was always sure of finding one of these volumes in her hand.

"It was near five o'clock when I alighted from my horse, at the door of the house. After having given orders to the two black servants who accompanied me not to unbridle the horses, or place them in the stable, I immediately entered the mansion. This time I did not find the Marquise reading her favourite Voltaire; but holding in her hand a large and beautiful telescope, which enabled her to watch the negros at work in the garden, without leaving the house. I had surprised her intensely occupied in looking through the jalousies of that part of the house where she stood, to one particular spot of the plantation. She was so absorbed as not to perceive me, for at least ten minutes after my arrival. On my uttering the words 'I have caught you,' she turned her head towards me, exhibiting some degree of alarm. 'Ah! what are you doing there?' I said. 'What are you looking at, Madame, which appeared to cause you so much pleasure?'

Pleasure?' she replied; 'if it be one, it costs us dear. You know that we are ruined, and that we have lost in a little time sixty negros, and more mules and oxen than that.' 'Yes, Madame,' I replied, 'I have learnt with grief the misfortunes which have happened to you. But where is the chevalier?' 'He is at present much occupied. Here, if you would see him, take this telescope, and direct it to the point where you will see men on horseback, and you will learn what he is doing.'

"Having directed the telescope to the point indicated by the Marquise, a frightful trembling seized me. 'How horrible!' I cried, the glass falling from my hands. I felt myself fainting, and I approached a chair for support. I cast my eyes on the woman I had seen, only two minutes before, wrapped in enjoyment, while looking at the same object which had caused me so much emotion. 'What an abomination!' said I to her. 'Why, Madame, is it M * * *, a white, a European, that I have just seen goading a bullock to make him move, that he may drag after him a miserable negro, by the cord fixed round his horns and tied to the negro's leg?' In short, I had seen six vigorous oxen, incited by six whites, or rather six torturers, engaged in tearing a poor African limb from limb, on suspicion that he had poisoned the blacks who had perished in plantation Bellegarde. This was the second negro that had suffered this horrible death, and a third was subjected to the same torments, as I afterwards heard.

"Though Madame Bellegarde entreated me to join the party who were assisting the chevalier * * * to quarter his slaves alive who were suspected of poisoning, I decided on quitting the house at once. I called for my horses, and left a few minutes after, never to return thither."

In the same volume, M. Fauvel Gouraud records the particulars of an interview between a Mr. Charles Wale, an English gentleman, and a M. F. du Vauclin, at which he was present, as follows:—"Charles Wale rose, and looking at * * * with indignation, said, 'I know you, Sir, as well as you know yourself, and I know that you are a coward and an assassin, and that you are capable of any villany. Two months have not passed since you interred alive one of your domestics. You ordered him to dig his grave; he dug it by your orders, and therein you buried him alive! Had he been criminal—had he merited his death, you had no right to doom him to death, and to become his executioner, for you were his master; the laws under which you live give you no such power.'. . . . . .

"Scarcely had F * * * left the room, when Mr. Wale drew from a box which contained my depositions, a letter from the old Dubue Ramville, addressed to him by one of F * * *'s neighbours, and which gave me the details of this atrocious murder.

"I had a full and entire knowledge of the horrible affair of which he was the author. I do not report that which was known to but few persons, for unfortunately it was too well known to very many colonists; since this mode of execution was but too often repeated at that period, without the government having the power to repress it. The vexations which the planters encountered in the execution of the laws, and the slowness with which the special tribunal, appointed to take cognizance of the crimes of the slaves, proceeded, led to a general relaxation of the obligations imposed by colonial regulations. Many of the planters became the judges and executioners of their own slaves. Even women did not hesitate to take part in these horrors. Nobody could know better than myself the occurrence of these barbarous executions. My profession of surveyor of the colony gave me the means of knowing, not only the individuals for whom I surveyed, but all their neighbours, as well as the anecdotes of each family.

"When the special tribunal had condemned to death one or two negros for having poisoned the slaves of their master, or those of his neighbours, or the mules of one or the other, all the neighbourhood received news of it; and this was the case when the planter, without having recourse to the tribunal, determined upon the execution of his slaves. All the country round was informed; but the residents in the towns, such as Port-Royal or St. Pierre, were entirely ignorant of these executions perpetrated by the inhabitants of the country. The Creoles who dwell in the towns cannot be accused of cruelty towards their slaves.

"All the plantations that I know in Martinique, which have been ravaged by poison, are those on which the sugar cane is grown. The negros of the coffee estates being more happy, and not subject to so painful a labour as the others, have not the same cause for poisoning. Nevertheless, several cases have come to my knowledge, when coffee estates have lost many negros by the poison administered to them by those who live on the sugar plantations.

"Among the atrocious cases that I have known, one not less frightful than those which I have already cited presents itself to my recollection. D * * D * * *, of the Quartier François, caused one of his negros to be put to death in the following manner. He had lost several slaves by poisoning. His suspicions having fallen on the headman, he made all his other slaves attend at the boiling house, where the manufacture of sugar was then going on; and, after having had him tied by his hands and feet, caused him to be put, feet foremost, on the fire of the furnace, over which the coppers were then boiling.

"During the time I was occupied in making the plan of plantation Gatemalo, situated in the Quartiere de la Riviere Pilate, belonging to Madame Gregoire, I was sent for by the attorney of the plantation of Madame Samfort, in the same quarter, on business. I saw there a negro, whom the attorney, C * * *, charged with being a poisoner, to whom was given daily a morsel of bread, a little fish, and a glass of water. The fish was powdered with arsenic. The negro having suspected this, preferred dying by starvation, to dying by poison. He lived eleven days. After his death, all the poisoned provisions were found in his cell. The attorney of the estate had taken upon himself to inflict this punishment, without appealing to any tribunal whatever."

In the eighteenth chapter of his work, M. Fauvel Gouraud gives the following facts: "One morning, about eleven o'clock, I arrived at the house of F * * *, in proceeding to the Quartier de Marin, where I had to visit a plantation. I found his wife and children in tears. Having been informed of the cause of their sorrow, I learnt that M. F * * * was engaged at an execution, and that the militia of the neighbourhood, as well as the workmen of the environs, were present to witness it. I asked Madame F * * *, if the special tribunal had been held at her house; she replied, 'No,' and invited me to go and join her husband.

"* * * * * * As I desired, before proceeding on my journey, to see her husband, I asked for my horses, and went to the place where the negro had just been put to death. His two feet had been tied together, as well as one of his hands, after he had dug his own grave in the presence of the other labourers. One of his arms had been attached to a cord, and two negros, placed one on either side of the grave, held him up by means of a stick, to which the other end of the cord was joined. At a signal given by M. F * * *, four additional negros, who had been placed there with shovels, commenced filling up the grave. When I arrived at the place of execution, the hand of the wretched negro was still quivering. * * * * * It is repugnant to humanity to believe that men who have received their education in France, could be capable of committing such atrocities. Now what were the reasons which induced M. F * * * to perpetrate, in cold blood, this abominable act? I will tell you. This unfortunate negro, who had been a domestic in the house, had stolen one or two fishes from the store, and for this had been sent to labour in the field. Some time after he was seized with fever, and asked permission to go to the hospital. F * * * accused him of making himself ill, and refused this permission, and made him continue his work in the field. Negros when sick require care as well as whites; but F * * * refused this to his slave, and declared that, if he would die, he should die before he desired it. In short, he kept his word, and the negro was killed as I have stated."

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXII. Vol. II. No. 5.] WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

A slight consideration of the present state of the Anti-Slavery question, at home and abroad, appears to us to afford much ground for satisfaction and encouragement. We are, therefore, desirous of briefly stating some of the observations which occur to us on this subject.

We will first direct our attention to the indication of public sentiment in England, afforded by some of the public prints which have the largest circulation in this country. Among these we may mention the *Times*, *Morning Herald*, *Morning Chronicle*, *Manchester Guardian*, and *Leeds Mercury*. In the former of these journals we have recently noticed, with much satisfaction, articles on slavery in India, on slavery in America, and on the American Colonization Society. We might also refer, with similar feelings, to remarks in the *Chronicle* on American slavery, as well as to judicious and talented articles in the other newspapers we have mentioned. We, however, fear that, in naming a very few only of the journals to which our remarks have reference, we may seem to do injustice to many, both in town and country, in which the claims of the slave are conscientiously, zealously, and ably advocated.

We must not omit, in connexion with the subject to which we are referring, to advert to the altered tone of some newspapers, which have done themselves no small discredit by the manner in which they have, in past time, alluded to one of the fairest acts in the records of British history, the act of emancipation. We might cite as an illustration of this remark, the organ of the planters, the *Colonial Gazette*, and quote, as an evidence of some improvement, passages in the review of Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*, and a notice of the recent work on American slavery.

For the purpose for which we have referred to the newspaper press, we would advert to our literary periodicals, and observe that a most satisfactory testimony to the results of emancipation will be found in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, in an article on free trade. We may also remark that the *London and Westminster Review* has distinguished itself as the advocate of the slave, particularly in a paper since published in a separate form, under the title of the Martyr Age of the United States.

The *Electic Review* has laboured in the same cause, and has won for itself no small honour by the often repeated attacks on the iniquities of slavery and the slave-trade contained in its pages. We might further allude with much satisfaction to sentiments which we have seen in the *Christian Observer*, conducted by members of the church of England, in the *Baptist Magazine*, the *Saturday Magazine*, and in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*. The proper limits of this article will not, however, allow us to enlarge upon this fruitful topic.

If, from England, we turn our attention to the United States of America, we find there a large number of newspapers exclusively devoted to the abolition cause. It is also a source of no small satisfaction to us to know, that there are in that land men whose zeal on behalf of the rights of the slave is not inferior to that of any who have promoted the same righteous cause in our own country. We may add, as might be expected under such circumstances, that public sentiment in the United States is advancing with no slow or uncertain progress. On this point we quote an illustrative remark from a recent publication in that country, by Dr. Channing, entitled *Emancipation*. In referring to an article of the American constitution, requiring the surrender and return of fugitive slaves, it is said "this provision of the constitution is undergoing a silent repeal, and no power on earth can sustain it. Just in proportion as slavery becomes the object of conscientious reprobation in the free states, just so far the difficulty of sending back the fugitive increases. In the part of the country where I reside (Boston), it is next to impossible that the slave who has once reached us should be restored to bondage. Not that our courts of law are obstructed; not that mobs would rescue the fugitive from the magistrate. We respect the public authorities. Not an arm would be raised against the officers of justice. But what are laws against the moral sense of a community? No man amongst us who values his character would aid the slave-hunter."

A circumstance has lately occurred in the western world, in relation to which the anti-slavery feeling in the United States has been strikingly manifested. It is well known that, not long since, some Africans who had been recently imported into Cuba as slaves, and who were re-embarked from Havana for Puerto Principe, rose upon the persons in charge of the vessel, killed some of them, made themselves masters of the ship, and were finally carried into Newhaven, *in* the United States, by a ship of war belonging to the government of that country. These Africans, who are not *legally* slaves, have been claimed as such by the Spanish representative in the United States, for the purpose of sending them to Cuba. On the other hand, in order to secure, if possible, justice for these men, the abolitionists of America have engaged the assistance of some of the most distinguished lawyers in that country, and the strongest remonstrances have been addressed to the government on their behalf. The public press has lent its aid, and teems with allusions to the deeply interesting and momentous question, whether the Africans of the Amistad shall be protected, or delivered over to almost certain death, in an island where laws for the abolition of the inhuman trade in men are flagrantly and extensively violated, and where (as may reasonably be supposed from a knowledge of this fact, as well as from the history of slavery in other lands,) laws for the protection of slaves are to a great extent a dead letter. Whatever may be the result of the proceedings now pending, to which we look with more of painful foreboding than of hope, we regard with much satisfaction the deep sympathy which has been manifested in the situation of the Africans of the Amistad; and believe that the circumstances connected with this case will do much to increase the interest felt in the lot of the slave in America, and in other parts of the world.

We feel it needful, before quitting the subject of the Africans of the Amistad, to state distinctly, that, as Christians, we strongly condemn the killing of the crew of that vessel; but, when we consider that these Africans had been cruelly forced from their native land, and were illegally held in bondage, and that they were untaught the benign doctrines of the gospel, we cannot think that they should, either in law or justice, be delivered over to the tender mercies of men by whom law and justice are openly trampled under foot.

We should do wrong to the prospects of abolition in America, did we not, in attempting to describe them, advert to one work, among others, worthy of much praise, recently published in that land. We now speak of Dr. Channing's *Emancipation*, from which we have quoted a short extract. This pamphlet appears to us inestimable for its noble advocacy of the claims of the slave, and the spirit in which they are urged, while the eloquent language in which it is written is worthy of its intrinsic excellence. We are much mistaken if this little book, and its precursor, J. J. Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*, (originally published in the United States,) have not a powerful influence on the American mind, and on the liberation of nearly three millions of slaves held in that country.

We pass on to the Brazils, which has been called by the *Colonial Gazette*, with a levity or want of proper consideration which we cannot but deeply regret, "the bugbear of abolitionists." We confess that we are appalled by the consideration of the human misery and enormous guilt which are to be found in a country holding from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 of slaves, and which is the greatest mart in the world for imported Africans, of whom 60,000 are annually introduced.

Some light has, however, arisen in the midst of the thick darkness of that unhappy land, in the circumstance that a portion of her inhabitants have discovered that the crimes of slavery and the slave-trade are inconsistent with sound policy—that "the land owner amongst us (to use language in a paper lying before us) does not draw a real and solid advantage from the perishable capital which he is obliged constantly and successively to invest in slaves, who are disinclined to labour, and who perish after a few years." Again, it is said, "Slavery is an insatiable gulf for all the goods and property of the Brazilian planter. Look to the interior, to the provinces, and you will see

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how the embarrassed planter sacrifices the last bag of coffee, the last bale of cotton, and the last bag of sugar, for buying more blacks, and more blacks; and thus goes off to Africa all that he possesses, like water which is absorbed by the earth, without ever returning." The first of these extracts occurs in the report of the deputies' committee, which was presented on the 16th of June last; and the second in the remarks of the *Journal of Commerce*, published at Rio de Janeiro. Some observations condemnatory of slavery and the slave-trade by Jose de Bonifacio, an eminent Brazilian statesman deceased, with prefatory remarks, have also just issued from the press at Rio de Janerio. We refer also, with much satisfaction, to a letter from shareholders in the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, which will not, we think, be lost to the Anti-slavery cause in the country to which we are alluding.

In Spain there are indications that the horrors of slavery and the slave-trade in her colonies will not much longer be tolerated. In addition to the account which has been lately given in our columns, of efforts to interest the people of that country in the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade and their results, we may state that, in a letter recently received from an important town in Spain, the writer says that every feeling of his heart is enlisted in the efforts now making for the deliverance of the slave. Our correspondent adds, that he will use his best efforts to establish an Anti-slavery Society in the place, and thus to follow in Spain the example of other civilized countries.

We would next direct our attention to France. In Guadaloupe, one of the colonies of that country, a case of great cruelty has recently taken place, in which, according to established precedent in slave countries, the white offender, although the commission of the crime is proved, is declared to be not guilty, and the sentence is heard with approving plaudits. The circumstances are stated in the *Times* of the 25th ult.; and five days afterwards, in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 2nd of this month, we find the following paragraph:—"The French colonial minister has sent orders to the French West India islands, in consequence of the infamous treatment of the female slave, and the acquittal of her owner, that henceforth all private prisons are abolished, and that slaves can only be confined in the public prisons, and that at least one-half of the judges must be from France, with some other minor regulations." Such an act on the part of the French government, shows the power and influence of the abolition party in that country. In this point of view, and as indicating a considerable degree of promptitude and energy on the part of the French government, we regard their conduct with much satisfaction, and as a good example to other countries in whose borders the curse of slavery is to be found. It is, however, only a remedy for one mode of oppression, and affords no protection against a thousand which are still possessed by the master of the slave, or his agent. It is like extracting a claw from the lion, while the monster is left at liberty. It is impossible to procure justice for the slave, while retained in that degraded and helpless condition.

We have very recently read with much pleasure, in a French newspaper called *L'Esperance*, which has a considerable circulation among protestants in France, the following remarks: "Our readers are not ignorant that societies exist in England, whose efforts, after having obtained emancipation of the slaves in the English colonies, are at present directed towards those of other countries. France herself has her society of philanthropists for the same object. But hitherto French christians have done nothing to promote this end, except by isolated efforts. We believe that it is at present contemplated to establish a more systematic action. While anticipating this, we will give from time to time information calculated to interest our readers in the lot of the unhappy slaves." Thus does one and another new stream pour its waters into the swelling tide, on which liberty will shortly be borne to 250,000 slaves in the colonies of France.

We might allude to the progress of the anti-slavery cause in Holland, where the Rotterdam Society are likely shortly to publish, in the Dutch language, 5000 or 6000 copies of the address to the people of that country and Denmark, and to take other steps calculated to promote the righteous object in which they are engaged.

We are informed that two gentlemen at Amsterdam have offered to sell their estates at a very reduced price, to any who wish to emancipate the negros. It is added that the colony, Surinam, is far from being in a flourishing state.

We might speak of favourable indications as respects Denmark, and express our trust that slavery in the colonies of that country, and the encouragement given to the slave-trade at St. Thomas's, will not much longer disgrace a government which led the way in the legal abolition of the slave-trade.

But it is time to conclude. We trust that enough has been said to prove the statement we have advanced, as to the hopeful aspect of the anti-slavery cause. Abolitionists of every land, be faithful, energetic, persevering! The eyes of the world are upon you; and, O! how earnestly would those of the slave be so, did he know the position you occupy as his advocate and friend! Do your duty, and constantly seek the blessing of the most High upon your labours. Soon, then, will the jubilee of freedom, which has dawned upon 800,000 slaves, be proclaimed for seven millions that yet remain. America and Africa will be freed from the moral pestilence, by which their prosperity and moral and religious improvement have been so long blighted. Christianity will have achieved a fresh and glorious triumph, and, disembarrassed of one of her deadliest foes, will advance with accelerated progress in subduing the world, until that day shall arrive when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea; and, in every place incense shall be offered unto his name, and a pure offering.

SLAVE TREATMENT IN GUADALOUPE.

A TRIAL of considerable interest took place at the assizes of La-Pointe-à-Pitre, in the island of Guadaloupe, in October last. A colonist, named Douillard-Mahaudière, was charged with having tortured and otherwise cruelly treated a female slave, named Lucile. It appeared from the act of accusation, which was borne out by a great number of witnesses, that the accused, who had recently lost his wife and several head of cattle by death, imagined that they had been poisoned; and that Lucile was connected with a gang of negros, who were reported to be preparers of poisons, and were said to hold secret meetings, at which they decided as to their victims, and fixed upon those who were to administer the poison. Impressed with the idea of the guilt of Lucile, Douillard, without examination or inquiry, had her immured in a dungeon, where she was fastened to a bar of iron, and her left leg and arm were confined in a sort of stocks, so as to prevent all possibility of motion. In this cruel position, with the exception of her having been able to extricate her arm, the wasting of her flesh rendering it possible to withdraw it, she remained an entire year. At length, a milleped having during the night been gnawing her flesh, the acuteness of the agony gave her momentary energy, and tearing a stone from the wall she was enabled to extricate her leg. Her relief was, however, of short duration, for on the following day, when the fact was discovered and reported to her master by the negro who conveyed to her the miserable rations of manioc flour and cod-fish which were allowed her, orders were given for her being again placed in the horrible position of torture from which she had extricated herself. The unfortunate woman remained in this state of confinement altogether twenty-two *months*, the greater part of which she was allowed only a bottle of water a day, notwithstanding the great heat of the atmosphere; and she must have been starved to death, from the irregularity with which even the very small quantity of food allowed to her was supplied, if her daughter had not, in bringing her clean linen, occasionally concealed some food in it, and if the daughters of her master had not also from time to time, but unknown to him, taken some nourishment to her. The dungeon in which she was confined was only nine feet long and six feet broad, and not four feet in height, with no other opening for light and air when the door was closed than a small window. The knowledge of this barbarous and illegal treatment having at length reached the law authorities, the prisoner, who was reduced to a skeleton, was at length released by them, and a prosecution was commenced against her owner. The court was excessively crowded, and many of the colonists who were present appeared to take a deep interest in the defence of the prisoner, which was chiefly confined to an assertion that he had only exercised the just right which a colonist has over his slaves, and that he believed the woman Lucile to have poisoned his wife and his cattle. The Procureur du Roi, (M. Marais) in his address to the court, stated the case against the accused, who it appeared had formally protested against the recent order which gives the law authorities the power of visiting the slave establishments in order that the slaves may be protected against ill-treatment, pointed out the violations of the law committed by the accused, and stated that he would perform his duty to the end, notwithstanding the excitement amongst the colonists in favour of the accused, and the confident tone in which they predicted his acquittal. During the address of the Procureur du Roi, the manifestations of dissatisfaction by the colonists present were frequent and indecorous; but, the president having declared that he would see that the tribunal should be respected, they subsided. All the leading facts were, as we have stated, proved in evidence; and it was also proved that there was no ground for supposing that any cattle had been poisoned by the natives, there being at the time a contagious malady raging which carried them off; nor was there the slightest ground for supposing that the wife of the accused had been poisoned. Amongst the witnesses called for the prosecution was Lucile, who gave an account of her sufferings, and stated that another female slave had been so inhumanly flogged upon the same absurd charge as that for which she herself was confined, that she died a few days afterwards. The curé of the commune, stated that he had written a letter to M. Douillard, entreating him to release his slave, but that he had refused to do so. On being reproached by the president of the tribunal for not making further efforts in the cause of humanity, the curé replied, that he did not feel that he had a right to interpose between master and slave. The mayor of the commune, who was called as a witness, admitted that he had been requested to interfere, but that he had not done so, as he considered that masters had a right to punish their slaves who offended; and he entered into long details about his own losses of cattle, which he also attributed to poison. The accused was defended by M. Grandpré, and the trial, which lasted several days, terminated in a verdict of acquittal. As soon as the verdict was pronounced, the colonists who were in the court rushed to M. Grandpré, and shook hands with him with great warmth, and then conducted M. Douillard out of court in triumph. Almost immediately afterwards M. Douillard got into his cabriolet, and drove through the streets of Point-à-Pitre, followed by his friends, amongst whom was the vice-president of the colonial council. When the crowd arrived opposite to the house of the advocate of M. Douillard, they set up deafening shouts of "Vive Grandpré."—*Times*.

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TO THE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING COMPANY.

HAVING, unknowingly in the first instance, become shareholders in a Mining Company which employs slave labour, we deeply feel the responsibility which devolves upon us, and upon all who have an interest in companies similarly situated. Thus impressed, allow us to call attention to the painful fact, that you, with ourselves, are slave-holders, and to present to you some information and reflections in connexion with the subject.

We may observe that the Brazilian Mining Company claims about 413 slaves, of whom about 168 are men, 114 are women, and 131 are children; and, in addition, there are 40 slaves hired by contract for a period of two years. Allow us to remind you that the slaves which are thus owned or hired, are the victims or descendants of those who were obtained by cruel wars carried on in Africa, in many instances waged for the very purpose of procuring captives for sale, or have been procured in other ways no less inconsistent with humanity and religion. This is the origin of the slavery the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company is countenancing.

We not only object in the strongest manner to the way in which this unrighteous species of property is acquired, but to the system of slavery, as in itself unjust and necessarily cruel. We cannot but regard such a system as in direct opposition to the righteous law of God, and to the merciful principles of the gospel.

Entertaining these views of the essential character of slavery, we must strongly deprecate the countenance of it by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company under any circumstances. We have, however, thought it our duty to make some inquiry as to the particular situation of the slaves held by the Company, and we regret that, upon several important points on which we have sought information, we have either not been able to obtain it, or that which we have obtained is of the most unsatisfactory character; for instance, the nature, extent, and effect of the punishments inflicted on the slaves is not known to our Directors: only one return of such punishments appears to have been sent home, and that several years since. And with respect to the education of the slaves, it appears to have been abandoned in deference to the feelings and wishes of the slave-holders in the vicinity.

We will not dwell upon the statements which have been made of cruelties perpetrated by some of the servants of the Company, when separated thousands of miles from the Directors, some of which, however, we believe to be too true; we would rather call your attention to the circumstance, that the slavery which is thus sanctioned by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, is a system by which millions of human beings are subjected to a debasing, cruel, and, in many instances, life-destroying bondage—a system which fosters, both on the part of the slave and his oppressor, a fearful amount of immorality and neglect of religious obligations.

It must also be ever borne in mind, that, as slavery originated in the enormous iniquity of the slave-trade, so it continually fosters this evil, which exists to an enormous extent in the Brazils, in despite of laws for its abolition; the number of its annual victims is calculated at 60,000! With a knowledge of these facts, can you withhold your most strenuous exertions to remove from your character the reproach of being a slave-holder, and from your conscience the guilt of being implicated in a crime so fatally and extensively destructive to human happiness, and to the advancement of civilization and religion?

Brother share-holders, there are no impediments to the immediate and complete emancipation of our slaves in the Brazils; you have only to will it, and they may at once become free. It is our intention shortly to call upon the Directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company to summon a meeting of the proprietors in that Company, to consider the deeply important subject of giving liberty to the slaves held by them. We respectfully and earnestly solicit the aid of all share-holders on this occasion, in order to effect an object in which our honour and duty are so deeply concerned. Should the Company perform that act of justice which is sought at their hands, we entertain the hope that it would in no small degree promote the righteous cause of emancipation in Brazil, and in other parts of the world.

For ourselves we feel it a solemn duty to protest against the employment of slave labour by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, and express our determination to use our most earnest exertions to prevent its continuance, whenever an opportunity is afforded.

(Signed by)

EDWARD HARRIS, London.
GEORGE THOMAS, Bristol.
EDWARD THOMAS, "
JOSEPH FRY, "
FRANCIS FRY, Bristol.
RICHARD FRY, "
HENRY TUCKETT, London.

Any communication on the subject may be addressed to Henry Tuckett, at 7, South Street, Finsbury.

London, March 3, 1841.

THE subject of slavery in America having been brought under the consideration of the church meeting in Maze Pond, London, November 24th, 1840, it was

Resolved—That, after hearing the resolutions of the Anti-Slavery Convention, and some statements in relation to the state of slavery in America, and especially in connexion with the professing church of Christ in that country, we do solemnly and deliberately record our determination to refuse communion at the Lord's table with any person known to be the holder of a slave.

(Signed) JOHN ALDIS, Pastor.

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

GLEANINGS FROM EAST INDIA PAPERS, 1839.

"IT is in contemplation to form a society for the protection of native christians from the oppression of Temindars and others, and an *Anti-slavery Society, to watch over the movements of the men-stealers of Hindustan.*"

The *Commercial Advertiser* states, that "the practice of kidnapping boys and girls is carried on at an *enormous rate* in Colinga and Calaseytollah, *in the suburbs of Calcutta.*"

"Two slaves, girls, having escaped from the residence of one of the Mysore princes, were brought before Mr. Patton, the magistrate of Tellah, twenty-four Pergunnahs, by the Nazier of the coast; the father of one and the mother of the other, who were arrived from Burdwan, accompanied them. The magistrate ordered the parties to come forward, and questioned them. They stated that they had been severely ill-treated by their mistress, and refused to return to her mansion. The younger of the slave girls showed a large scab on the crown of her head, which she said was occasioned by her mistress causing hot water from a kettle to be poured over it." The magistrate ordered the liberation of these girls.

There is a case before the marine police authorities that is likely to prove subject matter for investigation before the Supreme Court, it being the discovery of twenty or thirty youths, belonging to a native vessel in the roads, in a state of slavery, having been purchased at various prices, from three rupees upwards. * * * * "The discovery was made by a Peon, who, accompanying a boat proceeding to the vessel alluded to, had his suspicions excited by something apparently concealed in the bottom of the boat: on going to the spot he found, on removing the covering, several youths, the eldest not exceeding ten years of age. The boat was immediately ordered to make for the shore, and, on the circumstance being made known to the master attendant, the result of the inquiry and search he ordered was the discovery of from twenty to thirty youths, either on board or being conveyed to this vessel, under the circumstances we have stated."

The parties guilty of the above transaction, seventeen in number, were tried before the Supreme Court for "piracy, felony, and robbery," and the evidence produced on the trial fully established their guilt; but the counsel for the prisoners, Mr. Fullerton, discovered a flaw in the indictment, the word *feloniously* having been left out of all the counts of the indictment except the last. The court held the objection to be fatal, although there was no doubt the prisoners were guilty of the crime with which they stood charged, and they were dismissed with a severe admonition from the bench.

In commenting upon the result of this trial, the press observed, "It is an evidence that, however the law may be considered by some as the 'perfection of reason,' it is in fact just the reverse; for the present is not a solitary case of the course of justice being arrested by such errors in indictments, which, as in the present case, are pronounced 'fatal,' but are almost of daily occurrence."

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

A MOST revolting and aggravated case of slave-trading has transpired, in a capture made by H. M. S. Ringdove. We have two accounts of it; the one from a correspondent of an American paper at Havana, the other from Mr. Candler, who fell in with the Ringdove at Cape Haytien. We shall give them both. The letter from Havana is dated January 17th.

"On Sunday morning last information was given that a slaver, captured by a British sloop of war, (the Ringdove,) had arrived during the night, and I determined to visit her. An officer reported the small pox on board, and directed the negros to be removed to the Romney, a British receiving ship in this harbour. Not fearing the small pox, I went on board the Romney on Thursday. Her commander is Lieut. Hawkins, who was in the battle of Trafalgar, and who received me kindly. On his deck, transferred from the slaver, were 240 children, boys and girls, from 7 to 13 years of age, all naked. Four are females of about 20, and one of these had an infant in her arms. They were busy washing and feeding them. Some appeared to be very ill, and many were much chafed and sore from the motion of the vessel; a great number of them seemed to straighten themselves and stand up with difficulty, from their long confinement and bent position in the hold of the slaver.

"She was lying alongside—a Spanish built vessel, named the Jesu Maria, of not more than 35 or 40 tons—about one-half the size of a common river sloop, and in all respects like a lime or manure boat from a Jersey or Long Island inlet. The water casks and ship stores were stowed in the hold, leaving above them, and under the deck, a space of from 2 to 3 feet, into which these children had been crowded. The cargo originally consisted of 280; 30 had died before and 10 after the capture.

"I expressed to the honest old lieutenant a desire to learn the story of these children and of their captivity, if it were possible, and he called up a black man who had been sent on board, and professed to speak their language. He stated that he had conversed with them, and that they had told him they had all been sold to traders in Africa by their parents. I asked him to point out one with whom he could speak—he hesitated—the lieutenant then ordered the woman with the child to be brought before him, and directed certain questions to be put to her. It was soon apparent to the lieutenant, to myself, and to a gentleman of Boston who had accompanied me on board, that the black man was an impostor, and that he and the woman did not understand a word of what passed between them.

"The slave-trade is much encouraged here by public feeling. When a Guinea vessel arrives, it is immediately proclaimed by every body, if the slaves are men, that they were captives taken in war, and shipped to save their lives; if children that they were sold by their parents. The commerce is thus reputed to be philanthropic, and curses are loud and open against British interference. The city has several *barracones*, or public

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slave-markets, in its vicinity. If slaves can once be got into any inlet before capture, they are beyond the reach of British authority."

Mr. Candler's account is from a letter dated Cape Haytien, Jan. 15.

"Went on board the Ringdove, ship of war, just arrived in the harbour to get a supply of water. This vessel, commanded by Capt. the Hon. Keith Stewart, captured off Santa-Cruiz on the 29th ult., the Spanish brigantine, Jesu Maria, of small burden, having on board 248 children of from ten to sixteen years of age, and four young women, making in all 252 captives. She took in her cargo at the river Sherbro, had been thirty-eight days at sea, and was bound to Porto Rico; twenty-eight had died previous to capture, and four since; and twenty-two were in a very emaciated condition. The poor young victims had been placed on water-casks, on which no planks were laid, and many of them were grievously bruised. The greatest height between the casks and the deck was two feet eight inches; under the beams, two feet four inches; average height, thirty inches. Let the horrifying fact be made known. Eleven persons, most of them villanous looking men, were taken out of the slaver as claiming to be passengers, and were on board the Ringdove to be sent to Porto Rico. The captain and crew had been sent to Havana, with the vessel and cargo, for adjudication. The pilot of the slaver, a pretended passenger, a wicked-looking Cuban slave-stealer, showed me his chart of the African coast, and pointed out the precise places from which the children were carried off. There is war, he says, between the Gallinas and Cape Mount people, and the captives were part of the fruits of the conflict, purchased of both parties, and sent to Sherbro to be shipped off as slaves. The present price of children of the above age is a doubloon's worth of merchandise, disposed of at 50 per cent. profit, making the actual cost in net silver, eight dollars each! The pilot told me he bought one for himself for an old cloak and an empty chest. A Cuban free black man, another passenger, related to me some of his iniquitous doings in Africa, and justified his conduct by saying that he could earn more money in this way than any other!"

We cannot help adding to this narrative, that Cape Mount is within the colony of Liberia.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* should be addressed to the Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 10TH.

OUR friends will learn with much interest and gratification that Mr. Joseph Sturge is on the eve of departing for the United States, with a view to the advancement of the anti-slavery cause there. He sails by the British Queen, which leaves London this day.

We are sure he will be followed by the sympathy and the prayers of many; and we cherish the liveliest hope that his visit will afford important encouragement and aid to abolitionists in the Western world. The following minute is entered on the books of the Anti-slavery Committee in relation to this subject.

"Our much valued friend and fellow-labourer, Joseph Sturge, has informed the committee of his intention, as an act of duty, to visit some parts of the United States, with the desire of being made instrumental in promoting the great and single object of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

"The generous devotedness of our dear friend is highly estimated by this committee, and the object which he has in view commends itself to our cordial sympathy. It is our warm desire and prayer that it may please the Lord to preserve him in health, to support him by his strength, and to bless his labours.

"G. W. ALEXANDER, Chairman.
"J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary."

OUR readers will see with satisfaction that the misdeeds of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, have at length been taken up by the proper parties. The address to the shareholders which appears in our columns to-day, was circulated among such members of this body as attended a meeting of business on the 4th instant, and has been subsequently inserted as an advertisement in the *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle*. It will surprise our readers, perhaps, to be informed, that this is the only way by which the shareholders of the association are accessible one to another. Most naturally did those who have interested themselves in the slave-holding question apply to the directors for access to the list of shareholders, that they might, by direct communication, make their fellow-proprietors acquainted with the facts, and elicit their opinion upon them. The directors have refused this request! This is sturdy partizanship, we think, of the cruel and unrighteous system of slavery; and is evidently doing all they can to shield both themselves and their course of iniquity, by preventing the proprietary from being appealed to. This attitude of the directors is indecent even to insult, and we are assured that it is also illegal. It is, of course, a very doubtful matter, how many of the shareholders may happen to see the advertisement; but the directors may be assured that the business is in the hands of men who will not suffer themselves to be defeated by evasion. Their nefarious deeds must be dragged to the light. If they can be defended *there*, let them be so; but they shall not be hidden.

THE attention of our readers should be particularly directed to the case of the slave-girl at Guadaloupe, and the action of the French government thereon, as noticed in the article headed *Signs of the Times*.

WE gave in our last a copy of the memorial respecting the condition of the Africans liberated by British cruizers, which was lately presented to Lord Palmerston by a deputation of the Anti-slavery Committee. We subjoin with pleasure the courteous acknowledgment of it by his lordship which the Committee have subsequently received.

"*Foreign Office, March 9th*, 1841.

"SIR—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial of the 6th ult., from the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, forwarded by you as chairman, and urging his lordship to take steps for securing to the liberated Africans in Brazil, in Surinam, and in Cuba, the rights which accrue to them under the treaties concluded by Great Britain with Brazil, the Netherlands, and Spain; and I am to request that you will state to the society, that her Majesty's government shares fully the humane sentiments expressed by them on this occasion; that the subject to which their memorial relates has already for several years engaged the attention of her Majesty's government, and that repeated communications have been made thereupon to the governments of the countries in question, as appears by the papers annually laid before parliament.

"Lord Palmerston regrets that the endeavours of her Majesty's government on these matters have not as yet been attended with success; but he has recently issued instructions to her Majesty's ministers at Rio de Janeiro, at the Hague, and at Madrid, to press in the most urgent manner the governments of Brazil, of the Netherlands, and of Spain, to agree to arrangements calculated to ensure to the liberated negros the full benefit of that freedom to which they are entitled by treaty.

"I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,
(Signed) "LEVESON."
"J. Conder, Esq."

GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

IT will be in the recollection of our readers, that, at the General Anti-slavery Convention, an address to Sovereigns was agreed to, the duty of presenting it being devolved on the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee. Of the presentation of this address to the Queen of England, and to some other Sovereign powers, an account has already appeared in our columns. We have now the pleasure of reporting further progress in this matter, as exhibited in an official document recently laid before the Anti-slavery Committee by a few of their number, to whom it had been confided.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTATION APPOINTED TO PRESENT THE ADDRESS TO SOVEREIGNS FROM THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, TO THE SEVERAL AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS FROM FOREIGN COURTS RESIDENT IN LONDON.

1. January 15th, 1841.

J. G. BEHRENDS, Esq., Consul, representing the High Senate of the Free City of Frankfort.

The deputation were courteously received. Mr. Behrends stated that he would, with great pleasure, forward the Address to the senate; and that, although the senate had no colonies or slaves, they would feel deeply interested in the objects to which it referred.

2. January 25th.

His Excellency M. DEDEL, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, representing his Majesty the king of the Netherlands.

His Excellency informed the Deputation that his government had united with our own in a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade; but, as he found the subject of the abolition of slavery, which still existed in some of the Dutch colonies was referred to in the Address, he begged to be allowed a short time to consider whether it would be his duty to forward the same to his Sovereign.

3. January 28th.

His Excellency Prince MAVROCORDATO, Ambassador representing his Majesty the king of Greece.

His Excellency expressed himself delighted to receive the Deputation on such a subject, and assured them of his sympathy with the objects of the Address. After adverting to the charge which had been brought against the Greek government, that its flag covered the slave-trade, he read a clause from the fundamental laws of the Greek nation, showing that slavery could not exist in any form in any part of its territories, and that the same provision extended to all vessels subject to its flag. They understood him to say, that, if slaves had on any occasion been transported by Greek vessels, it must have been clandestinely; for the moment they trod the deck of a Greek vessel they were *ipso facto* free. His Excellency said that, if, however, there were any cases discovered of slave-trading under the Greek flag, and particulars were forwarded to him, he would transmit the same to his government, and a strict inquiry would be instituted in the same. He assured the Deputation that they might rely on the Greek nation to aid them in the cause, as the Greeks themselves had suffered severely, and had been compelled to take arms to recover their liberties.

4. January 28th.

His Excellency Baron de BLOME, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, representing His Majesty the king of Denmark. Although his Excellency had intimated that he thought it might not be necessary to trouble the Deputation to wait on him, it was considered most respectful to do so: they therefore called at his residence, and, not finding him at home, left the Address. They are happy to add, however, that, in his Excellency's

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communication, he assures the committee that he will lose no time in transmitting the Address to his Sovereign, and feels convinced that it will be received with all the interest which an Address emanating from an assembly convened for so noble a purpose ought to inspire.

5. January 29th.

His Excellency Don MANUEL MARENO, Minister representing the government of Buenos Ayres, and the Argentine Republic.

His Excellency received the Deputation with much kindness, and assured them, he would avail himself of the earliest opportunity of transmitting the Address to the government of Buenos Ayres.

The Deputation understood him to say that measures had been taken, soon after the establishment of the present form of government at Buenos Ayres, for the abolition of slavery within its territories, and that these must end in a few years in its total extinction. He stated, also, that a treaty had lately been entered into with the British government for more effectually suppressing the slave-trade.

6. February 1st.

His Excellency the Baron de CETTO, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, representing the king of Bavaria.

The Deputation were most cordially received by his Excellency. He assured them he was much gratified by the honour they had done him in calling, that, although Bavaria possessed no colonies or slaves, he fully concurred in the sentiments expressed in the Address which was read to him; and was persuaded that His Majesty the king of Bavaria would most willingly co-operate in any way in his power, to promote the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

7. February 6th.

His Excellency Count BJORNSTJERNA, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, representing the king of Sweden.

The circumstances under which the Address was prepared for presentation to his Majesty the king of Sweden and Norway having been briefly explained, and a copy of the Address read, his Excellency expressed in earnest terms his desire to promote, by every means in his power, the objects referred to in the Address, and expressed his regret, that, in consequence of the season, he would be prevented from forwarding the Address to his Sovereign until the month of March. He would, however, avail himself of the earliest opportunity of so doing, and had no doubt that it would be most favourably received by the king. The Deputation understood him to say, that, in the only colony (St. Bartholomew's) possessed by Sweden, there were no slaves. He requested to be informed by what means the association was supported, and begged of the Deputation to state in what manner they thought the king of Sweden could best promote its humane design, which they took the opportunity of doing.

8. February 8th.

His Excellency Baron BULOW, Ambassador representing the king of Prussia, in reply to a communication addressed to him soliciting an interview for the Deputation to present the Address, requested, in consequence of indisposition, to be excused from receiving the deputation, but directed the Address to be sent to B.Hebeler, Esq. the consul, who had received instructions from him to forward it, by the first opportunity, to his Majesty the king of Prussia.

9. February 9th.

John L. PREVOST, Esq. Consul-general representing the Canton of Zurich Federal Directory.

The Deputation, after a few introductory remarks, read the Address, and Mr. Prevost assured them that he would avail himself of the first opportunity of forwarding it to the Burgo-masters and others constituting the Federal Directory. In the sentiments of it he fully concurred, and he felt assured that the Federal Directory would do the same. Their power of aiding the anti-slavery cause, he apprehended, was very limited, as they possessed no direct interest in slavery or the slave-trade, but, as far as it extended, it would be freely afforded.

10. February 11th.

His Excellency Baron de TORRE DE MONCORVO, Ambassador representing the Queen of Portugal.

The Deputation were highly gratified by the frank, courteous, and candid manner in which they were received by this minister. The Address having been read to him, he informed the deputation that he had received positive instructions from his government to forward no addresses, without previously communicating with them in reference to it; but, from the interest he felt in this subject, he should take upon himself the responsibility of deviating from his orders, and transmit this Address to her Majesty on Saturday next.

The Deputation understood him to make the following remarks —that his country, Portugal, had been accused of countenancing slavery and the slave-trade to a greater extent than could be supported by facts—that in the reign of Joseph I., which commenced in 1750, a law was passed declaring freedom to every slave who trod the soil of Portugal; that in 1836, her Majesty the Queen of Portugal passed, unsolicited, an act for the more effectual extinction of the slave-trade; and, that, although the Portuguese navy was not strong, yet many small vessels had been fitted out, and were now actively and successfully engaged on the coast of Africa, in the suppression of this iniquitous traffic.

He greatly deplored the slave-trade, as having the most injurious effect in blighting and destroying the fair commercial prospects of several of their finest colonies on the coast of Africa; and stated it to be his firm conviction, that nothing but imparting christian principles and instruction to the native chiefs would prevent their continuing the wars and rapine which had so long desolated Africa.

He affirmed that the Portuguese government were sincere in their desire to suppress the slave-trade, and are now determined on making the most strenuous and decided efforts for its extinction.

He admitted that the Portuguese flag had been greatly disgraced in covering this traffic; and stated that he had now under examination the papers of thirty-six vessels transmitted to him by Lord Palmerston, which had been captured by British cruizers. He found that the documents were in some instances, forgeries, in other cases granted by men in the character of consuls, &c., particularly at Cuba, who had abused the power they had received from the Portuguese government; but the authorities of Portugal were now resolved on instituting a severe scrutiny into the conduct of those persons, and on preventing such proceedings in future. He alluded to, and read to the Deputation, the speech of the minister for foreign affairs in Portugal, made on the 28th of last month, in which that functionary expressed his determination to adopt immediately vigorous measures for the extinction of the slave-trade. He expressed himself much pleased at the movement lately made in the Brazils (of which he is a native) for the abolition of slavery in that country.

He presented to the Deputation a pamphlet on the slave-trade, addressed to Lord Palmerston, by Visconde de Sada Bandeira, printed in the Portuguese language, which, he remarked, contained some important facts, although he could not wholly approve of the spirit in which it was written.

He added that he should be most ready at all times to receive or communicate any intelligence referring to the important objects of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in which he felt a deep interest.

(To be continued.)

CONGREGATIONAL UNION: DR. REED.

THE Anti-slavery proceedings of the Congregational Union at its meeting in Bristol, in October last, have drawn forth a letter from the rev. Dr. Reed, the colleague of the rev. Dr. Matheson in the deputation to America. It is inserted in the *Congregational Magazine* for January. We have no remarks to make, except on the following passage:—

"I object to the policy and the right of making the slave question a test and term of christian communion. If a slave pledge is to be adopted, why not a peace-pledge, and a temperance-pledge, and a host of other pledges? This is not the apostolic method. I disown and denounce all terms of communion, but the one term of our salvation—*faith in Christ.*"

We should have been glad, certainly, to have found the judgment and influence of Dr. Reed on the side which we have seen it our duty to espouse in this matter; but, since this is not to be our happiness, it becomes us to give a candid consideration to that which he has to say on the contrary.

He "disowns and denounces," he tells us, "all terms of communion, but the one term of salvation—faith in Christ." We think this statement must be inconsiderate. Certainly Dr. Reed will bear us out in saying that he admits persons to communion, not because they *possess* faith in Christ, but because they *profess* it. The profession of faith in Christ is, beyond question, the term of communion owned and acted on by himself and the whole Congregational body. It is true, that faith in Christ is all that candidates are called upon to profess; but that does not affect our position. It is not their having faith, but their professing it, which, in that body, fulfils the condition of religious fellowship. This obvious distinction destroys the apparent force of the writer's statement. It seems very plausible to say, "nothing should be a term of communion which is not a term of salvation, and I act upon this rule." In fact, no one acts on this rule, and no one ever can act upon it. No one knows with certainty who is a believer, and who is not. By various evidences, charitably interpreted, there may be formed a hopeful and probable judgment; but we are always liable to mistakes, and we are all sometimes mistaken. Congregationalists wish to have fellowship with none but believers, and they do their best to confine their fellowship to such persons; but they can form only a proximate and probable judgment on this point. Hence their terms of communion are a profession of faith sustained by satisfactory evidences of its sincerity, and *not faith itself.* But faith itself, and *not the profession of it*, is the condition of salvation. That is to say, the terms of salvation and the terms of communion are not, even with Dr. Reed himself, one and the same. Something *is* a term of communion, which is *not* a term of salvation.

It is true, as already admitted, that faith in Christ is the only thing which Dr. Reed would require a candidate for communion to profess. But it is true also, that he would accept no such profession without collateral evidences of its sincerity; nay, if he found it associated with inconsistent conduct, he would allow it no force at all as a ground of communion. Here, then, it comes out, that, besides a profession of faith in Christ, Dr. Reed demands the fruits of faith, by which the sincerity of its profession may be evinced.

Nor are we sure that this is all. We will not venture to assert it, but we put it to Dr. Reed, whether, in a case which left him no doubt of the sincerity of piety, there might not exist circumstances—infirmities of character, for example, or infelicities of position—which would induce him to decline a proposal of religious

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fellowship. The principle on which such hesitation might arise is by no means recondite. The profession of religion is intended to honour its author; and, if a person be either of such character, or in such circumstances, that his profession could not answer this end, but would have a contrary effect, the design of it cannot be answered, and the obligation of it ceases. On this principle it seems to us that some of the apostolic directions concerning discipline must be understood. Will Dr. Reed take the pains to ascertain, whether, in every case indicated for separation in the New Testament, the absolute insincerity of the party is a necessary element! If he should think not, he will find no difficulty in agreeing with us in the following position, namely, that religious fellowship should be acknowledged only where profession is accompanied, not merely by evidences of sincerity, but by things honourable to christianity.

On this ground we judge that a person holding a slave is, either in character or position, unfit to be recognised as a professor of christianity, he may be a good man; but his position as a slave-holder, is so abhorrent to christianity, that, *while he is such*, he ought not to make a profession. And if he should do so, it ought not to be recognised.

In addition to the general principle which we have thus endeavoured to dispose of, Dr. Reed takes a special objection. "If a slave-pledge is to be adopted," says he, "why not a peace-pledge, and a temperance pledge!" The whole semblance of argument in this interrogatory, lies in the harmless or equivocal character of the things with which the propounder of it has been pleased to compare slave-holding. Let us be permitted to substitute some other terms for peace and temperance, and *we* shall have no objection at all to the interrogation. "If a slave-pledge is to be adopted, why not a robbery-pledge, a murder-pledge, and a fornication-pledge!" Certainly, if circumstances should arise which demanded it, Dr. Reed could have no objection to take from the members at Wycliff chapel a pledge that a robber, a fornicator, and a murderer, never should commune with them. The will of Christ is clear *on* that point. And not less clear do we think the will of Christ is respecting "men-stealers." If Dr. Reed does not think so, let him refrain; but he can find no fault with those who do. There is no usurpation of a right here; it is a declaration merely of the sense in which the will of Christ, the only lawgiver, is understood.

Undoubtedly it is inexpedient to solicit pledges of this sort, unless there are circumstances which require it. But circumstances may require it. Let us put a case. Let us suppose that, in some of the churches in this country, the act of stealing becomes on some account so popular as not merely to escape church discipline, but to engage the voice of the churches officially on its side—to be declared a patriarchial custom, a divine institution, &c., &c. Would not such a state of things call for a declaration on the part of the churches who retained their uprightness, that they considered stealing to be among the sins against God and man, condemned by the authority of Christ, and requiring separation from christian fellowship! Just such is the position of slave-holding at this moment in the United States; and such is the action taken with respect to it—as just, we *think*, as we hope it will be beneficial. We trust Dr. Reed, and others of the Congregational body, will re-consider this subject.

TO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE ADDRESS OF THE BELFAST ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

BRETHREN, professors of the same faith with ourselves, will you suffer the word of exhortation which we feel ourselves bound to address to you, on the all-important and engrossing subject of slavery! It has been widely circulated, and is generally believed, throughout Britain, that more than two millions of our fellow-creatures are enduring the wrongs of slavery in your southern states—that the perpetrators of these wrongs are professing christians—that the churches of America have, almost universally, connived at this gross outrage on justice and religion—and that, in some instances, instead of exercising the highest censures of the church, as was their duty to do, they have cast the shield of their protection over the unrighteous dealer in slaves. There may, no doubt, be noble exceptions; we hope there are many, and to such our address is not directed; but the evidence is too plain and abundant to forbid the conclusion, that slavery in the United States has found its most secure refuge in the church; and therefore do we feel ourselves imperatively called upon to address our remonstrance to our brethren in America, and to do so upon the high authority of apostolic command—"Exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin."

Surely it is only "the deceitfulness of sin" that can account for the toleration of slavery by a church of Christ. It is a flagrant violation of the laws of revelation and the principles of christianity. If it is argued that slavery was permitted under the legislation of Moses, we reply that it was permitted in the same way that polygamy was permitted, because of the hardness of the hearts of the people, but both were manifestly and equally contrary to the first principles of the law of Moses. Nor let it be said that examples of slavery were found in the early christian churches; for, while it is admitted that such did exist, they were ever contrary to christianity, and they were tolerated only until the purifying principles of christianity should operate to cast them out of the church. Who would undertake to reconcile slavery with that one fundamental law of the gospel, "whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them!" They are utterly incompatible, and subversive of one another. The early teachers of christianity did not introduce the changes which it contemplated hastily and violently. Their grand aim was to gain a lodgment for the truth of the gospel in the heart, and that was left to exercise its silent, but sure and gradual influence on the customs and practices of mankind. Among other evils, slavery was thus destined to destruction. Yet, neither under the law of Moses, nor in apostolic times, did any such slavery exist as is now found in the southern states of North America, nor could the toleration of the one, justify the encouragement of the other. Where shall a passage be found in the scriptures to justify the enactment of a law forbidding a slave to be taught the art of reading, making it criminal to instruct him in religious knowledge, and leaving him to the caprice of a cruel taskmaster, to employ him or punish him as he will! The essence of modern slavery consists in constituting a right of property in man; but such slavery is not found in the scriptures, nor can it be justified by them. Suppose that, when Paul sent back Onesimus to Philemon, his master had treated him as a runaway slave would now be treated in America, how would Paul have regarded Philemon! True, he sent him back, but it was not to be punished as a criminal, or treated as a slave, but that Philemon might have the opportunity of doing cheerfully what Paul, and the religion which he preached, required him to do. Had Philemon treated Onesimus with severity, or made such laws for his future conduct as are now made in America for the government of the slave, Paul would have disowned him as a disciple of Jesus, and denied him the privileges of christian fellowship. This is precisely what the churches of America should now do towards the traders in slavery. The whole system is in manifest contradiction to the religion of Jesus; and, while they voluntarily continue to be part and parcel of it, they should not be permitted to be part and parcel of the brotherhood of believers.

It is peculiarly criminal in the churches of *America* to hold the protection of their shield over the abominations of slavery. American independence is the basis and boast of their national constitution. We need not remind you, that one of the fundamental principles of the union was a condemnation of slavery. Drinking at this fountain, the national character has become signalized by an unconquerable love of liberty. We have had many opportunities of remarking, that, when your eloquent men have visited our country, they have been fond to speak of America, as "the land of the brave, and the home of the free" It was to you, therefore, above all people, we should have been disposed, in our first movements for the assertion of equal laws and rights, to have looked for sympathy and succour. The idea of an American citizen would have encouraged us to expect a hearty co-operation; and, when to this we added an American christian, we could not have imagined the possibility of indifference in the cause of liberty. What shall we say when we find whole churches, not only indifferent, but abetting the cause of slavery! American independence trampling on the rights of two millions of her people! American churches holding their peace, while the bodies of men are enslaved, and their souls denied the bread of life that came down from heaven! American christians buying, and selling, and flogging their fellow men, their fellow-christians! "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph." America, but especially the church of America, is disgraced for ever, if she clear not her escutcheon of the foul blot of slavery; and let her be assured that, while the voice of the civilized world shall condemn her, the judgments of Jehovah will speedily overtake her. Her churches would do well to inquire into her commercial and public calamities. We have felt ourselves the shock of the mighty convulsion that has made your country heave, as though she were in the pangs of dissolution. "Consider your ways." These judgments were at their height when your public appearances against the liberty of the slave were at their height. "Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord! Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this!" Let the churches of America repent—let them call upon the nation to repent, in dust and ashes, for blood is found in their skirts! The church is the security of society; and, if she be faithful in her testimony and discipline, God will spare the country for her sake, and establish her interests in righteousness.

How can the churches of America endure to think that their country is almost alone among the civilized nations of the earth, in openly and nationally encouraging slavery! Our own country was once deep in criminality, but she has manifested repentance by her long, and arduous, and expensive efforts for the extinction of slavery. She is now joined by France, and Spain, and Portugal, and other European nations. All countries are uniting to cry sin and shame upon the accursed traffic in human flesh—and shall America stand alone! And shall the churches of America screen the offender! Would that she were only neutral: but our hearts have been afflicted to observe the treatment endured at your own hands by a noble band of martyrs and confessors among yourselves—we have listened with agony and woe to their recitals of their own dangers, and the sufferings of the enslaved whose cause they espoused—we have read with astonishment and grief that blood has often been shed, because the voice of religion was lifted up in the cause of humanity—and these heralds of mercy have assured us that the stronghold of slavery is now in the churches. Let the churches do their duty, and cast out of their communion

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those who have polluted it by bringing into them the stain of blood; let them vindicate their own character by bringing the offenders to punishment; and soon may the churches of America bring the whole nation to see and act aright upon the question of slavery. O that it may soon be found in its right mind, sitting at the feet of Jesus! Never rest, until you find your beloved country joined in a holy league with our own and the other nations of the earth, to crush the vile demon of slavery, wholly and for ever.

You are, no doubt, aware that the christians of Britain have felt themselves called upon to enter into a solemn compact, to refuse the privileges of christian fellowship to any members of your churches who may be participators in the crime of slavery, either by practising it themselves, or conniving at it in others. Be assured this was a resolution not hastily formed; it was adopted after long, patient, prayerful, and painful consideration. But it appeared to us, that the churches of America had fallen under a deep slumber, and that decided measures were necessary to awaken them to a just sense of their danger and duty. In taking such a step we felt ourselves constrained by a strong sense of duty. As we could not admit to our communion a member of our own churches who was found to be a participator in the sin of slavery, it was only consistent that the same rule should be extended to all others. Fondly do we hope that this line of separation shall soon be removed—we cannot give you the right hand of fellowship across it—it must be cut away, and your hand must do it. O! let brethren be no longer separated. We would act an unworthy and injurious part did we suffer sin upon our brother. God is our witness, that, in what we have done, we have felt the force only of that command—"Be not partakers of other men's sins, keep thyself pure." We have often read of your revivals; we have had our souls refreshed and strengthened by the reports of them; we have been at pains to circulate the knowledge of them; but what are we to say or do now? Were we to speak of them to the people at large, they would mock us and say, revivals in America! revivals and slavery! The slavery of America has brought contempt and scorn upon her revivals. Will you permit the good work of the Lord to be thus evil spoken of! Were you not even convinced of the sinfulness of slavery itself, would it not be your duty to destroy it as a hinderance to the cause and honour of Christ! But have not your revivals been declining! We have not heard of them lately, as we were accustomed to do in years that are gone by. Blessed be God, we are becoming more familiar with them at home, and it was from America this live coal was brought at first to kindle the fire of our altars. And must we now stand in the attitude of protesting against the sins of our teachers! Must we refuse our fellowship to those from whom we hoped to derive increasing benefit! Bitterly have we learned the lesson, "cease from man." And earnestly do we entreat you to lift up your voices like a trumpet, to show the people their transgressions, and testify against their sins; then shall the work of the Lord again be revived among you—we shall hear of your prosperity, rejoice in your joys, and become partakers of your blessings.

Consider that, while slavery is tolerated in America, you are judged by all the other nations of the earth to be the abettors of the slave-trade itself, especially while the humiliating and disgraceful traffic of an internal slave-trade is known to prevail to a great extent among yourselves. Against this charge you perhaps exclaim with horror; yet rest assured it is thus your conduct is viewed by others. It is not easy to distinguish between slavery and the slave-trade, so as to exculpate the one and condemn the other; the one is dependant on the other; destroy either and you destroy both: maintain the one and you uphold the other; they are one and the same sin in the sight of God. Yet, under the law of Moses it was ordained that "he who stealeth a man shall surely be put to death." By encouraging slavery, we must express our solemn conviction that the churches of America are participators in the enormities of the slave-trade. And, oh! when you think of these—the capture of the slave—torn from his family in the dead of night—manacled and marched some hundred miles, till the galling fetters wear the flesh from his bones—confined on the sea shore in a loathsome dungeon, till an opportunity for his shipment may arise—packed in the narrow hold of the crowded, fetid, suffocating slave-ship—imprisoned, under agonies of body and tortures of mind, which the robust only can survive—when landed, a living man hawked to the market-place, and sold to the highest bidder—then hurried away, to drag out a miserable existence, which, the longer it is endured, is the more intolerable!—Oh! can it be, that, by any part of your conduct, you should be accounted participators in such deeds as these? Yes, the voice of Europe now makes this charge against the churches of America; they blame you as encouragers of the slave-trade, while you tolerate slavery. Even were the charge unjust, and the inference wrong, you should weigh it carefully; but we are constrained to join in this accusation; and we say, calmly and advisedly, that, while you do not abolish slavery at home, you can bear no consistent and honourable testimony against the slave-trade.

Upon a great moral and religious question, such as this is, christians should give no uncertain sound. You should not leave it in the power, even of your enemies, to mistake your views. There was no obscurity in the views of prophets, and apostles, and Jesus Christ; hear their words, and act upon them, and you shall fully meet the purpose of our remonstrance—"Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bound, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

Signed, in the name, and on behalf of the Belfast Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society—

James Morgan, Chairman.
James Standfield, } Secretaries.
F. A. Calder, }

DEPUTATION VISITING ENGLAND ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

From the *Times*.

The absurdities connected with such a demand on British benevolence are so numerous, that it is really surprising that any persons should have patience to listen to it. A few of these we may briefly enumerate.

1. The field of the Society's alleged labours is in a colony on the coast of Africa, called Liberia. This is wholly an American affair. But did we ever solicit the Americans to help us in the matter of Sierra Leone; or have even the "Nigger expedition" people, * * * so much as thought of begging brother Jonathan to lend his aid? Why, then, cannot the Americans carry on their own colonization schemes, without sending round the begging-box in the British metropolis?

2. This said colony of "Liberia" is now of twenty years' standing. Would it be unreasonable to expect that, if based on any rational probabilities of success, it should now begin to show itself capable of sustaining its own obligations?

3. But how comes America, possessing many millions of unoccupied acres of the richest fertility, to be employing her ships and seamen to carry great numbers of her adult labourers to the pestilential coasts of Africa? Surely there must be something more in this than meets the ear!

A document is now before us, which partly explains this mystery. It is a protest, drawn up several years since, against the proceedings of the American Colonization Society, and signed by "W. Wilberforce, S. Lushington, T. F. Buxton, W. Evans, Samuel Gurney, William Allen," and several others, in which it is unhesitatingly declared, that the said Society "was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American slaveholders," and that "to the destruction of slavery throughout the world we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction."

Another passage in the same protest partly explains the drift and operation of this crafty scheme. It is observed, that "it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races; and exposes the coloured people to great practical persecution, in order to force them to emigrate."

This is, we believe, the real secret of the whole plan. It originates in, or at least is mainly fostered by, the dislike and dread which are felt by the American slaveholders towards the free coloured people of the States. Gladly would they expel the whole. The task, however, being too weighty, this expedient is resorted to; a professed philanthropic scheme of colonization is got up; the money of the pious and charitable is solicited towards its carrying on; and the free negros are persecuted with a view "to force them to emigrate!"

This view of the case is confirmed in the work of a native American, "*New England and her Institutions: by one of her Sons.*" We there learn, that "the removal of the free blacks in a great degree removes the occasions of discontent among the slaves; and by thus taking from the planter all fear of insurrection, they are encouraged to let the system remain as it is, without any effort for its removal." "The planters at the South thus understand the tendency of the Society, and advocate it for the avowed purpose of giving them a stronger hold upon the slaves."

But the time for these petty contrivances is fast passing away. The American people surely must see how they are hampered by their own crime. At the present instant, while they talk so loudly about Mr. M'Leod, the boundary question, and every other assumed grievance, they know full well that in six weeks from their declaration of war with England the union would be dissolved. Nothing could prevent the negros of Jamaica, now free, happy, rich, and full of ardour, from rushing to the rescue of their brethren in Carolina. Three millions of internal foes would be rather a serious feature in the strife. How much longer will the people of America permit themselves to be rendered incapable of going to war by this fatal weakness?

We extract the following interesting account from a recent letter of the Committee of the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society, to the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Bond Street Chapel, Birmingham:—"I cannot close without noticing an affecting incident that occurred in our covenant meeting two months since. An excellent coloured sister, a member of the church, rose and said, 'Dear brethren and sisters, I feel as though my *heart would break*—I hardly knew how to get here to-night, but I thought I would come for a few moments, and tell you my sorrows. I heard to-day (she continued) that my poor dear son, who is a slave in *Richmond, Virginia*, lately tried to get away—he had got a good way from them, but was betrayed by some one, and carried back again to his cruel master. And (related she) one of my *free-sisters there* wrote me a letter, telling me that he was to receive FORTY LASHES EVERY DAY TILL CHRISTMAS! O dear! my heart is almost broke when I think of it; but I thought I must come and *tell you*, and beg of you to PRAY for him, that the Lord would *pity him*, and bring him here yet to me.' This poor sister was once a slave herself, but laboured till she had accumulated sufficient to purchase herself. She is a very *excellent woman*. It was enough to make one weep *tears of blood*, to see this *precious sister's heart so wrung with anguish* at the thought of the sufferings of her poor dear child. But *behold her faith!* 'I believe,' said she, with a hopeful voice, 'that the Lord will hear my prayers, and that my dear boy will yet be free.' I met her at meeting a few evenings since, and seeing two coloured men who were introduced by her to our good pastor, I asked her if either of them was her son? 'No, my child,' she replied, 'but I trust in my God for that yet; I think he will yet give me my child!' My heart involuntarily exclaimed, 'May it be unto thee according to thy faith!' Pray for her, dear sisters, for the expectation of the *poor shall not be cut off.*"

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MR. TURNBULL IN CUBA.

Our readers are aware that this gentleman, who has distinguished himself as an abolitionist, was appointed by her Majesty's government British consul at Havana, and superintendent of liberated Africans. The papers inform us that the authorities in Cuba have refused to acknowledge him, on account of his anti-slavery principles. As a straw to show which way the stream runs, we give below an extract of a letter from the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* at Madrid, to which we shall subjoin the brief but pithy rejoinder of that paper. This is the extract.

"You will doubtless have seen a paragraph in the journals, stating that the Spanish government had denied its *exequatur* to Mr. Turnbull, British consul at the Havana, in consequence of his writings and conduct with respect to the slavery question in the island. The Spanish government, I believe, have no official information of their authorities there having refused or withdrawn the *exequatur* of Mr. Turnbull. But it is true that the injudicious zeal of the agents and persons professing to be connected with the Anti-slavery Association of London has given much uneasiness to the Spanish capitalists, colonists, and government, in that quarter of the world. I have no doubt that the indiscretion of the parties alluded to has materially injured the cause of abolition in the Spanish colonies. The state of Spain and England in this respect is very different. England was able to compensate the holders, and to prevent the evil consequences that might arise from the emancipated slaves themselves. Her treasury and her navy enabled her to do this. Unfortunately Spain has neither one nor the other. If the Spanish government even wished to move in the matter, what answer could it give the slave-proprietor on asking compensation? None. If, on the other hand, the abolition doctrines are pushed to the extent in the Spanish colonies of exciting the black population to revolt, the loss of those colonies, the most important sources of Spanish revenue, might be the consequence. These are points of serious consideration to the Spanish government, and which no reasonable person should lightly tamper with. Doing so, in fact, is but to injure the cause which the society professes to serve, because, as it is utterly impossible for the Spanish government and people, however well they may be disposed, to imitate the example of England, any measures of individuals or of the society to force the attainment of their objects can only lead to the provocation of both government and people to reject the advice and arguments of the abolitionists. The removal of the evil in the Spanish colonies will be a tedious process; it cannot be accomplished immediately, or even in a few years."

So far the Madrid writer. The editor remarks as follows:—

"Our Madrid letter is of the 21st, and turns chiefly on the refusal of the *exequatur* to Mr. Turnbull as consul at the Havana, and on the fears of the Spaniards at having the abolition question too hastily pushed. But let the Spanish government take care, for events are impelling the question forward as fast as Mr. Turnbull. The French are already determined on an emancipation law; and Cuba will not many years remain an exception, merely for the sake of the Madrid treasury."

AN interesting debate has arisen on the slavery question in the French chamber of deputies. It appears that M. Thiers was acting treacherously in the matter; but M. Guizot declares the sincerity and determination of the present cabinet.

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The following Contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXIII. Vol. II. No. 6.] WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

No. I.

The fact that slavery exists to an enormous extent, and in forms which every humane and christian mind must greatly deplore, in our Indian empire, admits of no doubt among those who have paid the slightest attention to the evidence furnished by the government on the subject.

As the question is one of growing interest and importance with the country, and as a great demand for information on it is every where expressed, we propose to lay before our readers the sum of the evidence now before the public in the documents printed by order of parliament, and in the admirable and useful publications of William Adam, Esq., and the Rev. James Peggs; both of whom, by their long residence, in India, and their habits of patient research, are well qualified to illustrate the evils and extent of slavery in that immense portion of our dominions.

The extent of slavery in British India.—No census of the slave-population of British India appears to have been ever taken. From the information, however, scattered through the parliamentary papers, which he has diligently and carefully examined, Mr. Peggs gives the following summary: viz.—

In Malabar	146,000
Canara, Coorg, Wynad, Cochin, and Travancore	254,000
Tinnevelly	324,000
Trinchinopoly	10,000
Arcot	20,000
Assam	11,300
Surat	3000
Ceylon	27,597
Penang	3000
	800,297

East India Slavery, pp. 83, 84.

In this enumeration Mr. Peggs has included the slaves found in some of the states and Jagheers governed by native princes and chieftains, under the authority and protection of the East India Company.

Mr. Adam states the number of slaves within the Company's territories to be as follows: viz.—

In Silhet and Buckergunge	80,000
„ Behar	22,722
„ Tirhoot	11,061
„ Southern Mahratta Country	7500
„ Arcot	20,000
„ Canara	80,000
„ Malabar and Wynad	100,000
	321,283

Law and Custom of Slavery in British India, p. 128.

But from this enumeration he excludes, not only the slaves in the provinces governed by native chiefs, but those of the islands of Ceylon, Penang, and Malacca, amounting to at least 30,000 more

Judge Baber, than whom no man was better qualified to give information on Indian slavery, in his evidence published in 1832, estimates the number of slaves in those districts in which he had been able to collect evidence at about 400,000.—Par. Pap. No. 128—1834, p. 42.

It is manifest, however, from a careful examination of the authorities quoted by these gentlemen, as well as of others to which they do not refer, that the highest computation given by either of them falls short of the actual number of slaves in British India, over whose destiny the Company has at this time unlimited authority and control.

Mr. Adam, after alluding to the existence of slavery in Dacca, Jelalpoor, Buckergunge, Rungpoor, Dinajpoor, Purneah, Assam, Arracan, the Tenasserim provinces, the Mergui Archipelago, Boglipoor, Ramghur, Dehra Doon, Bellary, and Tanjore, of the number of slaves in which districts he could obtain no exact account, concludes his able statement with this remark, that it is "highly probable that a thorough and faithful census would show that the number (of slaves in the Company's territories) does not fall short of one million."

In further illustration of this point, and to show the extensive prevalence of slavery in one or other of its forms, in the different presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the following authoritative statements may be relied on.

Slavery in Bengal. Mr. Colebrook, in 1804, published *Remarks on the husbandry and internal commerce of Bengal*, in which we find the following admissions;—"Slavery, indeed, is not unknown in Bengal. *Throughout* some districts the labours of husbandry are executed chiefly by bond servants." In an official paper written by him in 1826, he is more specific; he observes, "We find domestic slavery *very general* among both Hindus and Mussulmans * * * * * * * Every opulent person, every one raised above the condition of the simplest mediocrity, is provided with household slaves, and from this class chiefly are taken the concubines of Mussulmans and Hindus." * * * * * * * "In the lower provinces under this presidency," he further observes, "the employment of slaves in the labours of husbandry is nearly, if not entirely unknown. In the upper provinces, beginning from western Behar and Benares, the petty landholders are aided in their husbandry by their slaves." Distinguishing "the serfs," who "pay rent and other dues for the lands which they till," &c. he says, "but those employed in husbandry by the inferior class of landholders are *strictly slaves*; and their condition differs from that of household slaves, only as the one is occupied in out door work, and the other in the business of the interior of the house." He adds, "it may be stated, that slaves are neither so few (in Bengal) as to be of no consideration, nor so numerous as to constitute a notable proportion of the mass of the population."—Par. Pap., No. 138—1839, p. 311.

Slavery in Bombay. In Mr. Chaplin's report, made in answer to queries addressed to the collectors of districts, he says, "Slavery in the Deccan is *very prevalent*, and we know that it has been recognized by the Hindu law, and by the custom of the country, from time immemorial." Mr. Baber gives more definite information of the number of slaves in one of the divisions of the Bombay territory, viz, that "lying between the rivers Kistna and Toongbutra," the slaves in which he estimates at 15,000; and in the southern Mahratta country, he observes, "All the Jagheerdars, Deshwars, Zemindars, principal Brahmins, and Sahookdars, retain slaves in their domestic establishments; in fact, in every Mahratta household of consequence, they are, both male and female, especially the latter, to be found, and indeed are considered to be indispensable."—Par. Pap. No. 128—1834, p. 4

Slavery in Madras. Mr. A. D. Campbell says, "In the territories under the Madras government, slaves are of two distinct descriptions; the one includes the great slave population, termed 'agrestic slaves,' or such as are usually employed in the field, though occasionally also in other labour. * * * * * The other description of slaves consists of those who may be termed domestic, from being employed only in the house itself. The class principally subjected to slavery in this presidency, are the *Pariar*, all of whom are slaves." Par. Pap. No. 126—1834, p. 30. Hamilton says, "The Pariar are so numerous, that they have been computed at one-fifth of the whole population of India, south of the Krishna." The population thus alluded to is computed at 15,000,000: the Pariar, therefore, would amount to 3,000,000, all of whom, the same accurate writer, on the authority of Dr. Francis Buchanan, states to be slaves.—Vol. 2, pp. 6, 179.

If our space admitted, the incidental notices and official admissions of the Company's servants on this point might be here introduced, for the purpose of shewing the strong probability there is, that the slave population of India must be reckoned by millions rather than by thousands, but we close with the statement of the rev. Mr. Malcom, who has recently returned from an extensive tour of observation in Hindostan and other parts of the East, whither he went as the representative of one of the American missionary societies. That gentleman says, "The number of slaves in the Carnatic, Mysore, and Malabar, is said to be greater than in most other parts of India, and embraces nearly the whole

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of the Puncham Bundam caste. The whole number in British India has never been ascertained, but is supposed by the best informed persons I was able to consult to be, on an average, *at least* one in eight, that is about ten millions. Many consider them twice as numerous."—*Travels in Hindostan*, &c. Chambers's edition, p. 23.

But, whether the number be few or many, the fact of any portion of British subjects being held and used as the property of their fellow subjects and fellow men is enough to warrant, and should call forth, the most vigorous and united efforts of the people of this country to secure their immediate and entire liberty.

For further information on the extent of slavery in India, consult Parpap: No. 128—1834, and No. 138—1839, and the authorities quoted by Adam, '*Law and custom of Slavery in India*' p. p. 103 to 129 inclusive; and Peggs, '*East India Slavery*' p. p. to 84 inclusive.

ON THE STATE OF CRAB ISLAND, IN THE WEST INDIES.

THE attention of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee having been engaged to the present condition of Crab Island, the following letter has been addressed to Lord Palmerston on the subject:—

27, *New Broad Street, London, March 5th*, 1841.

MY LORD—I am directed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to draw your lordship's attention to a subject which has recently been pressed on their notice, and which, it appears to them, calls for the immediate interference of her Majesty's government, to prevent the very serious evils which may otherwise arise.

Bieque, or, as it is more commonly called, Crab Island, contiguous to Porto Rico and the Virgin islands, is described by those who have visited it as an extremely fertile and beautiful colony, capable of sustaining a population of 250,000 or 300,000 souls, and as a place of great consequence, in many respects, to this country. The sovereignty over this island has been frequently asserted by the British crown, especially in the negociations with the Spanish government, which were conducted by your lordship a few years since, for the purpose of obtaining possession of Fernando Po, on the coast of Africa, by the offer of its cession in return. The exchange, however, was refused by the Spanish authorities, who afterwards laid claim to its sovereignty, though there can be no doubt whatever that it is a British possession.

Since that period the Committee are not aware that any steps have been taken by the government for the better securing of Crab Island to the crown, and for the exercise of its legitimate authority therein; whilst, in the mean time, Spanish subjects have taken possession of it, and have established, as the Committee are credibly informed, a system of slavery of the most atrocious kind, which is likely to extend rapidly, if not prevented by interposition of British authority. But, as the Committee are anxious that your lordship should be put in possession of the latest particulars they have received on this painful subject, and should know how injurious the present occupation of the island is to British interests, they transcribe for your lordship's information, an extract of a letter received from a highly respectable individual resident at Tortola, dated September 24th, 1840.

"Within the last few months, orders have been received here to pass the produce of Crab island as British plantation, and forty barrels of this sugar was shipped hence to London by the Duke of Gordon, on the 10th of August last. The only sugar made there is on the estate of L. Guillio. This person is deputed as the governor of Crab Island by the government of Porto Rico; he works on his estate about sixty slaves; some, I hear, are Africans, and others from the French islands. There are other slaves on this island, besides those owned by L. Guillio. That part of the island occupied by L. Guillio is very fertile; he raises sugar hitherto by means of slaves, and he has a British market for his produce. These advantages enable him to offer higher wages than the Tortola planters, under present circumstances, can possibly give. He has lately employed persons here to induce our labourers to emigrate, and he gives a sum for each labourer introduced. The consequences are that persons here who own or navigate small boats take off the people in great numbers from several out-bays of Tortola; and it is no unusual thing to see mothers running about looking for their truant children, who, on inquiry, they find have been taken to Crab Island the night before. It is inconsistent with freedom to restrict the labourer in the disposal of his services; but, in this instance, many of tender age are taken from those who have natural claims on them; others are of the young male population, incapable, I think, of judging correctly what is most to their advantage, and are the dupes of L. Guillio's agent. The wages offered by him is six dollars per month; for a month he exacts thirty days' labour; he works his slaves on Sunday, and maintains a right to the labour of his hired servants on that day. Those who go from Tortola do not work on Sunday, but they admit L. Guillio's principle, by giving him thirty days' labour for a month. Once at Crab Island, their labour is compulsory; they are not allowed to hire themselves to any other than L. Guillio, and his permission is necessary before they can depart. We might hope that, as the labourer found he did not benefit himself by going to Crab Island, he would seize the opportunity, by some independent British vessel, of returning, and the injury to the Tortola land-holder might be temporary; but to the emigrant found it is to be feared it will be lasting. The absence of any religious instruction, the disregard of the Sabbath-day, the great plurality of males, and the absence of wholesome and protecting laws, are calculated to injure the morals, and degrade the minds of those of our peasantry who go there, and who, if left alone, would be a comparatively virtuous, comfortable, and prosperous race.

"Crab Island presents a British possession, where slavery with all its horrible evils and degradations exists. It is under the dominion of a foreign adventurer, whose will is the law. I would respectfully submit whether such an anomalous state of things should continue. If Crab Island be British, the influence of British power and the exercise of her laws, administered by British officers, should extend there; if otherwise, their produce should not be admitted as British.

"The night before last an information was laid before me of a felony. The perpetrators, ten in number, immediately after committing the offence, started to Crab Island. Quere, Would a warrant from our chief magistrate here be acknowledged, or have any effect there? To demand the persons from L. Guillio would be an admission of his authority."

In addition to the important information contained in the foregoing extract, the Committee would also respectfully call your lordship's attention, to an extract from the recent work of Mr. Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies*, from which your lordship will perceive that there is reason to fear Crab Island affords shelter and security, if not assistance, to vessels engaged in the Spanish slave-trade. It is as follows—"To our right lay Crab Island, which is said to be of considerable fertility and value. For a long time this island continued unsettled and unclaimed: but of late years it has fallen into the hands of Spain, and is said to be a kind of dependency on Porto Rico. The governor is a Frenchman; and slaves have already been introduced into the island. It is greatly to be feared that it not only affords a refuge for the slavers of Cuba and Porto Rico, but that it will itself be gradually peopled with slaves from Africa. It seems to be a questionable point whether Great Britain is not in possession of the first claim on this island. If so, it is surely most desirable, for mercy's sake, that she should assert her rights."

Whatever measures your lordship should think proper to employ for obtaining peaceable possession of the island, the Committee trust that they will be prompt and decisive; inasmuch as they cannot but fear that the parties at present occupying the colony may otherwise quit it, and compel the labourers there to leave it with them, and, by taking them to Porto Rico, deprive them and their descendants of their freedom, by selling or using them as slaves in that colony. And the Committee further trust your lordship will order measures to be taken for the punishment of those persons who may be found in the unlawful possession of the lands of the colony; and otherwise acting in opposition to British laws.

By recent intelligence of a private nature, brought by the last packet from Cape Haytien, the worst fears of the Committee are likely to be realized in reference to Crab Island. They would, therefore, again entreat your lordship's early attention to this important matter. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant.

J. H. TREDGOLD, Sec.

Right Hon. Lord Palmerston, &c. &c.

REPLY.

Foreign Office, March 16, 1841.

SIR,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you addressed to his lordship respecting Bieque, or Crab Island; and I am to acquaint you that his lordship has transmitted it to the Colonial Department, drawing the attention of the Colonial Secretary of State to the report you mention, that British negroes have been enticed from the island of Tortola to Crab Island.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. (Signed) LEVESON.

INTERPOSITION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICANS OF THE AMISTAD.

The following correspondence between the British minister to the United States and the Secretary of State, has been communicated by the President to Congress:—

MR. FOX TO MR. FORSYTH.

Washington, Jan. 20th, 1840.

SIR—I am instructed to represent to you that the attention of her Majesty's government has been seriously directed to the case of certain African negros found on board the Spanish ship *Amistad*, the same persons whose case had been brought before the courts of law of the United States, and for whom a powerful and humane interest appears to be felt in this country as well as in England.

It is known to her Majesty's government that these negros were imported into Cuba direct from the coast of Africa, in a Portuguese slave vessel called the *Tecora*, in the summer of 1839, and that, shortly after their arrival, they were purchased as slaves at the Havana, by two Spaniards of the names of José Ruiz and Pedro Montez. Ruiz and Montez then placed the negros on board the schooner *Amistad*, intending to convey them to another port in Cuba. It appears that, during the voyage, the negros, with a view of recovering their liberty, seized possession of the vessel, put the master to death, and ordered the remaining whites to navigate the vessel to the coast of Africa. The whites, however, directed their course towards North America, until they were fallen in with by the United States brig of war *Washington*, when the *Amistad* was finally brought into the port of New London, in Connecticut. The proceedings which have taken place subsequently to the arrival of the negros in the United States are sufficiently well known to you.

Now Her Majesty's government have to observe, that, since the year 1820, it has become unlawful, according to the law of Spain, to import negros from Africa as slaves into the Spanish dominions, and that, as the negros here referred to had been newly imported from Africa into Cuba, and could not by law be imported as slaves, they must in the eye of the law be considered as free persons.

And Great Britain is also bound to remember, that the laws of Spain, which finally prohibited the slave-trade throughout the Spanish dominions from the date of the 30th of May, 1820, (the provisions of which law are contained in the King of Spain's royal cedula of the 19th of December, 1817,) was passed in compliance with a treaty obligation to that effect, by which the crown of Spain had bound itself to the crown of Great Britain, and for which a valuable compensation in return was given by Great Britain to Spain, as may be seen by reference to the second, third, and fourth articles of a public treaty concluded between Great Britain and Spain, on the 23rd of September, 1817.

Her Majesty's government, therefore, are moved by special and peculiar reasons to take an interest in the fate of these unfortunate Africans, who are known to have been illegally and feloniously reduced to slavery by subjects of Spain.

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It is next to be observed that Great Britain and the United States have mutually engaged themselves to each other, by the tenth article of the Treaty of Ghent, to use their best endeavours for the entire abolition of the African slave-trade; and there can be no doubt of the firm intention of both parties religiously to fulfil the terms of their engagement.

Now the unfortunate Africans whose case is the subject of the present representation, have been thrown by accidental circumstances into the hands of the authorities of the United States; and it may probably depend upon the action of the United States government, whether those persons shall recover the freedom to which they are entitled, or whether they shall be reduced to slavery, in violation of known laws and contracts publicly passed, prohibiting the continuance of the African slave-trade by Spanish subjects.

It is under these circumstances, that Her Majesty's government anxiously hope that the President of the United States will find himself empowered to take such measures in behalf of the aforesaid Africans, as shall secure to them the possession of their liberty, to which, without doubt, they are by law entitled.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

The Hon. John Forsyth, &c. &c. H. S. Fox.

MR. FORSYTH TO MR. FOX.

Department of State, Washington Feb. 1st, 1841.

SIR—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo, in which you state that you are instructed to represent to me, that the attention of Her Majesty's government has been seriously directed to the case of the negros of the Spanish ship *Amistad*, with the anxious hope that the President of the United States will feel himself empowered to take such measures in their behalf as will secure to them the possession of their liberty.

Viewing this communication as an evidence of the benevolence of Her Majesty's government, under which aspect alone it could be entertained by the government of the United States, I proceed, by the direction of the President, to make in reply a few observations suggested by the topics of your letter. The narrative presented therein of the circumstances which brought these negros to our shores, is satisfactory evidence that Her Majesty's government is aware that their introduction did not proceed from the wishes or directions of the government of the United States. A formal demand having been made by the Spanish minister for the delivery of the vessel and property, including the negros on board, the grounds upon which it is based have become the subject of investigation before the judicial tribunals of the country, which have not yet pronounced their final decision thereupon. You must be aware, sir, that the executive has neither the power nor the disposition to control the proceedings of the legal tribunals when acting within their appropriate jurisdiction. With regard to the other considerations presented by you in behalf of the negros of the *Amistad*, I have to remark that it is not understood that the facts upon which they are founded are admitted by the minister of her Catholic Majesty; and this government would with great reluctance erect itself into a tribunal, to investigate such questions between two friendly sovereigns. If, however, these facts are established, they cannot be without their force and effect in the proper time and place. You have doubtless observed, from the correspondence published in a congressional document, that it is the intention of the Spanish minister to restore these negros, should their delivery to his government be ordered, to the island of Cuba, whence the vessel in which they were found sailed, where they will be placed under the protection of the government of Spain. It is there that questions arising under the Spanish laws and the treaties of Spain and Great Britain may be appropriately discussed and decided; and where a full opportunity will be presented to the government of her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, to appeal to the treaty stipulations applicable to the subject of your letter.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurances of my distinguished consideration. JOHN FORSYTH.

Henry Stephen Fox, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

THE GLADSTONE SLAVE-TRADE.

(To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter.*)

SIR—In the admirable speech delivered by the Hon. H. F. Young, the government secretary in British Guiana, which appeared in your paper of the 24th ult., there is one short paragraph which cannot fail to excite astonishment, if it do not beget indignation. Among the estates enumerated by that gentleman as sold, to prove the undiminished value of property in the colony, is *Vreed-en-Hoop*, the late property of Mr. Gladstone. It is thus referred to:—"*Vreed-en-Hoop*, £35,000, WITH £2000 MORE FOR THE SERVICES OF THE COOLIES FOR TWO YEARS!!" Now, when we recollect the circumstances under which these wretched creatures were brought to his estate, and their horrible treatment whilst I was in the colony, which I was providentially instrumental in bringing to light; their *sale*, for a period of two years, though in keeping with previous transactions, appears almost too monstrous to be believed. My object, however, in calling attention to the fact, is, to assert the illegality of the sale, which can neither be justified by the indentures under which they were held by Mr. Gladstone, nor by the laws of the colony; and to call upon her Majesty's government to assert the rights of these much injured people, by declaring them entitled to their freedom.

I am, sir, your's respectfully,

London, 22nd March, 1841. JOHN SCOBLE.

THE UNITED STATES FLAG AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.—The *Allgmeine Zeitung*, in a well drawn article compiled from the English parliamentary papers, has diffused throughout Europe the facts in relation to the slave-trade which throw so much discredit on the United States. The article concludes in the following terms:—"The false position in which the United States have placed themselves, in respect to everything nearly or remotely connected with slavery, is such, that in matters of this kind neither justice nor decorum is to be expected from them: the President being well aware that the elections depend on slave-holders and slave-dealers. How long England will tolerate these wretched subterfuges it is difficult to say; but the question will probably become one of a more serious discussion than that which respects the Canadian boundary, for the people of England will never allow their government to relax in its efforts to obtain the suppression of the slave-trade."

GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTATION APPOINTED TO PRESENT THE ADDRESS TO SOVEREIGNS FROM THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, TO THE SEVERAL AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS FROM FOREIGN COURTS RESIDENT IN LONDON.

(Continued.)

11. February 11th.

His Excellency Baron de GERSDORLD, Minister resident, representing his Majesty the king of Saxony.

The deputation were received by the minister in a polite and affable manner. A copy of the address having been read, and the original presented, to be forwarded to his Majesty the king of Saxony, the minister expressed himself much gratified in having the pleasure of meeting the deputation; and stated that, although his Sovereign had no direct interest in the subjects noticed in the address, yet he was persuaded his Majesty would fully concur in the just sentiments it expressed, and would readily unite in testifying his sense of the evils connected with the unrighteous system of slavery and the slave-trade. He assured the deputation that he would avail himself of the first opportunity of forwarding the address to Dresden, for presentation to the king.

12. February 11th.

His Excellency THOMAS MURPHY, Esq., Resident Minister for the republic of Mexico.

The deputation were received with much openness and courtesy by this minister, to whom the address was read. On its being handed to him, with a request that he would transmit it to the President of the republic of Mexico, he expressed his full concurrence in the sentiments it expressed, and his conviction that it would be favourably received by the President of the republic. He likewise reminded the deputation, that one of the first acts of the Mexican government had been to extinguish slavery in their territories, and that they had constantly employed a portion of the small naval force they possessed in attempts to aid the suppression of the slave-trade.

He expressed his regret at the course which the British government had recently pursued in the recognition of the independence of Texas, and added, that the Mexican government and people may be regarded as pledged coadjutors in any efforts made for the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

13. February 12th.

His Excellency Count NOMIS DE-POLLEU, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Sardinia.

After a few introductory remarks, the address was read to his Excellency, and a copy presented for transmission to His Majesty the king of Sardinia. His Excellency assured the deputation that he fully concurred in the sentiments expressed in the address, in reference to the twin abominations of slavery and the slave-trade, and he was quite persuaded that it would be most favourably received by his sovereign, to whom he would immediately forward it. He informed the deputation, that the Sardinian government have been anxiously and sincerely desirous of using all the influence they possess for suppressing the slave-trade, although they have no direct interest in the matter; and that, regarding it as the duty of every nation professing christianity to unite in efforts to annihilate this inhuman traffic, his government have recently resolved to adopt further measures to assist in promoting its universal extinction. He observed, that the sentiments of his nation and government on this subject were so generally known, that he believed there had been no instance of the Sardinian flag having been used by individuals engaged in this disgraceful trade. He stated it as his opinion, that the only means of effectually destroying the slave-trade was the universal extinction of slavery; and the deputation understood him to express his regret, that our government did not watch with more vigilance the few ports which were now well known to be chiefly the places where the slave cargoes are landed, rather than employ so many of their cruizers with so little effect on the coast of Africa.

His Excellency evidently felt a deep interest in the subject, and the result of the interview impressed the deputation with the gratifying conviction that, in as far as the power or influence of the Sardinian government extended, their co-operation might be relied on.

14. February 12th.

His Excellency Chevalier M. de MONTEZUMA, resident minister from his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the Brazils.

The address having been read, and a copy having been presented to be transmitted to the emperor of the Brazils, his Excellency received it with much courtesy, and entered into a long and interesting conversation, in the course of which the deputation understood him to make the following remarks:—He stated the difficulties in the way of the abolition of slavery in the Brazils to be two-fold; first, the degraded condition of the slaves, whom he represented to be idle, immoral, ignorant, and ferocious; and, secondly, the peculiar institutions of the country, which constituted every free man a voter so that it would be dangerous to the political rights of the community, that so overwhelming and ignorant a portion of the population should be suddenly put in possession of the franchise.

On the first point, the deputation reminded his Excellency that his objection to emancipation was precisely that which had been urged by the British West India planters; but that the result had proved how utterly unworthy it was of consideration. They stated to him the gratifying fact that, out of the large number who had been emancipated in the British colonies, there was

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not a solitary case on record of the spirit of revenge having roused the negros to murder, or even to assault, their late masters. And, with respect to the fitness of the Brazilian slaves for freedom, they showed that the negroes of St. Lucia, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope, were in as low a state of morals and education as those in Brazil. On the second point the deputation stated, that they did not make their appeal to the Brazilian government for political rights, but for the natural rights—the personal liberty of the negros, and the protection of the law of the country, in common with all other free persons.

It is due to his Excellency to state, that, in reply to the observations which the deputation addressed to him, he disclaimed the idea of libelling the character of the negros, and attributed their degradation to slavery, which he termed the plague spot of the country, and which he, in common with his government, was most anxious to get rid of. He not only spoke of the demoralising effects of slavery on those who were subjected to it, but also of its terrible re-action on the white population, especially the young; and, finally, admitted that the difficulty, in respect to the immediate assumption of political rights by the emancipated slaves, might be met by arrangements which would not render it necessary to alter the constitution of the country. It appeared from his Excellency's statement, that the *libertados*, or emancipated slaves, could not exercise political rights until after they had been naturalised; only their children, born free, being entitled to the rights of citizenship.

His Excellency then stated, that he was of opinion, with the celebrated Jefferson, that the two races—Europeans and Africans—could never enjoy equal political rights in the same country. He was told in reply, that, however great Mr. Jefferson might have been as a statesman, in maintaining such an opinion he had overlooked a great fact, namely, the natural identity of the human race, whatever might be their diversity of colour; that whites and blacks were governed by the same impulses—were grateful when justly and generously treated, and indignant when injured and abused; and that the enjoyment of equal privileges under an impartial government would remove prejudices and jealousies, and destroy the antipathy of the whites to the blacks, which had its origin in slavery.

His Excellency admitted the great extent of the slave-trade, but did not think the mortality connected with the system of slavery was so great as had been represented. He concurred, however, with the deputation in believing that the slave-trade could never be put down effectually, but by the abolition of slavery.

In the course of his communications his Excellency stated, in reply to questions proposed to him, that there had been several insurrections of slaves in the province of Bahia of late years, and that they had been put down by the sword. In reference to the negros in this province he stated generally, that they were a powerful and intellectual body of men; chiefly, he was understood to say, of the Ossave and Minas nations. Very many of the former were able to read and write Arabic, and to solve problems in mathematics; and those of them who were free were among the best merchants in Brazils. He stated them to be extremely clever in making bargains; and, when once brought under engagements, scrupulously punctual and exact in fulfilling them.

The deputation did not fail here to point out the fact, that there was more danger in continuing the system of slavery than in abolishing it, and that man was fit for no other state than that of freedom.

On one other point his Excellency expressed himself decidedly, namely, that there was no legal hinderance to emancipation; that the laws were favourable to freedom; and that negros having the means of purchasing their liberty, could compel their masters to discharge them upon a fair valuation.

In conclusion, his Excellency said he would be happy to receive the Deputation at any time, and communicate any information in his power, and that he would transmit the address to his sovereign.

15. February 17th.

His Excellency CHEBIK EFFENDI, ambassador from his Imperial Majesty the Sultan Abdul Medjid, Emperor of the Ottomans, &c.

A letter having been addressed to his Excellency, soliciting an interview for the Deputation to present the Address from the General Anti-slavery Convention, the following answer has been received.

1, *Bryanstone Square, 17th February*, 1841.

SIR,—I am directed by the Chebik Effendi, the Ottoman ambassador, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, wherein, by the direction of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, you express a wish of confiding to his care an Address to his Majesty the Sultan, passed at the late Convention held by that society in London.

"The Ambassador regrets that, under the existing customs and usages of Turkey, he could not take upon himself the responsibility of conveying to his sovereign any document that is not of a strictly official nature, and emanating from the government where he is accredited.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) ED. ZOHRAZ.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq., &c.

(*To be continued.*)

EGYPTIAN SLAVE HUNTS. The hatti-sherriff which appoints Mehemet Ali basha of Sennaar, prohibits the practices of hunting for slaves, and making eunuchs.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should be addressed to the Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 24TH.

WE are happy to see that the movement of the friends of humanity in reference to slavery *in* British India is attracting attention in the proper quarter. Two articles have recently appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, headed with the following question:—"Does slavery exist in India?" Marvellous to say, it is the writer's aim to show that it does not exist there, otherwise than as a name "to designate a peculiarly affectionate relation between master and servant!" For boldness we think these communications are almost unparalleled; but we are very glad of their appearance, both because they indicate a degree of feeling in quarters where we rejoice to see it, and because they will awaken the attention of the public more powerfully to the whole subject. A paper in reply has subsequently been inserted in the *Chronicle*, and appears in our columns to-day, and others may probably follow. The documents already in existence furnish copious matter for them; but we are looking with eagerness for those further papers which have been granted on the motion of Dr. Lushington, and by which the question—Does slavery exist in India? will no doubt be answered convincingly to all parties. In the mean time, the sensitiveness which has been manifested may well encourage the friends of humanity in their endeavours.

WE hastily noticed in our last, the animated, and we are happy to say decisive debate, which arose on the subject of slavery in the French chamber of deputies, on the 7th instant. To-day we have the pleasure of laying before our readers two letters from M. Isambert, by which this important matter will be more fully detailed. It will be observed that the first of the two letters was written in anticipation of its occurrence. The sentiments which fell from the lips of M. Goubert so offensively on the ears of the colonists of Martinique, were the simplest dictates of humanity towards the slaves. The letters follow.

Paris, February 26th, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—I avail myself of Mr. Wright's return to England, to send you a copy of a very interesting pamphlet, published in Paris by M. Cabbé Goubert, ex-curé of Fort Royal, Martinique, who has been driven from that colony in consequence of a most christian and touching discourse delivered in his capacity and profession as a clergyman.

An abominable case which has just been decided at Guadeloupe, the imprisonment and torture during twenty-two months of a slave in a private dungeon, has furnished an occasion of exciting a strong opinion against slavery, which authorises such barbarous punishments.

A parliamentary notice has been given on this subject. We reckon on complete success; for M. Guizot, principal secretary of state, is favourable to us; and otherwise facts speak so loudly, above all while they continue unpunished, that the chamber of deputies, little philanthropic as it may be, cannot withhold its sympathy from us.

We shall try at least to obtain the suppression of private dungeons, and to give a new impulse to the colonial commission presided over by the Duke de Boglie, which has done nothing for eight months but ask questions.

It is said that affairs proceed better in Jamaica. I beg you to send us the returns to January, 1841, of the exports from the emancipated colonies. Whatever may be the result, we shall not be discouraged.

Accept the assurance of my high consideration.

ISAMBERT,

Secretary of the French Society for the abolition of slavery.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. &c.

Paris, March 8th, 1841.

SIR,—I have the pleasure of informing you, in the name of all my colleagues, that we had yesterday in the chamber of deputies a spirited, but decisive debate on the question of slavery, on occasion of a scandalous acquittal which has taken place in Guadeloupe, in reference to an imprisonment of twenty-two months in a private dungeon.

The ministry has positively promised to second with all its power the commission named last year, and presided over by the Duke de Boglie, for the solution of this great and difficult question.

It appears that the head of the last cabinet (M. Thiers) had, without the concurrence of his colleagues, and contrary to the wish of the Count de Remusat, four worthy and faithful colleague in this work, indirectly endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of this commission. M. Guizot on the contrary, explained himself clearly and frankly. He showed himself such as you saw him in London, in June last.

We hope that a project of law, which shall determine the period of slavery, will be perfected in the next session. Accept, &c,

ISAMBERT, Secretary, &c.

Our ministry has just published the accounts returned of the state of your emancipated colonies. It is impartially done. With regard to Antigua, the returns are satisfactory in every respect. The documents for the most part stop at 1840. If any thing should be published during the present session of parliament, make us acquainted with it.

The entire press agrees that the last blow, morally, was struck at slavery yesterday.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. &c.

An interesting sample of the sentiments of the French press on this subject, will be found elsewhere in our columns, translated from *L' Esperance*, a Parisian journal. We are happy to add, on good authority, that a project of law determining the main points of this great question is likely to be introduced to the French legislature during the *present* session.

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IN the West India papers last arrived we find an important document in the shape of an extract of a letter from the late governor of Sierra Leone to one of his friends at Demerara. It is inserted in the *Guiana Times*, with introductory remarks as follows :—

A gentleman, to whose kind offices we have been indebted oftener than once, has handed us an extract from a letter addressed to one of his friends by Governor Doherty, of Sierra Leone. It will be recollected that this worthy and intelligent officer's first communication to Lord John Russell was written at some date anterior to the middle of the year: the following extract, therefore, contains the substance of his Excellency's sounder information and later experience, and it is at this moment, exceedingly well timed, inasmuch as it has a tendency to correct any extravagant notions which might be formed, as to the probable value of Sierra Leone as a source of emigration.

"*Sierra Leone, Sept. 18th*, 1840.

"I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 10th July, on the practicability of procuring field labourers for the West Indies from this colony. Within the last eight or ten months, I have heard from Mr. Burnley junior, and repeatedly from Mr. Robert Neilson; and, in consequence, both in Freetown itself, and during visits to the villages of the colony, which are formed by the location of the liberated Africans whom you mention, endeavoured to ascertain the sentiments of these people with respect to the proposed emigration. I cannot find, however, that any of them are disposed to leave Sierra Leone for employment as daily labourers, or that they would be disposed to move at all, except on an express understanding of their being sent back, should they desire it, within two or three years. They are, for the most part, an active and industrious population, fond of employing themselves in barter and trade, in which they rise from small beginnings, some of them to great comfort and considerable property; and, upon the whole, are in a better condition here than I was prepared to find them, or than you and others are probably aware of. I am of opinion, therefore, that little could be done in procuring volunteers among them; but there is a race of strangers in the colony, from the eastward, who are in every respect better adapted for bodily labour, who indeed are exclusively employed here, and on board ship, in severe labour, and who could, I think, be induced to go over to the West Indies—though neither would they do so, except upon an understanding or agreement to be returned within three, four, or five years, as might be. These are the Kroomen, of whom you may have heard, and they might be procured from this, I should think, or from their own country; but they never emigrate with their families, and their object is gain, and to return with it to their native country. You might not get many at first; but, if they were well treated, and sent back to the Kroo country, numbers would then be likely to offer their services.

"Upon the whole, it appears to me that the best plan that yourself and others interested in the matter could do, would be, in the first instance, not to rely on any general reports from this, but to send out some individual to ascertain the facts on the spot, and to engage volunteers among the Kroomen; he would have the best prospects of success: but he might also make inquiries among, and offers to, certain classes of the liberated Africans. With respect to the mercantile houses you request me to name, I will mention those of Mr. William Cole, and Mr. Robert Hornell, with either of whom I think you might correspond with advantage on finally deciding on the measure.

"R. DOHERTY."

Two points are observable in this communication of Governor Doherty. First, that he has ascertained that the liberated Africans of Sierra Leone are not disposed to emigrate *as labourers*, for any remuneration whatever. Secondly, that he suggests a plan for the emigration of the Kroomen, natives of Africa, through Sierra Leone. This is a very remarkable proposition to come from the governor of a British colony. Is it possible it can have obtained the sanction, or can have been submitted to the consideration of the home government?

WE are sorry to find, that several parts of the West Indies are severely suffering by drought. This will, of course, diminish the production of sugar, and impede so far the relief which the consumers of that article so earnestly look for. We are sure, however, that Englishmen would not desire that relief at the cost to human life and happiness which would be involved in the admission of slave grown sugar to the British market. No money price can make sugar so dear, as it must be reckoned when it is purchased by the uncompensated labour and immeasurable suffering of our fellow-creatures.

THE latest accounts from the United States manifest the intense interest felt at the date of them in the impending fate of the Africans of the *Amistad*. From a private letter dated New York, February 27th, we are favoured with the following :—

The *Amistad* case is now being argued in the supreme court at Washington. Mr. Baldwin, of Newhaven, one of the original counsel, and always, I think, the one on whom the main reliance was placed for the full preparation of the case, made his argument in the beginning of the week, and a most masterly one it is said to have been. John Quincy Adams has already spoken two days, about four hours each, and his speech of course will be an able one. We have managed to make the whole nation look the *Amistad* captives in the face. The case is, in my view, so plainly in favour of their being set at full liberty *here*, that I cannot as yet fear that any other result will take place, although in this most of our friends differ from me.

We find, indeed, that, generally, fear much preponderates over hope. It is, we suppose, a favourable circumstance, that, by delays which have arisen in the hearing of the case, the decision of it has been thrown beyond the 4th of March, that is to say, into the hands of a new government. All British sense of justice is outraged by the pre-judgment of the case in long newspaper articles, abounding with pro-slavery virulence and denunciation; the worst of these, too, being written, as is said, by a person of no less official importance than Mr. Forsyth, the secretary of state to the Van Buren government. It will be seen with pleasure, that the British ministry has interposed its good offices with that of the United States on this deeply interesting occasion. We trust Lord Palmerston will yet ask himself the question, whether there is nothing more that he can do.

Since writing the above, we have received the *New York Journal of Commerce*, containing Mr. Leavitt's notes of the proceedings before the supreme court; but we have not room for extracts.

WE take from a letter of the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, a passage again affirming the carrying on of the slave-trade under the flag of Greece. May we be permitted to recommend to all persons who have any real knowledge on this subject to put it into the form of specific facts? Nothing else can become matter of investigation; and we have the recent promise of the Greek minister in this country that any specific allegation shall be inquired into. The extract we give below says that a case occurred "when Lord Powerscourt was at Syra:" but when was Lord Powerscourt at Syra? What was the name of the vessel? The *Malta Times* will of course give circulation to the declaration of Prince Mavrocordato, that, on the deck of a Greek vessel, as on the soil of Greece, no person is a slave, but is *ipso facto* free. The following is the extract :—

I had almost forgotten to call your attention again to the open way in which the slave-trade is carried on in Greek vessels, and after England has spent so many millions to abolish it. Lord Powerscourt openly said in society here, that, when he was at Syra the other day, there was a Greek vessel in that port with one hundred black slaves on board, most of them women, and naked to the waist! His lordship was performing quarantine in his yacht, and the slaver was moored near his vessel. Cannot our navy interfere to put an end to this infamous traffic, carried on openly under the flag of independent Greece?

WE direct attention to a paper in a preceding column, under the head of *Crab Island*. The subject to which it relates is of great importance, and is well deserving of attention in the high quarters to which it has been introduced. We should have been gratified if the answer of Lord Palmeston had indicated a more thorough appreciation of its merits.

WE need scarcely direct attention to the extracts we have made from the report on the Indian Coolie trade. It will be found amply to justify all the steps which have been taken in opposition to it; and we should suppose it will lay the matter finally at rest.

EXPORTATION OF HILL COOLIES.

IT will be recollected that, in the parliamentary proceedings of last year, frequent reference was made to an official inquiry instituted by the government of India respecting the exportation of Coolies, and a consequent report, not then received in this country, but indispensable to any satisfactory proceeding. This document, so highly important and so loudly called for, has at length arrived, and has been printed by order of the House of Commons.

It appears that, on the 1st of August, 1838, the secretary to government wrote to T. Dickens, Esq., the Rev. H. J. Charles, W. Dowson, Esq., Major Archer, Russomoy Dutt, Esq., and J. D. Grant, Esq., C. S., informing them that the deputy governor had selected them as a committee, to investigate the alleged abuses of the system of Coolie exportation. The committee commenced their operations on the 22nd of August, between which period and the 14th of January, 1839, they held not less than fifty sittings, and examined between thirty and forty witnesses, besides carrying on a considerable correspondence. The report is signed by only three of the gentlemen, who constituted the committee; Major Archer having left Calcutta pending the inquiry, and Messrs. Grant and Dowson differing in opinion on some points. We extract the following passages :—

9. We conceive it to be distinctly proved beyond dispute, that the Coolies and other natives exported to Mauritius and elsewhere were (generally speaking) induced to come to Calcutta by misrepresentation and deceit, practised upon them by native crimps styled duffadars and arkotties, employed by European and Anglo-Indian undertakers and shippers, who were mostly cognizant of these frauds, and who received a very considerable sum per head for each Coolie exported.

10. That, if the natives in the interior, Hill Coolies or others, had been distinctly made aware that they were to go beyond seas to a great distance, and to remain absent for five years, it is probable that not one, or at least that very few, would have been induced to take such an engagement.

11. That the Coolies seem generally to have been induced, by the duffadars and others employed in that business, to come to Calcutta, by being persuaded that they should find employment as peons under the Company, work on the public roads, or as gardeners, porters, &c.

12. That, in the case of the Hill Coolies especially, and in many other instances, the parties were really incapable of understanding the nature of the contracts they were said to have entered into, even when an opportunity of explanation had been afforded apparently sufficient for the purpose.

13. That, in despite of the regulations of 1837, and the interference of the police, an impression was successfully created and maintained up to the date of the suspension of the trade among the Coolies, that they would be liable to penal consequences if they expressed dissatisfaction at being sent on board ship; and this seems to have induced them, both previous to their departure and their return, to suppress the mention of their grievances wherever they conceived themselves interrogated by government officers.

14. That kidnapping prevailed to a very considerable extent; and that the Coolies, while kept in Calcutta itself and its neighbourhood, were actually in a state of close imprisonment.

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15. That, notwithstanding the existence of these practices of kidnapping and illegal imprisonment, to a very great extent within the local limits of Calcutta itself, the police authorities of the town do not seem to have been well-informed of the facts; and it is certain that, whatever measures were adopted, such measures were completely ineffectual as a check upon these abuses.

16. That the advance, as it was called, of six months' wages, seems to have been real as far as the planter wishing to import Coolies was concerned, and nominal as far as the Coolie was concerned. The planter paid the whole money, yet the Coolie received but little or nothing, until Serjeant McCann's interference. His mode of adjusting the accounts between the Coolie and the agent, or person that shipped the Coolies, was, in all cases, to allow the latter to retain twenty rupees of the money of each Coolie, out of which the trifling articles of clothing and utensils furnished to him were paid; the charges of Mr. Hughes, and other intermediate and subordinate crimps, such as the duffadars and arkotties; and lastly, the charge of Serjeant McCann himself. This system of nominal allowances to the Coolie was a source of fraudulent and dishonest gain to all the subordinate agents engaged in the export; and it is certain that, if advances were forbidden, the prop and mainstay of the Coolie trade, as heretofore carried on, would be at once removed. It will be observed, that, of the different parties engaged in the procuring and shipment of Coolies, not one tendered the production of his accounts.

17. That the legislative enactments and regulations of police made and passed for the prevention of abuses and due regulation of the trade in Calcutta, were of very little effect when enforced at all; for, though it appears that some amelioration was effected after the Act of 1837, yet the foregoing well-established facts abundantly bear out the general conclusion. We may further remark, that it has been proved by the evidence of Captain Rapson, that, out of 336 Coolies which he carried to Mauritius in the *Sophia* in October, 1836, only 140 were embarked while the ship he commanded was at her moorings, and the rest (that is to say, very nearly two-thirds) during her progress down the river, and without any pass or permit from the police at all. The only inference to be drawn is, that the laws and regulations of Calcutta restrictive of the illegal export of Coolies, can be evaded to any extent the shipper and captain may choose, and this with the utmost ease and impunity.

18. It may be further inferred, that the laws and police regulations of Mauritius were not of much greater practical utility in restraining the illegal importation of Coolies, because, if strictly observed, the greater number of the Coolies carried by Captain Rapson in the *Sophia* must have been sent back, as shipped against the restrictive laws and regulations of Calcutta, of which the Mauritius police authorities were, as already observed, previously made aware; but it appears from Captain Rapson's deposition, that they were all received and divided equally among the planters.

19. It further appears, from the evidence of the native witnesses taken as a whole, and after all due allowance made for a habit of exaggeration prevalent among Bengalees and Hindoostanees, that the local police of the interior of Mauritius was not very accessible to complaints; that the regulations of the plantations are such as closely to resemble imprisonment within their boundaries, and that the magistrates of the interior are not very cordially disposed to enforce those provisions of the contract inserted for the advantage of the Coolie.

20. It further appears (although the despatches of the Mauritius to the Bengal Government would seem to make it doubtful whether these persons were imported in French vessels) to be distinctly proved by Mr. Dowson's evidence, that, since this export trade in Coolies from India to Mauritius began, more Coolies were exported from Pondicherry than from Calcutta and other Indo-British ports, or at least as many, and great numbers from Madras to a French colony in which slavery prevails. It follows that all precautionary and restrictive measures adopted merely in British ports are but of comparatively small utility, and will, if they should prove effective in any great degree, end in driving the trade to foreign ports, if Mauritius or the West Indies are permitted to receive Coolies from them, as well as from our own.

21. The hardships and miseries endured by the Coolies in the passage to Mauritius are proved to have been very great, under the most favourable circumstances, and with the most humane commanders, acquainted with the language and manners of the natives; the mortality from drowning and other causes was most serious. We are fully persuaded, that, if the emigration to Demerara and the West Indies were permitted, the mortality in the voyages, taken together, would not fall much short of 10 per cent. on the numbers exported.

22. It appears in evidence that no restraint has at any time existed on the emigration of women, yet very few have gone. The Mauritius government has really been desirous that they should be sent; but we think it may be fairly inferred that the planters have not. The result of the emigration that has already taken place has been most disastrous to the families of those who have emigrated; and it is shown by the memorandum furnished to the Landholders' Society, by Mr. Taylor, that the districts of Bancoorah and Maunbhoom have been burdened with a vagrant and mendicant population of paupers, composed of the deserted families of emigrant Coolies.

23. On the subject of the condition of the Coolies in Mauritius, there is contradictory evidence. Mr. Onslow, of the Madras Civil Service, the Rev. Mr. Garstin, Dr. Wise, Captains Mackenzie and Rayne, (all unexceptionable witnesses in point of good faith, character and veracity) bear testimony to their healthy appearance and their apparent contentment, and seem to consider them as improved in condition. The natives, however, who have returned, with the exception of one Ramdeen, gave evidence the other way. It must be admitted, on such questions, these persons, however ignorant, are really the best judges. The European gentlemen would, from their own position in society, and their natural dispositions, associate probably only with planters of the superior classes and of humane tempers, whose treatment of their Coolie labourers would, it may be reasonably presumed, be liberal and considerate. And, when an opinion is pronounced that the condition of a Coolie is bettered at Mauritius, it should be first ascertained what that condition was in India, and what is the condition of his wife and children, or those of his family dependent upon him, when left behind. Any benefit derived from the superiority of climate at Mauritius or elsewhere, may, we think, very reasonably be put out of question, as a mere European notion. It is clear, however, that, if the contracts be fulfilled with perfect good faith, the individual Coolie temporarily betters his condition by emigrating to Mauritius, because he gets higher money wages, and food and clothing found him beside, though he has to work harder than in India. But it is clear also from the evidence, that the contracts, generally speaking, are not fulfilled by the planters. The conclusion of our minds from the whole evidence is, that these contracts have been strictly and literally fulfilled in no instance. Under good masters, there may be substantial fulfilment in good faith, as far as the circumstances of the island, in respect of imports of the kind of food stipulated for, permit, an equivalent being provided when the thing stipulated for cannot be afforded. In the majority of cases, however, there is nothing like that, kind of performance shown; but, on the contrary, rice, and salt, and clothing, seem to be all that the Coolies do actually receive from bad masters; and no money wages at all seem to be paid in the majority of instances.

The committee subsequently advert to the question of resuming the "trade" in Coolies, on which they express themselves in the following decided terms:—

27. We are thoroughly and intimately persuaded, from our knowledge of this country, of the working of judicial and police establishments in the interior and in Calcutta itself, of the character of the natives, and of those classes of persons who would engage actively in promoting the export of Coolies here, and whom government would be compelled to employ in the practical supervision of the details of all regulations to prevent abuse, whether in the interior or in Calcutta, that scarcely any human precaution would avail to prevent a repetition of abuses. However, abuses quite as gross as those which have already prevailed, in despite of the acts and regulations already passed, might perhaps be rendered rare. But no system, we are firmly convinced, would ever suffice completely to counteract the tricks and falsehoods that would be resorted to in India by the duffadars, arkotties, and other persons engaged in similar avocations.

28. We are also convinced that no regulations, nor even any such as we have subsequently pointed out as absolutely necessary, would after all, in practice, suffice to secure the emigration or export of a due proportion of women, or an emigration by families. The interests of all classes of private persons concerned as exporters or importers are against it, and they will always operate more successfully than any laws or regulations that can be devised. Besides, it appears to be contrary to the general Asiatic character, and opposed to the feelings and prejudices of even the lowest classes, to emigrate with their women or families. There are thousands of Chinese emigrants at Singapore, and hundreds of thousands, we might even estimate by millions, in Siam, Java, Borneo, Manilla, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago; of women there are few or none. Certainly, the laws of China do, as it is said, prohibit the emigration of women; but as they equally prohibit the emigration of men, the true reason of the rarity of female emigrants must be sought for elsewhere; and it will be be found in the jealousy and prejudices of Asiatics with regard to the female sex, in the want of due accommodation for women in maritime emigration, and in the extreme poverty of the emigrants, which leads them to abandon all family ties as an incumbrance, which, unable to bear at home, they are doubly unwilling to sustain abroad.

29. We doubt, moreover, whether any regulations in the island of Mauritius will suffice to secure the strict and just performance of any contracts. Of the state of things in the West Indies we are uninformed by evidence. Further, we think, that no contracts really as just and beneficial to the Coolie as they ought to be would be entered into, if the regulations were so enforced as that a near approach were made towards a strict enforcement of performance.

30. We are convinced, in fine, that no laws or regulations likely to be passed, short of making the whole land and sea transport of Coolies government services, superintended by government officers and medical men, will suffice to prevent great misery and distress, even on this side of the Cape; and that, if West Indian voyages be permitted, the waste of human life and misery that will fall on the Coolies exported under the name of free labourers, will approach to those inflicted on the negro in the middle passage by the slave-trade. The numbers of Coolies exported to Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, to Trinidad, Jamaica, and the West India islands generally, would probably be very great; the cost of the voyage there and back would be very heavy, particularly if short terms of contract were enforced, and the impossibility of preventing exportation (whether professedly regulated or merely illicit) from foreign European ports and native territories in India complete. We think the latter consideration quite decisive against the expediency of re-opening the trade, when we reflect that, in addition to Danish, there are Portuguese and French ports and territories, from which a very large exportation could easily be organized. A prohibition to receive Coolies into British colonies in foreign vessels, might no doubt be enforced, but the exportation to foreign colonies could not be checked, except by long negotiations, if it were once begun, and our government would have no reason to urge for remonstrance or interference that could not be answered by a reference to its own example, and on the general and abstract principles, that it is always an advantage to all countries where labour is dear, to import it from those where labour is cheap; and that it is the right of all men to trade in free-labour, and especially of him whose only property is his capacity to labour, to sell that commodity to the best profit.

31. It seems to us that the permission to renew this traffic would weaken the moral influence of the British government throughout the world, and deaden or utterly destroy the effect of all future remonstrances and negotiations respecting the slave-trade; and this effect would ensue, however stringent, minute, or restrictive, might be the regulations framed to check abuses. Regulations would be met by other regulations, specious and unobjectionable in form; the difference would be in the execution and in the good faith of the framers.

32. Moreover, we think, as far as India is concerned, the supreme government and the government of each presidency, would be harassed by the occurrence of political disputes with the governments of foreign possessions, in addition to the labours of the watchful superintendence which would be required to be exercised, even by the supreme executive authority itself from time to time, over all the departments and executive officers employed in carrying into effect the laws and regulations intended to prevent abuse.

The report concludes with a statement of regulations which the committee would deem necessary, if ever the Coolie trade should

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befrenewed. Into these we need not enter at present; suffice it to say, that they differ vastly from the provisions of the Colonial Passengers' Act. The committee candidly state that they framed their suggestions, "not without a hope" that, if they should be adopted, "the trade would be abandoned as unprofitable by all parties now engaged in it."

We learn from the report, that, of the six gentlemen who composed the committee, two were "favourable to the trade, and one actually engaged in it." These, no doubt, are the two dissidents. One of them, Mr. Dowson, has expressed his views in a minute appended to the report. He describes it as "a case got up against the Mauritius interests, in a spirit of the most reckless exaggeration!" This is the Coolie trader, beyond question; and staunch to the last.

Colonial & Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

MOVEMENT IN KENTUCKY. [From the *Free American.*] I have gathered from various sources an account of a very deeply interesting discussion on the subject, which has recently taken place in this noblest of the slave states. It is evident that slavery cannot long endure such assaults upon it. Indeed, as the slave-holders of Kentucky are not more than *one in eight* of the legal voters, it evidently requires nothing but an impulse and union of action to ensure its immediate overthrow. The colonization scheme is a great hinderance in the way. For, although it has no influence for good, and secures very little pecuniary support, its speculations on the "impossibility of the two races living harmoniously together" have befogged the minds of not a few of her statesmen, so that they do not see the almost self-evident truth, that, as a *free labour* community, Kentucky cannot bear the loss of a single labourer. She will need 200,000 more within two years after slavery is overthrown. But to return to the debate.

The occasion of it was this. Kentucky, like other of slave-states, had sent large numbers of her useless slaves into the extreme south for sale, from 1835 to 1838, for which long credits were given, as in other cases. Large quantities of produce, bagging, hemp, and cattle, &c., had likewise been sold in the same manner, on the same terms. *This debt*, to the amount of three to five millions, *has never been paid.* As a means of securing re-payment to some extent, and at the same time of strengthening the slave interest, which had been very much weakened by the large export of slaves, the party *in favour of the perpetuation of slavery* proposed to repeal the law which prohibits the further introduction of slaves into the state, so as to get *back* the slaves sold, and many more, in payment of their southern debts, and so increase the number of slaves, and the waning influence of the slave interest.

At the last state election the question was, to a considerable extent, made a *test* at the polls, in the election of members of the state legislature.

In one of the representative districts, Mr. Cassius M. Clay, a cousin of Hon. Henry Clay, and Mr. Robert Wickliffe, jun., were the opposing candidates. Wickliffe, a virulent slaveite, in a stump speech, of which a sketch was afterwards published, violently assailed Clay as an opposer of slavery, and of the repeal of the law so obnoxious to the slavery party. Mr. Clay published an able reply. The subject has been freely discussed in the papers, and subsequently in the legislature. The merits of the whole system of slavery were examined by some speakers on both sides. Nor has the discussion ceased since the rejection of the repealing law by a decisive majority. Slavery in Kentucky has not long to live.

POLITICAL ACTION: THE CENSUS. [From a private Letter.]

"*New York, February* 27, 1841.

"I am satisfied that what the abolitionists have been doing has not been in vain. The popular mind is deeply imbued with our principles. The legislature is now in session. The *nine months' slave-law* of this state will I think be repealed; and I would not be greatly surprised if the proposition to extend the elective franchise to the coloured people should also succeed. There are now the only remaining vestiges of slavery in this state. The 7000 who adhered to their principles at the election of president and vice-president have done wonders for the cause. In the free states, abolitionists, and their principles and objects, are treated with more respect than at any time heretofore. I feel well convinced, if we had cast 50,000 votes—aye, or even 20,000, it would have been looked on as speedily sealing the fate of slavery. As it is we have no cause to be discouraged.

"There have been very interesting discussions on the slavery subject in the legislature of Kentucky this winter: so there has been in the legislature of this state, arising out of a demand made by the governor of Virginia on our government, for the delivery to the former of three men, charged in Virginia with having stolen a slave. Our governer has taken high ground, and will maintain it, and the people will sustain him in it. I am inclined to believe that the 7000 will remain firm, and that they will have large accessions to their ranks. You may have noticed in the *Emancipator*, that there is to be a national convention in this city in May, in reference to the next presidential election (1844). I think it will be well attended, unless the present hard times, so far as money matters are concerned, should continue, and that it will command great respect from the political parties. The census of last year shows the south to be in a state of almost *going to pieces*. Their white population has increased but little comparatively; even their slaves have fallen from 150,000 to 250,000 below what their number was expected to be. I can account for it satisfactorily in no other way than that which is most injurious to the humanity of the slave-holders. Texas I do not suppose has received a greater number of slaves from the United States, than have been illicitly introduced into the latter from Africa and the West Indies. The fugitives to Canada and the free states will affect the result but little. Our planters, I fear, have added another dreadful item to their bloody list. The Georgians have had a controversy with Maine for the last three years, growing out of the escape of a slave from the former, in a vessel belonging to Maine. The captain and mate of the vessel were indicted, but the governors of Maine (two, one of each party) refused to give them up on the demand of the Georgians. The Georgians, of course, threatened heavy vengeance. A year ago the house of representatives passed a bill, imposing a quarantine of 100 days on all vessels from Maine, (a thing they had no constitutional right to do) and inflicting severe penalties for violating it; but the senate rejected it. This winter both houses passed the bill, but the governor has failed to ratify it: so it is no law. The south is, in my opinion, from this time, rapidly to lose its influence in the political affairs of the country. The free states, looking at their increase in population—their growth in improvement, and in everything that constitutes the power of states, are evidently beginning to pluck up courage, and rather to look down with contempt on the comparative insignificance of the south. The low price of cotton, and the low price of slaves, has a powerful effect against the south. How I do wish you could just now give a finishing blow to our slavery, by a two years' supply of cotton from India! I really think it would be the means of suddenly dissolving the slave-system here. If slaves should become unprofitable, and be considered an encumberance, the slave-holders would soon be regarded as the most hateful beings on earth."

CHANGE OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT.—Among the numerous proofs of a remarkable change of public sentiment in favour of Anti-slavery discussion, we are highly gratified in perceiving that Cincinnati, Ohio, heretofore a stronghold of pro-slavery sentiment, has "now fairly redeemed herself," as the *Philanthropist* expresses it, "from the disgrace inflicted on her by the mob-meeting of 1836, and the abhorrence meeting of 1839." On the 5th of January a public meeting was held at the court-house, to consider the subject of slavery and the slave-trade in the district of Columbia, and the gag-resolves of Congress. Some highly respectable citizens, not heretofore connected with anti-slavery associations, attended the meeting, and took an active part in its proceedings.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

THE SCHOONER CATHARINE has been condemned by Judge Thompson. The vessel was built for the slave-trade in Baltimore, and owned by R. P. Allen and John Henderson, of that city. It was sold by their agent in Havana to the well known slave-trading firm of Pedro Martinez and Co. Some difficulty, however, occurred, and the bargain fell through. The vessel was then sold to Don Tiran, another slave-merchant, the money payable when the vessel was delivered at Bona, on the African coast. She sailed under a charter to one Thrasher, with an American captain and crew, sufficient to navigate her as a *trader*, but not as a *slaver*. A large Spanish and Portuguese crew was on board *as passengers!* A slave-deck ready to put up, and all the *conveniences* for a cargo of slaves, were stowed in the hold. The vessel was consigned to J. Peviera, a merchant and slave-trader on the coast. She was captured by a British vessel before reaching the coast, and sent to the United States for trial. An unsigned paper was found on the person of the captain, directing him, in case a man-of-war boarded him, to take command with the American crew, "*all the others to be passengers.*" From a reference to the instructions, it would seem that Thomas Wilson and Co., of Baltimore, were interested in the *results* of the voyage. The decision of the judge embraces these points. The Act of congress forbids the employment of American vessels in the slave-trade.—*Ibid.*

THE late proceedings of the British government on the subject of slavery, are thus sorely noticed in the late warlike report presented to the senate of the United States.

"We have other points of difference with Great Britain, which add interest to every question that arises between us at present. She has recently seized our vessels, and exercised a power involving the right of search, under the pretext of suppressing the foreign slave-trade, which, if persevered in, will sweep our commerce from the coast of Africa, and which is incompatible with our rights as a maritime power. She has recently, in her intercourse with us, refused indemnity and denied our rights to property, on a subject-matter vital to near one-half the states of this confederacy, and which, considering her military position at Bermuda, and her growing power in the West Indies, is of the last importance to our national independence."

BRAZIL.

THE following extract of a circular from the minister of foreign affairs to the ambassadors and consuls in Europe, published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of the 7th of January last, shows that the government are taking measures for the abolition of slavery in that empire.

"Whereas the imperial government should employ all means within its reach to promote within this empire the moral and material improvements of which a new, vast, and rich country is susceptible, and where every thing that can contribute to its prosperity and future grandeur is but in its beginning, or has still to be created, it is my duty to recommend to your zeal various objects, making at the same time some observations which may guide you to contribute on your part, in that quarter of the world where you reside, towards the purposes which this government has proposed to itself. You, as well as any reflecting politician, in looking attentively and with earnestness to the futurity of our country, cannot but acknowledge that its progress must be languid, and that this empire cannot reach the power and greatness for which it appears to be destined, if we do not earnestly think on, and make every possible effort for, calling to us the greatest possible number of free and industrious settlers.

"Our immense forests and extensive navigable rivers, our varied natural products, are so many, which, if turned to account by the rapid increase of a free and industrious population, will give us rank and respect amongst other nations, while with slave labour (the further importation of which is even henceforth impeded by solemn treaties which government, from duty and from principle, must maintain), this country will never be able to near such nations in industry and civilization; nor is it necessary to ponder on the perils which the empire would run for the future, exposed then to become a prey to some powerful nation having a redundant population, if *perchance, as is no more possible*, the introduction of Africans, licitly or illicitly, were to continue, in a century in which all civilised nations have given themselves the hand to put down the slave-trade, and to establish daily more vigorous measures to attain this end.

"Seeing these truths, a committee of the house of deputies presented last session a project of law, which, as yet, could not pass for want of time, but which, no doubt, will be adopted in 1841, providing means for promoting a free emigration to this country, and which in its preamble makes reflections tending to destroy the prejudices of most of our planters. This project and the said reflections I remit to you, that you may order them to be published in the journals of the country where you reside, because they are also calculated to meet those prejudices which reign in Europe against Brazil, and to invite a spontaneous emigration.

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"When we make a comparison between the numbers annually emigrating from Europe to the United States, and the few coming to this country, we cannot but think that this great difference is owing to such prejudices.

"A most fertile soil, a pleasant and healthy climate, and infinite natural productions, would, no doubt, invite emigration, if such erroneous impressions were removed; the more so, as it is certain that no industrious and quiet foreigner has ever sought means of subsistence in Brazil without finding it, and almost generally abundance and riches even, and protection from government, and friendship from the people, who cannot be said to be otherwise than hospitable.

"It being decidedly anomalous that a free government, trying to attract free labourers to the country, should employ in its arsenals, workshops, or many of its public works, any workmen that are slaves, government has already probibited and stopped the employment of such bondsmen in most of the public establishments; but since we suffer a very great want of handicraftsmen, and particularly of carpenters, masons, ship-carpenters, smiths, paviours, and locksmiths; it becomes highly necessary that you should employ every means for disposing these kind of people to come and settle in Brazil."

To this we are enabled to add, that, in January last, above 500 hired slaves of various trades were discharged from the navy yard at Rio; and that circulars were issued by the ministers of war and marine, directing the same to be done at the arsenals of Bahia and Pernambuco.

MAURITIUS.

FROM our file of the *Cerneen* we learn that Sir Lionel Smith is far from finding his government a bed of roses. Some planters of the districts of Pamplemousses and Riviere du Rempart having addressed a letter to him, alleging that they were "reduced to a deplorable condition in consequence of the insubordination of the Indians," his Excellency directed the following reply:—

"*Colonial Secretary's Office, 23rd November*, 1840.

"GENTLEMEN—His Excellency, the Governor, has received your memorial under date the 15th instant, setting forth the relaxed state of discipline and disorder which prevails among the Indian labourers in this island, and praying that prompt means of repression may be adopted.

"His Excellency has directed me to express to you his extreme regret at the evils therein complained of, and to offer to you the assurance of his willingness to do every thing in his power to check and control, so far as the law will admit, any spirit of disorder which may unhappily exist amongst the labouring population.

"With this view his Excellency has directed the stipendiary magistrates to proceed to the estates of the several gentlemen who have signed the memorial, there to warn the labourers of the obligations under which they are bound to their employers, and of the danger they incur by any breach of their engagements.

"His Excellency has directed me to add, that, as soon as he shall have returned from Mahébourg, he will attend at the Powder Mills, on a day of which due notice will be given to you, to speak to such of your labourers as you may send there, and, with the magistrates, endeavour to induce them to pursue a better course of conduct.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

"G. F. DICK, *Colonial Secretary*."

Disorders having broken out on Mr. Cordouan's estate, in the district of Plaines Wilhelms, the governor proceeded thither to make investigation. "Arrived upon the spot, his Excellency summoned to his presence every Indian on the establishment, and, aided by an interpreter, severally interrogated them. Some of them having complained that the quantity of salt fish meted out to them was short of the weight specified in their engagements, Sir Lionel Smith, at the solicitation of Mr. Cordouan himself, caused several bundles, selected at hazard out of the store in which the provisions of the labourers are kept, to be weighed before him; and the result was, that they not only proved to weigh more than was asserted by the Indians, but that they even exceeded the weight prescribed by the agreement passed between them and their employer."

So says the *Cerneen*; but it says nothing of those other complaints which, doubtless, must have been forthcoming on so serious an occasion, and of those rebukes which his Excellency may have found it necessary, for aught that appears, to administer to Mr. Cordouan. The *Cerneen* makes it matter of complaint that Sir Lionel has issued a circular, directing the stipendiary magistrates to make "periodical visits to the different estates in their jurisdiction to receive the complaints of the servants against their masters:" a measure evidently adopted because the masters made such a clamour when their servants carried their complaints to the magistrates. The spirit of the *Cerneen* may be judged of by the following sentence:—"Will Sir Lionel Smith persist in his illusion, and refuse to convince himself by the evidence of his own senses, that the class which, on his arrival at Mauritius, he supposed to constitute a population of saints and martyrs, is for the most part composed of the very dregs of the principal towns of India, whom the state of helplessness to which we were reduced, and that alone, induced us to accept as a boon?"

FRANCE.

On Saturday last M. Lacrosse put some questions to the ministers, respecting a particular occurrence which involves the whole question of slavery. It related to a colonist, who, after having confined a negress in a private dungeon for twenty-two months, without either air or light, was not only acquitted on his trial, but was carried in triumph by the free population of the colony!

The debate which arose on this subject proves that the question of the abolition of slavery is already decided in the public mind. Nothing remains but to determine the manner in which it shall be accomplished; and, if anything is astonishing, it is that it should still exist. There are enormities which cease to excite attention, because they are so common: war and slavery are of this class. The former is justified, even when it is aggressive and unjust, by a pretext drawn from the necessity of self-defence: but slavery! slavery! what sophism can justify this? We give a calm and simple view of the subject.

Some men who declare that they have no greater blessing than liberty, obtain other men to make slaves of them; men whose whole laws rest on the principle that duties and privileges all emanate from justice, act on this principle, we have no law but force! Their whole life is spent in defending their own liberty and rights, and in violating the liberty and rights of others; and this deliberately, without remorse, in the name of justice, and invoking humanity! They assert that the negros are much more happy in being their slaves, and in being certainly provided for, than in being free, and having to get their living; that, if they were not slaves to them, they would be so to some one else.—We are indignant at such language. We feel that such men cannot be reasoned with; unless it be by applying to themselves the whip which they inflict on their human beasts of burden, or by subjecting these gentle colonists, and their philanthropic delegates, for one year, to the toil and torture they impose on their proteges.

You give me favours? may the slave say to them; but, for my part, I want none of your favours, I want my liberty. You understand my interest better than myself? Perhaps so; but let me manage my own affairs. Keep your favours to yourselves; and, as I want nothing from you, do you take nothing from me. I want to be unhappy, wretched, miserable, if I please; this is no concern of yours. I want what is my own; my limbs, my time, my life, my liberty!

Slavery is a crime; nothing less. The divine law punished the man-stealer with death; and if the colonist has not gone to the coast of Africa to commit the robbery, he is at least the receiver of stolen goods. Now our laws punish the latter crime equally with the former. What can the inhabitants of the old world do, then, against the new, chargeable with depriving of their liberty millions of their fellow-creatures? Renounce and terminate our relations with them, just as we should act towards thieves and receivers. France, certainly, will not be slow to abolish slavery in her colonies. A commission is charged with this question. But will not other nations continue after her implicated in this crime; and the greatest among them, one which, on so many accounts possesses our sympathies, will not she continue to consume millions of lives in slavery? Why should not the European powers take up the cause of humanity, and place the culpable ones without the pale of nations? When the rights of humanity are so manifestly and so flagrantly violated, does not our simple character as men entitle us to interpose on behalf of the oppressed? I think it does. I should like, then, that by persuasion, if possible, or, if necessary, by suspended relations, Europe should conduct the entire continent of America to the abolition of slavery. It might not require more than the privation of one of our products to constrain her to it.

It is not only nations, however, but individuals who can advance this cause. The proof of this is before our eyes. It need not be disguised, that the motive which has induced France to take up this question is the example of England, and the emancipation of the English slaves originated in the persevering efforts of one man, the illustrious Wilberforce. Christian societies, without doubt, came to his aid; but what are societies but individuals united as each of us may be united with his neighbour, to promote in his little sphere the advancement of the greatest questions? Every one has some portion of money, of talent, of time, of influence; let each bring his offering, and emancipation will follow. You can write; you, petition; you, require from your representative a motion or a vote; you, circulate what is already written; you, by conversation in your circle, elicit public opinion; all, subscribe to works which relate to the subject. This article has less for its end to act on the European powers, who will never read it, than on the individual persons who may find it in their hands.—*L'Esperance*.

THE feeling of the chamber on the slavery question may clearly be traced, in its refusal to allow £200 for the mission to the West Indies of M. M. de Feuillide and de Cassaignac. The former had gone to inquire into the slave-question, and had conducted himself most shamefully; the latter had gone for the purpose of getting himself named delegate of Guadeloupe at Paris. Both had claimed to represent the ideas of the French (Thiers) ministry; both declared themselves in favour of the continuance of slavery: both were introduced into the colonial council, one recommending the other as delegate, and as representing the opinions of the French ministry. M. de Cassaignac was chosen delegate; and all this while a commission for the abolition of slavery was sitting in Paris, and flattering itself that its views would be furthered by the cabinet. M. Thiers defended himself by saying, that he had merely given one of these gentlemen a letter, and the other a mission, without much inquiry into the opinions or character of either.

IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

[From the *Mining Journal*.]

THE movement lately made by some shareholders in the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, whose philanthropy and proper feeling on this question is so praiseworthy, causes us to take up the subject, as one which is highly deserving the attention of all who may be embarked in foreign mines where slave labour exists. We find in the reports of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, that, in taking stock, the value is set upon the slaves in the same manner as produce, stores, or materials; and, in case of the suspension of operations at Gongo Soco, the consequence would be, that the slaves, who have by their labour yielded the returns from which the shareholders have obtained their dividends, would be sold, and turned over to some other party, being put up to obtain the highest price. When we reflect that £20,000,000 was granted for the abolition of slavery—when the general hatred and detestation which Englishmen entertain to slave traffic is considered—we can hardly believe, that any one who professes the feelings or principles which should influence every Christian, should subscribe to a Company, or allow the funds placed at their disposal to be applied to the purchase of human flesh. We trust that the gentlemen who have taken up the subject will follow it out—success must attend their exertions, and the good wishes of all, with the prayers of the enslaved, will accompany and prosper the cause they advocate, supported as it is by all those kindly feelings which christianity inculcates.

Another slave-schooner, with 290 souls, prize to the *Cleopatra*, had arrived at Havana. These were to be taken to Nassau by the *brig Meg Lee, of Sunderland*; and she was to be convoyed by a Mexican man-of-war schooner which the British consul had asked for, there being no English man-of-war at Havana. The *Meg Lee* had just returned from Nassau, whither she had carried the *Cleopatra's* previous capture.—*Morning Chronicle*.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXIV. Vol. II. No. 7.] WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

No. 2.

ADDRESS TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY IN FRANCE.

We have said that liberty will shortly be borne to 250,000 slaves in the colonies of France. There are, indeed, cheering indications, some of which we have noticed, that the enemies of the negro, too long dominant in the councils of nations, can now do little to retard the triumph of a cause which is continually gaining strength, and which can only be seriously injured by the mistakes, the supineness, or the timidity of its friends.

The slavery which now exists is shortly to be abolished by law in the French colonies; but in what manner! Shall it be by the substitution of a system having any affinity to that erroneously called apprenticeship, which was established in our colonies in opposition to the just and intelligent wishes of the British people, and destroyed by their merited indignation! Will the government of France, untaught by the lessons of experience, decide to adopt the errors into which the parliament of England, warped from the path of wisdom and duty by the voice of the planters, were unhappily led; or, will they give that immediate liberty which has been attended with such complete success in Antigua; and which the assembly of Jamaica would have conferred, instead of establishing the system of apprenticeship in that island, had they not been advised to do otherwise by a person then high in authority in the colony!

We believe the solution of the questions we have proposed depends greatly upon the course which shall shortly be adopted by those who are, or who may be regarded as the representatives of the negro in France. Theirs, is indeed, a position of great and almost unspeakable importance at the present moment.

We have been led to make these remarks, after having read with feelings of deep uneasiness the eighteenth number of a publication, issued by the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery, containing instructions issued on the 18th of July last, by the then minister of marine, to the governors of the French slave colonies, and the report of a commission appointed by the king of France on the subject of the abolition of slavery, over which the Duke de Broglie presided.

We propose briefly to refer to some passages contained in this publication; but may previously observe, that there have been made by the pro-slavery party, during a long course of years, reiterated and positive statements, which too long imposed upon the judgments of those who really wished to terminate the wrongs and injustice inseparable from a system of coerced and uncompensated labour. Among these statements may be cited the asserted destruction of the whites, in the event of freedom being bestowed upon the negros, together with a general abandonment of labour on the plantations. It was also predicted that a state of almost universal licentiousness (then indeed prevalent) would result from so rash a course, crimes fearfully increase, and the new freemen degenerate into brutal savages.

How completely have all these predictions been falsified by the actual results of emancipation in the British colonies! Where, among more than 700,000 who were lately slaves, has one act of violence been committed on a white man! Have the newly emancipated freemen evinced a disposition to idleness, where they have been fairly and kindly treated! Have marriages among them diminished or greatly increased! What is the report of crime, and what of education (almost unknown under slavery, and greatly impeded under the apprenticeship); and is or is not religion more than ever respected and obeyed by these shamefully calumniated men! We confidently state, after a long and patient investigation of facts, principally as furnished by official documents, that a most satisfactory reply may be given to each of these questions.

Will not, then, the people of France, her statesmen and those who stand in the responsible situation of the friends of the negro, dare to be just towards those who have too long groaned under an iniquitous and intolerable oppression? We look to the measures which are about to be taken in France with no common interest, and it is our earnest desire that a large measure of wisdom, energy, and decision may mark the conduct of all who stand in the front of the battle, or in any part of its ranks. Not one friend of the negro should be sleeping at the present critical moment when a false step may possibly retard for years (how long under a grievous servitude!) the reasonable wishes and expectations of the French bondmen; and may present to other countries a pernicious example, instead of one worthy of being imitated in the approaching proclamation of freedom throughout the world.

We may now frankly remark, that we regret to find in the correspondence to which we have alluded, and in the report of the royal commission, the importance which appears to be attached to the information sought from the colonial councils. We recollect the remark made, many years since, by the late illustrious Wilberforce, that the colonial party see subjects connected with the slavery question through a West Indian atmosphere, which strangely perverts their vision, and continually leads them to make representations wholly at variance with truth. We fully concur in this sentiment, and confess that we feel little confidence in suggestions emanating from those who have been familiarised to the evils and cruelty of slavery. It is too true, as our poet Thomson has said

> "Vice is a monster of such horrid mien,
> That to be hated needs but to be seen;
> Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace!"

We regret, also, that it is by some distinguished individuals deemed needful to grant an indemnification to the planters for losses that will probably never be sustained; as abundant proof exists that emancipation in general only transfers the value of the slave, or a greater value, to the land where the new freeman is treated with justice and proper consideration. Much more should we regret, profound indeed would be our grief, if the present bondman should be retained as such, under any system that ingenuity, ill applied in our humble apprehension, could possibly suggest.

There is no effectual protection for the negro, especially in countries long cursed by the spirit and practice of a cruel despotism, except in entire freedom, subject only to the infliction of punishment for the violation of laws equally framed for the protection of every portion of the community.

The English system of apprenticeship, to which we have already referred, is a proved failure, and we will say little on this point, except that, in every colony in which it came into operation, a very large amount of punishment was inflicted. This took place, notwithstanding a committee of the house of commons, appointed to examine its working, report that, in Jamaica, to which their attention was confined, and which contained "more than" one-third of the apprentice-population, "in the evidence which they have received, they find abundant proof of the general good conduct of the apprentices, and of their willingness to work for wages whenever they are fairly and considerately treated by their employers. It is, indeed, fully proved, that the labour thus voluntarily performed by the negro is more effective than that which was obtained from him while in a state of slavery, or which is now given to his employer during the time for which he is compelled to work as an apprentice."

It may be worthy of remark, that a new and severe punishment, by a treadmill of a torturing construction, was first adopted during the period of the apprenticeship. A counterpart to this conduct, if indeed it should ever become law, may be found in the following passage in the instructions to the French colonial governors, which is preceded by these memorable words: "The government will wish that the *black* be always punished severely in every case of neglect of his obligations." Can *this* be the language of a French minister to the governors of the French West India colonies, and that of Bourbon! But we might cite many not less objectionable. "I have only to add on this last point an important instruction. The intention of the government is to establish a place of transportation, in order to place there *blacks*, whose bad conduct would trouble the public order, or who, by incorrigible habits of idleness and vagabondage, would become a burden and even a danger to colonial society. This punishment will be consequently included in the work to be,

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performed. We may hope, however, that it will be seldom adopted. The greater part of the slaves of our colonies are born there; others have found there a new country; and doubtless the fear only of foreign transportation will be adapted to prevent the greatest number of faults of a grave character, which such a penalty would be destined to repress."

It appears to us that a purchase of the slaves by the French government, and letting out their labour, differs little, if at all, from the English apprenticeship system in its general character; especially, if their forced services be secured to the planter for a fixed period. It would, in addition, have this highly objectionable effect, that it would place the French nation more conspicuously than it appears at present, in the odious position of a slave-holder. We advisedly use the expression more conspicuously, because the French government at present retains slaves of the domain, apparently in deference to colonial wishes, constantly opposed to the introduction of liberty to the negro.

We have lately been informed, that the managers of slaves in Cuba, too much like those in other countries in the same employment, are generally immoral, cruel, and destitute of all principle. They, in consequence, continually act in a manner opposed to the interest of their employers; these however, retain their services, because they can only exchange them for others of a similar character. Very similar would be the situation of the mis-called emancipated French slaves, under the system we are considering. It would be of little use for them to change their master, when this would only be to exchange one tyrant for another. Very different would be the case under freedom, when a proper consideration for the long abused negro would be partially secured at least, by the importance of thus retaining their services.

It appears to us very remarkable, that those who recommend the intermediate state, by whatever name it may be designated, do not advert more frequently to the idle and profligate character of the white population, which might be adduced as a ground for placing them in a transition state, and which certainly disqualifies them for being entrusted with the power which slavery, whatever supposed modification may be associated with it, confers.

We are grieved that it should be proposed that the slave should purchase, either wholly or in part, his own freedom; a course which we must be permitted to characterize as wholly derogatory to the character of a great, a generous, or a just people.

We might say much more on the topics embraced in the documents under review, including that which relates to the forced apprenticeship of children, to which some of the remarks already made will apply; but we have wished rather to state our general opinions, than to comment on the many points brought under notice in the publication before us.

Frenchmen, and especially those among you distinguished for wisdom, virtue, and religion, be not content to destroy the outworks of slavery, but carry your holy warfare into its citadel; thus will you obtain the warm approbation of the friend of the slave in other lands, the sincerest gratitude of 250,000 of your long and deeply injured fellow-subjects, and perform a duty imperatively required by the solemn obligations of justice and religion. This we shall indeed regard as one of the most cheering signs of the times in which we live, a bright presage of universal emancipation.

, We hope shortly to be able to state that the *Results of Emancipation*, in course of preparation, is completed. We have lying by us some deeply interesting works published in foreign countries within the last few years, devoted wholly or in part to the advocacy of the rights of the slave. We hope to be able to make extracts from some of these shortly, but may in the mean time commend to those who may have an opportunity of procuring them the following:—

Memoria analytica a' cerca do commercio d'escrava e a' cerca dos malles da escravidao domestica por F. L. C. B. pp. 142. Rio de Janeiro. Typ. Commercial. FLUMINENTI. 1837.

Tratado de legislacion or exposicion de las leyis jenerales con arreglo a las cuales prosperan, decaen o se estancan los pueblos, por Carlos Comte, traducida de la segunda edicion por A. B.—5 vols. 12 mo.—Barcelona.—A. BERGNES. 1837.

Mi prémera pregunta. La abolicion del comercio de esclavos Africanos arruinara o atrasara la agricultura Cubaba? Dedicada á los hacendados de la Isla de Cuba por su compatriota Jose Antonio Saco. pp. 39.—Madrid—MARCELINO CALERO. 1837.

ALTERATION OF THE SUGAR DUTIES.

THE following memorial has been presented to government by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society:—

To the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Melbourne, &c., &c., &c.

MY LORD,—The rumoured intention of her Majesty's government to lower the duties on the staple productions of the British colonies, and to make such other arrangements as shall admit the produce of slave as well as free labour into the British market, having come under the consideration of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, they venture respectfully to lay the result of their deliberations on the subject before your lordship.

That the question of the reduction of duties is deemed one of vital importance, may be inferred from the amount of public attention which has for some time past been given to it, both in and out of parliament. On the one hand it is asserted, that the welfare of the country at large, but especially of the labouring classes, and of the mercantile and manufacturing interests, peremptorily requires the reduction; whilst, on the other hand, it is contended, that any such reduction would be destructive of an immense amount of capital invested in the colonies, that their cultivation, as a consequence, must be abandoned, and the important market they now afford to the manufacturer and the merchant be altogether closed.

To the government, therefore, the subject must have been one of difficulty, if not of embarrassment; pressed as it has been on their attention by parties of opposite views and conflicting claims. The committee conceive, however, that, whilst the expectations of those who advocate the reduction of duties as to the anticipated results of the measure are unduly raised, the fears of those who oppose it are as unduly exaggerated. No doubt, the immediate effect of the contemplated reduction would be to lower the price of colonial produce in the British market, as it would bring the cheaper produce of Cuba and Brazil into competition with it; but that it would materially increase the exports of manufactured goods to either of those countries may be fairly questioned, since that, the committee apprehend, must depend upon the increase of population, and the general distribution of wealth amongst the community—a thing which can never take place where the great mass of the labouring population are slaves.

That the ultimate result would be to advance the price of the productions of those countries in the continental market, and also in this, must be obvious, inasmuch as every ton subtracted from the present supply of the foreign market to meet the demand of the consumers in this, must necessarily affect it; and, to whatever extent the reduction in the duties may diminish cultivation in the British colonies it must, sooner or later, affect the exports to them. Cuba and Brazil will undoubtedly be benefited. The British colonies may, and most probably will, be injured by the measure.

But, my Lord, there are some who cannot look on the question as one of mere fiscal arrangement. They regard it as involving great principles and solemn responsibilities. In the relation which it bears to slavery and the slave trade—in the strength it will give the one, and the impulse it will yield the other—the committee find an argument which appeals with irresistible force to their convictions and feelings against it.

It is not, and cannot be, a question with them, how far the political interests and commercial policy of this country may seem to require the measure; but whether the great principles of universal justice and benevolence may not be compromised thereby.

That in Cuba and Brazil, the great slave-markets of the western world, the cupidity of slave-dealers will be stimulated to increase the number of their victims, and that the cart whip of the slave-drivers will be plied with redoubled energy to extort labour from reluctant bondsmen, should the reduction take place, there can be no doubt; the committee would therefore earnestly deprecate the measure, as involving a criminal disregard of the liberty and welfare of millions of their fellow-men, and of the sacred obligations of duty to the Most High.

The committee are far from being opposed to the principles of free trade, in their fair and legitimate application. They are not in favour of monopolies. Hence they are desirous of seeing the produce of other countries, raised by free labour, introduced into this. But they conceive that, to admit the produce of slave-labour into the British market on such favourable terms as these, which it is understood, have been proposed, would under present circumstances, give a bonus to slave-holders, supply a fearful impetus to the nefarious traffic in human beings, and consolidate a system of iniquity, which has been branded with deserved infamy by the people, the legislature, and the government of this country. Whereas it may be confidently expected, that the temporary pressure of high prices, already in process of removal, will entirely give way, if the free system, which has happily been established in the British colonies, be not embarrassed in its infancy with difficulties with which it may not be able to contend.

The documents laid before parliament clearly prove, that the deficiency in the supply of produce from the British colonies during the last two years, has arisen partly from the great change which has taken place in the condition of the labouring population, considerable numbers of them having, either wholly or in part, withdrawn from agricultural employments; partly from the unjust and severe laws which have been allowed to go into operation, to coerce labour under a state of freedom; partly from the injudicious arrangements of some, and the dishonourable proceedings of other planters, in the management of properties confided to their care; and partly from providential dispensations, such as the long continued and heavy rains in some colonies, and the length and severity of the droughts in others. But these causes, the committee sincerely trust, will not be permanent in their continuance. To the government they would confidently look to remove every unequal and unrighteous law, and to purify and strengthen the administration of justice. To the proprietary body they would look to adopt such wise measures as shall promote the cheerful labour, and the full development of the industrial energies of the liberated bondsmen; and, above all, they would look to the Divine blessing to crown the great work of emancipation, which they are anxious every where to promote, with abundant success.

The committee are much gratified in being able to state, that, in the judgment of practical men founded upon accurate information, no fears of a short supply of produce for the present year need be apprehended; that the prospect of an increased quantity from the British colonies may be reasonably anticipated in 1842; and that there is every reason to believe, that each successive year will yield still larger supplies than have hitherto been imported from them into this country. The late complete assimilation of the duties between East and West India sugar, will also greatly add to the stock of that necessary article for home consumption.

In conclusion, the committee would respectfully, yet earnestly,

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entreat your lordship, and your lordship's colleagues in office, that, in the contemplated alterations in the tariff of customs duties, provision may be made for the exclusion of the produce of slave-labour from the British market, and for the greater encouragement of free labour, by all practicable and legitimate means, throughout the world. On behalf of the committee,

Henry Tuckett, *Chairman.*

London, March 26th, 1841.

DESTRUCTION OF SLAVE-FACTORIES AT GALLINAS.

The most serious blow ever struck at the slave-trade by the naval power of Great Britain was effected at Gallinas, on the coast of Africa, in November last. It appears that Commander Denman, of H.M.S. *Wanderer*, in charge of the windward part of the Sierra Leone station, has planned and executed a close blockade of the river Gallinas; by which seven out of the slavers approaching it have been either captured or beaten off, and a very large number—nearly a thousand—of slaves accumulated at the barracoons, to the great inconvenience of the holders. Siacca, the African king of Gallinas, complained to the governor of Sierra Leone (Mr. Doherty) of this blockade; and the governor, on the other hand, complained of the detention of two British subjects by Prince Manna, the king's son. Commander Denman was charged with the conduct of these complicated negociations, and he brought them on both points to a favourable issue. He then formally complained of repeated manifestations on the part of the king and his people of hostile feelings, in that the boats of her majesty's cruisers had on several occasions been refused supplies, and that he (the king) had on one occasion carried this hostile feeling so far as to threaten an American trader, then lying in his port, for having afforded succour to the boats of one of her Majesty's vessels. The king apologised amply for having done so, and stated that he had been persuaded and menaced to adopt that line of conduct by the Spanish, French, and Portuguese slave-traders, who had established themselves in factories on his shores—that those persons had become so numerous and powerful, and had established themselves so firmly in his dominions, that his authority over his own people was overruled—that he desired their expulsion, and requested Commander Denman, as the representative of a friendly power, to aid him in driving them from his territories. The required aid was promptly and cordially given. Eight slave factories were burned to the ground. The king seized and delivered to Commander Denman all the slaves he could lay his hands on, (amounting to 976) for emancipation at Sierra Leone; and, further, expressed his determination to seize and confiscate to his own use whatever merchandise might thenceforward be landed in his territories for the purpose of slave-dealing.

In communicating this intelligence, Governor Doherty closes his despatch with the following observations:—

It is not necessary that I should make much comment on the transactions thus detailed. One opinion only, as it appears to me, can be entertained respecting the decisive measures adopted by Commander Denman; nor does it seem possible, in any view of the subject, to estimate too highly the service which that very intelligent and active officer has rendered by them to the cause of the suppression. The traffic has undoubtedly sustained a greater blow by what has now been done on shore, than it has received during my administration of this government by any of the numerous and important captures which have been effected at sea. Gallinas was the most celebrated mart and stronghold of Spanish slave-trade on the whole line of the African coast. As such it had long maintained itself in insolent defiance of this colony, its immediate neighbour; and as such it may be said, for the present, to have ceased to exist. That remains of the traffic are still left in this river, and that this deplorable commerce will revive on its shores after a time, and after the present blockade shall have been discontinued, is indeed true. But in the meantime the blockade is persevered in with the same vigilance as before; and, while the actual material benefit that has been achieved is very great, it has been attended with a moral consequence still more considerable and important. The novelty of the proceeding itself, and the thorough determination it has evinced on the part of the cruizing squadron, cannot fail to have excited in the Spanish slave-dealers a new feeling of insecurity, and to have produced a deep discouragement in their minds, which will speedily extend to the Havana. As Commander Denman has justly remarked, all confidence in the river itself between the Spaniards and the natives must be destroyed; and such is the present feeling against the former, that many of them sought the protection of the British flag on board the *Wanderer*, and were brought here in a state of the same destitution and misery in which they are commonly landed from captured slave ships, so that it became necessary for me to place them on the rations of the commissariat as if they had been so landed.

In a letter of Commander Denman to the governor of Sierra Leone, written on the 12th of December, about a month after the transaction, he communicates the following important views and information:—

Her Majesty's Sloop *Wanderer*, off Monrovia, 12th Dec. 1840.

Sir,—I beg to forward to your Excellency such information as I have been able to collect respecting Gallinas, which, though trifling in amount, and necessarily very imperfect, I am induced to trouble you with, under the impression that, owing to the long and exclusive prosecution of the slave-trade, that country is entirely unknown to the people of Sierra Leone.

The bar of the river is only passable for large boats or small coasting craft, and is very dangerous during the rains, when it is frequently impassable. During the dry season it may be generally passed with safety, excepting occasionally at the full and change of the moon, which has a very marked effect upon the surf on the whole of this coast.

After passing the bar the river opens out into a spacious sheet of water, about three miles across in every direction, which is studded with islands lately occupied by the slave dealers, and affording very favourable situations for trading factories.

The chiefs describe their territory as spreading out very much and running far into the interior, where it is said to be much more fertile and populous than the district near the sea, which appeared to me to be thickly peopled.

When the English slave-trade was abolished, considerable traffic sprung up, and was rapidly increasing, when the Spaniards commenced the slave-trade in about 1817. From that time, legitimate commerce gradually withered, and was at length totally annihilated by the establishment of a permanent slave factory in shore about fifteen years ago by Pedro Blanco, at that time mate of a slave vessel.

Since then the slave-trade has been the only pursuit; and, during the long period that has since elapsed, not enough produce has been exported to form the cargo of the smallest coasting vessel.

Cattle, formerly abundant, are now extremely scarce. Beef cannot be purchased under 1s. 6d. per pound; and for rice, the principal article of food, and once a considerable article of export, they now depend upon the Sherbro and the Plantain islands.

They have already, in a wild state, but of the finest quality, cotton, indigo, pepper, and palm-nut, the sugar cane, and tobacco, which they are enabled to cure. Salt is procured in considerable quantities; and there is no doubt that coffee would flourish as well as at Sierra Leone and Monrovia.

The chiefs unanimously agreed that they could obtain camwood and ivory in large quantities; gold-dust, also, from the interior; and that cattle might be reared to such an extent as to enable them to export hides in considerable quantities.

The following list of articles, which they assure me would find a ready market, appears to me to prove that the necessaries of civilized life are in sufficient demand to ensure the cultivation of their natural resources, now they can no longer be obtained through the medium of the slave factories—flour, wine, tea, coffee, rum, butter, cheese, tobacco, hats, clothes, shoes, coral, muskets, knives and forks, beads, trinkets, glass, crockery, powder—brass pans for making salt, hardware, and cotton and linen clothes of all descriptions.

I am satisfied, that so long as the natives consider it possible to carry on the slave-trade, they will never abandon it. In my conversation, therefore, with the chiefs, I endeavoured to convince them of its future impracticability; this, they were prepared to believe, from the success which has attended the system of blockade lately pursued, followed up by the recent decisive measures.

I pointed out that, if they kept lingering in the hope of its revival, their country would inevitably fall into decay, and urged them at once to turn themselves vigorously to the cultivation of the soil, particularly recommending their attention to cotton and palm oil.

They declared they were heartily glad to be rid of the Spaniards, who had treated them with great insolence. They were willing to receive a missionary, but did not wish people to form factories from Sierra Leone.

They put some questions as to the light in which we regarded their domestic slavery, which I told them we should never interfere with, excepting by endeavouring to enlighten them sufficiently to induce them voluntarily to adopt a better system, which would be every year assisted by commerce: and I took the opportunity of showing them the broad distinction between the resident and permanent servants of the soil, under the constant care of their masters from generation to generation, until the advance of civilization should reduce their bondage to a mere name, and the enormous practice of kidnapping their fellow-creatures, and consigning them to the horrors of foreign slavery.

They declared they gave up all hopes of still following up the slave-trade, and were very anxious to open a trade with Sierra Leone.

Many applied to me to take their children to Sierra Leone for instruction, and I received two sons of a very intelligent chief, named Gomez (who had been educated in England) on board my ship; but declined taking more until I should be in possession of your Excellency's views upon the subject.

I have thus long trespassed on your Excellency's time, feeling that the consequences to Gallinas of the virtual suppression of its slave-trade must have most important effects upon the surrounding native states.

Upon these grounds I consider it imperatively necessary to seize on the opportunity of encouraging that people to cultivate their natural resources. Should they fail or even delay to apply themselves to this only sure foundation of improvement and civilization, the ideas of prosperity and slave-trade will be inseparately connected over a vast tract of country, to the very great detriment of our exertions. But it appears to me, that, if the present circumstances are improved, Gallinas, so long the strongest hold of the slave-trade, may become of great use in destroying this fatal traffic over a large district of country which has hitherto supplied the slave dealers with victims; and may become the means of spreading far and wide, over the countries where its withering influence has so long existed, the blessings of peaceful industry, and of security to life and property.

The attempt to export from Sea-bar an increased number of slaves, which was determined on in consequence of the difficulties thrown in their way at Gallinas, has been already defeated by the capture of three vessels within a week—one by this sloop, with 350 slaves on board, and two by the *Saracen*, equipped for the purpose of slave-trade.

At Young Cestos, the only other point where slave factories exist between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas, the effect of the destruction of the Gallinas factories has been so great, that Mr. —— has voluntarily abandoned the slave-trade, and delivered up those slaves which he possessed to Lieutenant Seagram. I have, &c.

(Signed) Joseph Denman, *Commander.*

To His Excellency the Governor of Sierra Leone.

Commander Denman's last letter is sent home by Sir John Jeremie, who has succeeded Mr. Doherty in the government of Sierra Leone. His despatch is dated the 4th of January, 1841, and expresses his concurrence in the sentiments of his predecessor as to this officer's achievement and its results. He then adds:—

It is with much regret and some surprise I find the immediate neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, the scene of a very extensive slave traffic; the people at the Gallinas alone had, beyond doubt, undertaken to furnish

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thirteen thousand slaves in the course of the year. They supplied last year upwards of thirteen thousand; and it is the property sent by Spaniards from Cuba to pay for these thirteen thousand, amounting, according to mercantile calculation, which, however, I cannot but consider greatly exaggerated, to two hundred thousand pounds, that the chief has taken possession of, and confiscated to his own use. And by the enclosed excellent letter from Captain Denman, to which I beg leave respectfully to call your lordship's attention, it would appear there are two other extensive slave-marts in that direction, Cestos and Sea-bar; whilst to the north are the Pongos, Nunez, and others.

The remedy for this state of things, your lordship, I am satisfied, will not expect I should, on so short an experience, attempt to suggest; but the general impression is that, owing to the shoals at the Bissagos, nothing but light steamers will satisfactorily drive away the slaver from the coasts between this and Gambia. And as to the expense of maintaining them, now that I have seen this harbour and anchorage, I am convinced that, by employing them when, not otherwise engaged, to tow merchant vessels in and out, they would nearly, if not fully, repay the charge of their maintenance and wages of the crews.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The advertisement sent by Mr. Pease is declined.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should be addressed to the Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, *London*.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 7TH.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have had the gratification of receiving the following acknowledgment of the address of the General Anti-slavery Convention, on the part of his majesty the king of Prussia.

London, 19th March, 1841.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that the king, my master, has received with much satisfaction the address submitted to his majesty by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in compliance with their request as expressed to me by your letter of January last; and I am further commanded to state, in addition to this acknowledgment, that the benevolent objects of the society are very highly appreciated by his majesty. In confirmation of these gracious sentiments, his majesty has deigned to intimate his intention of promoting the efficacy of the association, whenever opportunities may present themselves; although, from the position of his majesty's states, such co-operation could not be made available in any direct manner.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) BULOW.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq., &c.

WE are desirous of directing the attention of our French readers to an article entitled Signs of the Times in the present number, which is intended particularly, for the perusal of the friends of humanity in France. We may at the same time make a few remarks in connexion with the topic which it embraces—the importance and duty of seeking the immediate and entire abolition of slavery. We believe that it was said by Edmund Burke, one of the most illustrious statesmen and orators that our country has produced, that there is no executory principle in slavery; as a consequence of which the best laws framed for the protection of men held in this debased condition have always been of little practical value. The same sentiment was advanced by another eminent English statesman, the late George Canning, and has long been embraced by the great body of abolitionists in this country. It does not however appear to have been fully acted upon in the origin of the anti-slavery society in England, which, on its first institution, was called the Anti-slavery Society for the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery in the British colonies. A very few years, however, sufficed, after the subject of slavery was prominently brought under public notice in this country, to convince the friends of the slave generally that their efforts should be directed, not to the vain attempt to ameliorate in any considerable degree an incurable, vicious, and guilty system, but to seek its immediate and entire removal.

These were the views, both of the leaders of the anti-slavery cause in England and of its numerous supporters, both before and after the passing of the act for the abolition of slavery, by which an apprenticeship system, so called, was enacted.

We do not wish to lay an improper stress on the judgment of a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, a Macaulay, a Lushington, or a Buxton; but, when, to the sentiments of such men as these, we join those of that mass of intelligent and talented individuals with whom they were associated, we trust that our French friends will not think we ask too much in seeking for their opinion, a grave consideration. It may also be worthy of remark that Lord Howick resigned his place of colonial secretary, in the government of which his father, Lord Grey, was the head, rather than give his sanction to a measure wholly opposed to his enlightened judgment. It is well known that the term of the apprenticeship, as originally proposed by Lord Stanley, was twelve years; but this measure found so little favour with the House of Commons, that the term was altered to six years. A proposal that the slaves should pay a part of their redemption money was rejected on similar grounds.

We have thought that these few facts might not improperly be brought under the notice of the statesmen and people of France, at a time when a measure for the abolition of slavery in the colonies of that country is about to be introduced.

We learn that extracts from English parliamentary documents, relative to the apprenticeship and the state of our colonies since the introduction of freedom have been printed by the French government, and supplied to the members of the Chamber of Deputies, in order to aid them in forming a correct judgment on the course proper to be taken in terminating the system of French colonial bondage. If we possess any influence with the French anti-slavery society, we would respectfully but earnestly recommend to them the immediate translating into French, and printing, of a pamphlet entitled "Negro Apprenticeship," published by the anti-slavery society which lately existed. This pamphlet contains, not only a summary of the evils attending the apprenticeship, but an appendix, in which will be found many important illustrative proofs of the positions advanced.

We would also commend to the perusal of our French friends observations published by the Marquis of Sligo on the same subject, during the struggle for the termination of the apprenticeship, which possess a peculiar value from the circumstance of his having been governor of Jamaica during a portion of the period in which this system existed, as well as from his standing in the position of a planter. This document unfolds the misconduct of those who possessed authority over the apprentices, and shows the disposition to labour and general good behaviour of the latter. We know a member of the British parliament, whose sentiments on the subject of the apprenticeship were considerably changed by the perusal of Lord Sligo's statements.

We have heard it said by an eminent individual, who was also connected with the island of Jamaica, that he believed that not less than 2000 instances of miscarriage occurred yearly in that colony, during the apprenticeship, from excessive labour, among the female apprentices. We have reason to suppose that such distressing circumstances from a similar cause were not confined to the island we have named. The situation of these unhappy bondwomen, and we might add of their infant offspring, to whom a mother's care should not be denied, have a peculiar claim to consideration on the part of those who may have any disposition to prolong a system of bondage, which, under a supposed amelioration, is productive of such calamitous results. How painful, too, is the thought, that, unless immediate liberty be given, there are not a few of those who have long drunk the bitter cup of slavery, who will have to partake of it to the last moment of their existence—by whom the promised, and perhaps purchased, blessing of freedom will never be enjoyed. We do feel very strongly the injustice, the cruelty, and the impolicy of adopting any course short of immediate emancipation, and hope that those who may read these lines will pause before they give their approval to any other measure. We would finally say to every friend of the negro in France to whom these lines may come, petition at once for immediate and entire liberty to the negro; and may this be done not less numerously than was the case in our own land. Thus will you discharge an important duty, and assist those who would promote the rights of the slave in the government and legislature of France.

THE attention of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee has been seriously directed to the measure which is now understood to be under the consideration of the government, by which the British market would be opened to foreign, and therefore to slave-grown sugars. A memorial to Lord Melbourne on this subject, which is most deeply interesting to humanity, has been adopted by that body, and was presented to his lordship on Friday last, by a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen:—Messrs. Samuel Gurney, Josiah Forster, George Bennet, John Beaumont, Edmund Gurney, John O'Connell, M.P., E. N. Buxton, and Henry Sterry. The noble premier received the deputation courteously, and assured them that the memorial should receive the serious attention of the government.

We are desirous of calling the particular attention of the friends of the slave in England to the document we have named, and the important subject to which it refers. It is our decided opinion that no pains should be spared to prevent the passing of a measure, which we regard as eminently calculated to fasten the bonds of the slave in Cuba and Brazil; and to add fresh difficulties to the task (almost impossible at present) of inducing the governments of Brazil and of Spain to prevent the constant introduction of wretched Africans into their respective territories, in defiance of every sentiment of humanity and religion, and the obligation of solemn treaties.

WE have presented in another column, the substance of an important parliamentary paper just published, detailing the proceedings of Commander Denman, of H.M.S. *Wanderer*, on the coast of Africa. Our readers will see that Sir John Jeremie, the new governor of Sierra Leone, expresses both regret and surprise that the slave-trade should exist in so much vigour in the immediate neighbourhood of that colony.

Of the slave-factory at Young Cestos, *within the territory of Liberia*, which Commander Denman reports as voluntarily relinquished by its owner, we find in an American paper the following particulars:—

New Cess is a river some twelve or fifteen miles below Bassa Cove, and has long been known as a principal slave mart. New Cess is in the territory claimed by the colony of Liberia, but has never been formally purchased; therefore the proprietors of that place leased it out to Canot for a slave

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establishment. Canot has long been known on this coast as a veteran slaver, who has periled life and liberty for the prosecution of his favourite employment. It appeared that, on hearing the fate of Gallinas, he wisely concluded to compromise; and when H. B. M. men-of-war visited him, they found him favourably disposed to negociate on the following terms. He agreed to give up to the men-of-war all his stock of slaves; to discontinue the slave-trade; to enter into a legitimate trade, say in ivory, palm-oil, camwood, gold dust, &c. Upon these conditions it is said he was spared, and left to repent of former misdoings. It is also further reported that he has applied for, and is to receive, the protection of a British subject.

We had intended to make some remarks on the probable results of this transaction, and its permanent influence on the slave-trade, which, in the enthusiasm of the moment, may very easily be over-rated. The trouble of doing this, however, is spared us by a valued correspondent, Mr. Scoble, to whose letter on the subject we direct attention.

THE intelligence conveyed in the following extract from the *Morning Chronicle* will rejoice the hearts of many. Although we have not yet received it by a direct channel, we can entertain no doubt of its correctness:—

We learn with satisfaction that the long-pending cause of the African negros found on board the Spanish ship *Amistad*, was, on the 9th ultimo, finally decided in favour of the negros by a judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, then in session at Washington.

By this decision the negros were declared to be free men; and all claim against them, whether on the part of the Spanish Minister, or of the pretended Spanish owners, is dismissed. The negros were to be immediately set at liberty in the State of Connecticut, where they had been detained in custody waiting the event of the trial.

THE last mail from the West Indies brings an interesting letter from the rev. W. G. Barrett, of Jamaica, to Mr. Sturge, of which we have been favoured with the following extract:—

Four Paths, Clarendon, March 2, 1841.

Though England, Ireland, and Scotland, groan beneath accumulated misery, cease not to warn the people not to emigrate to the West Indies. Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath, will he give for his life; but let the half fed mechanic come here, with his wife and children, and, in a few months, the grave's green grass shall grow above them. Twelve months ago, I saw fifty-seven Irish emigrants land at St. Ann's Bay, young, and healthy, and full of life, come to the "better land," where a little labour and large wealth awaited them. The week before last I was riding through St. Ann's, and met with an intelligent Irish emigrant, a Presbyterian, from the north of Ireland. I asked him where all the emigrants were that went to Leicesterfield, and Boroughbridge. "There's just one-half of them dead, sir,"—was his reply. In one year and one month twenty-seven out of fifty-four have been cut down. In our own neighbourhood a case of heart-rending distress occurred lately. One of the Mitchells' emigrants, a man of the name of Rose, came from Leicesterfield into this quarter. He went one day to Old Harbour to get some work, (he was a *shoemaker*, but brought here to dig cane holes) leaving his two little girls behind, in the care of a person at Belle Plaine. While absent, one daughter sickened with fever and died. They sent to Old Harbour to acquaint the father—the messenger returned, and said the father was dead and buried three days ago. Soon after the other girl sickened and died also; and thus all were swept off in a few days. The heartless wife of this man, to complete the tale of woe, had gone off with a young man, an emigrant who came out in the same ship with them.

A communication of mine in the *Colonial Reformer*, in answer to some questions on the subject of emigration from a friend in Salisbury, has, I find, excited great interest in Limerick and Dublin; and, what I rejoice at, stopped some scores of my unhappy countrymen from coming hither. Not that I think the climate so unhealthy; but out of doors exposure to the sun, plenty of rum, and little wholesome food, with temptation to every kind of vice, will cut down the emigrants as fast as they bring them hither. On other grounds I oppose the emigration scheme. It is, on whatever side you observe it, a gigantic iniquity. We shall have a people brought to this country, who will require a doubly strong police force to keep them in order. We shall have the black population (already beginning to pick up a little) thoroughly indoctrinated into all the iniquities of St. Giles's, and the blackguardism of Billingsgate—popery with its evils introduced by the Irish, and chartism and socialism by the English; and ultimately, should the Emigration scheme succeed, (as I think it never can or will) this island will become a curse on the earth—the Botany Bay of the West Indies.

You know, I presume, that there will be scarcely any crops made this year on the south side in the low lands. There is still prevailing a most alarming drought, which has now continued upwards of a year. In Vere, I heard to-day they were paying the people five shillings sterling for cutting down an acre, and that ten acres, in many places, scarcely returned a hogshead of sugar: so that high prices at home must be looked for, unless you push your East India sugar growing company—a consummation devoutly to be desired; or an impulse is given at home to the cry for the equalization of the duties—a consummation devoutly to be deprecated. I scarcely think this last will be gained. West Indians and anti-slavery men will make common cause to defeat this project—alas! if gained, only to rivet the chains of the slave more firmly, while their inhuman drivers would ply the lash with redoubled ecstacy. Let the British people know, that the short crops of this year are to be attributed to the failure of the usual seasons, and not to the failure of labour. The first year of freedom, we had fine seasons—noble fields of cane; the people were willing to work, and the planters refused to employ them in a number of cases: now the fields are without a cane, and the people cannot be employed. Then they attributed the short crops, not to their determination to fulfil their own predictions, but to the idleness, the obstinacy of the people; now they admit, one and all, it is not the people's fault. Who shall say how much retributive justice there is in this?

Under date of the 4th of March, Dr. Palmer writes as follows: "We had a very alarming riot in this town [Spanish Town] on Saturday night last. I believe it originated solely in the improper conduct of the police. The police are doing a vast deal of mischief; and I earnestly hope that, before another year, they will be entirely disbanded." The following extract from the *Colonial Reformer* exhibits certain parties in Jamaica in a light perfectly characteristic. Dr. Palmer may be assured that his constancy will be duly appreciated in this country.

On Thursday the 25th inst. the long expected trial of the Editor of this paper, for alleged libel on certain magistrates of Saint David's, was brought on. After occupying the whole of that day, and until a late hour in the afternoon of yesterday, the jury retired to consider on their verdict; and, after the lapse of about two hours returned into court and gave in the verdict of guilty.

Our counsel immediately moved an arrest of judgment, on two or three specific grounds, which will be argued in next term; we were then directed to find bail for our appearance on the first day of next court, to receive judgment, &c. This being promptly complied with, the proceedings, *for the present*, terminated.

At this late hour it would be out of the question for us to enter into any particulars of the trial; in our next we expect to lay before our readers a pretty full report of the proceedings. In the meantime we must content ourselves by observing, that, as we were not permitted in our defence to go into any proof in support of the truth of those of our allegations against the St. David's magistrates which constituted the libel complained of, a conviction under such circumstances neither clears the characters of the prosecutors, nor attaches the slightest *moral* guilt to that of the defendant. We are offered up, another sacrifice to the monstrous inconsistency of that disgrace to our statute book, the *Law of Libel!* A law which in effect proclaims with iron tongue—"*The greater the Truth, the greater the Libel!*"

To those who know us it will be unnecessary for us to say, that the result of this trial will not for one moment deter us from boldly and fearlessly continuing to advocate the cause of the oppressed; whatever suffering or oppression we may endure from the conscientious discharge of this duty, we shall submit to without a murmur.

THE public meeting held at Bridgetown, Barbados, on occasion of the late conviction and imprisonment of Mr. Prescod for libel, adopted a resolution requesting the governor to institute an official inquiry into the transactions out of which the trial had arisen. His Excellency, while declining this, courteously communicated to the applicants a considerable mass of information derived from inquiries which he had already instituted. This information does not alter the complexion of the case. One part of it, however, requires a remark from us, inasmuch as Sir Murray M'Gregor has thought fit to notice an article which appeared in this journal on the 12th of February last year, accusing him, as he says with truth, "of having stooped to connive at the entrapping of a deputation of negros into the measure of presenting an address" to him. The gentlemen to whom the investigation of this delicate affair was entrusted altogether clear his Excellency, with a proper quantity of indignation and vehemence, of this imputation; and Mr. Prescod, "as an act of justice to the *Anti-slavery Reporter*," presents the following apology on our behalf.

On the 14th November, 1839, Mr. Frederick Watts, a justice in the general Commission of the Peace, and then acting as police magistrate for St. George parish, got up a deputation to his Excellency, with an "address from the labouring population of the parish," in reply to a circular from his Excellency, inquiring into the truth of certain statements in a letter of ours to the *British Emancipator*. Within a week after this deputation had waited upon the Governor, the true character of the affair was blown, and Mr. Watts publicly charged by us with having imposed upon the people, and forged their assent to a document with the contents of which they were utterly unacquainted; and the authority of some of the people themselves was stated in support of these charges. Respect for himself—respect for public opinion—respect for the office which Mr. Watts was charged with having thus grossly abused, demanded of his Excellency an inquiry into these charges—an investigation into the mode in which the deputation and its address had been got up. But no such inquiry was instituted; and the address of this deputation, with these charges uninvestigated and unrefuted, was secretly forwarded, in a collection of the vilest slanders that desperately wicked men ever concocted, to Lord John Russell, in evidence that the statements in our letter to the *Emancipator* were false and unfounded. Remembering that Sir Evan MacGregor had, only a few months before, on the authority of Mr. Nathaniel Roach, expressed his unqualified enmity to the liberal press, and his determination to use every means in his power to put it down—remembering this in connexion with the transaction now before us, the reader will be able to judge with what reasonableness his Excellency was considered a party to this movement of the faction to destroy our credit and efficiency, if such means could. If injustice was done him, himself inflicted it. The conduct of a subordinate acting under his orders, and, as will be seen in the evidence of "the intelligent" Edward Waith, *telling the people that he is acting in conformity with those orders*—the conduct of this subordinate is openly impeached, and his Excellency forbears all inquiry into the alleged misconduct, and furthers its object by the impress of his authority. Who is to blame, if some of the discredit attached to the transaction be reflected on his Excellency?

To this we have only to add, that, wherein we have done his Excellency wrong, we unfeignedly regret it; and that no parties can more sincerely rejoice in the equity, impartiality, and benevolence of the governor of Barbados than ourselves.

WE are happy in being able to state, that the shareholders in the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association who have taken up the question of the employment of slaves, are proceeding with their measures. It is now determined, that the half-yearly general meeting of proprietors, to be held in the ensuing month (May), shall be made special, for the purpose of considering the subject. We cannot express the intensity of our shame, that the direction of this company should be in the hands of men who are resolved to

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do their utmost to perpetuate this system of iniquity and wrong. We trust, however, that such notoriety will be given to the business as shall ensure a knowledge of it to every shareholder, and then we shall have no fears of the result. It never can be, that the gentle, the noble, the reverend, the pious, the humane, among Englishmen in this age, will give their sanction to a felonious breach of the laws of their country, or refuse to unbind the yoke which, in their name, has been unrighteously fixed on the necks of their fellow men. We quote with pleasure, the following extract from the *Mining Journal*:—

The employment of slaves by the several companies formed in this country for working the mines of Brazil and Cuba, has excited a feeling which is not likely to be allayed without some measures being adopted, and the attention of those interested directed to the subject. In our present number will be found two letters, and, without making any immediate reference thereto, we may observe on the letter of Mr. H. Tuckett, which appeared in the Journal of the 6th instant, in which that gentleman states, that in Gongo Soco alone, 413 slaves are employed, of whom 131 are under fourteen years of age. It appears from the letter of this gentleman, that, being anxious to direct the attention of the shareholders to consider this deeply important subject, two several applications for permission to obtain a list of shareholders were refused, and a similar application to see the deed of settlement, with the view of ascertaining the powers whereby he might legally convene a meeting, to communicate with the proprietary, was only permitted after "considerable difficulty." The conduct of the directors, we have no hesitation in saying, is highly discreditable.

As regards reference to the deed, there can be no doubt but that any shareholder who may have signed it has a perfect right to inspect the document to which he has attached his signature, and which is, in fact, a part of his property—he being a shareholder. Now, with regard to the list of shareholders, we hardly know what to say. Judging by the practice observed by the East India Company, and others, where the list of proprietors is published, we should say that no real objection can exist; but we would even go further, admitting there were no precedent, we then would contend, and insist, that every proprietor is entitled to know who are his co-partners; he has no right to inspect the accounts of his co-partner, or to know the interest he possesses by reference to the books, but, for purposes such as contemplated by Mr. Henry Tuckett, there can be no second opinion, and we regret that the directors should have raised the question.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

No. 2.

(From the *Morning Chronicle.*)

SLAVERY in Hindostan is not sanctioned by British law, except in so far as it has been recognized as an institution by the various rules and regulations which have been issued by the supreme authority in India, from time to time, to mitigate or to check it. It is, however, sanctioned by the Hindoo and the Mahomedan law, as may be seen in the following extract from a minute on the subject by Mr. Colebrooke, inserted in parliamentary papers, 1839, No. 138, p. 311. He says:—"The Hindoo law fully recognizes slavery. It specifies in much detail the various modes by which a person becomes the slave of another, and which are reducible to the following heads: viz., capture in war; voluntary submission to slavery, for divers causes (as a pecuniary consideration, maintenance during a famine, &c); involuntary, for the discharge of debt, or by way of punishment of specific offences; birth, as offspring of a female slave; gift, sale, or other transfer by a former owner; and sale or gift of their offspring by parents. *It treats the slave as the absolute property of his master, familiarly speaking of this species of property, in association with cattle, under the contemptuous designation of bipeds and quadrupeds. It makes no provision for the protection of the slave from the cruelty and ill-treatment of an unfeeling master, nor defines the master's powers over the person of his slave; neither prescribing distinct limits to that power, nor declaring it to extend to life or limb.* It allows to the slave no right of property, even of his own acquisition, unless by the indulgence of his master. It affords no opening for his redemption and emancipation (especially if he be a slave by birth or purchase), unless by the voluntary manumission of him by his master; or in the special case of saving his master's life, when he may demand his freedom or the portion of a son; or in that of a female slave bearing issue to her master, when both she and her offspring are entitled to freedom, if he have not legitimate issue; or in the particular instance of persons enslaved for temporary causes (as debt, amerciament, cohabitation with a slave, and maintenance in consideration of servitude); or the cessation of the grounds of slavery by the discharge of the debt; or mutual discontinuance of the cohabitation, or relinquishment of the maintenance.

"The Mahomedan law equally acknowledges slavery, originating, however, in fewer sources, viz.:—capture of infidels in war; birth, as issue of a female slave; to which some authorities (who are chiefly followed) have added sale of their offspring by parents in a dearth or famine. *The property is so absolute and complete, that it is assigned as a reason for subjecting an owner to no worldly punishment or penalty for the murder of his slave; he has, of course, entire power over his person, being restrained by no provisions of the law adopted to protect the slave from ill-treatment.*

"Manumission cannot be exacted from the owner, unless in the case where, for some cause, the slave is already emancipated in part, in which case he is entitled to redeem himself by emancipatory labour equivalent to the remaining portion of his value. In all other instances emancipation depends wholly on the will of the owner. But manumission of slaves is strongly recommended as a pious act, and the law leans much against the slavery of Mahomedans. A female slave bearing issue to her master does not acquire freedom, but gains other privileges, of which the chief is that of not being liable to be sold to another person. Her issue is free, and ranks with other illegitimate but acknowledged offspring of her master."

It may be observed here, that the authority of Hindoo law in those parts of British India formerly under the dominion of the Mahomedans is not only questioned, but denied. By right of conquest their laws superseded those of the Hindoos. It may be further observed that the British government acquired its power of legislation from the Mussulmans; and, in its turn, has asserted its right, and bound the people of this country, as matter of duty, "to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and has declared that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction amongst them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement (vide 35 George III., cap. 155), provided that the free exercise of their religion be invariably maintained." (Parliamentary papers, 1839, No. 138, p. 317). If it be true that the Mahomedan has superseded the Hindoo law, and we see no reason to doubt it, then it follows that the slavery sanctioned by the Hindoo law has no legal existence, and that the slavery permitted under the Mahomedan law may be legally abolished by this country, inasmuch as it is not a religious, but a civil institution. Indeed, so far from its being a religious institution, we have the best authority for saying, that the manumission of slaves is considered an act of piety and an expiation of divers offences by the natives of India (*ibid*, p. 312). It would further appear, from the deliberate opinions of many eminent persons, that, if the Mahomedan law were construed strictly, and the letter, *not* the spirit, of that law were rigidly enforced, an end would be put almost immediately to the system of slavery in British India.

We have said that slavery in India is not sanctioned by British law. Mr. Adam, however, thinks that the Hindoo and Mahomedan law of slavery, "with *some* modifications," is confirmed by it [Law and Practice of Slavery, &c., page 24]; and such certainly appears to have been the general opinion entertained and acted upon by the government and judiciary in India. This opinion is grounded on the assumption, that the decision of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, the supreme court of civil judicature on all questions of native law, given in 1798, was the correct interpretation of the rule of 1793, which provided that "in suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, the Mahomedan laws with respect to Mahomedans, and the Hindoo laws with regard to Hindoos, are to be considered the general rules by which the judges are to form their decision." The question referred to the court was "concerning the succession or right of inheritance to a zemindary or other real property," according to native law, when it was determined "that the *spirit* of the rule for observing the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws was applicable to cases of slavery, *though not included in the letter of it*," and this construction of the rule was subsequently confirmed by the governor-general in council, and is in full operation at the present day.

In the rule of 1793, passed by Lord Cornwallis, legal authority for the possession of slaves is withheld; the reason for which may, probably, be found in the fact, that, as far back as 1789, his lordship had *notified* to the Court of Directors that he had "a plan under consideration which he hoped to be able to execute without doing much injury to the private interests, or offering great violence to the feelings of the natives, and which had for its object the abolition of the practice (of slavery) under certain limitations; and the establishing some rules and regulations to alleviate, as much as possible, the misery of those unfortunate people during the time that they might be retained in that wretched situation." (Parliamentary Papers, 1828, East India Slavery, p. 13.) This plan his lordship either never matured, or else abandoned, for we find no after reference to it in official papers.

But to return to the rule of 1793, and the construction put upon it by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. We venture to assert, that, neither upon principles of general reasoning, nor of strict legal interpretation, can that construction be sustained. It is admitted by the late Chief Justice Harrington, that, "the law and usage of slavery have no immediate connexion with religion," (Par. Pap. No. 138, 1839, p. 317). It is also clear that slavery is not *included in the letter of the rule*, in other words, it is not recognised, and certainly, not guaranteed, by that rule; therefore, when we consider that, as a religious institution, slavery required not the sanction of British law, we conceive the silence of the rule on the subject ought to have been interpreted in favour of freedom, not against it. To say that the "spirit" of that rule sanctioned tyranny and oppression, the inseparable incidents of slavery, is monstrous, and would for ever prevent the benefit of British legislation from being enjoyed by a large portion of the native inhabitants of India, whose "interests and happiness," as we have before seen, we are bound to promote.

Which ever of these opinions may be correct, whether slavery in India be the creature of custom or of law—whether it be a civil or religious institution—whether it have the sanction of the Koran or the Shasters—the fact of its existence within any part of the territory subject to our control must determine its fate. Like its sister abominations, infanticide and suttee, it must be abolished, and be numbered amongst the things that were.

At various periods from 1798 to 1833, when the charter of the East India Company was renewed, various attempts have been made by eminent and distinguished persons in India to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and to promote their emancipation, all of which proved, unhappily, unsuccessful. In 1808, Judge Richardson proposed "that the state of slavery throughout the British possessions should be determined by Mahomedan law, the British government having acquired the right of legislation from a Mussulman power, *in* previous possession of those territories for centuries; and having adopted the Mahomedan laws, particularly in all criminal cases, and indeed in all judicial cases, except those of heirship, marriage, caste, or matters connected with religion." (Par. Pap. No. 138, 1839, p. 316.) This would at once have terminated slavery among the Hindoos, who had previously to our occupation of the country, been subject to Moslem power, and to a very great extent among the Mahomedans themselves. In Mr. Harrington, then chief justice, the worthy judge of Bundelcund met with a powerful opponent, and his scheme was rejected. (Ibid p. 317.)

In 1816, Mr. Leycester, a circuit judge, made a report to the supreme court suggesting the abolition of slavery. On this the court of Nizamut Adawlut passed resolutions, under date the 12th of June, 1816, in which they state that "they fully participate in the sentimenis expressed by Mr. Leycester in abhorrence of hereditary slavery, and earnestly wish it could be discontinued with regard to all children born under British protection. But, whilst it is allowed to remain with respect to the progeny of existing slaves born under the British government in the West Indies and South Africa, the abolition of it, on general principles of justice and humanity, could not, the court apprehend, be consistently proposed for India," (Adam's Law and Custom, &c., p. 202); and his propositions consequently fell to the ground.

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In 1817, Chief Justice Harrington, who had opposed Mr. Richardson, drafted a regulation "*for the guidance of Courts of Judicature in cases of slavery,*" designed to prevent the enslavement of certain classes of the population; and "the mal-treatment, by emancipating the slave, in cases that appear to call for this measure, on grounds of justice and humanity;" it being, in his opinion, "indispensably necessary to prescribe rules for the guidance of magistrates and criminal courts in such instances," (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 318). But even his very moderate suggestions were never attended to.

From the labours in behalf of suffering humanity of these eminent persons, who occupied high offices in the Bengal presidency, we now call attention to the zealous and unremitting efforts of Mr. Baber, who has held various important situations under the Madras government for nearly forty years. This gentleman has exerted himself not merely to put a stop to the "horrible traffic in human flesh, but for the amelioration of the slaves in general, by restraining their owners from selling them out of the country, and from separating families; and also by making it compulsory on them to afford the slaves a suitable provision in food, clothes, and habitation, in sickness, or health, young and old, at all times, and in all seasons," (Adam, p. 209, and Par. Pap. 128, 1834, pp. 1 to 28). But he failed to secure the assistance of his fellow civilians in his benevolent objects, or to make any impressions on his superiors. From 1823 to 1832, Mr. Baber says, "I have confined myself to occasional notices of the condition of the Malabar slaves, as often as my public attention has been drawn to the subject, but with little or no benefit to the unfortunate slaves, who continue the same reprobated people as ever." (Par. Pap. 128, 1834, p. 27).

The proposition of Mr. Campbell, sustained by the recommendations of the Madras board of revenue in 1819, suggested, among other things, "that the purchase of free persons as slaves should be illegal;" that "the children of all slaves born after a certain date should be free;" that "voluntary contracts to labour for a term of years, or for life, should bind the individual alone, and not his wife and children;" that "the purchase of children to be brought up as prostitutes should be subjected to special penalties;" that "the local civil officers should have power to cause masters to provide wholesome food and decent clothing for their slaves, and to prevent their neglecting them in sickness, age, and infirmity;" that "all slaves attached to lands or estates escheating to government should be declared free;" that "the power of corporal punishment should be transferred from the masters to the local civil officers; and that slaves, on being ill-treated by their masters, should be allowed to claim the privilege of being sold to another; and that the breach of any of these rules by the master should, at the option of the slave, entitle him to liberty." These humane propositions, thus powerfully recommended, and sustained in whole or in part by such men as Mr. Baber and Mr. Græme, were merely ordered to be recorded, that is, laid on the shelf. "During the twenty-two years that I resided in India," says Mr. Campbell, "or since 1808, no material changes have taken place in the condition of the slaves in the territories subject to Madras;" and he adds, "the outcry raised in India against the suttee was long powerless, until it returned reverberated from the British shore; and that against slavery will continue disregarded, unless it receives support from all the energy of the home government." (Par. Pap. 128, 1834, pp. 35, 36.)

In this rapid sketch we have found it impossible to do justice to those of the company's servants who have strenuously and honourably exerted themselves to ameliorate the condition of slaves in British India, with a view to their ultimate emancipation. They, however, effected comparatively nothing. Ridiculed by some, and opposed by others, of their fellow civilians, their valuable suggestions were either allowed to slumber in silence in the offices of the supreme government, or were brought to light merely for the purpose of being formally condemned and abandoned. And this state of things continued until the year 1833, when the government of Earl Grey, with a resolution and magnanimity which did it the greatest honour, determined to strike at the root of the monstrous evil—in other words, to abolish it. Justice to the natives of India formed the basis of the bill introduced by Mr Grant (now Lord Glenelg) to the attention of the House of Commons for the renewal of the company's charter, and was thus announced to the chairman of that body:—"No person, native or natural, born in India, is to be excluded from any office merely by reason of his religion, birth-place, descent, or colour;" and "slavery, after a specified period, to be abolished." The period fixed in the bill for its complete extinction was the 12th of April, 1837. But the strenuous opposition of the honourable directors, aided by the influence of certain noble lords in the upper house, defeated the wise and humane intentions of government, and slavery, unmitigated and unchecked, has been allowed to continue to the present day. Will not the present government honour itself, and add to its other claims on public respect and gratitude, by extinguishing this great evil in every part of the British dominions?

Note.—For an authoritative exposition of the Hindoo and Mahomedan law of slavery, consult Par. Pap. No. 138, 1839, pp. 319 to 322 inclusive; and Adam's Law and Custom of Slavery in British India, pp. 1 to 51 inclusive. For attempts to ameliorate the condition of slaves, and promote the abolition of slavery in India, the inquirer is referred to Par. Pap. 128, 1834, to Adam's Law and Custom, &c., pp. 195 to 279; and Peggs's East India Slavery, pp. 84 to 111.

COLONIAL REPENTANCE.—The *Grenada Gazette* bewails the emigration of peasantry from that island in the following pathetic and penitent terms. "This is truly lamentable. Our situation admits of no delay. The labourers are weekly leaving by scores, and, if this can possibly be prevented by kind and conciliatory treatment, those who are foremost in accomplishing so desirable an object, will deserve and receive the thanks of all who truly regard the prosperity and happiness of the island. We have heard some persons attribute the emigration of the labourers to the system of summary ejectment which has been pursued on some estates, and we have no doubt but that this silly measure did contribute, in the first instance, to the creation of the evil, which we have now cause so deeply to deplore; but we cannot for a moment suppose, that the planter, with dear-bought experience before him, would be so fool-hardy as to persist in a course fraught with such baneful consequences to himself. It has, however, become necessary that some investigation into the causes which are thus effecting the ruin of the colony be forthwith entered into, and for this purpose we seriously advise that a commission be appointed, and should emigration be really found to proceed from summary ejectment, that means should be promptly devised to put down the abominable system."

SLAVE TRADE AT GALLINAS.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

SIR,—The late destruction of the slave barracones in the river Gallinas has occasioned an extraordinary sensation in various quarters; and has procured for the Hon. Commander Denman, through whom it was achieved, the reputation of being a skilful diplomatist and an able officer. I pass no opinion on the merits of the transaction viewed as a question of christian morals or of international law, when I express my gratification in the fact that nearly a thousand human beings have been delivered from a state of horrible captivity, without the loss of a single life, either on the part of the natives, or on that of her Majesty's seamen. Having said thus much, permit me to draw attention to one or two considerations, tending to show that the influence of this transaction, as a permanent blow to the slave-trade, will be neither so extensive nor so lasting as may, in the eagerness of triumph, be anticipated.

1. The destruction of the barracones in the Gallinas will, no doubt, for some time, check slave trading in that river, as the blockade had previously done. But, let the blockade be raised, and, in a few months, the shipment of human beings from that quarter will be as active as ever. The Chiefs in that river might well second the exertions of Commander Denman, when the booty to be obtained thereby was so immense! Knowing, however, the nature of the cargoes usually shipped and employed in the slave-trade (they consist in great part of rum, gunpowder, and fire-arms), I fear that great additional demoralization of the natives will take place as the consequence.

2. The check which the slave-trade has received at Gallinas must have the effect of increasing it elsewhere. When the Havana slave-traders found that river closed to them by the vigilance of Commander Denman, they resorted, no doubt, to other parts of Africa, where less vigilance was or could be exercised, or where the suppression of the nefarious traffic is necessarily limited to the ordinary means set forth in our treaties with foreign powers. Whilst the demand for slaves in the Spanish colonies and Brazil is so great as at present, and the profit attending their sale is so enormous, to drive it from one quarter is merely to ensure its appearance in another. "To repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard," said Lord John Russell, in his celebrated letter to the Lords of the Treasury recommending the expedition to the Niger, "would scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil which can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties."

3. The treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade at Gallinas, made between the Chiefs of that river and Commander Denman, contains no guarantee that it will be faithfully kept. Obtained by the presence of a naval force, and concurred in to secure the plunder of the slave factories, it will be abandoned when the opportunity is afforded, or when the necessities of the Chiefs may seem to require it. From the character of the Chiefs as displayed in the negotiations, I fear, if kept at all, it will have to be enforced by the guns of her Majesty's cruizers. Besides, the treaty is defective. It merely binds King Siacca "that no *white* men shall ever for the future settle in his country for the purpose of slave dealing." Coloured and black men may, therefore, carry it on, even under the direction of white men, without an infraction of the treaty.

4. But, supposing it should turn out otherwise, that the treaty should prove *bonâ fide*, and that King Siacca, and the subordinate chiefs at Gallinas should direct their attention to the cultivation of the soil and the prosecution of legitimate commerce, a question of immense importance to the interests of humanity, and to the future civilization of Africa, immediately arises, viz.—that of the consolidation and extension of slavery in Africa. It is deeply to be lamented, that so intelligent a man as Commander Denman should have let slip an opportunity of impressing upon the minds of the chiefs, that the people of this country look upon slavery, no less than the slave-trade, with the utmost abhorrence; that they consider it contrary to every principle of justice and humanity, and necessary everywhere to be abolished; and, finally, that their interests would be more advanced by making those subject to their power freemen, than by continuing to hold them as slaves. Instead of this, however, the gallant officer "took the opportunity of showing them the broad distinction between the resident and permanent servants of the soil—under the constant care of their masters, from generation to generation, until the advance of civilization should reduce their bondage to a mere name—and the enormous practice of kipnapping their fellow-creatures, and consigning them to the horrors of foreign slavery." This is nothing less than a direct sanction of slavery itself, while condemning the slave-trade. I cannot but anticipate that, if such doctrines as these are instilled into the minds of the native chiefs, we shall have to deplore, that, in seeking to destroy one evil, we have aggravated another not less fearful. Prædial slavery in Africa will ultimately give rise to an internal slave-trade, to supply its victims, far more extensive, and not less atrocious, than that which it may supersede. How much better would it have been for Commander Denman to have addressed the chiefs as lords of the soil, rather than as lords of the persons of their subjects, and to have instructed them as to the best means of deriving a legitimate revenue from that source! Had he recommened to them the hiring out their lands to the people as free cultivators, for a rental in the shape of a proportion of the produce, or for payment in any other mode the custom of the country and the means of the people might allow, he would have comferred an immense boon upon all parties concerned.

Earnestly trusting this important subject will not be lost sight of,

I am, Sir, yours, respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE.

SLAVERY IN GUADALOUPE.—The *Constitutionel* states, that, on the 3rd of November last, a negro was brought before the tribunals of Pointe-a-Pitre, at Guadaloupe, whose body had been dreadfully lacerated by flogging, and who had an iron ring fastened to his neck, weighing nine pounds. He was sent to the hospital, and a judicial inquiry was immediately instituted by the examining magistrate; but the prosecution was stopped by the Procureur-General, on pretext that the owner of the slave had not exceeded the legal limit of twenty-nine blows of the whip. In order to remove the iron ring from the neck of the slave, it was found necessary to place his head upon an anvil, and for a smith to employ his hammer upon the iron. The affair has been referred to the minister of marine and the colonies.

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FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

At a meeting of the Independent Church, Queen Street Chapel, Leeds, under the pastoral care of the Rev. T. Scales, held on Friday, February 5th, 1841,

It was unanimously Resolved,—

That this church learns with the deepest regret, that the existence and evils of slavery in the United States of America are upheld by a large body of the ministers and churches of that land; and that the sanction they give forms one of the principal hinderances to the abolition of a system of wrong and outrage, which is opposed to the law of God, the religion of Christ, and the natural rights and best interests of a considerable portion of the human race.

That this church, having had its attention directed to the subject, feels it an incumbent duty to declare, as its decided judgment, that all ministers and churches implicated in the maintenance of slavery, acting so as to involve or retain their fellow-men in bondage, or giving their sanction to those who do this, and admitting them to their fellowship, are chargeable with grievous sin against God, the common parent of mankind, and the impartial and righteous Judge and Governor of the world; and, so violate the spirit and law of Christianity, as to sever the bonds of brotherhood, which should associate them with the visible church of Christ on earth.

That this church, therefore, with regret and reluctance, yet from an imperative sense of duty, determines and declares that it cannot have christian fellowship with any of the religious communities of the United States, or any other part of the world, which retain and countenance this enormous evil; and, though anxious to reciprocate all friendly offices and privileges with fellow-christians of every name, and especially with those of the same order, holds itself pledged henceforward, from a regard to the authority of Christ and the honour of religion, to the dictates of humanity and of sympathy with the oppressed, as well as for the conviction and reformation of the oppressors, to refuse the services of all ministers, and to refrain from communion at the Lord's Table with all members of churches, claiming, holding, or sanctioning the claim to hold, their fellow-men as property, and in a state of bondage.

At a meeting of the Baptist Church in Eagle Street, London, held on the 5th of March, 1841, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That, in the opinion of this Church, slave-holding is a crime of the first magnitude, equally opposed to the dictates of humanity, justice, and christianity; that it exists in America under the greatest aggravations, flourishing as it does in a professedly free country, and cultivated within the very precincts of the christian church, and that like every other sin it should be visited with church discipline, and subject those who practise it to exclusion.

2. That, as we recommend this course to our sister churches in America, so we are prepared to act upon it ourselves, by refusing our communion to those who hold property in slaves.

(Signed) R. W. Overbury, Pastor.

The church of Christ of the Particular Baptist Denomination, meeting for divine worship at Clare, Suffolk, to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Dear brethren in the common cause of freedom.—A printed copy of the four resolutions passed at your meeting held in London, June 12—23, 1840, and signed Thomas Clarkson, president, having been received, was this day laid before us, to which we cheerfully and unanimously respond, by expressing our cordial approbation of the same. We are determined as a christian church, not to hold any communion or fellowship in the name of our Lord, with any who continue in the horrid sin of slavery, or who in any way hold in slavery any of the human family, of whatever tribe, colour, or kingdom they may be, and thus enter our decided protest against slavery in all its forms and bearings.

We have not language sufficiently strong to express our abhorrence of the conduct of those in the western world especially, who are members of societies called christian churches, and who are notoriously guilty of holding their fellow-men, and fellow members too, in slavery; and thus, in our view, resemble children of darkness, while they profess to be children of light. From such we must decidedly and heartily withdraw, and refuse to acknowledge them as christians, so long as they are stained with the guilt of slavery.

Read and unanimously approved at our church meeting, March 14th, 1841, and signed in the name and on the behalf of the whole church.

William Reynolds, Pastor. { Loi Crow, G. Perry, Charles Hale, William Ince, } Deacons.

At a recent meeting of the Baptist Church, Chipping Norton, Oxon, under the pastoral care of the Rev. G. Stonehouse, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"The church, having taken into their consideration the fact, that, in various parts of the world, and especially in the United States of America, there are those who profess to be christians, and who are yet holding their fellow-creatures, and in many cases their fellow-christians in bondage, and being convinced that such conduct is not only in the highest degree sinful in the sight of God, but productive of numberless and nameless social evils, hereby resolve that, as it is their duty, so henceforth it is their solemn determination to refuse to receive to communion with them at the Lord's table any person known to be the holder of a slave in any part of the world."

At a meeting of the Baptist Church, Road, Northamptonshire, January 24th, 1841, was passed the following resolution, viz.—

That this church, believing slavery to be a gross violation of human rights, and a sin against God, determine to hold no fellowship with those, who practically, or otherwise encourage such a cruel system.

George Jayne, Pastor.

At a meeting of the Baptist congregation, at Ravensthorp, Northamptonshire, Feb. 5th, 1841, was passed the following resolution:—

That we as a christian church, disapprove of slavery in every form; and hereby pledge ourselves, not to hold any sort of fellowship with those who sanction that practice, which we believe to be contrary to the principles of justice, and to the spirit and precepts of christianity.

W. Goodrich, Pastor.

At a meeting of the Baptist Church, Weston, Northamptonshire, Jan. 11th, 1841, was passed the following resolution: viz.—

That, as slavery in every form is contrary to humanity and the laws of Christ, we will not hold fellowship with any who are advocates, abettors or practisers of it.

W. Williams, Pastor.

At a meeting of the church of Jesus Christ, worshipping in Shakspere's Walk Chapel, Shadwell, London, Feb. 24th, 1841, was passed the following resolution, viz.—

That we hold modern slavery to be opposed to the principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of the gospel, and learning that there are many professing christians in different parts of the world, and especially in the United States of America, who are guilty of holding their fellow creatures, and even their fellow christians in bondage; we feel it to be our solemn duty to refuse communion at the Lord's Table, to all persons known to be slave-holders, as those who are not entitled to the privileges of christian fellowship, until they repent of this sin against God.

T. Moore, Pastor.

At a meeting of the Baptist Church, Burford Oxon, held, March 7th, 1841. It was unanimously resolved—That, viewing slave-holding as a sin of great enormity, considerably aggravated by the increasing light that has recently been thrown on the subject, we cannot knowingly hold communion with any person who is a slave-holder.

(Signed) Samuel Jones, Pastor.

At a meeting of the Baptist Church, Tewksbury, Gloucestershire, held March 24th, 1841, it was unanimously resolved—That this meeting considers slavery a sin against God, which is awfully enormous when committed by professing christians, and therefore solemnly and deliberately determines not to commune with any person at the Lord's Table who is known to hold slaves.

(Signed) Jessee Hewett, Pastor,

At a meeting of the Baptist Church, Colne, Lancashire, held March 25th, 1841, it was unanimously resolved,—That this christian church cordially adopts the sentiment distinctly expressed in the third resolution attached to the circular of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, dated October 10th, 1840, in reference to the incompatability of slave-holding with a credible profession of christianity.

(Signed) Thomas Lonsdale, Chairman.

Lymington, Hants, March 10th, 1841.

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the circular issued by your committee. I have to assure you that the church of which I am the pastor is fully alive to the importance of the subject to which it refers, and heartily accord, with the resolutions adopted by the convention in June last. I have to inform you that they have adopted a resolution, declarative of their determination to withhold christian fellowship from all who are implicated in the enormous guilt of holding their fellow-creatures in slavery. I remain, &c,

J. Millard,

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. Pastor of the Baptist Church, Lymington.

Beverley, March 15th, 1841.

Dear Sir,—In compliance with the request of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, I brought the subject of the resolution passed at the General Anti-slavery Convention, in June last, before the Baptist church here of which I am pastor; when, I am happy to inform you, it was unanimously resolved by us, not only to bear our emphatic testimony against the crime of slavery, but never to receive to our communion those by whom it is perpetrated, or who would even advocate the abominable principle. I am, &c.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. Robert Johnston.

The following is the correspondence which has taken place between the secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society and Lord Melbourne:—

My Lord,—By the direction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, I am requested to inform your lordship that, the committee having understood that her Majesty's government have some plan under consideration for lowering the duties on the staple productions of the British colonies, and for admitting the produce of slave as well as free labour into the British market, and conceiving that the adoption of any such measure would greatly support the existence of slavery in many parts of the world, and give a fearful impetus to the slave-trade, a deputation has been appointed for the purpose of presenting a memorial to your lordship, embodying the views of the committee on this subject.

I am instructed respectfully to solicit the favour of an audience for the deputation appointed to seek an interview with your lordship on this important question, and beg to be informed when it may be agreeable and convenient to your lordship to receive them.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. H. Tredgold, Secretary.

Right Hon. Lord Melbourne.

REPLY.

Downing Street, April 1st, 1841.

Sir—I am desired by Viscount Melbourne to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult., and to acquaint you that he will be happy to see the deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society here, at three o'clock to-morrow. I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed) C. Howard.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month:—

		£.	s.	d.
Honorable Chief Justice Reddie, St. Lucia, per Sir George Stephen	don.	5	0	0
Southwark Ladies' Auxiliary	,,	5	0	0
S. Wedgwood, Camp Hill	,,	20	0	0
A Friend, per B. R. Haydon	,,	5	0	0
W. H. Ashurst, 137, Cheapside	ann.	1	1	0

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXV. Vol. II. No. 8.] WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21st, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have requested Mr. Sturge to present to the President of the United States an address, of which the following is a copy :—

Sir,—As the head of a great confederacy of states, justly valuing their free constitution and political organization, and tenacious of their rights and their character, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through their esteemed coadjutor and representative, Joseph Sturge, would respectfully approach you in behalf of millions of their fellow-men, held in bondage in the United States. Those millions are not only denied the political immunities enjoyed by the citizens of your great republic generally, and the equal privileges and the impartial protection of the civil law, but are deprived of their personal rights : so that they cease to be regarded and treated, under your otherwise noble institutions, as men, except in the commission of crime, when the utmost rigour of your penal statutes is invoked and enforced against them ; and are reduced to the degraded condition of "chattels personal" in "the hands of their owners and possessors, to *all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.*"

This is the language and the law of slavery ; and upon this law, guarded with jealousy by their political institutions, the slaveholders of the south rest their claims to property in man. But, sir, there are claims anterior to all human laws, and superior to all political institutions, which are immutable in their nature—claims which are the birthright of every human being, of every clime and of every colour—claims which God has conferred, and which man cannot destroy without sacrilege, or infringe without sin. Personal liberty is among these the greatest and the best, for it is the root of all other rights, the conservative principle of human associations, the spring of public virtues, and essential to national strength and greatness.

The monstrous and wicked assumption of power by man over his fellow-man which slavery implies, is alike abhorrent to the moral sense of mankind, to the immutable principles of justice, to the righteous laws of God, and to the benevolent principles of the gospel. It is, therefore, indignantly repudiated by the fundamental laws of all truly enlightened and civilized communities ; and by none more emphatically than by that over which, sir, it is your honour to preside.

The great doctrine that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, and that amongst these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," is affirmed in your Declaration of Independence, and justified in the theory of your constitutional laws. But there is a stain upon your glory. Slavery, in its most abject and revolting form, pollutes your soil ; the wailings of slaves mingle with your songs of liberty, and the clank of their chains is heard in horrid discord with the chorus of your triumphs.

The records of your States are not less distinguished by their wise provisions for securing the order, and maintaining the institutions of your country, than by their ingenious devices for rivetting the chains, and perpetuating the degradation of your coloured brethren. Their education is branded as a crime against the state ; their freedom is dreaded as a blasting pestilence ; the bare suggestion of their emancipation is proscribed as treason to the cause of American independence.

These things are uttered in sorrow ; for the committee deeply deplore the flagrant inconsistency so glaringly displayed, between the lofty principles embodied in the great charter of your liberties, and the evil practices which have been permitted to grow up under it, to mar its beauty and impair its strength.

But it is not on these grounds alone, or chiefly, that they deplore the existence of slavery in the United States. Manifold as are the evils which flow from it, dehumanizing as are its tendencies, fearful as its re-action confessedly is on its supporters, the reproach of its existence does not terminate in the institutions which gave it birth. The sublime principles and benign spirit of christianity are dishonoured by it. In the light of divine truth it stands revealed in all its hideous deformity, a crime against God, a daring usurpation of the prerogative and authority of the Most High. It is as a violation of his righteous laws, an outrage on his glorious attributes, a renunciation of the claims of his blessed gospel, that they especially deplore the continuance and support it receives among you ; and, in the spirit of christian love and fraternal solicitude, they would counsel its immediate and complete overthrow, as a solemn and imperative duty, the performance of which no sordid reasons should be permitted to retard, and no political considerations to prevent. Slavery is a sin against God, and ought, therefore, to be abolished.

The utter extinction of slavery, and its sister abomination, the internal slave-trade—second only in horror and extent in the United States to the African, and in some of its features even more revolting — can be argued by the philanthropists of this country only, on the abstract principles of moral and religious duty ; and to those principles the people of your great republic are pledged on the side of freedom beyond every nation of the world.

The negro, by nature our equal, made like ourselves in the image of his Creator, gifted with the same intelligence, impelled by the same passions, and redeemed by the same Saviour, is reduced by cupidity and oppression below the level of the brute ; spoiled of his humanity, plundered of his rights, and often hurried to a premature grave, the miserable victim of avarice and heedless tyranny ! Men have presumptuously dared to wrest from their fellows the most precious of their rights—to intercept, as far as they may, the bounty and grace of the Almighty—to close the door to their intellectual progress—to shut every avenue to their moral and religious improvement—to stand between them and their Maker ! It is against this crime the committee protest, as men and as christians ; and they earnestly and respectfully call upon you, sir, to use the high powers with which you are invested to bring it to a peaceful and speedy close.

May you, in closing your public career, and in the latest hours of your existence on earth, be consoled with the reflection, that you have not despised the afflictions of the afflicted ; but that, faithful to the trusts of your high stewardship, you have been "just, ruling in the fear of God"—that you have executed judgment for the oppressed, and have aided in the deliverance of your country from its greatest crime, and its chief reproach !

Signed on behalf of the committee.

London, March 8th, 1841. Thomas Clarkson.

RELEASE OF THE AMISTAD CAPTIVES.

From the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter* we extract the following details of this very interesting occurrence.

The heart-cheering news was communicated in a letter to a member of the committee acting on behalf of the captured Africans, from the honourable and venerable John Quincy Adams, senior counsel for the prisoners, of which the following is an extract.

Washington, March 9, 1841.

"Dear Sir,—The captives are free ! The part of the decree of the District Court which placed them at the disposal of the president of the United States, to be sent to Africa, is *reversed*. They are to be discharged from the custody of the marshal—*free*.

"The rest of the decision of the courts below is affirmed.

"'Not unto us—not unto us, &c.'

"J. Q. Adams."

The committee soon met, and agreed upon the following notice, which they hope will be extensively copied for the information of those who feel so deep an interest in the temporal and spiritual welfare of these liberated Africans.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE AFRICAN CAPTIVES.

The committee have the high satisfaction of announcing, that the supreme court of the United States have definitely decided, that the long imprisoned captives who were taken in the Amistad ARE FREE, on this soil, without condition or restraint. The opinion of the court was pronounced on Tuesday, March 9, by judge Story. In view of this great deliverance, in which the lives and liberties of thirty-six fellow-men are secured, as well as many fundamental principles of law, justice, and human rights established, the committee respectfully request, that public thanks be given on the occasion to Almighty God, in all the churches throughout the land.

S. S. Jocelyn.
Joshua Leavitt.
New York, March 11, 1841. Lewis Tappan.

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The committee have taken measures to effect the liberation of the coloured cabin boy, Antonio, who was a slave to the captain of the Amistad, and who has been imprisoned with them as a witness, during the long *eighteen* months they have been incarcerated in jail at New Haven. They have also directed the suits against Ruiz and Montes for assault and battery, at the suits of Cinque, &c., to be prosecuted for their benefit. Measures will also be taken to insure, if possible, the punishment of Ruiz and Montes, for the atrocious crimes of which they have been guilty. It is the intention also of the committee to have a public meeting in this city, when all the Africans can be present, to render thanks to Almighty God for the interposition of His providence in protecting them, and delivering them from slavery and death, and to hear an appropriate address from Mr. Adams, if he accepts the invitation already forwarded to him. The disposal of these grateful and rejoicing Africans will be a subject of immediate and prayerful consideration. Their own wishes will be consulted, and the leadings of Divine Providence followed, so far as the action of the committee is concerned. The committee acknowledge, with heartfelt gratitude, the liberal donations that have been made to enable them, by the blessing of God, to vindicate the rights and achieve the freedom of *these* men and children, whose lives have been for so long a time in jeopardy, and who are now about to enjoy, what they have ever been entitled to, "certain inalienable rights, amongst which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." They also entreat the prayers and counsels of the friends of justice and liberty, both *for* the Africans and themselves, until all the objects enumerated are accomplished.

RECEPTION OF THE NEWS BY THE CAPTIVES.

Extract of a letter from Amos Townsend, Jun., Esq., of New Haven.

New Haven, 11th March, 1841.

Bless the Lord, for his right hand hath gotten him the victory. The oppressor is confounded, and the oppressed delivered.

Our African friends received the tidings of their deliverance with great joy. Yet their joy was not that tumultuous outbreak of feeling which the first decision of the lower court produced. It was a more christian-like and dignified gladness, chastened and modified, no doubt, by the remembrance of their former disappointed hopes, after being assured of the decision of the circuit court.

To the inquiry whether they wished *to remain in* America or return to Africa? They replied, "Ask Cinque." Cinque said, "I think—can't tell now. I think. We talk together and think—then I tell." So that they will hold a council among themselves, and decide. I think it very probable that many of them would prefer to remain in America. They say "America country good country—America people good people—set we free."

An eye witness gives us the following statement. Intelligence was expected from Washington on Thursday the 11th. The Africans had been informed that the decision of the court might be expected. For days previous they had shown much anxiety, and this day their feelings were greatly excited, so much so that they called to persons who were passing by the prison to make inquiries. The marshal and the jailer, on receiving the New York newspapers, rode over to Westville, two miles, to communicate the intelligence to the Africans. They were all assembled in one room, and on a signal from Cinque were seated, with the deepest anxiety depicted on their countenances. The marshal then said, "The big court has come to a decision—they say that you, one and all, are free, and no slaves." Cinque immediately said, "Me glad—me thank American men—me glad." He *then* spoke *to his countrymen in their* native language. They laughed and began to talk in the Mendi tongue. The marshal addressed Cinque and inquired, "You want to go home to Africa!" Cinque said, "I don't know—I think one or two days—then say—we all talk—think of it—then me say." The marshal then showed them a newspaper, and said, "here it is in this paper—read it." Cinque beckoned to little Kale to read it aloud, but looked doubtingly, and said, "*paper lie* sometimes." Kinna said, "Me do as Cinque say—we all do as he say—me little—Cinque big—Cinque he know—I don't know—Cinque he great man—he get us all free—he president." "Yes," said Grabeau, "he president of the poor."

Rev. H. G. Ludlow and Mr. Townsend now arrived. Mr. L. said he wanted to speak to them a few moments. "Cinque," said he, "I *want you, and all* of you, to know that Christ has watched over you—raised up friends for you—and inclined the court to decide favourably, &c. They said, "we very glad—love God—love Jesus Christ—He over all—we thank Him" They then, with all the pious friends present, knelt while Mr. Ludlow offered solemn prayer and thanksgiving to God. At the close they all gave a hearty Amen, Amen.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

(From *L'Esperance.*)

THE cause of the emancipation of the negros has made great progress within a few years, in the public opinion of France. So far has this *gone*, that a minister declared a few days since, in the tribune, that it was this irresistible force of opinion which the government had obeyed, in constituting a council to determine the best mode of arriving at this result. Some decisions favourable to the negros have already followed. Regulations for the treatment of slaves have been made for the colonies; ecclesiastics and schoolmasters have been sent to them; and we, in France, happy in the adoption of these measures, have not doubted an instant that they would have the proper effect. But, alas! it is one thing to make regulations, and another to enforce them. In a word, according to a little volume entitled *The Poor Negros*, which has just been published, everything remains at the Antilles as it was before the men and the laws arrived. Our readers may judge by the following extracts, and they will then see more clearly the necessity of adopting some definitive measure.

In the colonies, the code noir, the successive ordonnances, the various regulations, the half-measures, the abortive plans of improvement, the ministerial instructions, exhibit plenty of official ameliorations, loudly proclaimed in administrative correspondence, solemnly stated in parliamentary documents, repeated to satiety in the *Moniteur*, and inserted in the columns attached to all the journals: but what is actually done in these islands, on which they shower down so many beneficent laws? This is what I saw in 1839, and even so lately as yesterday.

I was requested to administer baptism to a negro, thirty-five years of age. His mistress, who is one of the most respectable persons in Port Royal, and who acted as interpreter, observed that the patient knew enough of christianity, and desired baptism. I interrogated him myself, and, on satisfactory evidence on his part, I administered it. The lady took me into the parlour, and this was our conversation:—

"Is it not unfortunate, M. l'abbé, that my husband *persists* in keeping so passionate a driver for our negros? This is the second he has lost us; and the first was as stout as this. They are worth 1500 francs (£60) each."

"Has he beaten the man too severely?"

"No; *only* one blow: which, however, has affected him so unfortunately that it will kill him."

The drivers always strike the vertebræ of the neck when they are enraged.

"But why did he strike him?"

"He was entrusted with part of the cargo of a ship, which he had to carry a certain distance. It appears that he was fatigued, and that, meeting a free negro, he asked him to share his burden; our driver, seeing this, and being angry at it, hurled him a blow, by which we shall lose 1500 francs."

In an hour afterwards this unfortunate man died, and M—— lost 1500 francs.

The governor, being informed of this assassination, directed the law officers to investigate the affair; and in *twenty-four* hours the magistrates were sufficiently enlightened to declare that there was no ground for further proceeding.

Not long ago it was resolved to reach emancipation by religious instruction. We will examine presently the value of this measure, on which every *one* seems to rely. What has already taken place is this. On the demand of the minister, M. de Mackau, the governor, *in* 1837, proposed to the council of Martinique a vote of 30,000 francs, as a remuneration for priests who should devote themselves, in the fields and cottages, to the religious instruction of the slaves. The inhabitants, resolved as they were never to open their premises to such dangerous apostles, nevertheless, enthusiastically accepted this proposition, and this supplement to the budget was voted unanimously. The colonists would prove to the capital that they were animated by the best spirit.

They gave another evidence of it. Funds were entrusted to M. Castelli, prefect apostolical, that he might return to France, and chose some ecclesiastics suitable to the work. After being absent a year, he returned alone. The vote had made a noise, but the 30,000 francs remained in the chest. The prefect, however, had shown some zeal in the business. He had frankly approved and promoted it. He had scarcely returned to the chief town of the colony, when his house was burnt down, and he escaped only with his life, and the loss of everything he had in the world. This has been generally attributed to the ill-will of the whites. The culprits have known how to evade the inquiries of the police and the government.

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What is the cause of the uselessness of the schools, established at a great expense for the education of the blacks? It is to be found in the tyranny of the planters. When France sent them instructors, they monopolized them for their own children, and prohibited them to the little negros. Thus, as we have said, the clergy established at the Antilles, from their first colonization, have not at all modified the system of slavery. This is not because they are not willing, but because they are not able. At the present moment the government is founding establishments for the brethren of christian instruction. Some of the teachers have already opened schools at Guadaloupe and Martinique. The utmost pains is taken to mould their ideas after those of the planters. They are lodged in handsome apartments; they have slaves to wait on them, with horses and boats for their journeys: but they cannot be at peace, even in private life, unless they are seen to adopt, in all their lessons, the love of tyranny and contempt for the slave class. Is it possible that young rustics from the hamlets of Brittany should resist this system of creole seduction?

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It was for the same purpose that the minister of marine established, some years since, a house for the sisters of the congregation of St. Joseph, at the town of St. Pierre. These ladies soon received at their establishment none but white children, because, seeing that this sagacious preference brought them 55,000 to 60,000 francs annually; seeing also that those who held out their arms to them were rich, and could afford them effectual protection, they have not hesitated to give to their instructions that colonial spirit and irreligious tendency which have just drawn from the bishop of Autun, their superior, that formal condemnation in which M. Quelen has shewn his entire concurrence, by prohibiting the celebration of holy offices in their mother house at Paris. Now, for this *school*, from which litle girls *of colour*, although free, are thus repelled, the government has created a situation which is worth 100,000 francs, and it pays annually towards the support of the religieuses from 25,000 to 30,000 francs. Slaves belonging to government they have for servants. The expenses of their voyages and journeys are defrayed. They draw from their sixty pupils a revenue of 71,000 francs annually: and why these enormous charges? *For* the whites, to the exclusion of the blacks.

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With money, at Paris, one can open for one's-self all the royal colleges, and the evil consists only in the nature of the instruction and the quality of the teachers; but at the Antilles, every establishment, every college, all instruction, is prohibited to the very great *majority* of the population. Ignorance is the normal condition of a slave people, and the colonists will find means of perpetuating it. There are two ways by which the negros may be led to knowledge. First, the lessons sold by the schoolmasters, who make them buy them. Now the negros have no money. On the other hand, their attendance at the schools is a recreation: their labour is never interrupted. Secondly, the lessons given gratuitously by the priests, the brethren, and religious persons; and we have seen how they get rid of them. For the rest, the workshops are closed against them; and whenever they may seem disposed to force an entrance, they will be driven from the colony. The last ordonnances (1840) for the education of the young negros have been universally denounced as impracticable.

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Nothing but liberty, immediate liberty, emancipation without indemnity, can make this enormous evil disappear. Such a law would, as by enchantment, make the entire population, both masters and slaves, see no more safety but in liberty, which, we know, is the life of all things. The proprietors, in losing their slaves, would recollect that they have lands; and, having no other method or hope of obtaining it, instead of favouring the ignorance of the people, which was fatal to them, they would push on instruction, in order to give to labour which had become free, the skill, the sagacity, and the energy, which should make agriculture and every other employment flourish. In their turn the emancipated would feel, in their new relief, a more imperious want of instruction, and would gradually raise themselves in knowledge and in wealth. The colonies, then worthy of France, would have been regenerated by her.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

No. 3.

[From the *Morning Chronicle.*]

If we may credit those who have reported on the subject, the condition of the slaves in British India is not only bearable, but enviable, as compared with that of multitudes who call themselves freemen. The system under which they are held is denominated patriarchal, their treatment is said to be mild and gentle; and, it is affirmed, that no comparison whatever can be instituted between their circumstances and those of the late bondsmen in the West India colonies. "Turning," says Mr. Colebrooke, "from law to practice, we find domestic slavery very general among Hindoos and Mussulmans. More trusty than hired servants, slaves are almost exclusively employed in the interior of the house for attendance on the members of the family, and in all the most confidential services. Every opulent person, every one raised above the condition of the simplest mediocrity, is provided with household slaves, and from this class chiefly are taken the concubines of Mussulmans and Hindoos, in regard to whom it is to be remembered, that concubinage is not among people of those religions an immoral state, but a relation which both law and custom recognize without reprehension; and its prevalence is liable only to the same objection as polygamy, with which it has a near and almost necessary connexion." . . . . "I trust not to be considered an advocate for slavery, nor indifferent to the miseries incident to the most degraded condition in human society, when I observe that, in this country, slaves are in general treated with gentleness and indulgence. I should, however, demonstrate only an ill acquaintance with human character, if I affirmed this to prevail universally, without any exception. I cannot doubt that bad temper and disposition sometimes constitute a harsh, severe, and even cruel master; nor have I been without occasions of being convinced that such characters are to be found amongst the owners of slaves." This gentleman, therefore, when he wrote the foregoing passages, deprecated the agitation of the subject of slavery, and was opposed to any decided measures to put it down. His remarks had reference, however, exclusively to the treatment of domestic slaves.

There are others, more observant than Mr. Colebrooke appears to have been, who bring us better acquainted with the system of Indian slavery, both prædial and domestic.

CONDITION OF PRÆDIAL SLAVES.

"Nothing can be more abject and wretched," says Mr. Baber, "than the condition of that degraded race of mortals, the slaves of Malabar, *whose huts are little better than mere baskets, and whose diminutive stature and squalid appearance evidently show a want of adequate nourishment.*" (Parliamentary Papers, 128—1834, pp. 7, 27).

"The slave," says Mr. Græme, in his report on Malabar, 1822, "has his *sieve of a hut* in the centre of the rice lands; but, on the coast at least he is an industrious, and not an unintelligent being, in good condition, and nothing deficient in bodily frame. In the interior, *he is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature, stinted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; whose state demands that commiseration and melioration which may confidently be expected from the humanity of the British government.*" (Ibid, p. 23).

Mr. Campbell, in reply to the questions on slavery proposed by the Board of Control in 1832, states, "The creatures in human form who constitute, to the number of 100,000, the agrestic slave population of Malabar, being distinguishable, like the savage tribes still to be found in some of the forests of Arabia, from the rest of the human race, *by their degraded, diminutive, squalid appearance, their dropsical pot bellies, contrasting horridly with their skeleton arms and legs, half-starved, hardly clothed, and in a condition scarcely superior to the cattle they follow at the plough.*" (Ibid, p. 33.)

In answer to the same queries, the Rev. Joseph Fenn observed, "They present a wretched appearance to the beholder. . . . The slaves are in the lowest possible state of degradation. . . . If it were lawful," he adds, "to speak so of fellow-creatures, possessing the same capabilities and the same destinies as British Christians, I should say they were WILD MEN." (Ibid, p. 3.)

These gentlemen refer to the general condition of the prædial slaves in the western peninsula of India. From the evidence of these, and other persons of high reputation, in answer to queries submitted to them by the commissioners for the affairs of India in 1832, we learn that "husbands and wives are separated by sale to different parties" (Fenn). "That they are sold off the estates where they were born and bred. . . . . And the nearest and dearest associations and ties of our common nature severed" (Baber). That they are sold "in satisfaction of revenue arrears," or, "when proprietors are in want of cash to pay the revenues" (Baber). That "slaves can be and are sold at pleasure" (Welsh). That "the sale of agrestic slaves is common" (Campbell). The children of female slaves, recognised by the Mohammedan and Hindoo laws as the absolute property of their owners, are considered by those laws to inherit the condition of their mothers; and, consequently, to be slaves for life, unless the acknowledged offspring of their owner, in which case both the mother and child are entitled to freedom." Thus are they regarded and treated as mere articles of property. (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 318.)

CLOTHING.—In reference to their clothing, we find that "there is a custom of giving them a cloth occasionally, the only clothing they wear" (Fenn). That "the allowance consists of a waistcloth, called moond, to men; and moori, signifying a fragment, to females; it is just large enough to wrap round their loins, and is of the value of one or two fanaams, equal to from 6d. to 1s.; in some districts this is given but once a year, but more generally twice. . . . . As a substitute for these waistcloths, it is very common, especially in the retired parts of the country, to use or wear bunches of leaves, generally of the wild plantain tree, supported by a fibre of some tree or vine" (Baber).

FOOD.—With respect to food we gather the following particulars:—"The daily allowance of slaves varies from one and a half to one and three-quarters seers of paddy (rice in the husk) to the male; and from one to one and a quarter to the female slave." The "daily wages of a freeman are about one-third more," but then he works only till noon, whereas the slave has to toil from morning until evening, "and to keep watch by turns at night in the paddy field" (Baber). "The food, clothing, and comforts of the agrestic slaves are everywhere inferior to those of the domestic one" (Campbell). "The general condition of the agrestic slaves is bad everywhere. They enjoy little comfort, have coarse, precarious, and scanty food, (Dr. Buchanan states not more than 'two-sevenths of what is a reasonable quantity,') bad clothing, frequently none at all, and no provision (that ever I could learn) for old age or sickness. The domestic slaves are for the most part better off, but still *subject to the despotic will of their owners, in everything short of life*" (Welsh). In the Tamil country, "some of them who are outcasts possess also a right to all the cattle that die from disease; and they eat the flesh of such animals, as well as that of snakes and other reptiles; but in general their food is the coarsest grain" (Campbell). In times of scarcity, "they are left to eke out a miserable existence by feeding upon wild yams, and such refuse as would be sought after by that extreme wretchedness which envied the husks that the swine did eat" (Baber).

LABOUR.—The labour exacted from them is onerous and oppressive. "They are employed in all kinds of agricultural labour, rice tillage, and the sugar cane" (Fenn), "without the intermission of a *single day*, so long as their masters can find employment for them" (Baber). "They have no particular hours which they can call their own, nor any day in the week set apart for rest or devotion" (Welsh). "In the Tamil country the men are employed in ploughing the land and sowing the seed, and on all the various laborious works necessary for the irrigation of the land upon which the rice is grown; the women in transplanting the rice plants, and both in reaping the crop. . . . They usually work from sunrise to sunset, with an intermission of two hours for meals. They are not exempted from work on any particular day of the week" (Campbell). "The slave has to toil from morning till evening; after which he has to keep watch by turns at night, in sheds erected on an open platform in the centre of the paddy field, several feet under water, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, to scare away trespassing cattle, or wild animals" (Baber).

Besides their ordinary agricultural employments, these slaves are also often engaged in erecting temporary rooms, or pandols, used by their masters on marriages or other festivals, and occasionally are called upon, by requisition of the collector or magistrate issued to their masters, to aid in stopping any sudden breach in the great works of irrigation conducted at the expense of government, or in dragging the enormous cars of the idols round the villages or temples, to move which immense cables dragged by many thousands are necessary. In Tanjore, in particular, from the great number of temples, and the frequency of the festivals, this is a very onerous duty." (Campbell). "I have observed the slaves in gangs when they have been pressed to make or repair the high roads; to carry the luggage of public servants and their establishments; of marching regiments and of travellers; or when carrying treasure, remittances from the several talook-cutcherries to the collector's treasury at Calicut (and scarcely a week passes, that parties of ten to one hundred of those slaves do not arrive); or, when bringing stolen goods with parties of robbers sent in by the different police officers; or when carrying the company's tobacco from the several depôts for sale to the talook and revenue cutcherries; on all which occasions they are guarded by kolkars, (armed peons) or choorabakar (persons with canes), to prevent their running away; and it must be confessed, that it is no less a source of complaint to the masters, than grievance to their slaves, to be so worked" (Baber).

PUNISHMENTS.—The discipline required under such circumstances, to coerce labour and enforce obedience to the will of the master, must be necessarily severe; we therefore find, that, if slaves either refuse to work or run away, they are, on being

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caught, "flogged and put in the stocks for some days, and afterwards made to work with chains on" (Baber). "Moreover, there is hardly a sessions of gaol delivery, the calendars of which *(though a vast number of crimes occurring are never reported)* do not contain cases of wounding and even murdering slaves, chiefly brought to light by the efforts of the police, though, generally speaking, they (the slaves) are the most enduring, unresisting and unoffending classes of the people" (Baber). "The lash, or at least coercive strokes, are, I fear, too commonly used, and indiscriminately to both sexes" (Welsh). "The practice of slitting, and even cutting off the noses of slaves was formerly, and is said even now, to prevail" (Baber): As "corporal punishment prevails much in India," (Fenn) and as the use of the lash has been recognised by the Sudder Foujdary court in Malabar as a legal punishment for slaves, it will not be difficult to imagine the torture to which they may sometimes be put in exacting compulsory toil. (Parl. Paper, 128, 1838, pp. 9, 10, 13. 20, 32, &c.)

MEDICAL ATTENDANCE.—In old age and sickness the slaves appear to be utterly neglected. "I am not aware of any provision for age or sickness" (Fenn). "They enjoy no provision (that ever I could learn) for old age or sickness" (Welsh). "Sickness among them causes no additional attention on the part of the proprietors, who frequently lose many of their slaves when an epidemic gets among them," (Bevan).

The moral and social, as well as the physical degradation of these wretched beings is complete. Sunk in the grossest superstition, their principal worship is offered to "Bott, the devil," (Baber). "The slaves profess generally either the Mohammedan or Hindoo religion, with a small portion of christians; but, as far as mortal can judge, their religion consists chiefly in outward observances; their morals being, like their persons, most wretchedly debased," (Welsh). "On the western coast I fear it will be found that the slaves generally propitiate the evil spirit alone, and many of them are believed to practise sorcery" (Campbell).

Two or three facts will illustrate their social degradation. They are "compelled," says Mr. Brown, "whenever they come in sight of a habitation, to fly from the public high road, and make a long circuit to avoid the remotest approach; forced to utter a cry, to give warning to others that a human being, not a dog, was coming—and driven, whenever their cry was answered, to hide themselves in the jungle. Thus it is that the right of public way, which is freely conceded to every beast of the field, is denied to a whole class of human beings. . . . . The unhappy Pooliar," it is added, "is in a condition which ranks him beneath the lowest brute, and his state is without a parallel in the annals of human abjectness and degradation." (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 413.) And Dr. Buchanan, who travelled extensively in Malabar, Canara, and Mysore, states, that "they follow all the oxen and buffaloes of the village, *as so much live stock*, when these are driven in procession at a great festival which the farmers annually celebrate." (Adam's Law and Custom &c., p. 264.) Mr. Newnham, first Judge of Circuit, western division Madras, in alluding to a certain legal process which came before him, expressed his repugnance "at a demand made in a civil suit of twenty Mooluminshers, value fifty pagodas, without individual specification, immediately followed by a like summary demand for brute animals," and "at the practice of thus suing, without name, or individual description, for so many sentient creatures of God." (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 405). In another communication, he speaks of them "as having been claimed as *feræ naturæ*, that became the property of the owner of the ground on which they, by becoming resident, can be taken into bondage." (Ibid. p. 427). "The slaves," says the reverend Mr. Fenn, "are in the lowest possible state of degradation . . . . . and "nothing," he adds, "but christianity, in my opinion, descends low enough to meet them, and to raise them to the level of mankind." (Par. Pap. 128, 1834, p. 3.) The foregoing extracts chiefly refer to the condition and general treatment of agrestic slaves.

DOMESTICS AND DANCING GIRLS.—The domestic slaves, those of them who become the favourites of their masters, are treated with greater leniency. "They are well fed," and "well clothed. Such, however, is not the lot of the female domestic slaves employed as attendants in the seraglios of Mussulmans of rank; they are too often treated with caprice, and frequently punished with much cruelty. . . . . The complaints made to me as superintendent of police at Madras, gave me an insight into transactions committed in the recesses of the female apartments, which has left on my mind a strong impression of the cruelty and wanton barbarity with which this class of female slaves is subject to be treated; indeed, *little doubt can be entertained that the seclusion of female slaves [illegible] of Mussulmans of rank, too often precludes complaint, prevents redress, and cloaks crimes at which Europeans would shudder.*" (Campbell.) Occasionally these victims of a ruthless oppression escape from their tormentors, "bearing on their persons the scars and wounds which have been inflicted on them; and sometimes providentially, by the merest accident, their murder has come to the knowledge of the police." (Ibid. pp. 10, 20, 32). Several atrocious cases of the barbarous treatment of female slaves, not inserted in the parliamentary papers, have come before the courts in Calcutta, the details of which should have been given had our limits permitted their insertion; but we pass on to consider the case of another class, to whose extremely [illegible] and wretched condition we call particular attention.

The situation of "the dancing girls," says Judge Lascelles, "is [illegible] the most objectionable, combining as it does every attendant on the very worst description of slavery. Initiated in early youth into the mysteries of their profession, and immured within the walls of the pagoda, they are taught, as the first and chief lesson, to consider an implicit and blind obedience to the will of the Brahmin as their highest duty; and their obedience forms their sole and only code of moral obligation. The wily guardians appear to make it their chief endeavour to destroy all that would ennoble the female character, and foster the basest passions of the human heart, as the means of pandering to the vices of the multitude, and continuing to themselves their ill-gotten revenue. . . . . Their servile compliance with the disgusting desires of their superiors robs them of all self-respect. . . . . It will readily be believed how degrading this system is to the miserable subjects of it. . . But the evil of this description does not stop here; there is, unhappily, too great cause to apprehend a latent mischief of more fearful magnitude. To say that these miserable beings are subject to the caprice of their masters, the Brahmins, is but to say, in other words, that they suffer under the worst slavery known either in ancient or modern times. Their excesses, it is true, are rarely exposed, for they are veiled in all the intricacies of their religious observances, and witnessed only by the actors of them, in the security of their polluted walls; but this much is open to observation. *The aged are seldom found among this wretched class, nor is it possible, in many cases, to trace their steps. It would be superfluous, he adds, to draw an inference which is so very obvious.*" (Parl. Pap. 138, 1839; p. 391-2.)

One word of comment on the foregoing statements is unnecessary. The painful details speak for themselves. To hesitate one moment in applying the necessary remedy would be as inhuman as criminal.

Note.—For additional information on the points referred to in this paper, consult Parl. Papers, No. 128, 1834, and No. 138, 1839; Adam's Law and Custom of Slavery in British India, pp. 51 to 73, and pp. 163 to 194; and Peggs's East India Slavery, pp. 1 to 34.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of Mr. Tyler is under consideration.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 21ST.

OUR foreign intelligence this week is scanty. Our readers, however, will find interesting matter in the articles relating to France, Brazils, and British India. We direct attention especially to the address to the President of the United States, confided for presentation to Mr. Sturge.

THE American papers have brought us the details of the memorable triumph of justice achieved in the supreme court of the United States, by the liberation of the Africans captured in the Amistad. Lengthened extracts will be found in another column. To these particulars we have the pleasure of adding some others, conveyed in a private letter to Mr. G. W. Alexander, which we are permitted to insert below.

New York, March 25th, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—The committee in New York who have had, and still have, the charge of the interests of the Africans taken in the schooner Amistad, feel themselves called upon to express to you their sincere thanks for the kind interest you have taken in their case, and for your considerate zeal in urging the subject upon the attention of the Spanish government. The very favourable and happy result of the final trial in the Supreme Court of the United States, of which the papers sent herewith will give you the particulars, ought to awaken our gratitude to the giver of all good, and encourage us to further efforts in behalf of these interesting strangers.

Having, through the Divine blessing, obtained their complete deliverance, we are now desirous of obtaining the fullest remuneration practicable for their wrongs, and a restoration to their own native homes, carrying with them to their kindred all the blessings of the gospel and of civilised life.

We are desirous of bringing several points in the case more fully before the British government, particularly the statement made by Vega, the Spanish Vice-Consul at Boston, the prostitution of official forms and functions at Havana in the shipment of these Africans as *ladinos*, with a clearance as passengers on account of the government; and the liability of Ruiz and Montes to exemplary punishment by the laws of Spain.

We also wish to obtain the fullest information that can be had with regard to the country from which these Africans came, supposed to be 300 to 400 miles from the coast, among the mountains from which the rivers Sherbro, Gallinas, and St. Paul's take their rise, rather south of the latitude of Sierra Leone: the geography of the country, and the practicability of reaching it by these people; the route to be pursued, whether to land at Sierra Leone, Gallinas, or Monrovia—whether under English or American protection—whether in small companies or all together, by what white men attended, what provisions for the journey, how long time, and what expense, &c. It is supposed the African Institution, the Geographical Society, the Officers of Government; Sir F. Buxton's Society, or the merchants concerned in the African trade, may furnish valuable information on some of these points. We shall write to Sir John Jeremie, Governor of Sierra Leone, and to David Turnbull, Esq., H. B. M. Con-

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sul at Havana, asking information on the subject. It is possible some of the officers of the navy who have been employed in the slave-trade suppression service may aid these investigations, which are highly important, involving, as they do, the happiness of these exiles, and, perhaps, the safety of their lives in attempting to return to their loved Mendi. We cannot but cherish a hope that the recent exploit of H. B. M. cruizers in breaking up the establishment of Pedro Blanco, at Gallinas, (the very man who held these people,) may ere long put a period to the dreadful wars, and other devastating commotions, which have hitherto spread over the vast region whence the waste of that horrid slave-factory has been supplied, so that a safe access may be had to the Mendi land.

Finally, we design to invoke the aid of our own government, in sending these people home at the public expense, as a small recompense for their long and unrighteous imprisonment by the requirement of the national executive.

We make no apology for troubling you with these inquiries, with the proof already before us that your benevolence has identified you with the case as much as ourselves. It is now desirable for us to avoid, if possible, the expense of sending a messenger to London, to obtain the necessary information on which we have to act. We think it important to send the Africans (such as choose it) home, *as soon* as it can be ascertained to be practicable and reasonably safe.

We are, dear Sir, with much respect, your fellow labourers in the cause of humanity,

SIMON S. JOCELYN,
JOSHUA LEAVITT,
G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq. LEWIS TAPPAN.

ALTHOUGH the Directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association persist in their refusal to allow Mr. Tuckett and his friends access to the list of shareholders, they have undertaken to forward to every member of this body, together with the official notice of the meeting on the 15th proximo, any communication which may be confided to them for this purpose. It is now, certain, therefore, for we cannot suppose that the Directors will betray the confidence they solicit, that every shareholder will be made acquainted with the facts, and with the necessity there is for action. We cannot entertain any doubt of the result. Every shareholder will feel a heavy individual responsibility; and even those who would not have taken part in a meeting for the transaction of ordinary business, will encounter whatever trouble may be imposed upon them by so loud a call of humanity and justice.

We have inserted in another column an article from the *Mining Journal* on this important subject, in which, after some remarks on the general issue in an admirable spirit, the writer adverts to the question, whether the mines could be profitably worked without slave-labour, and expresses his doubts on this point. Although, in a matter so deeply involving principles of humanity and justice, the question of loss or gain cannot be permitted to exercise a ruling influence, it will nevertheless have some weight, no doubt, in the deliberations of parties whose property is so largely implicated. We are happy, therefore, in being able to say, that grounds exist for believing the very contrary of what is appreliended. We have had a letter some time in our possession from a gentleman whose nephew (now in a distant part of the world) was for a considerable period on the spot, the principal part of which bears so directly and so cheeringly on the subject before us, that we shall now submit it to consideration.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

I am very glad to find the case of the poor slaves owned and employed by the Gongo Soco Mining Association brought forward in your periodical, and trust they will never be lost sight of by you until their deliverance is effected. I had heard of their extreme oppression, some years since from a nephew of mine who was a clerk in a smaller mine, not far from Gongo Soco. On his return home he gave me an account of the treatment of the slaves, which quite accorded with that now given by your correspondent, Mr. Kentish. Among other things, he told me that forty of the slaves absconded at one time, and were never again recovered, but quite lost to the Company. Considering the very great precariousness of capital invested in slaves from that cause, and also from the many other casualties, together with their constant deterioration from age, and taking into account further the high price paid in their purchase, one cannot help wondering what motive there can be for prefering their labour to that of freemen. This can be had to any extent at one shilling a day, even at the mines, whilst in Brazil generally eight-pence is (or was) the common rate of wages for table-bodied men. The cost of a slave is £80 sterling, and money in Brazil was worth eight per cent. per annum; so that, to cover interest, wear and tear, and heavy casualties, including desertion, we can hardly put down less than twenty per cent., or £16 a year; whilst 313 working days of free labour cost only, at 1s. per diem, £15 13s. But we have also to add the cost of maintenance of the slave, and further to take into account the very inferior value of slave-labour compared with free; and in this item their greatest loss will be found. One of the Cornish miners, who has returned home, states, that every twenty slaves have one of the English miners appointed as a driver, and that he himself had been so employed there; that it was with very great difficulty he could get them to do their work; and that he was obliged to whip them continually to get them to do anything. Our friend Joseph J. Gurney also states, you will recollect, that fifty emancipated men in our West India islands will do as much work as three hundred slaves in the United States of America. Now, when we have added this to the former items in the account of slave-labour, we shall find it will amount to a heavy loss indeed; and you will think with me, that it is high time the shareholders should be apprised of this gross mismanagement in their affairs. The only way it would seem we can account for the preference given to the labour of slaves, is that the love of despotic power is inherent in our fallen nature, and that rapacious avarice blinds men to their true interest, even in worldly affairs. C. C.

As his nephew is abroad, and out of the reach of direct appeal, our correspondent does not permit us to give his name; to us, however, it is a guarantee of the value of his communication, which we earnestly commend to the attention of all parties concerned.

We may add that the recent movements in Brazil towards the abolition of slavery throughout the empire, should not be lost on the Mining Associations which have property there. What a disgrace will it be to large and respectable bodies of Englishmen, to be found clinging to the last to a system of wrong and ruin, which Brazilians themselves shall have sagacity enough to abandon!

WE are happy in being able to announce a very promising movement on the abolition question in the kingdom of Sweden. In both houses of the diet an address to the king has been moved and carried, soliciting an inquiry into the state of slavery at St. Bartholomew's, with a view to its termination. The address was moved in the upper house by Professor Gier, a person of distinguished literary rank, and by his brother in the lower.

NOTES FROM THE LETTERS OF A TRAVELLER IN BRAZIL.

ANECDOTE OF TWO RUNAWAY SLAVES.

—— SHORTLY after, two runaway slaves were brought to the door of the venda, (a public house, or inn). They were tall, well-looking men. They were directed to sit down, which they accordingly did on the earth, with their backs against the wall of the venda. Shortly afterwards their master arrived. He had a well caparisoned horse. He entered the venda, and took the other end opposite to mine, so that I had no communication with him. He had scarcely entered when a by-stander asked them (the slaves) a question, which they answered by sounds of Bow, wow, wow, intimating that they were taken by dogs. I now learned that these poor creatures were new negros, who could not speak Portuguese. Alas! torn from their homes and relations, and transported to a country in which, by the law of 1831, they are virtually free; but now cheated of that freedom by perjury, forgery, and fraud! My new acquaintance walked with me as I turned from this scene, and shortly after asked my opinion on slavery. I was in no mood for duplicity or disguise, and was favoured with a flow of words by which I argued its wickedness, and proved that free labour was more profitable. In all this he appeared to be well pleased. We parted, and I returned to the venda. It was now six o'clock, and the runaways were ordered to stand up, which they obeyed. Their blankets, or rugs, as full of dust and dirt as if they had been used for wiping the road, were now thrown over them. These covered their heads, and hung down to their knees. Such a picture of misery was never surpassed, particularly when the owner, well and comfortably dressed, was seen to retire to a good dinner, whilst these poor creatures were led to the stable, to sleep for the night under charge of two keepers. At night I resolved to ask pardon for the captives. I accordingly rose on hearing the keeper open the door of the stable, which was underneath my room. I opened my window, and asked him if he thought I could obtain their pardon. He replied, "Naõ, Senhor, that cannot be." I, however, wrote the following note to the owner (the note was in Portuguese, but I translate it): "I entreat pardon for the two slaves, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who said, 'Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful.' I hope that, if you grant this petition, our Father in heaven, will bless you and your family." I now heard the keeper preparing to move his prisoners, and I opened my window. It was a cloudy, misty, cold morning. I called him again, and offered him money if he would deliver it to his master, at the same time telling him the subject. He replied, "Can you not deliver it yourself!" "How! he is in bed!" "No, Senhor, he is up, preparing to accompany us." I threw my cloak over my dress, and went through the rain into his parlour, where he was with the landlord, and one of his keepers. He was seated at the table. I presented him my card, which he read. I told him the object of my visit, but, saying that I could write Portuguese better than speak it, I requested he would peruse the note, which I now presented. He read it over, paused, and read it again. His countenance seemed to indicate that his conscience required more than he was willing to grant. He read it again—paused—at length he said, "Eu naõ os tocarei, I will not touch them." I retired, thanking him, and returned to my bed, where sweet sleep closed my eyes until eight o'clock, when the master and his captives were miles away. I now prepared for my departure; and, when I had advanced some miles on my journey, I saw one of the keepers who was in the breakfast room with the slave-owner, when I presented my petition for the pardon of the captives. I moved towards him, and anxiously desiring to know how the poor creatures were treated, extended my arm, as offering to shake hands with him. But he advanced, saying "Nao, nao, nao, Senhor;" and stooping, took my foot and kissed it. I was much affected by this, but my anxiety for the slaves prevented my giving way, until I asked if they were really pardoned He replied, "Yes, they were not touched." I sent a kind message of thanks, and moved forward. O love! love! surely thy power is omnipotent, that thus thou couldst make a human being offer such a mark of attention as to kiss my feet! All the whips in the Brazilian empire could not do this.

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BRAZILIAN MINING—GONGO SOCO MINE.

I have seen the *Reporter* containing Kentish's letters (the two first) and the reply to the first. 'Tis a loss of time to quibble about the slaves working in the extreme depth of the Gongo Soco Mine. I have now before me a particular account of my descent into that mine, (occupying ten pages) when I walked through a portion of its various levels, to the extent of three quarters of a mile. Of the details of this enterprize I made a rough sketch; and, because the ways were so intricate and the passages so dark, I read it over to the captain of the mine, who, with the plan in his hand, adjusted what I wrote. The mine is sixty-two fathoms deep in the shaft by which I descended, and fifty-five in that by which I ascended. There are eight levels, or leading galleries, one below the other, about seven fathoms. The bottoms of these are not more than four feet wide. In the seven lowest of them, the bottom is covered by streams of water which oozes through the sides of the openings from the body of the mountain. The streams from the seventh and eighth levels are pumped up to the sixth, or water adit, into which fall those from the second, third, fourth, and fifth levels. Thus a large rivulet is formed, which runs underground more than a mile, till it finds egress from the side of the mountain. It must now be easily understood, that, after reaching the first of these water courses, there is no difference in the hardship of the labourer. The white men labour there also; but these are engaged as miners, following leaders to the gold, or digging out auriferous lodes. These work on their own heaps, which are taken away by the slaves, who roll them in barrows *through the water*. Working in dry places is the exception to the negro, working in wet places is the exception to the white.

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS CIRCULATING IN BRAZIL.

Address to English Residents (in course of distribution).....	1200
Ditto, in Portuguese (in the hands of the binder)	2000
In Portuguese, Testimony of J. Scoble and J. J. Gurney on the results of Emancipation (in course of distribution)	2000
Reply to a Roman Catholic Priest (in the press).....	800
Ditto, in Portuguese (in the press).....	1200
Reply to Philemon (now preparing)	1000

SLAVE COLONIES OF FRANCE.

87.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Marriages	Births.	Deaths.	Decrease.
Martinique	36,316	39,666	76,012	15	2,303	2,592	289
Guadaloupe	45,606	48,985	94,591	19	1,857	1,883	26
Cayenne	8,523	7,617	16,140	43	297	628	331
Bourbon	43,763	24,432	68,195	—	1,001	2,359	1358
Senegal	—	—	10,096	—	—	—	—
	134,238	120,700	265,034	77	5,158	7,462	2004

The number of slaves at Pondicherry, Mahé, Karikal, Chandernagur, and Yandon, in the East Indies, has not been ascertained. Besides the slave population of Bourbon, there 1388 Coolies, who have been introduced from the British possessions, under contracts to labour for given periods of time.

Notes on the foregoing tabular statement.

1. The number of female slaves in Martinique and Guadaloupe greatly preponderates over the males; a clear proof that, if slavery falls with less severity on the former, as a whole, than on the latter, concubinage with the free part of the community must be dreadfully prevalent. On the plantations there are not less than 20,646 free persons, the largest portion of whom are males. There can be no doubt, however, that the female slaves who are compelled to toil with the men are greater sufferers than they, for reasons which must be obvious to all, and therefore need not be specified.

In Cayenne and Bourbon there is a great disparity of the sexes, particularly in the latter colony; which demonstrates that the slave-trade has prevailed there to a very late period, and probably continues to this very hour, notwithstanding the honest and praiseworthy endeavours of the French Government to suppress it. It is said, that occasionally, small numbers of African slaves are still introduced into Martinique and Guadaloupe.

2. In Martinique and Guadaloupe the decrease in the slave-population has been 315; in Cayenne and Bourbon 1689; in all 2004. The free-population of these four colonies is 117,741, and the excess of births over deaths 835, in the same period; notwithstanding the offspring of the illicit connexions between the free males and female slaves is added to the former—such offspring following the condition of the mother.

In comparing the number of children under fourteen years of age of the free and slave populations of the French colonies, we have the following results:—viz. Free children 39,024, slave children only 67,547; whereas there should have been of the latter 84,580 to balance the former—the slave-population being 254,938, and the free 117,741.

3. The number of marriages celebrated among the free-population during the year was 559; among the slave-population of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Cayenne 77, in Bourbon none! The system thus stands revealed in all its deformity and cruelty—licentiousness and murder are its chief characteristics.

SENTIMENT IN BRAZIL.

THE late Senhor José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, the patriarch of Brazilian independence, and brother to two of the present ministers, published a memoir against slavery, which has recently been reprinted at Rio de Janeiro, with an introductory preface; a translation of which will be found below. As showing with how much energy and promise anti-slavery sentiments are working in the empire of Brazil, it is a document of much interest.

The scandal with which, daily, thousands of unhappy Africans, torn from their homes to increase our own misfortunes, are landed on our shores, cannot be contemplated without the most painful feelings, by any one who reflects on the future condition of Brazil.

Planters, blinded by habit and by false conceptions regarding their interests, merchants, and authorities, stand accused of carrying on or favouring the commerce in human flesh; either allured by lucre, or apprehensive of the perils to which they would expose themselves, if they were to resist the torrent of prejudice or of rapacity.

Thus much is certain, that, along all the extensive coast of Brazil, this traffic is appalling from its extent and number; and that the feeling of the public generally as yet attaches no shame to this species of crime. Nor can we wonder at this. A great number of years did Wilberforce, and other enemies of the African trade, labour to insinuate their ideas, which were those of reason and of justice, into the enlightened British parliament, and only after a thousand repeated efforts they obtained their victory. After the prohibition of the slave-trade in the British dominions, the law was nevertheless a long time eluded in the colonies, and very energetic measures were necessary to put an end to such shameful proceedings.

The principal means for so great an end is that of persuasion, and much will have been done towards it, if the now ruling ideas in favour of the introduction of slaves into Brazil be replaced by more healthy and judicious ones. It is with this view that we now reprint the celebrated Memoir against slavery, by the patriarch of the independence of this country, the late Senhor José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva.

The means of conviction are slow, it is true, and also uncertain in their results: they have to contend against the incentive of immediate gains, and the strongest reasons will only with difficulty enter minds pre-occupied and seduced by the love of gain. On the other hand, all measures are useless, if public feeling is in any manner against them; therefore the greatest care should be taken to rectify public feeling, by spreading information through the mass of the people, and making them see that such traffic directly offends the rights of humanity, and is at the same time ruinous to the land, as well as to all the individuals of whom our industrial population is composed.

This does not exclude the use of administrative measures, and the enforcement of the laws, which, on these points, have up to this day remained a dead letter. And indeed, the dealer in human flesh, the introducer of barbarism into the midst of our retarded civilization, the contrabandist in slaves, is quite sure of impunity; while, on the other hand, they are invited to this fraud by the immense gain which it leaves.

To avoid the punishment of piracy, they have got the Portuguese flag ready always to lend itself to the most infamous tricks which that trade requires; and our country is inundated with a savage and stupid people, whose present numbers should already excite our serious apprehensions.

We will not now stop to show the hatefulness of this infamous traffic, nor shall we enter into the horrifying details of the mortality of these poor people on their passage from Africa to Brazil, heaped one on the other like so many logs of wood, or thrown overboard when a cruiser approaches; we will not enter into the examination of any of the atrocities of which many are victims, even within our own civilized capital; let us look on this matter with a general glance, and consider slavery such as it must be, and as it is impossible to be otherwise.

The sad gift of African slaves was a plague-spot thrown on our country, and has retarded the real prosperity of our blessed land, by vilifying industry amongst us, which vivifies everything, and without which there is neither riches nor social happiness.

Frail machines, subject to a thousand infirmities, carried off at every instant by illness, and always remaining in a state of brutality by their very condition, slaves can never be other than a very imperfect instrument for the support of our agriculture, and are totally useless for the arts, or for the support of any sort of manufacturing business.

Immense capitals employed in negros are every year interred, or made useless by illness or by age.

Meanwhile, the facility of finding these machines all ready at hand, prevents an attention being given to the improvements introduced into every process of industry by the activity of the European spirit of enterprize; and our procuring a better population by inviting colonists of other nations, who would cultivate the soil for themselves or for others.

The existence of slaves, and what is most fatal to colonization, their uninterrupted importation from the African forests, perpetuates the ignorance and apathy of a numerous class of our cultivators of the soil, and renders it impossible to root up the errors which the blind routine of past times has introduced into our agriculture.

The slave has not, and cannot have, any interest whatsoever in any kind of improvement of industry; he has not the stimulus of profit to drive him to adopt any better method of labour, he only fulfills his hated task. But, if the slave is capable of improvement, we may say that the native African is so, certainly, in but a very small degree: for his intellectual capacities have been suppressed by the savage life which he pursued in his native forests, which has given them a turn which resists every kind of civilization.

Who would yet this day doubt of the advantages which *free labour* has over slave labour? To believe that a free man cannot perform certain work in Brazil, would be to establish that as a general and absolute fact, which depends entirely on the existence of slavery, and which will gradually disappear with slavery. Concerning its morality, who does not see and acknowledge that certain habits contracted by many of our countrymen originate in slavery? From our first childhood we are waited upon in the most trivial movements of life, and we disdain labour as belonging only to the servile, to the slave; and thus we go on, contracting defects and vices which are of the sadest consequence to our own felicity. Slavery carries corruption and vice to the very heart of families, whether by repeated examples of the grossest immorality, or by the depravity which it instils into the mind of so many children, entrusted to slaves, who, in many

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cases, become the teachers of infamy and of every vice. What examples do these not generally see before them? And how can a man in his public career be free and moral, who from the cradle was accustomed to be a despot and a tyrant? Will not his very inclinations, his very ideas of liberty not be affected by such habits? Can it be said that the relations between master and slave are calculated to rectify the human heart? What open gate do they not offer for every kind of moral confusion! As yet they go on without conscience, shutting their eyes to a fearful futurity, filling our land with new recruits for slavery, whose numbers, without exaggeration, are rated at 50,000 per annum. No! Brazil can have no worse enemies than the slave-traders; they are men who, for the sake of an infamous profit, go on putting fresh barrels of powder to the mine, which threatens to blow us up altogether.

EFFORTS IN HOLLAND.

We have the pleasure of communicating some cheering facts respecting the cause of abolition in this country, in the following extract of a letter from Mr. James Laming, of Rotterdam, Treasurer to the Anti-slavery Society in that place, to Mr. G. W. Alexander. It is of the 2nd instant.

"A few days since I met on board one of our steamboats, ————————, a very independent member of our states-general. In conversation with him I introduced the subject of slavery, and was much pleased to find that this gentleman is strongly opposed to its existence, and expressed himself willing to assist in any measures likely to forward the objects of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. He has requested me to forward him such information as will enable him to bring the question of the abolition of slavery before the states-general, and to put him in possession of official documents to bear out his statements.

"We have translated and printed the Address to the People of Holland and Denmark; and it is our intention to have it left at the houses of those most likely to interest themselves with its contents in all the principal cities and towns of Holland."

UNITED STATES.—THE SLAVE POWER.

Our readers have probably noticed the intimations which have been given in various communications from America, that the result of the late census of the population of the United States has been unfavourable to what is called the Slave Power, and auspicious to the advancement of freedom. We extract from the *Free American* a summary of the facts elicited on this subject.

We have prepared the following tables with great care and labour. They will repay attentive study.

1. FREE STATES.

	1800	1810.	1820	1830.	1840.
Me.	151,719	228,705	298,338	399,955	510,796
N.H.	183,762	214,360	244,161	269,328	284,481
Vt.	154,465	217,713	235,764	280,652	291,848
Mass.	423,245	472,040	523,287	610,408	737,468
R. I.	69,122	77,031	83,059	97,199	108,837
Conn.	251,002	262,042	275,202	297,665	310,131
N. Y.	586,756	959,940	1,372,812	1,918,608	2,432,885
N. J.	211,919	249,555	277,575	320 828	373,272
Pa.	602,365	810,091	1,049,458	1,348,233	1,793,541
Ohio	45,365	230,760	581,434	937,903	1,515,785
Ind.	4,875	24,520	147,178	343,031	683,314
Ill.	.....	12,282	55,211	157,455	445,475
Mich.	.....	4,752	8,896	31,639	211,705
Wis.	.....	.....	.....	.....	30,092
Iowa.	.....	.....	.....	....	43,035
Totals,	2,684,609	3,738,065	5,151,812	7,018,627	9,783.115
Per ct.,		39 1-3	37 3-5	36 1-4	38 3-5

2. SLAVE STATES.

Del.	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,748	78,120
Md.	341,558	380,546	407,350	447,040	467,567
Va.	880,200	974,622	1,065,879	1,211,405	1,231,444
N. C.	478,103	555,500	638,829	737,987	756,939
S. C.	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,185	594,439
*Geo.	162,101	252,433	340,987	516,823	618,166
Ala.	.....	20,845	127,901	309,527	479,441
Miss.	8,850	40,352	75.448	136 621	376,099
†La.	.....	76,556	153,407	215,739	301,000
‡Tenn.	105,602	261,727	422,813	681,904	823,067
Ky.	220,955	406.511	564,317	687.917	777,359
Mo.	.....	20,845	66,586	140,445	383,761
Ark.	.....	.....	14,273	30,388	95,642
D.C.	14,093	24,023	33,039	39,834	43,712
§Fa. T.	.....	.....	———	34,730	40,000
Totals,	2,621,316	3,501,749	4,486,319	5,848,293	7,749,736
Pr. ct. inc.		37 2-5	28 1-8	30 2-5	32 1-2
Totals,	5,305,925	7,239,814	9,638,131	12,866,929	17,532 851
Pr.ct.of wle.		36 1-2	33 1-5	34 1-2	36 1-5

* Nine small counties not returned.

† Part of the returns only received—the whole estimated at the rate of increase from 1820 to 1830, which is probably large.

‡ Part of one county not returned.

§ Owing to the war, the increase is small, and I have estimated it at 14 per cent. only, which is probably large.

Average increase of free states, each ten years, 38 per cent. nearly Av. increase in the slave states 32 1-4 per cent. each ten years. Increase of free over slave states 5 3-4 per cent. Av. increase of the union, each ten years, 35 per cent., nearly. The last three periods the free have increased 7 per cent. faster than the slave states.

The following table exhibits the per cent. the free and slave states have had of the population of the United States each ten years.

	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Free States,	51 3-5	51 1-5	55 1-2	54 1-2	57 1-2
Slave States,	48 2-5	48 4-5	44 1-2	45 1-2	42 1-2
Majority,	3 1-2	2 2-5	11	9	15

Thus it appears that the slave states have lost 11 1-2 per cent. of the relative political power, based on population, which they enjoyed in 1800. From 1800 to 1810, and from 1820 to 1830, they gained upon the free states. But in the other two periods, lost very much. Nor is there the slightest probability that it will be otherwise hereafter.

The annexed table shows the whole increase in each state and territory, the rate per cent., the increase of slaves and free people, and the rate per cent of each, and the whole number of slaves. In the columns relating to the slaves, the numbers marked *a*, show the decrease, and those marked *b*, the increase.

States.	Increase.	per cent.	Free.	per cent.	Slaves.	per cent.	Slaves.
Me.	101,801	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
N. H.	15,153	5 1-2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vt.	11,191	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mass.	127,060	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
R. I.	11,627	12	.....	.....	12*a*	.....	5
Conn.	12,456	4 1-2	.....	.....	14*a*	.....	11
N. Y.	415,227	27	.....	.....	72*a*	.....	3
N. J.	52,473	16	.....	.....	1506*a*	.....	868
Pa.,	420,308	30 1-2	.....	.....	372*a*	.....	31
Ohio,	579,901	62 3-4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ind.	341,783	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ill.	287,900	183	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mich.	180,381	590	.....	.....	564*a*	.....	194
Del.	1,359	2	2,881	4	1809*a*	23*a*	2,613
Md.	20,527	4 1-2	33,686	9 3-4	13,159*a*	12 3-4*a*	89,719
Va.	20,089	2	42,556	6	22,517*a*	3*a*	447,207
N. C.	18,952	2	17,636	4 1-2	1,316*b*	1-2*b*	246,917
S. C.	12,981	2 1-2	1,188	2-5	11,793	4	327,158
Ga.	101,599	20	66,407	22 1-3	35,927	16 1-2	253,508
Ala.	170,444	55	99,329	50	71,115	65	188,664
Miss.	239,291	176	109,185	155	130,106	108	195,765
*La.	86,425	40	79,895	89 3-4	6,530	4 1-2	116,116
Ark.	65,359	220	50,966	312 1-2	14,393	32	18,960
Tenn.	142,163	20 1-2	95,618	17 3-5	46,565	32 1-2	188,168
Ky.	88,475	13	87,825	17 1-5	998	2-5	166,216
Mo.	223,687	160	193,238	167 2-3	30,449	121 1-3	55,730
D. C.	3,854	9 3-4	2,490	7	1,364*a*	19*a*	4,694
†Fa.	5,270	14	2,918	14	2,352*b*	14*b*	17,853
	3,856,336	30 2-5	3,542,271	32 4-5	313,722	15 3-5	2,530,382

* Estimated at the ratio of the 1st table, 40 per cent.
† Do. do. allowing the increase of both sorts of population to be equal. The error will be small in the result.

The increase of *free* population in the slave states is 886,010, or 23 per cent., or 15 3-5 per cent. less than the increase of the same kind of population in the free states; while the whole increase in the latter has been 6 per cent. more than in the former.

In the slave states, the free are to the slaves as 3 1-3 to one of the population, or about two-thirds. In the whole union, as 7 1-2 to 1, or about six-sevenths of the whole.

In two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, the slaves outnumber the free people. In the first they are as 5 to 4, in the last as 9 to 8, very nearly. In 1830 this was true of only South Carolina. In that state the disproportion is even greater than in 1830. In four states, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee, the slaves gain upon the free population. In the other states, it is the reverse.

The new territories, Iowa and Wisconsin, are not reckoned in this table, as they were not in the last census. With them the increase of free population would be as in the first table—the per centage varying but slightly in any subsequent estimates.

The *increase* of free population is more than the *whole number* of slaves.

The few slaves noticed in the free states are either aged people, *once* slaves, or, in Illinois, slaves held under the cover of apprenticeship, (a scheme sanctioned by General Harrison, when Governor,) or, in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, young persons not yet freed by age, under their gradual emancipation laws.

The slow *relative* increase of slaves will be the subject of another article of intense interest.

In the slave states, as a whole, the free have gained on the slave population more than *one-third* of the whole number of the latter, chiefly by immigration.

UNITED STATES. VALUE OF SLAVES AT THE SOUTH.—The slaves belonging to Mr. Marigny, sold yesterday at the Exchange by Mr. Garidel, brought the following sums.

	Dollars.
38 Negros, from 18 to 50 years	47,810
20 Negro women, from 18 to 40 years, with 18 children, from 6 years to 1 month	21,950
16 Negros, from 11 to 13 years	12,875
	82,635

The terms were one tenth cash, and the balance at one and two years.—*New Orleans Bee.*

DANISH SLAVES are in the habit of escaping from the islands of St. Thomas and St. John to the British island of Tortola. A Danish brig was stationed to prevent this. Its fire killed a negress. The English authorities have complained; but the Danes say she was shot on the neutral ground of Thatch island.—*Borsen Halle.*

SUGAR FROM INDIA.—The import of sugar from India, for the year ending April 30, 1841. which was variously estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000 tons, will, it is now ascertained, exceed 62,000 tons.

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JAMAICA.

WE are glad to be able to find room to-day for a document which we had for some little time lying by us. It is an extract of a letter from Mr. Candler to Mr. Sturge, in which he gives the result of a tour of inspection which he had made in the island of Jamaica, with a view to ascertain the practical working of freedom, and the true causes of complaint where it was otherwise than happy. The information loses little of its value by being not of the most recent date; the tour having been accomplished in the fall of last year. The omission of the names and places with which the letter abounds, is a matter of delicacy due towards the parties directly concerned.

CLARENDON.——The estate consists of 3000 acres, is greatly neglected as a sugar property, and will soon be abandoned. It used to make 180 hogsheads of sugar; this year it makes only eighteen hogsheads. The canes are left to ratoon out their strength without being cleaned; and the fine level lands, fit for the plough, are fast gathering the guava bush. The attorney last year brought it in debt £600 sterling. *Ludlow* has been lately purchased by ——, for £4,500 currency. He is now re-converting it to a sugar property, having planted such a large breadth of cane as to insure him (he hopes) next crop, 120 hogsheads. This year it produced only four hogsheads of sugar, and one puncheon of rum. Thou wilt, no doubt, remember the evidence delivered by ——, before the Commons' committee. He was the ostensible proprietor of —— estate, which, twenty-five years ago, was purchased for the nominal sum of £50,000, having on it 700 slaves: he worked it at a dreadful waste of human life, and brought it deeply into debt. This property once yielded 900 hogsheads of sugar in one year, being cultivated to the hill tops, and manured with liquid manure, carried up on the heads of the slaves. It came down gradually to 400, 300, 200 hogsheads! This year it yields only thirty hogsheads; and, owing to its great distance from the sea, and the bad roads, is about to be given up for sugar, and turned to *something* else. ——, and other estates, are the property of ——, comprising in all about 7000 acres. —— is gone to England, to endeavour to buy these properties at a low rate, and will, no doubt, give them a bad name. If he should succeed in buying all these lands, it will be a clear proof, that, much as he runs them down, he thinks they are likely to pay well in time to come. ——, the property consists of 800 acres, of which, 140 are in cane. This year, owing to the quarrels attending the coming in of freedom, which prevented the planting of cane for one whole season, the crop is only seventy hogsheads. The present season is one of great drought, and Vere is a dry parish; but a great breadth of new cane has been put in, part of which is established. —— has looked for 120 hogsheads *next* year, but is doubtful now whether he shall have so much. Vere yielded this year 2,400 hogsheads of sugar; the average produce of several years past has been 4000 hogsheads. There is no want of labourers in the parish, and they earn a great deal of money, as they work by job, and give five and sometimes six days' labour in the week. Their provision grounds have utterly failed from the drought, and cassava, which is much cultivated by the planters, is scarce from the same cause; so that the common people chiefly subsist on bread, which is brought by dray here from the Kingston steam mills. I saw one gang of men at work, fencing in a large field with *penguin*, and learned from their own mouth that they had taken the job so favourably for themselves, as to nett them a dollar and a half each per day; but then they worked very hard, and this was a very rare instance of good bargain making. Rode on the borders of —— and —— estates, looking wonderfully well, the season considered; and on our return to —— ——, halted at ——, a fine property, under the attorneyship of ——, but cruelly mismanaged by a surly, ferocious overseer, who is driving the labourers away by his ill conduct. It is one of ——'s estates, and the only wonder is, that, with such proofs of the good working of freedom *on his* other properties, he should suffer this to be spoiled through the madness of one man. All the other estates that we passed on the road seemed to be enjoying repose, and to be fairly prospering. Thou must well remember —— estate, near *Porus*. The present overseer, treading in the steps of ——, the attorney, and imitating his conduct on other properties, has managed to drive off the people, who have bought plots of land for themselves on the Mandeville road, so that only nine of the estate cottages remain occupied. These rent persecutions are grievous to bear; but they are working a great change in favour of the labourers, who are building houses for themselves on their own freeholds, to an extent which you would hardly have conceived possible in so short a time. Now free settlements are rising in all directions. That at Porus extends for about two miles on the road side, with intervals between, and must now number, I should think, about 1500 inhabitants. The estates of —— and ——, near Mandeville, the property of ——, are now getting to be deserted of labourers. A considerable number of them have bought land at the new settlement of Sligo-ville; and others are anxiously looking out for land in their own neighbourhood. The overseer is a foolish man, and insists on three shillings sterling a week rent for house and grounds, besides his other vexations: it would really seem as if common sense were a contemptible thing in the eyes of the old time planters, and that nothing but sheer distress, arising from misconduct, can induce them to change their course. In the parish of St. Elizabeth, the planters have made a rod for their own backs. —— was one of the leading men in the game of vexation; but the labourers have gained the day in that quarter. A new settlement is formed on one of the mountain slopes near the plain; and so large a number have left their old homes to go to it, that poor old —— is now offering yearly leases to those who remain with him, and to others who may come. The general abuse of a landlord's power in Jamaica is happily advancing the work of freedom.

The people of Jamaica, speaking generally, feel themselves free and happy. They are oppressed in some places by infatuated attorneys and overseers, who are seeking to compel labour by the cruel rent screw; but they are fast getting out of their rapacious hands, by choosing home-steads of their own, and the very means intended to crush them proves a means of their rising in the world. I doubt whether, with all the oppression still practised against them, both under cover of the law and without law, there be in the whole world a peasantry so happy as that of Jamaica. Some look at the dark clouds, some look at the blue sky, some look through the clouds. I am one of the latter sort. I am sure the clouds are about to clear away, and all will be bright and fair in Jamaica; prosperity will attend the people, and heaven's blessing rest upon them.

Before I leave the country, it will be my endeavour to get hold of facts to prove the advantages of free over slave-labour, as it regards economy; but this is no easy task, as the managers of estates are very taciturn on this point. The *new* Immigration Act is likely to be a failure. I conversed with A. Barclay on the subject, before he left the island; and at the Governor's request, have had free communication with the agent-general for immigration. The latter seems to have very little hope of much result from the act. They rather look for a ship load or two of immigrants from Maryland; but there seems an uncertainty about it, as the free people of colour who leave the United States prefer Trinidad, because wages are higher. The population of Jamaica is so fast increasing, that the island will soon have labourers enough. It has enough already to keep up the cultivation; to more than the apprenticeship limits; and the produce from this time forward will go on increasing, if the planters only act fairly, and have a proper regard to their own interests.

IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

(From the *Mining Journal*.)

WE are glad to find, from the letter of a correspondent, that the question of the employment of slaves in working mines in Brazil will be mooted at the meeting of the shareholders of the Imperial Brazilian Company, on the 15th proximo, when it behoves every proprietor to be present, and to vote according to the dictates of humanity. The question is one which partakes of a national character, reflecting, as it does, upon the British nation, in privately upholding a system which it publicly repudiates; and in filling the one pocket with the gold, the produce of the slave, while from the other it contributes £20,000,000 for his emancipation. Vessels are equipped for ploughing the seas with the view to put down slave-trading, and yet companies exist in this metropolis the dividends afforded by which are the produce of the labour of the slave—the bought human being, who, when the operations of the company are no longer profitable, is to be sold to the best bidder, and thus turned over like cattle to do the bidding of his owner. We doubt not but that the apologist for slave-labour will base his argument in favour of the employment of slaves, by stating that, without this description of labour being availed of, the mines could not be worked to a profit—that the returns of the company would not pay £2000 or £3000 a-year to the manager in Brazil, or £500 to £800 a-year to the sub-agents, or, moreover, the salaries of directors in London—much less, dividends to the shareholders; and this is the only argument he can adduce which can lull his conscience into transitory repose, or smother the feelings of humanity which must rise in the breast of every thinking and reflecting man. The produce of the mines of Cuba and Brazil have yielded large returns to the *philanthropic* shareholders—they have been earned by the slave, at the cost of the freeman—in other words, the employment of the slaves of Cuba has taken from the Cornish miner the means of subsistence—the influx of foreign ores has affected our standard—the successful working of the mines has attracted the attention of the capitalist (no less than £480,000 having been given for the Cobre mines alone)—and when the English miner seeks labour in the clime to which capital is directed (from its natural channels in our own mineral districts), he finds the free miner is there supplanted by the slave; and, should he get employment, the chances of life being preserved, from the nature of the climate, are such as to render him anxious to return to his native land.

The question, however, in the present instance, is, whether emancipation can be granted to the slaves employed by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association—some 300 or 400 in number—and, at the same time, the mines be worked with profit? We confess we have our doubts on this point, as the slave, once freed, would, in a great measure, be independent of the company, and his labour could not be *enforced*; again, the extra charge which the company might sustain in employing free instead of slave-labour, leads us to suppose that they could not work to a profit, if the present system were abolished. The next question which naturally arises is, what course, under such circumstances, should be pursued? Will the company continue slave-labour, or will they be content to lose their *stock*—that is, the value of them (which, if we assume £40 a-piece, for we are not dealers in human flesh, and therefore, know not the *intrinsic* value, would amount to £16,000), and then abandon the mines, subjected, as they must in such case be, to the heavy expenses attendant on the transport of the English colony home, payment of salaries under agreements for term of years, and the consequent expenses on winding up so heavy an establishment—indeed, it is hard to say what they will do, or what to recommend. We shall await the proceedings of the meeting with much interest and anxiety, and hope to find that the attention of the share-holders will, in the interim, have been devoted to the important subject, and the consequences attendant, which will then come under their consideration.

SLAVER CAPTURED,—The *South African Commercial Advertiser* of 20th February, 1841, contains the following extract of a letter from St. Helena:—"We have here a Portuguese schooner, prize to the *Water-witch*, for condemnation, with 230 slaves on board. They have the small-pox very bad; those that are free from it, are landed at Lemon Valley, which place is kept under strict quarantine. When the *Water-witch* first gave chase, the captain endeavoured to get away by lightening the vessel, for which purpose he threw overboard about 130 slaves, having originally on board 350. He then ran his vessel on shore, and made his escape. The boats of the *Water-witch* saved about seventy from drowning, but the greater part of them died afterwards from exhaustion.

CHATHAM.—On the 13th inst., an anti-slavery lecture was delivered at this place, by the Rev. W. G. Lewis. The lecture was well attended, and the audience apparently deeply interested, and well satisfied. When the circumstances were adverted to which led to the increased price of sugar, an appeal was made to the audience, whether, if it had been needful in order to effect what had been done to give for that article four times its former cost, or even wholly to renounce its use, they would not cheerfully have chosen freedom for our distant fellow subjects at that sacrifice. The answer was in the affirmative, as manifested by the approbation of the meeting, in which not the slightest appearance of a contrary sentiment was discernible.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXVI. Vol. II. No. 9.] WEDNESDAY, MAY 5th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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BRITISH & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

For the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THIS SOCIETY

IS TO BE HELD IN

EXETER HALL, on FRIDAY, May 14th, 1841.

The Chair will be taken at Eleven o'Clock precisely. The doors will be open at Ten.

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

Tickets of Admission may be obtained on application to Harvey and Darton, 55, Gracechurch-street; Edmund Fry, 4, Bishopsgate-street; Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly; Nisbet and Co, 21, Berners-street; J. Clark, 13, Moorgate-street; Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster Row; Joseph Sterry and Sons, 156, High-street, Borough; and at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street.

Just Published, Price Twopence, 20 closely printed pages,

ONEIDA AND OBERLIN; or, A CALL addressed to BRITISH CHRISTIANS AND PHILANTHROPISTS, affectionately inviting their sympathies, their prayers, and their assistance, in favour of the Christians and Philanthropists of the UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, for the extirpation, by our aid, of that Slavery which we introduced into those States while they were under our power. By Charles Stuart.

Published by Wright & Albright, Bristol, and Sold by Tanner, Brothers, 6, Amen Corner; Hamilton, Adams & Co.; and Edmund Fry, London; Johnstone, Edinburgh; and Gallie, Glasgow.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.
No. IV.
THE SLAVE TRADE.

In connexion with the system of slavery in India, there has ever been an extensive slave trade carried on; and so great was this vile commerce in 1774, that regulations were issued to check it. The substance of these regulations was, that all persons were prohibited from selling or buying a slave who had not already been proven such by legal purchase (Par. Pap. 1828, *Slavery in India*, pp. 2, 3). The evil, however, still continued, when, in 1786, Lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation, in which he stated, that any person "convicted of carrying on, or aiding or abetting the barbarous traffic, would be certain of meeting with the most exemplary punishment." (*Ibid.* p. 19). But it was not until the year 1811, that any law was passed by the Indian government for the repression of the sale of human beings, when, at the suggestion of a native, Dushrut Sing, an officer of the Rajah of Nepaul, the celebrated regulation 10, of 1811, declared the importation of slaves, by land or sea, into places immediately dependent on the presidency of Fort William, to be strictly prohibited; and affixed the penalty of six months' imprisonment, and a fine not exceeding 200 rupees, to the offence. The slaves to be released.

In 1812, it was decided that this regulation did *not* affect the case of slaves brought by their owners from foreign provinces, *unless for sale*, nor was it applicable to the sale of slaves legally held within the British provinces; but only to the sale of slaves *imported* into them for that special purpose (*Ibid.* p. 135). In this view, the governor in council concurred. Instructions were forwarded the same year to the government of Madras and Bombay, recommending a similar regulation to be issued, and at the same time calling attention to the Act, 51 Geo. III. cap. 23, for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade, observing "that the provisions of that Act would effectually restrain the importation of slaves into the British territories *by sea*" (*Ibid.* p. 142).

The advocate-general of Fort St. George, Mr. Anstruther, gave it as his opinion that this Act applied, "in all its consequences and penalties, to all persons residing within the King's or Company's territories, including therefore, the native subjects of their government" (*Ibid.* p. 715). It does not appear, however, that any regulation was issued in the Madras presidency, to prevent the importation of slaves.

In 1823, we perceive by an extract from a proposed regulation respecting slavery, "that the kidnapping of children, and selling them as slaves, is an offence now cognizable, and punishable on conviction by the criminal courts" (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 326).

The government of Bombay issued a regulation No. 1, of 1813, similar to the Bengal regulation 10, of 1811, the character of which has already been described.

In 1826, the government of Madras issued regulation 2, of that year, which contained "provisions for the punishment of the offence of carrying away or removing, from any country or place whatsoever, any person or persons as slaves, or for the purpose of being sold or dealt with as a slave or slaves." This regulation was designed to prevent the export of slaves from India to foreign states (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 331).

Up to the year 1832, the law relative to the external slave-trade or importations of slaves by *sea* into the Company's territories, appeared to have been subject to the provisions of the English, statute, and the importations by *land* to regulation 10, of 1811, which simply forbad their introduction *for purposes of traffic*. In that year its provisions were extended to the newly-acquired territory of Assam, "and such other provinces as have or may become dependent" on the presidency of Fort William (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 339).

It is a very remarkable fact, that, whilst the law officers at Fort St. George and Fort William widely differed in the interpretation of the Act, 51, Geo. III. cap. 23, against the slave-trade; and the true extent and meaning of that statute was discussed by judges, magistrates, and councils, during a period of twenty years, viz., from 1812 to 1832, the governments of Madras, Bengal, and Bombay, completely overlooked the fact that that statute was repealed in 1824, by the Act, 5 Geo. IV. cap. 113, now known as the Consolidated Slave Trade Abolition Act. The only reference we find to its existence in the papers relative to slavery in India, is in a minute of Mr. Colebrooke's, in 1826 (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 310); and in an opinion of Mr. Norton's (*Ibid.* p. 377). But, practically, this was of no importance; for, as the provisions of the 51 Geo. III. cap. 23, for the punishment of offenders against its enactments were of such a nature as to render the Act "*a dead letter everywhere in the Madras territory*, except at the presidency" (Par. Pap. 128, 1834, p. 32); so those of 5 Geo. IV. cap. 113, would, from their similarity, and the inattention or indifference of the executive in India to the subject, or its indisposition to adapt them to the end proposed, have led to the same result. And with respect to the regulation 10, of 1811, of which so much has been said, we are told, "it was rendered *nugatory in its effects, from the impossibility of ascertaining the* PURPOSE *for which slaves are imported*" (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 343). To what can we attribute this but to the *vis inertiæ*, of which Mr. Campbell so justly complains, "hostile to all change . . . . . in the local government of India?" (*Ibid.* p. 36) And how loudly does it call for the authoritative interference of the government of this country, to enforce the laws of the imperial legislature.

Having thus briefly referred to the state of the law for checking the external and internal slave-trade of British India; and having seen that, in consequence either of its want of adaptation to the existing state of things in India, or of proper regulations to enforce its penalties, the British statute was almost a dead letter; and that the regulation 10, of 1811, from the interpretation put upon it, was rendered all but nugatory, we propose to take a rapid glance at the sources of supply, and the mode in which the nefarious traffic has been, and still is carried on, and by which the system of slavery is extended and perpetuated in that part of our empire.

It is evident, that, during the earlier periods of the East India Company's authority in the east, considerable traffic in slaves was carried on, not merely for the supply of its own subjects, but also for the supply of foreign states. There was an external or foreign slave trade, by which the natives of Africa, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea, were introduced into British India for sale; and through which native children, collected and purchased in a clandestine manner, were exported for sale to the French islands, and to different parts of India not subject to the Companys jurisdiction. (Par. Pap. No 128. 1824, p. 4, and 1828, p. 13). There was also an extensive internal slave-trade carried on for the supply of the home market.

In 1785, Sir William Jones, in a charge addressed to the grand jury of Calcutta, said, "The condition of slaves within our jurisdiction is, beyond imagination, deplorable; and cruelties are daily practised on them, chiefly on those of the tenderest age and weaker sex, which, if it would not give me pain to repeat, and you to hear

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yet, for the honour of human nature, I should forbear to particularize . . . Hardly a man or woman exists in a corner of this populous town, who hath not at least one slave child, either purchased at a trifling price, or saved perhaps from a death that might have been fortunate, for a life that seldom fails of being miserable. Many of you, I presume, have seen large boats filled with such children coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta; nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought perhaps, for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity." *(East India Slavery).*

The victims of this infamous traffic not only were, but still consist mostly of children, who have been kidnapped, or sold during seasons of dearth and famine. "Great numbers," says Colonel Welsh, "used formerly to be kidnapped from a distance, and sold by dealers for both domestic and agrestic purposes. . . . Many have been, and still are, sold in infancy by parents and relations, particularly in times of famine and scarcity, to any one who will purchase them." (*Ibid.* pp. 4, 28, 31). By these nefarious means the slave population of India, both prædial and domestic, has been recruited from generation to generation, up to the present time.

By the laws now in force in India, viz. 5 Geo. IV. cap. 113, and reg. 10, of 1811, &c., the external slave trade is forbidden—kidnapping is also declared to be a punishable offence. The sale of children, however, except for purposes of prostitution, is not forbidden. Nevertheless, the demand for slaves *is so great*, the interpretations of the law so various, the indifference or apathy of the Company's servants in many districts so apparent, and the chances of detection so few, that both the external and internal slave-trade are still carried on, it is to be feared to an enormous extent. (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 365.)

THE EXTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

In 1836, the attention of Sir Robert Grant, governor of Bombay, having been drawn to the subject by an able report of the political agent at Kattywar (*Ibid.* pp. 107 to 111), subsequently confirmed by a report of the senior naval officer, Captain Brucks, stationed at Surat, (*Ibid.* pp. 149, 150,) recorded the following minute on the extent of this nefarious traffic, and the necessity which existed for its suppression—"This report confirms the account previously received from the late political agent at Kattywar, of slaves being imported *in considerable numbers* on this side of India. We must do all in our power to put down this nefarious traffic, but must act with prudence and discretion." (*Ibid.* p. 150). From the reports to which reference has been made, we learn that slaves are imported into British India, through the native states of Kattywar, Cutch, and Scinde, and the Portuguese possessions of Diu, Goa, and Dumaon. A few quotations from the official papers will enable the reader to form some idea of the extent of the evil. The Rana of Porebunder in a communication to Mr. Willoughby, the political agent in Kattywar, says, "Slaves are landed on the coasts of Cutch, and at other ports, where no interruption is shown to the traffic;" (*Ibid.* p. 118) and again "Slaves are imported at all the bunders (ports), for Arab vessels frequent the whole of them; but they are *no way* interfered with except at my port." (*Ibid.* p. 123). This complaint was made by the Rana of Porebunder, because three vessels from the Maculla coast, having on board seventy-nine slaves, were seized by the British authorities, in consequence of the Rana having been engaged to prevent the importation of slaves for the future; and to detain all vessels arriving at Porebunder, with slaves on board (*Ibid.* p. 108). The slaves seized were Africans, viz., forty-nine boys from four to ten years of age, and thirty girls from five to fifteen years old (*Ibid.* pp. 109, 127, 128). "The poor wretches," says Mr. Reid, "were some of them concealed in boxes and other private places in the hold, which will explain the difficulty my people had in collecting them" (*Ibid.* p. 115). "They were totally naked" (*Ibid*, p. 113). On the same authority we learn, "that about twenty-four unfortunate wretches of the same description were clandestinely landed from a boat here, about the morning of the 30th ult. (October, 1835), and marched to the interior of the province accompanied by two Arabs." (*Ibid.* p. 115). Two female slaves were captured about the same time, and given up to the British authorities by the Jam of Noanugger. (*Ibid.* p. 113).

An export of slaves also from the coast of Kattywar sometimes took place, especially, in seasons of scarcity, of "young girls from five to twelve years of age." (*Ibid.* p. 113). In 1839, a dreadful famine desolated this province. The accounts represented the unfortunate inhabitants as flying by thousands from the country, and parents as selling their children for a few measures of grain! The province of Kattywar is under the protection of the company's government. "Slaves of both sexes from Arabia, Scind, &c. are brought to the bunders for sale in this country," (Umrelee and Okamundel), belonging to his highness the Guicowar. (*Ibid.* p. 141). "The Wadee Arabs carry on a considerable trade with the Suwahil, or the eastern coast of Africa, and bring from thence numbers of negro slaves, whom they dispose of at the various ports in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf." (*Ibid.* pp. 152, 156). Besides the traffic in slaves carried on by the native chiefs under our protection (and "Arab vessels from both gulfs" are extensively engaged in it) they proceed to the coast of Africa with cargoes, and from thence return with slaves, which are imported into the various places to which reference has been made. We learn from Captain Brucks, that "numbers of slaves are brought in here (Surat), as well as other ports in the Nawaub territory." He also states that from "Diu, a Portuguese settlement, between which and Mozambique, on the coast of Africa, is a regular trade, four to six brigs are constantly employed in this trade, besides an occasional additional vessel. In all these vessels slaves are imported to that place on the return voyage." In the distribution of these slaves, we learn that "a portion go to the opposite territory, some to Gogah, and others are smuggled into Bombay and Surat." Of the entire slave-trade carried on in these quarters, the same officer states, that a "VERY LARGE PORTION OF THESE SLAVES, THERE IS NO DOUBT, ARE IMPORTED INTO THE BRITISH TERRITORY." (*Ibid.* p. 150).

The demand for African slaves is so very great in Bombay, that, when the children captured at Porebunder were, by order of the executive, transferred there, the senior magistrate of police (Mr. Warden) was fearful of allowing them to go about for exercise, thinking they might be stolen. In a communication to the government secretary on the subject he says, "African children are so valuable in Bombay, that I have been afraid to let them go abroad lest they should be stolen;" a guard, therefore, of "a sufficient number of police peons" was ordered for their protection. (*Ibid.* p. 129).

Another capture of ten Africans, four boys and six girls, from seven to sixteen years of age, forming part of a cargo of eighty or ninety slaves landed at Mandaiie, in Cutch, was made in 1836, and forwarded to Bombay. (*Ibid.* p. 170.) Subsequently to this "a quantity of Abyssinian slaves, male and female," were imported into Bate, in the Guicowar's territories, of whom only four males and four females were secured by the government. (*Ibid.* p. 180.) These gleanings will be deemed sufficient to prove the activity of the African slave-trade with British India, and the inefficiency of all the measures hitherto adopted for its suppression.

But, it may be asked, with such facts brought under its attention, was the government of Bombay content to leave the evil untouched! It would be unjust to affirm this; for we find that Sir Robert Grant not only gave orders to the political agents in Kattywar, Cutch, &c. to prevail upon the governing chiefs to unite with the British authorities in their several states to prevent the slave-trade; but also that he gave orders for a small squadron to cruise along the coasts to prevent it. (*Ibid.* p. 119). In making the latter arrangement Sir Robert found he had exceeded his powers, and was obliged to recall his orders; and although he succeeded with the chiefs under British protection, in obtaining their promise to prevent slave-trading, it is manifest that but litte reliance could be placed on their hearty co-operation, inasmuch as it was well known, not only that "the slave-traffic in the Asiatic states is notorious," but that "the commercial prosperity and importance of many of these states depended, in great measure, upon their slave traffic and system of slavery." (*Ibid.* p. 132.) In reviewing the steps which he had taken, Sir Robert Grant observes, in a minute dated 5th July, 1836, "The object is to suppress an inhuman traffic in slaves, carried on within the limits of the coasting trade of our immediate dependents and tributaries, and almost under our own eyes." (*Ibid.* p. 158). But finding how limited were the means at his disposal to suppress it, even "among our allies," he was reluctantly compelled to abandon his plans, and to say the question "must be settled exclusively by the government of India." The important matter was consequently referred to the consideration of the supreme authority; but what became of it after that does not appear. (*Ibid.* p. 159).

Into Calcutta, as well as Bombay, no inconsiderable number of African slaves are, from time to time, introduced by Arab traders. In 1823, the *Calcutta Journal* called public attention to the "slave trade in British India," in a spirited article in which it was indignantly reprobated. "This great capital," said the editor, "is at once the depôt of the commerce and riches of the East, and the mart in which the manacled African is sold, like the beast of the field, to the highest bidder! . . . . . We are informed," he adds, "that 150 eunuchs have been landed from Arab ships this season, to be sold as slaves in the capital of British India! It is known, too, that these ships are in the habit of carrying away the natives of this country, principally females, and disposing of them in Arabia, in barter for African slaves for the Calcutta market!!" In reference to the eunuchs, to shew the "murderous barbarity resorted to by the wretches engaged in a traffic so revolting to humanity," he states, "a gentleman has informed us that, of 200 African boys emasculated at Judda, only ten survived the cruel operation," (*Ibid*, p. 308). The police magistrates, who really appear to have had no knowledge of the facts of the case, ventured to pronounce the statements in the *Calcutta Journal* to be "grossly exaggerated;" but at the same time admitted, that the only restriction to the importation of slaves into the town, consisted in a rule requiring "a list of their crews and passengers from the commanders of a certain class of ships." This they pronounced a very inadequate means of preventing the slave-trade, the lists required not being "given upon oath, nor any means taken to ascertain their correctness." They also added, "The penalty incurred" under the law then in force "could only be enforced by the detection of the offence, which is attended with much difficulty." They therefore suggested that the Custom House officers should visit such vessels immediately on their arrival at Saugor, "for the purpose of taking down a correct list of every person on board of them;" as if that would have been sufficient to have prevented the traffic from being carried on, (*Ibid*, p. 307). We regret to say, that Mr. Landford Arnot, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, gave so much offence to the Bengal government by this exposure of the evil, that he was summarily deported to England, and his paper suppressed!

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In June, 1830, the following statement appeared in the *India Gazette*:—"Jewellery, and other articles, to the value of *four lacks of rupees*, had been offered by an European jeweller for sale to the King (of Oude), who took other merchandise, in the shape of a batch of newly imported Abyssinians, which had been offered for sale and bought by his Majesty. This demands," said the editor, "and we hope will receive investigation; and, if it is properly conducted, and all the obstacles to the prosecution of the offenders be removed, we venture to predict, that it will be found that *the importation of slaves continues to be carried on, to an extent utterly disgraceful.*" No inquiry appears to have taken place; but in June, 1834, we find the chief magistrate of Calcutta addressing Mr. Secretary Bushby, "on the subject of adopting further means of preventing the importation of slaves into Calcutta, and to suggest, for the consideration of his honour, the vice-president in council, that orders should be issued to the pilots, requiring them to take diligent notice, and to report to the poliee office, every case where they may have good cause to believe that male or female slaves were imported, or might still be in ships. It would appear from a previous communication of the same gentleman to the secretary to the Marine Board, that slaves were introduced "into Calcutta from the Persian gulf and other ports," and admits that, as the police cannot issue search warrants upon vague and general suspicions, vessels might possibly have slaves on board; that, as the slaves themselves cannot complain, and the crew are not likely to do so, therefore "the traffic may go on to some extent . . . . without the police knowing any thing about it:" and he requests the board would sanction a general order being issued to the pilots bringing vessels into this port to report to the police, when they might have good cause to believe slaves were on board. The order was granted; but "the board consider," as they stated in their reply to Mr. M'Farlan, that "the pilots cannot be held responsible, should any slaves be landed from any particular vessel," (*Ibid*, pp. 219, 220). Beyond the approval of this measure, no steps whatever appear to have been taken by the governor in council to put down this flagrant abomination.

To what extent the foreign slave trade may be carried on in the presidency of Madras, we find little in the official papers on which we can ground an estimate. Mr. Baber states the domestic slave population of Malabar to consist of the "descendants of outcast persons," of those that have been "kidnapped," and of the "natives of Arabia, but chiefly of Abyssinia" (Par. pap. 128, 1834, p. 11). It is quite clear, however, that Mussulmans continually resort to "Hyderabad, and other ports where the traffic is not prohibited," to purchase slaves; and that "Abyssinian slaves are generally their favourite menials" (Par. pap. 138, 1839, p. 400). Other intimations are given of this traffic (Ibid. pp. 183 to 186): but as it is not quite certain whether the "importations by land" referred to, properly belong to the external or internal slave trade; we merely call the reader's attention to them, leaving it to his judgment to decide to which branch it belongs. "With regard to the Bombay and Madras presidencies, it may be remarked," says Mr. Adam, "that the whole line of the western coast of India, by its proximity to the coast of Africa and Arabia, and to the ports of the Red Sea, presents facilities for importation, which are increased by the existence on the coast of the Portuguese settlements of Goa, Damaun, and Diu, under the flag of which nation the slave trade has continued to be carried on elsewhere" (Law and Custom of Slavery, &c. p. 153, 154).

How melancholy the reflections to which the foregoing incidental notices of the slave trade in British India naturally give rise! May we not repeat the remark of the governor general in 1774, and say, "There appears no probable way of remedying this calamitous evil, but by *striking at the root of it*, and abolishing *the right of slavery itself*" (Par. pap. 1828, East India Slavery, p. 3).

THE INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

The sale and purchase of persons legally held as slaves in British India is everywhere permitted, and justified as an incident belonging to that species of property; the sale of children by their parents and relatives, especially during seasons of dearth, is, in like manner allowed. Thousands are, by the latter permission, annually consigned to perpetual slavery.

In connexion with this melancholy fact, we call attention to another equally so, viz., the rapid decrease in the slave population of British India. Mr. Colebrooke, in one of his celebrated minutes on the subject of slavery, observes;—"The number of slaves continually diminishing, a demand constantly exists for the purchase of them, which is supplied chiefly by their parents in seasons of scarcity and famine, or in circumstances of individual and peculiar distress" (Par. pap. 138, 1839, p. 312). During one of such seasons in the Solapoor and adjacent districts, we learn that the parents, being unable to support them, either sold or deserted their children, and that some of them "were seized and carried off, and disposed of to the best advantage" (Ibid. p. 485). What a picture of the wretched state of society in India! Ought not the causes of these famines to be strictly inquired into by the government, with a view of ascertaining how far they result from the dispensations of providence, or are occasioned by mis-government! We fear it will be found, upon inquiry, that the appalling calamities of which we so frequently hear, are to be traced more frequently to the injustice of man than to the providence of God.

In Kumaoon, we learn from Mr. Trail, the commissioner, that "individuals of the Dome caste are allowed to be purchased and transferred by sale from one master to another, for the purpose of cultivation, which is carried on solely by Domes," and that, "in accordance with this rule, thousands of children of both sexes are annually sold" (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 358). The political agent, Lieut.-Col. Young, in a communication relating to this subject, addressed to the agent of the governor of Agra, dated 10th December, 1835, says, "the custom of permitting Brahmins to purchase Domes for the cultivation of their lands, if it be permitted by government, is liable to gross abuse," as it was proved in a recent case, "that prostitutes were upheld in the purchase of females, for the vilest of purposes" (Ibid. p. 358). An attempt was made to check this, by rendering the tenure by which slaves were held in Kumaoon uncertain (Ibid. p. 363), and "the purchasing of slaves for purposes of cultivation, was forbidden. Upon a representation, however, of the Rajah Soodursem Shah, that "the cultivation cannot be continued without purchasing men for the purpose," the acting governor-general at Delhi, C. T. Metcalf, Esq., replied, that he was "aware that it is a common practice in the hill provinces (from Kumaoon to the Sutledge) to traffic in slaves;" and, that, knowing it could not be "suddenly suppressed," he merely recommends the Rajah "to discourage and forbid as much as possible the buying and selling of slaves;" and Lieutenant-Colonel Young was ordered "not to interfere farther with a view to enforce the execution of the orders issued by him within the separate territories of the Rajah" (Ibid. pp. 75, 76, 77). There can be little doubt that the permission to sell children fosters improvident marriages, destroys natural affection, generates the most wretched habits, and leads to the perpetration of enormous crimes, whatever may be said by its apologists in justification of the practice.

The importation of slaves by land into the company's territories, except for purposes of traffic, is not forbidden. We may, therefore, expect that they are not only frequently removed from one district to another, but are either openly or clandestinely introduced from the native states, as occasion may require, without exciting the attention of the authorities. "It cannot escape observation," says the Chief Judge Leycester, "that the extension of our territory *has greatly added to the increase of this detestable traffic*, and its far more detestable impunity. British protection has had the peculiar property of branding nations with slavery, who, as far as we were concerned, were protected from it before; that, *under the show of British liberality and justice, lurked the economical taint*—that, successively as the ceded provinces were transferred to us, as Nepaul was conquered, and the Mahratta combination annihilated, each act of sovereignty carried with it a secret clause, 'You may now, your wives and children, be removed into Bengal, as slaves; and at the caprice of a slave-master, a man's wife being what is termed a slave, may, with his children by her, be carried off from him to any remote corner of the province, boasting the enjoyment of British protection.'" This has occurred; and, as to what might happen, "they might be lotted, and sold at outcry in Calcutta, or put up to the hammer as assets in liquidation of a balance of revenue, or in satisfaction of the decree of a court of justice!" (Ibid. p. 315).

Kidnapping, we have said, is a punishable offence, nevertheless it prevails to an enormous extent in British India, and under circumstances truly revolting and atrocious. To produce the whole of the evidence on this painful subject would be impossibe within the limits of this article; we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a few notices of this abominable incident of Indian slavery. Among those notoriously engaged in stealing children are the Brinjarries, of whom, and the great difficulty of controlling their movements, we have some account in a valuable communication of Mr. Williamson's, collector of Dhoolia, to the commissioner in the Deccan, dated 30th of July, 1825. After suggesting certain rules to check the evil, he says, "while the free transport of slaves is allowed, and while the sale of them is permitted, the practice of kidnapping will be continued, whatever penalties may be enacted against it:" and, supposing the existence of such rules as he recommends, he observes, "the great difficulty will be to give effect to the rule prohibiting the import and export of slaves; for, intimidated by their possessors, the children kidnapped will give any account of themselves that those possessors choose; and custom farmers consider it so much their interest to keep on good terms with Brinjarries, and other such traders, that they will afford but little aid to the wishes of government in respect to such prohibition:" . . . and, he adds, "I fear mustering the followers of the Brinjarries would have little effect, and might, to elude detection, lead to murders, for they are an unfeeling and cruel race; . . . . and this could be often done without detection. Besides, it would be difficult to detect a slave, dressed, as it would be, in their own clothes; and, as before alluded to, taught to say it was the child of one of themselves, or of a deceased relation" (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 437).

In 1835, in consequence of the discoveries which had been made in one of the collectorates, an order was addressed to the Mamletdars, to take measures for the detection and punishment of kidnappers, which contained the following reference. "Brinjarees and Lumbanees are in the habit of travelling all about the country, and, during the sojourn of their thandas near villages, kidnap children, and commit other robberies, against which it is very essential that immediate bundobusts be made. Do you, therefore, inquire and report on the best way to prevent children being thus taken away." (Ibid. p. 554.)

Another class engaged in kidnapping children are Dacoits. We find a reference to them in a minute of Mr. Robertson's, revising certain proceedings in the case of one *Onygain*. That functionary

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said, "I have revised the proceedings in this case, and find that the woman whom the petitioner purchased as a slave was taken by a gang of Dacoits, who attacked the village in which she resided, in the province of Arrakan, in the day time, *murdered four men and nine women, and carried off twenty females as slaves!*" No intimation is given, that any of these Dacoits were taken and punished; but we are informed Onygain and another, who had been sentenced by the court which tried them to "imprisonment for seven years, with labour in irons, for purchasing two slave-girls" from these very persons, were released, on the ground that they "had committed the mere offence of purchasing slaves, in conformity with the customs of their country!" (Ibid. p. 344.)

We proceed now to notice another class of Indian kidnappers, the Thugs. References to their horrid practices will be found in Par. Pap. 133, 1839, p. 69; where they are described as having kidnapped children, and very possibly murdered their parents. A painfully interesting account of this division of the crime of Thuggee will be found in the *Friend of India*, quoted in the Asiatic journal, from which we make the following abstract. "The Megpunnas (Thugs) immolate travellers to obtain their children, whom they afterwards sell into slavery. The great founder of this system, Kheama Jemadar, was considered a holy man," and "the greater part of the gangs who have engaged in this revolting system of murder, sustain the character of religious mendicants; and the system itself is firmly believed to be under the patronage of the goddess Kalee. In common with the Thugs they have a slang language, known to all the initiated. Unlike the Thugs, however, they always take their families with them on these murderous expeditions; the females assist in inveigling travellers, and in taking charge of the children till they can be disposed of. Their victims are generally chosen from the more indigent classes, the disappearance of whom is less likely to excite suspicion than that of more wealthy individuals; and they find that it is more lucrative, as well as more safe, to murder the poor for the sake of their children, than the opulent for their wealth. The Brinjarries, who are widely scattered throughout the upper provinces, are ever ready to receive the children of murdered parents, and they enjoy many facilities for subsequently distributing them among the brothels of the principal cities, or disposing of them to men of wealth and consideration: suspicion may be at once lulled by the declaration that the children were purchased from indigent parents, who had no longer the means of supporting them."

From the depositions of some of these Thugs who had been taken, we make the following extracts.—"Gopaul: 'I murdered, in company with a large gang of Thugs, eight travellers at Beloochepore, and took six of their children. . . . . 'I never had any other occupation.' . . . . . Jewan:—'I murdered four people at Kusseegunge.' . . . . . Six children of the murdered people were recovered. Khumba (a female):—'My husband had a gang of forty or fifty men and women, whom I always accompanied on Thuggee. I never performed the office of Sugh Andoss, or strangler.'" Three of this woman's sons and two of her relations were hanged for the murder of three travellers, whose children they obtained. "Radha:—'My parents were murdered near the village of Dunkaree . . . . . between forty and fifty Thugs were present on the occasion. . . . . I was subsequently adopted by Salga Jemadar, a relation of Khema. . . . . I have been three or four expeditions with him. A poor woman was murdered in my house. . . . . I took charge of her children (three) while my husband was employed in strangling her.'"

The report of Major Sleeman, from which these particulars have been abstracted, closes with a list of 223 Thugs employed in murdering indigent parents for the sake of their children, all of whom, with the exception of forty who had just been captured, were at large.

We might pursue this subject further, but we forbear. Enough has been said to prove the existence of slavery in its most degrading and atrocious forms in British India; and to show that its kindred abomination the slave-trade prevails to an enormous extent, as a consequence of its existence. It is also clear that the foreign branch of it is marked with the usual revolting features of African slave trade, of which it forms a part, with the additional enormity, that mutilated individuals are required by the voluptuous Asiactics to watch over their harems; and that the home branch of it is associated with all that is debasing in idolatry, and cruel in murder. Iniquities cluster thick round the system of Indian slavery; but, like every other crime which has afflicted and disgraced mankind, it may find its apologists; it has found them in men of ability and rank, but vain we trust will be their attempts to sustain it against the united efforts and prayers of the christian philanthropists of this country.

NOTE. Additional particulars may be found in Par. pap. No. 128, 1834, No. 136, 1839, and Adam's Law and Custom of Slavery in British India, pp. 130 to 194, and pp. 272 to 276.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

No. III.

ADDRESSED TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF ENGLAND.

WE do not forget that it is said, "let not him that putteth on his armour boast himself as he that putteth it off." We hope to avoid being guilty of this folly, while we refer from time to time to those circumstances which are calculated to animate our hope, and strengthen our resolution, while engaged in the arduous conflict to which the friends of the slave are still called.

There is no country in which there is so much to cheer those who are employed in promoting the cause of abolition as our own. When we reflect upon the band of illustrious men who have in time past nobly contended in this sacred cause, we feel persuaded that their example is not lost, and that a large portion of their spirit yet lives amongst us. We have had an evidence of this fact very recently, in the energetic and determined efforts which were made for the shortening of the cruel system of apprenticeship, and were happily successful in abolishing the last relics of slavery in our West India colonies.

Never, however, was so large an amount of public sentiment in England enlisted on the side of the deeply-injured slave of every land, as at the present moment. In proof of this position, we have already appealed to some of our most influential newspapers and most widely circulated periodicals; we might also refer to our general literature in further confirmation. Few, indeed, are now to be found in England, who attempt the defence of a system which Great Britain has marked with merited reprobation, by the act for the abolition of slavery. It is however, possible, notwithstanding the facts to which we have alluded, that there may be some who entertain the opinion, that, now the cruelties of slavery, and of the apprenticeship which succeeded it, have passed away in our colonies, it may not be easy to call forth a manifestation of public opinion similar to that which has been in time past, and even very recently displayed. We have no fears on this point. It is true, that the feelings of Englishmen and Englishwomen are no longer harassed by the recital of the intolerable sufferings of their fellow subjects in the West Indies, at the Cape, or at Mauritius, to stimulate their zeal in the righteous cause of abolition; but the recollection of what these sufferings have been, and the knowledge of the immense increase in the happiness of nearly 800,000 slaves now liberated, and their rapid advancement in intelligence, morality, and religion, are an ever present and powerful motive to new, and, if needful, increased exertion. We have also now fuller evidences of the general character and results of slavery, wherever it exists, than at any former period; these have gradually accumulated from a variety of sources; and the late Anti-slavery Convention has largely contributed to the stock of knowledge on this deeply important and affecting subject. The knowledge thus acquired has deepened the conviction, long felt, of the essentially cruel, demoralizing, and irreligious nature of slavery; and cannot but serve to strengthen the hands of those in our own, as well as in other lands, who are seeking its immediate and entire abolition. The friends of the slave in England know too well the duty which devolves upon them, and the satisfaction which results from the endeavour to perform it, to allow themselves to withdraw their hand from the plough, until the great work before them is fully accomplished.

We now proceed to refer to the manner in which the knowledge and zeal of Englishmen may be employed in promoting the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

Slavery exists in British India, and in the islands of Ceylon, Malacca, and Penang. There is reason to believe that the number of slaves on the continent of India subject to Great Britain is very large—not less than one million, and probably as many as three millions. These wretched beings are divided into domestic and prædial slaves. Of the former class a large portion are females, who are in a state of the deepest degradation, and are not unfrequently (as far as we can learn) victims of the most barbarous cruelty; while the usual hardships and sufferings of field slaves are endured by the latter class.

We know there are those who contend that slavery in India is generally of an extremely mild character, and ought not to be called by that harsh name. To this we reply, that they must be ill acquainted with the nature of man and the results of slavery under English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, American, Brazilian, and other European and trans-atlantic masters, who can believe this monstrous proposition. It becomes us, however, to seek for the best evidence which we can obtain respecting the circumstances of slavery in British India and Ceylon, in order to place them fully before the public. To collect and disseminate this knowledge is one important duty of the friend of the slave in England at this time. This must be accompanied with direct efforts to procure the immediate abolition of slavery in the parts we have named, by petitions to the legislature; and by personal endeavours to interest members of parliament with whom we may be acquainted, or connected as constituents, on this subject. We are desirous it should be universally known among our friends, that Dr. Lushington is to bring the question of the abolition of slavery in British India before the House of Commons in the present session of parliament; and it is of great importance that, in so doing, he should be vigorously supported by every abolitionist, by every friend of humanity and justice throughout the land.

A clause relating to the abolition of slavery in the parts to which we are now referring, contained in an India Bill, passed the House of Commons in the same year in which the Act for the Abolition of Slavery received the sanction of legislature, but was unhappily mutilated in the House of Lords. No pains must be spared to prevent the occurrence of a similar calamity, or any other disappointment, when the subject shall again be brought under the consideration of parliament. It is a deeply afflicting circumstance, not hitherto generally known, that in connexion with slavery in our eastern possessions, a slave-trade is carried on from the Portuguese settlements in India, and other parts of the continent of Asia, which all the efforts of the British government have hitherto been unsuccessful in repressing.

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We should here notice the important measure just announced for the consideration of parliament, the reduction of the duty on foreign—that is on slave-grown—sugar but that it is specifically treated in another paper, to which we therefore refer.

The Coolie emigration to the West Indies and Mauritius, although proved to have been attended with a large amount of fraud, injustice, and suffering, still has advocates amongst those who are governed by an insatiable avarice, or who are unwilling to deal justly and liberally towards the labourers already at their disposal. It is sought, too, to bring labourers from Africa to cultivate our sugar colonies; although these will doubtless be subjected to a portion, or the whole of those wrongs to which the Coolies have been exposed, owing to their general ignorance, and little acquaintance with the language of those who engage them. In addition to these objections, we cannot but feel that there is much force in the consideration, that our conduct in taking labourers from Africa may be urged as an excuse for a similar measure, by governments under which less security against oppression in their colonies exists than in those of England. We must not, however, forget—can we forget?—how lately slavery has been abolished by law in our colonies, and what a disposition has been manifested to retain its practices, as far as possible, in the new state in which the labouring population is placed: and with these recollections, it is our duty to watch with the utmost jealousy every instance in which Africans have been introduced, and to take such steps as may be calculated to prevent the extension of this evil.

We must also, if required, use our most strenuous exertions to prevent the renewal of the trade in Hill Coolies, with all the fraud proved to have been used in procuring them, and the cruel sufferings and mortality incident to their passage, and the hard servitude which has been imposed upon them. See parliamentary papers relating to the Hill Coolies and other Indians sent to British Guiana and the Mauritius.

We must not omit attention to the foreign objects of the society, which require that an extensive correspondence and occasional personal intercourse should be maintained; that anti-slavery publications, including those which exhibit the results of emancipation where it has taken place, should be largely circulated; and that every step should be adopted which may be calculated to encourage, stimulate, and assist those who may be disposed to take an interest in the abolition of slavery in every part of the world. In order to supply the requisite funds, and to aid in other ways the accomplishment of our British and Foreign objects, it is highly desirable that a more general organization should exist throughout the land. Thus, with the blessing of the Almighty on the united efforts of the abolitionists of England, shall the conduct of our country soon be consistent throughout the wide extent of her dominions; and we shall no longer be liable to the charge of inconsistency, in retaining slavery in the East, while we have destroyed it in the West. Thus will the moral influence of England be immensely increased, in her efforts to induce foreign lands to abolish the iniquity of the slave-trade, and that cruel slavery to which it owes its rise. A new and happy sign of the times will be added to those cheering indications which exist in this land, in which so much has been already accomplished for the most helpless, degraded, and suffering portion of the human race.

See Adam and Pegg on Slavery in India, and a work now in the press on the same subject, the substance of which has for the most part, appeared in the pages of the *Reporter*.

ADMISSION OF SLAVE-GROWN SUGAR.

THIS is a subject on which the abolitionists of Britain must not be supine. It is proposed by the Government, to reduce the duties on sugar the produce of foreign countries, in order to increase the supply of these articles to the British public, and to afford the means of procuring them on more reasonable terms. It is also supposed that such a measure would be favourable to our commerce with some of the countries from which we might thus receive it. We must, however, recollect, that, among the great marts for this article, are Cuba, Brazil, and Louisiana; the two former the great emporiums of the atrocious trade in human beings from Africa, and the latter a large consumer of the surplus slaves of the more Northern American slave states, from whence they are brought without regard to the ties of kindred by which they are bound. Can persons who reflect on the enormous suffering and wickedness by which sugar is obtained in these regions, seek to open a new market for their produce, and thus add a fresh incentive to the extension of the Slave Trade, and the destruction of human life in hopeless, unrequited, and excessive toil! Against such a step the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have made a protest, in a memorial which has been presented to Lord Melbourne, by whom it was courteously received, and in which they have stated at length their views on this deeply important subject. It was their sincere hope that the Government would not have persevered in their reported intention to reduce the duties on foreign sugars: this, however, is unhappily at an end, and we have now forced upon us the consideration of the course which it may be proper to take, to prevent those deplorable consequences to which we have alluded. We are not unaware of the difficulties with which this question is attended. The Government measure has, doubtless, many friends among the manufacturers of our country, and is strongly urged by the advocates of free trade. The late high price of sugar may also pre-dispose many, especially amongst the poorer classes, to hail an alteration in the duty, which promises to effect some reduction in the cost of a luxury to which so large a portion of the community have become accustomed. We cannot, however, lose sight of the painful fact, that the extra supply of sugar which we may receive from the countries we have named, is produced by a system which robs the poor of those lands, not only of their rightful wages, but of that liberty which is more valuable than any earthly treasure; that it is produced at a frightful cost of human happiness and life, and to a great extent by a shameful dereliction of the faith of treaties for the abolition of the Slave Trade, purchased, in the case of that with Spain, at a large amount of British treasure. Of what avail is it to have paid twenty millions of money to abolish slavery in our own colonies, if we are now called upon to consume the slave produce of others! Of what avail is it to expend an enormous sum in seeking to suppress the Slave Trade on the one hand, while holding out a bribe to prosecute it still more extensively on the other!

We cannot but think that no friend of the slave in England, whose attention may be directed to this subject, will do his duty, who does not petition that, in the event of a reduction in the price of foreign sugar, this measure may be applicable only to those countries in which it is produced by free labour. We commend this subject to the most serious consideration of our friends throughout the country.

TIDINGS FROM CUBA.

Two interesting and important letters, of very recent date, have just been received at the Anti-slavery office, addressed by a gentleman in Havana to Mr. Tredgold. We extract their principal contents for the information of our readers.

Havana, 10*th March*, 1841.

Having been for some time a resident in this island, and having had an opportunity of making myself more or less acquainted with several of the prominent features of the slave-trade and its attendant evils, I take the liberty to call your attention to the following statement of facts with which, perhaps, you are not already made acquainted.

Within the last two months, two slave-vessels have been captured and sent into this port by Her Majesty's Cruizers—the Jesus Maria, with 250, and the Segunda Rosario, with 282, victims on board; the one a prize to the Ringdove, Captain Keith Stewart, and the other to the Cleopatra, Captain Milne. Condemnation by the mixed court followed immediately afterwards, when the survivors were delivered up to H. B. M. superintendant of liberated Africans, David Turnbull, Esq., and were by him sent to one of the Bahama islands.

On board the prize schooner Jesus Maria, rape and murder have been committed to a frightful extent by a man of the name of Vincente Morales, who jumped overboard when the vessel was entering the harbour, and swam to the shore. This man, it is said, is now going at large in this city, notwithstanding the efforts of H. B. M. consul, Mr. Turnbull, to have him apprehended and punished, in conformity with the treaty of 1835 between Great Britain and Spain, a treaty but in name. The Government of this island, so far from acting up to it, countenance and facilitate the introduction of slaves in the most open and barefaced manner. This very criminal, Vicente Morales, and another named Manuel Porche, a native of Lima, ought, in justice to common humanity, to be made examples of, as a warning to others of their class. I know that Mr. Turnbull has tried by every means in his power to get possession of these men, and send them to Nassau, to be tried there by a British court of admiralty, in conformity with the opinion of the attorney general, Mr. Anderson, of that place; but, strange as it may appear, he has not only been unsuccessful in the attempt, but has not even met with encouragement from the mixed court to pursue further measures for the attainment of so laudable and desirable an object.

Vessels of the first-class are continually arriving here from Baltimore, and are sold to men notorious as slave-dealers. They are publicly fitted out at the celebrated wharf of the Casa Blanca, and, under the eyes of the whole community, receive on board all the apparatus and implements appertaining to the slave-trade, which proves them to be slavers bound to the coast of Africa. In many instances these vessels commence their voyage under what one should suppose ought to be considered an highly honourable flag; and return with their load of victims bearing another. In almost every case, such as are destined for this port are landed on the coast a very few miles from the city, thence conducted to the public barracones a short distance beyond the walls, where 1215 of the survivors have been disposed of within the last two months, to the planters and others, at from 300 dollars to 425 dollars each.

At one of these barracones, or Spanish marts for the vending of our fellow-men, the following affecting circumstance took place a short time since; and it was witnessed by many of a class of society in this country bearing the image of God, but without the feelings of man. I shall relate the circumstance in the words of an eye-witness. "On the occasian of one of the voyages to the coast of Africa of the celebrated slave-ship Maria de la Gloria, *alias* Socorro, an interesting young woman was kidnapped and taken on board. Her mother, having learned the fate of her darling and only daughter, and aware of the utter hopelessness of having her restored to her arms, came voluntarily forward, and gave herself

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up to the monsters on board, supplicating by all they held dear on earth (alas! poor woman, how little didst thou know that that all was gold) that they should not be separated. In due course or time they arrived at their destination, the barracones—were put on sale, and sold to different masters residing far apart. The dreadful and heart-rending cries of the unfortunate victims were of course unheeded. The wretched mother, driven to despair by the cruelty of her fellow-man, whilst grovelling on the earth, implored aloud in the language of nature that mercy which she never received; and the agonizing separation was effected by the slave-holder without one single pang of remorse." Report says, and I believe truly, that the mother only survived her cruel fate a few days. Scenes such as these are of frequent occurrence in this "purple land, where law secures not life."

In the course of the last week, two highly respectable American gentlemen, General Talmadge of New York, and Mr. King of Albany, were impelled by curiosity to visit one of the barracones (where were deposited at the time several hundred Africans, who had just been landed), in order to judge for themselves of the calamities attendant on the slave-trade. On their arrival at the place, they were refused admittance on the supposition of their being Englishmen, to which they replied that they were Americans, and requested permission to see the negros; they were then asked to what part of the United States they belonged, and on having answered that they were from New York, admission was immediately and peremptorily refused, with the observation that, if they had been from New Orleans, their request would have been granted.

There is another class of negros in this island, called emancipados, or manumitted Africans, who have been brought into this port by her Britannic Majesty's cruisers, have been regularly emancipated, and placed under the immediate protection of this government. These unfortunate and deluded people, thousands in number, continue in abject slavery, without even a hope of ever being made free; toiling day and night for the benefit of a ruthless master, who, when called upon to produce the emancipado (who has been sold to him for a term of five years for 85 dollars), produces in his stead a certificate from the Comisario de Barrio and Tribunal de Difuntos, proving the person to have died! This certificate is easily obtained by those who can afford to pay for it, and thus the ends of justice are evidently frustrated, by the imbecility and cupidity of those whose duty it is to protect the much injured and unfortunate African, whose only crime is that of having a black skin.

From the knowledge of this affecting subject that I have been able to glean during my residence here, I am disposed to believe that the final putting down of the slave-trade will have to be effected solely on the part of the British government. I think I may venture to state, with safety as to truth, that there never will be any effective co-operation on the part of this government; notwithstanding the well known fact that there are many very respectable natives of the island, who, although unfortunately without the power, are extremely anxious to see it terminate.

The new governor-general of this island, his Excellency Don Geronimo Valdez, arrived here on the 6th instant, and landed on the morning of the 7th. It is said of him that he is an upright and honourable man, and that he brings with him orders from his government to do every thing possible for the effectual suppression of the slave-trade. Time alone can prove whether this be true.

Havana, 20th March, 1841.

It is positively asserted, on good authority, that the new captain-general, Don Geronimo Valdez, has caused to be given to him a list of the vessels engaged in the African trade; and has declared that such vessels as are already out shall not be interfered with, if they succeed in arriving and disembarking safely their cargoes of victims; but that no vessel shall be allowed to leave the port on a slave-trading expedition; and that, besides being vested with the power to do so, he is fully resolved to suppress effectually this inhuman and self-condemning traffic. I may add, as a proof of the purity of his intentions, that, only the day before yesterday, he positively refused to receive the blood-stained perquisite of two hundred half-ounces, that was tendered to him for 200 unfortunate Africans just landed, being the customary bribe paid to his predecessors for their toleration of the deed.

At this distance from home, and in a country where Anti-slavery publications are far from being freely circulated, the proceedings of your great convention, held in London in the course of last year, have scarcely been heard of. It has been stated, I know not with what truth, that a law has been passed in England making it penal for any of Her Majesty's servants in a foreign country to be the owner, or even the hirer of slaves; but I am sorry to be obliged to inform you, that, if such be really the case, the law has not been very promptly obeyed in this part of the world.

It is only within the last few days the English judges in the mixed commission court have parted with their slaves; and there is an inferior functionary connected with that tribunal, who, during an official residence of some twelve or fourteen years in this island, has distinguished himself, even more than the native slave-holders, for extreme severity towards his emancipados and his other unpaid domestics. I have been assured that this person has materially improved his income by the buying and selling of domestic slaves; a fact which, in justice to the Creole population, I may say is contrary to their habits, and, generally speaking, abhorrent to their feelings. It is generally understood that this individual is about to retire on the pension he has earned by his length of service, and it will be not a little curious to see whether he will endeavour to evade the provisions of the new law or, in fact, what he will do with the slaves and the emancipados now in his service.

BRITISH GUIANA.

COMPARATIVE PROSPERITY OF THE COLONY.

WHEN honourable members of the Combined Court dilate upon the great amount of fixed capital in this colony, which lies unemployed for want of labour—when they exert their eloquence to prove that an addition to the labour of the colony would increase its produce to a very great degree, and would prove equally beneficial to the labourers and to their employers, they follow a line of argument which is rational, and true, and they do but discharge their duty to the colony.

There is one thing, however, of which they should beware, as only tending to defeat the object at which they aim. The West India colonists, by raising the cry of ruin! ruin! upon all possible occasions, have made themselves a complete laughing stock; and, like the boy who amused himself by crying out wolf! they are no longer believed, even when they speak the truth.

By undertaking to compare what is with what was, our legislative advocates for colonial interests are treading upon very dangerous ground, Such a comparison, as they make it, with all the advantages on the side of past times, even if the comparison was truly made, could do no possible good. It amounts in fact, to an assertion, that, in an economical point of view, the colony has been a sufferer by the emancipation; and that, whatever other advantages may have resulted from it, the colony has lost money by it. Now, even if this were true, to insist upon it would only raise up a host of enemies, men who staked their reputation upon the success of the emancipation, even as an economical project, and who have the power, and who are already disposed to place obstacles in the way of immigration, so essential to the rapid advancement of this colony.

Still more impolitic is it to make such assertions, when they are wholly untrue; and that they are wholly untrue a few considerations will most conclusively show.

Previous to the emancipation, the property of the planters consisted—1st of the slaves, and—2ndly, of the land, buildings, machinery, and fixed capital; and the value of the slaves was reckoned at one half the amount.

The total value of the slave property in the colony at the era of the apprenticeship, was estimated, from actual sales during a long period preceding, at about £9,500,000. This appraisement, however, founded upon actual sales, gave a value, very considerably above the real productive value of that property. To prove this assertion, we cite the authority of a "declaration of the colonial members of the honourable court of policy of British Guiana, delivered in court, to his excellency major-general Sir Benjamin d'Urban," signed by James Johnston, F. P. Van Berckel, John Crow, T. Frankland, and John Cameron, dated January 10th, 1832, in which those gentlemen very justly aver, that the price which slaves still fetch in the colony, is owing to labour in agriculture not being otherwise attainable, and consequently must be procured at a partial sacrifice on the part of the planter, to avoid the total loss of his estate.

Thus it appears that so long ago as 1832, during the existence of slavery, the want of labour which now produces such an outcry, was even then severely felt; and that the planters were obliged to procure labour at a *partial sacrifice*, that is to say, by paying much higher prices for slaves, than the returns of that labour would justify, in order to prevent the total loss of their estates.

Are we not justified then in saying, that the appraisement of 1834, being founded upon actual sales, estimated the value of the slaves, very considerably above the real productive value of that property!

But there is another thing with respect to this property, which deserves also to be taken into account. It was undergoing annual diminution; and tending rapidly to total decay. In the ten years, preceding August 1834, it appears from official documents that the slave population of British Guiana, diminished by upwards of *twelve* thousand, being an *eighth* part of the whole. This diminution, at the rate of twelve hundred slaves a year, according to the average of the above appraisement, shows an annual loss of £144,000; representing at five per cent., a capital of near £3,000,000.

Taking all these things into consideration, we shall make bold to hazard the assertion, that the owners of the slaves, having received about half of their apprized value, and their services for four years into the bargain, made a most fortunate and advantageous disposal of a very ugly kind of property. No doubt there were individual cases of hardship on the part of recent purchasers, but considering the transaction as a whole, we repeat it, the planters had a most fortunate bargain.

The result of the emancipation was to transfer the ownership of the labour of the colony, from the planters, to the labourers themselves. This labour, as we have seen, represented in the hands of the planters, a capital of £9,500,000, a capital constantly depreciating, and yielding a very poor interest.

Taking the monthly wages of the labourers as stated by Mr. Young, and acquiesced in by Mr. Troughton, at 300,000 dollars; and making no account at all of the proceeds of their labour which

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do not take the shape of wages, the labour of the colony in the hands of its present proprietors, represents, at six per cent., a capital of sixty millions of dollars. Beyond all question, the present race of labourers is increasing instead of diminishing. That the colony has been a great gainer by the emancipation, as far as labour merely is concerned, cannot admit of doubt. The old proprietors of the labour of the colony were paid all that their interest in it was worth; and the new proprietors of it form a new class, who annually spend in the colony a great amount of money, giving a great extension to the consumption of British manufactures; thus benefiting the mother-country, benefiting themselves, and benefiting the colonial merchant.

What effect the emancipation has had upon the value of the colony, lands, buildings, &c., and also upon the cost of production, we shall proceed to consider hereafter.—*Guiana Chronicle.*

JAMAICA.

RIOT AT SPANISH TOWN PROVOKED BY THE POLICE.—[From the *Colonial Reformer.*]—It appears that a man called Jack Reid, whom the Kingston scribes designate "a vagabond," meaning thereby "a black man," for, in their vocabulary, the words are synonymous—was indulging in obstreperous mirth in the market place, by running off with some pieces of cane belonging to two women named Harvey and Yates—whilst engaged in these pranks he was, as is usual with persons of his class, especially in Spanish Town, excessively noisy. After restoring the canes to their owners, he was retiring from the market place, and was accosted by the police stationed there, who told him he had no right to be making that noise in the market—his reply, the precise terms of which we have been unable to gather, gave great offence to the testy policeman, who called out, "if you say another word, I will take you up and carry you to goal." Reid, it appears, defied him to do so, on which he was immediately surrounded by the three policemen, who laid violent hands on him, and endeavoured to drag him to gaol. He refused to go, alleging that he had done nothing to deserve it, and then threw himself on the ground; one of the three policemen was then sent to obtain additional aid—the two others in the mean time keeping hold of Reid. Before the additional men arrived, Reid, by a sudden effort burst from the grasp of the two men, and laid hold of one of the columns of a piazza, which he firmly embraced to prevent his being carried to jail. By this time three or four additional hands arrived, and a desperate attempt was made to force Reid away, and whilst some were pulling at his legs and body, one of the number beat him on the arms with his staff to make him let go his hold. The violence of the efforts used by the police, and the powerful resistance of Reid to those efforts, will be appreciated when we mention that the pillar itself at length gave way, and fell with considerable force across Reid's chest, and, of course, stunned him a good deal. The police, however, now dragged him along towards the jail, but, on their passing a cart, Reid again stopped their progress by catching hold of the wheel, to which he clung with such tenacity as to bid defiance to their efforts to remove him; one of the police commenced a savage attack on him by beating him on the arms and shoulders to make him let go his hold—he called out to one Philip Bogle to mark which of the police was beating him—and on Bogle replying that he would, the policeman, we are told, turned round and struck him a blow. At length, Reid received a terrible blow on the back of the neck from the policeman's staff—his grasp of the wheel instantly relaxed, and he fell senseless to the earth.

By this time an immense crowd had collected on the spot, and had been testifying their indignation by loud cries of *shame;* but, when they saw Reid fall under the policeman's staff, and beheld him as *they* supposed lying *dead*, they became infuriated to a most alarming degree. The excitement spread like wild fire—they demanded the body of Reid, but the police refused to give up, and stood over the supposed dead man, brandishing their staves to keep the crowd at bay. At this juncture a rush was made—sticks, stones, brick-bats, and other missiles were showered on the police with frightful efficacy; they were compelled to retreat, and flew for protection into the different shops and houses that happened to be open.

The mob, by this time roused to a pitch of phrenzy, vowed vengeance against the whole of the police, and hunted them down wherever they were seen. One of them received a dreadful blow upon the eye-brow, which in all probability will cause the loss of the eye—another was severely wounded by a broken bottle in the neck, and several others, we understood, were severely beaten by the enraged mob. When the attack was made, one or two of the police rushed into the house of Mr. Sauly, a respectable elderly person, who immediately attempted to close the doors to keep out the pursuers—whilst doing so a stone or brick was flung with great force against the door, and struck the old gentleman on the arm, and broke it.

The mob were now masters of the field, and were rushing about the streets hunting after the police. To this one object of revenging themselves on that body, was their rage directed. Reid was now raised from the ground, under the belief that he was either dead or dying—he was carried to the surgery of Drs. Turner and Bowerbank, where one of the assistants attempted to bleed him. Shortly afterwards the editor of this paper was called upon, and desired to render his professional assistance. On our arrival we found an immense concourse of people collected in the street, a vast number of whom were armed with bludgeons—the people were evidently in a state of the most alarming excitement, uttering the most violent imprecations on the police.

On examining Reid, we found him lying in a state of insensibility, but we were quickly satisfied that he was in no immediate danger. We communicated this fact to Mr. Derbyshire, who was present in his magisterial capacity, and at his suggestion we went outside to report the favourable intelligence to the assembled multitude, for the purpose of allaying the excitement on this head. We addressed the people, and told them that the object of their solicitude was neither dead nor dying, and, such being the case, earnestly advised them instantly to disperse to their respective homes. A respectable person named Ashley offered to give shelter for the night to Reid—he was accordingly lifted up and carried by his friends to Mr. Ashley's, the crowd at the same time separating and moving away from the place.

From this time we learn that there was not a single act of violence committed by the people—but a great number continued to loiter about the streets, collecting in small groups in the vicinity of the scene of the late disturbance. The greater part, however, are stated to have been respectable persons, who had been led by curiosity to come out and see what was going on. Mr. Hill and Mr. Derbyshire used every exertion to get the people to disperse, and, finding that their remonstrance had no effect, and fearing from what passed that there was some intention to renew the attack on the police, the two magistrates considered it advisable to call in the aid of the military to overawe the populace. Accordingly ten file of soldiers were marched from the barracks, and stationed opposite Mr. Derbyshire's store—still the people budged not—they remained perfectly passive, without manifesting the slightest excitement. After a time the soldiers were marched away, and then the greater part of the crowd quietly retired to their homes.

RIOT FROM THE DISPUTED POSSESSION OF A CATHOLIC CHAPEL AT KINGSTON.

It appears that, on Friday evening, a party of Mr. Murphy's adherents walked into St. Martin's Catholic chapel, and took quiet and peaceable possession thereof. The next morning, the rev. Mr. Gleeson, who had been appointed as pastor of that church by the vicar apostolic, the head of the catholic church in this island, together with one of the trustees, demanded possession, and, on being refused, applied to Mr. Hector Mitchel for his magisterial authority to put them in possession of the premises. Instead of recommending the parties to adopt the legal process of ejectment, if it were really a case of *forcible detainer*, Mr. Mitchel thought proper to prostitute his magisterial authority by making himself a party to the matter! He accompanied the complainants to the spot—ordered out a detachment of the police, and directed them to climb over the fence, and by force of arms to eject the parties in possession.

This act, beyond a doubt, constituted a flagrant violation of the law, and Mr. Mitchel has thereby rendered himself *morally*, and we suspect *legally* responsible for what ensued.

The police, having forced their way into the premises, attempted by main force to drive out the then occupants—a scuffle ensued, during which, some severe injuries were inflicted—a great crowd surrounded the chapel—and the building was attacked both from within and without: the windows were smashed in—the benches broken, and the organ shivered to atoms. The police, as might be expected, were unable to stand their ground, and were compelled to retire without executing the mayor's illegal order.

One might have supposed that, by this time, Mr. Mitchel would have become sensible of his gross ignorance and folly, and would have endeavoured to retrace his footsteps; but no—there is a fatality in all he does; every step he takes is but an advance towards his own downfall. His honour drove to the barracks, and demanded the aid of a company of soldiers to quell the mighty disturbance created by his own folly, the principal part of the rioters consisting, we understand, of *women!* The military were marched down, and about thirty persons were immediately taken into custody, many of whom were in no way concerned in the disturbance, either directly or indirectly! The prisoners were at first lodged at the office of the commissary over the way, and subsequently conveyed to jail, where a commitment was lodged, accompanied by an injunction from Mr. Hector Mitchel that *no bail was to be taken*—it was *not a bailable offence.*

At one period during the row, we understand Mr. Mitchel was on the point of *reading the riot act*, but was prevented by the timely and judicious intervention of Mr. Moresby, or perhaps the scene might have terminated in a little wholesale butchery.

The persons who by the imperious mandate of Mr. Mitchel had been consigned to prison, were detained there till Monday morning when, they were marched down under an escort of ARMED POLICE, headed by inspector Armstrong on horseback, with *a drawn sword* in his hand, to the private counting house of Mr. Hector Mitchel, where *a star chamber investigation was entered into by Mr. Mitchel alone, to the exclusion of every other magistrate—to the exclusion also of the friends of the accused and even their solicitor!* And what was the result of this extraordinary proceeding? Why, that nothwithstanding Mr. Mitchel on the Saturday had declared the offence for which they were committed was not a bailable one, on Monday he is content to take their own simple recognizance for their appearance.

Had there been no police, there would have been no riot at St. Martin's Chapel.
—*Colonial Reformer.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—The official report of produce during the past year (1840) exported from this colony, exhibits an increase of more than *five per cent.*, or 2199 hogsheads, on sugar; *thirty-two per cent.*, or 3865 casks, on molasses; and *one hundred and twelve per cent.*, or 1,772,000 lbs. on coffee, as compared with 1839; concurrent with an apparent diminution in the quantity of rum, of *five* per cent., arising from the concentration of the spirit, for want of a sufficient supply of casks, and an actual deficiency of *seventy-five per cent.* on the small quantity of cotton grown in this province. The comparative exports of timber do not appear in the official table. The growth, therefore, of this valuable and rapidly increasing branch of commerce cannot be ascertained. The value of the surplus quantity of produce shipped last year, making a full allowance for the apparent diminution in the quantity of rum, and the real deficiency in cotton, is estimated at £138,936. The nett revenue of the planters last year, from data furnished by themselves, amounted to £415,748, or *more than* 10 *per cent., after allowing* 6 *per cent. for interest of invested capital, and* 10 *per cent. for wear and tear of machinery, and dilapidation of buildings.* The gross revenue of the planters of British Guiana during the year 1840 considerably exceeded £2,000,000 sterling.

AT a meeting of the Baptist Church, at Arnsby, Leicestershire, held on the 31st of March, 1841, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That we regard slavery as the foulest blot upon humanity, and the grossest infraction of the liberties of man; directly repugnant to the principles and the spirit of the gospel, and a heinous sin in the sight of God. That, therefore, it is our fixed belief that individual professed christians and christian churches in the United States of America, or elsewhere, that support or connive at this atrocious system, grievously offend the majesty of Heaven, and if, after expostulation, entreaty, and warning, they still refuse to 'take away the accursed thing from among them,' they are wholly unworthy of 'the communion of saints.'"

(Signed) J. WEBB, Pastor.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* should be addressed to the Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street.

Some further contributions have been received, and shall be duly acknowledged in our next list.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 5TH.

NOTICE has at length been given in the House of Commons of an intention, on the part of Her Majesty's government, to propose the reduction of the duty on foreign sugar from 63*s.* to 36*s.* per cwt., with the view of opening the British market to this commodity. The fearful impulse which will thus be given to slavery and the slave-trade in Cuba and Brazil must, if possible, be prevented; and the occasion calls loudly for the prompt and energetic action of all the friends of humanity. The subject is under the serious consideration of the Anti-slavery committee, who will communicate their sentiments to their friends by a circular, in a day or two. In the meantime we intreat every abolitionist to be awake to the extreme importance of the subject, and all to be prepared for immediate exertion.

OUR friends will see by advertisement that the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society is to be held at Exeter Hall, on Friday, the 14th instant. We cannot doubt that it will be a meeting of great interest, and of important influence.

IT is announced that Mr. Haydon's great painting of the General Anti-slavery Convention will be opened for exhibition to the public at Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, on Monday, the 10th of May. It will certainly be an object of much attraction, and, in our judgment, it will amply repay the interest it will excite.

WE perceive by an advertisement, that the half-yearly meeting of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, on the 15th instant, is made special, in order to take into consideration a proposal to emancipate the slaves held by that body. In our last we mentioned that the directors had engaged to convey to every shareholder, with a notice of the meeting, any paper which the gentlemen who have raised the question should desire. The address already advertised has been adopted for this purpose, one paragraph having appropriately been added to it, of the following tenor:—

> The Directors have, in accordance with our earnest request, resolved to make the general meeting of the Proprietary on the 15th of 5th mo. (May) *special* for the consideration of the propriety of emancipating the slaves, and providing for the security of their future freedom; we, therefore, respectfully but earnestly call upon our brother shareholders to attend that meeting, or entrust their proxies to the friends of this righteous cause: and we trust they will all be so deeply impressed with the necessity of this step, that they will freely offer their assistance to accomplish it, and let all bear in mind the precept of our Holy Redeemer, "Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Should the company perform that act of justice which is sought at their hands, we entertain the hope that it would in no small degree promote the righteous cause of emancipation in Brazil, and in other parts of the world.

We cannot but cherish an assurance that so respectable a body will answer promptly and energetically to such a call. They will feel that the eyes of the country are upon them—we may say the eyes of the world. What has been already done has been done in privacy; but a decision is now to be taken beneath the full blaze of public observation. Hitherto we have had only half a dozen gentlemen in a counting house, feloniously purchasing slaves, and pertinaciously holding them; the British public and the civilized world will now wait to see, whether proceedings at once iniquitous and illegal will be sanctioned and perpetuated by a solemn vote of a numerous and respectable public body, composed of members from every rank of British society.

OUR readers will doubtless peruse the letters from Cuba with considerable interest. It is satisfactory to receive a communication from Havana, evincing on the part of the writer an abhorrence of that injustice and cruelty which is there continually taking place. We notice the allusion to General Valdez, which, so far as his integrity and general character for humanity is concerned, we believe to be just. How painful must it have been to such a man to countenance, for however brief a period, the atrocities of the slave-trade! With regard to the future, however good the intentions of the present government of Spain and those of General Valdez may be, we can have little confidence in their results, when we reflect on the guilty motives for continuing the slave-trade, and the want of that virtue in a community of slave-holders which is needful for its repression.

But, supposing even that the slave-trade in Cuba is for a moment suppressed, how uncertain is the security afforded by the best dispositions of a government, or by that of a governor who may shortly be displaced, and may give way to others who will adopt a different course, and allow the tide of iniquity to run with more than its accustomed vigour in its long and deeply worn channels! There is no security against the slave-trade, except in the abolition of slavery.

THE fears of the friends of freedom and tranquillity in Jamaica, that the new police of that island would provoke serious breaches of the peace, have been but too speedily and too painfully realized. In our Colonial Intelligence will be found a narrative of one alarming riot, which sprang from the irritating conduct of this force, in Spanish Town, on the 27th of February last; and of another, in which they were the instruments of an infatuated magistrate, at Kingston, on th 6th of March. The *Colonial Reformer* of the 13th contains a passage which we shall extract below, premising only that the police were parading the streets, night and day, with bayonets and loaded pistols, so late as the 20th (which is the last date), without any interference of the governor.

MARTIAL LAW!

> Kingston and Spanish Town may now be declared in a state of siege. The streets of both towns are being paraded night and day by bands of armed men—*armed with bayonets and pistols*—for the obvious purpose of over-awing her Majesty's subjects.
>
> Things are coming to a pretty pass indeed! This is a specimen of Sir Charles Metcalfe's "*peaceful reign!*" Here are the very men who have been the direct cause of every disturbance which has occurred in the island since they were organized into a body—these men who are employed and paid to *preserve* the peace, but who have uniformly acted the part of *peace breakers*, now authorized to mix amongst the people with murderous weapons in their hands! We call the attention of our friends in England to this startling fact, and would put it to them what sort of liberty is likely to be enjoyed by the labouring classes, when it is thus controlled by the tyrannous dominion of a set of men, who, for the most part, are the scum and refuse of the community.
>
> If these lawless and turbulent petty tyrants are to be authorized to go amongst the people with loaded fire-arms and side-arms, in order to avenge themselves in the event of any dispute with the people—for such is the avowed object of their being armed—then, what is to prevent the citizens also from adopting the same means of defence? And who can contemplate without horror the consequences that might ensue from a collision between the parties under such circumstances?
>
> Let any one read over the report we have copied from the *Morning Journal*, of the peace office proceedings in the matter of complaint of Mr. Hart against the inspector, Mr. Armstrong. Mark the language of that ruffian policeman—"NOTHING BUT A MOUNTED POLICE WOULD PUT THE VAGABONDS DOWN: GIVE US A DOZEN MOUNTED POLICE, WITH SHARP SWORDS, and WE WILL PUT THEM DOWN, THEIR RINGLEADERS, AND THEIR TAILS!!!"
>
> Once more we call on all who have an interest in the peace and welfare of the country, to unite in the adoption of all *lawful* measures for the speedy removal of this most worthless and mischievous body of men.

It is at once melancholy and instructive, to contrast the state of things now before us with that which has for some years past happily existed in Jamaica. During the recent contumacy of the House of Assembly, there was no police in existence; and then, when every element of disturbance was free to work uncontrolled, there prevailed the most perfect tranquillity—jails were empty, treadmills overgrown with weeds, and justices without employment. We have no sooner a police than the scene is changed altogether. Between their own folly and that of headstrong magistrates, of whom they are the willing tools, the two most considerable towns in the island (one of them the seat of government) are, within seven days, convulsed with frightful riots, and the whole population, for weeks afterwards, placed under the scarcely less frightful apparatus of a lawless despotism. We do not quarrel in the abstract with the existence of a police; but we maintain two points—the first is, that a police system should never be carried further than necessity demands—and the second, that its powers should be exercised with the utmost courtesy and forbearance. A *rude* police is a nuisance for which their could be no occasion, and of which there can be no endurance. With the spirit that now actuates the Jamaica police, it is plain that the island cannot be quiet; and we trust that the prompt and serious attention of the home government will be directed to the subject.

WE recall to the recollection of our readers, the appearance in our columns, on the 27th of January last, of a letter purporting to have been addressed by the late General Harrison, when candidate for the presidential chair which he has so soon and so solemnly vacated, to Messrs. Tappan, Leavit, and Dresser, on the Anti-slavery question. Mr. Sturge, in a letter dated New York, April 9th, informs us that the document was the forgery of a political opponent, with the intention of injuring General Harrison in the south. We are truly sorry that the hoax played upon the highly respectable parties who were the source of our information, should have been so far successful; and we take the earliest opportunity of making to the friends of the deceased statesman the fullest reparation in our power.

ALTHOUGH very unwilling to trouble our readers with a double paper, we have deemed it so important to insert the whole of the proceedings in the United States respecting the Africans taken in the Amistad, that we have ventured on it this week. We direct more especially the attention of our Spanish friends to this interesting document.

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE following have been received during the past month.

	Donations.			Subscrips.		
Charles Tylor, Heath, near Wakefield				1	1	0
Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Auxiliary	10	0	0			
Joshua Priestman, Thornton				1	0	0
Joshua Priestman, jun.				1	0	0
Exeter Ladies' Auxiliary	9	0	0			
Stoke Newington Ladies' Auxiliary	30	0	0			
George Thomas Bristol	25	0	0			
Edward Thomas "	25	0	0			
Henry Hunt "	10	0	0			
Thomas Saunders "	10	0	0			
A Friend "	10	0	0			
Joseph Reynolds "	10	0	0			
John Harford "	10	0	0			
John Tanner "	5	0	0			
James Charlton "	10	0	0			
Gawen Ball "	25	0	0			
Edward Ash "				2	2	0
Colchester Auxiliary	4	0	0			
Henry Crowley, Alton	2	0	0			
Abraham Crowley	1	0	0			
William Curtis	1	0	0			
William Curtis, Jun.	0	10	0			
B. H. Coleby	1	0	0			
Joshua Coleby	0	10	0			
W. Holmes	1	0	0			
Misses S. S. and E. Bell	0	10	0			
William Exall	0	10	0			
Rev. J. Banister	0	10	0			
Rev. C. Howell	0	5	0			
Mrs. A. Warner	0	5	0			
Mr. Newton, Bansby	0	5	0			
Mr. Edmund Andrews	0	5	0			
Mrs. A. Smith	0	5	0			
Mr. Burnett	0	5	0			
Mr. W. A. Rogers	0	5	0			
Mr. W. Heath	0	7	6			
Wisbech Auxiliary	5	0	0			
Rev. P. Guillebaud, Clifton				1	1	0

TRIAL OF THE AMISTAD.

Washington City, February 22nd, 1841.

THIS important trial was finally commenced on Saturday last, all the judges being present. The sitting on Saturday was occupied by the attorney-general, H. D. Gilpin Esq., on behalf of the United States, until the hour of two, when the court adjourned as a personal favour to Mr. Adams, and by his request.

Mr. Gilpin gave, from the printed copy of the record and the Congressional document, No. 185, of last session, a detailed narrative of the events connected with the case, in the order of time. He began with the coasting license of the Amistad, dated 18th May, 1838, the permit to Montes, 30th April, 1839, and to Ruiz, 14th June, 1839, to proceed in the schooner to Havana. Then, 22nd June, the passport or license to three ladinos, belonging to Montes, to proceed to Porto Principe in the schooner, and signed by Espeleta, governor-general. Also, a similar license 26th June, to forty-nine ladinos belonging to Jose Ruiz. The same day an endorsement on the passport of Ruiz, that it had been presented at the proper office in Havana. June 27th, the certificate and register countersigned by Martinez, the commandant of the port. Same day, the clearance of the captain, crew, and fifty-four passengers, signed by Martinez. Also a certificate that the captain, crew, and fifty-four passengers passed the Moro Castle. The next incident is the revolt, with the killing of the captain and cook, July 1st.

26th August, the Amistad arrived at Culloden Point, anchored on the high seas, within the Admiralty jurisdiction of the United States Courts, and was taken possession of by Lieut. Gedney, of the United States brig Washington; on the 29th she was delivered to the United States marshal, at New London, and a warrant was issued against the Africans, under which they were imprisoned to take their trial for murder and piracy on the high seas. The same day, Lieut. Gedney filed his libel for salvage.

Sept. 17th, the United States circuit court sat at Hartford, and on the 18th the habeas corpus was brought by the Africans. The district court also sat on that day, when Ruiz and Montes filed their claim to the Africans as slaves legally purchased and held as such in Cuba, and their property, which was bound to be restored to them by treaty. Under these libels or claims, the marshal took them into custody by warrant of the court, they being already in custody under the libel of Gedney. In his return, he calls them "*the said* slaves named in the libel." On the 19th, the United States district attorney filed a libel on behalf of the government, averring that the minister of her Catholic Majesty had claimed them as the property of Spanish subjects, taken possession of by officers of the United States, under such circumstances as made it the duty of the United States to return them; and praying the court to make such decree as will enable the government to comply with the treaty, and preserve the public faith inviolate; or, if they should be found to have been brought into the country in violation of the laws against the slave-trade, then they should be placed in the hands of the President, to be disposed of according to the Act of Congress of 1819. Under this libel the marshal again took possession of the negros.

Sept. 20, the indictments were laid before the grand jury, but were not found by the jury.

Sept. 23.—The habeas corpus was dismissed by the circuit court, both courts adjourned and all criminal proceedings were at an end, and the case remained only under the several libels.

Nov. 19.—The district court met again, the United States attorney filed a second libel, and the Spanish vice-consul put in a claim to the boy, Antonio, on behalf of the heirs of Captain Ferrer. The negros filed their several pleas to the jurisdiction of the court, setting forth that they were free, were kidnapped, carried to Cuba, unlawfully sold there, never subject to the laws of Spain, but put by force on board the Amistad to be carried they knew not where, as slaves; and, in the exercise of that love of liberty natural to all men, they rose, killed the captain, took possession of the vessel, and determined to return to their own country, as they had a right to do.

Jan. 7, 1840, the trial before the district court, in the course of which the district attorney entered on the record his admission that the Africans were bozals. Judge Judson decreed that the schooner and cargo were Spanish, and that Gedney and his associates should receive salvage; also that the negros were not the property of Ruiz and Montes, but were free, and, having been imported unlawfully from Africa, should be placed in the hands of the President to be sent back, under the act of congress. From this decree the United States appealed.

After giving this summary, which took about three hours, Mr Baldwin read his motion to dismiss the appeal, on the ground, 1. That the United States have no right by their constitution or laws, or the laws of nations, to take an appeal, or to take any proceedings to procure the surrendering of the respondents as slaves; 2. That there was no demand made by the Spanish minister for them as slaves, and no appearance authorized by him, or on his behalf, against them as slaves; 3. That the United States government had no right to surrender them for trial; and 4. That, in any view, the appeal could not be tried here, because the several appellees were not, individually, of the value of 2000 dollars.

On Monday, the attorney general briefly recapitulated the evidence and substance of the decree of the court below, which had been affirmed *pro forma* in the circuit court, and then stated the points which he considered to be established. They were, that the vessel and cargo at Havana were the ascertained property of Spanish subjects; that slavery is allowed there, and slaves are property; that these particular negros were there certified by the governor-general, the highest official authority on the island, to be *ladinos*, and the property of Ruiz and Montes, who had a regular permit to ship them on board the Amistad. This vessel, thus certified, and these negros in charge of the persons certified to be their owners, were regularly cleared, with the proper papers. Here then was the complete documentary evidence of property, ascertained by the highest official evidence. On the 26th of August, the vessel not having changed in any respect her national character, her papers all on board, and the certified owners of these negros on board, and in possession of the property which they were thus officially shown to be entitled *to* hold by the laws of Cuba, were taken possession of by a public armed vessel of the United States, and delivered to the proper tribunals. At this point, the minister of Spain interferes, and demands that, according to the provisions of the treaty, the vessel, cargo, and negros shall be delivered to his charge for the owners.

The only inquiries then are, 1. Whether due and sufficient proof has been made of the property in the vessel, cargo, and negroes? And—

2. Have the United States a right to interfere, as they have done in this case, to obtain the restoration of this property to its owners?

He argued that due and sufficient proof of property has been made to authorize the restoration of this property. Property in slaves is held as completely in Cuba as in any one of the United States, and if they are property of Spanish subjects, they must be given up under treaty of 1795, the same as any other property, on proof of ownership. The certificate of the governor-general, that they are slaves, and are the property of the persons named as owners, is conclusive on this point. He is the highest functionary known to the laws of that land, and, as such, his public acts are to be received as evidence of any facts certified by him, *within* the scope of his authority. Commerce would be at an end, if countries were to refuse full faith to the official documents of the proper authorities of other countries. The question whether these authorities have acted right or wrong cannot be raised here; if it is ascertained by the proper certificate that they have acted within the scope of their authority, whether they be judicial, executive, or any other public functionary, makes no difference. How could the tribunals of our country inquire into the local laws and municipal regulations of another? This doctrine is sustained by the whole course of judicial decisions, both in this court and elsewhere. This court has sustained the decrees of foreign courts, on matters before them, whether this court deemed the decree right or wrong. The principles so well established on this point, can apply to no case more fully than to the present. Here is exactly the evidence that ought to be had, the papers are such as the parties were bound to have, and they are therefore conclusive. The evidence is found by the district court to be sufficient to establish the right of property in the vessel and the goods; why is it not then in regard to the negros? It was sufficient in the island of Cuba, and therefore ought to be received as sufficient here. It is a settled principle of admiralty proceedings, that the best evidence to be had is the documents accompanying the property, and the courts will always look to that as conclusive where they are regular.

The learned attorney argued further, that there is no different rule of evidence in the case of slave property and any other; that it must have been the understanding of both nations, by the 9th article of the treaty, that slaves were to be restored as any other property; that this court cannot look behind the certificate of the governor-general, to ascertain whether the negros are recently imported from Africa; that, if they are so imported, they yet are not free by Spanish laws, until judically declared free " by the proper Spanish tribunal; that the allegation of fraud in obtaining the certificate cannot be made here. But, if you go behind the certificate, there is no evidence but hearsay. Dr. Madden's deposition is chiefly hearsay, and has been contradicted in several important particulars. It is upon such grounds that the court will set aside the official records of foreign countries?

On the point whether the executive had a right to interfere, at the request of the public functionary of Spain, the attorney-general urged first, that the executive was bound to interfere, because it was in the execution of a treaty stipulation, and the executive was the proper organ of the government to see to the execution of treaty stipulations. If called upon to restore property, the President was bound to take measures for that purpose. And, if he found it in custody of the courts, he was bound to go to the court, and present the evidence, and require the decision of the court. As to the decree of the court below, it was clearly wrong in awarding salvage on the vessel and cargo, because the treaty is express that property shall be restored entire and without diminution; and therefore no citizen of the United States had any right of salvage under such circumstances. The treaty was as effective as any Act of Congress, because all treaties are

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declared by the constitution to be the supreme law of the land. And in regard to the negros the decree is erroneous, because they are fully shown to be property of Spanish subjects, and ought to have been restored as such, on due proof.

Mr. Gilpin closed at twenty minutes past one, and the remainder of the sitting was occupied by Mr. Baldwin, on behalf of the Africans, in arguing the motion to dismiss the appeal.

Washington City, Feb. 23, 1841.

Mr. Baldwin, in opening his argument, said that, in appearing in behalf of these humble Africans whom he represented, and who are contending for freedom and life, with two powerful governments arrayed against them, it was a source of high gratification that the question will be heard and tried before a tribunal which is elevated high above the influence of executive power or popular prejudice. By its very constitution, *it is exempt* from all the imputations to which, under other circumstances, courts are subject, imputations such as, he regretted to say, *have been most* unjustly cast, in certain quarters, on the hon. judge of the district court in Connecticut, before whom this cause was first tried. In a case of this kind, involving the destiny of thirty-six unhappy men, cast by providence on our shores under circumstances calculated to excite the sympathies of all to whom the facts were truly known, he was very sorry that attempts should have been made here, on the very eve of the trial before the court of dernier resort, to disturb the course of justice by appeals to local prejudices and sectional interests; and especially that even the official gazette of the government had stooped to publish imputations upon judicial functionaries, and appeals to prejudice, represented as coming from one of the most commanding minds of the country, calculated to impair the confidence of our own and other nations in the purity and impartiality of this high tribunal. And, what seemed still more grievous, that the accredited minister of a foreign government should, on the very day on which it was expected that this case would come to a hearing before the Judiciary, communicate to the executive department of our government an article from a Spanish newspaper, to have it published to the world, charging upon these unfortunate men the most atrocious crimes, with the intent to have them regarded as monsters in human shape. I do not mention these things, said Mr. Baldwin, because I fear their effect upon this court, but because it is my duty thus publicly to reprobate a course of proceeding, calculated to impair that just confidence which the country has ever been accustomed to repose in the decisions of this court.

This case, said he, is one of deep interest from its circumstances, and is felt as such throughout our whole country, and almost through the civilized world, so extensively have the circumstances become known. But it has an interest on other grounds to our own citizens. It has presented the question of power on the part of the executive, in a manner that has filled men in one portion of the country with alarm and anxiety. It is the first time since this government was formed, founded on the principles of the revolution, that all men are created equal, and have from their Creator certain inalienable rights, and formed expressly to establish justice, it is the first time that the Executive has appeared in court, litigating and appealing from court to court, to consign human beings to slavery. Can the government thus appear before the courts for such an object? I deny it, and trust the courts will not sanction the interference.

In discussing the case, he said he would not appeal to any local prejudice or sectional feeling, nor present a single consideration which he could not hope would obtain the concurrence of every intelligent and upright mind, from every quarter. He was not one of those who thought it right to agitate one section of the country with questions which properly belong to another. He had not come here to address the court on topics calculated to excite the prejudice or wound the feelings of any. At the same time he was in favour of the broadest liberty of inquiry and discussion, although that liberty ought always to be guided by discretion and tempered with kindness.

Before proceeding to argue the motion to dismiss the appeal of the United States, he would advert to the facts as they appear on the record. It appears that the schooner Amistad arrived in the waters of the United States, in Long Island Sound, in the possession of the appellees, who are all admitted on the record to be native Africans, recently from Africa. The papers of the vessel show that when she left Havana, there were on board of her fifty-four *passengers*, of whom the appellees were a part, who were taken on board as slaves under the colour of two custom-house permits, describing them by Spanish names, and as the property of Ruiz and Montes. They were libelled as property by Lieut. Gedney, and claimed as property by Ruiz and Montes, and all the parties in interest were thus regularly before the court, by admiralty proceeding, in a condition to litigate their respective claims. In this stage of the case, the United States come in, and allege that the Spanish minister had made a demand, &c., "which claim was now pending upon the United States," and praying the court, if the slaves were found to be the property of Spanish subjects, to do what was necessary to keep the public faith inviolate or, if they should be found to have been brought in by an infraction of our laws against the slave-trade, then that they should be delivered to the President to be sent back. The court, after a patient investigation, found the facts to be, in all material points, as had been set forth in the pleafor the Africans, and that they were entitled to be free; but, as it appeared that Ruiz and Montes, in steering the vessel for the United States, had in view the preservation of their property in the slaves, it was adjudged that they were guilty of violating the slave trade act, and so the Africans were placed at the disposal of the President. The claim of Lieut. Gedney was dismissed, and that of Ruiz and Montes, with costs, and the first part of the claim of the United States. From this decree neither Gedney, nor Ruiz and Montes, nor the Spanish minister acting for them, has taken an appeal. Nobody has appealed but the United States.

The Spanish minister never was a party before the court. He had made a demand upon the executive, not for the delivery of the Africans as property, but for their surrender as criminals. He had protested against the right of the courts to hold jurisdiction over the case, and, so far from having requested the government to litigate the question of property, he confined his argument solely to the duty of the United States to transmit them to Cuba for punishment. The first letter of M. Calderon, in which the demand was made, not only insists that the negros should be sent to Cuba for punishment, but he goes into an argument to show how much less salutary will be the effect if they are executed here, of which he seemed to entertain no doubt, than if they are sent to Cuba. Not a word in the letter intimates a demand for their surrender as property. He everywhere keeps up a distinction between the vessel and *cargo*, and the negros. Throughout the correspondence, as communicated by the President, both M. Calderon and M. Argaiz protest aginst the jurisdiction of our courts, and yet the learned attorney-general argues here as if it was the Spanish minister, through the district attorney, who was prosecuting these suits.

Now, said Mr. Baldwin, what has become of Ruiz and Montes? They submitted to the jurisdiction of the district court. No principle is better settled in Admiralty practice, than that a party in court is bound by the decree, unless he appeals. The question whether these Africans are the property of Ruiz and Montes, lies at the foundation of all the proceedings, at the foundation of the claim of the United States; the district court have decided that the property is not in Ruiz or Montes, and they have acquiesced by not taking an appeal.

What right had the executive to interfere? The whole case was fully in the hands of the judiciary, it was the duty of the court to decide, and to see that justice was done. The parties in interest were all there; where, then, is the law which authorizes the executive to interfere, to appear before our judicial tribunals, and make itself a party in questions involving individual rights? Is not the judiciary sovereign in its sphere, and is it not the appropriate department, so recognized and established by the very treaty of 1795, to investigate and determine the question of property and ownership? Was it ever heard of before, that the executive should interfere to stimulate the courts to their duty? What does this appeal of the United States put in issue? This court has decided that on an appeal they will take no notice of any point in the case, not put in issue by the party taking the appeal. The libel of the United States alleges nothing, only the fact that the Spanish minister has demanded that the negros be given up as the property of Spanish subjects, but the libel does not allege that the Africans are slaves, or are such property. In the case of the Exchange, in Dallas's Reports, the United States' attorney filed a suggestion that the vessel seized was a public armed vessel of a power with which we were at peace, and the court thereupon determined that it had no jurisdiction over such a case. But this is a case of private litigation, and, as to all the parties in interest, it is definitively settled by the decree of the court below. The question of freedom or slavery is so settled, as between the Africans and Ruiz and Montes, the only persons who it was ever pretended had a right of property in them.

Look at the consequences of this interference. Ruiz and Montes are mulcted in costs, in the court below; now, can they be allowed to withdraw, and the United States come in their place, and thus deprive other parties of their remedy in costs, and perhaps damages? For it is to be observed that the United States pay no costs, and are responsible in no damages. No department of the government needs to be more carefully guarded against executive encroachment than the judiciary; for no department is less able to protect itself. But if it is to be thus subject to executive interference, what becomes of the security which the framers of the constitution aimed to effect by the distribution of the powers of government?

But, suppose the executive had a right to appear in a private litigation as to property; has it a right to interfere for the re-capture and surrender of fugitive slaves, who have come without wrong into the territory of a free state? Was this the object for which the free states joined in framing our constitution of government? Did they ever consent to such an object? This whole matter of slavery was wisely left to the States, AND TO THEM ALONE. The government of the Union has no power to establish slavery in a state where it does not exist, nor to give extra-territorial force to the slave laws of a foreign nation within the bounds of a free state. I speak not now of cases where slaves in possession of their owners are driven into our ports by stress of weather, and remain in the possession of their owners, nor that the government should interfere to set them at liberty, as was done at Bermuda. That is not this case. These slaves did not come in the possession of Ruiz and Montes, but in the full possession of their liberty, with Ruiz and Montes in subjection to them. And now the claim of the United States is, that the executive is bound to enter upon the territory of the free state of New York, by its naval officers, and seize these men, and carry them by force into another district, and re-enslave them, for the benefit of Spanish negro-dealers. The vessel had been taken by force out of the hands of Spanish subjects, was not sailing under Spanish colours, had lost its national character, and was in the full possession of the Africans. What right had Lieut. Gedney to seize it, or them? That seizure was a wrong, not to Ruiz and Montes, not to Spain, but to the Africans, who were in possession, and had committed no crime for which they were amenable to our authorities.

If Sinqua, when he landed on the shore of New York, was free by the laws of that state, can the United States interfere and change his relations and make him a slave? This is on the supposition that the Africans had been domiciled in a Spanish colony, and were actual slaves by the laws of Spain. But the record shews that they were recently from Africa, and therefore never were subject to those laws. Yet we are asked, as an act of *comity*, to suppose that there might be some law by which they could be held as property in Cuba. Slavery, as recognized by admiralty courts, is purely local in the territory where it is established, but there is no country now where recently imported Africans are recognized as slaves. If the United States could give extra-territorial force to Spanish laws, it would not be against these Africans.

To the argument that the treaty required the surrender of "merchandize," Mr. Baldwin made a most conclusive and elaborate reply. The same clause was in our treaty with Tripoli. Would a citizen of Tripoli be allowed to hold his white slaves in our courts under that clause? It may be well doubted whether it was ever within the power of the treaty-making department of our government to establish such a right. The fraudulent nature of the transaction at the Havana Custom House, in first shipping the negros as *ladinos* with Spanish names, to evade the local laws, and then clearing them as "passengers for government," to elude the British cruizers, was strongly argued. But I cannot give even an outline of what is by general consent acknowledged to have been one of the most

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complete, finished, conclusive legal arguments ever made before that court. I felt that it was an honour to my country and her courts, an honour to the science of law and the jurisprudence of christian nations, that a foundation was laid by them for such an argument.

Mr. Baldwin closed about twenty minutes after three o'clock, by paying a deserved tribute to the illustrious individual who was to present the remainder of the topics in the case;—who, after having filled the highest office in this or any nation, thought it yet a higher honour to appear in vindication of the rights of these unhappy foreigners, the honour of the country, and the character of our free institutions. J. L.

Washington City, Feb. 24th, 1841.

Mr. Adams spoke to-day about three hours and a half, and paused for the court to adjourn. I have copious notes of the whole, covering fifty post pages, not written very compactly, it is true, but sufficient to enable me, I hope to give hereafter a tolerable view of the whole argument. Of course you will not expect from me aught beyond a meagre skeleton of the performance, which, I may say, has surpassed the most raised expectations in regard to its interest and power, and the skill with which the argument has been carried forward to its object. His exordium was in something like the following words:

May it please your honors—

In rising to address this court, as one of its attorneys and counsellors regularly admitted at a great distance of time, I feel that an apology might well be expected for my appearance, where I shall perhaps be more likely to exhibit at once the infirmities of age and the inexperience of youth, than to render those services to the individuals whose lives and liberties are at the disposal of this court which I would most earnestly desire to render. But, as I am unwilling to employ one moment of the time of the court in anything that regards my own personal situation, I shall reserve what few observations I may think necessary to offer as an apology, till the close of my argument on the merits of the question.

I therefore proceed immediately to say, that, in a consideration of this case, I derive, in the distress I feel both for myself and my clients, consolation from two sources; first, that the rights of my clients to their lives and liberties have already been defended by my learned friend and colleague in so able and complete a manner as leaves me scarcely anything to say, and I feel that such full justice has been done to their interests, that any fault or imperfection of mine will be merely attributed to its true cause; and secondly, I derive consolation from the thought that this court is a court of JUSTICE. And in saying so very trivial a thing, I should not on any other occasion, perhaps, be warranted in asking the court to consider what justice is. Justice, as defined by the institutes of Justitian, nearly two thousand years ago, and as it is felt and understood by all who understand human relations and human rights, is

"*Constans et perpetua voluntas, jus suum cuique tribuere.*"

"A constant and perpetual will to render TO EVERY ONE that which is his own."

And in a court of justice, where there are two parties present, justice demands that the rights of each party should be allowed *to himself*, as well as that each party has a right to be secured and protected by the court. This observation is important, because I appear here on behalf of thirty-six individuals, the life and the liberty of every one of whom depends on the decision of this court. The court, therefore, I trust, in deciding this case, will form no *lumping* judgment but will act on the consideration that the life and the liberty of *every one* of the thirty-six individuals, must be determined by its decision.

They are here, individually, under very different circumstances, and in very different characters. Some are in one predicament, some in another. In some of the proceedings by which they have been brought into the custody and under the protection of this court, thirty-two or three of them have been charged with the crime of murder. Three or four of them are female children, incapable, in the judgment of our laws, of the crime of murder, or piracy, or perhaps, of any other crime. Yet, from the day when the vessel was taken possession of by one of our naval officers, they have all been held as close prisoners, now for the period of eighteen long months, under custody and by authority of the courts of the United States. I trust, therefore, that before the ultimate decision of this court is established, its honorable members will pay due attention to the circumstances and condition of every individual concerned.

When I say I derive consolation from the consideration that I stand before a court of justice, I am obliged to take this ground, because, as I shall show, another department of the government of the United States has taken, with reference to this case, the ground of utter injustice; and these individuals for whom I appear stand before this court, awaiting their fate for its decision, under the array of the whole executive power of this nation against them, in addition to that of a foreign nation. And here arises a consideration, the most painful of all others in considering the duty I have to discharge, in which, in supporting the motion to dismiss the appeal, I shall be obliged not only to investigate and submit to the censure of this court the form and manner of the proceedings of the excutive in this case, but the validity and the motive of the reasons assigned for its interference in this unusual manner, in a suit between parties for their individual rights. At an early period of my life, it was my fortune to witness one of the tragedies of the great dramatist of England, I may say the great dramatist of the world, where I heard Lord Surrey heaping reproaches upon Cardinal Wolsey, at the moment of his disgrace and loss of favour with his sovereign; and the Lord Chamberlain checks him saying, "O, my lord, press not a falling man too far; 'tis virtue." I was struck with the sentiment, and have ever looked upon it as a lesson of morals which I hope to carry to my grave.

It is peculiarly painful to me, under present circumstances, to be under the necessity of arraigning before this court, and before the civilized world, the course of the existing administration in this case. But I must do it. That government is still in power, and, subject to the control of the court, has the lives and liberties of all my clients in its hands. And if I should pass over the course it has pursued, those who have not had an opportunity to examine the case, and perhaps the court itself, might decide that nothing improper had been done, and that the parties I represent had not been wronged by the course pursued by the executive. In making this charge, or arraignment, as defensive of the rights of my clients. I now proceed to an examination of the correspondence of the secretary of state with the ambassador of her Catholic Majesty, as officially communicated to congress, and published among the national documents.

Mr. Adams then commenced a "searching operation," of unequalled skill and thoroughness, into the proceedings of the executive, with the reasons assigned. In the letter of Mr. Forsyth, Dec. 18, 1839, in defending the course of the government against the reproaches heaped upon it by the Spanish minister, he says that *all the proceedings* of the government, judicial and executive, have been grounded on the *assumption* that Ruiz and Montes were *alone* the parties aggrieved. I ask your honours, said Mr. Adams, is this JUSTICE? The Secretary proceeds to describe the sympathy which actuated Lieut. Gedney, and his officers and men, towards the Spanish gentlemen suffering under the lawless violence of their oppressors, and he declares that this sympathetic feeling soon became in a manner national. Here was the motive of the United States for appearing as a party in this suit. And that motive is not JUSTICE, it is sympathy with one party against the other. With too much reason does he call this sympathy national, and it is against this sympathy that I must call upon even this Court to restrain itself—in the name of JUSTICE. One of the judges who presided in some of the preceding trials, is said to have called this an *anomalous* case. It is anomalous, said Mr. Adams, and I know of no law, but one, which I am not at liberty to argue before this court, no law, statute, or constitution, no code, no treaty, applicable to the proceedings of the Executive or the Judiciary, except that law—[pointing, with tremendous emphasis, to the copy of the Declaration of Independence, hanging against one of the pillars of the court-room,] that law, two copies of which are ever before the eyes of your honours. I know of no other law that reaches the case of my clients, but that law of nature, and of nature's God, on which our fathers placed our own national existence. The circumstances are so peculiar, that no code or treaty has provided for such a case. That law, in its application to the case of my clients, I trust will be the law on which the case will be decided by this court.

In commenting upon the first seizure of the vessel, he quoted the senate's resolutions (Calhoun's) of last session, and said, admitting those principles to be true, to what nation did the Amistad belong when taken possession of by the officers of the United States? The Africans were in possession, and had the presumptive right of ownership, they were in peace with the United States; the courts have decided, and truly, that they were not pirates; they were on a voyage to their own native homes, their *dulces Argos*; they had acquired the right, and, so far as their knowledge extended, they had the power of prosecuting their voyage; the ship was theirs, and being in immediate communication with the shore, was I believe in the territory of the state of New York, or, if not, at least half of the number were actually on the soil of New York, and entitled to all the provisions of the law of nations, and to the protection, and aid, and comfort, which the laws of that state secure to every human being within her limits. In this situation Lieut. Gedney, without any charge or authority from his government, without warrant of law, by force, by firearms, seizes and disarms them, then being in the peace of that commonwealth and of the United States, drives them on board the vessel, seizes the vessel, and transfers it against the will of its possessors to another state. I ask in the name of JUSTICE, by what law was this done? Even admitting that it had been a case of actual piracy, which your courts have properly found it was not, there are questions arising here of the deepest interest to the liberties of the people of this union, and especially of the state of New York. Have the officers of the United States navy a right to seize men by force, on the territory of New York, to fire at them, to overpower them, to disarm them, to put them on board of a vessel, and carry them by force and against their will to another state, without warrant or form of law? I am not arraigning Lieutenant Gedney, but I ask this court, in the name of JUSTICE, to settle it in their minds, by what law it was done, and how far the principle it embraces is to be carried.

In commenting upon the demands first made by the Spanish minister, Don Calderon de la Barca, Mr. Adams adverted to the illustrious standing of his name in the Spanish annals, and to his own friendly relations with him while a resident of this country, and begged to be understood as not intending to treat him personally with disrespect while he examined his demands, as they ought to appear in the eyes of an American executive or an American court. M. Calderon then demands, 1, that the vessel shall be delivered to her owner—who was killed; 2, that it should be declared by the president that no court could try the negros, but that he should keep them safely, and send them to Cuba for punishment; and 3, that they should be delivered up to their owners, or the latter indemnified. In what position does he place the president of the United States? First, he is to turn jailor and keep these men safely, and then to become a tipstaff and carry them to Cuba, to be tried by the slave holders of the baracoons. Was ever such a demand made upon a civilized government? If the president had arbitrary and unlimited power, he could not satisfy all these demands. And if he could send forty Africans beyond the seas by his own *lettres de cachet*, he could send forty American citizens as well by the same power.

In commenting upon article 9 of the treaty of 1795, on which the United States government has rested its claim for the restoration of these Africans as merchandize rescued out of the hands of robbers, he said he spoke of his own knowledge with regard to the objects of the Article, having himself negotiated the revisal and renewal of this very treaty, in 1819; and there was never such an idea passed between him and the Spanish minister of that day, as that this clause was to include persons as merchandize. The courts below have decided that they have no right to consider these Africans as pirates and robbers. If the sympathies of the government and the nation had been impartial, in what light would Ruiz and Montes have appeared? These Africans had been torn from their own country, shipped at Lomboko against the laws of Spain, against the laws of the United States, against the laws of nations—as far as the United States and Spain and Great Britain were concerned—they were in fact and in law on the continuation of the original voyage, they were in a perishing condition, dropping dead from day to day, no less than sixteen having died of the treatment they received from Ruiz and Montes before they reached our shores, while, during the last fourteen months, not one has died in an American prison. The moment they were restored to the absolute wants of human nature, furnished by the tenderness of our laws, the mortality ceased, and they have enjoyed perfect health.

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At the great day of account, said Mr. Adams, who is to be responsible for the souls of these sixteen men that died? Ruiz claims them as his merchandise. Who, in the closing hour of his life, would have those sixteen passing before his eyes and exclaiming, "Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow?" Who, then, were the oppressors and robbers from whom this vessel was rescued!

The article cannot apply to human beings. It says the ships and merchandise shall be restored *entire*. Is that treaty made between cannibal nations, and does it intend to stipulate that, when human merchandise is restored, the legs and arms shall not be cut off? This single word "entire" is sufficient to exclude human beings from the scope of the article. But it says merchandise, rescued from robbers. Who are the robbers, and what is the merchandise? According to the construction of the Spanish minister, the merchandise is the robbers, and the robbers are the merchandise; the merchandise was rescued out of its own hand, and the robbers were rescued out of the hand of the merchandise. These Africans are themselves the robbers, out of whose hands they themselves have been rescued. Is this the meaning of the treaty?

With regard to article 10 of the treaty, he showed that, if it applied to any party, it was to the Africans, who were in possession of the ship, and who were pursuing a *lawful* voyage, while that of Ruiz and Montes was clearly unlawful. The treaty says they shall be treated as our own citizens. Suppose the case had been an American vessel, a Baltimore clipper, fitted out for the African slave-trade, and had performed its voyage, directly or indirectly, and, with fifty-four African victims on board, had been taken possession of by our cruisers, how would our own citizens have been treated? The captain would have been seized and *hung*. No appeal before this court could have saved him. Is that the provision of the 10th article, which is sought to be applied in behalf of Ruiz and Montes? Perhaps it would be a nearer reward for their merits than the restoration of these poor negros to their power would be, or any other act enabling them to complete their voyage.

Washington Feb. 25th, 1841.

After having shown the absurdity of the pretext that the treaty afforded any ground for the surrender of the Africans as merchandize, or as a part of the cargo of the vessel, Mr. Adams proceeded to examine the other arguments urged by M. Calderon de la Barca upon the American secretary of state, to induce him to send these unfortunate men to Cuba, to meet the justice of the barracoons. One was, that if these men were suffered to go unpunished after what they had done, it would greatly endanger the safety of the island of Cuba, where the citizens of the United States have so extensive a trade, and where numbers of them own properties, which they cultivate by the labour of slaves. I submit to your honours, said Mr. Adams, that the Spanish minister has no right to appeal to the courts of this country to pass a particular sentence between parties before them, on the consideration of their personal interest, or that of other American citizens in slave property in Cuba. What will become of the liberties of this country, if our courts are to pass sentence affecting individual rights, upon a consideration of the effect their decision may have upon the interests of American citizens in all parts of the world where they are scattered; for if it applies in the case of American interests in Cuba, it is equally applicable in regard to interests in China, Hindostan, or the Fejee islands. It is no proper argument for the Spanish minister to address to the secretary of state. It was undoubtedly calculated and designed to appeal strongly to the *sympathy* which the secretary speaks of, and which he says had well nigh become national. It was well calculated to excite and influence the secretary of state, not only in regard to supposed American interests in Cuba, but perhaps also in regard to interests that might be supposed to be nearer home. But was it JUSTICE? Was it a ground on which courts will decide causes? I trust not.

The Spanish minister proceeds to say, that the influence of capital punishment inflicted in this country, which he seems not to have entertained a doubt would be promptly dealt out to these Africans, would not be attended with the same salutary effects as if inflicted in Cuba. The indemnification, says he, which I officially ask in that case to the owners of the slaves would be but a slender compensation—for, though the property of individuals might be unimpaired, the satisfaction due to public justice is not accorded. And that, said Mr. Adams, is the reason why the president of the United States was asked to issue his *lettres de cachet*, and send these unfortunate individuals to Cuba. There are some other passages in this letter, said Mr. Adams, which I had rather your honors would read when you are together in your apartment for consultation. I hope the court will read them, but I had rather not trust myself to comment upon them as they deserve. Your honors, in the pursuit of JUSTICE, will read them, and will see why I abstain from doing it.

The Spanish minister concludes by referring to the readiness with which the Spanish authorities would accord to citizens of the United States any fugitive slaves who might be found in the island of Cuba. And was this, said Mr. Adams, an argument to be addressed to the secretary of state of the United States? Is it upon these principles that this case is to be decided? Is it by the offer of such an equivalent that our government is to be persuaded to deliver over these unhappy men? "If you will deliver these negros to me, for whose blood all the slave-traders of Cuba thirst, any slave from the southern states who shall take refuge in the island of Cuba will be readily given up." What is this argument, as addressed to the secretary of state? It is, that it would be a very easy thing for the governor-general of Cuba to seize a fugitive slave, or pretended slave from the south, and put him on board of a vessel, and send him to one of the southern states. It may be so. It appears from one of the authorities read by the learned attorney-general, that this governor has royal power—that he is in fact equal to the king, and it may be easy for him to do such a thing to any man, black or white, slave or free. But is that to be done by the president of the United States, or to be required of him? If it is, I should hope he would wait for some more explicit stipulations than appear in the treaty of 1795. It was quite enough, one would think, to require the president of the United States to keep these men safely, and to send them back speedily, without making this—what shall I call it?—this offer to send back the slaves of the south, if the president will deliver up these Africans to the authorities of Cuba.

Now, may it please your honors, we are to inquire, what was it the duty of the secretary of state to do, on receiving such a demand? What did he do? His first act was to misrepresent the demand, and write to the district attorney of the United States for Connecticut, directing him to pursue a claim for these negros to be delivered up as property, because the Spanish minister had demanded them to be given up under the treaty. That is what he did, when it is apparent that the Spanish minister had made no such demand, and he ordered the district attorney to take care that no decision of the district court, or of any other, should place them beyond the control of the executive. That is what he did. And the consequence is the appearance of this case before the court. The attorney of the United States pursued his orders. He stated in his libel, that the Spanish minister had demanded the restoration of the negros as the property of Spanish subjects. And then, as if conscious that this process might not be sufficient to effect the other branch of his instructions, to wit, to prevent the negros from being "placed beyond the control of the executive," he added another claim, of his own accord, as far as appears, that if the court should find them not to be slaves, they should be placed at the disposal of the president, for a violation of the laws against the slave trade. That was the execution of his order to *take care* that no court should place them beyond the control of the executive.

In a subsequent stage of the proceedings, the district attorney filed another libel, in which he left out this alternative demand. Why was this? I can conceive of no reason, but that he had been so instructed by the secretary of state. These instructions do not appear in the printed documents communicated by the president to congress. But it does not follow that no such instructions were given. That document is not a full communication of all the papers in the case, as I know of my own knowledge. The resolution calling for the papers contained the usual exception of papers that cannot be published consistently with the public interest—and under that exception papers were kept back. The amount is, however, that the executive did not choose to hold itself responsible for the alternative demand. This appears by the bringing of this appeal by the United States. What has the United States appealed from? The district attorney knew that the libel, founded on the claim of the Spanish minister, falsified as that claim was by the secretary, was not sufficient to keep these Africans from being placed beyond the control of the executive, and he therefore inserted the other count.

Well, the district court examined the case, and dissipated every pretension that these negros could be held as merchandize. The only *ladino* concerning whom there was any pretence that he was a slave, the court decreed should be given up. We do not appeal from that decree, although I confess, had I been of counsel in that stage of the proceedings, I should have been much disposed to appeal, on the ground that there is no article in the treaty which, by any possible construction, can apply to persons as merchandize, or that had any thing to do with the restoration of this boy, and the decree was not warranted by law or treaty. Indeed, the district judge seems to have felt the same difficulty, for he inserted in his decree that the boy was desirous of returning, and as *volenti non fit injuria*, I reconcile my mind to that part of the decision, for I could certainly have no possible motive to interfere with the wishes of the boy to return. And now, so strange, so singular is every thing that happens in connexion with this case; I understand that the boy has not returned, but remains now in the custody of the officers of the court! And I feel bound, as an individual, to protest against his being delivered up to the representatives of his late master on any grounds arising out of the treaty, which, I maintain, has no application whatever to the case.

And now, what answer ought the secretary of state to have returned to these demands? It was his duty instantaneously to answer the Spanish minister, by telling him that every one of his demands was utterly inadmissible, and that the president of the United States had it not in his power to do any one of all these things he had required. He would not deliver the ship to her owner—he was dead—there was no owner—and there was no duty of the United States to dispose of the vessel in that manner. As to the question of salvage, that depended on the court before which the case was pending for trial according to law. The proclamation required of the president, or the declaration that no court of the United States had authority to try the case, was not only inadmissible, but an offensive demand—it was calling upon the president to usurp a control over the judiciary, which he could not exercise but by the overthrow of the whole constitution generally, and, in every particular, all the rights of the nation, and all the rights of the states. And as to the delivering up of the negros, that was equally inadmissible, for the president had no such power to arrest or deliver up any person whatever.

But this demand is insignificant, in comparison with the other—that the president should himself send them beyond the sea for trial. He should have called upon the Spanish ambassador to name an instance in the history of nations, where such a demand had been made by any government of another and independent nation. To make the president of the United States, not the head of a nation, but a constable, a catch-pole—a character not possible to be named in gentlemanly language! Yet that is what this demand makes of the president of the United States. And the secretary should have set the Spanish minister right with regard to the tribunal before which these questions were pending, by showing him that it was not a state court, but a court of the United States, sitting in the district of Connecticut. And now, from that day to this, the secretary of state has never answered one of these demands, nor arrested one of these misapprehensions, nor asserted the rights and the honour of the nation against one of these most extraordinary, inadmissible, and insolent demands. He has degraded the country, in the face of the whole civilized world, not only by allowing these demands to remain unanswered, but by proceeding, I am obliged to say, throughout the whole transaction, as if the executive were earnestly desirous to comply with every one of the demands. In the very misrepresentations of those demands, in his instructions to the district attorney, under which this case is brought here, why does he take such a course? The Spanish minister pronounced the court before which the secretary brought the question an incompetent tribunal—and this position has been maintained by the legation of Spain down to this very month, that a letter of Chevalier d'Argaiz officially protests against the jurisdiction of the courts, before which the secretary professes to be prosecuting the claim of this very minister!

Why does the Spanish minister persist in such inadmissible pretensions? It is because they were not met *in limine* in a proper manner—because he was not told instantly, without the delay of an hour, that this government could never admit such claims, and would be offended if they were repeated, or any portion of them. Yet all these claims, monstrous, absurd, and inadmissible as they are, have been urged and repeated for

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eighteen months upon our government, and an American secretary of state *evades* answering any of them—evades it to such an extent that the Spanish minister *reproaches* him for not meeting his arguments!

Washington, March 1, 1841.

Mr. Adams resumed his plea in behalf of the African captives of the the Amistad. He commenced by briefly re-stating the course of argument which he had thought it his duty to adopt, first appealing to this court as a court of JUSTICE, and then showing with what injustice his clients had met from the executive of the government, which injustice he traced to its source, a strong *sympathy* with one of the parties in interest and against the other. He took the occasion to disclaim all feelings of personal unkindness towards the president, or the secretary of state, or any of the cabinet, relative to the case. With every one of them he had lived in private intercourse, on terms of the most friendly character. And as to their political differences, they must pass for what they were worth. At the very moment of the expiration of this administration, he felt extreme reluctance at bringing its conduct before the court. He appealed to his learned friend the attorney-general, to bear witness that he was not voluntary in doing it. He had even descended to personal solicitation that he might be spared the necessity of appearing, by a consent on the part of the executive to a dismissal of the appeal, and allowing the matter to rest on the decision of the court below. But he had failed in his effort, and painful as it was, he would do justice to his clients, whose lives and liberties were now depending upon the decision of this court.

At the close of my argument the other day, said he, I was commenting upon the complaints of the Chevalier de Argaiz, in his letter to the secretary of state of the 25th December, 1839. In that letter he complains of the injustice done to two of the subjects of her Catholic Majesty, who were arrested in the city of New York in a suit commenced on behalf of some of these Africans.

"The secretary of state, however, says 'that he cannot but perceive with regret that the Chevalier de Argaiz has not formed an accurate conception of the true character of the question, nor of the rules by which, under the constitutional institutions of this country, the examination of it must be conducted.' Possibly the undersigned may not have formed such an accurate conception of this affair, since it has been carried within the circle of the subtleties, as he has not pursued the profession of the law; but he is well persuaded that, if the crew of the Amistad had been composed of white men, the court or the corporation to which the government of the Union might have submitted the examination of the question would have observed the rules by which it should be conducted under the constitutional institutions of the country, and would have limited itself to the ascertainment of the facts of the murders committed on the 30th of June; and the undersigned does not comprehend the privilege enjoyed by negros, in favour of whom an interminable suit is commenced, in which everything is deposed by every person who pleases; and, for that object, an English doctor, who accuses the Spanish government of not complying with its treaties, and calumniates the captain-general of the island of Cuba, by charging him with bribery."

This English Doctor is Dr. Madden, whose testimony is given in the record. He certainly does not charge the captain-general with bribery, although he says that both he and the other authorities of Cuba are in the habit of winking or conniving at the slave-trade. That this is the actual state of affairs, I submit to the court, is a matter of history. And I call the attention of the court to this fact, as one of the worst points of this case. It is universally known that the trade is actually carried on contrary to the laws of Spain, but by the general connivance of the governor-general and all the authorities and the people of the island. The case of this very vessel, the visit of Ruiz and Montes to the barracoon in which these people were confined, the vessel in which they were brought from Africa, are all matters of history. I have a document which was communicated by the British government to the parliament, which narrates the whole transaction. Mr. Adams here read from the parliamentary documents a letter from Mr. Jerningham, the British minister at Madrid, to the Spanish secretary of state, dated January 5th, 1840, describing the voyage of the Tecora from Africa—the purchase of these Africans who were brought in her, with the subsequent occurrences, and urging the Spanish government to take measures, both for their liberation, and to enforce the laws of Spain against Ruiz and Montes.

He says, "I have consequently been instructed by my government to call upon the government of her Catholic Majesty to issue, with as little delay as possible, strict orders to the authorities of Cuba, that, if the request of the Spanish minister at Washington be complied with, these negros may be put in possession of the liberty of which they were deprived, and to the recovery of which they have an undeniable title.

"I am further directed to express the just expectations of her Majesty's government, that the government of her Catholic Majesty will cause the laws against the slave-trade to be enforced against Messrs. Jose Ruiz and Pedro Montes, who purchased these newly imported negros, and against all such other Spanish subjects as have been concerned in this nefarious transaction."

These facts, said Mr. Adams, must be well known to the Spanish minister. If he complains of injustice in the charge of general connivance made by Dr. Madden, why has he not undertaken to prove that it is a calumny? Not the slightest attempt has been made to bring forward any evidence on this point, for the very plain reason that there could be none. The fact of the slave-trade is too notorious to be questioned. I will read, said he, from another high authority, a book filled with valuable and authentic information on the subject of the slave-trade, written by one of the most distinguished philanthropists of Great Britain, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. Mr. Adams then read as follows:—

"It is scarcely practicable to ascertain the number of slaves imported into Cuba; it can only be a calculation on, at best, doubtful data. We are continually told by the commissioners, that difficulties are thrown in the way of obtaining correct information in regard to the slave-trade in that island. Everything that artifice, violence, intimidation, popular countenance, and official connivance can do, is done to conceal the extent of the traffic. Our ambassador, Mr. Villiers, April, 1837, says, 'that a privilege (that of entering the harbour after dark) denied to all other vessels, is granted to the slave-trader; and, in short, that with the servants of the government, the misconduct of the persons connected in this trade finds favour and protection. The crews of captured vessels are permitted to purchase their liberation; and it would seem that the persons concerned in this trade have resolved upon setting the government of the mother country at defiance.' Almost the only specific fact which I can collect from the reports of the commissioners, is the statement, 'that 1835 presents a number of slave-vessels (arriving at the Havana) by which there must have been landed, at the very least, 15,000 negros.' But in an official letter, dated 28th May, 1836, there is the following remarkable passage:—'I wish I could add, that this list contains even one-fourth of the number of those which have entered after having landed cargoes, or sailed after having refitted in this harbour.' This would give an amount of 60,000 for the Havana alone; but is Havana the only port in Cuba in which negros are landed? The reverse is notoriously true. The commissioner says, 'I have every reason to believe that several of the other ports of Cuba, more particularly the distant city of St. Jago de Cuba, carry on the traffic to a considerable extent.' Indeed it is stated by Mr. Hardy, the consul at St. Jago, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, of the 18th February, 1837, 'that the Portuguese brig *Boca Negra*, landed on the 6th inst. at Juragua, a little to windward of this port (St. Jago) 400 Africans of all ages, and subsequently entered this port.' But in order that we may be assuredly within the mark, no claim shall be made on account of these distant ports. Confining ourselves to the Havana, it would seem probable, if it be not demonstrated, that the number for that port, *à fortiori*, for the whole island, may fairly be estimated at 60,000."

This evidence is important to show what is the real value of this certificate of the governor-general. There is one other proof which I will read to the court, and leave it to your honors to judge of its bearing, and of the conclusion to which it arrives. It is the statement of the Spanish vice consul, Mr. Vega.

"The following statement was made to me by A. G. Vega, Esq., Spanish consul, as near as I can now recollect, and according to my best knowledge and belief, 10th Janury, 1840.

W. S. HOLABIRD.

"That he is a Spanish subject; that he resided in the island of Cuba several years, that he knows the laws of that island on the subject of slavery; that there was no law that was considered in force in the Island of Cuba, that prohibited the bringing in African slaves; that the court of mixed commissioners had no jurisdiction except in case of capture on the sea; that newly imported African negros were constantly brought to the island, and after landing were *bonâ fide* transferred from one owner to another, without any interference by the local authorities or the mixed commission, and were held by the owners and recognized as lawful property; that slavery was recognized in Cuba by all the laws that were considered in force there; that the native language of the slaves was kept up on some plantations for years. That the barracoons are public markets, where all descriptions of slaves are sold and bought; that the papers of the Amistad are genuine, and are in the usual form; that it was not necessary to practise any fraud to obtain such papers from the proper officers of the government; that none of the papers of the Amistad are signed by Martinez, spoken of by R. R. Madden, in his deposition; that he (Martinez) did not hold the office from whence that paper issued."

This is the statement given to the district attorney by Mr. Vega, and by him made a part of this case. This Spanish functionary declares positively, that he knows there is no law *in force* in Cuba against the African slave-trade, and that recent Africans are held and sold *bonâ fide* as slaves. It is conclusive to prove this fact, that the illegal importation and purchase of Africans is openly practised in Cuba, although it is contrary to the laws of Spain, but those laws are not considered in force, that is, the violation of them is constantly connived at by the authorities.

It may not be universally known, but is doubtless known to members of this court, that there is a volume of correspondence on this subject by our consul at Havana, which will be communicated to Congress for publication in a few days, and I can state from my personal knowledge that it confirms every word of Dr. Madden's statements on this point, and will show how much reliance is to be placed on this certificate of the governor-general.

But I will return to the letter of the Chevalier de Argaiz. I have not the honour of knowing this gentleman personally, as I knew his predecessor, but I certainly entertain no feeling of unkindness towards him. And in examining his correspondence, although it is my duty show that his demands are utterly inadmissible and unprecedented, yet it must be admitted, that his sympathy and partiality for his own countrymen are at least natural; and, if his zeal and earnestness are somewhat excessive, they are at least pardonable. There is in this letter, I must say, a simplicity, what the French call *bonhommie*, which gives me a favourable impression of his character, and I certainly feel the farthest possible from a disposition to pass any censure on him. I repeat that, so far as this sympathy is concerned, if it is not entirely excusable, it is much more reasonable than it is in some others who have not the same interests to defend. He goes on to express his pleasure at the assurance received from the secretary, that "whatever may be the final settlement of the question, it will be in consequence of a decision emanating from the government, and not from any other source;" and he adds, that "he doubts not such decision will be conformable with the opinion which was confidentially communicated to him at the Department of State on the 19th of November, as founded on that of a learned lawyer, and which he was assured had been adopted by the cabinet."

I take it for granted that the opinion referred to is the opinion of the attorney-general of that time, Mr. Grundy, contained in the congressional document. It will be necessary for me to examine that document before I close, as well as the other papers, and I wish to say that the decision of that gentleman, under the circumstances in which it occurred, has made such an impression on my mind as could not but have disarmed me of any disposition to censure him, if I had before entertained it. It will be a painful duty to me to examine, as I must with the utmost severity, that document. And I shall show that it is such, that neither the courts nor the cabinet ought ever to have acted on it.

In another part of his letter, M. de Argaiz says of Ruiz and Montes, that "they were not exempted from the persecutions of an *atrocious intrigue*, and the undersigned is not the first who has so styled this persecution." This is a pretty plain intimation that the American secretary of state *was the first* who called the suit of my clients for legal redress, "an atrocious intrigue," in his "confidential conversation" with the Spanish minister. This is followed by an idea so novel and ingenious,

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that it is necessary to repeat the whole of it. After complaining that negros should be allowed to be complainants, he goes on to argue that they ought to be considered, "morally and legally, as not being in the United States," and of course, if they should be delivered up physically, I suppose it was to be inferred that the executive would not incur any responsibility.

"They are morally and legally not in the United States, because the court of Connecticut has not declared whether or not it is competent to try them. If it should declare itself incompetent, it declares that they are under the cover of the Spanish flag; and, in that case, they are physically under the protection of a friendly government, but morally and legally out of the territory and jurisdiction of the United States; and, so long as a doubt remains on this subject, no judge can admit the complaint. If this argument be of any value with the secretary of state of the government of the Union, the undersigned entreats him to prevail on the president to cause a protest, founded on this argument, to be officially addressed to the court of New York."

His predecessor, M. Calderon, called upon the president for a *proclamation* forbidding the courts to take up the case, and the present minister of Spain insists that he shall send forth his *protest* to take it out of the hands of the courts—and this on the ground, that my clients, although personally imprisoned for eighteen months by the United States marshal, under order of the United States court, yet are "not morally and legally in the United States." There is another argument by the same gentleman, very much of the same character. The court will find it in his first letter after the arrest of Ruiz and Montes at New York. He says:

"It would be easy to demonstrate the illegality of these arrests, the orders for which have possibly been obtained from the attorney by surprise: as it would also be easy to show the ignorance of the declarant, Tappan, in declaring that Ruiz is known by the name of *Pipi*, whereas he would have been known and distinguished throughout Spain, as all other Joses are, by the diminutive of *Pepe*, and thus it appears that a *Pepe* has been imprisoned instead of a *Pipi*, which I believe the law does not permit."

The argument is certainly ingenious, and, if it is sound at all, it is worth more in favour of the Africans than of the Spaniards, as I may hereafter have occasion to show, when I come to consider the case of nine-and-forty persons with Spanish names, who have been arrested and brought into court by African names.

The Chevalier de Argaiz, in the close of this letter, exhibits his loyalty towards the then acting sovereign of his nation.

"At the moment when the heart of the august Queen-governess is filled with delight on account of the termination of a civil war, and the assurance of the throne of her august daughter, her minister in the United States has to perform the painful duty of diminishing her happiness by communicating to her, as he did by letter on the 19th instant, the disagreeable event which forms the subject of this communication. The desire of calming the disquiet which this news may occasion in the mind of her Majesty, together with that of alleviating the lot of the two prisoners, urge the undersigned to entreat you, Mr. Secretary of State, to take into consideration what he has here set forth, and to afford him the means, in a prompt reply, of satisfying those just desires, which will be completely done if he is able to transmit such a reply to his government, by the packet sailing for Havre on the 1st of November next."

It must doubtless, said Mr. Adams, be some consolation to this loyal minister, to reflect that, before the august Queen-governess could have received the painful intelligence of the imprisonment of two such meritorious subjects as Ruiz and Montes to diminish her happiness, her heart had been gratified in a much better manner. In the pursuit of that happiness for which she longed, it seems that she retired altogether from the cares of state into the comforts of domestic life, with a husband that, I hope, has calmed her disquiet; and if it should ultimately turn out that the lives of these poor Africans are saved, there will be no further occasion to diminish the happiness of the august Queen-governess.

On the 30th December, five days after the date of the letter I have been commenting upon, the Chevalier de Argaiz, wrote again to the secretary of state.

Washington, December, 30th, 1839.

SIR—In the conversation which I had with you on the morning of the day before yesterday, you mentioned the possibility that the court of Connecticut might, at its meeting on the 7th of January next, declare itself incompetent, or order the restitution of the schooner Amistad, with her cargo and the negros found on board of her; and you then showed me that it would be necessary for the legation of her Catholic Majesty to take charge of them as soon as the court should have pronounced its sentence or resolution; and, although I had the honour to state to you that this legation could not possibly transfer the said negros to Havana, still it appears proper for me now to declare that—

"Considering that the schooner Amistad cannot make a voyage, on account of the bad condition in which she is, of her being entirely without a crew:

"Considering that it would be difficult to find a vessel of the United States willing to take charge of these negros, and to transport them to Havana; and also that these negros have declared before the court of Connecticut that they are not slaves, and that the best means of testing the truth of their allegation is to bring them before the courts of Havana.

"Being at the same time desirous to free the government of the United States from the trouble of keeping the said negros in prison, I venture to request you to prevail upon the president, to allow to the government of her Catholic Majesty the assistance which it asks under the present circumstances from that of the United States, by placing the negros found on board of the said schooner, and claimed by this legation, at the disposition of the captain-general of the island of Cuba, transporting them thither in a ship belonging to the United States. Her Catholic Majesty's government, I venture to assert, will receive this act of generosity as a most particular favour, which would serve to strengthen the bonds of good and reciprocal friendship now happily reigning between the two nations."

Here is no longer a demand for the delivery of slaves to their owners, nor for the surrender of the Africans to the Spanish minister as assassins, but an application to the president of the United States, to transport forty individuals *beyond the seas*, to be tried for their lives. Is there a member of this honourable court that ever heard of such a demand made by a foreign minister on any government? Is there in the whole history of Europe an instance of such a demand made upon an independent government? I have never in the whole course of my life, in modern or ancient history, met with such a demand by one government on another. Or, if such a demand was ever made, it was when the nation on which it was made was not in the condition of an independent power.

What was this demand? It was that the executive of the United States, on his own authority, without evidence, without warrant of law, should seize, put on board a national armed ship, and send beyond seas, forty men to be tried for their lives. I ask the learned attorney-general in his argument on this point of the case, to show what is to be the bearing of this proceeding on the liberties of the people. I ask him to tell us what authority there is for such an exercise of power by the executive. I ask him if there is any authority for such a proceeding in the case of these unfortunate Africans, which would not be equally available, if any president thought proper to exercise it, to seize and send off forty citizens of the United States. Will he vindicate such an authority? Will this court give it a judicial sanction?

Mr. Adams then concluded his analysis of the course of the executive—the correspondence of the secretary with the district attorney of Connecticut—the suppressed letters of the latter—the opinion of the late attorney-general—the complaints of M. Argaiz that there was any sympathy for the Africans—the alleged confidential conversations of the secretary with the Spanish minister—the suggestion first made by the district attorney of Connecticut in his *suppressed* letter to the secretary of state—then by the secretary in a *confidential* conversation to the Spanish minister, which resulted in the formal application of the latter for a ship of war to carry the Africans "beyond seas" for trial; the despatch of the *Grampus* to New Haven, under secret orders, with the direction not to wait for the Africans to appeal. Perhaps I may hereafter give you a brief survey of the whole of this part of the argument, including what is yet behind of his first day's speech. The examination of the opinion of the late attorney-general was considerably minute and very searching. The whole rests on the idea, that the "due faith and credit" which "comity" requires should be paid to the acts of foreign courts and officers, goes so far that a mere passport or custom-house permit is to conclude all courts in regard to all questions of life, liberty, or property, in all countries and between all parties. Papers are to be credited, said Mr. Adams, for that which they purport to do. But whoever supposed that a custom-house permit was evidence of property in him who obtained it? And he referred to decisions of this court to that effect.

After quoting the conclusion to which the attorney-general came, advising that the president should at once issue an order for the delivery of the slaves (as they were assumed to be) to the Spanish authorities, he exclaimed—"for the delivery of these MEN," being at that time in the judicial custody of the courts of the United States! And that is the opinion which the American secretary of state told the Spanish minister the cabinet had adopted! Why did they not act upon it? Why did not the president send an order at once to the marshal to seize these men and ship them beyond seas, or deliver them to the Spanish minister? I am ashamed, said he, I am ashamed of my country, that such an opinion should have been delivered by any public officer, especially by the legal counsellor of the executive. I am ashamed to stand up before the nations of the earth, with such an opinion recorded before us as official, and still more as adopted by the cabinet—which yet DID NOT DARE TO DO THE DEED. Why did they not do it? If it had been done, it would have ended the question at once, at least so far as relates to my unfortunate clients. They would have been wrested from that protection which was of all things their due after they had been taken into the custody of the courts of the country. Why was it not done? There seems to have been an impression still left, that an order like this would require to be enforced by a body of troops. The people of Connecticut never would, never ought to have suffered it to be executed but by main force.

The order of the president, which was given to consign them over to slavery and death, was not signed by him in his official capacity, and Mr. Adams intimated a strong suspicion that the blunder in the first order, of substituting circuit for district court, was corrected in the state department without the knowledge of the president. It was this sympathy, he said, prevailing every where to such a degree as to pervert the understanding of all persons concerned, and blind their minds to all the most sound principles on which the liberties of this nation are founded—leading to a course of action, not only unjust to the persons whose lives and liberties were at stake, but hostile to the independence of the judiciary and the power of the courts.

Mr. Adams then went into a brief but severe examination of the article said to be from one of the brightest intellects of the south, which appeared in the official Gazette of the government on the very day that this court convened.

I will now, said Mr. Adams, make a few observations on the passport, or permit, as it has been called, which is relied on as of authority sufficient to bind this court and government to deliver up my clients irrevocably as slaves, on a claim of property by Ruiz and Montes.* Here we have what

* It is thought best to give a copy of this celebrated passport, as it appears in the congressional documents, with the exception that the interpolate word *negros* is omitted, and the portions of the paper which were in writing are printed in italics. It will be seen that the signature of the captain-general, of which so much was made, was *printed!*

Filiacion.	
Estatura	- -
Edad	- -
Color	- -
Pelo	- -
Frente	- -
Cejas	- -
Ojos	- -
Nariz	- -
Boca	- -
Barba	- -
Senales particulares	

N. HABANA, 26 *de Junio de* 1839.

Concedo licencia a *cuerenta y nueve ladinos nombrados Antonio, Simon, Lucas Jose, Pedro, Martin, Manuel, Andres, Eduardo, Celedonio, Bartolo, Ramon, Agustin, Evaristo, Casimiro, Melchor-Gabriel, Santorian, Escolastico, Pascual, Estanis, lao, Desiderio, Nicolas, Esteban, Tomas, Cosme, Luis, Bartolo, Julian, Frederico, Salustiano, Ladislao, Celestino, Epifaneo, Tibureo, Venancio, Felipe, Francisco, Hipolito, Benito, Ysidoro, Vicente, Dionisio, Apolonco, Esequiel, Leon, Julio, Hipolito, y Zenon*, de la propiedad de *Don José Ruiz*, para que pasen à *Puerto Principe* por mar, debiendo, presentarse con esta al juez territorial respectivo.

Espelata—Derecho dos reales—una rubrica. Comandancia de Matriculas. Pasan en *la goleta Amistad* à la *Guanaja*, patron *Ferrer*.

Habana, *y Junio* 27, *de* 1839. *MARTINEZ.*

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appears to be a blank passport, filled up with forty-nine Spanish names, of persons who are described as *ladinos*, and as being the property of Don Jose Ruiz. Now, said he, this on the face of it is an imposture. It is not a passport that can be inspected as such by this court, or by any tribunal. It appears on the face of it to be a passport designed for one person, a man, as there are blanks in the margin to be filled up with a description of the person, as to his height, age, complexion, hair, forehead, eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth, beard, and particular marks. This particular description of the person is the very essence of a passport, as it is designed to identify the individual by the conformity of his person to the marks given: and a passport is nothing, and is good for nothing, if it does not accord with the marks given. The man who presents it must show by this accordance that he is the person named. Every body who has ever had occasion to use passports knows this. We are not in the habit of using passports in this country; you may go through the country from state to state freely without any passport to show who and what you are, and what is your business. But throughout the continent of Europe passports are everywhere necessary. At every town you show your passport to a public officer, who instantly compares your person with the description, and, if it corresponds, you proceed, but, if the description varies from the reality, you cannot pass. That is the nature of a passport. It says, let the person who bears these marks pass the custom-house or the guard, as the case may be. And its validity depends on the accuracy of the description.

I once had occasion, many years ago, to see the operation of these things in a very remarkable case. I was a passenger in a merchant vessel bound to the north of Europe. In passing through the Sound, at Elsinore, we were arrested by a British squadron, who brought us to, and sent a lieutenant on board to examine our crew. He ordered all the men to be mustered on deck, and the captain had no alternative but to comply. It was a most mortifying scene to an American. Every American seaman was obliged to show his protection, the same thing at sea as a passport on the land, to secure him from impressment by British cruisers. The officer examined every man carefully, to see whether his person corresponded with the description in his protection. He finally found one young man, who was a native of Charlestown, Massachusetts, within ten miles where I was born, but his description was not correct, whether through the blunder of the man who wrote it, or because he had taken another man's protection, I do not know, but the officer said he had a good mind to take him; and, if I had not been on board, as the bearer of a public commission in the service of the government, I have no doubt that man would have been taken, and compelled to serve on board a British man-of-war, solely for the want of correspondence of the description with his person. I mention this to show that the value of a passport, according to the rules of those countries where such things are used, depends on the description of the person, and this is all left blank in the paper here presented us as a passport. There is not a particle of description by which even a single individual named could be identified. It is not worth a groat. I do not say it is a forgery, but I say its incompetency to answer the purpose of a passport is apparent on the face of it. Who knows, or how is this court to ascertain, that the persons named in this paper are the same with those taken in the Amistad. No court, no tribunal, no officer, would accept such a document as a passport. And will this court grant its decree in a case affecting both liberty and life on that paper? It is impossible.

I now come to the case of the Antelope, as reported in ten Wheaton, 66, and I ask particular attention to this case, not only because it brings a show of authority in favour of the delivering up of slaves, but because I feel bound to entreat the court, whether they find a principle settled by that case or not, to settle the question now upon further and mature consideration. Chief Justice Marshall said expressly, in delivering the opinion of the court, that, as the court was divided, "no principle is settled." If there was a principle settled, and that was in favour of delivering up persons held as slaves by foreign laws, I ask this court to re-examine that principle, and settle it anew. And if, upon re-examination, by what I should deem the greatest misfortune to this country, the court should be divided in this case, as it was in that, I respectfully ask your honours to give your separate opinions, with the reasons. I would not call in question the propriety of the determination of the court in that day severally to withhold their reasons from the public; the state of the matter is now materially altered. It has become a point in which the morals, as well as the liberties of this country, are deeply interested. The public mind acquiesced before in postponing the discussion; but now it is no longer a time for this conservatory course, the question must be met, and judicially decided. I ask, therefore, that, whether the court shall now decide the case or not, the reasons of your honours may be given to the world.

The case of the Antelope was an appeal from the circuit court of Georgia. The material facts were as follows; a privateer, called the Columbia, sailing under a Venezuelian commission, entered the port of Baltimore in 1819: clandestinely shipped a crew of thirty or forty men; proceeded to sea, hoisted the Artigan flag, assuming the name of the Arroganta, and prosecuted a voyage along the coast of Africa, her officers and the greater part of her crew being citizens of the United States. Off the coast of Africa she captured an American vessel from Bristol, in Rhode Island, from which she took twenty-five Africans; she also captured several Portuguese vessels, from which she took Africans; and she captured a Spanish vessel, called the Antelope, in which she also took a considerable number of Africans. The two vessels then sailed in company to the coast of Brazil, where the Arroganta was wrecked, and her master, Metcalf, and a great part of his crew, made prisoners; the rest of the crew, with the armament of the Arroganta, were transferred to the Antelope, which, thus armed, assumed the name of the General Ramirez, under the command of John Smith, a citizen of the United States; and on board this vessel were all the Africans which had been captured by the privateer in the course of her voyage. She was captured by the United States revenue cutter, Dallas, Capt. Jackson, and brought into Savannah for adjudication. The Africans at that time were upwards of 280 in number. The vessel and Africans were libelled by the Portuguese and Spanish vice-consuls; and were also claimed by John Smith, as having been captured *jure belli*. They were also claimed by the United States, as having been transported from foreign ports by American citizens, in contravention of the laws of the United States, and as entitled to their freedom by those laws, and by the law of nations. The United States here, said Mr. Adams, performed a very different part from that which they have assumed in the present case. Then they claimed all the Africans for freedom, and to be sent to the coast of Africa; that was the part then assumed by the Executive Administration of the United States. Capt. Jackson also filed his claim for the bounty given by the law if the Africans should be adjudged to the United States: or for salvage, if they should be adjudged to the foreign consuls.

The court dismissed the claim of John Smith, and the claim of the United States, except to that portion of the Africans taken from the American vessel. The residue to be divided between the Portuguese and Spanish claimants.

No evidence was offered to show which of the Africans were taken from the American vessel, and which from the Spanish and Portuguese; and the court decreed, that, as about one-third of them died, the loss should be *averaged* among these different classes, and that *sixteen* should be designated by *lot*, from the whole number, and delivered over to the marshal, according to the laws of the United States; as being the fair proportion of the twenty-five proved to have been taken from an American vessel.

I ask the attention of this court, said Mr. Adams, to the principle on which the court proceeded to identify this remnant of twenty-five men, who were expressly determined to be freemen, entitled to their liberty by the laws of the land and of nations. The identical persons were directed to be called by *lot*—yes, by *lot*—out of a company of 280 men destined to slavery. The liberties of twenty-five men, which the court recognised as their right, were cast back into *hotch-potch*—with 280, and only sixteen drawn out by lot. By lot! Is that *jus suum cuique?* Even in decreeing liberty to sixteen, the court was urged by the overpowering spirit of liberty beyond the evidence in the case; for the testimony shows, that of the twenty-five who were taken from the American vessel, eighteen were dead—dead by the usual effects of the middle passage—in the horrors and sufferings of which my clients have had their full share, as is shown by the mortality that took place among them while in the hands of Ruiz and Montes. The court, however, applied the rule of general average for the dead, and assumed that but nine had died, and decreed that the remaining sixteen should be drawn by lot from the whole 280 of their brethren, who were doomed to slavery.

In delivering the opinion of the supreme court, Chief Justice Marshall said:—

"In prosecuting this appeal, the United States assert no property in themselves. They appear—[would to God, said Mr. Adams, that they appeared so now]—in the character of guardians, or next friends of these Africans, who are brought, without any act of their own, into the bosom of our country, insist on their right to freedom, and submit their claims to the laws of the land and to the tribunals of the nation.

"The courts of Spain and Portugal respectively demand these Africans as slaves, who have, in the regular course of legitimate commerce, been acquired as property by the subjects of their respective sovereigns, and claim their restitution under the laws of the United States.

"In examining claims of this momentous importance—claims in which the sacred rights of liberty and of property come in conflict with each other—which have drawn from the bar a degree of talent and of eloquence worthy of the questions that have been discussed—this court must not yield to feelings which might seduce it from the path of duty, and must obey the mandate of the law.

"That the course of opinion on the slave-trade should be unsettled, ought to excite no surprise. The christian and civilized nations of the world, with whom we have most intercourse, have all been engaged in it. However abhorrent this traffic may be to a mind whose original feelings are not blunted by familiarity with the practice, it has been sanctioned, in modern times, by the laws of all nations who possess distant colonies, each of whom has engaged in it as a common commercial business, which no other could rightfully interrupt. It has claimed all the sanction which could be derived from language and general acquiescence. That trade could *not* be considered as contrary to the law of nations, which was authorised and protected by the laws of all commercial nations; the right to carry on which was claimed by each and allowed by each.

"The course of unexamined opinion, which was founded on this inveterate usage, received its first check in America—[glory to the land, said Mr. Adams, where this trade first received a check!]—and, as some of these states acquired the right of self-government, the traffic was forbidden by most of them. In the beginning of this century several humane and enlightened individuals of Great Britain devoted themselves to the cause of the Africans; and, by frequent appeals to the nation, in which the enormity of this commerce was unveiled and exposed to the public eye, the general sentiment was at length roused against it, and the feelings of justice and humanity, regaining their long-lost ascendancy, prevailed so far in the British parliament as to obtain an act for its abolition. The utmost efforts of the British government, as well as of that of the United States, have since been assiduously employed in its suppression. It has been denounced by both in terms of great severity; and those concerned in it are subjected to the heaviest penalties which law can inflict. In addition to these measures operating on their own people, they have used all their influence to bring other nations into the same system, and to interdict this trade by the consent of all.

"Public sentiment has, in both countries, kept pace with the measures of government; and the opinion is extensively, if not universally entertained, that this unnatural traffic ought to be suppressed. While its illegality is asserted by some governments, but not admitted by all, while the detestation in which it is held is growing daily, and even those nations who tolerate it in fact almost disavow their own conduct, and rather connive at than legalise the acts of their subjects; it is not wonderful that public feeling should march somewhat in advance of strict law, and that opposite opinions should be entertained on the precise cases in which our own laws may contest and limit the practice of others. Indeed, we ought not to be surprised if, on this novel series of cases, even courts of justice should, in some instances, have carried the principle of suppression further than a more deliberate consideration of the subject could justify."

Said Mr. Adams—I pass over the cases cited by the court, of the Amedie, the Fortuna, and the Diana; your honours will have the book before you, and will come down to the case of the Louis, in Dodson's Rep. 238, where Sir William Scott, after full consideration, lays down the

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broad principle, that the right of search is a right strictly belligerent in its character, which can never be exercised by a nation at peace, except against professed pirates, who are the enemies of the human race. The act of trading in slaves, however detestable, was not, he said, "the act of freebooters, enemies of the human race, renouncing every country in its coasts and vessels indiscriminately;" it was not piracy. He also said, that this trade could not be pronounced contrary to the law of nations. "A court, in the administration of law, cannot attribute criminality to an act where the law imputes none. It must look to the legal standard of criminality; and, upon a question of this nature, that standard must be found in the law of nations, as fixed and evidenced by general, and ancient, and admitted practice, by treaties, and by the general tenor of laws and ordinances, and the formal transactions of civilized states; and, looking to these authorities, he found a difficulty in maintaining that the transaction was legally criminal."

"The question, whether the slave-trade is prohibited by the law of nations has been seriously propounded, and both the affirmative and negative of the proposition have been maintained with equal earnestness. That it is contrary to the law of nature,"—your honours will observe, said Mr. Adams, this is not Sir William Scott, but the supreme court of the United States, speaking by Chief Justice Marshall—"that it is contrary to the law of nature will scarcely be denied. That every man has a natural right to the fruits of his own labour is generally admitted; and that no other person can rightfully deprive him of those fruits, and appropriate them against his will, seems to be the necessary result of this admission. But from the earliest times war has existed, and war confers rights in which all have acquiesced. Among the most enlightened nations of antiquity, one of these was that the victor might enslave the vanquished. This, which was the usage of all, could not be pronounced repugnant to the law of nations, which is certainly to be tried by the test of general usage. That which has received the assent of all must be the law of all. Slavery, then, has its origin in force; but, as the world has agreed that it is a legitimate result of force, the state of things which is thus produced by general consent cannot be pronounced unlawful.

"Throughout Christendom this harsh rule has been exploded, and war is no longer considered as giving a right to enslave captives. But the triumph of humanity has not been universal. The parties to the modern law of nations do not propagate their principles by force, and Africa has not yet adopted them. Throughout the whole of that immense continent, so far as we know its history, it is still the law of nations that prisoners are slaves. Can those who have themselves renounced this law be permitted to participate in its effects by purchasing the beings who are its victims? Whatever might be the answer of the moralist to this question, a jurist must search for its legal solution in those principles of action which are sanctioned by the usages, the national acts, and the general assent of that portion of the world of which he considers himself as a part, and to whose law the appeal is made. If we resort to this standard as the test of international law, the question, as has already been observed, is decided in favour of the legality of the trade."

The court laid it down as a settled principle, that as the law forbids American citizens to engage in the African slave trade, so they could not use the flag of another nation, though that such use was practised was a matter of history. And because no Portuguese owner appeared for the negros ordered to be given up to the Portuguese consul the court presumed that the real owners were Americans under Portuguese colours, and therefore ordered that the negros should be placed in the hands of the marshal to be sent to Africa, the same as those taken from the American ship. And with regard to those taken from Spanish vessels, and given up, the point on which the whole argument turns, Chief Justice Marshall says, "Whether, on this proof, Africans brought into the United States under the various circumstances belonging to this case, ought to be restored or not, is a question on which much difficulty has been felt. *It is unnecessary to state the views in support of the affirmative or negative answer to it, because the court is divided on it, and consequently no principle is settled.* So much of the decree of the circuit court, as directs the restitution to the Spanish claimant of the Africans found on board the Antelope, when she was captured by the Arroganta, is affirmed."

I have taken the trouble, said Mr. Adams, to get copies of the opinions of the district and circuit courts in this case, for the purpose of examining, and showing to this court, the exact state of the question, as it was left by this court in the case of the Antelope. And it appears that the decision of the circuit court was affirmed solely because the supreme court was divided, and as a majority is required to reverse a decision, the case stood in fact solely on the decision of the circuit judge. And therefore judge Marshall says, "no principle is settled." The supreme court, however, reversed the decision that the different classes should be designated by lot, and ordered the Spanish consul to make proof of the identity of those they claimed as slaves to the satisfaction of the circuit court.

I have, said Mr. Adams, the opinions of the district and circuit courts, which I have taken the pains to have copied from the files of this court, for the purpose of throwing additional light on the real bearings of that important case. I will read from the opinion of Judge Davies of the district court, February 21, 1821. After reciting the several claims or libels of Captain Jackson, John Smith, the Spanish and Portuguese consuls, and the district attorney, the judge first considers the character of the capturing vessel, and then of the Antelope. Of the latter, which was claimed as Spanish property, he says,

"A variety of decisions in the Supreme Court of the United States, establish the principle that upon a piratical or illegal capture, the property of the original owners cannot be forfeited for the misconduct of the captors, in violating the municipal laws of the country where the vessel seized by them is carried—5 Wheaton 338. If, then, the Antelope is subjected to forfeiture, or the Africans found on board of her be entitled to their freedom, it must be because of some act committed by the Spanish proprietors of the vessel, or some circumstances existing antecedent to the capture. The attention of the Court has been called to the act of 1818, on the subject of the slave-trade. Whatever may be the case with regard to the captors, most certainly there does not appear in evidence any circumstances connected with the vessel, or the Africans found on board of her, previous to the capture, which brings either the one or the other within the provisions of that act, or of any other law of the United States, except as it regards the Africans taken out of the American vessel by the Arroganta.

"But it is contended on the authority of some recent decisions in the British Admiralty Court, that Africans are to be considered *free until it is shown that they are slaves*; and that the burthen of proof is with those who set up a claim to them. This doctrine *may be correct in England*, since there, negros have always been held to be free, except in cases where they have voluntarily entered into engagements binding them to service. And yet, inconsistent as it may be, slavery has been recognized in all the British American colonies.

"But it does not appear to me that I can admit the proposition, in the form and manner in which it is here presented. The period is not remote, when all the governments of Europe, and the several states of the United States when they were British colonies, and many of them after they became independent, recognized slavery. But a few years have elapsed since the government of the United States permitted her citizens to engage in the African slave-trade. Under such a state of things, it appears to me that this Court is bound to consider the unfortunate Africans, when found in the possession of the subjects or citizens of *any government which has heretofore permitted this traffic*, as slaves, until the contrary be shown.

"That this trade, however inhuman it may be, and however obnoxious it is to every benevolent feeling, must now be considered legal, notwithstanding its injustice, *until it is shown to have been prohibited* by that government whose subjects claim the right of engaging in it.

"When it shall have been ascertained that the different governments of the civilized world have consented to abolish the trade, or *after it shall have been ascertained that any particular state or government has determined to abolish it, this court would consider the claim* set up in favour of the Africans in the situation of those before the court in a *different point of view*. In the one case they would, I think, be CONSIDERED FREE, until the contrary was shown; in the other case, they would be so considered when they were *found in the possession of the subjects or citizens of that government which had determined to abolish the trade.*

"If it could be made to appear to this court, that *at the time these Africans were taken* from the possession of the Spanish and Portuguese claimants, Spain and Portugal *had agreed to prohibit their subjects* from engaging in this trade, this court, *I think*, would be bound to restore to these people their liberty.

"It is true this court will not enforce the municipal laws of another country, *by punishing the subjects* of that country for the infraction of them; but this court would *feel bound to respect the rights of Africans, no less* than it would respect the rights of any other class of persons. Spain, however, had not at the time I am speaking of abolished the trade to Africa, although she had placed it under certain restrictions."

Thus it will be seen that Judge Davies places his decision on the ground that the nation to which the vessel belonged had not abolished the trade at the time of the capture; but, "if it could be made to appear" that the nation had then agreed to abolish the trade, a different view would be taken, and the court will consider the Africans free *until the contrary is shown*. I have also, said Mr. Adams, the opinion of Judge Johnson, in the circuit court, which is different in some respects from that of Judge Davies, but which entirely concurs with it on this point. I will not now take the time of the court in reading what Judge Johnson says. It is among the records of this court, and your honours will, I trust, consult it.

I said when I began this plea, that my final reliance for success in this case was on this court as a court of JUSTICE, and in the confidence this fact inspired, that in the administration of justice, in a case of no less importance than the liberty and the life of a large number of persons, this court would not decide but on a due consideration of all the rights, both natural and social, of *every one* of these individuals. I have endeavoured to show that they are entitled to their liberty from this court. I have avoided, purposely avoided, and this court will do justice to the motive for which I have avoided, a recurrence to those first principles of liberty which might well have been invoked in the argument of this cause. I have shown that Ruiz and Montes, the only parties in interest here, for whose sole benefit this suit is carried on by the government, were acting at the time, in a way that is forbidden by the laws of Great Britain, of Spain, and of the United States, and that the mere signature of the governor-general of Cuba ought not to prevail over the ample evidence in the case that these negros were free, and had a right to assert their liberty. I have shown that the papers in question are absolutely null and insufficient as passports for persons, and still more invalid to convey or prove a title to property.

In closing his speech of seven hours, he said,

May it please your honours:—On the 7th of February, 1804, now more than thirty-seven years ago, my name was recorded on the rolls of this court as one of its attorneys and counsellors—and five years afterwards, I appeared before this court as one of its attorneys and counsellors, five years afterwards I appeared before this court in an important cause. Since that time I have never appeared before this court until the present occasion, and now I stand before this court again. It is the same court, but not the same judges. At that time these seats were filled by honoured men indeed, but not the same. They are all changed. Then there was Chief Justice Marshall, and Judges Cushing, and Chase, Washington, and Johnson, and Livingston and Todd. Where are they? Where is that able statesman and learned lawyer, who was my associate counsel in the cause, Robert Goodloe Harper? Where is the eloquent counsellor, so long the pride of Maryland and the American bar, who was the opposing counsel, Luther Martin? Where is the excellent clerk of that day, whose name has been inscribed on the shores of Africa as a monument of his abhorrence of the African Slave Trade, Elias B. Caldwell? Where is the marshal? Where are the criers of the court? Where is one of the very judges before whom I commenced my argument in the present cause? Gone—gone; all gone. Gone from the services which they rendered to their country, to appear before a tribunal where *they* must answer for all the deeds done in the body. From the excellent characters which they sustained, so far as I have the means of knowing, I fondly hope that they have gone to receive the rewards of eternal blessedness. In taking, as I suppose, my final leave of this bar and of this honourable court, I can only ejaculate a fervent petition to heaven that every member of it may go to his final account with as little to answer for as these illustrious dead, and that you may every one receive the sentence—"Well done, good and faithful servants, enter into the joy of your Lord."

I need not say that a crowded audience was deeply affected by this solemn close.

J. L.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXVII. Vol. II. No. 10.] WEDNESDAY, MAY 19th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The second annual meeting of the above society was held in Exeter Hall, on Friday, the 14th instant. From 2000 to 3000 persons were present. On the platform we observed, B. Hawes, Esq., M. P.; J. Rundle, Esq., M. P.; D. O'Connell. Esq., M. P.; W. Evans, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. Drs. Henderson and Vaughan; the Rev. Messrs. S. Green, T. Archer, J. Burnet, J. Carlile, E. Mannering, J. H. Hinton, C. Williams, E. Mushett, W. Wall, S. S. England, J. Sherman, &c., &c.; Samuel Gurney, Esq.; E. N. Buxton, Esq.; J. Conder, Esq.; G. Bennett, Esq.; C. L. Remond, Esq., (a gentleman of colour from the United States); G. W. Alexander, Esq.; J. Bullarn, Esq.; J. Eaton, Esq.; M. L'Instant (from Hayti); B. R. Haydon, Esq.; J. May, Esq., (mayor of Ipswich); Captain Saumarez, R. N.; H. Ashworth, Esq., &c., &c.

The Chairman rose and said, it will be in the recollection of many of the old friends of this cause, that the Duke of Sussex has shown a very warm interest in the behalf of the oppressed Africans, and that he presided at a former meeting of this society. I waited upon him at Kensington, a few days ago, and requested of him to repeat the favour by presiding over us this day. He expressed the strongest feeling for our cause, and for those who have been labouring so many years for its support; but he told me that, in consequence of an attack of influenza some time ago, he found the exertion of attending a large public meeting more than he could sustain. (Hear, hear.) I regret it exceedingly, and I can only assure our friends and this respectable company, that I have no object in presenting myself before you, but that of acting in conformity with feelings and principles which I have entertained for fifty years. It must be borne in mind that our present meeting has not been convened upon any particular occasion, or to answer any particular purpose, (hear, hear,) and that the room was taken for this object three months ago. We are, therefore, only assembled for the prosecution of our ordinary business. (Hear, hear.) I will now call upon the secretary to be so good as to read the report.

John Scoble, Esq. then stood forward, and said, that before he proceeded to read that document, he begged to state, that there had been put into his hands a letter from their venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, who deeply regretted that he could not be present upon this occasion. It is addressed to the chairman, and is as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen.—I am truly sorry that, in consequence of the state of my health, and increasing age and infirmities, I have been deprived of the pleasure of attending the meeting which is to be held to-day, and of addressing you again. Last year I had the satisfaction of witnessing the delightful spectacle in this very place, of hundreds of persons who, throwing aside their different religious and political distinctions, met together for the sole purpose of attempting *to heal the wounds of suffering humanity*; and this was the more honourable to them, as these poor sufferers were in *distant lands*, and *known* to them only by *their misfortunes*. But, as this pleasure has been denied me, let me assure you that *my heart beats as warmly* as ever in this sacred cause, and that I hope this meeting also will manifest the *same kind feelings* towards it as were manifested in the preceding year.

I cannot take my leave of you, without earnestly entreating that you will continue your patronage *to this good cause*. Many can further it by their *purses*, and *all* by their *voices*. There are very few who have not some friend or other, and if every one here would make a point only of making his friend or neighbour *acquainted with the subject*, popular opinion would receive a great accession of strength. Nor let it be supposed that this is but of little consequence. The *popular* opinion of *England* can do much. It has done much already with its own government, much with *France*, much with *Germany*, and not a little with America, and elsewhere.

I have only to add my hope that God may give his blessing to the efforts made to promote this righteous cause. I am, Ladies and Gentlemen, your friend and well wisher,

Thomas Clarkson.

Playford Hall, May the 10th, 1841.

He had also received a letter from Sir T. F. Buxton, who regretted that, in consequence of ill-health, he could not be present that day; he had received another letter from their esteemed friend, Joseph John Gurney, who was detained from the meeting by particular business. Dr. Lushington had written to say, that, in consequence of official duties on the judicial committee of the privy council, he feared that he should be unable to appear amongst them. Mr. Scoble then read the report.

[By an accident (for which, however, neither the printer nor the editor is accountable), the Report cannot be given in our present number.]

S. Gurney, Esq. then rose, and said. Before reading the resolution, and leaving it in the hands of the gentleman who is to second it, I am induced to point out the very interesting matter laid before us in this report. It will have been observed, that it presents before us the two main features of this society; one is to protect and guard our own emancipated colonies, and to watch over the workings of that great measure by which freedom has been accorded to the negro population—the other, and by far the largest field of its operations, is the state of slavery and the slave-trade as it now exists in the world. I say the world, for within no narrower limits is the operation of this important society confined. It must be evident to every one present, that the care which the committee has exercised in reference to the laws recently attempted to be enacted in the colonies, has been attended with very beneficial results. (Hear, hear.) So successful has the great measure of emancipation been, that prosperity is not only dawning, but, I am bold to assert, largely extending itself in the colonies. (Cheers.) It is, however, only in its infancy, and a careful investigation is required of all the proceedings which are there taking place. I very much regret, that, on one point to which the committee have directed their attention, that of the mining associations in foreign countries, their efforts have not been attended with greater success. I cannot doubt that it is from ignorance of the true bearings of the case, that British merchants of high standing and reputation still implicate themselves in the guilt of murder—murder of the blackest character, for the sake of filling their pockets with gold. (Hear, hear.) I am satisfied that the crime will not admit of being characterized by any milder term than that which I have now stamped upon it. (Hear.) Should these few remarks of mine reach the ears of all those who are involved in it, they will be heard by very intimate friends of my own, and I shall not regret it. (Cheers.) I may be allowed to make a few remarks, respecting the larger, and more important field of the society's operations. It is not my intention to depreciate the importance of our colonies, or the interests of their coloured population; but still, the most important sphere of the society's labours is the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. When we look at the United States of America, at the islands in the West Indies under the dominion of foreign powers; when we look to the Brazils; to the effect of slavery in Mohammedan countries, and to the horrors with which the slave-trade is carried on, by means of which all those colonies are more or less supplied with fresh victims for destruction, the evil appears almost too gigantic for any one Association to attempt its removal. But be it remembered that, large as it is, every single step that is taken with effect is of great value in its results. (Hear, hear.) Every ship that is prevented sailing with 200 or 300 victims on board, crammed down in a small space, exposed to all the horrors of the middle passage, and then, on arrival at their place of destination, consigned to interminable slavery, is an amount of good effected, worth all the trouble this society may take, and all the expense it may incur. Therefore, though our objects are vast, yet, inasmuch as each particular is of vast importance, I hope it will be considered that this society is well worthy the united support of all those who are friendly to this cause. The peculiar means adopted by this society for effecting the end in view, are limited, and rightly limited, to moral, religious, and other pacific operations. One heartily desires that these measures should increasingly prevail, and, I cannot doubt but that we shall make inroads in the United States of America, and in other countries, until the fetters of the slave shall be loosened, and ultimately fall off. (Cheers.) It is only under Divine power that we can anticipate any very great and mighty result, but that is no reason why we should not always be energetically at work. It is only by constantly holding up the standard that we can expect to succeed. There are mercantile and other arrangements of great importance, touching the question of slavery all over the world. It is the supply of cotton to this market which is the great incentive to the continuance of American slavery, and if we could procure that article, the produce of free-labour, from any other part of the world, a severer stab could not be inflicted on slavery in the United States. I am quite sure, that our market is in fact the great maintainer of slavery in the United States at the present time, and that no outward regulation could be so effectual to its annihilation as a supply of cotton from elsewhere. (Cheers.) Far be it from me to allude to subjects which are at present agitating the public mind in this country; but let it be recollected that this is the principle that our society must maintain, that while our market is open for the supply of American cotton, it is impossible, without the direct interposition of the Most High, that our labours can be effectual. The abolition of slavery throughout the world is a very large question, and could not be fully entered into without taking up too much of your time on the present occasion, I shall therefore content myself by moving,

"That the report which has now been read be printed and circulated under the direction of the committee."

I have had a paper put into my hands, in which it is stated that the value of the cotton imported into this country from America, on an average of several years, is about fourteen millions sterling per annum. (Loud cries of hear, hear.)

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The Rev. J. CARLILE rose, and said, while I intend, in the few remarks I shall offer in seconding the resolution, to abstain, as my esteemed predecessor has judiciously done, from all reference to the great questions which now agitate the public mind, there is one thing which I think must strike and gratify the mind of every one whom I have now the pleasure to address. I remember the time when, even in this hall, in order to gain access to the heart by convincing the judgment, it was indispensable on anti-slavery questions to begin by the discussion of the mere elementary principles; and I remember the time, when we *could obtain but few* to concur with us in the soundness of our elementary principles, that slavery—that all slavery—*that slavery in its most mitigated forms*, was entire, unmixed, essential evil; involving a violation of man's inalienable *rights, involving an assumption* of the divine prerogative—an evil essentially opposed to the spirit and genius of our own admirable national constitution. But now, in the arrangements of the all-wise providence of God, the great difficulty would be, perhaps, at this day to find a person who is not a thorough out-and-out abolitionist (Cheers). I rejoice to see your venerable form in that chair (cheers), and this platform occupied by men who have borne the heat and burden of the day; because it shows your determination, and their determination, not to be outdone by the new-born zeal and the new-born sympathies of certain modern abolitionists. (Laughter and cheers). It is exceedingly gratifying to see the new-born zeal and newly developed sympathies to which I refer; but, while it is exceedingly interesting and delightful even to hear a class of men saying, we consider slavery to be a sin, and we consider that the negros *have the very first claim on all the convictions* of our judgments, and on all the affections of our hearts, it is more deeply interesting still to see this class of persons giving to the world practical, convincing demonstration of the soundness of their recent profession, by doing justice to those who were the subjects and the victims of their former oppression (Hear). I remember to have read, and I trust we all remember to have read, a deeply interesting case of repentance and conversion, a man whose repentance and conversion are, for instructive purposes, recorded in the evangelical history. I remember to have read of a man who had once crushed the poor by his oppression, and by his essential injustice: he was a tax-gatherer; he was fond of high taxation, he was a very monopolist in his day; and yet, when this man was brought, by an influence and by an agency which I need not state, more explicitly to discover a new-born zeal in the cause which he was led by that agency to adopt: one of his very first acts was the declaration, under the subduing and the melting influence of a new and heavenly principle, that he was ready to make restoration fourfold to the persons who had been the victims of his former oppression (Cheers). I ask, I demand, that those who display this new-born zeal shall carry out their sound and salutary principles to all its just and legitimate conclusions (Cheers). I demand that the rights and the claims of the poor at home (immense cheering) shall be regarded equally with the righteous demands of the negros, whom Britain, by an influence from above, was led to emancipate from their unjust and unrighteous thraldom. I demand, that the claims of the one shall not be put in opposition to the claims of the other; but that our right sound principle shall be carried out into all its practical operations. (Immense cheers.) *Dearly as I love the very name of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery* Society, and high, immeasurably high, as I consider the honour of having my humble name in any sort of connexion with that noble institution—(and my connexion with it in days that are past, and my unofficial connexion with it in present times, I shall place amongst the highest, noblest privileges of my life) if ever the day should dawn (and it may appear presumption, even to allude to its possibility) that the society should dare to consider the claims of our domestic poor, and place them in opposition to those who are the immedinte objects of its benevolent regard, I will throw its ungrateful honours at its feet, (loud cheers,) and, retiring far from its corruption and crime, I would carry out the sound and salutary principle, and endeavour to save *the* sacred *cause* of philanthropy from such an unmerited disgrace. (Long continued cheers.) I know the men with whom it has been my *honour and my happiness to act far too well*, to suppose that *such a day* will ever dawn in their official history, (cheers); and I rejoice in having this opportunity of stating my full and entire conviction, that any apparent collision into which they have been brought with those to whom, in common with them, I feel that our cause is placed under an immeasurable obligation, has been the result, not of circumstances of their selection, but of circumstances over which they had not the slightest control. (Cheers.) I rejoice in having the opportunity of thus very briefly, and without any pre-meditation, expressing my unabated attachment to this sacred cause, and my full and entire conviction, that those who constitute the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society will pursue their onward straightforward course; and that while, as members of this society, they strictly, and with fidelity adhere to the one great principle upon which the society is based, they will show, as citizens of the state, a just and righteous regard to the claims of the poor at home; and that they will thus carry out the great scriptural, divine principle of universal benevolence to man. (Loud and long continued applause.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. J. BURNET rose and said, the resolution which I have been requested to move is as follows.

"That whilst this meeting deeply deplore the extensive prevalence and unutterable horrors of slavery and the slave-trade, as sanctioned, upheld, or countenanced, by professedly christian and other powers, they especially lament their existence in British India; and emphatically call on the people, the legislature, and the government of this country, by their influence and authority, to accomplish the entire and immediate abolition of these enormous evils, and to declare that, *henceforth*, every portion of the British empire shall be the asylum and home only of the free."

In directing your attention to the resolution which I *have just* read, allow me to say, that around me I am glad to see the old friends of the anti-slavery cause, and I am glad to see in this hall such a large assembly come together to give their support to that noble cause. Many did predict—for we have at all times had prophets connected with that cause—as is the case with most public questions when they are moving the minds of the people—many did predict that there would be nothing more of anti-slavery feeling in the country, after the abolition of slavery in our West India colonies. The stimulus associated with home—for we still connected our *colonies* with our *homes*—it was supposed would at once be withdrawn, and every thing that had been excited by its previous operation would evaporate, and leave us without *knowing what to do with anything* that might remain of the spirit of philanthropy amongst us. (Hear, hear.) Now I think this meeting shews that those predictions were vain, as were many other predictions. This meeting shews that the old friends of the *British slave*—and I am glad that in reference to the West Indies we cannot speak of British slaves now—this meeting shews that the old friends of the British slave are still the friends of the slaves of all nations throughout the world. Patience and perseverance will do much, and I am glad to say that our worthy chairman has set an example of patient perseverance. For half a century he has been labouring in this cause, (cheers) and is labouring in it still. During forty years of that half century, he abstained from sugar when it was produced by slaves, and, on the day that the slave was set free, he returned to his sugar again, to shew that, notwithstanding the fact that he had learned to live without it, now that the free man was to be employed in its production, he would renew his old habit, and cultivate his own taste to support him in his labour. This was consistency—patient and persevering consistency—and this should read to every one of us a lesson of patient perseverance. *But the resolution which I have to* move calls upon you, and upon this meeting, to lament the prevalence of slavery throughout the world. We have amongst what are designated Christian powers, six millions of slaves still! (Hear, hear.) What an awful *fact*! We have laboured for our own slaves in the West Indies, and we have succeeded; but how deplorable is the fact, that six times as many are still held in bondage, and that too by powers bearing the Christian name! Our sympathies must not cool down, our exertions must not be relaxed. The cry of all these individuals, still labouring in the same circumstances in which our slaves were once placed, must be heard and answered by us; and we must work by moral and religious means to carry out the great principle of freedom, until all Europe shall have felt its influence and power, and until every crown worn by a man or a woman, associating himself or herself with the Christian name, shall render itself honoured in lending its influence, its authority, and its power, in breaking the fetters of its enslaved subjects (Loud cheers). If the friends of the slave are to be silent, and leave the European powers indolently acting, or altogether indifferent in reference to this great question, we shall be guilty of a dereliction of the principle we have always professed to maintain, as the *lovers of freedom*. But it may be said, have we not done all that we can do? Have we not entered into treaties? Have we not resolved upon the seizure of slaves? Have we not resolved upon the appointment of commissioners to try these cases, to liberate those that are seized, and to condemn the vessel in which they have been found? And what can we do more? We can do this, we can tell those powers thus acting, that, so long as they keep a market for the slaves stolen from their homes, so long commercial cupidity, commercial depravation will steal them from their homes. (Hear, hear.) We can say to those who have made treaties with us, you tell us you cannot execute them: it will not do for us to say you can, but will not; but we can say to them, you must destroy slavery in the colonies; and then the robberies, the murders, the plunders in Africa, carried on by commercial cupidity, are at an end for ever. Shut up the market, and no more customers will come to it. (Loud cheers.) Let them know that no slaves can exist in Cuba, that no slaves can exist in the Brazils, and in the different colonies where they are now labouring under oppression, that slavery there is now at an end, and there will be no more plunder of the sons of Africa for the slave market. (Hear, hear.) But as long as the slave market is open, and slavery exists in those countries, who can say to what extent the plundering of Africa may still be carried on; and who can set bounds to skill cultivated by the love of gold, which can bring its talent into the market for the purpose of supplying slaves, wherever there is found a slave-mart to dispose of the plunder? (Loud applause.) We seek therefore the annihilation of slavery, as well as the annihilation of the slave trade; and, if we find the treaties are grappling with the trade, we endeavour by principle to grapple also with the minds of those who have the power to struggle with slavery itself. We hold up in all its moral deformity the wickedness of slavery; we hold up in all its *impolicy the injustice and inexpediency of slavery*; we hold up in all its profanity the irreligion of slavery, and can we continue to propagate these views of *its baseness*; and are *the sovereigns of Europe so blind*, and the governments of Europe so sealed against all conviction, that they will never be influenced by this public cry? *Certainly not.* (Cheers.) But we have one particular province of our own still, which deprives us of the honour of proclaiming that our beloved sovereign is no longer the Queen of slaves. (Hear, hear.) Yes, there are slaves still under the British crown, and to these slaves I am now to direct the attention of the meeting. (A voice, that's a lie.) I have no objection to excite the interest and the feelings of any individual in connexion with this question. If he has an interest and a feeling on the side of slavery, I wish to call out that feeling and that interest, (loud cheers,) I wish to employ both in the consideration of that question. If he has no interest in slavery, and in the feelings created by it, I wish to call out his feelings and interest on behalf of the *principles of freedom*, philanthropy, and patriotism. (Cheers.) A slight interruption, therefore, in such a meeting as this, so far from being a matter to be deprecated, *really becomes relieving*; and just as the traveller, wearied on his journey, is pleased to see, at the turning of a corner, an unexpected milestone to tell him of his progress, *so we have no objection whatever*, when any individual shows he is taking an interest in the question before us. (Loud cheers.) We have no wish to speak to cold hearts and dormant affections; if, therefore, we can kindle any interest and any feeling upon such a great and important question, I should say that interest and that feeling furnish a part of the steam-power (laughter,) by which we are to carry out the question, in its progress through all the lands that hold their fellow-men in bondage, until at last the mightiest sovereign that aways the most potent of Europe's sceptres, shall feel that the interest has become so great, and the feeling so high, that he must join in the demand which each man makes for the freedom of his fellow. (*Loud cheers.*) I return to the question, whether there are slaves among our own subjects in the distant parts of our own empire. I look at once at that part of the empire embraced by the resolution: I mean the East Indies. There we have slaves, call them servants if you please, as some designated the slaves *we once had in the west*; but *that did not* delude us, and we must not be deceived by name. If there are individuals who have learned to designate things by *their right names*, there are also individuals who have learned to designate things by their wrong names; and the man that tells me that a slave is a servant does not for a

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moment impose upon me. When we look on the Indian empire, and reflect on the circumstances through which it has passed, we can see at once the reason why so many slaves are there; and we can see at the same time what we have to do for the purpose of giving them their freedom. It is well known that India was possessed by the Hindoos, previously to the period when the Mohammedans conquered it. The Hindoos had various classes of slaves, amounting to fifteen different sorts, for slaves are allowed to be held by their shasters. The Mohammedans conquered the Hindoos, and of course the Mohammedan law gained the ascendancy over India, when the Mohammedan arms had subdued that country, and the Mohammedan law, based on the Koran, also allowed slavery. Hence, in India, we have a mixture of Mohammedan and Hindoo slavery interlaced with one another, throughout the whole extent of country. When the British government became possessed of that territory, they again subdued the Mohammedan power that had previously overcome the Hindoo power. It then became a question, how were the mixed nations to be governed in future by the British, who had now risen to the ascendancy? It was agreed, that, in the case of inheritance, marriage, and caste, the Hindoos should be regulated by their own laws, because they told on habits peculiar to themselves, without, as it was supposed, interfering with the community at large; whilst the Mohammedan criminal law was to be considered the criminal law of India, that law having had for generations the ascendancy during the period of the Mohammedan power. But where is the law by which the slave is to be recognized, and all the slaves of these two different communities, the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, to be disposed of? Were they to be tried by the Hindoo law? No, that law had only a reference to inheritance, to marriage, to caste, and there it ceases. Then they were not to be held slaves by the Hindoo law, inasmuch as it only affected the objects to which I have referred. Were they to be held slaves by the Mohammedan law? The Mohammedan law recognizes those as slaves only who have been taken in war, or who are the descendants of those who have been so taken. The slaves in India were not *in* this position. They were not slaves by the Hindoo law, because they touched not the question; they were not slaves by the Mohammedan law, inasmuch as many of them came not under that law, not being taken in battle nor descended from those so taken. What then was to done with the question? We put it to the Hindoo and Mohammedan lawyers, and what was the result? Native lawyers—I should state, that native lawyers are the assistants of the British judges in India, where natives are concerned. They give their opinion on the law on which British judges are to decide. Their opinion is not to supersede that by the judges; they are rather to assist them in forming an opinion of their own. When the Hindoo lawyers gave their opinion upon this question, they admitted that the letter of the law did not hold any man to be a slave any longer; but they said the spirit of it did (Laughter), and the British adopted this idea, (hear,) and these persons have been allowed to the present *moment* to remain in slavery. The Hindoos and Mohammedans to whom I have been *alluding*, and whom my resolution calls upon me to allude to, have left these to the present moment in slavery, upon the presumption that the spirit of the law is against setting them free—that the spirit of the law holds them slaves, while at the same time the letter of the law does not. (Hear, hear.) Now, I wonder what would be said of any British judge who could not quote you the terms of any act of parliament for a decision he gave—who could give no form of words from the statutes, no precedents in common law; but who would tell you, that, whilst he could point to nothing definite, there was something like a spirit—an evil spirit certainly. (Hear, hear,)—there was something like a spirit and a genius in the law; and that this invisible spirit, this invisible genius, not named in any reports of authority, not named in any statutes, but still haunting the mind of the judge, as the evil genius of Brutus haunted him, and threatened to meet him at Philippi—that this genius was at work, and the judge pronounced his decision under his authority? (Hear, hear.) What indignation would it excite in this empire, if a judge were to pronounce, by an undefined and undefinable spirit of the law, that millions of *our* fellow-people were justly and legally made slaves? (Hear, hear.) Yet that is the case in the East Indies. But many will say that this is a modified system of slavery, and you may call it only service; but it is allowed to be slavery by all Indian authorities, by every member of both houses of the British parliament, and by every individual who has paid any sort of attention to the subject. But these men are not badly treated it may be said. Are the people in India so good, so kind? Are the untutored Hindoos so gentle? Are the uninstructed Hindoos so sympathetic? Are the Mohammedans so far above christians, that you can trust the liberties and the persons of individuals in their hands, quite sure that they will not be injured on account of their bondage? (Hear, hear.) Why, then, they must be very far beyond those called christian. (Hear, hear.) The fact is, I would not trust the freedom of any man in any man's hands. If I had the modification of his bondage in my own power, and were permitted to state the definition of that modification; if I were allowed to impose any restrictions I chose upon the claims to the person and labour of the man, that might be urged by him who had became his possessor, I would still say that this man, whatever the modifications may be, must be a slave; and I dare not, I cannot give any countenance, even to a modified system of slavery. Let us hope that those who are in this predicament in the East Indies will soon be called our fellow-subjects; but in the meantime let us call them slaves, for slaves they are. They can be, and they are bought and sold. (Hear, hear.) O! but says some friend of their masters, they are attached to the soil, and cannot be sold but with the soil. Why, the only difference between this and slavery elsewhere, simply consists in their being like the land itself—in the one case they are never permitted to leave *it*, and in the other they are sold away with it. But if you sell a man, I care not what you sell with him. (Cheers.) You may sell the globe, and say he is not a slave because he goes with it. He is a slave, in whatever way you treat it (Cheers.) But it may be said, has nothing been done about this? Yes, much has been done. What was done when Earl Grey was in power? An attempt was made to get the slaves declared free; and it was thwarted, and successfully thwarted. When the East India Company's charter was renewed, what was done by the House of Commons? A provision was embodied in that act by which they were to become free at a fixed time. What was done in the progress of that act? After it had passed through the House of Commons it was changed, and, instead of providing for their freedom, a commission was appointed to report and inquire. This was in 1833, and we have heard nothing of the commission from that day to this. (Hear, hear.) We must just begin again where we were in 1833; we must just send the question again before the House of Commons, and let us see whether they understand it now, after waiting seven years for the promised results of the amendment (Laughter and cheers,) which the measure received while passing through the legislature. Let us remember that we have in the East Indies five times as many slaves as we had in the West. (Hear, hear.) Never forgetting this, let us labour onward in the course which that circumstance brings before us. If any should say, O! but you will shake our Indian empire, let us remember the old Roman proverb, "Do justice, and let the heavens come down." (Cheers.) We have often seen justice done, but the heavens never came down. (Renewed cheers.) Taking the very worst result, however, as possible, it is our duty to do justice. Shall we continue slavery for any empire? Why, if we are disposed to countenance slavery for the interests of any part of the community, we may find interests pleaded against us at all times for the support of slavery. But, without dwelling longer upon the subject, I shall commit to you and to the meeting the resolution which I have read; but in doing so, I cannot help adverting to the circumstances under which we have been called together. A great cry was raised in the country, and a great cry was raised in the town—great and ominous whisperings went the round of both houses of parliament, that now there must be some wondrous clashing amongst the old anti-slavery friends. Those who are interested in monopolies and those who are interested in free trade (loud cheers) must now come together, and unite their efforts, and act against the administration that they have previously been used to support and to uphold, and we shall see strange things at Exeter Hall. Now here we are, and we see the old faces, and we hear the old voices, and the old principles, and we see the old friends of the slave, just assembled in their wonted peaceable manner, endeavouring to carry out the liberties of the whole human race, as far as those liberties have not yet been enjoyed. (Cheers.) If it should be said, however, that it does look somewhat ominous, let me remind you of what has been already stated, that the meeting was determined on three months ago; and that the Anti-Slavery Convention of last summer gave it as their decision, that through the medium of fiscal regulations, and in every other way, it was right to discourage slave-grown produce. If the committee had thought proper to come forward with a substantive resolution to this effect, it would only have been acting out the resolutions of the Convention, and acting in consistency with the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society. There was no getting up of this meeting, therefore, for a particular occasion, and the individuals who thought that there was, thought so, just because they were getting up *something* for the occasion, (hear, hear;) and when *an individual* is engaged about anything suspicious, he thinks he cannot be the only rogue *in* the community; (cheers and laughter;) he supposes that other individuals are necessarily plotting some terrible thing as well as himself. (Renewed laughter.) The meeting therefore to-day, presents itself in its usual aspect to the community at large. If any should say that slaves at home are neglected, we answer, not by persons who belong to the Anti-Slavery Society. Look at the individuals who have endeavoured to improve our prisons and prison discipline, (hear, hear); at the individuals who have endeavoured to improve the working of our manufactories. (Hear, hear). Look at the individuals who endeavoured to cheapen every thing that could be cheapened, both bread and government, (laughter, and tremendous cheering), are they not the very people that exerted themselves, in connexion with the liberation of the slave? While they look at the black man, and pity his sufferings, and seek his freedom, they look at the white man and sympathise with his sorrows, and seek his improvement (loud cheers), for they wish to see him improve himself. Look at them, and you will find them attending meetings for his education and his culture, that they may give him the opportunity of knowing his own interest, feeling his own weight, knowing his own importance; and that they may school him into his *proper* place in the community, and enable him, with a moral power which none can resist, to *assert* his moral rights. (Cheers.) It is useless, therefore, to say these lovers of the blacks forget the whites. (Hear, hear.) You will find them as much abused for seeking to enlarge the freedom of the whites, as they were abused for seeking the interest of the blacks. (Hear, hear.) Therefore we feel we can quietly look across our vastly extended Indian territory, and say to all the friends of man, there are your fellow-subjects, suffering from year to year, commissions appointed and neglected, credentials opened and closed, without any effect, while acts are proposed and successfully opposed, or while acts are pased insufficient for the purpose of conferring freedom; say this shall be done no more. Let India, with her rich productive valleys, yet stand out in her own sunshine, that Britain's flag may not be degraded amid India's bondage. If any should say that we cannot govern them if we shake their prejudices, we answer again and again, the best authorities have assured us, that we shall shake more of their prejudices in giving them their freedom. (Cheers.) Let us, at the same time, watch all the movements of our government in connexion with the condition of slavery, associated with the other powers of Europe, and let us stimulate and urge, by all fair and honourable, moral, religious, and just means, every man in office, till every official has done his duty, and until slavery in European countries shall be thrown back into the recollections of history. (Loud and long continued cheering).

E. N. BUXTON, Esq., in rising to second the resolution, said, I feel great diffidence in addressing you on the present occasion, partly because I have never taken any share in the measures and proceedings of this society, and partly because I am surrounded by gentlemen so much better qualified to address you. I have come here to-day, not on any specific ground, but by the desire of my father, in order that I may express to the society his feelings and my own—that the committee deserve the thanks of all the friends of humanity, for the course which they have taken with respect to slave-grown sugar. (Hear, hear.) It would be entirely foreign to my wishes or intentions to enter into anything like a political discussion. I am not come here to inquire if it is the duty of the legislature to reduce the price of sugar a farthing or a half penny per pound; but I do say, as an abolitionist, whether it be right or wrong, that every man ought to know, that, if they reduce the price of sugar by the admission of slave-grown sugar, they will greatly increase the evils of slavery. (Mingled cheers and hisses, which lasted for a considerable time) I hope I feel as much

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as any person here the great distress of the manufacturing population of this kingdom: (Cheers.) I am myself an inhabitant of Spitalfields, and I know that the inhabitants of this country are often reduced to great straits; I do not, therefore, in coming here, say whether you are right or wrong in doing so; but I do say, and I repeat it, that if you admit so much slave-grown sugar that the revenue shall derive an increase of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum—(Confusion, in which the conclusion of the sentence was lost.) I am happy to say that I have expressed my opinion on this subject, I have also expressed the opinion which my father holds. I have no intention of speaking on politics, but I must say, that there is no person in this room who more highly regards her Majesty's present ministers than I do. (Cries of Oh, oh! laughter, hisses, and cheers.) I will say that I firmly believe that no minister ever occupied the colonial department in this country, who was more enlightened in his principles, and more determined to carry them out than Lord John Russell. I cannot forget which party it was in this country that abolished slavery (Renewed and protracted cheering); at the same time, I must repeat the observation uttered by Mr. Burnet, that come what may we must express our principles. The motion that I rise to second relates to British India. On that point at least they were all agreed, that it was a disgrace to this country, that, after having given twenty millions sterling to abolish slavery, we find it still exist, not among thousands, but millions of our fellow-subjects.

A working man, who gave his name Martin, of Birmingham, here rose at the extremity of the Hall, and claimed the right to address the meeting. After some ineffectual efforts to make himself heard, he crossed the Hall, and ascended the platform. Mr. Henry Ashworth rose at the same time, and for some moments they contested their priority of claim to address the assembly, but Martin ultimately gave way.

Mr. HENRY ASHWORTH then proceeded with his address; but, on its being suggested to him that his observations had no reference to the resolution before them, and that, if he wished to propose a substantive resolution at the close of the ordinary business, there would be no objection to it on the part of the committee, he stated that he should avail himself of the offer which had been made. Having resumed his seat,

MARTIN then rose, but had not utterred many sentences, when, the meeting perceiving that his remarks had no connexion with the resolution, the uproar and confusion completely drowned his voice; and, having obtained permission of the Chairman to address them at the close of the usual proceedings, he retired.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

Captain SAUMAREZ, R.N., rose to move—

"That this meeting, in view of the manifest progress of the anti-slavery cause in various parts of the world, consider that grateful and reverend acknowledgments are due to the Most High, for the measure of success with which He has favoured it; and they take encouragement to prosecute, with renewed zeal and diligence, its noble and christian objects.

"That, regarding the magnitude and importance of the great objects of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and their bearing upon social happiness, civilization, and christianity throughout the world, this meeting commends that society to the generous sympathies, and the liberal support of all who are interested in the welfare of the human race."

Let us give glory to God for the deliverance of mankind, and not be led away by our private feelings to other matters than those for which we are specially convened. I feel bound, as a British officer, to bear my testimony to the advantages which the Anti-Slavery Society has conferred on the British colonies in particular, and on mankind in general. I have been employed in the West Indies, and was there when slavery universally prevailed. What was the operation of slavery? It separated husband from wife—child from parent, and enabled the proprietors to tear asunder the strongest feelings of humanity.

The Rev. Dr. VAUGHAN briefly seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to.

D. O'CONNELL, Esq., M.P., then rose to move—

"That this meeting rejoices to learn, that, amidst the various discouragements felt by the abolitionists of the United States of America, the cause to which they are devoted is steadily gaining ground, at no distant period, they trust, to triumph over every obstacle: to them the meeting extend their warm sympathy and zealous co-operation, and they solemnly call on all who profess the christian name in that country to clear themselves of the odious crime, that they may bear their united testimony against a system which violates the dearest rights of mankind, and is contrary to the spirit and precepts of the gospel.

"That whilst this meeting tender to the government of this country their grateful acknowledgments for the deep interest it has manifested in the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, and the attention it has generally paid to questions affecting the freedom and happiness of the human race, they feel bound to record their disapproval of the recognition by the British government of the independence of Texas (a state which, by its fundamental laws, has legalised the existence, and provided for the perpetuity, of slavery and the slave-trade, as at once derogatory to the national honour, and calculated to increase the sum of human misery and degradation.

"That this meeting regard with intense interest the proceedings of the government and people of France, in relation to the abolition of slavery in its various colonies, and cherish the hope, that no measure which has not for its basis the complete and unconditional emancipation of the slaves, will either be introduced into, or receive the sanction of, the legislature; that, by the just and speedy termination of so hateful a system, the honour of that great nation may be advanced, and a noble example set for the imitation of other nations."

He moved also the appointment of the officers and committee.

I cannot help rejoicing that, under the circumstances, so much of unity and good temper appears amongst us. When coming here, one of my good-natured friends asked what business I had to attend this meeting, (laughter), and added, that there were dissensions, differences, and a split among yourselves. I told him at once, that, upon the great principle of anti-slavery philanthropy, humanity, and christian benevolence, and ardent and sincere anxiety for the spread of liberty all over the face of the globe, there was no difference whatever. (Cheers.) My worthy friend is one of those very amiable individuals whose sensibilities are exceedingly alive to their own interests, and who are astonishingly compassionate when you touch any lucrative monopoly of their own, and who never before knew what the anti-slavery spirit was. (Laughter and cheers). He reminded me of one of our friends, from whom I may differ in his view of the present question, but upon principle we are both agreed. If I venture on that vote to differ from a man of mighty mind—the most powerful advocate—the most learned lawyer—the judge of the strictest integrity—the christian patriot, upon whose bright career the sun of benevolence shines with uneclipsed glory—if I differ from Dr. Lushington on that vote, I trust I am entitled to stand on the same platform with him in the cause in which he has so powerfully laboured, and in which I have zealously, but humbly followed. (Cheers.) It has been said, that, having obtained emancipation for our West India slaves, your business is done, you may shut up shop. (Laughter.) Is your work done? (Hear, hear.) Are there not six millions of the African race still in a state of slavery? (Hear, hear.) Our business, so far from being done, has not, as yet, well commenced. While there is one man held in slavery our business is not completed. (Cheers.) We must see slavery abolished from civilized society, aye, and from barbaric states, before our business is accomplished, and we can repose tranquilly. (Cheers.) But then I was told, that, if the business of the Anti-slavery Society was not at an end for any other reason, surely it was for this—that noble lords, and right honourable baronets, and gentlemen of great influence, have at last discovered that they are the real anti-slavery men. They now allege that they always hated slavery, that they detested the idea of it. (Hear, hear.) I remember that, when I applied to the House of Commons to have the lash taken off the back of females, I thought it impossible that any being in human shape could resist such a motion as that. But it was resisted, and by whom? By our modern anti-slavery advocates. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) They are ready to obtain gold at the price of Africans blood, and at the price of the starving manufacturer. (Loud cheers.) It is a mockery, a delusion, to speak of their humanity, when their humanity runs in the same currrent with their interests. (Cheers.) They seek to deprive the manufacturer from earning wages, to drive him to a prison or a poor-house,—to separate his children from him in that dungeon of misery, and invoke the sacred name of humanity to sanction their hypocrisy. (Hear, hear.) They may be statesmen; I deny that they are christians at all. (Cheers). Away with our false friends. (Cheers.) I will vote for the introduction of foreign sugar (Loud cheers.)—stop, let me finish the sentence—provided that it be the produce of free labour. (Cheers). Will our worthy hypocrites in the House of Commons assist me? (Cries of "no, no,") Not they, forsooth. (Applause). Will they sweeten the poor man's cup in Ireland? The consumption there is but one single ounce per head per week. In proportion to the prosperity of any country is the consumption of sugar. It is the most healthful of all condiments that belong to human food. It has abolished leprosy, it has coloured the human countenance, and it gladdens the human heart. But I am told that we shall injure the West Indians. I do not call them vagabonds, but they are the most exacting gentlemen that ever lived. (Laughter). Have you not put twenty millions in their pockets? Are not the people of England taxed one million and a half every year to pay the interest? And yet they are so greedy, that they want to tax you £3 millions and £4 millions more! (Hear, hear). They remind me of Lord Donoughmore, who was constantly asking a certain Lord Lieutenant to increase his estates, until at length the latter became so tired of his importunities, that he told him that, if the government gave him England Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, he would ask for the Isle of Man as a cabbage garden. (Laughter and cheers). It is the same with the West Indian proprietors. I am not disposed to gratify them to that extent. They have got our £20,000,000, and they are entitled to no more. The hon. and learned gentleman then referred to the successful results of emancipation in the West India colonies. He had lately seen the Roman Catholic bishop of Guiana, who had authorized him (Mr. O'Connell), to state the following fact. Three estates had been purchased by a jointstock company of negros, for the least of which they paid 80,000 dollars. There was in the neighbourhood a gentleman who had acted with the greatest humanity as the agent of three or four estates. He (Mr. O'Connell) was happy to say, that that gentleman was an Irishman. They made a bargain with him to pay him £500 per annum to manage the estate for them, and bound themselves to follow out any made of cultivation he would direct (Cheers). A school was established, 300 children attended it, and the Roman Catholic bishop declared, that more merry, better disposed, good. natured children, he never saw than those little blacks. They had not been above five months under instruction when they were publicly examined, the governor being present. Instead of showing inferiority in mental power, there was even a greater readiness in them to learn than in the children of the whites, because they were actuated by a greater desire for instruction. (Cheers). Would the yellow miscreants of North America again impute to the African race intellectual inferiority? The governor examined several children taken indiscriminately, and was so astonished at their attainments that he requested a copy of the school books. The honourable and learned gentleman then animadverted in strong terms upon American slavery and the internal slave-trade, and dwelt upon the hypocrisy of suppressing the African slave trade, when their only object was to increase the price of indigenous slaves. He then referred to the recognition of Texas as an independent state by the British government, and, after expressing his abhorrence of the laws enacted by the Texans for the perpetuation of slavery, and characterising their charter as written with blood and sealed with the impression of the hoof of a demon, stated his determination to bring the treaty recently entered into by Lord Palmerston under the consideration of the British parliament. He was a general supporter of the present government, because he thought that, if they were displaced, a worse would follow; but he would not be a supporter or a partaker of the misdeeds of any minister. Lord Palmerston had said that he had recognised the Texans, because by that means European literature and European public opinion would get among them, and they would be ashamed of keeping their negros in bondage. (Laughter.) It was a mockery. Lord Palmerston, good, sweet man, hoped to coax the birds from the bushes, and when he had done that, he would perhaps be able to coax the Texans to give up their slaves, but he would not be able to effect it before. (Laughter and cheers.) They had made a law that negros should not be sold under execution. It bore the aspect of humanity, but what was its true character? A fraudulent debtor ran away from North America to Texas,

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taking with him his negros. His creditor followed him, with proofs establishing his debt, but the newly arrived planter had nothing but his negros, and they could not be sold to discharge it. The Texans had employed the American and the British press to deceive the public mind, and to convince the British people that that country of outlaws and runaways, whose president lived in a house built of five or six logs, with the chimney outside, (laughter) was a mighty state, so healthy, that neither Paradise nor Connaught were to be compared to it. (Laughter.) It was true that some few spots were healthy, but they were only known to be so by the contrast. (Cheers.) Let stock jobbers and loan lenders beware of Texas—it was a poisonous swamp, in which they might, as a return for their money, catch the yellow fever, but they would catch nothing else. (Laughter and cheers.) If they had anything to do with those loans, they would rue the day when they advanced them. (Hear, hear.) His trade was agitation on behalf of justice. (Hear, hear.) He was an advocate for a fair representative government all over the earth, and he contended that every man in the British dominions, who attained the age of manhood and had a fixed habitation, whether a lodger or a proprietor, ought to be represented in the British parliament. (Cheers.) It was by such meetings as the present that they were stimulated in the work of the regeneration of mankind. It was meetings like this which enabled him to express his indignant scorn at the political hypocrisy of statesmen, who pretended to weep at the sufferings of humanity, while they were only sighing for office. (Loud cheers.) That shout was just and generous. (Cheers.) It was said, John Bull was remarkable for his good sense, and saw as far through a millstone as the man who made it. (Laughter.) Could he not see that theirs was a flimsy pretext, and not a scheme to be worked out for the sake of humanity? Let it not be forgotten, that the West India planters in their own country consumed nothing but slave grown sugar. It was brought to England, entered at the Custom-house, refined, and then exported, there being a drawback of the duty. (Hear, hear.) He never knew a case of drawback of duty in which there was not a little swindling. It was sent to the West Indies, and consumed on the estates of the Goulburns, the Grants, the Gladstones, and the Sandons, who were delighted that they got it so cheap, and that it tasted of the blood of the negro. (Hear, hear.) The honourable and learned gentleman then alluded to the corn laws, and concluded by calling on the meeting not to cease the prosecution of their object until every slave was free. He sat down amid long-continued cheering.

[Before the conclusion of the honourable and learned gentleman's speech, Martin and his associates disappeared from the platform as by magic, and no further interruption was offered to the proceedings.]

Mr. C. L. REMOND, on rising to second the resolution, said—In the few remarks which I propose to offer on this occasion, I shall confine myself to the merits of the resolution. I approve of it throughout, and I hope you will do the same. The friends of the coloured man in America have been wont to despond; for never, while Great Britain pursues the course she does at the present time, can they hope to carry their course to a successful termination. It is in vain to attempt the annihilation of American slavery, while that system receives the encouragement now afforded to it in this country. (Hear, hear.) I know that the question is a difficult and a troublesome one; but, inasmuch as the anti-slavery party of Great Britain have been the chosen instruments of the Almighty for carrying out the great doctrine of human rights, I hope they will continue to stimulate their friends in America. If ever there was a class of the fellow-inhabitants of any portion of the civilized world which deserved the co-operation of philanthropic minds in this country, it is their fellow-abolitionists, comparatively few in number, in the United States. (Loud cheers.) I was one of 17 members of the first Anti-Slavery Society formed in America. From that time to the present I have been acquainted with all their movements, and they have had to make larger sacrifices, and to undergo deeper sufferings, than any other class of men in the world who have associated for so noble and good an object. (Loud cheers.) The foreign slave trade, to say nothing of the domestic slave trade in my own country, never flourished to such an extent as at the present moment; and we cannot hope to lessen it while it continues to be so lucrative, arising from the consumption of slave-grown cotton in this country. I cannot but regret whenever attempts are made to call away the minds of persons met for the discussion of this great question. (Cheers.) When the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society cannot stand on its own merits, then let it fall. (Hear, hear.) I need not refer to the thousands of coloured people who have been driven to a premature grave, by the impetus which Great Britain still gives to slavery. The system which we wish to see destroyed rolls on unheeded by recreant Americans, and, for having spoken the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, I have been stigmatised as a traitor to my country. Sooner than approve of the system of slavery in the United States, if I must take the alternative of being the oppressed slave or the oppressor, give me the condition of the former. (Loud cheers.) Give me the chance, if I may so express it, of being the poor slave rather than the oppressor, when they shall meet at the bar of God, and there shall be no question of bank or anti-bank, tariff or anti-tariff. I trust that the day is not far distant, when, in my own beloved country, as well as yours, mankind shall be considered great only as they are good. (Cheers.) At the present day, in the United States, men, women, and children, are enslaved for the complexion they wear. If a man there has one drop of African blood flowing in his veins, it not only dooms him to be an outlaw, but exposes him to seizure as a slave. But, if the growth of cotton in the East Indies be taken up as it ought by the British public, slavery will become the great question of the day in America, and it will soon be terminated (Cheers.) Liberty has a name in my country, but in practice it is completely dead. (Cheers.) I hope the meeting will bear with me while I read one or two extracts confirmatory of the remarks I have made. I will refer to a source which has had a powerful action on a great and influential part of the district of Columbia. If a coloured man goes to Columbia to attend the funeral of a deceased relative, he is liable to be seized, bound, and detained till he proves his freedom. (Hear, hear.) He must prove it while immured within the bolts and bars of a dungeon, otherwise he is sold as a slave. (Hear, hear.) There are two young men being flogged as slaves, whose father receives a pension for his services in the revolutionary war. (Hear, hear.) The extract to which I refer is taken from the *Natchez Free Trader*, which, in copying an account of the great meeting in Manchester, England, with reference to the growth of cotton in India, says—

"It may be remembered that when Capt. Baylis, of the British East India forces, came to this city, in the early part of last summer, for the purpose of getting men acquainted with the process of raising cotton to accompany him to India, the *Free Trader* was the first journal to expose and denounce his plan, as a dangerous scheme to undermine the prosperity of the American planters, and ruin the sale of their great staple. In no measured terms of rebuke, the *Free Trader* denounced both those wealthy and influential planters in Adams county who lent themselves to aid Capt. Baylis in his designs, and those nine young men from the states of Mississippi and Louisiana who sold themselves to the ancient and inveterate enemy of their native land; but, at that time, the acting editor of that journal knew not the whole enormity of the insidious scheme. Little, perhaps, thought those young planters and overseers, when they consented to go to India, that they were to be used as tools in the unholy hands of the abolitionists! (Hear, hear.)

"Of the startling fact that the East India cotton growing project is but a powerful organization designed to overthrow the system of domestic slavery in the American states, we have now the most ample evidence. This evidence we hasten to present to our readers; it is vitally important to the south, and merits all the deep attention which it will surely receive. . . . .

"The attitude of the south in sustaining the patriarchal institutions of slavery at this moment is full of interest. England is arraying its vast moral, commercial, and political power against us. The ocean queen is about to work her thirty millions of white slaves and serfs in the jungles and on the plains of India, for the express purpose of rendering the labour of three millions of black slaves in America unproductive and of no value. This will be done. There is no vacillation or weakness of purpose in the English character. (Cheers.) All India will, in a year or two, teem like a vast bee-hive with the cotton enterprise, cheered on by the fratricide abolitionists and mock philanthropists of the northern states. Meanwhile, O'Connell, the Irish agitator, is invoked to agitate his countrymen against slavery on this side of the water, while, both in Ireland and England, his roaring voice is perpetually lifted up in abuse of the noble-hearted, the independent, and the fearless southern planters, as well as the American character at large. The Kirk of Scotland thunders her anathemas against the American Presbyterians, because they will not excommunicate slave-holding church members. The Wesleyans and the Quakers are perpetually using clerical influence against the rights and peace of our social institutions. The royal consort of the Queen of England is not ashamed to preside over the opening of a meeting, vauntingly called the "World's Convention," the chief business of which was to abuse American institutions—where Birney, once a slave-holder, and the negro Remond, side by side on the same platform with the highest bishops of the church of England, and with O'Connell, lifted up their voices, traitors as they are, against their own native land; all joining in full cry against a domestic institution which has come down unbroken from the 'world's grey fathers,' the holy patriarchs, with whom angels walked and talked." (Laughter, and very loud cheers.)

I have only to add, that, if speaking before so large an audience as this on behalf of freedom constitutes me a traitor, I am proud of the appellation. (Cheers). I expect to return to my native country soon, and I have said nothing here which I shall not say there, and which I have not already said there again and again. (Loud cheers). I have been in danger of my life on more occasions than one, and before slavery is abolished it is probable that I shall again. I believe that there will be more martyrs to the great cause of emancipation than one. Let slavery in America be abolished, and it will then be a happy country, and England will receive the gratitude of the coloured man for the efforts she has made. (Loud cheers).

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

WILLIAM EVANS, Esq., M. P., rose to move—

"That this meeting rejoices in the steady progress of education and religion among the emancipated slaves of the British colonies; in their uniform obedience to the laws; in the better understanding which is gradually taking place between them and their employers, and in the consequent advance in the general prosperity of those dependencies of the British Crown: and assures the emancipated classes of the unabated interest it feels in their welfare, and of its determination to watch over and protect their rights, to call for the purification of the administration of justice, and to insist on the security of the inestimable privileges conferred on them by the act for the abolition of slavery.

"That this meeting regards with inexpressible regret the now notorious fact, that the British Mining Companies operating in Cuba and Brazil have been possessors of slaves, to the appalling number of four thousand and upwards; having purchased them in violation of British law (which declares every such purchase to be felony), and holding them in violation of every principle of humanity and justice."

I am certain that you will rejoice in the statements here made, and which I believe to be literally true, of the improved condition of the liberated negros, manifested in their earnest desire for education, and in the progress they have made in industrial habits. (Cheers). You will also receive with that scorn, indignation, and disgust, which I felt in reading it, the latter part of this resolution.

G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq., in seconding the resolution, said, it is not my intention, at this hour of the meeting, to address to you many observations, but I am inclined very briefly to refer to the two circumstances which form the subject of the resolution. It is, indeed, a most heart-cheering circumstance to those who have laboured, whether long or short in the cause of negro emancipation, to know that, where only a few years since 800,000 of our fellow-subjects were enduring the severest degradation of suffering, there are now to be found 800,000 happy freemen. (Cheers). It is a most gratifying circumstance, to find that they have conducted themselves in a manner most worthy of admiration, and far beyond what could reasonably have been anticipated. (Cheers.) It is also pleasing to reflect, that this must have a powerful influence on slavery throughout the world. It has deprived those who were opposed to emancipation of one of the strongest arguments on which they were accustomed to rely, viz. that the negro is unfit for liberty. (Cheers.) The latter part refers to Englishmen holding shares in the mines of Brazil and the Island of Cuba. Allow me to state a fact mentioned to me very recently, when in Spain, with regard to the manner in which the planters are accustomed to treat their slaves in Cuba. A highly respectable individual, who resided there for many

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years, told me, that it frequently occurred that slaves were destroyed by forced labour. He stated, that, when a considerable temptation is offered, by the high price of sugar, to procure as large a crop as possible, a proprietor will sometimes ask a manager if it is possible to procure 2000 boxes instead of 1500 by forced labour. The managers reply, that the slaves are looking well, and it may be effected, but it will be at the cost of twenty or thirty lives. The proprietor makes his calculation, and draws a balance between the increased quantity of sugar and the pecuniary value of the slaves, and, if he finds that it will yield a profit, he desires them to be forced, and thus the negros are destroyed. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) It is impossible for those who are acquainted with such facts to feel other than a very strong hesitation at encouraging the the introduction of Cuba and Brazilian sugars into this country, without the least regard to any political considerations. I should greatly rejoice in the circumstance of this sugar being excluded from the English market, by whatever men it may be urged. We have no regard to political parties, but we have regard for consistency of principle. In acting out the principle laid down when the society was first formed, and in carrying out the resolutions adopted at the Convention, we feel that we have done our duty; and we are prepared to abide by the consequences. We felt that it was our incumbent duty to protest, before the country and the whole world, against the introduction of a system based on the loss of human life, and the increasing traffic of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa. I ask is it right that these countries, having increased to a considerable extent their commerce by their very iniquities, should ask us on that ground to take their sugars into our market? I will not dwell on this point. I will just refer to one circumstance, to which the resolution leads me, which is, that there are Englishmen connected with the mines in Brazil and Cuba, who are lending their countenance to all the iniquities to which I have alluded. A few individuals, who became connected with the Brazilian Mining Company without being aware that they had slaves, felt it to be their duty to remonstrate against it. (Hear.) They did so at a meeting held yesterday; two hundred persons were present, and out of that number only seven voted for the emancipation of the slaves. (Shame, shame.) There have been individuals classed as hypocrites, and they must be hypocrites, who, while they could advocate the exclusion of sugar, could vote for the continuance of this practice. (Cheers.) I know no terms in which to express my indignation at such conduct. I could not shake hands with a man guilty of this crime, or acknowledge him as a friend, whatever his station, while, in fact he is a party to murder and a daily system of robbery. (Cheers.) I trust that the feelings of the British public will not allow the continuance of a system so calculated to promote slavery in other lands; with such facts before us, I question whether any disinterested man can do otherwise than come to the resolutions adopted by the London com-

The motion was then put and agreed to.

J. CONDER, Esq., moved a vote of thanks to the chairman.

Mr. H. ASHWORTH in seconding it, stated that the meeting appeared so fully impressed with the views which he himself entertained, that he should not propose the resolution he had intended to bring forward.

The resolution was carried by acclamation, and the meeting separated.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—I cannot but suppose that many, whilst perusing the pages of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, have been pained by the reflection, that they are constantly wearing upon their persons, and using in their houses, the produce of the labour of slaves. The prospect is cheering of our supplies of *cotton* being one day drawn from the British possessions in India, or, perhaps, from the free home labour of Africa. But I would put the inquiry to all, whether we should continue to suffer ourselves, however unwillingly, to be a party to the great crime of slavery? and, whether we are doing what we can in the cause of abolition, whilst we continue to be, as consumers of the production, the great supporters of the system. It may be objected, that, unlike the case of *sugar*, the public have no means of distinguishing in articles made from *cotton*, the production of the one hemisphere from that of the other. But if the public, or any part of it, manifest a determination not to touch the unhallowed produce of labour wrung from the slave, there is little doubt but that shopkeepers, manufacturers, and merchants will be found, upon whom we may depend for a supply of free-grown cotton only. Nay, we may hope that some of these will rejoice at the opportunity of shaking their hands from receiving, however indirectly, the gain of oppression, from being, as it were, links in the iron chain that binds the limbs, and fetters the spirits, of our brethren in bondage.

The rejection of slave-grown cotton by this country could not fairly be charged as the effect of national jealousy, since we shall only be withholding from the slave states of America, the same encouragement which some amongst us refused, in the case of sugar, to our own West India Colonies. Is the satisfaction forgotten, with which many, of various classes and religious communities in this kingdom agreed to abstain from West India sugar? And is it less incumbent upon us, and will it be a less acceptable testimony in the sight of Him, who hath commanded us to let our light shine in the world, to abstain from the use of American cotton, for the growth of which such vast numbers of our fellow creatures toil in chains? And now especially is the moment arrived for this step, when we hear India, whose resources and necessities have never yet been measured, calling to Great Britain, from whom she has suffered much, to remove many a heavy burden, and to permit rather than help her, to assume her high but long lost rank amongst the enlightened and productive nations of the earth.

As I have not seen this subject mentioned in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, or elsewhere, these remarks may serve as a hint to some one of more acquaintance with the difficulties, and more able to judge of the practicability of the object than I am; and I shall be glad to see the question taken up by able hands.

Of course, the above observations will apply equally to all other articles of slave-labour, as well as to cotton; so that, as far as possible, we may be guiltless of fostering or countenancing the great sin of slavery.

If there be any production imported from slave countries which is not grown elsewhere by free-labour, our conduct, with regard to such articles, may admit of further consideration; but I am not aware that such is the case.

I am, thy friend,

Heath, near Wakefield, 4th Month 7th, 1841. CHARLES TYLER.

THE SUGAR QUESTION.

[From the *Morning Chronicle.*]

THE following extract of a letter from Sir T. F. Buxton contains the baronet's opinion on the question which is now occupying the attention of parliament:—

"I can have no hesitation in saying, that, in my opinion, the best and wisest course that we can pursue is to enforce the prohibitory duties against slave-grown sugar, that is, against the sugars of Cuba and Brazil. It seems to me one of those questions in which ordinary rules are to be disregarded, and in which considerations of political advantage must be made to yield to the superior law of moral duty. We cannot admit the produce of Cuba and Brazil into home consumption, without giving a vast impulse to the growth of sugar in those countries; or in other words, without giving the strongest encouragement to the slave-trade.

"The question, then, presents itself in this form:—Shall England, which has hitherto been the only hope of Africa—which has cheerfully paid £20,000,000 for the emancipation of her own slaves—which has, as some of us think, derived more true glory from this, than from Trafalgar or Waterloo—which, persevering in the cause of humanity, is now sending out an expedition to effect in a new form the extinction of the slave-trade—shall this England, which has hitherto thought no labours and no sacrifices too great for the accomplishment of this special object, now turn round, and by a single act do more for the promotion of the slave-trade than she has ever done for its suppression; and be the very means of pouring down upon Africa a more aggravated load of misery, ruin, crime, and desolation, than she has ever yet endured? I cannot think that it will be for a moment pretended, that we should be justified on principle in taking this course; and if this be true, such a course cannot, in the long run, prosper. A temporary relief, no doubt, the country may obtain; but at what cost? Such inconsistency would tarnish the character of the country in the eyes of the civilised world. Our high professions—our appeals to other nations, calling upon them to relinquish from fear of God, and in pity to a quarter of the human race, the iniquitous gains of the slave-trade—the boast we have made of superior humanity—all these would be held up in mockery against us when the world shall perceive, that for the sake of revenue, and for the sake of effecting some reduction in the price of an article of consumption, we have resolved, with our eyes open, to do that which must necessarily produce an increase of the very trade which we have hitherto pretended to detest.

"But we shall lose more than reputation. We shall forfeit His favour who rules the destinies of nations. Enlightened as this country is on the subject of the slave-trade, and knowing well that guilt upon the largest scale and to the most intense degree inseparably cleaves to it, I can conceive no national crime more likely to call down the vengeance of God, than for us now to become knowingly parties to the extension of that traffic. President Jefferson, himself a slave-holder, said, 'I tremble for my country, when I remember that God is just.' When Great Britain shall have been bribed to give direct encouragement to the trade in human flesh, shall we not have reason to fear that such a crime attended, as in our case it would be by such consummate hypocrisy, would bring down upon the nation some heavy chastisement? These are the leading considerations which present themselves to my mind, but there are others which must not be lost sight of. There seems good reason to believe, that the high price of sugar is but a temporary evil. I think we may reasonably expect that many of the difficulties which have hitherto existed in the West Indies will cease; and we may hope, that the islands will not continue to suffer from unfavourable seasons. Again, the quantity of sugar coming from the East Indies is increasing every day, and will, without doubt, go far towards the reduction of prices. As a question of pure policy, would it not be better to give an impulse to the growth of sugar in our own territories in the East and West Indies, than to confer such a bonus on Cuba and Brazil?

"Another point should be borne in mind. The government, of course, cannot say that they are driven by necessity, and by the overwhelming voice of the country, to dispense with the prohibitory duties. There have been, I take it, no demonstrations of any great anxiety on the subject on the part of the people. The noise that is made is not very loud, and it proceeds rather from the merchants, who want to sell Brazilian sugar, than from the populace who want to buy it. If the matter should be laid clearly before the public, and they should be made really sensible that they can only obtain foreign sugar through the medium of the slave-trade, they would not call upon the government to instigate such crimes and to multiply such horrors as they know belong to the slave-trade, for their relief.

"When we proposed the abolition of slavery, it was tauntingly said, 'the public are your friends now; but tell them they shall have their will, that slavery shall cease, but they shall pay for it, and you will hear no more of anti-slavery meetings and petitions.'

"Slavery was abolished, and a tremendous mulct was thereby imposed upon the people of England; and it must ever be remembered, to their honour, that no one petition was presented against it while the measure was in progress; and not a murmur, as authenticated by any public remonstrance or petition, has since been heard."

JAMAICA.—The *New York Sunday Morning News* gives the following extract of a letter, dated Jamaica, 4th of March, 1841—"We have now a new cause of confusion, excitement, and speculation. A few days since two large British steam-frigates, fully armed and equipped, arrived and anchored in Port Royal harbour. Yesterday two more of these formidable visitors made their appearance, and the four are now anchored in the proximity of the fort. The destination of this fleet is not known: indeed, it is kept a profound secret, I think, from even the island authorities. From recent demonstrations and movements, however, it is most probable that an attempt is shortly to be made to wrest the island of Cuba from the government of Spain."

In the *Times* and *Chronicle* it is stated, that about sixty blacks from Jamaica, had been found in the island of Cuba; that thirty of them had been shot by the military, who were hunting the remainder. They are represented as anti-slavery emissaries. They were, at all events, British subjects; and such a transaction cannot but form a subject of prompt and serious interposition on the part of the British government. Mr. Turnbull will certainly not permit this atrocity to pass without very grave notice.

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ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN MADRID.

THE following is a translation from a Spanish paper, (the *Hurricane*) published in Madrid, dated the 6th of May, 1841. It is an extract from a series of accusations against Don Claudio Pinsillor, Intendant of Havana, and Count of Villanueva.

"It is said he has protected the commerce of slaves, thus levelling the road to Cuban prosperity. We admit this; but this protection is a crime against wounded humanity; it is a political crime; and it is a crime also which the law punishes. The prosperity of Cuba does not depend on its continuing to sustain, in contravention of prohibitions and treatics, this horrible traffic, which cries out desolately for human and divine vengeance. The labour of the negro is not necessary, neither is it the most productive, for fertilizing the rich lands of intertropical countries. But, even if it were so, how does the white man assume the right of the European to enslave and make the negro work, to increase his pleasures and satisfy his avarice! Slavery, which demoralizes and brutalizes equally the master and the slave; which makes them both cruel, ferocious, indolent, and without foresight or calculation; which in its cost, is so very dear, and which, moreover, is paid with blood and tears, and with the degradation of the two races; is already proscribed in all civilized communities: and if it is preserved in some of the states of the American Union, even there it produces its frightful effects, for the warning and punish-ment of those who infringe the laws of nature."

BRITISH OFFICERS AND THE SLAVE-HOLDING MINING COMPANIES.

THE fact that officers of the British service, both in the army and navy, have accepted engagements in the employment of the slave-holding mining companies having been brought under the notice of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee, they have addressed to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, the following memorial, on this very inconsistent and dishonourable practice:—

To the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Palmerston, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—The deep interest which her Majesty's government has uniformly taken in the suppression of the African slave-trade, the promptitude with which your Lordship removed the late consul of the Havana, and the orders which (it is understood) have been issued to prevent any of the civil functionaries of the crown, from being directly or indirectly engaged in aiding or countenancing the slave-trade, in those countries where it is still unhappily carried on, and in which they may reside, induce the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to call your lordship's attention to a painful fact respecting another class of the servants of the crown, who, they have every reason to believe, are directly implicated in upholding that enormous crime.

Your lordship is fully aware, that there exist in this country companies which have invested large capitals in mining speculations in the Brazilian empire. These companies hold and use as their property upwards of two thousand slaves, no inconsiderable number of whom (as well as many others now dead) have been purchased out of slave ships, to supply the waste of mortality in their slave-gangs, or to meet other exigencies of their establishments, in defiance of the laws of their country, as well as in direct contravention of those of the empire in which their operations are carried on.

In connexion with such establishments gentlemen of the army and navy have been engaged, as chief commissioners, directors, or superintendents, to the grief of those most anxious to terminate this inhuman and revolting traffic, and to the great dishonour of their country. These persons are in the pay of the companies, and, it is understood, have the entire control and management of their affairs in Brazil.

Holding commissions, as some of them do, in her Majesty's navy, a portion of which is actively employed on the coast of that empire for the suppression of the slave-trade, the committee deem it highly inconsistent with the duties of their profession, and with a just respect for the laws of their country, as well as disgraceful to the commissions which they bear, for them to be, in any way, accessory to the continuance and extension of an evil which her Majesty's government, and the people of this country generally, are so desirous of putting down.

The committee would venture, not only to point out to your lordship the flagrant inconsistency of officers in the pay of her Majesty being thus engaged, but the evil influence which such conduct exerts, in giving currency to the idea entertained by Brazilians, that, after all, the people and the government of this country are not sincere in their philanthropic endeavours to abolish the slave-trade; but are influenced by the basest motives in seeking its suppression—namely, the determination to destroy their property, and to cripple and restrict their commerce.

The committee would therefore respectfully urge upon the government, through your lordship, the necessity of immediately issuing a general and peremptory order, forbidding such engagement in future, on the part of any persons holding her Majesty's commission; and marking the practice with the signal displeasure of the crown.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
GEORGE BENNET, *Chairman.*

HAVANA SUGAR.

THERE has been handed to us a copy of the following paper, which, we understand, has been widely circulated in the island of Guernsey (where Havana sugar and coffee are largely consumed), by some young women interested in the abolition of slavery.

READ AND REFLECT.

HAVANA is a chief town and district in the West Indian island of Cuba.

Cuba belongs to the Spaniards.

The labourers in Cuba are slaves.

For Cuba twenty-five thousand young men are taken by force from Africa every year.

War never ceases in Africa: seventeen thousand barrels of powder, and an immense amount of fire-arms, are supplied every year to African chiefs, that they may attack towns, lay them waste, and seize the inhabitants to sell them for slaves.

Almost all the wars of Africa are wars excited, begun, and carried on for the sole purpose of seizing men, women, and children, and carrying them off into SLAVERY.

Villages are often pounced upon at night, and set fire to. Old men, women, and children are murdered, and the young are carried off into perpetual SLAVERY.

The native negros, the aboriginal people, the savages as we call them, thought of no such wars: people called civilized and christian hire them to lay the land waste, teach them to burn villages, to murder, and to sell their fellow-men. The white men grow rich by the destruction of the black men.

The captains and agents of the ships buy young men as we buy cattle.

Men who are free—men who live peaceably in their own land, in their own homes—men who have their fathers and mothers, their wives and children around them are torn away suddenly from all that is dear to them; their children, their parents—their wives, are often murdered before their eyes.

Free born men are fettered and chained, and are driven from the interior to the western coast. They are hurried along with the fiercest cruelty; on the march they are flogged and tortured, and, when they can go on no further, they are left to die of hunger and thirst, or are murdered.

Many die during the journey. Sorrow and torture, and the terror of SLAVERY kill them; the first grasp of the tyrant breaks the liberty-loving heart.

And all this fiendish cruelty is set to work that sugar and coffee may be grown by force in Cuba. And all who use HAVANA SUGAR help all this cruelty.

Those who live over the journey to the coast are sold to agents and captains.

They are forced on board the slave-ship; are hurried down between decks; they are packed as if they were sacks full of merchandise, not human beings full of life.

They are crowded, and crushed, and crammed together. They can neither stand, nor sit upright, nor stretch their limbs.

They are placed sitting, stooped, crippled up, ranged in rows, alternately back to back and knee to knee. When they lie down, every atom of room is covered; a mouse could not walk between them. They are ranged like pins when you place them close together, heads and points.

The passage occupies about fifty days.

Multitudes die from disease and suffocation on the passage.

When all these sources of mortality are summed up, it is found that, for every slave who is alive in Cuba at the end of six months, two hundred human beings have been miserably murdered!

When the slaves arrive at Havana they are sold by auction, as we sell horses.

Soon after they arrive and are forced to work, numbers die.

All are worked to death in ten years.

The slaves in Havana have no wives, no children. The supply of labourers is kept up by bringing them fresh and fresh from Africa—twenty-five thousand every year.

They are seized in Africa; they are brought from Africa; they are sold in Havana; they are worked to death; they are flogged; they are tortured; they are ground into their graves in ten years.

What is all this cruelty for? To make sugar—HAVANA SUGAR.

In the sugar season the slaves are kept at work for twenty hours out of the four-and-twenty.

HAVANA SUGAR is drenched with human blood.

Don't buy HAVANA SUGAR.

Don't sell HAVANA SUGAR.

Don't take a present of HAVANA SUGAR. Don't put HAVANA SUGAR into your tea or coffee. Don't have HAVANA SUGAR in the house.

Think of HAVANA SUGAR with horror and disgust.

Hate the very name of HAVANA SUGAR—the produce of SLAVERY—the produce of the murder-bought labour of SLAVERY.

Tell every one that HAVANA SUGAR is the produce of robbery and murder. Tell every one that it is clotted with human blood—with the blood of the Africans!

Don't use HAVANA SUGAR. Don't use anything from Cuba, until the slaves there have been made free.

Don't disgrace yourselves by supporting SLAVERY.

As you love your own FREEDOM—as you reverence christianity—hate the very name of SLAVERY.

British West India Sugar is the produce of the labour of free men. Not long ago they too were slaves. By cruelty they were forced to work—they worked lazily, heavily—they had no heart, no spirit; they were set *free*, and with FREEDOM came work in earnest, peace, security, prosperity, happiness, piety. FREEDOM filled the negro heart with gratitude; FREEDOM made labour light; FREEDOM blotted out the memory of the heaviest wrongs; FREEDOM found the negro a home, and parents, and wife, and children; FREEDOM filled the negro's heart with love to God—with hopes of heaven.

Help the spread of FREEDOM throughout the world.

There are slaves in the French West Indies; there are slaves in the Danish West Indies; there are slaves in Brazil; there are slaves in Texas; there are slaves in Cuba; there are slaves in the East Indies; there are three million slaves in liberty-boasting America!

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Help those who labour to set them all free—who labour to set mankind of every colour in every climate free!

Write about *Freedom*—talk about *Freedom* with all your heart—love *Freedom*,—hate *Slavery!*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The verses sent us from Newcastle-on-Tyne, are respectfully declined.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, may be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society; as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 19TH.

INTELLIGENCE from various and distant portions of the world, of a highly interesting and encouraging character, will be found in our columns to-day. We refer particularly to the articles relating to Spain, Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, and Cuba. The whole system of slavery totters, and the cause of emancipation is making a healthy progress which secures its triumph.

Letters and papers from the United States, inform us of the good health of our friend, Mr. Sturge, and of his cordial welcome by the Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

THE debate in which the proposed reduction of the sugar duties is involved, has engrossed the attention of parliament for eight successive days, and terminated last night, by leaving ministers in a minority of thirty-six. Our tried friend, Dr. Lushington, coinciding in his views with the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee, has consistently taken that ground in the House of Commons, provoking much abuse from many quarters, but entitling himself to our admiration and gratitude. The anti-slavery bearing of the question has been frequently referred to by speakers on the conservative side, with various degrees, no doubt, of consistency and sincerity. Much and severe remark has been made on the new position in which the sudden conjuncture of circumstances has placed the committee; but in coincidence, with whatever parties the chapter of accidents may have placed them, it could supply no reason for their deviating from the straight path of their duty.

A LETTER animadverting in severe terms on the conduct of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee having been addressed to the editor of the *Globe*, and published in that paper, the committee have sent the following reply:—

To the Editor of the *Globe*.

SIR,—A letter which has appeared in your columns, with the signature of *A Hater of White and Black Slavery*, animadverting on the conduct of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee, was read before that body on Thursday last; and they request the insertion of the following remarks in reply. They premise only, that an earlier notice has been prevented by the pressure of business connected with the Annual Meeting of the society. The writer asks,

How is it that the London committee of the Anti-slavery Society is now, for the first time, found openly in alliance with the bread monopolists? Is this accidental, or are there individuals exercising an influence in that small body, who are disposed, if they can do so by a side-wind, to favour monopoly in bread as well as sugar? I will trouble you with a few facts which have given rise to this suspicion.

After some lengthened remarks and extracts from American papers, respecting the connexion between British Corn Laws and American slavery, which it is not necessary to notice, the writer comes directly to his purpose, as follows:—

I would ask, why has the London Anti-slavery Committee, and why has their organ, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, abstained from all allusion to the complaints so constantly made by the American abolitionists, that our corn-law is the main prop of the accursed slave-owning interest in that country? Is it inadvertence? Then let the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, in its very next number, show its "consistency." The facts are now before the British public. But, no—it is not inadvertence; for, to my own knowledge, this subject has been again and again brought before the notice of the committee and editor.

To this the following replies are given:—

First, The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, which your correspondent justly styles "the organ" of the committee, has not "abstained from all allusion to the complaints of the American abolitionists" on the subject of the Corn Laws. In proof of this, you are referred to that journal of the 29th of July, 1840, in which there is an article entitled *Slavery, Cotton, and Corn*, which is as much to the point as anything in the letter of your correspondent, and which, of course, you are entitled to print in your columns, in whole or in part, if you think good.

Secondly, This subject has *not upon any occasion*, in the recollection of any member of the committee present, been brought under the consideration of that body. The editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* answers for himself, that it has never been brought under his notice by any person, or in any manner. Let your correspondent adduce the proofs of his assertion. The writer then proceeds:—

But I have a still more important fact to add, and which first awakened my suspicions that a sinister influence was at work upon the London Committee. It will be recollected by your readers, that a great anti-slavery convention was held last spring in Freemasons' Hall, at which delegates from many foreign countries attended; and amongst these was a gentleman from America, who brought with him a mass of very important facts, and was prepared to prove that the British corn and provision laws operated as a direct premium upon slavery in America. *Those important statements were suppressed*, and the papers afterwards came into my possession. *Why were they suppressed?*

The answer to this is, that no member of the committee present knows anything of the existence of the documents referred to. One of them was one of the secretaries of the Convention, and several of them were members of the committee for preparing the business of the Convention; and, by neither of them were such papers ever heard of. And if they never were presented, it is quite clear they could not have been suppressed. Your correspondent says that those papers have come into his possession. Will he be good enough to state to the public what they are; how he became possessed of them; and what are the name and address of the possessor?

"These facts," your correspondent adds, "are calculated to raise impressions unfavourable to the parties who hold a predominant influence in the London committee. When we now behold the same parties colleaguing with the bread monopolists in their sham battle upon the sugar duties, but real battle for the corn-law—and when we see the *consistent* bread taxer, Lord Sandon, put forth as their champion, the suspicion is strengthened that a sinister influence is at work in the committee."

Of course, it will be obvious that "unfavourable impressions" cannot justly be raised by allegations which are *not facts*. When the writer represents the committee as "colleaguing with the bread monopolists," and as "putting forth Lord Sandon as their champion" he wisely abstains from calling his assertions "facts." These are pure fictions, without even the shadow of a foundation. What is true is, merely, that the course taken by the Anti-slavery committee, under the dictates of humanity, happens to be coincident with that taken by other parties, actuated variously by commercial, economical, or political objects. The committee affirm the coincidence to be purely accidental, and they challenge proof of the contrary. The opponents of the ministry, and the upholders of class interests, have endeavoured to profit by this coincidence, and have pretended to believe it intentional; but in this point they were altogether mistaken. The friends of ministers, and the advocates of free-trade have assumed that hostility was meant towards them, and they have thus fallen into an equal error. The committee did not mean to befriend or oppose either; and they deserve neither the applause of the one, nor the reproofs of the other.

On the behalf of the committee,

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

27, *New Broad Street*,
May 17th, 1841.

A REPORT of the proceedings at the second annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society will be found in our columns this day. In consequence of the indisposition of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and the absence of some of the more elevated friends of the cause, the chair was taken by William Allen, Esq., a man than whom few have been more distinguished, for the duration, the consistency, and the value of their services. The attendance was large and, with one exception, highly respectable. Unfortunately for the tranquillity of the meeting, a knot of chartists, in two divisions, had entered the hall, to pursue their usual course of violence and noise. The meeting, of course, was not insensible to the political excitement of the hour; and as sentiments, and even expressions, fell from different speakers, either referring, or capable of being understood as referring, to party topics, the different portions of the assembly warmly responded to them. Attempts, indeed, had been made, to give the meeting a party character utterly foreign to it. The *Times* had formally stated that it was a special meeting convened for the purpose of supporting the motion of Lord Sandon; and a general idea prevailed, that a meeting held at such a crisis must have a close relation to it. Persons of all parties therefore were congregated together, and expectation was on tiptoe. It was somewhat damped, perhaps, when the chairman stated that the meeting was merely the regular anniversary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at its regular season, and in pursuance of arrangements made several months before. The report carried the assembly over a wide field, both domestic and foreign, to dwell on objects of the greatest interest and importance, but altogether of a general anti-slavery character. Among the resolutions, as prepared by the committee, was not one which had any reference to the contending parties, or to the political crisis. Some remarks of Mr. Edward Buxton brought up Mr. Henry Ashworth, a gentleman of a family largely interested in the industry of Lancashire, under "a just jealousy" (as he expressed it) lest the Anti-slavery Society, which ought not to have, and did not wish to have, any political influence, should be turned to a political purpose; but, whatever his wishes might be, the feelings of the meeting seemed to be so nearly in accordance with them, that he was satisfied without submitting any proposition to their consideration. The regular business of the day, therefore, was accomplished without diversion. The meeting was much indebted to the Rev. J. Burnet, for an excellent speech on the question of slavery in British India; but more especially to Mr. O'Connell, of whose address we may say—without making our-

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selves parties to any but its anti-slavery sentiments—that his varied and admirable powers as an orator were, we think, never brought more fully into play, and never applied to a more beneficial purpose. We see that the *Globe* and *Chronicle* also take up the idea, that the meeting was got up by the committee for a party purpose. These oracular gentlemen, if they really believe themselves, were never more mistaken. A sudden conjuncture of circumstances has made the influence of the anti-slavery party worth bidding for; and all parties will have it that we have been, like themselves, at market. Already they must have been in part undeceived; and we care not how soon they will open their eyes to what is an absolute fact, namely, that the anti-slavery committee pursue a course of pure humanity, and are inaccessible to political considerations on either side. We have no claim, either to their flattery or their abuse. What we most fervently hope is, that the friends of the ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD will not suffer their excitement on a single topic to divert their attention, or their interest, from the various great and important objects which the committee are assiduously, and they trust, effectually pursuing.

By the cash account, as read by Mr. G. W. Alexander, the Treasurer, at the Annual Meeting, it appeared that the amount received, including the balance in the treasurer's hands last year, was £4050. 6*s*. 3*d*., and the disbursements, £4626. 3*s*. 1*d*., leaving a balance due to the treasurer of £575. 16*s*. 10*d*. In carrying out the important measures adopted by the Anti-Slavery Convention held last year, which were entrusted to the care of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the expense already incurred on that account has been UPWARDS OF TWO THOUSAND POUNDS, *and further liabilities have been necessarily contracted.* The committee, therefore, respectfully, yet earnestly, entreat the liberal assistance of their friends.

In accordance with the intimation given in our last, the Anti-slavery Committee have appealed to their friends throughout the country, on the proposed reduction of the duty on foreign sugar. On the 5th instant, after prolonged and most serious deliberation, they adopted unanimously the following resolutions.

That this Committee have heard with deep regret the announcement lately made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the intention of her Majesty's government to lower the customs duty on foreign sugars, whether the produce of free or slave labour, to such a scale as will admit of the importation of a vast quantity of that article into the British market for home consumption, especially from Brazil and Cuba; in which countries the atrocious system of slavery is maintained in all its rigour, and the revolting traffic in human beings is carried on to an enormous extent.

That the inevitable tendency of such reduction in the duties will be to stimulate the growth of sugar in those countries by materially increasing the demand for it in this, by which the extent of the slave-trade will be fearfully increased, and its unutterable horrors aggravated and prolonged; while, at the same time, the condition of the wretched and degraded slaves already in bondage, will be rendered more grievous and intolerable than ever.

That as the legislature of this country has declared the slave-trade to be piracy, and the system of slavery to be inherently and essentially unjust, and has sanctioned a vast outlay of the national treasure in the suppression of the former, and the abolition of the latter in the West India colonies; it will be flagrantly inconsistent, with its own solemn decisions embodied in Acts of Parliament, directly or indirectly, to promote, extend, or countenance such enormous evils, or to seek an increase of revenue from sources so iniquitous.

"That the Committee would, therefore, urge upon the friends of humanity, both in and out of parliament, to offer the most strenuous and decided opposition to the measure proposed by government, in so far as it may affect the article of sugar the growth of slave-labour, as a great duty which they owe to the principles of universal justice and benevolence, and, as they firmly believe, to the best interests of their country.'

G. W. ALEXANDER, Chairman.

These resolutions, together with the memorial which they had presented to Lord Melbourne some weeks before, were immediately forwarded to their friends, with a circular in the following terms:—

London, May 5th, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—In transmitting to you the accompanying resolutions, passed at a special meeting of the committee, I am requested respectfully and earnestly to solicit you to call together your committee, or as many of our influential anti-slavery friends as may be convenient, for the purpose of considering the propriety of founding upon them an urgent address to your representatives in parliament, to oppose the contemplated reduction in the duties of sugar, in so far as it respects the introduction of that article, the produce of slave-labour, into the British-market for home consumption. Such address, allow me to say, should be as numerously signed by constituents as possible, and be forwarded to its destination without delay.

The committee, in offering their strenuous opposition to the proposed reduction in the duty on sugar, are not to be regarded as inimical to the principles of free-trade combined with free-labour. A commerce with foreign countries in which such labour is employed, founded upon the most liberal principles, they believe to be essential to the ultimate prosperity and stability of nations, to their advancement in civilization, morals and religion, and to the promotion of peaceful and honourable relations among mankind.

The committee would also take the liberty of calling your attention to the memorial which they presented to Lord Melbourne on the 2nd of April last on the same subject, to shew you the course which they have felt it to be their duty, under present circumstances, to pursue.

The committee would feel obliged by an early intimation of what you have been enabled to do in carrying their recommendation into effect.

I am dear Sir, your's respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

In addition to this, the resolutions were advertised in the principal papers, and a petition founded on them was presented to the House of Commons on the 7th instant. This public proceeding immediately attracted the attention of the political parties now in such strenuous conflict, the one denouncing the committee as enemies, the other hailing them as friends, and both equally in error. In due course the committee have received communications, neither few nor unimportant, from their friends in various parts of the country, generally, but not universally, differing with them. Under these circumstances, they felt called upon to offer some public explanation of the ground they had taken, and they issued a document which is here subjoined.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE single and exclusive object of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, by moral, religious, and other pacific means. To this object the committee have strictly confined themselves, irrespective of all party predilections or party differences; and it will readily appear, that, in the measure they have recently adopted in relation to the proposed reduction of the duty on foreign sugar, they have strictly fulfilled the great trusts confided to them, and kept in view the principles laid down for their government.

The society was formed on the 18th of April, 1839, when its constitution was settled, and the mode of its operation prescribed. Among the means to be employed in the accomplishment of its noble objects, the following was laid down: viz.—"To recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown, and to *promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour.*"

It was under this constitution that the committee accepted office, and they have endeavoured faithfully and conscientiously to fulfil their duties.

The committee would also recal to the memory of their friends the fact, that the same course of conduct as that enjoined in the above rule was recommended by the unanimous decision of the General Convention, held in London last year. So strong was the conviction of that distinguished body of philanthropists (gathered together from all parts of the United Kingdom, as well as from various countries in which slavery exists, or has existed) of the vast importance of this point, that they recorded their views in the following strong and emphatic terms:—

"That, impressed with the importance of avoiding all means of strengthening slavery and the foreign slave-trade, this Convention is of the judgment, *that the British government ought on no account to allow of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market;* and that the friends of the abolition of slavery ought, in their individual character, to uphold this view."

When the question of the proposed alteration in the sugar duties was brought under the attention of the committee, it became necessary to inquire how far the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market, for home consumption, might be facilitated thereby; and it was incumbent upon them to carry the principles of the society into full effect. Convinced of the soundness of those principles, after a calm survey of the whole question, its difficulties, and their duty, they determined to memorialise the head of Her Majesty's government on the subject; and the document which they presented to the right honourable Lord Melbourne has now been before the public several weeks, without having drawn forth (so far as they are aware) an expression of disapprobation from any quarter, until the late announcement of her Majesty's government, through the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of a substantive measure for the reduction of the duties on sugar.

It should be remembered that, at the time the momorial of the committee was presented to Lord Melbourne, there was no public intimation given of any intention whatever, on the part of the government, to propose an alteration in the corn laws, or a reduction in the customs' duty on timber. If these important questions have become mixed up (as unhappily they have been) with that of the duty on sugar, the committee are clearly not responsible for any consequences that may ensue therefrom.

The resolutions last issued by the committee were grounded on the announcement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had, in common with the memorial referred to, but one object in view—the exclusion of slave-grown sugar from the British market. They were designed to uphold no monopoly, to strengthen no class interests, to promote no sordid or selfish views, much less any party purpose, but to lessen the sum of human misery and degradation, and to advance the sacred cause of freedom throughout the world. If other parties pursue a similar course with themselves from factious or interested motives, they can only deplore and condemn it.

Here the committee might rest their defence, but they feel it to be due to themselves, and to the great cause they have at heart, to lay before their friends and the country at large the views which they entertain of the proposed reduction in the duty on foreign sugar. In their memorial to Lord Melbourne, the committee state, that they "cannot look on the question as one of mere fiscal arrangement. They regard it as involving great principles and solemn responsibilities. In the relation which it bears to slavery and the slave-trade—in the strength it will give the one, and the impulse it will yield the other, the committee find an argument which appeals with irresistible force to their convictions and feelings against it.

"It is not, and cannot be, a question with them, how far the

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political interests and commercial policy of this country may seem to require the measure; but whether the great principles of universal justice and benevolence may not be compromised thereby.

"That in Cuba and Brazil, the great slave-markets of the western world, the cupidity of slave-dealers will be stimulated to increase the number of their victims, and that the cart-whip of the slave-drivers will be plied with redoubled energy to extort labour from reluctant bondsmen (should the reduction take place), there can be no doubt. The committee would, therefore, earnestly deprecate the measure, as involving a criminal disregard of the liberty and welfare of millions of their fellow-men, and of the sacred obligations of duty to the Most High."

In the resolutions issued on the 5th instant, the committee give it as their *deliberate judgment*, "that the inevitable tendency of such reduction in the duties, will be to stimulate the growth of sugar in those countries, by materially increasing the demand for it in this; by which the extent of the slave-trade will be fearfully increased, and its unutterable horrors aggravated and prolonged, while the condition of the wretched and degraded slave already in bondage will be rendered more grievous and intolerable than ever." And, both in the memorial and the resolutions they direct their opposition against the measure proposed by government *only so far as it may affect the article of sugar, the growth of slave labour*. At present they are called upon to do no more. Sugar, the produce of free-labour, from every quarter of the globe, they would encourage by fiscal regulations; and thus induce even those nations which recognise and sustain the system of slavery to abolish it from interested motives, if they cannot be prevailed upon to do so from a sense of justice.

Such are the views embodied in the constitution of the society, set forth in the resolution of the General Convention, and repeated in the memorial and resolutions of the committee; and from them they dare not recede, unless it can be shown, either that they are morally wrong, or that they are a departure from the duty devolved upon them. The committee would add, that there is not a single individual of eminence, known as a leader of the abolition cause, but has expressed his cordial approbation of the views entertained by them on this deeply interesting and exciting subject.

They wait calmly the time when the present excitement shall have passed away; and confidently anticipate from their friends, not only the justification of their motives in the course they have pursued, but an approval of that course itself.

It cannot be imagined for a moment, that the committee are insensible to the privations so extensively felt in the manufacturing districts. They are firm in the persuasion, that the welfare of the industrious classes of this country, the prosperity of the nation, and the freedom of the enslaved throughout the world, are closely identified. In concluding these remarks, they repeat the language of their memorial addressed to Lord Melbourne, and of the circular which accompanied the resolutions recently forwarded to their friends throughout the country.

"The committee are far from being opposed to the principles of free-trade in their fair and legitimate application. They are not in favour of monopolies. Hence they are desirous of seeing the produce of other countries raised by free-labour introduced into this. But they conceive that to admit the produce of slave-labour into the British market, on such favourable terms as those which, it is understood, have been proposed, would, under present circumstances, give a bonus to slave-holders, supply a fearful impetus to the nefarious traffic in human beings, and consolidate a system of iniquity which has been branded with deserved infamy, by the people, the legislature, and the government of this country."

In their circular they observe:—

"The committee, in offering their strenuous opposition to the proposed reduction in the duty on sugar, are not to be regarded as inimical to the principles of free-trade combined with free-labour. A commerce with foreign countries in which such labour is employed, founded upon the most liberal principles, they believe to be essential to the ultimate prosperity and stability of nations, to their advancement in civilization, morals, and religion; and to the promotion of peaceful and honourable relations among mankind."

On behalf of the committee.

27, *New Broad Street, London*, J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary*.
May 13th, 1841.

Having thus narrated the occurrences in their order, we shall proceed to make, briefly, such remarks as the occasion may seem to require.

It seems to be doubted by some persons whether the proposed reduction of the duty on foreign sugar would have the effect of aggravating the bondage of the Cuban and Brazilian slaves, and of consequently stimulating the slave-trade. Into this question we mean to enter presently; but, as there is one aspect of the case to which we wish to advert previously, we must be permitted to assume for the moment the affirmative of it. We wish to ask, whether, taking it for granted that slavery and the slave-trade would be aggravated by the proposed reduction of duty, the committee have adopted a course to be complained of. Have they violated the constitution, or departed from the principles of the society? Would their course have been complained of, if it had not been adverse to a popular measure of the government, or if it had not been coincident with the excitement of corn-law repeal? Would it have been complained of, if it had been taken at a time when the public was not agitated on a kindred question, or when there was no strife for political ascendancy? We are in possession of materials for answering these questions with positivity. In the General Anti-slavery Convention a resolution was carried with absolute unanimity, to the effect that "*the government ought* ON NO ACCOUNT *to allow of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market*;" a resolution supported in person by some of the very abolitionists who now publish to the world a contrary opinion. There is evidence still more recent. Just six weeks ago there was published in the *Anti-slavery Reporter* a memorial on this subject, which the Anti-slavery Committee had adopted and presented to Lord Melbourne. Whether abolitionists throughout the country are in the habit of perusing our humble pages, we cannot positively affirm, but we suppose it probable that some of them saw this document. Did any of them disapprove of it? None of them, at all events, wrote a line to say so; and the committee have been left to suppose that their course in this instance, was as acceptable to their friends at large, as they have the happiness of knowing it has been in others.

The inference, then, is obvious that no British abolitionists would have complained of the step which the committee have taken, purely on its merits. The committee have incurred displeasure because they have not shaped their course by a regard to its political bearings. They have (it is said) been "injudicious," and "ungenerous towards the ministry." Now to all language of this class the answer is, that the Anti-slavery Society has to do exclusively with questions of humanity and justice; and that it is bound, equally by its constituency and its constitution, never to modify its course by political considerations. It is to look at any matter affecting slavery and the slave-trade *solely as affecting them*; and has no right to ask whether a step they may take will either uphold a ministry or destroy it—will either consolidate monopoly or undermine it. Every body knows that it is on this principle only that the Anti-slavery Society can exist; consisting as it does, and as every benevolent society is entitled to do, of men of all parties—whigs and tories, monopolists and anti-monopolists—although no man is known as either in its affairs. If a different principle is to be introduced, and the Anti-slavery Society is to become an appendage to a whig or any other ministry, it will be not only an absolute novelty, but a novelty at once destroying its glory, and terminating its existence. The committee may well be content, that the complaint against them is—not that they have slumbered at their post while human suffering was likely to be augmented—not that they have thrown overboard their principles, or deviated from the course marked out for them by their constituency—but only that, when it was plainly their duty to speak, they refused to let political considerations reduce them to silence.

It is said, however, (we are sure that those of our *friends* who have lent themselves to this insinuation will speedily atone for it) that the committee have become political, that they have intentionally aided the opposition and the monopolists. This is much more easily asserted than proved. We distinctly deny it, and challenge the evidence. That one effect of the stand which the committee have made may possibly be to embarrass—say even to displace the ministers, that another may be to prevent the breaking up of the corn monopoly, and that a third may be to favour the views of the West Indians, proves nothing to the purpose. The question relates to the *intention* of the Anti-slavery Committee. No doubt here is coincidence; but is this coincidence a matter of accident or design? We affirm it to be purely a matter of accident, and we defy any one to produce evidence of the contrary. Can it even be said that the committee have chosen to express their sentiments at a moment when they may have a political influence? Quite the contrary. An intention to lower the duty on foreign sugar has been matter of rumour for the last twelve months, and the high prices of 1840 presented a reason of obvious force for entertaining the project. During the whole of this period, the attention of the committee was anxiously directed to the subject. It was hoped that the declining price of sugar had induced the abandonment of the intention; but, at the beginning of March, the impression that it was still under the consideration of government became so strong, that it was felt right to convey to them the opinion of the committee. This was done in the memorial already referred to. At that time ministers had not committed themselves by any announcement; still less had any intimation been given that the reduction on foreign sugar was to be part of a general plan of finance, and to be identified with the question of the corn duty. The introduction of this question took even the parliament itself by surprise; and the strongest asseverations on the part of Lord John Russell have been necessary, to satisfy the House of Commons and the country that it was not the mere scheme of the moment—a trap for popularity. We assert a second time, that there is no proof whatever that the committee have wished to play into the hands of either the monopolists, the tories, or the West Indians. We assert solemnly that they have not. If we are asked, what, then, the sentiments of the committee are on the existing political and commercial crisis, we say, as a committee they have no sentiments at all. For aught we know, one may wish Lord Melbourne to be in, and another out; one may be for the corn laws, and another against them; one may be in favour of free trade, and another for protecting duties: but *nothing* can be known on these points in or by the Anti-slavery Committee. Joseph Sturge, William Allen, Samuel Gurney, Sir T. F. Buxton, Dr. Lushington, and other members of the committee, have opinions on both subjects; and what they are may be easily learned by all who are anxious to know them.

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So much we have said upon the supposition—assumed for the sake of the argument—that the reduction of the duty on foreign sugar would add to the cruelties of slavery and the extent of the slave-trade. We are aware that this is not universally admitted, and we proceed, therefore, to our promised remarks on it.

Some persons have endeavoured to ease our minds on this point, by telling us that, of foreign sugar, none, or not much, would be introduced in consequence of the intended change; the actual effect of it (in their view) extending only to a reduction of price on our own produce. Admitting the existence of a plausible doubt on this point, we need say no more in reply, than that the Chancellor of the Exchequer evidently intends and expects that a large quantity of foreign sugar shall be introduced, since he reckons on the sum of £400,000 within the year as the duty on it. With such an authority on this point, it would be nothing short of infatuation to repose in a contrary supposition.

Assuming, then, the correctness of Mr. Baring's anticipation, let us see how the case stands. The quantity of foreign sugar expected within the year is calculated to yield a revenue, at 36s. per cwt., of £400,000. This gives 11,111 tons, as the quantity of sugar. This is to come from all foreign parts; and some of it, of course, will come from Manilla, Java, and Siam, the produce of free-labour. The great sugar-producing countries, however, in addition to our own, are the empire of Brazil, and the Spanish islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Let us suppose that 8000 out of the 11,000 tons shall come from these, the produce of slave-labour. To simplify the case, let us now take the island of Cuba alone, as yielding half of this amount. Already Cuba exports annually a certain quantity of sugar. Of the persons employed in sugar cultivation, one-tenth perish annually, and the whole are killed off in ten years. If the duty be reduced as proposed, there will be a sudden demand for more sugar, for the new market which will be opened to it. On the Chancellor of the Exchequer's estimate, it may be assumed that 4000 tons more, at least, will actually be grown. But there are no additional means of raising it—no unemployed peasantry, no hands in want of work, no superabundance of population. On the contrary, all hands are now worked to excess, and at a rate which kills every tenth man annually. It follows, therefore, that the very same people whom it thus murders wholesale to make the quantity of sugar now exported from Cuba, will have to make in the year 4000 tons more: that is to say, they must be forced by the lash to a new excess of labour, at which they will be more wretched while they live, and under which they will more rapidly die.

So much for the aggravation of slavery. Now for the slave-trade. No one can believe for a moment, that the Cuban planters will let their stock of labourers diminish. They are now recruiting it incessantly by the slave-trade; and this, beyond all doubt, will be pursued with the greater desperation and atrocity, in proportion to the growing urgency of the demand, and the eagerness of the planters to purchase. With so enormous a recompense, the slave-trade *cannot* be checked—it must be, not only perpetuated, but increased.

It must be evident, we think, from these statements, that the proposed reduction of duty on foreign sugar will produce an immediate and fearful aggravation, both of slavery and the slave-trade, wherever sugar is cultivated by slave labour.

When we are told that abolitionists have affirmed free labour to be cheaper than slave labour, and are taunted with an apparent unwillingness to trust it, we need bespeak only a moment's consideration. Abolitionists never have affirmed the superiority of free labour to slave labour under every variety of dissimilar circumstances. The position which has been laid down is, that, *ceteris paribus*, in equal competition, free labour is cheaper than slave labour. Thus we say, that free labour in Jamaica will be cheaper than slave labour in Jamaica, and free labour in Cuba will be cheaper than slave labour in Cuba; but it is quite another thing to say, that free labour in Jamaica will be cheaper than slave labour in Cuba. This may be true, and will be true if the conditions are similar; but, if there be material inequalities, as of soil, quantity of labour, fiscal burdens, or other elements, it may be otherwise. Now there is a very wide difference of this kind between the British possessions in the West Indies, and the Spanish and Brazilian sugar plantations; so that it is not the fact *at the present moment* that free labour in the British West Indies is cheaper than slave labour in Cuba and Brazil. This was distinctly laid down by Mr. John Sturge, in his admirable paper read before the Convention, as appears from the following quotation:—

"8.—That the advantages of free-labour cultivation cannot be fairly tested or fully realized under a system of husbandry and general management which has grown up under the existence of slavery, and which is attended by a waste of human labour, that, but for monopoly prices, must have absorbed all the profits of cultivation. That the unrestricted competition of free-labour in the cultivation of sugar would necessarily introduce a new system, by which the cost of production would be further diminished, and the fall of prices that must ensue would leave no profit upon slave-grown sugar.

Nothing tends to shake our conviction that free labour on the broad scale, as fast as it can be brought into fair rivalry, and in our own West Indies ultimately, will be cheaper than slave labour. But, if we are desired to leave these two elements to a competition wholly unrestricted at the present moment, we say, give us a little time. Slave labour in Cuba and Brazil can be applied to the produce of sugar by the lash *on the instant*, and, by a system of wholesale murder, *to any extent*. This cannot be the case with free labour any where. In India the cultivation of sugar is extending rapidly; but there must be time for its full expansion. The equalization of the duties has but just created the sugar trade of Bengal, as a source of supply for the British market, and capital is flowing into it, and returns are coming home, with unexampled rapidity; but the desired and certain result cannot be arrived at in a day. Allow only a reasonable time for the expansion of free labour cultivation universally, under the stimulus of a remunerating market, and it will be seen that slave labour will be beaten in every region, and driven in dishonour out of the world.

As to the very wise argument, that, if it be a sin to use slave-grown sugar, it is a sin to use slave-grown cotton, we may safely leave those to be shut up to the conclusion who have ever committed themselves to the premises. Certainly the Anti-slavery Committee have never been guilty of this folly. That a vast quantity and variety of slave-produce is, both indirectly and directly, consumed by Great Britain is obvious; but abolitionists think this a great evil, which they would extinguish if they could, and which, if they cannot extinguish, they will keep at as small an amount as possible. Deploring the amount of evil which already exists, they are, of course, desirous that it should not be augmented. In this they see no inconsistency; neither, they are persuaded, do those who have so eagerly charged them with it. It is one thing to enter upon quixotic enterprises against old and unassailable mischiefs, and quite another to strive by simple and practical methods for the prevention of a new one.

We have mentioned above, that the committee have received numerous communications on the subject of this article, both private and official. To the entire number of official communications their first impulse has been to give insertion in the present number of the *Reporter*. They hesitate, simply because they think it doubtful whether the parties who have sent them would now desire their insertion. They request, accordingly, that such of their friends as have forwarded communications which they wish to appear in the *Reporter* will give information of their desire, and it shall be gratified in our next.

THE Anti-slavery question is stirred in Holland. Mr. Westmaas, of Paramaribo, has presented a petition on the subject to the Second Chamber of the States-General, the following notice of which was taken in the course of the sitting of the 8th instant, as appears from the papers:—

Among the reports on petitions presented to the Chamber, was one relative to an address to the King respecting the colony of Surinam, from Mr. C. A. L. Westmaas, of Paramaribo; the petition begins by stating that the decline of several branches of industry in Surinam, the disadvantage which is felt from the want of current coin, and the increasing agio on bills of exchange, added to the increasing poverty of the inhabitants, called for a speedy remedy. The petitioner proposes the following remedies:—First, the emancipation of the slaves; secondly, the establishment of a free port. He says, that the emancipation of the slaves in the neighbouring islands is no longer a secret to the slaves in Surinam, and that they endeavour to fly to the English islands, in which they very often succeed, notwithstanding all the efforts of the government to withhold it. The desire of freedom may lead to other bad consequences which nothing but emancipation can prevent. The petitioner believes that many other advantages would result from emancipation. The pecuniary indemnity of the slaves to be emancipated would bring a great quantity of money into circulation, which would be employed in enterprises for the promotion of industry, agriculture, and commerce. . . . The petitioner is sensible that, if emancipation should take place, not all those who obtain their freedom will be willing to remain and work in the plantations, but he thinks that they might be advantageously employed in other ways. Besides, free labourers might at all times be imported into the colony, so that a temporary diminution of the produce, which in the present state of things is inevitable, would be speedily remedied; agriculture and commerce would revive in Surinam, which, for its admirable climate, incomparable fertility, and advantageous position for ships, might become one of the most flourishing colonies of the Netherlands; and the petitioner mentions as an example, British Guiana, which, he says, enjoys a degree of prosperity unknown before the emancipation of the slaves.

OUR attention has been called to some proceedings rather violently infringing upon religious liberty, in the island of New Providence (one of the Bahamas), and doing serious discredit to the governor of that colony. We have had occasionally some humiliating specimens of liberality and dignity in the class of colonial governors, but we think we never met with anything so gross as the case we are now about to introduce to the public. It is extracted from a letter from a gentleman of undoubted respectability, dated

Nassau, March, 27th, 1841.

Think of the representative of the sovereign of the British empire interrupting the people as they have been coming to the chapel, and telling them that the Queen had built the church for them, and they would not attend; and calling them geese, and fools, and other ill names, because they were coming to the Baptist chapel! Sabbath after Sabbath have constables been placed on the road to tell the people to go to the church. Saturday after Saturday have they been sent to summon the people to church. Magistrates even have been employed to endeavour to induce the people to leave the Baptist meeting. The people have been called by the ringing of the bell, and locked in, that they might sign their hands to attend church, and bribes have been offered of money and clothing, but all have been in vain.

The party wanted to prevent ——— going to Carmichael, by getting the people to sign their names to come to church. They threatened to expel the people from their houses and lots, if they suffered ——— to come there, and told them that the Queen was angry with them for not

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coming to church; but when informed that this was a mistake, the effect was contrary to what was expected. I wrote a note to the poor people, on the day fixed for entering into a written agreement to attend church informing them that, if the Queen was made acquainted with such proceedings, she would be perfectly ashamed of her servants. This note got into the hands of the clergyman, and was reported to the governor. Since then the friends there have been unmolested.

We give publicity to this statement, in order that his Excellency, the lieutenant-governor of the Bahama islands (who seems to have a salutary sensibility to the effect of exposure), may know that his proceedings are observed. We beg to be informed of any further freaks of this class which it may please his Excellency to enact; and we engage that, if they are repeated, his most gracious mistress, the Queen, shall have an opportunity of conveying to him her sentiments upon them.

The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee have had the pleasure of receiving from Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian ambassador to the British court, the following announcement of the favourable acceptance, by his Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, of the address of the General Anti-slavery Convention.

Chandos House, May 2nd, 1841.

SIR—I have the honour of acquainting you, that His Majesty the Emperor of Austria has been pleased to accept the address which the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society confided to my care, in the month of February last.

At the same time I feel great satisfaction in expressing to this highly philanthropic society, His Majesty's thanks, as well as the assurance that the wishes contained in the above-mentioned address, have already been anticipated; negotiations for the purpose of concluding a treaty for the speedy abolition of the slave-trade having been going on between the great powers for some time, the result of which is anxiously expected by His Imperial Majesty, who takes a lively interest in the success of an undertaking which will put an end to a practice so discreditable to mankind.

I avail myself of this opportunity, to offer you sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed,) ESTERHAZY.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

THE meeting of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association has been held. The attendance was unusually numerous, the shareholders present being estimated variously at from 120 to 200: but, alas! the spirit of justice and humanity was not among them. In their report, after adverting to the state of the concern (which, to say the truth, is bad enough), the Directors "entered at very great length," says the *Mining Journal*, "into the question" of emancipating the slaves belonging to the company.

The report expressed the surprise of the directors at the late period at which the requisitionists had come forward, acquainted as they must have been, since their connexion with the company, with the employment of slaves, allusion being constantly made in their reports to the number of slaves, &c., at Gongo Soco; the directors came candidly before the proprietors at all their meetings, at which any shareholder was privileged to ask questions. Allusion was then made to Captain Lyon's letter, in the eighth report, on the ameliorated condition of their slaves; and, in 1830, the measure of emancipation was seriously entertained by the directors, for the children upon arriving at the age of twenty-one, and in 1833, for the emancipation of all gradually; but, the results having been by no means satisfactory as regards the adults, the measure was suspended—the children, however, being entitled to emancipation at the age of twenty-one.

A letter from a friend of the directors was then read, which went into detail of the condition of the slaves, showing their comparative state of terrestrial felicity as compared with that of the English working classes.—Another letter, from Mr. Lewis Bowen, who was for upwards of three years medical officer to the Cocaes Company, was also read, in refutation of some articles which had appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, but which appeared to us so highly coloured that extracts would be useless.—Then followed a letter from the directors to the superintendent, pledging themselves in a measure that slavery was not to be interminable, and also with some plan for the encouragement of education; in April, 1837, it endeavoured to establish, under their respected pastor, a school, but, it being looked upon with a jealous eye by the government, a native priest was appointed to superintend the establishment.—The treatment of the slaves, from the report, appeared to be of the mildest character, and the hours of labour short, and the salubrity of the district, as well as the good ventilation of the mines, beyond question. It concluded with the declaration of the directors, that, in their opinion, emancipation was impracticable; as to obtaining free-labour it was out of the question, and supplying workmen from this country was attended with too great an expense; and, further, that, if the present system was not continued, the mines *must* be abandoned; they were equally anxious as the requisionists could possibly be for the improvement of the condition of the negros, both as to their education and personal comforts, and the measures already taken would be strictly followed up.

The Chairman then put the resolution—'That the report be received and adopted.'

Mr. George Thomas (a "*friend*," but not the secretary) inquired, if the resolution was carried, whether it would preclude his making any observation; and, on being answered in the affirmative, he stated it to be his intention to move an amendment on the resolution; the object of his amendment was the emancipation of the slaves, and the security of future freedom. He assured the meeting, that, when he became a shareholder, he was ignorant of the fact of slaves being employed, and he wished to know how persons, not seeing the directors' reports, could be acquainted with that fact; through the instrumentality of Samuel Waring their condition had been ascertained, and, at the instigation of some well-disposed persons, the directors had made the efforts alluded to in the report. He then read some tedious extracts from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, which tended to raise the directors and the condition of their slaves in the estimation of all the proprietors present.

Mr. Goldsmid said, that the proprietor was occupying so much of their time, and reading publications, that he wished to know the point which the worthy proprietor was driving at?—Mr. Thomas (after having finished the extract) stated, that the improvements commenced had retrograded, the directors having neglected to advance, or follow them up by further measures, and, in his opinion, there was no safety but in entire emancipation. The government of Brazil afforded facility rather than throwing obstacles in the way of the granting that boon, which he considered it the duty of every man to perform who had it in his power, and which, if the proprietors refused, must rest on their own shoulders.

Mr. J. L. Goldsmid said, he would trespass for a moment on their attention; he had had the honour of co-operating with members of the Society of Friends in several measures, but in this instance he could not advocate the emancipation of some 300 or 400 slaves, in a country with a slave population of 1,500,000; and thought that, by setting an example of humanity and kindness, greater beneficial results would arise than by the adoption of the recommendation of the requisitionists. He hoped the worthy proprietor would withdraw his amendment, and leave it in the hands of the directors, as they were pledged, in a measure, to carry out to the fullest extent everything that could be done for the improvement of their condition. He said he was the proprietor of seventy-five shares only—what was that? he would give ten times the number to carry the great measure of the abolition of slavery in the Brazilian empire, if such could be possibly effected.

Mr. R. Fry, (of Bristol) said, he would offer no apology for occupying their attention; he came there to perform a duty which he considered imperative—to oppose a system which the government of this country had denounced, and to relieve his conscience by performing that duty to the best of his power.—A Shareholder—Have you sold any shares?—Mr. Fry replied that he had not, and would not—he would retain them to endeavour to carry his views.

"A great number of shareholders were leaving the room, when the Chairman requested them not to leave, as he wished whatever was decided on to be carried with a large majority.—Mr. Ray said, that much of their time had been occupied by extracts from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, a publication he was quite unacquainted with; he expressed his surprise that any member of the Society of Friends should have, in ignorance, become connected with companies who were the proprietors of slaves, as they were generally celebrated for a thirst after knowledge. Let the Society of Friends buy up the concern, he should be happy to dispose of his interest, and no doubt others would be the same, and then they might carry out their own views.

"The Chairman then put the resolution to the meeting, after which the amendment, when there appeared for the amendment six; the original resolution was, thereupon, declared to be carried.—Thanks were then voted to the Chairman, and the meeting separated.—The number of proprietors present was upwards of 120."

We are indebted to the *Mining Journal* for these particulars of the proceedings, and shall proceed to make upon them one or two remarks.

In the first place, we must acknowledge, with due thanks, the notice taken of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* on the occasion. Mr. Thomas, it appears, "read some *tedious* extracts" from our columns, "which tended to raise the Directors, and the condition of their slaves, in the estimation of all the proprietors present." What extracts these were we are not informed; but we are sure that, if they had the effect described, they could not have been at all "*tedious*," at least to the Directors. That they were tedious to so impatient a meeting we have no doubt; and this is proof sufficient of their power to condemn a course which the Company was resolved to pursue.

The Directors also honoured us with a notice. They read a letter from Mr. Lewis Bowen, "a friend" of theirs, in refutation of some articles which have appeared in our columns. This, of course, was not at all tedious; it was only incredible. The reporter of the *Mining Journal* significantly says, it "appeared to us *so highly coloured that extracts would be useless.*"

Of the report of the Directors we shall be able to take some further notice hereafter, if (as we presume) it shall be printed as it was read at the meeting. The gist of it is, that, if the slaves were set free, the mines must be abandoned—a mere assertion (although, by the way, the result is likely enough to take place whether the slaves are liberated or not) which is not one whit better than our assertion to the contrary, and which only affirms that the proprietors should not do their duty, because it is contrary to their interest! Just so the old slave-owners talked about their sugar estates; and now the whole posse of them make the welkin ring with the praises of emancipation as a source of wealth and prosperity.

So it was, however, that, out of so large a company of English gentlemen of all ranks, ONLY SEVEN held up their hands for the liberation of the slaves! Hear it, Britain! Hear it, all nations! While British philanthropy and justice, thus signally dishonoured, shed bitter tears.

Mr. Thomas and his coadjutors are deserving of the highest commendation, and have so far done their duty nobly. But we are sure that they will feel they have not done *all* their duty, and that they will not shrink from the exertions which are still demanded at their hands.

MAURITIUS.—A Circular has been just addressed by the Governor to the Planters of the different districts of the Island, apprizing them that the Block is no longer to be made use of among them as a means of repressing or punishment for the blacks, and directing the immediate destruction of any of those instruments which may yet remain upon the Estates.—*Cerneen.*

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Poetry.

HAYDON'S PICTURE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

There is the soul of poetry in art,
Where nature guides the pencil, and her forms,
Noble and matchless, glow upon the scene.
O! who can look upon that lofty work,
Simple, yet grand, and chaste, yet beautiful,
Where genius towers and triumphs in her might,
And not be stirr'd by feelings strong and deep?
There venerable age and ardent youth,
And manly grace and female loveliness,
Attracted by one common object, meet:—
Strangers, yet friends, they meet from every clime.
The swarthy sons of Afric's burning zone,
The slave of yesterday, unfetter'd, free,
Exulting in his freedom, long withheld.
The polished sons of Europe's classic shores;
Those of the western world, whose pilgrim sires
Left their dear homes, for conscience and for God.
And those from utmost Ind and from the Isles,
Which stud, like gems, the Atlantean deep.
They met at freedom's loud and trumpet call,
But not to wield the sword against the foe!
The lofty brow where reason sits enthron'd,
The eye that beams divine philanthropy,
The heart full fraught with love of human kind,
Proclaim them peaceful, though of high resolve.
They meet in sympathy with human woe;
They come to pour the wine, the balm, the oil,
Into the festering wounds oppression makes;
To plead the suff'rers cause, himself though dumb;
To raise the abject, and subdue the proud,
By weapons of celestial proof and power,
Or speak, in thunder tones, the oppressor's doom;
To stand between the tyrant and his prey;
And bid the Afric mother weep no more
The loss of children slaughtered or enslav'd.
This was their end, sublimely great and good!
For this they met in council and in prayer;
Copied their great exemplar in his deeds,
And sought his blessing on their high emprize.

MORE TIDINGS FROM CUBA.

A SECOND letter has just been received at the Anti-slavery office from our valued correspondent in this island. The document forwarded with it is extremely interesting and important.

Havana, 8th April, 1841.

SIR—I have the honour to hand you enclosed, a translation of a memorial presented to the new captain general, Don Geronimo Valdez, which bears the signatures of the most enlightened and philanthropic natives of the country. This document carries with it, in the truth of its assertions and the bold energy of its arguments, the proof of the progress of civilization in this island; and I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of felicitating the friends of African freedom on a proceeding so favourable to our cause.

Notwithstanding the fair promises of General Valdez, (*vox, et prætera nihil,*) slavers under the Portuguese flag continue to be fitted out here for the coast of Africa, from whence they are daily arriving with new victims. A few days ago, a splendid vessel belonging to a Mr. Forcade, of this city, so often denounced in the parliamentary papers, left the port on her slave-trading expedition. The day after her departure she was chased back by her Majesty's cruizer *Rover*, Captain Symonds, (the active and intelligent son of the surveyor-general of the navy,) who unfortunately could not catch her, restrained, no doubt, by the fear of giving offence if he followed her into the harbour, where she now rides at anchor with insulting impunity, under the protection of *Spanish philanthropy*, until a safe opportunity presents itself for her to go to sea again.

I most humbly beg leave to call your particular attention to a rumour now afloat in this city, alarming in the extreme to the enlightened natives, as well as to the friends of African freedom. It is said that the British consul, Mr. Turnbull, is to be recalled, at the immediate request of the philanthropic captain-general, Valdez, through the medium of his government in Spain. Such a circumstance, if it should prove to be true, will be a death-blow to our hopes in this part of the world. I, therefore, in the name of many of the most distinguished gentlemen of the place, who, if they dared, in consistency with their own personal safety under this yoke of despotism, would accompany their names—in the name of hundreds of thousands of African victims, daily sacrificed to Spanish cupidity—and in behalf of the glorious cause of African freedom, implore that you will submit to your society the probability of such an event, and urge them to use every effort to support Mr. Turnbull in the office which he now holds in this city, and which he fills with honour to himself, and justice to his fellow man. No man who dares to do his duty as the representative of his country, can ever be liked here; and there can be no greater proof of Mr. Turnbull's value, than the circumstance of his being admired and respected by all the enlightened and philanthropic natives, whilst, on the contrary, he is disliked and opposed by the government of the island.

Let us examine into the causes of offence, and we shall find that the removal of Mr. Turnbull will yield a decided victory to our greatest enemies. Free subjects of her Majesty have been stolen at Jamaica, brought to this country, and sold into slavery:—Mr. Turnbull, it is said, has demanded them. This is the first cause of offence.

All the emancipated Africans who have been landed in this island, and placed under the immediate care of the government, are subjected to the very worst of slavery; themselves, as well as their free-born children, are sold, and the price is deposited in the treasury of the marine department:—Mr. Turnbull has appealed to the first authority of the country in their behalf. This is the second cause of offence.

The free subjects of her Majesty of African descent arriving here in British ships, are taken to a public prison, there confined, starved, and beaten, without redress:—Mr. Turnbull has expostulated with the government. This is the third cause of offence.

British ships arriving here are subjected to the delay, trouble, and expense, caused by the capricious execution of unreasonable quarantine and other port regulations, which are put in force with peculiar rigour against British vessels arriving here from our emancipated colonies:—Mr. Turnbull has applied for a repeal. This is the fourth cause of offence.

Mr. Turnbull is known to be a person whose philanthropic principles constitute him the friend of man, which he proves himself to be on every occasion; such principles are in direct opposition to the policy observed in this island, where only absolute despotism and sordid self-interest are the predominant features of the government.

These are the only grounds of offence of which I have been able to obtain any knowledge; and these, I humbly submit, are so far from being sufficient to cause his removal, that his just demands ought to be supported by her Majesty's government, not only by diplomatic reasoning, but by the voice of our cannon. Can it be presumed that the British nation, after the immense sacrifice she has made to abolish slavery for ever from her dominions, after having emancipated the unfortunate (but not unworthy) descendants of African victims, shall now suffer them to be stolen from their home and friends, and again made slaves of in a foreign land! Shall procrastination, on the part of those whose sacred duty it *is* to yield up forthwith the free subjects of her Majesty, thus cruelly held in bondage in defiance of all laws both human and divine, be tolerated! Shall the innocent coloured man, as loyal a subject as the white Englishman, be treated with contumely, imprisoned, wounded, and otherwise maltreated by a friendly power, merely because the curl of his hair or the colour of his skin has caused some fantastic man in authority to conjure up some imaginary shadow of fear to his prejudice, and no attempt be made to seek for redress! Shall a breach of faith, which tends to augment the sufferings of those unfortunate persons committed by treaty to the care and protection of this government by the British nation, be looked upon with cool indifference! No! Forbid it, heaven! Why, then, in justice to man, to humanity, and to the great cause of African freedom, the representative of his country, who dares to do his duty, must and will be supported by his government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

[The following is the Memorial referred to above.]

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT, GOVERNOR, AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL.

The subscribers, inhabitants of this city, proprietors of Urban and Reveal estates, approach your Excellency with the most profound respect, in virtue of the invitation addressed to this vicinity, in the proclamation which was published on the occasion of your assuming the government of this island; respectfully declaring that one of the principal efforts, if not the greatest and most urgent, required from its chief by its actual situation, is an energetic and irrevocable provision for the perpetual suppression of the contraband traffic in slaves from Africa.

The memorialists, who are intimately acquainted with the material interests of Cuba in all their details, and with the best mode of preserving and securing them in the distressing crisis in which the island is involved, are deeply convinced that the only means of arresting the storm with which they are threatened is to be found in what they have recommended to your Excellency's superior discretion. The two most respectable corporations in Havana, viz., the most excellent and most illustrious Ayuntamiento, and the royal Junta de Fomento, are of the same opinion, and have thus addressed themselves to the provisional regency of the kingdom, with reasons and arguments worthy of all consideration.

The slave-trade is the sole and exclusive cause of the displeasure with which the increasing agricultural and commercial prosperity of this island is regarded by all-powerful England; and that trade is the real or apparent motive for its having become the target for her diplomatic hostility.

It is the slave-trade which has excited the philanthropic susceptibility of the powerful and numberless abolitionists of England, who lose no opportunity, by word and writing, in books, periodicals, and newspapers, in private society, and in legislative assemblies, to address themselves to the British cabinet, in order that ours may be required, at any price, to consent to the performance of our treaties.

It is for the sake of the suppression of the slave-trade that the British government has solemnly recognised the independence of the neighbouring republic of Hayti, from whence we are exposed to a degree of injury (committed with perfect impunity) which it horrifies the imagination to conceive.

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It is on account of the slave-trade that two active and enterprising envoys of the British and Foreign society, established in London for the destruction of slavery wherever it is to be found, have presented themselves in Spain, without any disguise, and to the imminent peril of our tranquillity, for the general emancipation of our slaves; and we are already aware that in Madrid they have met with a very favourable reception, as they tell us themselves, and as is to be inferred from the articles which have appeared, without any impediment, in the metropolitan press, on a question, the mere agitation of which in public has opened the door to the most serious calamities.

It is by the slave-trade that the number of our natural enemies within the island is daily increased since, according to the statistical information contained in the *Stranger's Guide* for Havana of the present year, they now amount to 660,000 persons of colour, or about 60 per cent. of the whole population, leaving only about 40 per cent. of the whites. In the year 1775, the coloured inhabitants formed no more than 36 per cent of the general population; so that, since that period, the whites have proportionally and progressively decreased to the extreme point in which they now appear, while the negros have gained the relative ascendancy. It appears, therefore, as the result of that providential law deducible from these statistical facts, that the increase of the servile is destined to prejudice the increase of the dominant race. Such has been the result observed by able staticians in the other West India islands, and in the empire of Brazil, from whence the celebrated Humboldt and de Tocqueville have drawn the most disconsolate horoscope of the future fate of the white inhabitants of other countries similarly situated.

And it is the slave-trade which is the efficient cause of this melancholy phenomenon. It is on account of the slave-trade that the immigration of Europeans has not been increased, as for our future welfare it ought to have been, under the written provisions of the Royal Cedula of the 21st September, 1817, under the contribution of 4 per cent. imposed for its increase on the expense of judicial proceedings, and under the committee established for promoting it.

During the quinquennial period from 1835 to 1839, there entered 35,203 white passengers at the port of Havana, where they generally arrive, one half of whom, as mere travellers, would probably not remain. During the same period, there were landed on the coast of this western department only, the moderately estimated number of 63,055 negros from Africa. Hence it follows, that, if future events should proceed in the same career, we shall be compelled in a very few years to lament, without the means of redress, the disastrous and inevitable consequences, which, thanks to our own apathy and incomprehensible want of foresight, seem destined to overwhelm us.

And this, most excellent sir, is not all. Let us cast a glance only over the countries which surround us. The firmest mind may well tremble to contemplate the dense mass of negros which so horribly obscure our horizon. Nine hundred thousand are to be found to the eastward, in the military republic of Hayti, with disciplined armies, and holding at their disposal the whole means of transport which Great Britain has to give. To the south there are four hundred thousand in Jamaica, who wait only the signal of their proud liberators to fly to the rescue in our eastern mountains. Twelve thousand, at least, are scattered over the Bahama archipelago and islands in our immediate neighbourhood, where as many more have been placed by British policy, from the captures which have been made at their expense of the trade to this island. And, setting aside the condition of the slaves of the French West Indies, which are now on the eve of emancipation; let us turn our eyes towards the north, in the direction of the capes of Florida, and the ports of Louisiana, Georgia, and the Carolinas, which place us almost in contact with the continent, where nearly three millions of negros are presented to us—a number so immense as to excite alarm, not in Cuba only, but throughout the whole American confederation, whose very heart is sooner or later to be, in consequence, convulsively agitated and devoured. Sad to us will be the day when this event occurs, if we do not prepare ourselves deliberately in due time, nay, this very day, for the tremendous explosion.

This is so urgent, most excellent sir, that, although it were certain (as many erroneously suppose) that the advance of our agriculture would be paralyzed without the aid of negro labour, we ought immediately to prefer to live in poverty with security, rather than, with blind cupidity, aspire to seize a rich harvest for a single year, and expose ourselves the next to lose not only this, but all that has preceded it, together with the soil, the machinery, and the whole territory of the island, in one general insurrection of the negros—so easily stirred up and inflamed by cunning emissaries, and fed in our very fields by those elements of combustion which will be thrown upon the fire, from the great centres of rebellion which surround us on every side.

But, fortunately for the island of Cuba, for its present inhabitants, and for the interests of the mother country, it has not been condemned by heaven, nor by the stern law of nature, to the necessity of cultivating its fertile soil by the sweat of African brows. This was the notion entertained in a former age, when the most fatal errors were regarded as axioms; but, for men of the present day, it is a duty to correct the economical and social mistakes of our ancestors, and, guided by the light of experience, and by the prodigious progress which human reason has made in these latter times in all branches of knowledge, we shall doubtless succeed in accomplishing their correction. Already, in the central portion of the island, the glorious career of agricultural reform has been opened by a son of our industrious Catalonia. He, however, and all who follow his excellent example, must expect to have to struggle for some time to come with the innumerable obstacles which habit, prejudice, bad faith, and, above all, the deleterious influence of the slave-trade, will oppose to them; for it is in that traffic alone that we are to seek for the origin of all the evils by which we are assailed.

It is for this reason that the memorialists beseech your Excellency to take what they have stated into consideration; not to offend your Excellency's high intelligence, nor to anticipate what your prudence will dictate in the important affairs to which this memorial refers. They look with confidence in the result to the illustrious chief by whom they are now governed, to whom is reserved the unfading honour of snatching this precious relic of the Spanish Indies from the precipice whose brink it overlooks.

BUENOS AYRES AND MONTE VIDEO.

THE agitation of this territory is proving favourable to the cause of negro emancipation. General Rosas, the governor of the Argentine republic, has liberated all the slaves under his government; and, being about to invade the oriental state, of which Monte Video is the capital, he has proclaimed his intention of liberating the slaves in every part which shall be occupied by his arms. The following is an extract of a letter from Monte Video, dated February 9th, quoted in the *Jornal do Commercio*, a Rio Janeiro paper, of the 3rd of March, 1841.

"We know that the government dispatched a circular to the foreign residents, that they might intimate to the subjects of their respective nations, that their slaves should be removed within a certain period, because Rosas gives liberty to the slaves of the territory which he occupies; and the oriental government (i. e. the government of Monte Video) is obliged to anticipate this, by arming all those that are in its territory."

In the *Jornal* of the 9th of March we have the following, in another letter from Monte Video, dated the 22nd February, in reference to the above subject.

"In the last circular to the foreign consuls, it was announced to them that, Rosas being accustomed to give liberty to the slaves of the territories which he occupies with his arms, and the oriental state being threatened with an invasion by him, perhaps the government would see itself obliged to take preventive measures against this evil; and that, in consequence, the consuls should announce to the subjects of their respective nations, that within a given period they should be able to remove their slaves. The consuls agreed, that the exportation of the slaves was difficult, and almost unanimously were of opinion, that, not being able, under existing treaties between the different powers of christendom, to make shipments of such a number of negro slaves as would be necessary, in case of the foreigners exporting their slaves, the government should liberate them, indemnifying their masters. From the opinion of the other consuls, Mr. Hood the British consul, dissented; and said that the slaves of the English could not be liberated without their masters being previously indemnified for the price for which they bought them, and without paying them also for the *damage, and the services of which emancipation would deprive them*; or what, in literal terms, meant, that in no case the slaves of the English could be liberated. Such is the philanthropy of Mr. Hood!

"The government, with the consent of the permanent commission, resolved that it would ransom one-half from slavery. This measure is weak and incomplete. In these cases nothing should be done by halves. This step will, however, not be taken, in case the liberating armies (*i. e.* the armies of the oriental state) should recover what they have lost in the interior Argentine provinces; on the other hand, be assured, that, in case of a powerful invasion, "*all the slaves will be emancipated.*" We find from the same papers, that General Ribera, the president of the oriental state, had already liberated his slaves; and that he had suddenly appeared at Monte Video, to quicken (as it was rumoured) the proceedings of the cabinet on the emancipation of all.

This letter further informs us that "the English consul, Hood, sets out to-day (22nd February) for England, on temporary leave of absence." He is now, therefore, most probably in this country.

Mr. Hood is not the only functionary who does his best to hinder the cause of justice and humanity. The judge of the mixed commission court at Rio de Janeiro, Sir George Jackson, threw so many obstacles in the way of the condemnation of the vessels seized in consequence of their being equipped for the slave-trade, that it became necessary to send the vessels over to the Cape of Good Hope, to be tried by the admiralty court there. By this means great prejudice was done to the service, a number of prize crews being taken off the station, and one of the squadron being obliged to be sent over to bring them back; thereby affording increased facility to the slavers to run their cargoes during her absence, which could not occupy (under favourable circumstances) less than three months.

A BREMEN SHIP, the Julia St. Edward, has been seized as a suspected slaver on the coast of Africa, by the English brig Persian, and sent home. This has caused a great sensation at Bremen.—*Hamburgh paper.*

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THE COMMERCE OF BRITISH INDIA, VIEWED IN ITS PROBABLE INFLUENCE ON THE SLAVE PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES, BY AN AMERICAN.

[We know nothing of the author of the following remarks. They have come to us through the Post-office, printed, but not published. We think them highly worthy of publication, and therefore give them a place in the columns of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter.*]

The present condition of the commerce of Great Britain with the East India Company's possessions, and its probable influence on the slave property, and products of our southern states, is a subject at this time of the most serious and interesting character; and to all who are connected with the great staples of cotton, rice, and sugar, should be one of diligent and careful investigation. It is clear, from the great increase in the amount of East India imports within the last ten years, that they have begun to exercise an important influence on the prices of these articles in the English markets; and if they go on increasing in the same ratio for the next ten years, our commerce with Great Britain must be materially affected. Since the year 1836 (when the duties on East and West India sugar were equalized), the importation of sugar from British India has almost doubled, and it is the same with the articles of coffee, and cotton. Rice is also another article of increasing consumption and of improving quality, and is now seen for sale side by side in the grocer's window, with that from Carolina—the former at 3d. the latter at 5d. a pound. As to tobacco the present amount of importation from India is small; arising no doubt from the want of proper management in the preparation for the home market, and skill and knowledge in the cultivators.

The two subjects connected with India, which now engross the attention of the people of Britain, are of a double character and opposite points. India wants from England justice and righteous protection, and a fair acknowledgment of her claims, as an integral part of the British Empire. England wants from India raw materials for her manufactories, and the luxuries of coffee, sugar, and tobacco, for her artizans and labourers; and most of all, she wants an extensive market for her numerous wares and fabrics, which she can produce cheaper than any other country. These two different points of one great national question, have now become the subjects of discussion by the philanthropists on the one side, and the merchants and manufacturers on the other. Both are working for the attainment of their separate objects, at different ends of the same chain. The one will civilize India by justice and religion—the other by unfettered commerce and an improved agriculture. Who would dare to say that these are things which the southern people should pass by carelessly and heedlessly, and not prepare themselves to meet the coming change?

British India comprises a tract of country almost as large as the entire settled parts of the United States, and extensive enough to supply the *whole* of the present *demand* in England for cotton, rice, sugar, coffee, and tobacco. A glance at the situation of the East India Company's territory, is sufficient to convince any one that these are no vague assertions; and that causes many of which have ceased to operate, are the reasons of the small proportion of East Indian articles, which have been able to compete with the same materials from our slave states, in the English market; and not from the want of a capacity of production in the soil of India, or from the quantity of land, or the price and amount of labour.

Montgomery Martin says, in his history of the British colonies—"The British possessions in India are rich to overflowing with every product of vegetable life, which an all-wise and ever beneficent Providence could bestow, to gratify the sight, and contribute to the happiness of his creatures." Professor Royle, of King's College, says—"In the peninsula of India and in the neighbouring island of Ceylon we have a climate capable of producing cinnamon, cassia, pepper, &c. The coffee grown on the Malabar coast is of so superior a quality, as to be taken to Arabia and re-exported as Mocha coffee. The *Tinnevelly* senna brings the highest price in the London market. The common potatoe has been introduced into almost every part of India with great success, and benefit to the people. The continent every where produces indigo, cotton, tobacco, sugar, and opium. The first, hardly of any note as an Indian product thirty years ago, is now imported in the largest quantities into England; the *cotton* is indigenous to India; many provinces seem peculiarly adapted for its culture, particularly Malwa, and those to the north-west. The tobacco brought home by Dr. Wallach was pronounced by competent judges to be equal to the best from America. The quantity grown in India is enormous; every class, high and low use it, and if the duty on it were reduced in England, the different soils of India would afford an infinite variety of that fascinating weed for the British market. Very rich lands produce about 160 lbs. per acre of green leaf: excellent Havana tobacco is grown in Guzerat, Boglinpoor, Bundlecund, &c.: and some from the Irawaddy territories has been reported by the brokers in London, as equal to the best American. The want of proper attention in the curing has been a great obstacle to its arriving in a marketable state in England, after a long East India voyage. Experiments are now making at Bombay in the curing process."

"The sugar-cane is cultivated in every part of India," says Royle, "but the quality has hitherto been poor: lately, however, a manufactory has been established in Burdiwan; a new mine opened in the Burdiwan coal formation, and very superior specimens of sugar sent home." "Sugar," Martin states, "may be cultivated in India in sufficient quantities to supply the whole world; its production at present is immense, as it forms an ingredient in almost every article of food or drink used by the Hindoos; and where the manufacture is attended to, the grain is as large and as handsome as that from Demerara. The soil and climate of the three presidencies are peculiarly suited to the production of this essential nourishment to man. The small quantity of sugar which British India now (1834) sends to England, notwithstanding that in the former country (India) it is exceeded only by *rice* in consumption, is 76,613 cwts. "If," says a writer in the *Wexford Independent*, "we do thorough justice to India, we could draw from these vast and favoured regions the product of free cultivation, with the blessing and full requital of the Indian labourer—more than *twice* the consumption of *all* the sugar we *import*, and more than all the cotton sent to us from the slave states of North America." "The valley of the Ganges," says Secretary Trevellyan, "is a tract of alluvial country, of extraordinary fertility, about 1000 miles long, and from 150 to 300 miles abroad, and is capable of producing sufficient sugar for the consumption of the whole world." This valley is densely populated, "and might be given up entirely to the growth of sugar, indigo, tobacco, cotton, and other valuable productions, getting its grain and provisions from the neighbouring provinces." To prove that the assertions of these have a good foundation, we have only to look into the government tables, and we shall see, that the importation of sugar from India has almost trebled since 1831. A late number (November, 1840) of the Calcutta *Friend of India* states "that the cultivation of sugar has extended amazingly since the duties were equalized in 1836; sugar meets the eye every where in Calcutta, and were it not for the scarcity of shipping (which is now employed in transporting soldiers to China) we should be able to send double the quantity that was sent last year to England." Another paper remarks "the exports of the year (1840) will probably reach 54,000 tons," and that "the public mind, both native and European, continues to be strongly attracted towards the cultivation and manufacture of sugar." The Gladstones of Liverpool, have lately sold their property in Demerara (at an enormous price though), and bought large quantities of land in India for the cultivation of sugar and cotton. "I have no doubt, said Zachary Macaulay, "that sugar could be produced in India profitably at a penny a pound. "I have received," the venerable Thomas Clarkson remarks, information lately (1814) from India of the *new and extensive* cultivation going on there, of sugar, cotton, &c.

But to come to figures. We learn from the custom-house returns, that in 1831 the exports of sugar from India to England were about 60,000 cwts.—in 1836, 152,163 cwts.—in 1839, 519,126 cwts.—and in 1840, nearly 600,000 cwts. In the Gazettee prices towards the end of the first quarter of 1841, we find that the increased quantity of Indian sugar in the London market, brought the price down 10s. on the cwt.. In the year 1834, the price was 61s. to 66s., and in 1840, 56s. to 87s., some qualities selling as high as the best West India. In 1835, there were 35,000 boxes and bags imported into Liverpool, and in 1839, 92,000 of the same packages.

The next and most important article, and one that enters more into competition with our slave-produce than any other, is cotton—and here we come to a question of most serious and grave import. Shall we or shall we not be able to compete with India in the production of this valuable staple, when she receives from England her full measure of justice and good government? and the people of that country are disposed to give them to her, which is evidenced by the interest taken in the subject, in and out of parliament this year, and even by the members of the government itself!

That we have some real grounds for asserting that India is able to compete with us in the cultivation of cotton, and that of all qualities, the writer of this has endeavoured to show, by a few substantial facts of recent date. It is high time for the people of the south seriously to set about the investigation of the subject; and to ask themselves the question, whether slave-labour, at thirty-one cents a day, (three slaves doing the work of one free man— a common proverb in slave-countries) with all its concomitant evils and vexations, is equal to free labour in the East Indies, at twelve cents a day; a large supply of labour, and any quantity of unoccupied land for the purpose; and with a government and wealthy company ready to second them, having only one great impediment in the way— the greater distance of transportation. The whole people of the United States are interested in this subject, and should be, alike by all, one of common interest.

As to the capability of production, Montgomery Martin says, "cotton everywhere abounds, but sufficient care has not been bestowed on the growth, so as to render it, as in America, a triennial instead of an annual"; or in the picking and cleaning it for export. The Decca cotton is unequalled; and the "sea island cotton," from Saugur island, near Calcutta, "promises to be a valuable article of export." And in another place, he says, "the Indian government have, of late years, made several attempts for the extensive introduction of the cotton plant into Guzerat, near the Persian gulf, *which seems well adapted for the culture.*" Royle says, "the best of cotton is procured from the coast of Coromandel." "The natural internal navigation," states another writer, in 1839, "is most extensive, There are vast tracts of land so near the Hooghly, Ganges, and other large navigable rivers, that without the delay of making roads, the produce can be brought to Calcutta at the moderate cost of transportation of from five to ten shillings a ton. The presidencies of Madras and Bombay likewise contain land capable of growing cotton to an *illimitable* extent" "You consume," said Gladstone, in parliament in 1838, "318,000,000 of lbs. of cotton which proceed from slave-labour, and only 45,000,000 of lbs. which proceed from free labour; and that too while you have the means in India, at a very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free-labour." "Under a juster government," says a writer of 1840, "we might make ourselves independent of the great product of the United States; and low as the price of upland cotton now is, (6*d.*) we might bring it down to 3*d.* a lb." "It is not attempted to be denied," says F. C. Brown, of Tellichery, (E. I.) in 1838, "that the natives of India can produce sugar, cotton, tobacco, and coffee, in the proportion of millions to hundreds. It is admitted that they ask no more than to be suffered to produce these commodities; had they been so suffered fifty years ago, it is demonstrably certain, that not a negro slave would now exist, either in the West Indies or America; for he could not be profitable to his master, competing with the Indian labourer at 3*d.* a day." The venerable Clarkson says, in a late pamphlet of his, "that he has received information recently from India, that individuals are hiring large tracts of land of the East India Company, principally for the cultivation of cotton. One person has taken 60,000 acres at his own risk, and expects to employ 100,000 people *more* than at present." We are all aware, too, that the East India Company have latterly been taking much pains to procure the best seeds from America. "Cotton is as fine in Rajapotanah as anywhere in India," says a late writer (1841); and again, "another part of the same province (Mewar) produces all kinds of grain, cotton, sugar, &c." Rangoon, at the mouth of the great river Irawaddy, "ships large quantities of raw cotton of superior quality to Calcutta, and other places, which is used in the fabrication of the finest muslins." This part of India is very similar in climate and situation to the Delta of our Mississippi; and could supply an immense quantity of cotton of the best quality for the English market. A Bombay newspaper of 1839 remarks, "we have shown, in a former number, that until the year 1830, we derived no agricultural produce *whatever* from the fertile plains of Berar, (600 miles from the coast); and supplied

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that district with but a single article—salt—which, owing to the almost impracticable state of the roads, was conveyed from this city on the backs of bullocks. In that year, one of the native salt merchants tried the experiment of conveying back to Bombay, upon his returning bullocks, some of the cotton which abounds in that country; the experiment was completely successful, and next year (1831), 10,000 loads were received from that one district by the same rude conveyance. In 1836, 90,000 loads were received from the same province; but," the paper remarks, "the roads were so bad, that it imposes an additional cost of 80 per cent. upon its original price. The government, however, have at length taken up the subject; and have directed surveys to be made for building the road, to cost £30,000." They have also resolved to make a road from Bombay to Agra, into the very heart of the cotton district. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in connexion with the East India Company, having directed their attention particularly to this staple, express their conviction, that large supplies of cotton could be procured from British India at a moderate cost, if the cultivation and preparation were better attended to. Accordingly, the Company sent out an intelligent and capable individual to the United States; and in the fall of 1840, he returned to England, accompanied by several Americans, well acquainted with the cultivation; and bringing with them several American cotton gins, and parcels of the best kinds of seeds. The gins were set up in Liverpool, and several parcels of Indian cotton (in the seed) submitted to the working of the new machinery, and declared increased in price, from the operation, ½ to ¾ of a penny on the pound. The result was, that while the American gins could clean 1400 lbs. a day, to the great improvement of the raw material; an Indian machine (a churka), with three labourers to work it, could only turn off 40 lbs. Let it be remembered that with all this extra labour in India, they send cotton to England at the low price of from 6 to 13 cents a lb., and after paying the cost of an expensive transportation. By a late Indian mail, we learn that these individuals had arrived, and applied for 1000 acres of land, in the Tinnevelly district, to make a commencement.

(To be continued.)

ONEIDA AND OBERLIN.

WE have received a pamphlet (an advertisement of which appeared in our last,) entitled *Oneida and Oberlin*,* from the pen of Captain Charles Stuart. It is full of interesting matter, of very small cost, and highly deserving of general circulation. A part of it is devoted to an account of the educational institutions in the United States which have no respect to colour. Of Oberlin we have already heard, but it seems there are at least three others founded on a similar principle. We quote with pleasure the following statements on this subject:—

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.—PRESIDENT, N. LORD, D.D.
At Hanover, in the state of New Hampshire.

This Institution has no respect of nation or colour. It was begun as a school for Indians, and has one on its graduating class this year, who is a Seneca Chief, and a highly respectable and promising young man. In 1828, a coloured gentleman, named Edward Mitchell, graduated at this college, and is now a respectable Baptist minister, either in Vermont or New York. At present this college has another coloured gentleman, named Paul, amongst its students; and it may be mentioned as an evidence of the estimation in which they are held, that the Seneca chief is president of one of their literary societies, and that Mr. Paul is vice president of another. Mr. Lord, the president of this college, has advocated the principles of immediate abolition for several years, although he has never joined the Anti-slavery Society. One of its professors, named Peabody, lately deceased, was one of the most fervent of the abolitionists.

BAWDOIN COLLEGE.
At Brunswick, State of Maine.

Professor Smith, of this college has always been one of the most decided of abolitionists. The college itself has no respect of colour. In Maine, the state in which it is situated, the laws of the state make no distinction of colour; there is no difficulty on this subject among the students.

ONEIDA INSTITUTE.—President, Rev. BERIAH GREEN.
Whitesborough, Oneida County, State of New York.

This institution is somewhat unique in its character. It dispenses with Latin and Greek, except the Greek of the New Testament and of some of the fathers—and with the Latin, at the option of the student. But it gives a four years course of study, and designs it to be equivalent to the usual college course. It has attached to it a printing press, a workshop for carpentering and cabinet-making, a farm for roots, vegetables, and grain, and cows to supply milk for the fine market of Utica, about four miles distant. The character of its president, the Rev. Beriah Green, as a scholar, a christian, and an immediate abolitionist, is of the highest and noblest stamp. The following is an extract of a letter from him to the Rev. A. Phelps, dated 31st July, 1840.

"I know not how to speak, or what to say of myself, or any labours of mine in the cause of humanity. My activity in the anti-slavery enterprise did not commence with my connexion with this institution. Brother Wright (late secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society) can you give an account of the part I took, whatever it was, in the hard struggle we had with the slave power, at the Western Reserve College.* A leading object with me in coming to preside over this (the Oneida) Institution, was the promotion of the cause of holy freedom. I came hither in the summer of 1833. Of the convention which formed that—the American Anti-Slavery Society—you may remember, I was President. From that time to this, my aims and activity, both in the pulpit and the lecture-room, at home and abroad, tongue-wise and pen-wise, are known and understood as extensively as my obscurity would permit. I cannot guess how many lectures, as an advocate of freedom, I have delivered; I can only say, *a great many*. Something I have attempted with my pen; an ironical discourse on colonization in the *Emancipator;* a number of articles in the *Anti-Slavery Quarterly Magazine;* two or three sermons—one delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle, on the death of Lovejoy; a large tract on the New Testament views of slavery, may be particularly mentioned. The discussion at Utica, to which you refer, occurred very soon after I came to this place; it awakened a very deep interest in the community, and led, I think, to important results. The trials my activity has brought upon me I have little to say about. I have been misunderstood, misrepresented, traduced, opposed, virulently and extensively, both in *Church* and *State*. To go into particulars I cannot, with the hope of making a just impression; I am, in such matters, almost peculiarly forgetful. I know not to what to ascribe it, but I have no heart to record what wicked and unreasonable men say and think of me. The Lord knoweth them that are his. A great story about the trials, and the magnanimity, and the excellence of Oneida, I cannot summon up mind enough to tell; much less about persecution."

This extract gives a glimpse of Beriah Green. Bright, brave, generous, fervent, free from self, disdaining the recital of his trials and persecutions in the cause of religion, humanity, and holy freedom; yet, with the institution of which he is the head and soul, having done and suffered more in the cause of the slave than any other institution in his country, or than any other individual, excepting T. D. Weld, J. G. Birney, E. P. Lovejoy, and Dr. D. Nelson. The discussion at Utica, to which he adverts in the above extract, was between him and a then powerful colonization agent, named Danforth. This discussion attracted the attention of the entire country, and powerfully contributed to dissipate the colonization delusion. He has ever since been almost incessant in his generous labours; with scarcely an exception, he has been present, and borne a conspicuous part in all the greater Anti-Slavery conventions and anniversaries of his country. The productions of his pen have been of the highest order, his lectures and addresses are almost numberless, and have been given in season and out of season, spurning toil, and freely hazarding life. The Oneida Institute, over which he presides, has now about twenty coloured students, of negro or of Indian blood.

In 1836, the heroic faithfulness of Beriah Green awakened legislative persecution against the institution, and Oneida is yet the only institution which has been *thus honoured*. Mr. David Wager, of Utica, moved early in that year, in the senate of the state (New York), a resolution, which was adopted, "directing the committee on literature to inquire into the propriety of denying the Oneida Institute all participation in the benefits of the Literature Fund."

This fund is a governmental fund for the advance of public literature. Its benefits were accordingly restricted from the Oneida Institute. The only *real grounds* of the restriction were, that, *both* among officers and students there was freedom of thought, speech, and action, agreeably to the laws of the state, on the subject of slavery and abolition; the only *pretended grounds*, "that the institution was the hot-bed of sedition"—"that it was exerting a political influence,"—and that its president, Beriah Green, had been active in propagating the doctrines of abolition," &c.—That is, dauntlessly declaring the truth of God, against slavery and hypocrisy; exerting a moral and religious influence in favour of liberty, law, and justice, and propagating the eternal principles of righteousness and love.

On these lawless and unconstitutional proceedings of the legislature, a public meeting was convened in Utica, and several noble resolutions adopted, in order to sustain the thus violently and proudly assailed liberties of the State. One of these resolutions was—

"That the recent attempt in our legislature, to diminish the pecuniary resources, and to tarnish the character of the Oneida Institute, on the ground that its officers and students vote as they please, and embrace a religion which pronounces slavery to be a sin, is not only a dangerous infringement of our political compact, but a daring and wicked invasion of God's moral government."

In the course of the proceedings of this meeting, Gerrit Smith, one of the noblest and loveliest types of manhood now existing, whether in a natural or christian sense, said, "On the present occasion, Sir, we have a special duty to perform, in aid of the sacred cause of anti-slavery. The providence of God affords us an eminently favourable opportunity of testing the sincerity of our devotion to this cause. By extending a helping-hand to the school, which has fallen under pro-slavery vengeance, we shall be giving good proof of our appreciation of the great principles of that cause. These principles, the Oneida Institute has had the courage and the honesty to espouse; with these principles, hated—yet beautiful—persecuted, but one day triumphant and glorious—she has ever dared to identify herself; she has made common cause with them, and nobly determined that their fate shall be hers."

But the pro-slavery heart of the United States was not satisfied with legislative persecution; the American Education Society, an association of voluntary benevolence, though patronizing all sorts of seminaries, colleges, and academies, good, bad, and indifferent, which will consent to be dumb respecting the idol-crimes of their country, has seen fit to prohibit Onedia to its beneficiaries, on pain of forfeiting its aid.

But thus scowled upon, and assailed by legislative as well as by national turpitude, Oneida Institute, with Beriah Green at its head, has never wavered. In the heart of the Empire State, as New York is called, alike from its extent, its population, its character, and its great progress, and possessed of a location admirably adapted to the purpose of combining labour with study, Oneida only needs the means of procuring additional instructors, buildings, libraries, and apparatus, to command any desirable number of students. The writer of this article appeals in its behalf, to the abolitionists, both of Britain and America, or rather, of the world; and he does so, because Oneida is the oldest and most thorough anti-slavery Educational and Literary Institution which exists in the United States; because its distance from all similar institutions, (Oberlin, the nearest, being 500 miles distant from it,) precludes all local interferences between them; and because, being situated in the most flourishing county of the most powerful State in the Union, it has peculiar advantages, as a point of attack upon the common enemy, the *pro-slavery spirit of its country.*

* This was in Ohio, in 1832. It was the first struggle with the slave-power for freedom of thought, speech, and action, on the subject of slavery, in the American literary institutions. It preceded the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society by upwards of a year; the American Anti-Slavery Society not having been organised at Philadelphia till December, 1833.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXVIII. Vol. II. No. 11.] WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2nd, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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INDIA.

This Day is Published,

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN BRITISH INDIA;

With notices of the existence of these evils in Ceylon, Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, from official documents.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

Showing the extent of Slavery in British India; the laws which regulated it; the present condition of the slave-population; the external and internal Slave-trade; and the proceedings in Great Britain and India relative thereto.

WARD AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

AT a Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Committee, and other Friends of the Negro, held at the Court-house, in LEEDS, 19th May, 1841.

ROBERT JOWITT, in the Chair;

It was unanimously Resolved,

1. That we regard with high satisfaction the statements put forth by the West India interest, in their recent petitions to Parliament, and in the debates thereupon, as to the expected supply of sugar from the British colonies under the system of free labour, and of its probable sufficiency for the demand of this country—as an abandonment of their unfounded alarms, and gloomy prognostications, with respect to the working of the system of freedom.

2. That we are strongly of opinion that these statements cannot be realized, and the cultivation of the colonies ensured to the full extent of their capabilities, without the payment of fair rates of wages, the separation of rent from wages, and the relinquishment of oppressive police and vagrant laws, and all other attempts to coerce labour, and to restore, indirectly but in fact, the slavery now happily, in name, abolished.

3. That, having always maintained slavery to be a system as costly and ruinous to the masters as it is cruel and iniquitous towards the slave, we have no fears as to the capability of the population of the British possessions in the East and West Indies, if made really free, in fact as well as in name, to compete in the production of sugar with any country where slavery is still maintained. But we believe that competition, in this as in all other cases, would eventually conduce to the general welfare, because monopoly tends, as seen in the British West Indies, to check enterprise and economical improvements, and to promote wasteful and unscientific methods of production; while it is at the root of numerous abuses, highly detrimental to the interests of the emancipated population of those colonies.

4. That, without pronouncing as a body any opinion upon the financial measures of her Majesty's government, which we consider alien from the higher motives which impel us to seek the destruction of slavery and the slave-trade, we are of opinion that the recent petition from the committee of the London Anti-Slavery Society is not such as we should have concurred in.

ROBERT JOWITT, Chairman.
WILLIAM WEST, Secretary.

8 *

AT a Meeting of the LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY Committee, held on Wednesday, May 19th, 1841,

JOHN CROPPER, Jun. Esq., President, in the Chair.

It was moved by William Kay, Esq., seconded by William Rathbone, Esq.:

1.—That this Committee record their unwavering abhorrence of the anti-christian systems of slavery and the slave trade, and their unshaken attachment to every legitimate means for their universal extinction.

Carried, *nem. con.*

It was moved by Dr. Sutherland, seconded by William Crosfield, Esq.:

2.—That this Committee regret to learn, on high and unquestioned authority, that all previous and hostile efforts to secure their abolition have not only signally failed, but that the victims of the detestable traffic have increased fearfully in amount and aggravated suffering.

Carried, *nem. con.*

It was moved by James Ryley, Esq., Jun., and seconded by Mr. Alderman Bulley:

3.—That, adhering to these principles, and at the same time recognizing the principles of free trade, conceding to which the legislature has removed the restrictions formerly imposed on the trade of the British West Indies; and considering, on the other hand, the immense interests of this manufacturing country, this Committee record their approval of the proposed measures for the reduction of the duties on sugar, as essential to the relief of our own oppressed and suffering population.

Carried, *nem. con.*

It was moved by Richard Fry, Esq., seconded by Michael Ashton, Esq.:

4. That while this Committee would afford no sanction to monopoly prices, which only present fresh inducements to the coercion and injury of the free labourers in the emancipated colonies, they are at the same time firmly of opinion that these fiscal arrangements, taking into account the sacrifices this country has already made, ought to be coupled with such negociations with slave-holding states as would lead to the abandonment of the costly and cruel system of slavery, and its concomitant evil the slave-trade, and with the determination to admit, from all countries, at once, on equal terms, sugar and other produce the result of free labour.

Carried, *nem. con.*

It was moved by Mr. Alderman Blackburn, seconded by William Rathbone, Esq.:

5.—That as, in the opinion of this Committee, free labour, when fairly brought into operation, is cheaper than that of slaves, the most effectual means of abolishing slavery will be found in the fair competition of free and coerced labour; and, as the contest between the two must eventually take place, they cannot but regard the proposed alteration in the duties on sugar as the commencement of a course at once beneficial and wise, and calculated, in its ultimate effect, to promote the entire abolition of slavery in every part of the world.

Carried, *nem. con.*

John Cropper, Jun., President.
William Bevan, Secretary.

FRANCE.

The following is the substance of a letter addressed by M. Isambert to Mr. Tredgold, dated,

Paris, May 18th, 1841.

We have had in the chamber of deputies, during the last two days, a discussion on a bill, the object of which is to withdraw from the four slave colonies of France the right (imprudently conceded to them in 1833) of voting money, which gives the colonial aristocracy the power of oppressing the coloured population. M. Isambert produced several scandalous examples of the fact. Among others, it appears, that the council at Guadeloupe has voted, at different times, nearly 100,000 francs to writers and journals, in order to sustain the system of slavery. So scandalous, indeed, has been the conduct of the council at Guadeloupe, that it appears the French government has sent orders to the governor of the colony to dissolve it.

Many of the members of the chamber of deputies who formerly opposed the abolition of slavery, have not only become resigned to the measure, but express themselves strongly in favour of its necessity. Indeed, public opinion is now so strong upon the subject, that the honour of France can no longer suffer its continuance. The present cabinet will present to the chambers, at their next session, the law of emancipation; and M. Guizot, it is hoped, will not fail in the duty imposed upon him. If the cabinet should be modified between this and the next session, the anti-slavery party in it will be strengthened, rather than weakened, by the change. Our hopes consequently are strong.

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The French anti-slavery society have repudiated the idea of compensation to the planters, on the ground that it cannot recognise the right of man to property in his fellow-man.

HOLLAND.

THE anti-slavery leaven is working here, as appears by the following extracts from a letter to Mr. G. W. Alexander from Mr. J. S. Mollett, dated

Amsterdam, 2nd 5th mo. (June,) 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have long intended to address thee at some length, but have been prevented from doing so, partly on account of my occupations, and partly because I have been in daily expectation of having a very important communication to make thee, about a plan which has originated with one of the planters of Surinam, and which would have a result entirely conformable to our wishes—namely, the complete emancipation of the slaves of that colony. But thou knowest how slow the Dutch are in all their operations, and canst not be surprised, therefore, that I am as yet still waiting. I am afraid, also, that even this plan will meet with considerable opposition from the side of government; and I begin to think that we shall obtain our ends, even without its being put into execution, though perhaps not without much struggle.

The work of our friend J. J. Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies*, of which the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society sent me two copies, has been circulated among the proprietors of the West India estates, and is still circulating, lent from one to the other as a sort of favour, and on that account more eagerly read than it would have been otherwise. Has made a deep impression on the minds of several of them, who are among the most influential. It would have made a still deeper impression if it had been translated into French, as some of the proprietors are not able to read English. I know already several who are convinced that some steps ought to be taken immediately, to prepare the slaves for emancipation; and I advise them to try the method of paying them a fixed salary for the work which they have to perform, with an extra bonus for every thing they do besides, to encourage matrimony and prevent prostitution, to promote religious instruction, and to have a care that the children be well taken care of, in a physical as well as in a moral way. Much harm is done also for want of proper medical and surgical assistance, the patients being too oft abandoned to the care of old women, who use all sorts of superstitious practices to cure them, which is one among the many causes of mortality. As to religious instruction, it is already improving rapidly, but the Moravians cannot supply as many missionaries as would be wanted. Schools are building in several places, but not yet in sufficient quantity.

The free negros have been again visited, and many seem disposed to embrace christianity, and to enlarge their agriculture.

There are not a few people in the colony who consider the emancipation of slaves as a step which ought to be taken as soon as possible. A petition was read a few days ago in the Second Chamber of the States-general, demanding both that the slaves should be made free, and Paramaribo made a free port; although nothing was decided, as the legislature of this country has no control over the colonies, which are wholly and exclusively under the direction and management of the king, who has also received a similar petition. Surinam is a colony which costs the government a great deal more than it produces. I had last week a visit from our friend —— of Groningen. He tells me that they have formed themselves into a society, which, though entertaining anti-slavery principles, has not assumed that title, but call themselves the Society for the Promotion of the Temporal and Spiritual Welfare of the Negros in the West India Plantations. The formation of an anti-slavery society in this city is as impossible as ever; and, from what I observe, would do more harm than good. But the circulation of anti-slavery publications is productive of much good. I am much assisted in that way by my friend, James Ingram, the Presbyterian preacher. Being acquainted with several of the planters, he lends them the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* as an object of curiosity; and, as they know they must return it, they feel more anxious to peruse it than if they were to detain it. This is also the case with some others of those to whom I distribute it. I am sure it leaves strong impressions, and has already shaken some deeply-rooted prejudices. If I could have some complete sets I might place them in some of our public libraries; but some of the first numbers are entirely exhausted, as in the beginning I did not receive twelve numbers of each as I do now.

WE earnestly direct attention to a pamphlet which has just appeared, under the title of *Slavery and the Slave-trade in British India*. Considerable portions of it have already appeared in our columns; but the pamphlet contains much additional matter, and is of great value, as giving a view of the subject authenticated by constant reference to the parliamentary papers. For the instruction of the uninformed, and for the silencing of cavillers, it is, we think, of unequalled utility.

We are happy to see a lively interest in this matter diffusing itself through the country. Within these few days the attention of the public has been called to it, at two meetings which have been held, the one at Dublin, the other at Leeds. At both these places a petition to parliament for the abolition of slavery in India was unanimously adopted. Although, of course, there can be no expectation of parliamentary progress during the current session, the present moment is peculiarly favourable for pressing the subject on the notice of candidates for the popular suffrage.

SPAIN.

WE are enabled to lay before our readers the following interesting extracts of a letter from a gentleman in Spain, to Mr. G. W. Alexander, of the date of the 15th of May, 1841.

"I have been detained much longer here than I could have anticipated on my arrival. I deeply regret this, if I could, by any exertions of mine, arouse a feeling in ——, or continue to keep alive the interest already excited, with reference to the oppressed and wretched state of the slave in the colonies dependent on this country. I have kept up a correspondence with my friends there, and I have lost no opportunity to urge them to exertion on a subject, on which, any man possessed of the common feelings of humanity, must feel deeply. Every man professing himself a christian can have but one opinion on the matter; and, for myself, I have viewed this vile traffic in human souls as the most abhorrent of crimes, and now, that my attention has been more particularly directed to the subject, by our chance meeting, and further by the details published in that most valuable little journal, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, I would feel it as indeed a *holy* work to direct every energy of my soul, every exertion within the limits of my humble capacity, for the complete abolition of a traffic, so fraught with evils to society generally, and so at variance with every principle of christianity and justice. I have never lost an opportunity of advocating the abolition of slavery in every society among which I have mingled. I think, however, that any intemperate zeal would lead to no result, and that it is better to watch the passing scenes, impressed with a most thorough conviction, that the day is not far distant, when the abolition of slavery will be proclaimed with a loud voice, from one coast to the other of the continent of Spain. The country is rapidly advancing in civilization and knowledge, and with this growing intelligence, the slavery system cannot long find advocates, even looking on it, as it is generally looked upon, as a system of expediency, a deviation from which, it is asserted, would insure the loss to Spain of one of the most valuable additions to the crown.

IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING COMPANY.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Proprietary of this Company was held at the London Tavern, at one o'clock, on Thursday, the 13th of May, 1841; Joshua Walker, Esq., in the Chair.

The attendance was unusually large, in consequence of the following Address having been circulated among the shareholders:—

"*TO THE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING COMPANY.*

"Having, unknowingly in the first instance, become shareholders in a Mining Company which employs slave-labour, we deeply feel the responsibility which devolves upon us, and upon all who have an interest in companies similarly situated. Thus impressed, allow us to call attention to the painful fact, that you, with ourselves, are slave-holders, and to present to you some information and reflections in connexion with the subject.

"We may observe, that the Brazilian Mining Company claims about 413 slaves, of whom about 168 are men, about 114 are women, and about 131 are children; and, in addition, there are forty slaves hired by contract for a period of two years. Allow us to remind you, that the slaves which are thus owned or hired are the victims or descendants of those who were obtained by cruel wars carried on in Africa, in many instances waged for the very purpose of procuring captives for sale, or have been procured in other ways no less inconsistent with humanity and religion. This is the origin of the slavery the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company is countenancing.

"We not only object in the strongest manner to the way in which this unrighteous species of property is acquired, but to the system of slavery, as in itself unjust and necessarily cruel. We cannot but regard such a system as in direct opposition to the righteous law of God, and to the merciful principles of the gospel.

"Entertaining these views of the essential character of slavery, we must strongly deprecate the countenance of it by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company under any circumstances. We have, however, thought it our duty to make some inquiry as to the particular situation of the slaves held by the Company; and we regret, that, upon several important points on which we have sought information, we have either not been able to obtain it, or that which we have obtained is of the most unsatisfactory character: for instance, the nature, extent, and effect of the punishments inflicted on the slaves is not known to our Directors—only *one* return of such punishments appears to have been sent home, and that several years since! And, with respect to the education of the slaves, it appears to have been abandoned in deference to the feelings and wishes of the slave-holders in the vicinity!

"We will not dwell upon the statements which have been made of cruelties perpetrated by some of the servants of the company, when separated thousands of miles from the Directors—some of which, however, we believe to be *too* true; we would rather call your attention to the circumstance, that the slavery which is thus sanctioned by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company is a system by which millions of human beings are subjected to a debasing, cruel, and in many instances, life-destroying bondage—a system which fosters, both on the part of the slave and his oppressor, a fearful amount of immorality, and neglect of religious obligations.

"It must also be ever borne in mind, that, as slavery originated in the enormous iniquity of the slave-trade, so it continually fosters this evil, which exists to an enormous extent in the Brazils, in despite of laws for its abolition; the number of its annual victims is calculated at 60,000! With a knowledge of these facts, can you withhold your most strenuous exertions to remove from your character the reproach of being a slave-holder, and from your conscience the guilt of being implicated in a

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crime so fatally and extensively destructive to human happiness, and to the advancement of civilization and religion?

"The directors have, in accordance with our earnest request, resolved, to make the general meeting of the proprietary on the 13th of 5th mo. (May) *special*, for the consideration of the propriety of emancipating the slaves, and providing for the security of their future freedom; we, therefore, respectfully but earnestly call upon our brother shareholders to attend that meeting, or entrust their proxies to the friends of this righteous cause; and we trust they will be so deeply impressed with the necessity of this step, that they will freely offer their assistance to accomplish it; and let all bear in mind the precept of our Holy Redeemer, 'Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Should the company perform that act of justice which is sought at their hands, we entertain the hope that it would in no small degree promote the righteous cause of emancipation in Brazil, and in other parts of the world.

"For ourselves, we feel it a solemn duty to protest against the employment of slave-labour by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, and express our determination to use our most earnest exertions to prevent its continuance, whenever an opportunity is afforded.

Signed "EDWARD HARRIS, London.
"GEORGE THOMAS,
"EDWARD THOMAS,
"JOSEPH FRY,
"FRANCIS FRY,
"RICHARD FRY, } Bristol.
"HENRY TUCKETT, London.

"Any communication on the subject may be addressed to Henry Tuckett, at No. 7, South-street, Finsbury.

"*London, 4th mo.* 26th, 1841."

The CHAIRMAN opened the business of the meeting by reading the report of the Directors.

Mr. GIBSON, the treasurer of the Company, read the statement of accounts.

The CHAIRMAN then said.—As our time advances rapidly, and the report has been a very long one, I will proceed at once to the usual business of the day. The resolution which I have to propose is, "That the report and statement of accounts now read be received and adopted, and that the same, together with the appendix, be printed, at the discretion of the directors, for the use of the proprietors."

Mr. GEORGE THOMAS.—I suppose that the adoption of that report would not preclude me from making the motion which the requisition has given notice of.

Mr. GIBSON.—O! certainly it would.

Mr. THOMAS.—In that case I must move an amendment to that report, and the amendment which I propose is as follows:—"That measures be taken immediately to emancipate the slaves held by this company, and to secure to them their future freedom." It is very nearly in the words of the requisition. I shall move that as an amendment, if I am to be precluded from moving it in any other shape. I observe that, in the report delivered by the directors, they have stated that the gentlemen who have signed the requisition have been shareholders for a number of years; that various reports have been sent out, in which it has been stated that slaves were employed by the company, and that they conceive that that fact is incompatible with the declaration of the requisitionists, that they were ignorant that slaves were employed in these mines. But I beg leave to state to the directors, that we do not say that we were at a late time ignorant of the fact, but "unknowingly in the first instance;" and I would put it to this meeting, how it is possible for any member of this association to be acquainted with that fact, till he actually becomes a member of the association. There is no such thing as a report sent to a person before he buys the shares; and therefore how is he to know that? I think this is a complete answer to that point. However, I do state for myself, and I believe I may state for my friends, that we were ignorant, entirely ignorant, in the first instance, of these mines being worked by slaves. (Cries of Oh! oh!) I can only say for myself, gentlemen may believe me, or not believe me, as they please, that I did suppose that these mines were worked entirely by British miners, because I had an opportunity of seeing that Cornish miners were sent out. Immediately after discovering that we were so circumstanced, (it was with great regret that we discovered it) we did, through our friend Samuel Waring, who was, I believe, well acquainted with many of the directors, make efforts to get an alteration made, or ameliorations carried into effect for the benefit of the slaves. Those ameliorations have been alluded to in the report of the directors which has been read this morning; and we do not mean to call in question the statement that some ameliorations have been carried into effect by the directors. If I mistake not, a resolution was passed in 1830 to emancipate the children, and I believe, in 1833, provision was made for their education. Then, besides that, there was a resolution, or at least an instruction—I believe I gathered so much from the report—an instruction to the chief commissioner, that he might, under certain conditions, liberate a certain number of adults yearly, not exceeding ten. Now the ground of our calling this meeting is, that we were satisfied at that time with the steps taken by the directors to ameliorate the condition of the negro population; but, from certain documents which have been printed—we disclaim those of Mr. Kentish entirely, that individual being actuated by mercenary motives, and we agree in what the directors say upon that point. But, if the directors are to bring forward evidence to support their report, namely, that of the officers of the company, surely those who have signed the requisition have an equal right to appeal to documents issued by those very gentlemen (I mean Mr Bayly and Colonel Skerrett), to show that the directors have gone in a retrograde course, rather than forward. That is one point which has made the gentlemen who have signed the requisition uncomfortable; that the original intentions of the directors, instead of being carried out, have been either relaxed or given up. In order to show that, I shall read to this meeting certain documents, signed by the two gentlemen who have been so largely quoted in the report to-day. The first is signed, "H. L. Bayly."

A PROPRIETOR.—What is the date, pray?

Mr. THOMAS.—It is dated the 16th of November, 1840. I will first state, that the Directors having identified the statements of Mr. Bayly, I need not produce proofs of it. In this letter, which is dated the 16th of November, 1840.—

A PROPRIETOR.—From whence?

Mr. THOMAS.—Rathfarnham, county of Dublin. In this letter he says, "Women, when pregnant, do not work for two months previous to their confinement; they remain all day in a large shed, taking care of the younger children (this was the regular rule); and *formerly* they went to hospital a month or more before they expected to be confined. I am sorry, however, to say, that the system had been altered after the departure of Dr. Collier, when they were prohibited from going to hospital till they were in daily expectation of being confined, and, in one instance, a woman was confined in her own house; this was owing to her not having been admitted into hospital when her time for so doing had arrived. Late regulations prohibited the slaves from remaining in hospital, unless they were severely ill. Numbers have informed me that they could not work on account of illness, and that, when they went to hospital, they were told they were not ill, and they must go back to their work. I immediately, when they appeared to me to be ill, sent them back to hospital, and this in many instances several times; when they were, with few exceptions, again sent back to me. When this failed, I had no alternative left but to keep them in the wine shed, where several were obliged to remain for many days, quite incapable of doing any work. Here they were exposed to the draught of an open shed, where children were playing and making a noise all the day. This gave me great pain; and, after I had remonstrated with the doctor, I was driven to the painful alternative of reporting the matter officially in writing, but I am sorry to say, without effect—which made me feel that I was not properly supported, and made me desirous of quitting the service. The injurious result this had generally, together with the severe regulations adopted in the hospital, made me acquainted with many cases amongst the blacks of persons severely ill, which they would rather endure than subject themselves to the treatment they met with in hospital, or to be told they were only 'skulking.' A long correspondence took place between Mr. Duval and myself on this subject, but I am sorry to say it ended like most other things, without redress, which determined me to give it up, which I did in disgust."

A PROPRIETOR.—Who is this person?

Mr. THOMAS.—The late Superintendant of the Gongo Soco slaves.

A PROPRIETOR.—Did he retire, or was he discharged?

The CHAIRMAN.—He retired in consequence of ill health.

Mr. THOMAS.—I will also read to you another extract, in order to show that the Directors recognise the statements of *this gentleman*; it is from a letter signed J. C. and H. Freshfield, and addressed to the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, October 21st, 1840. "The Directors, some months since, extracted from a letter of your correspondent, the principal charges which appear to be reiterated, nearly verbatim, in your paper; and we now transmit to you these, with the replies they received from a gentleman who had the charge of the blacks on their establishment for seven years, from 1832 to 1839, and who, having left the service of the association, had no inducement to represent any facts otherwise than as they really existed." I read this in order to show that the Directors identify themselves with this gentleman, and that he was a servant of the company. Then as to the stop put to emancipation, he states this:—"I have always regretted the stop put to emancipation by Mr. Duval, of course with the sanction of the board, as having had the very worst possible effect. The emulation it created to obtain that greatest of all boons to this unfortunate class of persons, and the success which attended the experiment was, at one period, beyond the expectations of the most sanguine—nothing could surpass it; their conduct was the admiration of every one possessing a heart to appreciate it. This continued till after the arrival of Mr. Duval, when he informed me he would not free any more, because it had been found not to answer. Because, truly, three or four out of fifteen had behaved ill *after his arrival* in Gongo, the remaining 288 were therefore to suffer perpetual slavery on their account! Surely it would be expecting too much, to suppose that a man brought up in slavery and in ignorance could change his nature in a day. What I saw of emancipation in Gongo answered my utmost expectations; many were the appeals to me, why it was not to continue; and I am confident that, from the hour I was obliged to make Mr. Duval's sentiments known to them, they never were the same. There were many at that time who ought to have had, and did expect their freedom; and I am prepared at this moment with the names of a dozen, at least, who would now be enjoying that blessing, had Mr. Avaline lived to avail himself of the consent obtained from the board by his predecessor. About five months after the arrival of Mr. Duval at Gongo, the slaves became so careless and indifferent"—now mark the effects gentlemen—"and crime gradually increased to so serious an extent, in consequence of an altered and new system attempted by him, that I was obliged to represent very strongly to Mr. Duval, that, unless some prompt means were put in force to stop it, I could not possibly answer for the consequences; and I begged to assure him, I would not remain longer in the service of the association than to the expiration of my then engagement, 10th of January, 1837. Soon after this, an order was issued, in which the entire charge of the slaves was handed over to me, and which remained in force up to the time of my departure." Now, that is one of the facts which I have to bring forward, to show that, in the opinion of this gentleman, the directors, instead of carrying out those good intentions which they formed in 1830 and 1833, were taking a retrograde motion. Now, from the same authority, though not from the same individual, but from the authority quoted by the directors in their report, I have from another late officer of the company information which fully bears me out in saying, that such was the state of the case at least if the documents themselves are to be depended upon. This is from Colonel Skerrett, dated January 8th, 1841, from Ireland. "I shall confine myself to what I know or heard from the latter part of 1829 to 1835 inclusive, during which I positively deny, in the most unqualified terms, that a single sentiment was ever expressed by the directors, either verbally or in their letters, publicly or privately, collectively or individually, that did not manifest the most perfect humanity and unsparing liberality towards the negros of the company." I beg to say, that nobody wishes to deny this statement; all that we want is that they should carry out their own views at that time, and carry them a little further. "And if they did not go quite so far with me in the last act of bounty (strongly as I urged it) I was myself sensible of the obstacles that opposed it, in the customs and prejudices of Brazil, and the guardianship of those interests over which they presided; nor could I flatter myself that no considerations, no representations, and no views, but those of their commissioner, would find favour in the calm deliberations

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of a distant board, subject to be misled by plausible, ignorant, or designing parties. I was therefore satisfied with the permission humanely and generously granted, to proceed in the experiment already commenced in 1833 at my own risk, trusting to its ultimate extension in proportion to its success. Before I received the appointment of commissioner in 1829, my sentiments were investigated respecting the treatment of slaves. I fully expressed my disgust at what I had witnessed at the Cape of Good Hope, and stated fairly that I had brought the subject before the commissioners of inquiry in that colony, &c. &c. If the directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company did not approve of this, why did they elect me? But, so far from differing with me on the subject—"

A PROPRIETOR.—I beg pardon for the interruption; but perhaps you will have the goodness to say, whether what you are reading from is circulated through the country?

Mr. THOMAS.—Yes.

A PROPRIETOR.—Have you any objection to mention the name of it?

Mr. THOMAS.—The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, of January 13th, 1841. "They assured me that their commissioner would be encouraged to use every exertion for the civilization and comfort of the negros, that the amelioration of their condition was only a preliminary to education and every improvement of which they were susceptible, that *every child born on the property was to be actually free from its birth;* and they allowed me to infer, that, on our success and my future reports, would depend that which I looked forward to with the deepest anxiety, the blessing of emancipation, at least to the deserving. With this understanding I arrived at Gongo Soco. The slaves presented a better and more healthy appearance than those I had previously met with; it was evident that the company had not limited the expenses of this part of the establishment, but it was equally so that it required the eye of an active and honourable man to protect them. The contractor for their meat was dismissed for fraud, and a new system of messing them adopted, which insured regularity and abundance of excellent food. That they had not acquired the Portuguese language sufficiently, was the cause assigned by the paid Padre for their total ignorance of the worship of the country; and Sunday with them was passed in dancing, and occasionally in riot, till put down, with indiscriminate violence, as a boasted exploit. An appeal to their reason, accompanied with encouraging promise of reward, was adopted, and found to be quite sufficient; and the strictest orders were issued against any sort of ill-treatment by the English. Their motley and fantastic appearance was represented to the board, and uniform and respectable clothing recommended—the directors sent out forthwith a most liberal supply for both sexes: their bedding was that common to the lower orders in all warm climates, and never was complained of. Medals for good conduct were next suggested; they were as promptly provided, and the comfort, emulation, and good order of this little colony soon became the theme of general observation. But I could not carry out my object entirely to my satisfaction, until the arrival of Mr. Bayly. Under that gentleman's zealous superintendency, I no longer apprehended secret violence, either on the part of the miners or the feitors (native overseers, frequently very worthless characters). From the commencement of his guardianship, the improvement in their condition became more rapid; the negros responded to his exertions, they felt that they could not any longer be ill-treated without my knowledge, or with impunity; and that, although their testimony might be rejected in a Brazilian court, in the jurisdiction to which they were then subjected it was respected. It would be absurd to suppose, that from three to four hundred human beings were to be at once released from all liability to punishment or restraint. It is enough, therefore, to say, that, within the period embraced in this statement, there was not a tenth part of the crime or penalty I have witnessed through life amongst the same number of Europeans, nor was there a single instance."—

A PROPRIETOR.—Really, Mr. Chairman, I beg to speak to the point of order. If this gentleman is reading from published documents, I should like to know how much time he means to occupy. Everything we have heard yet is in favour of what the Directors have already told us; and as many gentlemen, who are quite averse to that gentleman's principles, are leaving the room, I think it is only fair that he should tell us how much time he means to occupy.

Mr. THOMAS.—I should think ten minutes would be ample. The fact is, I have nothing to found my case upon but these documents. I have no access to the books of the company, and therefore cannot see what there is there. "It is enough, therefore, to say, that, within the period embraced in this statement, there was not a tenth part of the crime or penalty I have witnessed through life, amongst the same number of Europeans, nor was there a single instance of hasty or severe coercion—the profligacy of ruffians, and its lamented effects, were not chargeable to a management instituted for the prevention or punishment of brutality, and the protection of the weak. Such was the principle on which Mr. Bayly acted during my residence at Gongo, and his feelings were at least rewarded by the devoted gratitude and affection of the poor blacks. The deaths (vide 15th report of the company) decreased. The casualties of 1826-27-28-29, and 30, amounted to more than a hundred, for the succeeding eighteen months only to *one;* and at length, such was the excellent conduct of the negros that I felt justified in urging the board to sanction the emancipation of the most deserving." Now that is one of the points to which I wish particularly to call your attention; that the board did agree to a certain number of adults being emancipated year after year, and I believe it cannot be said, that they still go on with that practice.

Mr. GIBSON.—Will you allow me to say, that we were never asked to do it. We proposed it.

Mr. THOMAS.—"I, in fact, had commenced the experiment, and soon after received permission to proceed in it, at the limited rate of ten per annum. This long promised boon was attended with the happiest results. Those who were freed (and they were, with one exception, in the full prime of youth) became, if possible, more zealous in their duties and attachment, generously remaining on very trifling wages"—bear that in mind—"generously remaining on very trifling wages, rather than leave their benefactors, though they were qualified, either as tradesmen or labourers, to obtain the highest elsewhere. They were likewise actuated by a generous desire to encourage the emancipation of their comrades, by a continuance of that conduct by which they had secured their own. Such was the grateful and noble return of these admirable people"—*to work for less wages than they could get elsewhere.* "In what country was it ever surpassed? No assumption of superiority was for one moment visible, no symptoms of pride; in all things they were modest, grateful, and obedient, advancing in respectability to the hour of my departure, an hour I shall not easily forget. Is it then extraordinary that I find it difficult to believe their very natures could have altered, that they who for a year and-a-half proved zealous and affectionate servants, could suddenly by an opposite course, have justified the retraction of a blessing to which all had been permitted to aspire?" Now I think that I have shown you that the directors have gone backwards, if this report is to be depended upon; and I have nothing else to appeal to, but that which I see printed. "A blessing, my humble instrumentality in which was the principal solace of my arduous position for so many years, and I am confident at that time sincerely participated by all the directors. Their word once passed, it was received by the negros as an irrevocable decree. On the faith of it (I cannot shrink from the avowal) they worked under a delusion, which, although never designed, was, in its bitter effects, not less fatal to their confidence in that high character established for their masters, and which can only be restored by a discharge of the debt contracted on their written authority. Not sixteen, but seventy-three slaves would now have been emancipated, fifty-seven of whom are at this moment still subject to the evils of bondage, and who would, I am confident, have been all voluntary labourers in the company's service, had faith been kept with them, and the system of superintendence remained unchanged. I am entirely ignorant of the cause of their heart-rending disappointment, or whether the children (many of them are now from twelve to fourteen years old) have been either educated, or made acquainted with their freedom. But I must, in the latter case, candidly state the difficulty of the board, as to the proper moment for promulgating this happy intelligence, unless the parents likewise were to enjoy the same blessing. All the best affections of their nature might otherwise have been outraged; and it was on this account that I considered it, not only prudent, but humane, to leave the infant part of this establishment, nearly *six years younger than at present*, in ignorance of the blessing they were then incompetent to appreciate, but of which they might have availed themselves in a manner highly prejudicial to the comfort and authority of their less fortunate parents." I will now just allude to a subject which I brought before the directors about three years ago. I then recommended the directors to take precisely the same line of conduct which I recommend to them now. In a private letter, which I addressed to the directors, I recommended the emancipation of the negros at that time, and stated my unwillingness, and that I should not, unless they assented to the proposition, to receive any future dividends from the company. And I explain this, that I may not appear to be at all inconsistent; because, although I have not received those dividends, it would appear as though my agents had done so for me. My agents, Messrs. Foster and Braithwaite have received them, (a laugh,) gentlemen before they laugh, will just understand that I have not received them for my own benefit, but that I have paid over the amount received for those dividends to the Anti-Slavery Society. Now I think I have shown clearly, that certain promises which were made through the officers of the company have not been fulfilled. The expectation was certainly held out, that ten at least of the adults belonging to the company should be released every year, and Colonel Skerrett says, that if that had been carried into effect, there would have been seventy-three persons at this moment enjoying their freedom. I think I have, as a shareholder, a right to complain that the directors have not carried out their own views; but, if they had, I should not feel, under present circumstances satisfied with that. If I were to read some other things, it would be seen by the same evidence, (I believe given to the company themselves,) that flogging exists at the mines in Brazil.

A PROPRIETOR.—Not of females, I think.

Mr. THOMAS.—Not of females, but of males; and I think from the same testimony it appears, that 100 lashes is the highest amount.

A PROPRIETOR.—He states that five-and-twenty lashes given in the army, are equal in severity to 100 in Brazil.

Mr. THOMAS.—This is from the same letter that I have quoted before. "Whenever it was necessary to punish, they were always sent to hospital after it, where they remained in general but a few minutes; the number of lashes never exceeded 100, nor did they ever amount to that, but in two or three instances, all the time I was there. The cat-o'-nine-tails is much the same as that used in the army, but not so severe."

A PROPRIETOR.—You remember, Sir, the medical man stated, that 100 lashes given there was not so severe a punishment as five-and-twenty given here.

Mr. THOMAS.—Very well, I have no objection to admit that it is so stated. But I would also state, for the information of the proprietors, that the directors have only received one account of the punishments inflicted upon negros. I understand that to be a declaration they have made to a friend of mine.

Mr. GIBSON.—It is a mistake.

Mr. TUCKETT (to Mr. Gibson).—You remember that I asked for a statement, and the reply was, it had not been received for many years.

A PROPRIETOR.—If the gentleman is going for any specific point, he had better state it. If he only means to say that certain recommendations have not been attended to, I dare say the directors will be happy to investigate that point; but, if he means to come to the general subject of emancipation, he would do well to state it; because, whether flogging has been excessive in one instance, or the terms have not been properly observed in another, becomes quite another consideration. Let him go upon the broad question, whether emancipation is to be carried out or not; that is the point submitted for our discussion this day. It is not whether the directors, in the flogging which has been inflicted, have or have not exceeded a certain point of severity. Let us only know the point he is drawing our attention to.

Mr. THOMAS.—I am going to refer to that point, but I think it is of great importance to state to the meeting, that the resolutions formed many years ago have been rather relaxed than carried out.

A PROPRIETOR.—Then ask the directors to strengthen them.

Mr. THOMAS.—My argument tends to show that there is no safety in any scheme but entire emancipation; because, if you are satisfied to-day that the directors will do what is right, and they go next year from their resolution formed to-day, what reliance can you place upon the resolutions of the directors? I think you will see clearly from the letters of Colonel Skerrett and Mr. Bayly, that the alteration of

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the system has produced disobedient conduct in the negro population, and that so long as those ameliorations were carried on, the behaviour of the people was better. Now, I mean to say, that as a matter of sound policy, it is better for us to emancipate the negros than to keep them in a state of bondage; because you have proof from your own accounts, that they actually behaved better in a state of freedom, and were willing to work for less wages than they could get from other persons. What can more strongly show that it is consistent with sound policy to emancipate these negros? Now, we have proof, we have strong proof, that it would be the wisest course to grant the whole boon. In order to show that, I will bring forward the case of Antigua. Antigua is the only island, which I am aware of, that did not adopt the apprenticeship, or the gradual system of emancipation, but proceeded immediately to grant emancipation. What has been the effect of that? Why, that the whole island has doubled the amount of produce since the act of emancipation, and the planters themselves declare that the whole of the compensation granted to them by the act of emancipation, was clear profit. Why can we not suppose, that, if we adopted the same liberal policy, it would be attended with the same results? I say it would.

A PROPRIETOR.—Different kingdoms, sir.

MR. THOMAS.—That makes no difference. A certain line of conduct will produce certain consequences. Then, when we come to consider that this country, England, has condemned the system; that it is contrary to the laws of this country to hold slave property, why should we, sitting in this room, be in a different position from our fellow countrymen? Why should we avail ourselves of the situation in which we are placed, to refuse to do that which our own country has done as a country?

A PROPRIETOR.—We are subject to the government.

MR. THOMAS.—We have a right to deal with our own property, though we are subject to the government. The minister of Brazil has said that nothing stands in the way of emancipation, that the laws afford a facility for it, rather than otherwise, so that argument will not avail. The laws of England consider the holding of slave property as felony.* Why should we put ourselves in such a position? I do not conceive that a number of gentlemen assembled as English merchants, which I suppose most of the gentlemen present are, would like to put themselves in a different position from all their countrymen, simply because they have it in their power to do so; but that they would be regulated and governed in their public conduct by the same rule as those who live under English laws and English government. But now I come to another and more important reason, namely, that, in a religious point of view, we are called upon to grant emancipation. We do—I suppose we all do, profess christianity. If so, we have no right to hold a fellow creature in bondage, whatever we may consider expedient. There is an inalienable right to freedom in every man. The Creator has created all men alike. He has created all nations of one blood, and therefore they have all equal rights in his sight. And we are commanded to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God; if we do so, we certainly cannot be owners of slave property. If we would do justly, we must put them in the same position as ourselves. I am sure no man would think, if I had the power to take the chairman this morning, and convert him into a slave, and should exercise that power, that that would be doing justly. And I don't know that we have any greater right to do so in the case of these poor creatures. It is a mere exercise of power, which does not only a deal of mischief to those who are under its influence, but to those who exercise it. I believe the effect upon those who exercise it, is quite as bad as upon those who are subject to it, and that it does in a great measure harden their feelings. If you are not desirous to act upon the principle, "do unto others, as you would be done by," then I don't know that I have any hope of your voting for this resolution; but I do submit that you ought to do so as a company of professing christians. Having now, as I think, very fairly brought the matter before the present meeting, I conceive that the responsibility of holding these people in bondage will rest with those who support the system. I believe that there is a certain amount of guilt attached to our maintaining the position which we occupy. I think we have too long suffered this question to remain where it is, and that we ought, as Englishmen, to take some steps upon it.

THE CHAIRMAN.—There is one point, gentlemen, upon which I wish to make a remark, and I will not take up more than a minute of your time. Colonel Skerrett received his orders from the board. Now he was sent out in 1833. He tried the system in 1834, and came away in 1835; consequently he could not have been long enough there to know the effect of it. The effect we learned from Mr. Duval, and upon that ground we proceeded. We are told we have been going back. We did not withdraw our order till the system had been tried, and was proved to have failed; nor have we ever withdrawn it. With regard to flogging, we sent out some time ago unconditional orders to put a stop to it entirely.

MR. GOLDSMID.—I should not trouble this meeting—

MR. R. FRY.—I think in common courtesy, the Chairman should allow the resolution to be seconded.

MR. GOLDSMID.—I beg your pardon, I am sure.

MR. E. HARRIS.—I beg to second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The amendment which has been proposed is as follows:—"That measures be taken immediately to emancipate the slaves held by this company, and to secure to them their future freedom."

MR. GOLDSMID:—Before that amendment is put, I only beg leave to say a very few words on this occasion. Having taken a very active part in the formation of this company, I beg leave just to say a few words. There is no person who entertains more respect than I do for the humane feeling which dictated this. There is no person who respects that body of men, (the Society of Friends) more sincerely and affectionately than I do. I have been connected with them from the earliest period of my life. I was connected with them in various committees on a variety of subjects, and followed their steps as much as I could, both upon the subject of prison discipline, and the punishment of death; and therefore I blindly (almost blindly) would have been ready, if I were not placed in the situation in which I now stand, to have admitted their proposition. But I have been a director ever since the formation of the company; and, holding that position, I must say that I widely differ from them on this subject. When this company was originally formed, I considered that it would not be wise to employ slaves, and the consequence was, that I was doubtful whether it ought to be entertained. But I consulted an excellent friend of mine, Mr. Joseph Fry, and I am sure I cannot mention that name without mentioning in connexion with it that most amiable woman, Mrs. Fry, to say that all the acts of her life were devoted to philanthropy and kindness; and he never would have joined in an undertaking of this kind—no money could have tempted him—if it had not been for the performance of a great work. Great moral good was performed, by setting an example of good conduct in the management of slaves in the midst of a large population. Now, how was that accomplished? Not by violence, but by an attempt to improve their condition. Now that condition could only be improved by example. Consider how widely different this is from colonies where the whole body are to be emancipated. Consider that here is a million and a half of slaves; and we have a handful; and that it is only by kind treatment that we have induced those around us to follow that example. Can it be doubted, after the statements made by various persons unconnected with the company, and after the statements used by the gentleman, who tells you frankly that he has nothing to support the proposition but his humane feelings, except the testimony of Colonel Skerrett and Mr. Bayly—the greater portion of that tells, I am sure they themselves would say, tells in favour of us?—*If there have been any aberrations from the right course, it has been only in consequence of a difference of opinion having existed between Colonel Skerrett and his successor.* The whole question turns upon that. You have one of two courses to pursue. Either to emancipate your slaves, and, in consequence, to create dissatisfaction and disgust in the minds of those around—perhaps the probability is, that they would be either kidnapped or absorbed into the slave population; or to take them away altogether. Do not you destroy the moral effect which we anticipated at the commencement of this establishment, by taking away the example? What hope can there be ever after, of inducing the Brazilians to follow the bright example which this company may set? What have they to follow but the example which you set? As far as I am personally concerned, it is of very little consequence what is done; I have only 75 shares, which is about £400; and I would give ten times that amount, if we could but induce the Brazilians, which is the great object and desire that I believe we all have, to emancipate their slaves. Their emancipation is to be expected and hoped for, by the slow process of convincing them that they should do good to their fellow men, by the example which we shall set them, not by the untimely and hurried efforts made by the friends of humanity to deprive them of that example. Under these circumstances, I am quite sure that the humane gentlemen themselves will see the wisdom of withdrawing their amendment, in order to make it a unanimous feeling that we should leave the directors themselves, their minds, their own intentions, their hearts devoted to ameliorating the condition of the slaves. If they were to see what unfortunately they have not seen of late years, that the condition of the older blacks would be improved by emancipation, depend upon it the directors would emancipate them. But, as to the children, what better could you expect than that, at the age of twenty-one, they have pledged themselves that they shall be emancipated? How could they better instruct and teach those around them, than by the example of good conduct set by these children? I am quite sure that the directors have done the utmost in their power, that, if there have been these changes, it has not been their fault; and that they were not stimulated by the inducements of their friends here to urge them forward, but by their own feelings. Under these circumstances I do hope that my friends—I am sure they will allow me to call them so—no man feels more disposed to call them so, or to lend himself to their good works; but I trust that they will give their support and confidence to the directors, and, instead of finding fault with what we have done, strengthen our hands. The gentleman has stated that the government of Brazil gives every facility to emancipation. I think we have a letter in our possession, which would show very distinctly that the Brazilian government have not moved either one way or the other, that they have not at all interfered with emancipation, and have expressed no opinion; but it must be for the gentlemen themselves to determine, whether they can desire to see the emancipation of two or three hundred men in the midst of a slave population of a million and a half. There is one important circumstance mentioned in the report, which is, that we have so kindly treated our slaves, that a number of persons have come to us in order to be taken into our service. Under these circumstances, I hope and trust that the gentleman will withdraw his motion.

MR. R. FRY.—Considering the long report which has been read, I trust I may be allowed to address you for five minutes. I was one of those who signed and circulated the address. My name is Richard Fry—I live in Bristol. I mention that to show that I am not the gentleman who has been alluded to by Isaac L. Goldsmid. I respond, I am sure, to the name he gave me, a friend; and I wish to return it to him. I wish to call every man my brother, and my friend. I wish to say something in explanation of the introductory part of the address, which states that, when we became proprietors we did not know that there were slaves employed by this company. When I first became a proprietor of these mines, I was of the age of twenty-one, and was engaged in a mercantile counting-house in this city. One morning by post I received a transfer of the shares; my kind father made me a present of certain shares in this company. I knew nothing about the company, about mines in Brazil, or mines in Cornwall: whether they were worked by blacks or whites; and therefore, gentlemen, for myself, what I state is perfectly true. I did not know that these mines were worked by slaves. I trust, gentlemen, that you will believe me for myself.

A PROPRIETOR.—Ten years ago?

MR. FRY.—I think it is twelve. (Here considerable impatience was manifested by several proprietors). Be patient, gentlemen, we gave the chairman a very fair hearing. I must throw myself upon the chairman.

A PROPRIETOR.—I hope the gentleman will consider the time of the meeting, and compress his observations.

MR. FRY.—So I will; but we are assembled for an important purpose. I wish to do my duty, and to throw the responsibility off my own shoulders, and on yours. I hope you will take it. Mr. Goldsmid has spoken of the propriety of setting a good example, by treating our slaves well I fully agree with him, that, inasmuch as you treat your slaves well, you set a good example; but, if we do to them as we should be done by, should we not set them a much better example? (A voice, "No, you would do

* By the Consolidated Slave-trade Act of 1824, the *purchase*, or any participation in the purchase of a slave, by a British subject, is felony.

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harm.") No, gentlemen, we should be then doing to others as we would be done by. (Cries of "question.")

The CHAIRMAN.—We will not keep you more than a few minutes.

Mr. FRY.—If I did, I maintain that I have a full right to keep you as long as I please.

A PROPRIETOR.—We cannot stay any longer; you positively said that you would only detain us five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN.—It really is, gentlemen, a matter of such vital importance that this question should be set at rest to-day, and with, as I believe it will be, an overwhelming majority, that I should be sorry indeed if you were to go away; because I should be sorry to see a small majority. I think it would be tantamount to a disapproval of our conduct.

Mr. FRY.—If you will have the goodness to listen to me, I will keep my promise. A gentleman spoke of kidnapping; if you observe the words of the resolution, we provide for that by saying, "secure to the slaves their future freedom." With regard to the policy of the thing, I believe it is always the best policy to do that which is right, to do to others as we would be done by, and that will secure to us prosperity. I hope that every gentleman present will lay it to his conscience, before he gives his vote, whether he believes that he is acting up to the precepts of the New Testament.

A PROPRIETOR.—You must submit youself to the powers that be.

Mr. FRY.—Yes; your own power is to liberate these slaves. I am much obliged to you for listening to me.

A PROPRIETOR.—Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question? Has he, or has he not, sold any of his shares, since he became a proprietor?

Mr. FRY.—I have not.

A PROPRIETOR.—Why not?

Mr. FRY.—Because I will keep them, to endeavour to use any power or influence which I have to set at liberty the slaves. That is the motive by which we are all influenced. I have held these shares when I could have sold them at a considerable profit, but I kept them for that purpose.

Mr. GRAY.—The gentleman who proposed the motion, said, that he considered his statement was confirmed. He copiously referred to a publication which I never saw before. In some parts of that quotation he did great justice to Colonel Skerrett. I should certainly not object to their dealing as they please with other people's property. It is quite clear, as Mr. Goldsmid has said, that, if you were to emancipate the slaves, they would only fall into worse hands, and that they would exchange a state of comparative happiness for one of great hardship. I was really surprised at the statement made by a gentleman to the meeting, that he was perfectly ignorant of the mode of carrying on mining in Brazil. I did suppose, that the Society of Friends, who were very anxious to acquire knowledge, must have read some history of Brazil, and, if so, must have come to the conviction that the laborious part of the work was carried on by slaves. Abstractedly, I am as great an enemy to slavery as any man can be; but I think it is the bounden duty of every person, before he votes for the emancipation, to consider, whether it will be a benefit to those who are emancipated. I quite agree that the course recommended by the gentleman is dictated by the humanest feelings; but, if their advice is adopted, it must end in the complete destruction of the property. Mr. Macaulay, the other night, stated, with much force and propriety, that it was the bounden duty of this country to suppress slavery in its own dominions; but that we have no right to interfere with the internal slavery of other countries. If the society for the suppression of slavery would subscribe to buy the property, I am quite ready to give up my share to them. There is no analogy between the case of Antigua and Brazil. The gentleman said, that cultivation in Antigua had gone on since the emancipation much more successfully than it did before; but, in the first instance, they were compensated for the value of their slaves. I say, compensate me, and take the slaves.

A PROPRIETOR (to Mr. Thomas).—You have made strong allusions to those slaves who have been emancipated by the instructions of the directors. Pray, sir, have you any account how many of those men that were liberated turned out well, and how many badly? Because it is very likely, and very possible, that the whole ten per year that were emancipated (and as you say there would by this time be 70) would be bad. I think it is desirable to know whether the older slaves were entirely good after they were emancipated. There can be no doubt as to the propriety of emancipating children, when they arrive at the age of twenty-one.

Mr. THOMAS.—I think I may be allowed to say a few words in reply.

A PROPRIETOR.—I only ask, have you any statement of that kind?

THE CHAIRMAN (to Mr. Thomas).—Have you any such statement?

A PROPRIETOR.—From what I can understand, they have generally turned out badly.

Mr. THOMAS.—Why? Simply because of disappointment; their just expectations not being realised, and that which was promised being withheld, that was the reason. Colonel Skerrett and Mr. Bayly both say so distinctly. (Cries of chair, chair.) I would just say in reply to the gentlemen who are opposed to us, that honesty is the best policy, and that we cannot without being dishonest retain these people in slavery against their will. (Cries of "question"). The Chairman here intimated that, as Mr. Thomas was the mover of an amendment, he had no right of reply.

The CHAIRMAN then put the amendment and called upon those who were in favour of it to signify the same by holding up their hands.

Seven hands only were held up for the amendment. The Chairman then put the original resolution, which was carried.

Castle Wisbech, April 30th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

Having laid before the church over which I preside (the independent church of this town) the circular of the 10th of October last, issued by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,—the members present (and we had a full meeting) unanimously came to the following resolution.:—

"That this church, deeply convinced of the exceeding sinfulness of slavery and the slave-trade, and having learned from unquestionable authority, that many members of professedly christian churches, of different denominations, in the United States of America, are both slave-dealers and slave-holders, hereby avows its solemn determination not to hold communion with such persons, or with any who are known to be their abettors or apologists. Signed on behalf of the church,

J. H. TREGGOLD, Esq. WILLIAM HOLMES, Pastor.

THOUGHTS ON THE SUGAR QUESTION.

(From a Correspondent.)

A QUESTION has arisen on which the friends of the slave in England are at present divided in sentiment. We, of course, allude to the measure lately proposed, by which foreign sugar, including that which is slave-grown, would have been admitted at a lower rate of duty than that which is now imposed. It is evident that the opinions to which we have referred cannot both be correct; and believing as we do, that a large proportion of those who differ from us on this question are as honestly desirous as ourselves of knowing and embracing the truth, we are disposed of presenting those arguments which we deem to be conclusive against the introduction of slave-grown sugar for consumption in this country.

There are at present about fourteen million cwts. of foreign sugar raised in the eastern and western hemispheres, exclusive of that raised in our own possessions, as stated in the *Companion to the British Almanack for* 1841; and, according to the same authority, less than one million of this amount is shipped from Java, the only place named among those from which this sugar is exported, where slave labour is not employed in its cultivation; and Java is not free from suspicion on this point, as slavery is known to exist in that island. Brazil and the Spanish West India islands export nearly seven million cwts., or about one-half of the whole quantity produced. We extract this information from an article in which the admission of foreign sugar is strongly advocated. We think it right to observe, however, that we believe an amount of sugar by no means inconsiderable, and which can be sold at a low price, is produced in the Philippine islands by free labour, and exported from Manilla. The quantity is not, however, so great as materially to affect the argument we intend to bring forward.

Foreign sugar, under existing regulations is virtually prohibited for home consumption, and may at present be purchased (independently of duty) at about one-third less than sugar from our own colonies. The consequence of allowing foreign sugar to be consumed in this country at a duty of 12s. above that charged on the same article from our colonial possessions, would naturally be to occasion a difference in the price of the two descriptions of sugar of the same quality, to the precise extent of the extra duty charged on foreign sugar. We consider it more than probable, that in the event of this circumstance occurring, which we are now contemplating, there would be a large introduction of Brazilian and Cuban sugar, at a price remunerative to the planters of those countries. It must also be supposed that the opening of a new market in England to Brazil and Cuba, and this a market which consumes more than one-fourth part of the sugar now exported from all the countries in which it is produced, and in which it bears a higher price than in any other, would have the effect of raising the value of this article in other markets, thus procuring for the Brazilian and Cuban sugar planter an immense pecuniary benefit. It will not, we think, be denied, that the increased advantages thus held out to the cultivators of sugar raised by slaves would have a decided tendency to stimulate an increased production, while this can only be obtained by increased severity of labour, or the importation of new slaves from Africa. It cannot be denied that we should thus be giving a decided encouragement to slavery, as truly as every individual customer of the shopkeeper or the merchant contributes to his success, and especially those who are among his largest and safest customers.

Let us now consider what is the character of slavery in Brazil and Cuba, and what are its guilty accompaniments. In these, as in other slave countries, the unhappy bondsman is compelled to work without recompense, scourged to labour as the beast of the field, kept in a state of the deepest mental and moral degradation, and, in a multitude of instances, prematurely destroyed by his bitter sufferings and excessive toil. It is well known, too, that among all the various kinds of labour in which slaves are employed, that of the cultivation and manufacture of sugar is one of the most deadly. The great mortality among the slaves in Brazil has been recently acknowledged in the most forcible manner, in some passages derived from authorities in that country, which have lately appeared in the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

The excess of deaths over births, among slaves on many of the sugar estates in Cuba, is estimated at 10 per cent. yearly.

In connexion with the frightful character of slavery in Brazil and Cuba, it is well known that the slave-trade in these countries exists to an immense extent; the former receiving at least 60,000, and the latter 40,000, yearly, of the stolen children of Africa, as stated by Sir. T. F. Buxton. Thus is a large portion of two continents rendered miserable by that guilty system, which holds its accursed sway in these lands.

We conclude, then, that, as we are not at liberty, as christians, to countenance, but, on the other hand, are bound to discountenance, to the utmost extent of our power, every evil, and especially those which are of the most fearful magnitude, we must protest against the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market for home consumption, and the encouragement which would thereby be given to a system, which robs man, not only of his just wages, but of his own person, and of conjugal and parental rights; which inflicts an immense amount of unmerited suffering upon its victims; degrades the intellect and the morals of the oppressors and the oppressed, and consigns multitudes of human beings to a premature grave.

So long as it remains true that we must not do evil that good may come, and as we would avoid that condemnation which is

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justly due to those who would thus act, we are bound, as christians, to protest against the British people becoming thus involved in encouraging the tremendous evils of Brazilian and Cuban slavery.

We will now proceed to notice some of the reasons which have been urged in favour of the admission of foreign, including slave-grown sugar.

It is said that such a measure would have the effect of lessening the price of sugar, a circumstance of no small importance to the poor, especially as it might promote the substitution of tea and coffee for pernicious stimulating beverages. We confidently anticipate, however, that this result will be obtained without resorting to such a step; and, at the moment when we write this, foreign sugar, with the additional duty of 12s. per cwt., will not be found to be ½ per lb. cheaper than that from our own colonies.

It is well known that, during the present year, we can calculate on receiving 1,200,000 cwts. of East Indian sugar, being about one-third of our usual consumption, and a vast increase as compared with past years, while a larger quantity than that of last year is confidently anticipated from our West Indian possessions. It is highly probable that both these sources of supply will continue to increase, and that thus the price of sugar from our colonies will shortly be reduced to as low, or below that which it bore very few years since, when it ranged generally from 25s. to 35s. per cwt. In confirmation of this opinion, we quote a remarkable anticipation from the writings of the late James Cropper: "Besides all these permanent advantages, there would probably be a large temporary profit from a reduction in the cultivation of sugar, the growth of which might, for a few years, be brought below the increased consumption of the country, the present growth being 30,000 to 40,000 tons per annum above it. If the growth should be reduced only 20,000 tons, or to about 18,000 tons per annum, an advance of 6s. per cwt., would be very probable, and would add to the profits of the planters £1,080,000 per annum. To give such a temporary advance of price, in order to introduce the cultivation by free-labour in the West, and improve and extend it in the East, would very soon be repaid by more abundant supplies and low prices." Should we be disappointed in our expectation of this increased supply, we shall still feel satisfied that we have done right in resisting the introduction of slave-grown sugar, because we dare not say, let us do evil that good may come.

It has been alleged that the proposed measure would advance our commercial, manufacturing, and shipping interest, by leading to an extension of our trade with Brazil. Let it, however, be remembered, that our West Indian colonies and Mauritius, with a population of less than a million, consume a larger amount of articles of British export than Brazil, with four or five millions. If our exports to Brazil have increased, so have those to our own sugar colonies, which now take nearly four millions in value of our manufactures, and the East Indies almost five millions. When we reflect, however, on the comparative wants of freemen and slaves, the latter being restricted to a partial supply only of the most absolute necessaries for health, and some regard to decency, and on the growth of free as compared with slave countries, in wealth and population, we are at no loss to which we ought to give a decided preference in a commercial point of view. Such arguments as those which we are now combatting were put forth by the old apologists and defenders of the slave-trade and slavery; and in our opinion should not, for one moment, if they were true, divert us from the path of duty. We must not do or encourage evil, whatever may be the inducements or temptations which are held out.

It has been said, that free-trade, by promoting a competition between free and slave-labour, would eventually destroy the latter, as being the dearest. Whatever may be the alleged grounds of such an opinion, it must be evident that the duration, if not the result of such a race, may be greatly affected by circumstances over which we have no control among which we may mention that of war occurring in British India, continued gross mismanagement in that country, or unfavourable seasons peculiarly affecting our own possessions. We must, however, bear in mind, that, at present, there is a moral certainty that slavery, with all its barbarities, would be promoted by the proposed measure. It may be that, among those who advocate this step, there are those who think that, if they were now slaves in Brazil, they would be willing for themselves, their wives, their children, their whole circle of friends, to consent to bear an increased amount of lashes, of suffering, and of toil, and to have the period of existence still more abridged than it now is in these fields of human sacrifice. But, if there be those who would thus act, we submit that neither they, or any man, nor body of men, are at liberty thus to increase the horrors of an intolerable bondage, and to sanction a larger amount of murder, for the sake of any contingent or possible future advantage.

We have been told, that a competition between free and slave-labour will lead to a better system of cultivation in our own colonies, and that on this account the proposed measure should be supported. We reply, that the case appears to us to resemble that of a person frequenting a shop where stolen goods are known to be sold, in order to add to the energy of the honest tradesman in the vicinity. We cannot, however, consent to countenance and promote evil for the accomplishment of such an object.

The strongest argument which we have heard in favour of the government measure, is derived from the fact that a considerable quantity of slave-grown sugar has been exported to our own West India colonies, and has thus, by supplying their wants to a certain extent, enabled them to send us a larger amount of their own production. We must protest in the strongest manner against such a proceeding, of which we have only recently been informed, and would advise the different West Indian legislatures, at once to prohibit a conduct, which, if persevered in, is peculiarly calculated to lead to an opening for foreign sugars into the British market, with all its attendant disadvantage to themselves and frightful evils to humanity. At the same time, the abuse to which we are referring is not to be compared with the extent of mischief which would arise from opening to Cuba and Brazil the rich market of Great Britain and Ireland, with a population of thirty millions. We cannot, therefore, while we deprecate the admission of slave-grown sugars into our colonies, admit that this is a sufficient reason for doing another, and a much greater evil.

It is said that we consume American cotton, and many other articles produced by slave-labour. This is true in many instances, and the more our attention is fixed upon this circumstance, the more we must deplore it; and earnest is our hope that we shall soon be supplied from other and legitimate sources, should America persevere in her present guilty conduct. We should be disposed to make large sacrifices to effect such an object. We may, however, indulge the expectation, that should America and other slave-holding countries see the band of abolitionists in this land once more unanimous and determined in reference to the refusal to countenance the admission of slave-labour sugar, they might receive instruction from the fact, and prepare for the termination of a system which may lead to their losing a market which is indispensable for the sale of their cottons. However this may be, we cannot commit a new evil for the sake of any good, or for the purpose of a guilty consistency.

We are told that we act inconsistently with the principle that free labour is cheaper than slave labour, if we refuse to sanction the introduction of sugar produced by slaves, at a protecting duty of 50 per cent; and that such a conduct on the part of abolitionists is calculated to produce an unfavourable and incorrect opinion of the consequences of freedom in slave-holding countries. Our reply to these remarks is, that, great as we believe to be the superiority of voluntary and paid labour over that which is unrequited and coerced, there are circumstances which, at the present moment, admit of the introduction of slave sugars into our market, even subject to the proposed differential duty. We allude especially to the fact, that the large tracts of rich soil in Cuba enable the planters of that island to produce the same quantity of sugar with less than one-third of the amount of labour which is required in a large portion of our colonies, a circumstance which is more than sufficient to counterbalance a decided inferiority in the slave, as compared with a free system, and to allow a large profit on the importation of sugar from that island on the terms proposed. We must also bear in mind, that Brazil, and the Spanish islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico have, together, a slave population of not less than three times the extent of that of the free labourers in our West India colonies, including the Mauritius. With a knowledge of these circumstances, we must deprecate a measure which would allow the sugar of Brazil and Cuba to be consumed in England, and by which we should commit the evil of encouraging all the crimes to which slavery is hourly giving birth in those lands, for the sake of maintaining a supposed consistency from which we feel that we do not really depart, or from any other consideration whatsoever.

It has been stated in substance by an eminent statesman, in his place in parliament, that we, as a people, do at present all that we can do to encourage slavery in the Brazils, by sending our manufactures to that market, and receiving their sugar in return, which we export in their raw state, or refined, to every part of the continent. If this statement be correct, on what account do the people of Brazil, and the merchants trading to that country, so earnestly desire to have the English home market opened to them? This is a manifest and gross fallacy, and has been already answered in speaking of the benefit which would arise to the countries named by the measure under consideration.

But we are further informed, that, if we will consent to receive the sugar of Brazil and Cuba, we may be able to make arrangements with those countries by which the slave trade may be abolished, and slavery itself gradually terminated. We would, however, ask, have we not already treaties of the most complete and binding character, if public faith were regarded with these powers, purchased in the case of that with Spain at the expense of £400,000 of British treasure? We cannot, with all the experience of the past, confide in so broken a reed as that of engagements, however solemn, with a nation of slave-holders who, accustomed to the daily violation of all the laws of humanity, morality, and religion, in their conduct to their bondsmen, do not shrink from the most unblushing abandonment of public faith. It has lately required all the zeal, the wisdom, and the perseverance of the abolitionists of the northern portion of the United States to prevent slaves illegally imported from Africa being returned by the government of that republic as criminals to Cuba, the authorities of which are infamous for their encouragement of the African slave-trade, to be there immolated by the dealers in human flesh. We must not commit the evil of consenting to be partakers with thieves, in order to convert them to honest habits. We must not do this evil that good may come.

Finally, we are bound, in consistency, to discountenance to the utmost of our power a system, to suppress which England expends £600,000 annually, and sacrifices the lives of many of her

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seamen, on the pestilential coast of Africa, and which is utterly opposed to the feelings of a people, who have made immense sacrifices in the cause of freedom—sacrifices, however, which have been repaid a hundred fold, by the advantages which they have procured for a long and deeply oppressed portion of our fellow subjects. The example thus given, and the glorious results of freedom, which mark its earliest infancy, have cheered the abolitionists of every land, and shaken the wicked system of slavery to its foundation. Let us be firm, consistent, and united; and very soon shall the day dawn, in which the fetters shall be riven from every slave, and free trade, combined with free labour, shall extend its blessings to every portion of the habitable globe,

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. Tylor (whose name in our last was mis-spelt *Tyler*) informs us that he wrote to us "some weeks ago," desiring to have the concluding sentence of his letter struck out of it. We are sorry not to have effected his wish; but we really cannot undertake literary labour of this sort. He should have sent us a corrected copy. He adds, "my sentiment with regard to any such production [any not grown by free labour] is, that we must simply do without it."

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, may be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 2ND.

HER Most Faithful Majesty, the Queen of Portugal, has been pleased to intimate her gracious acceptance of the address of the General Anti-slavery Convention in the following terms:—

Portugese Legation, London, 25th May, 1841.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose to you a letter addressed by his Excellency, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of her most faithful Majesty to Mr. Clarkson, the President of the Anti-slavery Convention, the answer which her most faithful Majesty is graciously pleased to give to the address sent to her, and which I had the honour to receive from the deputation of the said Convention, to be fowarded to my court. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. MONCORVO.

To the illustrious Thomas Clarkson, President of the Anti-slavery Convention held in London:—

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,—Having laid before her august Majesty the address which you as President of the Anti-slavery Convention, held in London, directed to her, entreating her royal co-operation in putting an end to the odious traffic in slaves; her Majesty has ordered me to signify through you, the interest which she takes in the enlightened zeal of so philanthropic an association in favour of an oppressed portion of the human race, and that I should expressly, in her royal name, that she will continue to co-operate effectually for the total extinction of that criminal traffic, which scourges humanity, and is so revolting to the benign heart of her Majesty.

Thus fulfilling the orders of my Sovereign, I avail myself of this occasion to offer you the assurances of my distinguished consideration. May God preserve you,

RODRIGO DA FONSECA MAGALHAENS.

Office of State for Foreign Affairs, May 15th, 1841.

ACCORDING to the intimation in our last number, there appear in our first page of this day all the communications on the sugar question which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee have been requested to insert. The Committee have no wish, either to raise, or to prolong a controversy with their friends on this subject; but they feel it due, partly to themselves, but much more to their friends and to the cause at large, now to insert the following documents.

Belfast, 14th May, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your esteemed circular, I have to inform you that our anti-slavery friends have forwarded a petition for presentation to the House of Commons, against reduction in the duty on sugar, the produce of those countries where slavery has not been abolished. I remain, dear sir, faithfully yours,

JAMES STANDFIELD.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

Newcastle, 13th May, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—I send you a copy of a resolution of our anti-slavery committee, forwarded by this post to eleven of our neighbouring M. P.'s.

In great haste, your's faithfully,

J. H. Tredgold, Esq. MATTHEW FORSTER.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Newcastle Slave Emancipation Society, held on the 12th May, 1841;

Mr. JAMES FINLAY in the Chair.

Resolved—That this meeting views with the greatest anxiety and alarm, the proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to introduce the produce of slave-labour into this country on equal terms with that of freemen; as having, in the opinion of this committee, a tendency to perpetuate the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted the human family, and to contravene the great national testimony of Britain against slavery, in abolishing it throughout her vast dominions, and at the enormous cost of twenty millions of the public money.

That copies of the above resolution, signed by the chairman, be forwarded to the members of parliament for Newcastle, Gateshead, Tynemouth, South Shields, Sunderland, South Northumberland, and North Durham.

(Signed,) JAMES FINLAY, Chairman.

To these documents, it may be permitted us to add—first, that, in some important places in which resolutions like those of Leeds and Liverpool have been passed *nemine contradicente*, there are abolitionists, neither few nor uninfluential, who take a different view; and, secondly, that, in other places not less important, in which no public proceedings have been taken, the prevailing, if not the universal sentiment, is in accordance with that of the committee.

With a view to ascertain (so far as such an occasion might afford the means of doing so) what the sentiments of the anti-slavery friends generally may be on this matter, and to afford an opportunity of mutual explanation, advantage was taken of the close of the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends, at whose meeting-house in Houndsditch a public meeting was held on Saturday evening last. A free, and (we cannot doubt) a beneficial interchange of sentiments took place on this occasion. And, if it was not permitted us to observe any very considerable approach to unanimity on the particular point under discussion, it afforded us certainly the highest gratification to witness a universal spirit of devotedness to the ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE. A friendly feeling towards the committee was declared on all hands; and assurance given of uninterrupted and undiminished co-operation with them, in the various great and important objects to which their attention is directed.

THE committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have received from the committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, two important resolutions, which they publish below, for the information of their friends. It will be perceived that one of them refers to the calling of another Convention in 1842. This suggestion is felt by the committee to be so important, that their meeting on Friday, the 11th instant, has been made special, for the purpose of considering it; and we are instructed, on behalf of that body, to invite the assistance on that occasion of every member of the committee of an auxiliary society who may find it convenient to attend.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at the society's rooms; 128, Fulton Street, New York, April 16th, 1841, Joseph Sturge, of England, being present, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that the committee fully recognise and adopt the principles upon which the General Anti-slavery Convention, held in London last year, was convened, and upon which it acted; that we feel greatly encouraged by the result of its meetings; that we would strongly recommend our transatlantic friends to summon a second Convention in London, at about the same period in 1842; and that, in the event of their doing so, we will use our best exertions to promote a good representation of American abolitionists on the occasion.

Resolved, that we deeply sympathise with the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society in their noble efforts for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade; that we assure them of our hearty co-operation in their well-devised plans and energetic labours; and that, so long as the slave question, in connexion with the promotion of the rights of the free people of colour, and nothing else, is admitted to a place in anti-slavery meetings, we may expect the co-operation of all true hearted abolitionists throughout the world, in carrying forward the great objects of our association to a glorious consummation.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, Chairman.
JOSHUA LEAVITT, Recording Secretary.

THE comic part of the Irish Emigrators' jaunt to Jamaica having been enacted, the tragic now begins. Patrick Cunningham, one of the emigrants by the *Robert Kerr*, is gone already, and the coroner's verdict says "that his death was accelerated by mental anguish, occasioned by the carelessness and inattention shewn him by his late employer, Mr. Harrison." But happier are the dead than the living, if the treatment of Honor Glyn, another Irish emigrant, be a sample of what they are to expect. We need scarcely press upon our readers the perusal of the details, which we have inserted elsewhere from the *Colonial Reformer*.

Severe drought, with some exceptions, is still heavily complained of in the West India papers.

WE are favoured with the following letter from M. Hippolyte de Saint Anthoine, on the prostitution of the Greek flag to the use of the slave-traders. The postscript, we should think, must be a corrupt version of the proposition for lowering the duties on foreign sugar.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Paris, May 20th, 1841.

SIR,—I promised you some information in reference to the trade in slaves justly denounced for the reprobation of civilized nations by the *Malta Times*. It is unhappily too true that the Greek flag is still lent for the transport of slaves. I have to acquaint you, that a vessel laden with slaves has been seized by order of the Greek government, and conducted to Cephalonia; and that there all the slaves have been set at liberty. Since this capture, the Greek council of state, on the proposition of his

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Excellency, the Prince of Mavrocordato, has promulgated a law forbidding to all Greek subjects the transport of slaves, under very severe penalties.

I received these details from M. Mavrocordato himself, who recollects the wishes which were expressed to him by your deputation in London and which are thus accomplished.

The statement was confirmed to me, at the last *reception* of the minister of foreign affairs, by his Excellency the envoy of Greece to London. M. Tricoupi, whom I consider as a true friend of the blacks. "To the Greek nation," said he to me, "who have groaned during so many ages in servitude, belongs less than to any other the odious privilege of making slaves."

I write this account in haste, not doubting that you will hear it with interest, after having powerfully contributed, by your generous endeavours, to the extinction of a traffic abhorred by all civilized nations.

Receive, I beg you, the assurance of my high regard.

Hippolyte de St. Anthoine.

P. S. A Brazilian informs me this moment, that your government has just signed a secret treaty with Brazil, *permitting the introduction of slaves!* Must we believe this news?

We are enabled to insert to-day the very valuable and interesting report of the proceedings of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, which was read at the recent annual meeting at Exeter Hall.

A full and accurate report will be found in our columns this day of the proceedings at the late meeting of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. For the present our readers may peruse it. We shall have something to say upon it in our next, and upon the current tactics of the pro-slavery partizans.

We have been furnished with the following extract of a letter from Mr. Candler, who is now in the United States, dated

Philadelphia, April 27th, 1841.

Our friend, Joseph Sturge, is doing a good work among Friends here. Some Friends of Philadelphia wished me to give a statement of the well working of freedom in Jamaica at the close of the year, and applied for the use of the large committee-room in Arch-street, the use of which was granted. A noble meeting we had—crowded to overflowing.

We copy the following from an American publication, the *Protectionist*:—

A report is in circulation that "Arnold Buffum called upon Thomas Robson, of Liverpool, and inquired of him whether Friends in England did not join the Anti-slavery Societies; to which he replied, yes; and thou knowest what became of those Friends." To this it is added, by way of comment, that the Friends in England who have joined the Anti-slavery Societies, have lost their religious character, and have generally been disowned from the Society of Friends. Will Friends in England, be so kind as to inform us, in language that cannot be misunderstood, whether it is so. For such is by many, believed to be the fact. Thomas Robson said no such thing to Arnold Buffum.

We answer simply, It is not so. No representation can be further from the truth.

In relation to religious fellowship with slave-holders, we have the pleasure of inserting to-day a document of singular interest and importance, as emanating from so very large a portion of the rising ministry in this country. We are happy in giving place also to the resolutions adopted at the late meeting of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

We direct attention to a communication, which the letter of Mr. Prater, secretary to the Texas Land and Emigration Company *on anti-slavery principles (!)* has brought us from the other side of the Atlantic. Mr. Prater scarcely anticipated, we suspect, such an antagonist.

THE IRISH EMIGRANTS TO JAMAICA.

[From the *Colonial Reformer*.]

CASE OF PATRICK CUNNINGHAM.

An adjourned inquest was yesterday held at the Parochial Asylum in the House of Correction, on the body of Patrick Cunningham, one of the emigrants lately imported in the *Robert Kerr*, from Limerick.

The circumstances attending the death of the unfortunate man, are, as far as we have been able to learn them, as follows:—

It appears that the deceased, who was between 50, and 60 years of age, together with three other emigrants, had been engaged in the service of Mr. Harrison, on Ensom Pen, near this town—but his three companions, it is said threw up their engagements within a day or two after their being entered into. About the beginning of last month, the deceased was ordered to drive in a mule from the pastures, and, in endeavouring to do so, he received a severe kick from the animal. The injury he sustained incapacitated him from work, and rendered medical treatment necessary; upon which Mr. Harrison, to rid himself of a profitless servant, and to avoid the expense of a medical bill, thought proper to throw the *onus* on the shoulders of the *public*, by removing him to Spanish Town, and procuring his admission into the hospital for the sick and destitute poor. Here he remained without the comfort or consolation of a single relative or friend to cheer him under his sufferings—he had, not even the satisfaction of a single visit from the Master in whose service he had received the injury which had laid him on the bed of sickness. The rest is soon told—disappointed and heart broken, he was attacked with one of the malignant fevers of the country, and his accounts with this world were speedily closed—he died on Thursday last.

The jury which sat on the inquest, we are happy to find, instituted a strict and thorough investigation into all the circumstances of the case, and at the conclusion of the inquiry gave in the following unanimous verdict:

"That the deceased, Patrick Cunningham, came to his death on the 1st day of April, in consequence of a kick accidentally received from a mule, and that it is the opinion of the jurors, that his death was accelerated by mental anguish occasioned by the carelessness and inattention shown him by his late employer, Mr. Harrison."

In addition to the foregoing, we learn that the jury gave in a very strong presentment of the circumstances under which the deceased had become an inmate of the Institution, and particularly adverted to the fact, of the deceased and his companions being employed in the "*lowlands*," in direct contravention of the provisions of the Immigration Act. Poor Patrick Cunningham then, is, as far as we know, the first victim of the Limerick Emigration speculation—but we fear that we shall soon have to report many others. His melancholy fate will shew our friends in Ireland the perfect propriety of the vigorous opposition which they exhibited to the kidnapping mission of the "*Robert Kerr*," and we trust will have the effect of cutting up that branch of the new slave-trade.

In addition to the above, it falls to our lot to lay before the public another sample of the treatment to which the poor deluded creatures who venture to our shores in the character of emigrants, become exposed. The miserable condition of the unfortunate Honor Glyn may be gathered from her touching reply to the significant threat of her employer, as to the probability of her being put in jail; "*I had rather be in jail for my three years, than at Compton Lodge!*" We trust that the entire case will be re-published in Galway, for the benefit of those who may still be disposed to place faith in the golden visions of wealth and happiness, presented to their imagination by the Jamaica syrens and their satellites. Honor Glyn, and her companions in misfortune were seduced by the promise of five or six shillings sterling a day for their labour, which at five days labour in each week would amount to £70 or £80 per annum. But the reality of the vision dwindles down to the paltry sum of £9 per annum, or about *eight pence* per day! Then her room full of rats, disturbing her rest and devouring her very clothes—and the allowance of cocoas as food—an article at which the veriest bog trotter in Ireland would turn up his nose with disgust! All these things taken together will, we should suppose, incline the Irish peasantry rather "to bear the ills they have, than fly to those they know not of!"

CASE OF HONOR GLYN.

PETTY SESSIONS, BLACK RIVER, *Wednesday, March 24th*, 1841.

Before *John Gurley* and *J. B. Wells, Esqrs.*

B. M. Senior, Esq. v. Honor Glyn, for breach of contract,

B. M. Senior sworn—Commenced the proceedings with a lengthened address to the sitting justices, on the evils likely to accrue if *an example* were not made in the present instance, to deter other immigrants, from breaking their contracts, now that so many were coming to the island. In the case before the court, he was prepared to produce documents to shew that the defendant was *doubly* bound, first in London, and then on her arrival in Jamaica; both documents were then produced.

The first, dated London, 16th December, 1840, with the mark of Honor Glyn attached, purported that she had engaged in London, with H. Hendricks to proceed to Compton Lodge, Jamaica, to serve B. M. Senior as a labourer—the document is *not* attested, neither does it appear that it was ever read to her before she attached her cross to it. The latter signed by B. M. Senior, with the cross of Honor Glyn attached, dated the 8th February, 1841, seems to have been entered into a few days after the arrival of the ship Marlborough at Black River, the purport of it being, that Honor Glyn is to serve B. M. Senior, at Compton Lodge, as a general servant, in doors, for three years, wages £9. sterling per annum, with allowances in the shape of provisions to the amount of about four shillings sterling per week, for a certain period; and to be furnished with *a comfortable room*, the expenses of outfit and passage from London *to be repaid* to Mr. Senior hereafter, by Honor Glyn.

Mr. Senior, in continuation, stated that a few days after her arrival at Compton Lodge, he heard Honor Glyn crying very much during the night, in her room. On Friday the 12th instant, she went away from Compton Lodge, without permission. On Sunday the 14th, she returned, and asked for her provisions for the ensuing week, (provisions were served to the immigrants in advance on Saturday each week.) "I refused to give her any, as it was Sunday. I told her to come on Monday, and I would give her HER COCOAS! I cautioned her as to her conduct, and told her if she did not behave herself that she would soon be in jail!! She replied, that she would RATHER BE IN JAIL FOR HER THREE YEARS, than remain at *Compton Lodge!!!* She then went away, and I have not seen her since.

Honor Glyn in defence, stated, that the room she was in at Compton Lodge was so full of rats, that her clothes were cut to pieces; she had no time to consider about the arrangement with Mr. Senior before she was called upon to sign it; was put to wash clothes the Monday after her arrival at Compton Lodge; the allowance of food stated in the agreement with Mr. Senior is not enough; comes from near Gort, county Galway—was engaged in

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Ireland by Mr. Mahon, to come out to Jamaica with others; Mahon told us that we should get FIVE OR SIX SHILLINGS A DAY *for picking coffee* in Jamaica; we were told that they would not wear such clothes in Jamaica as we then had on, and that we had no occasion to take them with us. We arrived in London at night from Ireland, and were put on board the Marlborough *the next morning*; I can't read or write; the paper I put my cross to, on board the Marlborough, was *not read* to me I was called down into the cabin, and desired to make my cross to it. On Friday, the 12th of March, I went to Black River to buy bread for myself and the other emigrants, as it was cheaper at Black River than in the vicinity of Compton Lodge, and we were hungry. Mrs. Fendyan and Catherine Glyn promised to attend to my work for me until I returned. I met Pat Navan near Black River, who took me to his house, and he went with me to Compton Lodge on Sunday; the reason why I quitted Compton Lodge again on Sunday was, because Mr. Senior refused to give me my allowance of provisions for the week following. I never washed clothes before I came out to Jamaica.

Decision postponed till it be ascertained whether the case comes under the provisions of the late immigration act, the woman not having been brought out at the public expense, but under the auspices of a private individual.

REPORT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FOR 1841.

In reviewing the events and transactions of the past year in connexion with the anti-slavery cause, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society find cause for devout gratitude to the Most High, as well for the measure of success with which they have been favoured, as for the general and steady progress of the principles they advocate; and they are encouraged to prosecute, with renewed diligence and zeal, that "work of faith and labour of love" in which they are engaged.

The First Anniversary of this Society took place at the close of a series of meetings of unexampled interest and importance in the history of benevolent enterprize, held in this great metropolis during the month of June last year. Philanthropists, not only from different parts of this country, but from distant portions of the world, responded to the call of this Committee, and assembled to promote the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, "by moral, religious, and other pacific means." Of that Convention it is not perhaps too much to say, that, for sound intelligence, accurate and varied information, and high Christian principle, it never was surpassed by any assemblage of men, in this or any other country. The results of its counsels and labours will soon be given to the world in a volume, which has been prepared for the press with unusual pains; and the committee regard it, not only as a faithful record of the proceedings of that distinguished body, but as a pledge that the gigantic evils which it illustrates and condemns shall, at no distant period, be utterly overthrown.

In anticipation of the appearance of this volume, the committee have printed, and very extensively circulated, the Minutes of the Convention, together with the valuable papers prepared and read during its proceedings, by the Rev. Messrs. Scales, Godwin, and Bevan; Dr. Madden, and Messrs. Adam and Sturge, on the following subjects:—The Objects of the Convention—the Essential Sinfulness of Slavery—the Influence of slavery on the character of the enslaver and the enslaved, and its opposition to the advancement of civilization, education, and christianity—Slavery in British India—Slavery and the slave-trade in Cuba—and the superiority of free over slave-labour. The committee cannot notice the last document without referring to its esteemed and lamented author, who, in the fulness of his mental and physical energies, and amidst the sincere regrets of the friends of this cause, has descended into the tomb. His life promised to be one of great usefulness and honour; his death forcibly reminds those who survive him of the admonition to "work while it is day."

Besides the pamphlets enumerated, the committee have published a volume on Slavery and the Internal Slave-trade in the United States of America, drawn up with the greatest care in answer to queries submitted to them, by the committee of the American Anti-slavery Society. This masterly work should have an extensive circulation among the friends of the oppressed in every part of the kingdom; and should be introduced by them into the circles in which they move, as eminently calculated to awaken sympathy, and to quicken exertion, in behalf of the suffering and the enslaved.

So far the committee have endeavoured to fulfil the literary duties confided to them by the Convention; and it now remains for their friends to give effect to their labours, by diffusing through all countries to which they may have access, or to which their influence may extend, the vast amount of information thus presented to the world.

The other duties devolved on the committee by that body they have endeavoured also to discharge, in the spirit in which they were confided to them. Among these, perhaps the most important were the transmission to the ministers of religion of this and other countries (as far as was practicable) of the important resolutions (passed without a dissentient voice) on withholding christian fellowship from slave-holders; and the presentation to the crowned heads of Europe, and to rulers generally to whom they might have access, through their respective ambassadors at the British Court, of the address voted to them.

With respect to the former, the committee are happy to record, that, in no instance have they received a communication questioning the entire accordance of them with christian duty, whilst the principles on which they are based have been affirmed by the independent decisions of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1840; the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and the Baptist Union, at their annual meetings. In addition to these important proceedings, no inconsiderable number of the Congregational and Baptist churches of this country have separately announced their determination to refuse communion with all who buy and sell their fellow-men, or use their neighbour's labour without wages. The number the committee trust will go on increasing, until there shall not be found, in a single section of the British churches, one who will extend to a slave-holder the right hand of christian fellowship.

In reference to the address to the heads of governments, the committee are happy to report, that in only three instances, have their representatives at the Court of St. James's declined to be the medium of communicating it to their Sovereigns. In all other instances the deputations were received in the most courteous manner, and by none more so than by their Excellencies the ambassadors representing the Emperor of Brazil, and the Queen of Portugal; and the committee cannot but entertain the hope, that the free exposition of their principles and feelings allowed by the distinguished individuals referred to, the unaffected interest which they appeared to take in the anti-slavery cause, and the undisguised expression of sympathy for the oppressed, may conduce to the great end the Convention had in view in preparing the address.

HOME OPERATIONS.

In reference to the Home Operations of the society, the committee call attention, in the first instance, to the series of meetings held after the Convention, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the purpose of diffusing information, and encouraging the formation of auxiliaries. Messrs. Birney and Stanton, representatives of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, having, on the invitation of the committee, kindly consented to remain in this country for a few months, they accomplished various tours through the country, accompanied by two members of the committee. It is impossible not to bear a high testimony to the efficient service thus rendered to the cause of the oppressed, especially in reference to the system of slavery existing in the United States, and the support which it derives from the various sections of the professedly christian churches there. The facts which these gentlemen gave to the public were most touching; and, whilst they deepened the conviction of the criminality of slave-holding and slave-dealing in every form, they excited deep commiseration for the slave, and prompted to more strenuous efforts than ever for his release. The meetings were mostly presided over by the chief magistrates of the towns in which they were held, and were attended by influential persons of different religious denominations, and all shades of political opinion.

In London, the attention of the committee has been directed to a variety of important matters, bearing upon the great objects the society have in view, and they trust they have not unsuccessfully exerted themselves in lessening the amount of evil, in those cases in which they have not been able absolutely to prevent it. Among the subjects which have engaged their consideration, the committee particularize the following:—1. The state of the laws and the administration of justice in the colonies. 2. The suspension of the monthly reports of the special magistrates of Jamaica, and the ultimate substitution of others, at intervals of six months, limited to few particulars, and subject to revision by order of the Governor; and, 3. The question of immigration, which has almost absorbed the attention of the colonists since emancipation. On all these matters, the committee have memorialized the government.

On the first point, they have the pleasure to report that several of the obnoxious laws passed by the Jamaica and Barbados legislatures have been either disallowed, or, by alterations recommended in them, rendered less oppressive. Yet the committee have reason to fear, that, with respect to Jamaica in particular, some objectionable matter has been inserted in the laws passed during the last session, which, if allowed by the government, will operate most injuriously on the people. Incessant vigilance on the part of the friends of the negros is necessary, to defeat, if possible, the insidious measures of those whose main object appears to be to nullify the rights and privileges of the negros; and to retain the means of coercing them.

The committee regret that, under the government of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the reports of the special magistrates have been suspended; and that the people and the legislature of this country have consequently been kept in official ignorance of the state of that important island. Two years have elapsed since the publication of any reports. It is only, therefore, by information derived from private sources that they have been able to repel the calumnies which have been heaped upon the peasantry of that colony.

In reference to the importation of labourers into the British colonies, the committee have felt it to be their duty, on the one hand to guard against the restriction of the labour market in them, and on the other to insist on adequate protection to those who might voluntarily resort thither for employment. Against the introduction of the natives of Hindostan into the colonies, however, the committee felt it necessary earnestly to protest; as also to use every exertion, during the last session of parliament, to oppose the measure of government for their further transportation to Mauritius. The appalling facts then laid before the country, in connexion with this new slave-traffic, have been amply confirmed by the papers recently presented to both houses of parliament; and the committee sincerely trust the government will not relax the restrictions which have been deemed necessary by the supreme authority in India. The committee have further felt it right to lay before the government their objections to the permission granted to the West Indians to import native Africans from Sierra Leone into the British colonies. They conceived that such a measure was likely to be attended with serious evils; and to afford a precedent to nations having slave colonies, as well as settlements on the African coast, whence they might derive a pretext for increasing the number of their slaves, under colour of free emigration. The committee are informed, however, that the strictest regulations will be enforced, in reference to the emigration of these people, and that contracts to labour, other than those made in the colonies to which they may resort, will be null and void. The committee have, in addition, issued a series of cautionary recommendations to their own countrymen on emigration to the West Indies, which they hope may prove useful in guiding them to a right decision on this important matter.

The committee can only briefly refer to the other memorials which they have presented to her Majesty's government during the past year. The enumeration of them, however, will show their great importance, viz.: on the inconsistency and impropriety of British functionaries holding slaves in countries where slavery is permitted, as in Brazil, Cuba, &c.; on the recognition of the independence of the slave-holding republic of Texas; on the condition of the Africans liberated by the Mixed Commission Courts in Cuba, Brazil, and Surinam, and the necessity of their immediate removal to the British colonies; on the occupation of Crab Island (a British possession) by Spanish slave-holders; against the introduction of slave-grown produce into the British market; and on officers of the army and navy holding appointments under companies which

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hold slaves, and of acting as agents in the purchase of slaves for their various establishments.

In naming these documents, the committee feel called upon to acknowledge the courtesy of the first lord of the treasury, Lord Viscount Melbourne, and of the secretary of state for foreign affairs, Lord Viscount Palmerston; the latter of whom has, in many instances, afforded them, and the cause they represent, valuable aid.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS.

It will be remembered that, during the early part of the last year, a deputation from the society visited France and Holland. In the former instance, the object was to confer with the friends of the negro in Paris on the measures which had been proposed by a commission of inquiry on the abolition of slavery, and to urge upon them the necessity of legislating upon sound principles; in the latter, the intention was to awaken an anti-slavery feeling among the Dutch. The results of those visits were upon the whole extremely gratifying. The deputation consisted of Messrs. Alexander, Whitehorne, and Scoble. Subsequently, the secretary of the society, having occasion to visit the French capital, was honoured (in company with David Turnbull, Esq., now British consul at the Havana, and the Rev. Dr. Wright) with an interview by the King of the French, when they pressed on his Majesty the duty and necessity of abolishing slavery in every part of his empire.

The treasurer of the society, in addition to other important journies he had previously undertaken to Hamburgh, Sweden, and Denmark, has, in conjunction with Mr. Wiffen, visited Spain; and it is believed he has laid a foundation for future anti-slavery efforts in that country.

The principal cities visited were Madrid, Valencia, and Barcelona; in the latter of which an anti-slavery society has been formed, and (it is expected) a periodical established, to diffuse information through all circles, and to draw the attention of public men to the subject. It is hoped that the question of emancipation will be agitated in the Cortes during its present sitting. As the bearer of the address to sovereigns from the Convention, Mr. Alexander had the honour of presenting it to Espartero, Duque de la Victoria, the head of the Spanish regency at that period, by whom it was courteously received. Our friends had also the opportunity of pleading the cause of the slave before several of the most distinguished men in Spain, and the committee indulge the hope that their labours have not been in vain.

In March last, their esteemed and devoted friend, Joseph Sturge, proceeded on an anti-slavery mission to the United States, where he is now labouring with his usual energy, and they trust with his usual success. He bore with him an address to the president of that great republic.

Among the interesting and encouraging circumstances which have marked the past year, the committee especially notice the deliverance, after a long confinement, of the Africans who were found on board the Amistad, and who were at one time charged with piracy and murder. These victims of oppression have been declared free by the sentence of the supreme court of the United States, and are now under the care of some generous friends, whose object is to afford them a christian education, before their restoration to that beloved land, from which they had been torn by the ruthless slave-trader. The general cause of abolition, the committee are happy to report, is rapidly advancing in that country, notwithstanding the great difficulties and discouragements with which it has to contend.

In the Brazilian empire enlightened men are convinced of the moral, social, and political evils of slavery; and the conviction is gaining ground, especially among the youth of that country, that the system is incompatible with national honour and prosperity. Premiums on free labour have been proposed by the diputados, with encouraging prospects of success; and, on their recommendation, the government of Brazil (to its honour be it spoken) has discharged all slaves engaged in the public works, and substituted free labourers for them. May nothing be done by this country which shall turn them from the course upon which they appear to have entered!

In connexion with the Brazils, the committee advert to an interesting and important fact. One of their friends, who has been travelling for some months in that country, especially with the view of collecting information on slavery and the slave-trade, (which will, no doubt, be presented to the public in due time,) has drawn up and put into circulation at Rio de Janeiro above 8,000 pamphlets, in the English and Portuguese languages, on the evils of slavery, and the results of emancipation in the British colonies.

The committee await with the greatest interest the development of the measure for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies; and indulge the hope that the present enlightened administration, sustained by men of all parties, will speedily and effectually accomplish that great and good work.

In Holland, the committee have reason to believe that the cause of abolition is attracting observation and gaining converts.

The address to the people of Holland and Denmark voted at the Convention, has been translated into the Dutch language, and extensively circulated; and private communications convey to the committee the pleasing intelligence, that a distinguished member of the Dutch legislature intends to moot the question of emancipation in the chambers, at an early period.

In Denmark favourable indications have manifested themselves, and the committee are led to hope, that the encouragement given to the slave-trade in the island of St. Thomas will not much longer be permitted to disgrace the government.

In the diet of Sweden the abolition of slavery in the small island of St. Bartholomew has been warmly advocated, and we trust that, by the generous decision of the government, it will ere long be accomplished.

The fact that British subjects have large capitals embarked in the slave-system, and that their agents have not scrupled to deal in the persons of men, is now too well attested to admit of dispute. The Cuban and Brazilian Mining Associations are all implicated in these nefarious doings. The exposure of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, (to be followed shortly by that of the other companies,) which has appeared in the columns of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, has led some of the share-holders to come forward for the purpose of effecting the termination of so disgraceful a state of things. It is however to be lamented, that the Directors have thrown obstacles in their way, which may impede, if they do not prevent the emancipation of upwards of 400 slaves, of whom that association have become possessed, in defiance of the laws both of God and man. It has been ascertained that the mining associations alluded to have upwards of 4000 slaves in connexion with their various establishments, large numbers of whom (there is little doubt) have been purchased from the slavers on their arrival from the Coast of Africa.

From the foregoing rapid sketch of the proceedings of the Society, and review of events since its last anniversary, it will be seen that the work in which it is engaged, is one of great magnitude and importance, and intimately connected with the glory of the Divine Being, and the good of mankind; yet its importance will be increased, when it is remembered that upwards of seven millions of human beings, men, women and children, are held in slavery by professedly christian powers, and that our own beloved country is yet guilty of the crime.

In the United States there are	2,750,000 slaves
In the Brazils	2,500,000 "
In the Spanish Colonies	600,000 "
In the French Colonies	265,000 "
In the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish Colonies, and the Republic of Texas	150,000 "
And, last in the dreadful catalogue, in British India, it is computed	1,000,000 "

To the latter subject, as one of paramount interest and importance to the anti-slavery cause, the committee have directed their serious attention; and have taken the necessary preliminary steps to promote its total abolition. The Right Hon. Dr. Lushington, not less from the deep interest he takes in promoting the general freedom and happiness of mankind, than in compliance with their urgent solicitation, has undertaken the conduct of this great question in the House of Commons; and they call upon every abolitionist throughout the land to support him, in his noble attempt to make every part of the soil of this great empire sacred to freedom. In the meantime, the committee recommend to their friends the prompt and liberal distribuution of a pamphlet, which has been prepared under their sanction, and is now ready for delivery, on slavery and the slave-trade in British India, with notices of the existence of these evils in the islands of Ceylon, Malacca, and Penang, drawn from official documents. They are the more anxious in recommending this course, because they fear the impression exists, that the system of slavery has been abolished in the East, as well as in the West Indies.

Upon the most moderate computation, the slave-trade dooms to the horrors of slavery every year, among

Christian powers	120,000
Mohammedan powers	50,000
	170,000
Destroyed annually in procuring the above .	280,000
Making a total of . .	450,000

Of every thousand victims to the slave-trade, *one-half* perish in the seizure, march, and detention on the coast; *one-fourth* of those embarked perish during the middle passage; and *one-fifth* of those who are landed perish in the seasoning during the first year, and the remaining three hundred, with their descendants, are doomed to hopeless bondage and a premature grave!

This is the melancholy case the committee present to the friends of religion and humanity throughout the world, and thus earnestly entreat their warm and zealous co-operation to rescue these millions from the depths of their sorrow and degradation, and to deliver the vast continent of Africa from the horrors and desolations of the slave-trade.

TEXAS LAND AND EMIGRATION COMPANY.

To the Editor of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—In the February number of your paper I notice a communication from Mr. Henry Prater, secretary of the Texan Land and Emigration Board. Several items in the piece I wish to notice. I shall state only such facts as are perfectly well known to the friends of the slave on this side of the Atlantic.

1. As to the anti-slavery men and their position in Texas. Early in the history of independent Texas, some of our anti-slavery brethren entertained the opinion that free-labour emigration to Texas would soon change the character of the population, and lead to the abolition of slavery. This opinion is now considered erroneous, among all well informed persons. Various causes have checked emigration to Texas from the non-slave-holding states of our union; and the pecuniary embarrassments of the slave-states have led to an extensive emigration of planters with their slaves. So that, within three years, probably from 60,000 to 100,000 slaves have gone from this country to Texas. There is no reason to believe that one-half that number of white persons have gone thither. It is pretty well understood, moreover, that the import of slaves from Cuba, or from other places and countries via Cuba, has been considerable; so that the slave-holding interest in Texas has become stronger than it was even at the time the Texans declared themselves independent. It is surprising, therefore, to persons on this side of the water, that even a Texan agent should represent the situation of a friend of liberty in Texas as in any respect desirable.

2. Mr. Prater says, "The introduction of slaves is not allowed (by law) except from the United States, and that only on the most limited and partial scale." This is news to us in America; news almost as strange as the intimation in a London paper, last winter, "that the governor of BALTIMORE had declared General Harrison president of the United States." Any restrictions on the slave-trade between the United States and Texas are quite as apocryphal as the existence of such a dignitary as the "governor of Baltimore." On the contrary, such emigration is encouraged in every way, and always has been. Texas is in truth, nothing but a SLAVE COLONY of the United States. The formation of it, the armed emigration which wrested it from Mexico, and declared it independent, were only parts of a long cherished scheme, to annex that vast region to the United States, to extend the slave-labour system; and by, the annexation of new slave-holding states, to secure the preponderance of the slave power in our Congress.

The project of annexation was defeated by anti-slavery effort; and the establishment of commercial relations between Texas and Great Britain renders its future occurrence very improbable. But this, in concurrence with other causes, has only served to increase the number of slave-holding emigrants from the United States to the inexhausted cotton fields of Texas.

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How liberal the Texans are towards free people of colour, may be judged of from the single fact, that, in 1840, a law prohibiting their residence in Texas, on penalty of reduction to slavery, was enacted by the Texan Congress. Mr. Prater, finds it *convenient* to refer only to the statutes of 1838! Perhaps a reference to recent laws might show him that Mr. Maillard was entirely correct.

3. As to any restrictions upon clergymen preaching to negros, I am not aware that any greater *legal* restrictions exist there than in several of our states. But *everywhere* the MASTER, AND HE ALONE, decides whether or not a slave may hear the gospel preached. The slave in Texas has no religious rights, and what is denied to him as a *right* he will not *be allowed* to receive as a favour, in the majority of instances, either in Texas or the United States. That great and vexatious legal restrictions upon preaching to them exist in Texas, Mr. Prater may learn by reading the laws of Texas *subsequent to* 1838.

4. As a specimen, somewhat ludicrous, of Mr. Prater's acquaintance with history and geography, I quote another sentence. Speaking of the company who employ him, he says, "They refer with pleasure to the example of Ohio, one of the neighbouring states of the Union, in which slavery has been abolished; and to that of Kentucky, in which it would have been abolished but for the indiscretion of the abolitionists. Ohio happens to be at a goodly distance from Texas, much to the comfort of Texan slave-holders; who might find the thousands of Ohio abolitionists as ready to convey their fugitive slaves to Canada, as they now are those from the "neighbouring" states of our Union! In what age of the world, since the flood, slavery existed in Ohio, or when it was abolished, the citizens of Ohio would gladly learn from Mr. H. Prater; as they are deeply interested in the antiquities of their state! Ohio, with Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wiskonsan, and Iowa, (the two last now territories, and soon to become states) form part of a region from which slavery was by law excluded before any white inhabitants, save a few of French origin, lived on the soil; a soil now cultivated by nearly THREE MILLIONS of free labourers.

The alleged influence of abolitionists in retarding emancipation in Kentucky is equally accordant with truth. By the constitution of that state, the legislative body has no power to abolish slavery. They can only enact a law, that the people shall vote two years in succession on the question, whether a constitutional convention shall be chosen to *amend the constitution*, so as to abolish slavery. These restrictions, designed to render abolition difficult have existed for fifty years. Many attempts have been made in the state legislature, to pass a law providing for the assemblage of a convention to amend the constitution. But these attempts have always been in vain till within fifteen months past. So, little more than one year since, the necessary laws *did pass* in the legislature; and the question of a convention was submitted to the people, in their primary assemblies. Owing to the prevailing excitement connected with the presidential election, the voters rejected to a convention, by a majority of about 10,000. The minority, however, nearly 30,000, were by no means disheartened, and the question is now agitating that state to its centre; and as the vast majority of its voters are not slave-holders, it is not too much to expect, that, now the excitement of our national election has passed away, slavery in Kentucky will speedily receive its death blow.

So that, at the very moment when abolitionists were exerting the *most influence*, both in Kentucky and the Union at large, the *nearest approach* to abolition took place in Kentucky! Anti-slavery men in England, doubtless, know how to appreciate the cry, "you are retarding the cause of emancipation by your indiscretion;" a cry often raised, if I mistake not, in Parliament, during the very session in which the emancipation act was passed.

5. Did it never occur to Mr. Prater, that TEXAN "bond-holders," had some interest in *maintaining* Texan independence, as well as Mexican bond-holders in opposing it? And has he forgotten that the ROMAN CATHOLICS of Mexico *abolished slavery* in *Texas*, while protestants have restored it? As a protestant minister of the congregational denomination, I may be allowed to have little sympathy with Romanism; but Mr. Prater's warnings against any alliance between abolitionists and Romanists, in reference to Texas, is truly worthy of serious attention: and the notorious fact, that holders of Texan bonds and land scrip, in Europe and America, are the chief agitators in favour of Texan independence, and Texan emigration, makes it no breach of charity to suggest the inquiry, how much money the Texan Land and Emigration Board may have invested in said stocks and bonds?

6. The monstrous idea, that there is any "extenuation" of the iniquity of Texan slavery in "the overwhelming necessity of the circumstances under which it commenced," is *worthy* of a holder of Texan bonds, and of no one else! What were these circumstances? Briefly as follows—Mexico abolished slavery by law in 1829. The emigrants from the United States, who held slaves, taking advantage of their distance from the central government, and the political disturbances in Mexico, evaded compliance with the abolition law. The scheme of annexing Texas to our Union as a slave country, long before agitated by Colonel Benton (now a member of our National senate) and General Hamilton, the Texan minister to England was urged with new ardour during the years of commercial activity and wildfire land speculation, prior to 1837. Thousands of emigrants, chiefly slave-holders with their slaves, and men of no principle, from the north, who desired to become slaveholders, flocked to Texas, organized an armed conspiracy, and forcibly wrested Texas from Mexico; formed a government, with a constitution, which prohibits both legislative and *individual* acts of emancipation; and then threw open the doors wide to slave emigration, and slave-trading with the United States, who are graciously permitted to be the "Guinea Coast" of Texas! What an "*overwhelming necessity*' is this! How well adapted to extenuate the guilt of General Hamilton, for instance, who was from the beginning one of the *prime movers* in the whole scheme, and is a very large slave-holder.

7. A few words as to the acknowledgment of Texan independence by Great Britain and other countries. The indecent *haste* with which our own pro-slavery government acknowledged it, may be readily accounted for—it was a necessary preliminary to the Union of Texas with this country. The acknowledgment itself, however, in this case and that of Great Britain, is based on a just principle, one on which our government always acts, except in the single case of HAYTI, where the slave-holding interest, prevents it: viz. that every country independent *de facto* should be acknowledged to be so by other nations; inasmuch as every country has the right to elect its own rulers, and regulate its own internal affairs without foreign intervention. The application of this simple maxim would go far to preserve permanent peace among the nations of the whole world; and a large proportion of the friends of the slave in America believe that Great Britain did right in forming commercial relations with Texas, on that general principle. Texas is independent, is a nation, in fact; and is likely to continue so.

That Great Britain desired to secure to her merchants a monopoly of the Texan trade by her treaty, is quite evident to those who are aware that Texan cottons, and sugars, and rice, must pay almost prohibitory duties, if imported into the United States; which duties are necessary to prevent the competition of the similar products of other countries from competing with the produce of our slave states, and which, therefore, cannot be relaxed with a good grace in favour of Texas. For one, I rejoice, that by its treaty of commerce, England has limited the extension of slavery under our own government, by keeping Texas so effectually out of our own Union, and thus rendering the work of abolition in the United States easier. Texas, as an independent state, does nothing to hinder abolition in the United States; as a member of our Union, she would protract the struggle many years.

While, therefore, the motives of Lord Palmerston, and your government are not very highly estimated in this country, the result is not considered by many of our most intelligent men as at all undesirable.

A single item further, to give Mr. Prater a little information respecting the laws of Texas. The Texan congress has recently passed a law EXEMPTING SLAVE PROPERTY from all liability for debts of the owners, except debts to the Texan government! What a hopeful prospect this presents to those engaged in Texan trade! It is, in effect, an act to prevent the payment of debts, except at the option and convenience of the debtor! The object of the law is well understood. The slave states of our Union are indebted to the free states, not far from 150,000,000,000 dollars, and their slave property is daily attached and sold at auction, to satisfy the demands of northern creditors. The law of Texas invites these worthy debtors to come to Texas and bring *their slaves*, by assuring them that they shall be safe henceforth, from the pursuit of their creditors; or, as a Galveston (Texas) newspaper, very quaintly remarks, "this act will go far to convince many southern gentlemen of the salubrity of our climate!" No doubt of it. Nor is there any more doubt that the *very peculiar financial* policy of Texas, and our slave states will be so well understood, before long, as to make commercial men think a little more highly of the value of trade with FREE LABOUR states and countries.

Before I close this already long letter, allow me to inquire with deference to the judgment of our friends in England, why do not English abolitionists unite to a man in the "anti-corn law" movement? Are they aware, that, *not corn alone, but every product of the* FREE LABOUR states of our country, is excluded from their markets, by high, and, for the most part, prohibitory duties; while the products of slave labour are subject to no duties, or very trivial ones? Are they aware that this state of things depresses the value of free labour in our country, not only by depriving us of the best market for our produce, (and limiting our ability to take British products, to an equal extent), but by making the free states dependent upon slave labour and its produce, for the means of paying for all our imports? Take away the *factitious* value thus given to slave labour, and its produce, and slavery must be overthrown in our land, simply because it will become a poor investment for capital, compared with free labour.

And you cannot doubt, Sir, that the extension of free labour in our country would increase both our ability and disposition to become larger consumers of British products, especially if you aid us in the work of abolition, by opening your market to the productions of free labour. Permit me to urge this subject upon your attention, as one which, in the opinion of the wisest men in the anti-slavery ranks in our country, is worthy of the deepest consideration. By action in the premises, you may save us the labour of years in the cause of abolition here.

The cause of abolition in the United States is onward. The unhappy divisions which retarded our progress have ceased, in a great measure, to embarrass us.

The influence of the World's Convention, co-operating with the effects of our efforts in this country, is daily seen in every part of our own land. Large numbers of the churches of different sects, and several ecclesiastical bodies, have recently decided against any further continuance of church fellowship with slave-holders; the good work is extending rapidly; and in our political and commercial circles the influence of anti-slavery views is spreading widely and rapidly. The effect of slavery in paralyzing the business and checking the growth of the free labour states is better understood, and more widely felt; while the results of our recent census show the progressive decline of the relative political power of slavery.

The recent deliverance of the Amistad captives, too, which may be considered an indication of the independence of our national judiciary of slave-holding control, calls forth general joy. The afflictive dispensation of Providence in the death of President Harrison, which place, a *slave-holder* once more in the presidential chair, will but hasten the crisis of the great contest, and the victory of liberty. From such a President we can expect only such measures of government as will strengthen the slave power; but to such a course it is confidently believed the people of the free states will not quietly submit. Our cause, then, through heaven's blessing, is onward; cheered and aided by the sympathy and co-operation of our friends in Europe, we hope for a speedy and successful issue of the contest.

We have cordially welcomed the beloved Sturge, and shall with equal ardour welcome our and humanity's old friend, Charles Stuart, to our shores. The more frequent these visits of love become, the more will the friends of the slave rejoice in the prospect of the consummation of their desires.

Intimately acquainted and connected, as I have been since 1834, with the anti-slavery cause, I can say with confidence that the World's Convention and the occasional visits of our English friends have been among the causes that have done most to give an impulse to the anti-slavery movement in these states. We look with deep interest to future visits, and another WORLD'S GATHERING, to note the progress of the work and devise plans for future effort. With great respect, I am your's,

CHARLES T. TORREY.

Boston, Massachusetts, April 26th, 1841.

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THE COMMERCE OF BRITISH INDIA, VIEWED IN ITS PROBABLE INFLUENCE ON THE SLAVE PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES, BY AN AMERICAN.

(Concluded from our last.)

But as we came to figures in our sugar statement, we will now give a similar view respecting cotton. Secretary Wooddury says, "that the production of cotton, in India, in 1791, was 150 millions of pounds, and in 1834, 185 millions of pounds." India furnishes cotton sufficient for her own consumption, the supply of China, and a large surplus goes to England, we learn from the same report to Congress. In 1831, the imports of Indian cotton into England were 75,627 bales; in 1835, 116,153 bales; and in 1840, we have 216,784 bales—nearly trebled in nine years. In the first quarter of 1840, the imports were 28,611 bales; and in the same term of 1841, we find 35,433; an increase of 7,822 bales. I think we have good reason to believe, that the similarity in quality of the Brazilian and East India cottons, has had the effect of manufacturers preferring the latter for rough work, on account of the lower price; and very much diminishing the demand for the former. We find in "*Myers' Liverpool Mercantile Gazette*" (excellent authority), that the imports of Brazilian cotton (all kinds) into Great Britain, have been lessening for the last nine years. In 1831, the importation was 174,508 bales; in 1835, 157,316; in 1838, 164,074; in 1839, 124,887; and in 1840, we find it reduced to 103,414; a decrease of 71,094 bales in nine years. This looks very much like the inability of its standing the competition much longer. The Indian article is also able to compete in price with many qualities of American cotton.

The next article in which we are closely concerned, is rice; and here we shall find that the East Indies allow South Carolina no monopoly; and notwithstanding that we excel them in quality in the European market, they are undermining us in price; and also improving its character by machinery and better cultivation. Were it not for the immense consumption of this grain in the East, ours could not exist a single year in the European markets; and did they not use their best rice there, which is fully equal to the Carolina (says Royle and other writers), we should stand but a poor chance now.

The valleys of the Ganges, Irawaddy, and other large rivers of India, have been, from time immemorial, the great rice fields of the central parts of Asia. The rice, so extensively cultivated in India, depends upon rain, or irrigation from tanks or rivers. These Captain Hall describes near Nundydroog, as "spread over a valley which is from six to eight miles across; and that they were used for irrigating *myriads* of rice fields. The embankments sometimes are miles in length. One valley was pointed out to him, about a mile broad, and 40 miles in length, which included between 30 and 40 tanks; every intermediate square yard of the intermediate spaces being richly cultivated." Dr. Roxburgh states, "that he never saw or heard of an Indian farmer manuring, in the smallest degree, a rice field; yet *these fields* have probably, for thousands of years, continued to yield annually a large crop of rice, on an average of 30 to 60 fold, even 80 or 100 has been known." From these short notices, which could be multiplied, were it necessary, from many authors, we learn that India is as capable of competing with us in the cultivation of rice, as she is with cotton. Very lately the improved rice machines of Ewbank and Lucas, and Shiel, have come into use in the East.

The countries which compete with us in the European markets are Bengal and Java. In the British West Indies, where it is getting to be of great consumption, the rice from Venezuela and New Granada, with that from the East Indies, is gradually supplanting ours. It is a common thing to see, in the Jamaica papers, advertisements of "bags of Calcutta and Santa Martha rice;" and in the summer of 1840, an enterprising mercantile firm of Kingston in that island, imported a *ship's cargo* of rice from the East Indies—a distance of nearly 10,000 miles! In 1838, Calcutta alone exported to Mauritius and Bourbon 926,364 bags of 164 lbs. each—equal to 151,923,696 lbs.; which, valued at 3 cents (1½d.) a pound, would make it worth 4,537,708 dollars, 78 cents, more than double the value of rice we export annually—(over 2,000,000 dollars). In 1835, 66,000 bags of cleaned East India were imported into Liverpool, and only 450 casks Carolina. In 1839, 97,000 of East India, and none of Carolina. This, however, was owing to the importation in that year of the rough rice (169,000 bushels) which is now dressed in England. In the year 1840, Liverpool imported 130,000 bushels of paddy from America, and 77,800 bags from India; showing a decrease on both kinds for that year. In 1837, some qualities of India rice sold at 18s. when Carolina was selling at 20s. a cwt.; and in 1841, the price of Patna (on the Ganges) cleaned, averaged 20s. 6d.

Coffee is also another article which is annually increasing in amount of importation and value. It is produced in almost every part of India; and within the last ten years, the beautiful island of Ceylon has been turned almost into one entire coffee field. The quality of Ceylon coffee has greatly improved lately, and we now find it one of the most saleable varieties in the English market. In 1834, nearly three millions of pounds were sent to England; and in 1840, a Ceylon paper states, "the plantations are in a very thriving condition; waste lands were being purchased with great avidity, and the next crop was expected to be a very abundant one." The export from British India to England, in 1834, exclusive of Ceylon) was over seven millions of pounds; and in 1840, the gross importations from the same sources was over twelve millions of pounds. In *Myer's Mercantile Gazette*, of 5th April, 1841, we find "that in the first quarter of this year, there had been received into England 63,437 bags and bales, and 1173 casks and tierces, exclusive of 17,132 bags of foreign East India coffee." There is no doubt, when the duty is reduced, as is now contemplated, that the coffee from the East will keep the Brazil and other low kinds out of the market, and that it will continue to improve in its quality, as the demand for it will become more general.

In looking over the government tables, and the price current gazettes we find, that since the throwing open of the East India trade in 1830, there has been a surprising increase in the importations of all the articles from that quarter of the globe, viz. indigo, jute, (coarse hemp) hides, raw silk, flax seed, *wheat flour*, ginger, castor oil of the finest quality (an article which we also manufacture largely in Virginia), saltpetre, black pepper, wool, and numerous other articles of great consumption, not only in Europe, but also in our own country. The Bengal indigo has driven the Carolina article out of the market in price and quality; and Europe and America are now principally supplied from thence. We find that the hemp from British India (jute, &c.) competes with that from Russia and Manilla, and that it is capable of fully supplying the present demand for the article, from the great variety of plants of the genus found in all parts of Asia. The import of hides into Liverpool from India was in 1835, 367,000 and in 1839, 443,000. The imports of raw silk from India have also augmented very much I believe, as have the coarser kinds of the manufactured article. Flax-seed is also sent in very large quantities. Up to the end of the first quarter of this year, the imports of Indian flax-seed were about a fourth of the whole quantity from all parts—United States, Canada, &c. Wheat flour is also exported for the manufacturing of starch, and we find that in 1835, there was brought into Liverpool 4800; and in 1837, 18,700 bags from India. Ginger from India is a well-known article in our country; and we find in 1835, the imports into Liverpool, were 14,000 pockets and bags; and in 1839, 36,500, of the same packages. Saltpetre in 1835, was 34,800 bags and boxes, and in 1839, 58,000 ditto. In 1837, 500 casks of rum were imported from British India into Liverpool, and in the *first quarter* of 1841, we find in the *Liverpool Mercantile Gazette* of "5th April," 285 puncheons and 835 hogsheads from Bengal and other parts of British India, into the same port. Pepper is a fluctuating article, but we find that in 1835, 14,000 bags and bales, and in 1839, 24,000 ditto. The wool from the East Indies is of a poor quality, and generally used in the coarser manufactures; such as horse blankets, &c.

Now what are the conclusions which are forced upon us by the consideration of these facts? I think it is amply proved by all modern writers on India—1st. That she is amply capable of producing almost any quantity of the very articles which form the principal exports from our slave states. 2nd. That she is willing. 3rd. That there is abundance of tilled and untilled land. 4th. That labour is plentiful and cheap. 5th. That there is a very natural disposition, which has always prevailed in England, of buying at the cheapest markets; and 6th. That there is also a growing disposition in Britain to give her Indian subjects full justice as to government—and free trade as to commerce.

Reflections on these facts and circumstances must bring to our minds the inquiry—Will the planters of the southern states be able to stand the coming active competition; not only as to *quantity*, but as to *quality* of material? I think it all resolves itself into one simple answer, that they who sell the cheapest of the same article, of whatever variety of merchandise, and no prohibitions in the way, will get the most custom.

I believe it can be safely asserted, that it is very certain, that with the present costly system of slave-labour at the south, they will be unable to stand so many chances against them. If we have been able to produce the same articles better and cheaper with a rich soil and ingenious machinery, it does not stand to reason, that other countries with the same soil and cheaper labour, (because free) may not take advantage of our improvements, and backed by a wealthy company, and encouraged by a powerful government, be able to defy our competition. It is not possible—it is against the very nature of our present system.

I hope the planters of our southern states may not be afraid to be heard above their voices, in asking themselves—What are we to do? Can we meet this scarcely to be supposed change? Is it right, politic, or profitable to continue the wasteful system of slave-labour any longer? The answer of every candid man who inquires into the subject is, you cannot go on exhausting whole tracts of fertile land by this plan—moving further west every few years, and the original plantations falling back into an unclaimed wilderness, (which is the operation at the south) without ruining yourselves, and the country also.

Slavery is a system so unchristian, so impolitic, so dangerous to the external and the internal peace of the United States, that if we persist in it, the prosperity and the re-publican institutions of our beloved country, must become shattered, divided, and finally ruined. There is no danger in emancipation—there is every danger in the continuance of the present system. We know that slavery is wrong in principle—profitable only momentarily, and under very favourable circumstances of soil and climate—that it is degrading to the bondsmen, and demoralizing to the masters—and that it "contains in itself the very germs of violence and confusion."

But perhaps it will be asked by the planters—Suppose we do emancipate the negros? Shall we be able with their free labour, and our time saving machinery, to compete with labour in the East at 13 cents a day? I think this is satisfactorily answered by the fact, that we have at *present* the supplying of the largest quantity of the *two* main articles in which the southern states are *directly* concerned—cotton and tobacco; and that, with our ingenuity and skill, *free black* labour at 25 cents a day, and a shorter distance, no American can doubt that we should be able fully to compete with India in cheapness of production. Give America full swing and an open market, and England dreads her more than any other competitor. The very reverse of this is the case at present; continuing in our present system, we shall gaze on the conflict, and tremble for the result.

A few words and this paper will be brought to a close. It may be supposed that, if India entirely supplies Britain with the articles that we now do, she (Britain) will impoverish herself by losing so valuable a market for her manufactures as the United States now is. That there would be a loss is very certain, but it does not follow that losses are always impoverishment. No, no. A glance at the truth of the case will show us the fallacy of such an idea. If England loses 17 millions of customers in America, she gains 100 millions in India. It is a fact that is not generally known (particularly in America), that the present consumption of British manufactures in the East Indies is not more than would amount to 13 cents a year for each individual in the whole population! Jamaica consumes 20 dollars a head, Trinidad 30 dollars, Cape colony 30 dollars, Australia 40 dollars—and India only a New York shilling! Give justice to India in law and commerce, and how will it stand? At the moderate computation of 5 dollars a head, she would take to the amount of 500 millions of British manufactures annually! What an amount to our present consumption of 50 millions of dollars!

The writer of this little pamphlet has no desire to show his country in the worst of lights, or to exult over her mistakes and errors. Far from it. It has been his aim, in collecting these few but important facts, to endeavour to show, without excitement, and by a detail of that which cannot be contradicted, the dangerous and impolitic course the southern people are now pursuing, and which must certainly involve the whole

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country in confusion and loss at no distant day. It is his prayer and desire that she will ponder on these things, and remember that it is only by the favour of the Great Jehovah that nations exist; and that, if we do not take timely warning from the example of others, we shall be as the things that have been, and are not. Our Saviour mourned over Jerusalem and Capernaum, because they repented not of their misdeeds, nor received the prophets which were sent unto them. And for this he tells them in one place that their homes shall be left unto them desolate; and in another, that it would be more tolerable in the day of judgment for Tyre (which received the awful condemnation of God for dealing in the souls of men and women) than for them! We see the judgments of God in passing through Syria and Palestine to this day; and, if we travel in South America, we have a more modern example of the same results from the same sinful and wicked conduct. Or, to come nearer home, we shall find in Virginia and Maryland "a fruitful land turned into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein."

Heartily desiring the substantial and solid prosperity of all classes of his countrymen, and the permanency of her democratic institutions, which he believes are based on truth and excellence, he wishes very respectfully to ask their perusal and consideration of this attempt to lay before them that which concerns them very deeply.

12th of 4th Month, 1841.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

No. v.

HAD proper measures been taken by the East India Company to discountenance the system of slavery within the territories which successively became subject to its authority, either by conquest or by cession, the evil complained of would scarcely have had an existence at the present time. But, so far from doing this, the tendency of all their measures has been to foster and strengthen the abomination. Some feeble attempts have been made, from time to time, to regulate its incidents; such as the enactment of rules to prevent the importation of slaves from foreign states *for purposes of traffic*, as well as to prohibit the practice of kidnapping, and the sale of children for prostitution. The rules, to have been effective in securing the object, should have prohibited the importation of slaves under any plea, and for any purpose whatsoever. On this point, Mr. Chaplin, a high authority, makes the following remark: "The importation of slaves from foreign states now stands prohibited by the orders of the supreme government. *This, however, has increased the price, without putting a stop to the traffic*" (*Adam's Law and Custom*, &c., p. 149). And to have rendered the laws against kidnapping effectual, says Mr. Robertson, another excellent authority, "the purchasing of slaves under any circumstances, from Brinjarrees, Charons, Gossains, or other migratory dealers," should have been forbidden, as well as "the free transport of slaves" from one place to another; for, he adds, whilst this (their free transport) is allowed, "*the practice of kidnapping will be continued, whatever penalties may be enacted against it*" (Par. Pap. 138. 1839, pp. 436 and 437). And, with respect to the latter object, independently of the fact, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to frame rules which would not be open to easy violation, the mere prohibition of the guilty practice can never extirpate it. Mr. Colebrook felt the difficulty of the case, and whilst he stated it "to be incumbent on a government attentive to the morals of the people over whom it rules to prevent this practice by prohibitory laws," he thought "it might be going too far to presume the intention of prostitution; and to prohibit all instruction for purposes of exhibition of dances, which the people are very partial to, and which are a regular part of their religious festivals and celebrations" (*Ibid* p. 312). How extensive the evil is, may be gathered from the fact, that, in Rungpoor, in 1809, there were 1200 houses occupied by women of that profession, in 295 of which there were found 460 females between 12 and 25 years of age; and 218 advanced in life, who acted as servants and superintendents. *All these were purchased when children* (*E. I. Gazetteer*, vol. ii. p. 477). In referring to "the abduction of children from their country, their family, and their home, for the purpose of devoting them to sensual as well as idolatrous purposes," a practice which, "from its origin to its consummation is pronouncedto be iniquitous," Judge Lascellas says, "I believe it to be a well known fact, that *there is a large class of men* who obtain a livelihood by traffic in female children for the use of the Pagodas" (*Ibid*, pp. 388, 392). And, as the prostitutes and priests are willing to pay the highest prices for the children brought to them, there is no lack of an abundant supply. But it appears that the penalty of the law is already evaded by the owners of nautch or dancing girls; for, "instead of sale, as of a slave, it is already common to make an engagement for a long term of years!" (*Ibid*, p. 312). And thus we perceive the folly of attempting to regulate a system essentially and incurably vicious. In fact, wherever there is a demand for slaves, it matters not for what purpose, means will be found to obtain the supply to meet it; and this remark applies as much to their importation by *sea* as to their introduction by land. While slavery itself, the root of these evils, remains untouched, it is vain to expect any cessation of the slave trade in such a country as India.

The laws which make the murder of a slave a capital offence, and which admit his testimony as a witness, are undoubtedly great improvements upon the Mohammedan law, but of little practical benefit to him in the way of protection. To the redress of his grievances, whether of outrage on his person, or of any other class of injuries that can be inflicted on him, the most formidable obstacles oppose themselves "1. Distance, and the difficulty of immediate European interference. 2. The venality of the native local civil servants: and, 3. The want of energy, and a spirit of inquiry, for the redress of grievances on the part of persons in authority, who often leave the investigation of complaints to their Cutchery servants. The latter often possess so great an influence over their European masters, as to bias their actions and better inclinations by the plausible turns they can give to any inquiry carried on in a strange language." (Par. Pap. 128, 1804, p. 38). To these remarks of Captain Bevan, may be added those of Mr. Baber: He says, "The commission of violence, or of any offence, upon the persons of slaves, does not affect their state of bondage; and the ruling power has not the right of granting their manumission; *and what slave*," asks the learned judge, "*under such circumstances, dare appeal to the laws?* Again," he observes, "there is the difficulty of informing slaves of the laws, from their want of intelligence, and the distance they are kept at by the native establishments; the expense and uncertainty of obtaining relief under them; and, above all, as I before hinted, the dread of attempting to oppose a power beneath which it has become habitual to bend; all which must, and does give almost impunity to tyrannical masters" (*Ibid*, p. 14). In another place, referring to certain "horrid barbarities" which had been inflicted on four slaves, from the effects of which one of them appears to have died, Mr. Baber adds, "The slaves themselves preferred no complaint; but if it is to depend on the slaves themselves to sue for the protection of the laws, their situation must be hopeless indeed; for having no means of subsistence independent of their owners and employers, their repairing to, and attending upon a public Cutchery, is a thing physically impossible; and even if those provisions of the regulations that require all complaints to be preferred in writing were dispensed with in favour of the slaves; and they were exempted from the payment of tolls at the numerous ferries they would have to pass, and though an allowance was made to them by government during their detention at the Cutcherries and Courts, *unless forfeiture of the right of property over slaves was the penalty for ill usage, their situation would only become more intolerable than it was before they complained*" (*Ibid*, p. 15).

It was formerly the custom to sell slaves, as well as land, seized by the Board of Revenue in Madras, to pay arrears of taxes. In a report of Sir Thomas Munro, dated 16th July, 1822, he states that, in one single talook (out of sixty-three in Malabar), 1330 rice fields were sold in the year 1818, in order to satisfy public balances! And Mr. Vaughan admits "the sale of slaves at that period, for arrears of revenue," to be as "common as the sale of land." Through the repeated remonstrances, however, of Mr. Baber against this practice, an order was issued in 1819, prohibiting the sale of slaves in future, on account of arrears of revenue in Malabar," where alone, it was said, "the practice has obtained." Whether this order has been strictly enforced we have no means of judging; but it is a remarkable fact, that Mr. Baber, who resided in Malabar to the end of 1828, never heard of its existence up to that period! He found it inserted in the parliamentary papers on East India slavery issued that year which he was led to examine some time after, (*Ibid* p. 21). If slaves are not now sold with the land seized to pay arrears of revenue, what becomes of them? Are not their owners compelled to sell them for that purpose?

But it would appear that the selling of slaves by order of the Courts for payment of arrears of revenue, or other purposes, existed in other districts than Malabar. Mr. J. F. Thomas, criminal judge of Combaconum, adverts to this subject in a communication to the register of the Provincial court, dated 3rd December, 1832, in the following terms:—"I take this opportunity to remark, that the records of this court show that sales of slaves, under the orders of the court, have taken place in the Trinchnopoly division of this Zillah; a clause, therefore, would be required in the event of the enactment of the provisions of the Bengal code, either prohibiting this practice, or limiting the right of purchase in such sales to the residents *within the Zillah*" (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 392). In 1830, the magistrates of Canara informed Mr. Newnham, that "the courts in Canara daily put up slaves for sale, as they would any other moveable property!" If, says the learned judge, "the sale of slaves, like other personal property, by the officers of justice, in execution of decrees of court, be altogether true, it would be time to drop the style of language by which slavery is still, in this, the thirtieth year of British rule over Canara, and thirty-eighth of the rule in Malabar, stated to be only tolerated." No remedy, that we can learn, was ever applied to this crying evil. The Fourjdarry Adawlut, to whom this subject, among others, was referred, dismissed it in the following terms:—"The court abstain from any remark on the general subject of slavery in Malabar, as the government have stated their intention to wait for orders from England before they disturb the existing state of things in Malabar!" (*Ibid.* p. 405). Alas! for the poor slaves.

In 1819, Mr. Campbell informs us that, among other recommendations to check the growth of slavery, and ameliorate the condition of slaves, he recommended "that all slaves attached to lands escheating to government should be declared free." But as this, as well as all his other recommendations, was merely "ordered to be recorded" (*Ibid.* p. 36), there is an inference deducible from it to which special attention should be called: "As lands and estates with slaves attached to them are assumed to be, and in fact are, from time to time, escheating to government; and "as the rule is to retain such lands and estates," says Mr. Adam, "in the possession of government, it follows by the clearest implication that the proprietors of East India stock are, in their own right, as a chartered and incorporated company, the owners and masters of the slaves attached to those lands and estates; and that the half-yearly dividends which they draw from India are in part the direct and indubitable produce of slave-labour, and suffering, and degradation" (*Law and Custom*, &c. p. 212). The only instance we can find recorded of the voluntary manumission of slaves by the company, took place in 1836. In that year the slaves attached to the Punnay estates, in Coorg, were emancipated, They were probably about two to three hundred in number, men, women, and children (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 79). But were these all that were, and still are held in bondage by the company? It were a disgrace indeed that the honourable company of merchants trading to the East should, in common with the directors and shareholders of the Brazilian Mining Associations, continue to derive any part of their income from a source so infamous and unhallowed!

We now propose to show that the company has fostered and strengthened the atrocious system of slavery in British India; and that, with a few honourable exceptions, their servants, in the highest and lowest offices, have either been its apologists, or have but feebly exerted themselves to mitigate its character, and introduce a better state of things.

1. The company has sanctioned the interpretation of the rule of 1793, by which a legal existence has been given to the Mohammedan and Hindoo slave codes, (with one or two modifications, subsequently introduced), contrary to every principle of just reasoning, and the sacred obligation, of duty.

2. The company has sanctioned the subsequent enslavement of multitudes of free and innocent persons, contrary, if not to usage, yet, it would appear, both to Mohammedan and Hindoo law, and their posterity after them, by which the constantly decreasing number of the slave population has been kept up and increased.

3. The company has sanctioned the unrestricted sale of slaves, supposed to belong to persons subject to their authority, by which the tenderest ties of social life have been totally disregarded and families broken up; and by which an extensive system of kidnapping has been created, with all its attendant horrors.

4. The company has sanctioned the free importation of slaves into their territories, except for purposes of traffic, from foreign states, by which their

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number has been augmented, and an external slave-trade actually encouraged.

5. The company has sanctioned the rule, that "a slave entering its territories does not become free, nor can he who was lawfully a slave emancipate himself, by running away from one country where slavery is lawful, to another where slavery is equally lawful. The property in the slave still continues in the master, and the master has the same right to have it restored to him that any native subject of our territories could have, supposing that right to be established in the mode prescribed by the local laws and regulations!"(Par. Pap. 138. 1839, p. 380.)

6. The company has sanctioned the continued slavery of large numbers of free persons, acknowledged by their own servants to be illegally held in bondage:—"*Thousands of whom*," says Mr. Macnaughten, "*are at this moment living in a state of hopeless, and contented (!), though* UNAUTHORIZED *bondage*," (*Adam's Law and Custom*, &c. p. 239). And this remark is applicable, according to Mr. Newnham, to "the numerous class of Dhers," and to other "ostensible or reputed slaves" in Malabar, (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 415),

7. And, finally, the company has uniformly resisted every *bonâ fide* attempt to abolish slavery in British India; and has refused to adopt any measures, the direct tendency of which was to ameliorate the condition of the degraded and wretched slaves.

We have no wish to detract from the general merits of the company's servants in India; but we deeply regret to say, that, with comparatively few exceptions, they have not opposed themselves to the system of slavery unhappily established there; and that not a few of them have been its apologists and advocates. To particularize might appear invidious, and would probably serve no useful purpose; we therefore refer to the numerous documents on East India Slavery, which have been laid before parliament, from 1828 to 1839, both inclusive, for details on this painful subject; and content ourselves, for the present, with this single observation, namely, that slavery exists in British India unchecked as to its extent, and unmitigated as to its form, and that this state of things is mainly attributable to the company's servants, acting under its instructions, or in view of its policy in this matter; and that, whilst the utmost latitude of exposition has been given to every rule which sanctioned, or was supposed to sanction, the hateful system, by the supreme authority, from the time of Lord Cornwallis to that of the present governor general, the most limited interpretation has been put upon every law, British or native, the tendency of which was to curb it, or to destroy its revolting adjunct, the slave-trade.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*.

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of sending you a copy of a remonstrance on the subject of American slavery, addressed by the theological students of two universities and twenty-two colleges and academies in Great Britain, to the rising ministry of America. A copy has been sent to each college and university in the United States. It endeavours, by earnest and affectionate admonitions and appeals, founded upon the principles of the gospel, to engage the energies and influence of those who are so soon to occupy the pulpits of the American churches in the cause of entire and immediate abolition.

As it aims at the same object as that to which the *Anti-slavery Reporter* is dedicated, perhaps you may think that its insertion would not be altogether useless.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,
W. H. DYER.

Highbury College, London, May 17th, 1841.

REMONSTRANCE.

London, February 19th, 1841.

DEAR BRETHREN,—We, the theological students of various colleges of Great Britain and Ireland, have been so deeply affected by the facts, attested by impartial witnesses and confirmed by authentic documents, which have come to our knowledge respecting slavery in the United States, as to resolve, in the spirit, we trust, of christian fidelity and love, to address you upon the subject.

When we express our firm belief that it involves the highest interests of the church, as well as the rights and destinies of mankind, and that it is our imperative duty to invite your attention to it, we feel assured you will excuse apologies; while, at the same time, we hope that the similarity of our situations and sympathies to yours, as students pledged to the work of the ministry, together with our distance from the scene of bondage and the conflict of opinions, may insure for our remarks a kind attention, and induce you to regard them as the dictates of reason and consoience, uninfluenced by personal interest or party prejudice.

We do not for a moment suppose that you are all, either supporters of slavery, or indifferent to its evils—we know that you number many whose generous energies are devoted to the cause of liberty: to these we wish to convey the sentiments of heartfelt sympathy. But there may be others who have seen slavery only in its milder forms, and, never having closely examined its tendencies, are accustomed to think that it may be excused and tolerated without injustice or danger; to such, not in the spirit of censors, but of christian brethren, we would address the language of affectionate admonition.

We believe that every system of slavery, except it be a punishment for crime, is a violation of the rights of man, and a sin against God. There are neither any principles of reasoning, nor any acknowledged laws of property, according to which the slaveholder can shew the least right to keep his fellow-man in bondage for the promotion of his interest, or the gratification of his inclinations. He has no original right, and he can acquire none—any more than he can acquire a right to sell his own conscience, or to purchase another man's. When, moreover, we place ourselves in the situation of the slave, we feel conscious that slavery is unjust—that man has a right to freedom—that there is an antagonism in his nature to bondage. If slaveholders deny this, we say, try them; they are the men who ought to be slaves. They generally, however, admit it in relation to themselves, but deny it in relation to the slave: but why?—has he not human sympathies?—is he not a man? Besides, it is the will of a benevolent God that things should be arranged so as to secure the highest amount of happiness. Can the subjection of large numbers of our race to the hardest toils, ever conscious that it is for the gain of another, to whom they must be bondmen till death, fall in with such an arrangement? Can the violent rupture of the tenderest ties, and the severity of those laws which are necessary to the very existence of slavery, to say nothing of temptations to exceed them, be in accordance with it? It is impossible that the system can secure advantages capable of counterbalancing a tithe of the misery it produces, or of the moral injury it inflicts. Slavery also invests the master with an authority which places the religious welfare of the slave almost entirely at his disposal. And, induced by avarice and the fear of enlightenment, he too often takes advantage of his power. The fact that there is a law in some of the southern states to fine or imprison whoever may instruct a slave to read, or give him a book, sufficiently proves the disposition of the master, and the deprivation of the slave.

We are obliged to believe that the christian church in America is deeply involved in the guilt of holding two millions of human beings in this cruel and debasing bondage. If not one of her members ever touched the profits of tyranny, we should say that to a great extent she was responsible, because she has never distinctly and solemnly condemned the system; but when we find that many of those members, and even some of her ministers, are accustomed openly to buy, and sell, and hold slaves, we feel that, though not the most cruel masters, they are directly chargeable with the lacerated bodies, the aching hearts, and the moral and intellectual imbecility of slavery: because professing the holiest principles they uphold a system of which these things are the necessary consequences. Against such conduct we feel compelled to protest, as a slander upon our common christianity. The most favourable aspect of slavery appears to us so revolting—presents such a perfect contrast to the benevolent spirit of the gospel, that it requires an exercise of charity to believe that a slaveholder can be a christian; but, when we look at the slavery of the United States in its severer forms, and mark the instances of unfeeling tyranny which are continually occurring, we are not only surprised and distressed that *christians* can support such a horrid system, but that it can exist at *all* where christian principles are recognized as truth. The slavery of the south is a system in which heartless cruelty unceasingly panders to the most contemptible avarice. These states, blessed with the gospel—with the mild and generous precepts of Jesus, whose yoke is easy, and whose service is freedom, amidst high sounding pretensions to liberty, practice cruelties at which our nature shudders. Not content with merely *permitting* the worst tyrannies of slavery, when unobserved, they have made them both public and permanent, by giving them the authority of law; they have honoured with the sanctions of the statute book, practices which, by the civilized world generally, are considered a public attack upon the rights of man.

The effects of slavery upon the moral and political interests of the nation, must be of the most baneful character. It represses in its victims every manly emotion, and keeps them in a state of brutal ignorance, and sometimes of disgusting depravity; while in many cases it cherishes the deepest enmity and the deadliest revenge. It moreover places within the reach of those who are, or may become masters, *the means of gratifying* the worst passions of their nature; tyranny may be exercised with impunity, lust gratified without restraint, and avarice may dash through every generous and just principle to attain its object. Such opportunities cannot be presented to men of all sorts every hour of the day, by two millions of slaves, without being greedily seized by thousands, the gratification of whose passions both prepares *them for* every base deed, and spreads widely in the community habits of thought and feeling destructive to social happiness and national prosperity.

But, brethren, the system seriously affects interests far more sacred than those which are merely political. It dishonours the gospel, and impedes its progress at home and abroad. The feelings and habits to which we have referred, as being produced by the practices which slavery sanctions, must tend to unfit those who support it for a reception of the offers of *mercy*, and an obedience to the precepts of purity—must be opposed to those earnest desires to benefit man and please God, which the gospel is intended to inspire. Where the truth has been received, the tendency of slavery is to paralyse its power—is it not thus?—we put it to you, brethren, do you think the slaveholding christian is in circumstances so favourable to the cultivation of the mind of Christ as others? Is there nothing in the system, and the scenes and practices it allows, incompatible with high spiritual attainments, and that thorough sincerity between God and the soul which excites the prayer, "Search me, O God, and try me, and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting?" If slavery be unfavourable to christian prosperity, its influence upon the minds of the unconverted must increase their reluctance to obey the gospel, and consequently augment the difficulty, and diminish the success, of your future labours. We entreat you, brethren, to look well to this. If bound by the obligations of deep gratitude, and also by a special and solemn consecration to Christ and his cause, you be found supporting, or even permitting, without strenuous opposition, a system which prevents the gospel from appearing in all the beauty of holiness in those who profess it, and which keeps men from Christ and salvation, by gratifying and strengthening their evil passions—do you act like wise and faithful men? The church of God and the souls of men are our solemn charge, and whatever would tarnish the former or endanger the latter, should be felt by us as touching our dearest and tenderest interest; and, if not so felt, we act as traitors to God and man.

[We are sorry to be obliged to defer the remainder of this interesting article till our next.]

THE SLAVE-TRADE ABOLISHED BY THE BEY of TUNIS.—The *Malta Times*, of the 10th instant publishes a letter from Tunis of the 1st, announcing that the Bey, at the recommendation of the British Consul-general, Sir Thomas Reade, had decreed the abolition of the slave-trade within his dominions. He had himself set the example by giving liberty to all his own slaves, and promised to put an end to their further importation and exportation in the Regency.

COTTON AND FREE-LABOUR.—A prospectus is issued for the formation of a joint-stock company, for promoting the growth of cotton in India.

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Edward Woodhouse ,,	1 1 0	1 1 0
Joseph Firth ,,	1 1 0	
David Shaw ,,	1 1 0	
Joseph Beaumont ,,	1 1 0	
Richard Willett ,,	1 1 0	
George Mallinson ,,	1 1 0	
T. Schwann ,,	1 1 0	
William Williams ,,	0 10 0	
George Crossband ,,	1 0 0	
Mrs. Knight ,,	0 10 0	
John Clay, Toothill	2 0 0	
Thomas Firth ,,	10 0 0	
Joseph Thorp, Halifax	1 1 0	
Joshua Blakey ,,	1 1 0	
Alexander Suter ,,	1 1 0	
F. E. Macauley ,,	1 1 0	
E. M. Wavell ,,	1 1 0	
Michael Stocks ,,	2 2 0	
W. D. Hitchin ,,	1 1 0	
William Heap ,,	0 10 0	
William Hatton ,,	0 10 0	
John Baldwin ,,	0 10 0	
John Abbott ,,	0 10 6	
Henry Brown ,,		0 10 0
Leeds Auxiliary Society	8 0 0	
Henry Harris, Bradford	10 10 0	
Henry Leah ,,	5 5 0	
Titus Salt ,,	1 0 0	
Robert Milligan ,,	1 0 0	
Henry Forbes ,,	1 0 0	
John Hustler, Jun. ,,	1 0 0	
William Lythall ,,	1 1 0	
James Gamutt ,,		1 1 0
James Ellis ,,		1 1 0
David H. Smith ,,		1 0 0
Joseph Holmes ,,		0 10 6
George Osborn, Jun. ,,		0 5 0
Joseph Rowntree, York	5 0 0	
Misses E. and S. Backhouse ,,	1 0 0	
Mrs. A. Waller ,,	2 0 0	
Samuel Tuke ,,	5 0 0	
F. J Capsie ,,	5 0 0	
David Priestman ,,	2 0 0	
J. P. Pritchett ,,	0 10 0	
Caleb Williams ,,	2 0 0	1 0 0
Oswald Allen ,,		1 0 0
James Baker ,,		0 5 0
Firth Woodhead, Liverpool	1 0 0	
James Clark, Doncaster	1 0 0	
Manchester and Salford Auxiliary Society	95 0 0	
Isaac Crewdson, Manchester	10 0 0	
George Scrivens, Clapham	3 0 0	
Benjamin Ifill, Barbados		1 1 0
Rachel Stacey, Tottenham		2 0 0
Haigh Foundry Company, Wigan	5 0 0	2 0 0
John S. Heron ,,	1 0 0	2 0 0
Edmund Ashworth, Bolton	1 0 0	
Michael Satterthwaite, Preston	1 0 0	
Jacob Bright, Rochdale	10 0 0	
James King ,,	2 0 0	
James Midgley ,,	2 0 0	
Susanna Haworth ,,	2 0 0	
John Petrie ,,	1 0 0	
Thomas Booth ,,	1 0 0	
Henry Kelsall ,,	1 0 0	
Robert Kelsall ,,	0 10 0	
George Ashworth ,,	0 10 0	
James Hoyle ,,	1 0 0	
Thomas Southworth ,,	0 5 0	
F. C. Slater ,,	0 10 0	
Joseph Fergusson, Carlisle	20 0 0	
William Nanson ,,	5 0 0	
Rev. — Fawcett ,,	0 10 0	
Thomas Sheffield ,,	1 0 0	
Mrs. Stordy ,,	1 0 0	
George Robinson ,,	0 10 6	
William Robinson ,,	0 10 6	
Joseph Hargrave, South Shields	1 0 0	
Henry Briggs ,,	0 10 6	
Christopher Bainbridge ,,	0 10 0	0 10 0
William Harper ,,	0 10 0	
Dr. Winterbottom ,,	5 0 0	
Evington Bell ,,	1 0 0	
Thomas and Richard Eccles, Blackburn		1 0 0
Eccles Shorrock ,,		1 0 0
Edward Hilton ,,		1 0 0
Harrison Alderson ,,		0 10 6
Banister Eccles ,,		1 0 0
John Thwaite ,,		0 10 6
William Hoole ,,	0 10 0	
James Watson, North Shields	0 5 0	
Elisha Dixon ,,	0 1 0	
William Holmes, London	0 10 0	
Woodbridge Ladies Auxiliary (additional)	4 0 0	
Ann Bonville, Bristol	5 0 0	
Lydia Sutton, Carlisle		1 1 0
Collection at Annual Meeting, Exeter Hall	22 15 7	
T. G. Parker, Preston, Rutland		1 0 0
E. M. Smith, Cambridge	1 0 0	
J. Gotobed ,,	0 10 0	
W. H. Dee ,,	0 5 0	
Thomas Wood ,,	0 5 0	
— Johnson ,,	0 5 0	
— Young ,,	0 5 0	
— Batham ,,	0 2 6	
— Johnson ,,	0 9 6	
E. N. Buxton, London		5 5 0

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXIX. Vol. II. No. 12.] WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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Advertisements.

AT a SPECIAL MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the BIRMINGHAM BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held at the Public Office, Birmingham, June 2nd, 1841,

JAMES BAKER, Esq. in the chair,

the following resolutions were adopted :—

I.—That this Committee are desirous of again declaring their adherence to the principles on which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is founded, and their determination to pursue their paramount object—the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade—by all moral and religious means.

II.—That, under the strong conviction that free labour is cheaper than slave labour, and that of all slave-labour that is the dearest which is maintained by the importation of slaves, this Committee, after full consideration of the question, are of opinion that the proposed reduction of the duty on foreign sugars cannot tend permanently to increase the slave-trade of Cuba and the Brazils. That this opinion is founded on the following considerations :—

1.—That a differential or discriminating duty of 12*s.* the cwt. is proposed to be retained on the sugar of Brazil and Cuba, which must raise its price in the home market to at least the average price of the sugar from the British possessions.

2.—That, in some of the British possessions, sugar is produced in as fertile a soil as that of Cuba and the Brazils; and that, therefore, and on the whole, and with the discriminating duty, free and slave-labour sugar will meet in the home market under circumstances of competition, but with manifest advantages in favour of the former.

3.—That this competition will tend to lower the price of sugar generally, which the free-labour of the British possessions can meet by a diminution of the cost of production, while slave-labour cannot lower that cost, without at the same time destroying those high profits which support the trade in slaves.

4.—That as the slave-trade must thus be abandoned by Brazil and Cuba, as the result of the competition, and the breeding system be resorted to, ample scope will therefore be afforded for the development of all the resources of free-labour, the effect of which must be to place the slave grown sugar under such disadvantages, that, without a monopoly, it will no longer find a market in this country.

III.—That, as an anti-slavery body, this Committee do not feel called on to pronounce an opinion on measures of general commercial polity, except as they may bear on slavery and the slave-trade; and, being of the decided opinion that the great support of slavery is monopoly, whether arising from intentional laws or from accidental circumstances, the Committee rejoice in the approach to the principle of free-trade which her Majesty's ministers have made in the proposed reduction of duties on coffee and other articles as well as sugar; nevertheless, being of opinion that fiscal regulations may be made conducive to the more rapid progress of that process by which slavery and the slave-trade will be destroyed, this Committee would be unwilling at present to admit the sugar of slave states at a lower differential duty than has been named; but they would approve of its reduction, whenever such slave states shall be prepared to meet the government of Great Britain with specific and effectual measures for the suppression of the slave-trade and the abolition of slavery.

IV.—That, with these views, this Committee are not prepared to uphold the judgment pronounced by the Convention, viz., "that the British government ought on no account to allow of the introduction of slave grown sugar into the British market."

1st.—Because it implies the cessation of commercial intercourse with Brazil and Cuba, and probably with other states where slavery exists.

2nd.—Because, in the absence of commercial intercourse, and of friendly relations with those states, Great Britain would be deprived of that moral influence over them, and of the means of urging those prudential, economical, and political considerations, and those motives of humanity, which might otherwise be most effectual for the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery.

V.—That this Committee deem it unnecessary to notice the argument against the proposed admission of foreign sugars which is put forward by the colonial interest, further than to observe, that they cannot perceive any valid objection to such admission, as it respects the employment, the happiness, and the interest of the labouring population of the colonies; and that against these they cannot admit any objections to be entitled to the smallest consideration, in favour of those who have received twenty millions of compensation money. By order,

WILLIAM MORGAN, Secretary.

INDIA.

This Day is Published,

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN BRITISH INDIA;

With notices of the existence of these evils in Ceylon, Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, from official documents.

Showing the extent of Slavery in British India; the laws which regulated it; the present condition of the slave-population; the external and internal Slave-trade; and the proceedings in Great Britain and India relative thereto.

This Pamplet contains a collection of facts proving the existence of the evil to an enormous excess in India.—*East Indian Telegraph.*

*** A Single Copy, price One Shilling, may be obtained of any Bookseller. Six Copies and upwards, for distribution, may be had at the Society's Office, at Ninepence each.

WARD AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE AMERICAN & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY WITH LORD PALMERSTON.

We have already directed the attention of our readers to the infamous disclosures arising out of the case of the Amistad, in relation to the open manner in which the slave-trade is conducted in the island of Cuba. The facts have struck with great force the friends of abolition in the United States; and the executive committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have addressed to Lord Palmerston a communication on the subject, which cannot but have a salutary influence. A copy of it having been forwarded to us, we insert it below.

To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston, &c., &c.

The executive committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, although citizens of another country, feel emboldened by the consciousness of acting on behalf of the interests of our common humanity, to address a few suggestions to your lordship, with respect to some developments which were made in the progress of the late trial respecting the schooner Amistad.

The case of the unfortunate Africans who were taken in that vessel has heretofore arrested the attention of your lordship, and has been made the subject of repeated representations to the government of Spain. The happy issue of the late trial before the supreme court of the United States, by the liberation of the Africans unconditionally, has removed all ground of apprehension with respect to their individual safety.

They are now in the actual enjoyment of complete personal freedom in the state of Connecticut, and the hope is fondly cherished that it may yet be found practicable to procure their safe return to Mendi, the land from which they were stolen, in the interior of Africa.

Should need require, and should it be in the power of her Britannic Majesty's government to render any aids or facilities to so humane an enterprise as the restoration of these people to their native homes, we doubt not such aid will be freely rendered, so far as is consistent with other and paramount duties.

It is the object, however, of the present communication, more particularly to call the attention of the British government to the facts disclosed in this case, showing the state of the traffic in slaves in the island of Cuba.

These Africans were brought to the Havana in the month of June, 1839, were placed in a barracoon near the city, were bought by José Ruiz, he knowing they were Africans, were shipped on board the Amistad under a custom house permit, signed by the governor, certifying that they were "ladinos" and had Spanish names, although it was evident on inspection that they were new negros, and bore only African names; and, for additional security against British cruisers, they were accompanied by a port certificate that they were passengers on account of the government, it being doubtless intended that, if they were recognized as Africans, they should pass as being liberated by the mixed commission.

When they were brought into the United States, although Ruiz stated publicly that they were Africans, they were claimed as slaves by the representatives of the government of Spain, with the most persevering earnestness, as the published correspondence will show; while Ruiz and Montes, instead of being discountenanced as criminals against the laws of God and man, had their claims most warmly espoused by both the ministers of Spain, and were treated in all respects as if they were the most meritorious of subjects.

In addition, we would call your lordship's attention to the statements of M. Vega, her Catholic Majesty's Vice Consul at Boston, a copy of which, certified under the seal of the United States' Court, is transmitted herewith, and in which this public functionary of Spain takes it upon himself to aver, as of his own knowledge, that there is no law in force in Cuba

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against the slave-trade, or against the holding of the victims of that trade in slavery, or selling them from hand to hand, and transferring them from place to place as lawful slaves.

How far the Spanish government is to be considered as responsible for this declaration of one of its officers, or whether such a document will be considered as requiring any notice on the part of her Britannic Majesty, this committee have no right to judge. Their duty to humanity will have been fully discharged by placing at your lordship's disposal a duly authenticated copy of the declaration of M. Vega, which makes a part of the records of our courts, and although not formally sanctioned by the formalities of an oath, was, through the laxity of Admiralty proceedings, admitted to the same reception as if duly sanctioned.

Your lordship will not charge us with any want of delicacy in thus obtruding ourselves upon the notice of a foreign government, or with any improper interference in any negociations which may be pending between the United States and Great Britain; but will justly ascribe this communication to its true motive, in a desire to further the general interests of justice and humanity, in which all men of all nations are equally concerned.

We have the honor to be, with great respect, your lordship's obedient humble servants,

(Signed)

ARTHUR TAPPAN, Chairman,	S. W. BENEDICT.
JOHN LEAVITT.	THOMAS S. WRIGHT.
SIMEON S. JOCELYN.	LA ROY SUNDERLAND.
LEWIS TAPPAN.	WILLIAM CHURCH.

New York, April 14th, 1841.

STATEMENT OF THE SPANISH CONSUL AT BOSTON.

The following statement was made to me by A. G. Vega, Esq. Spanish Consul, as near as I can now recollect, and according to my best knowledge and belief,

10th January, 1841. W. S. HOLABIRD.

That he is a Spanish subject, that he resided in the island of Cuba several years, that he knows the laws of that island on the subject of slavery. That there was no law that was considered in force in the island of Cuba that prohibited the bringing in African slaves—that the court of mixed commission had no jurisdiction except in cases of capture on sea: that newly imported African negros were constantly brought to the island, and after landing were *bonâ fide* transferred from one owner to another, without any interference by the local authorities or the mixed commission, and were held by the owners and recognized as lawful property. That slavery was recognized in Cuba by all the laws that were considered in force there. That the native language of the slaves was kept up on some plantations for years.

That the baracoons are public markets where all descriptions of slaves are sold and bought. That the papers of the Amistad are genuine, and are in the usual form.

District of Connecticut, P

District Clerk's Office. April 3rd, 1841.

The foregoing is a true copy of the original now on file in this office.

Attested,

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL.

EMANCIPATION IN FRANCE.

THE question of the abolition of slavery in the French colonies has arrived at that point at which it must be settled in one way or another. Whether, however, the government and the chambers will legislate upon sound principles, or whether they will sanction a measure of doubtful expediency, cannot at present be accurately ascertained.

In this country, the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies was an affair of the people. They felt as men, as philanthropists, and as christians, that to hold their fellow-men in bondage was an outrage upon the rights of human nature, and a violation of the laws of God; and therefore they demanded their immediate and entire liberation from slavery. They were governed by principle. The ministry of the day took advantage of the generous enthusiasm of the people, and of the confidence they placed in them, and substituted a system of apprenticeship for emancipation. They were governed by a supposed expediency. In this way the government of Earl Grey set a pernicious example to the statesmen of other countries holding slaves. But this was not all. They not only lowered the standard of duty by refusing to acknowledge the just claims of the slaves to their complete freedom; but they made the people of this country pay, as the price of their liberty, the enormous sum of twenty millions of pounds sterling. How injurious the operation of this act of theirs has proved to the emancipation of slaves in various parts of the world, has now become obvious. Pay us, say the slave-holders of the United States, the value of our human stock, and we will liberate them. Give us twelve hundred millions of dollars, and they shall be free! And France has to struggle with the same evil at the present time. The question of indemnity to the planters, rather than emancipation to the slave, is that which most engages the attention of the statesmen of France. The planters demand compensation. The chambers are unwilling to give it, and, in the meantime, the poor slave groans under the intolerable yoke of oppression. Various schemes have been proposed to meet the difficulty, all of which are attended with the most serious inconveniences to the slave, and some of which would be flagrantly unjust to him, inasmuch as they are based on the principle of self-purchase.

In France it is the government and the chambers, not the people, that will decide the question of emancipation; and, from the experience we have had in our own country, we fear that we can hardly look for a perfect measure from them. In the government and in the chambers there are influences at work which are inimical to the freedom of the slave; and which, if they cannot much longer control and retard, will modify and injure the proceedings of those distinguished philanthropists, who desire above all things to free their country from the guilt and reproach of so foul a system of slavery as that which exists in her colonies.

In France, as well as in England, the planters and their friends are found everywhere. They are a compact and wealthy body. They have their paid delegates in Paris, and in the chamber of deputies. Even such men as Dupin and Mauguin hesitate not to advocate their cause, and to debase their splendid talents in opposing the emancipation of the slaves for the gold which they receive; and the public press feels their paralyzing influence also. Not a few have been bribed to silence, when they could not be purchased to advocate the cause of oppression. How far the marine or colonial department of the French government may have been tempted in the same way, it would be difficult to say; but it is quite clear, that the greatest obstacle to emancipation in the dependencies of France will be found to exist there.

We have been led to these remarks by looking over a considerable number of French works on slavery, and on its abolition in the French colonies, which have been issued within the last few years. Among these, perhaps, the two volumes printed by order of M. L'Amiral Duperré, the head of the Marine and Colonial department, are likely to have the greatest effect, inasmuch as they are said to have been compiled with religious care and fidelity, from the official documents which, from the year 1831 to 1840, have been printed by order of the house of commons. The first of these volumes was published in 1840, and is entitled "*Précis de l'abolition de l'Esclavage dans les Colonies Anglaises.*" The second has been issued this year, bearing the same title, and is, in point of fact, a continuation. They exhibit great labour and skill in their arrangement; and, but for a certain bias unfavourable to the immediate emancipation, every where visible, they must be spoken of with much commendation, as bringing within the compass of two octavo volumes of 773 pages, the information scattered throughout fifteen folio volumes of 7256 pages. In an introductory chapter, the editor takes a rapid survey of all the discussions on slavery which have engaged the attention of the house of commons from the year 1807, when the slave-trade was abolished, until 1833, when the system of apprenticeship was substituted for slavery; and, whilst he carefully notes the remarks of Messrs. Wilberforce and Buxton in favour of the gradual emancipation of the slaves, he does not give the slightest intimation of the change which took place in their sentiments in 1831, when they both became the advocates of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the British colonies. The book is then divided into three parts. The first contains the act for the abolition of slavery, and selections from the despatches of the colonial secretaries of this country to the governors of colonies, as to the mode in which they expected the act should be carried into effect, to entitle the planters to receive the amount of compensation awarded to them by parliament. In those extracts from the despatches we notice some important omissions, especially one, in which Lord Stanley leaves it to the option of the colonial legislatures to substitute a system of complete freedom for that of the apprenticeship. This material point is overlooked, either from inattention or design. The second part gives a short view of the measures adopted in the several colonies for carrying the act of the imperial legislatnre into effect, with extracts from the despatches of the governors of those colonies to the colonial secretary. The third part contains the principal acts of the colonial legislatures supplementary to the act for the abolition of slavery, for the prevention of vagrancy, &c. &c. The second volume follows the same order in the arrangement of subjects, and is preceded by an "*Exposé général de la marche et des effets de l' emancipation,*" from 1792 to 1839, the first year of complete freedom.

As it would be quite impossible to examine the contents of these volumes as we could wish, and as their importance demands, in the short space allowed us in this number of the *Reporter*, we sha'l return to it in succeeding numbers, for the purpose of supplying its omissions, correcting some of its inferences, and of presenting to our French friends a more just view of the whole question, especially as we find that these volumes have been put into the hands of the chambers of peers and deputies.

In calling attention to these volumes in particular, we have not overlooked the great service rendered to the cause of abolition, by the excellent publications which have been circulated by the French Society for the abolition of slavery, nor the admirable reports of M. M. Remusat and De Tocqueville, in both which the necessity of emancipation is so forcibly and clearly demonstrated. We have selected them for remark, principally because an official character has been given to them, and an impression designed to be made by them different from that we desire should prevail among those with whom is lodged the power to perform a great act of justice to a long oppressed race, and of advancing the honour and influence of France thereby.

SLAVERY FRUITFUL.—The *New Orleans Bee* informs us that a mulatto boy, having stolen some money from his master, was detected, and threatened with a severe flogging. But on the evening of the 4th ultimo, while his master was asleep in his berth on board the steam-boat, the boy went to the state room, and with a large butcher knife, stabbed his master twice in the throat. It is considered that he will not recover. Alarm being given, the boy proceeded to the bow of the boat, and jumped overboard, and has not since been heard of. We hope he has escaped unhurt, and will repent of the deed of murder; but it is rather probable that he was drowned. Thus much for slavery. So she yields her dismal fruit.—*Ibid.*

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SWEDEN.

MR. G. W. ALEXANDER has obligingly furnished us with the following extract of a letter, containing intelligence of the progress of the anti-slavery cause in Sweden.

"Subsequently to your leaving Stockholm last year, the friends who agreed to form an anti-slavery committee had several meetings, in conjunction with others considered favourable to the cause, and rules for the Swedish Anti-slavery Society were framed, after the model of those of your own society. Several persons, principally members of the diet, became members; but the only step which, under present circumstances, could be taken, was the moving at the diet an address to His Majesty on the subject. This was done in the clerical house by Professer Geyer, the distinguished Swedish historian, and in the burghers' house by his brother. These motions were referred to the proper committee, and returned to all the four houses with a favourable report; and, ere my departure from Stockholm in the beginning of this month, that report had been considered in two of the houses, viz., in the clerical and peasants', or boor's, the decision of each being in unison with the original motions. The concurrence of one of the remaining two houses is yet necessary, but may, I think, be confidently expected; and the result will be, an address from the Swedish representation, requesting His Majesty to obtain information regarding the actual number and condition of the slaves in St. Bartholomew's and what can be done to put a perpetual end to slavery there.

"Your address to the people of Sweden, somewhat widely circulated in its separate form, was placed in the hands of every member of the diet, simultaneously with the report of the committee; and though we can scarcely expect any immediate measure, yet there is reason to hope that the next meeting of the diet will be prepared to take some decisive steps, particularly as the present decision of the diet, brings the matter publicly forward, and encourages the efforts of those who are desirous of spreading information on this important question.

"It is, I believe, correctly ascertained, that the number of slaves in the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew is 600, and the holders of these slaves are hoping to receive compensation, according to the English precedent."

BRAZIL.

WE are permitted to make public the following extracts of letters of very recent date, from a gentleman at Rio de Janeiro. The statements respecting the treatment of the slaves at Gongo Soco are doubly painful, in conjunction with the recent declarations of the directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. But, where neither law nor honesty have any force, what is the obligation of truth?

"I observed in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, that the punishment of women by the iron petticoat is denied by the Gongo Soco Company. I therefore made special inquiry about it; and I heard from some miners who have just arrived in Rio on their way to Cornwall, that this is not an uncommon mode of punishment. They describe the petticoat as being formed of three horizontal hoops, rivetted to upright pieces of iron, which keep them in a horizontal position; the upper hoop, or belt, is strapped round the waist, and bells are attached to it. Two women have been seen lashed together, each with such a petticoat on. The individuals thus attired are obliged to work at their several occupations.

"The white men have not an entire knowledge of what passes on the surface, their principal occupation being under ground. Yet I was informed by one that he saw a woman flogged: she was lashed to a ladder, and whipped on the back. He added that the palmatoria is constantly used, and this is a dreadful punishment.

"The tracts for circulation are altogether 9,200. I have had work for mind and body in preparing the letters, and delivering them. As pamphlets are easily lost or worn out, I have thought it best to order two hundred sets to be neatly bound. These I purpose to deliver to presidents, judges, and titled members of parliament (deputados). I have one most richly bound for the Emperor, whom I trust it will reach.

"There is no hope that the government of this country will ever, *in reality*, abolish the slave-trade. They under-handedly connive at it, and each member of it receives his fees, as regularly as if the trade was lawful. Within the last few days one hundred and thirty new slaves were taken in canoes in this bay, and deposited in the arsenal. This duty is openly permitted, and the executive attend to it, lest their share of the bribe should be lost; they having no faith in the saying, 'there is honesty amongst thieves.' The government ordered the procurador da justicia and a committee to inspect them, and to report whether the captured slaves were new negros. The committee appointed were principally, if not all, the very owners of the unhappy beings. They were reported *ladinos*, or Africans long since imported and trained, and they were, in consequence given up to their respective proprietors!

"I am happy to say that, in consequence of reading one of my pamphlets, ——— sought my acquaintance; and, after deliberately reading all the others, according to my request, he has undertaken to distribute some for me. His shop is the rendezvous of deputados and other political men, and I have great hopes that he may prove a valuable acquaintance."

"I regret to state that the ministry is changed. The present is altogether a pro-slavery administration. They have already undone all that their predecessors had endeavoured to effect, in order to put a stop to the trade, in the open and daring manner in which it is carried on. Our government should be very wary in making a new treaty with Brazil. Nay, should not the performance of the old be insisted on, by the delivery to the British authorities of all the contraband negros landed here since its date, many of whom are in possession of the Brazilian authorities as their own undisputed property? The change of ministry has given great offence to the most numerous and best portion of the Brazilian community; but the Portuguese party, who are now in power, have the weight of wealth, and, it is currently reported, has used its influence on the present occasion in the way of bribe. Several officers under the recent administration have tendered their resignations to the present."

CUBA.

THE state of this island is depicted in an interesting manner, in the following extract of a letter from Havana, given in a late number of *El Constitucional*, a paper published at Barcelona.

"*Havana, April 14th*, 1841.

"The news which has been current for some days is very alarming. Such is the pre-disposition of the country to fear, that every body has been startled with the rumour that Spain had set on foot negociations with England for the liberation of the slaves. The anxiety was calmed, because the report wanted foundation. We are assured, on the contrary, that the government has refused the demands of England. At all events, if the home government does not settle the future prospects of these possessions the anxiety will go on increasing, and the necessary confidence for business and commerce will suffer serious diminution. As there are here some independents, who would wish to be united to the United States confederation, they may have had some hand in spreading this report; because, should it prove true, the affections of the proprietary towards the mother country would be extinguished, and, in barter for the permission to exist, both Europeans and Creoles would go any lengths to save their lives and fortunes. Catalonia once united with the Sultan of Turkey in the war of succession; and I believe that this people would unite with the devil in human form, if the government should adopt the sad course of abandoning us to the intrigues of Great Britain.

"Valdes has hitherto done nothing of any importance. It appears certain that he intends to reinforce various points of the island. A few days after his arrival, Mirasol set out for Trinidad; and the people were much disturbed, because it was said that he went to establish a line of telegraphs to Baroco, to convey intelligence to the Havana of anything that might take place in the eastern part of the island, since it was confidently stated that they were arming 30,000 men in St. Domingo, disciplined by English officers. However, it appears that Mirasol has gone to Trinidad, merely to assist in the construction of some barracks."

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN TUNIS.

WE mentioned in our last the very interesting fact, that the Bey of Tunis had set a noble example in the liberation of his slaves. The *Malta Times* of May 15th furnishes the following particulars of this occurrence, highly honourable, we rejoice to say, to Sir Thomas Reade and his country.

"Her British Majesty's Consul General, Sir Thoms Reade, who is always ready to promote the cause of humanity, has for some time past watched the moment when he might be enabled to do something for the poor slave race in this regency; and it gives me now great pleasure to state to the friends of humanity, that this most happy moment has arrived. The being who, hitherto most cruelly, has been a degraded slave, is now, by the local authority, set at his liberty, and the abominable traffic in human beings is altogether abolished. The details of this most humane action are as follows.

"A few days ago a poor slave came to Sir Thomas Reade, begging to be protected from the cruelties of his master; this Sir Thomas most promptly afforded, and at the same time thought this to be the very moment when something might be done for the negro race. Accordingly, the following morning he went to Bardo, the Bey's residence, where a long parley took place between him and His Highness the Bey, in which Sir Thomas Reade so successfully advocated the abolition of slavery, that the Bey at once consented to give liberty to all his own slaves, to put a stop to the importation and exportation of them, and to get all his subjects in his regency to follow his example. This, may it be remarked, is no trifle; as the property possessed in slaves is great, and consequently the abolition of slavery will be felt severely by many. Let Christians read this, be astonished, and wonder at the noble actions of a Moslem prince!"

FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

THE Northern Association of Baptist Churches, held at North Shields on Whit Monday and Tuesday last, adopted the following resolution, viz.:—

"That we express our most unqualified disaprobation of American slavery, and of the conduct of such churches as admit or retain persons in their membership holding property in slaves; and that we earnestly recommend all our churches to carry out the spirit of this resolution in the strongest manner possible, by refusing all church communion with such persons.

(Signed) "JOHN CARRICK, Moderator."

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We insert the Birmingham resolutions, as requested.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 16TH.

WE promised in our last some remarks on the proceedings—not a little remarkable certainly—at the late meeting of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association; and we now proceed to redeem our promise. Apart from the report of the directors, which we shall have a better opportunity of noticing when it is printed, the case of the company was set forth by Mr. Goldsmid, himself one of the directors, and, according to his own account, a prominent party in originating the concern. We shall be justified, therefore, in selecting the speech of this gentleman, as reported in our last paper, for specific animadversion.

Mr. Goldsmid's reply to Mr. Thomas is characterised by a great effort at plausibility. He tells us in the outset that he is eminently humane; and asserts that he would give "ten times" the value of his shares (which, however, is only £400) "to induce the Brazilians to emancipate their slaves." Verily, Mr. Goldsmid is a most amiable man, and singularly persuasive withal. But what has he to say to the matter in hand—to the question, why is he a slave-holder?

Now let the public know, that, if they have supposed that Mr. Goldsmid has bought slaves, and worked them as cattle in the gold mines of Brazil, for the sake of profit, they have done him a grievous injury. Really it is no such thing. It has been altogether "for the performance of a great work," a work of benevolence, "a great moral good." He meant to set "an example of good conduct in the management of slaves" to the admiring and tractable Brazilians; and he implores "the humane gentlemen" who have stirred in this matter, not to take away from the wondering neighbourhood so attractive and improving a spectacle as the Gongo slave establishment. "What hope can there be ever after," he asks, in an agony of compassion, "of inducing the Brazilians" to be sweet and gentle task masters? Alas! courteous reader, none, evidently none! Oh! 'twas a cruel thing to conspire for the removal of so "bright an example" from the eyes of Brazilian slave-holders!

It seems never to have occurred to this innocent gentleman, however, that, if an example of well treating slaves was so very useful in Brazil, an example of setting them free would be still more so. He has not suggested to his brother directors, that, if their treatment of their slaves affords a salutary example (we care not now to deny it) to worse masters, the fact of their holding and working slaves gives a powerful sanction to the system of slavery itself, with all its atrocities. Mr. Goldsmid professes his desire to induce the Brazilians to emancipate their slaves, and yet he himself holds slaves in the midst of them! He sets them the example of slave-holding, and does what in him lies to sanction and perpetuate the system. If there were any truth at all in the pretence thus set up, it should have led the company to refuse the labour of slaves, and to work their mines by freemen. Such an example at Gongo Soco might have been useful to Brazilians, and would, at all events, have been worthy of Englishmen.

We run no hazard, however, in saying that there is no truth whatever in Mr. Goldsmid's representation. Mining companies, like all other trading associations, are formed, not for preaching, but for profit. We shall be living, not in England, but in Utopia, when money by millions is expended upon gold mines, for the pure and blessed purpose of teaching hard-hearted slave-masters to be compassionate. The world has a little too much knowledge of human nature to be cajoled by such jugglery as this. The truth, no doubt, is, that the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association buy and hire slaves, because they think it the most lucrative way of carrying on the speculation; and that their intention in adopting this course was no more to induce by example the emancipation of the slaves in Brazil, than it is at the present time their intention to make a voyage to the moon. How Mr. Goldsmid preserved his gravity while asserting such a manifest falsehood, and how the shareholders generally refrained from laughing in his face, is to us inexplicable.

Lest Mr. Goldsmid should think that we are rather unceremonious with him, we shall quote an expression of his own, which fully discloses the truth of the case. "You have one of two courses to pursue," said he. "Either to emancipate your slaves, *and, in consequence, to excite dissatisfaction and disgust in the minds of those around.*" We break off here, because this is the idea we want. Here is Mr. Goldsmid's own confession, that one reason at least why the company hold slaves, is, that their thus harmonizing with the general method of the country is most acceptable to their Brazilian neighbours. To seem adverse to slavery would "create dissatisfaction and disgust." So much for the desire to set a "bright example!" The design of the company has rather been to be as bad as their neighbours, lest their superiority should reprove the unrestrained abominations which surround them.

Mr. Goldsmid professes to believe that great difficulties stand in the way of emancipation in Brazil. He thinks it would be frightful for a few hundred persons to be made free amidst a million and a half of slaves, and terrifies us by the "probability that they would either be kidnapped, or absorbed into the slave population." Not only is there no truth in this, but the directors themselves, and Mr. Goldsmid is one of them, neither believe it, nor pretend to believe it. The proof is, that they have themselves been proposing the emancipation of their slaves, at the rate of ten per annum, as a reward for good behaviour; that they have arrested this process only through misconduct on the part of the slaves; and that they are still pledged to emancipate the children at the age of twenty-one. As to the Brazilian government, of the movements of which Mr. Goldsmid showed himself profoundly ignorant, it is now notorious that they have professed to be taking steps towards the extinction of slavery throughout the empire, and that the emancipation of any number of slaves, whether many or few, would have been in entire harmony with their avowed plans and operations.

If that which Mr. Goldsmid *said* is remarkable, that which he *did not say* is scarcely less so. He did not say—and therein he showed a laudable regard to truth—that the slaves had been legally or honestly acquired. They have been neither. Not honestly, for every one of them is robbed by the company of his liberty, and the just fruits of his labour; not legally, for the purchase of every one of them is, by the British law, denounced as a crime. The purchaser, and every person participating in the purchase, of a slave, if a British subject, is by the laws of his country guilty of felony, and liable to its penalties. Every slave purchased for the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association involves the perpetration of several felonies; and one felonious act must, in every such case, have been committed by the Directors themselves, inasmuch as they must have given the authority under which the purchase has been effected. Little doubt can exist, but that Mr. Goldsmid himself, as an active director of that company, has been a party to one or more criminal acts of this kind, rendering him liable to indictment as a felon at the bar of his country. Nothing, probably, but the secrecy of official papers shields him, and his brother directors with him, from prosecution and punishment. Were but one or two letters accessible, he might soon stand in a position in which he would furnish a different illustration of the "bright example" of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company.

It is under such circumstances as these, that there have appeared in the public papers malignant insinuations, generally as false as they are altogether powerless, against the persons who have been prominent on this occasion. The high minded gentlemen of the Imperial Brazilian, we suppose, think to cover their disgrace by this artifice! There is nothing, it appears, which can conciliate their good will, but a silent acquiescence in transactions which are felony in law, and robbery in morals.

WE are rejoiced to find that the subject of slavery is beginning to engage the attention of the East India press. In a recent number of the *Bombay Gazette* we find the following deplorable picture of its character, drawn by the editor. It deserves the serious attention of our readers; and will be found fully corroborative of the series of papers on the same subject, which are in course of publication in the columns of the *Reporter*.

(From the *Bombay Gazette.*)

It has been long known to the Court of Directors that slavery existed to a frightful extent in this part of their dominions, and that the system on which it is upheld is a thousand times more degrading than that which met with so large a portion of public reprobation in our West Indian and other colonies. It was known that the value of a Malabar slave was lower than that of the most ordinary descriptions of cattle, and that, consequently, in the eyes of an owner, the life of an ox, a sheep, or a goat, was more highly prized and better taken care of, than that of a fellow-being inheriting the same immortal destiny as himself, and possessed of the usual faculties, feelings, and sympathies of human nature. The documents in which all these important and appalling facts are fully stated may be superseded, in the attention of the Court, by others of a more recent date; but it ought to be known to the people of England that they are in existence, and it is a duty which every friend of his species owes to the cause of humanity to call for their production, that the energies of a nation which has been ever foremost in the practice of benevolence, may be directed to the extinction of one of the foulest disgraces of our Indian administration. The British public has yet to learn, that, in one of the fairest provinces of Western India alone, there are at this moment several hundreds of thousands of human beings liable to every description of suffering; that the value placed upon the head of these wretched beings is no more than, according to sex and age, from six to less than two shillings each. One gentleman alone in North Malabar possesses considerably upwards of a thousand, and, instead of denouncing the acquisition of such property, government aided and encouraged both himself and his father in this worse than West India ownership of slaves. Will it be believed, that the purchase of a slave, which in Bombay would be treated as a crime, is, in the part of the country referred to, not only customary, but lawful?

We know that there is not a servant of government in the south of India who is not intimately acquainted with the alarming fact, that hundreds of thousands of his fellow-creatures are fettered down for life to the degraded destiny of slavery. We know that these unfortunate beings are not, as is the case in other countries, serfs of the soil, and incapable of being transferred at the pleasure of their owners from one estate to another; no, they are daily sold like cattle from one proprietor to another, the husband is separated from the wife, and the parent from the child. They are loaded with every indignity, the utmost quantity of labour is exacted from them, and the most meagre fare that human nature can subsist upon is doled out to support them. Will it be believed that

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government itself participates in this description of property; that it actually holds possession of slaves, and lets them out for hire to the cultivators of the country, the rent of a whole family, two fanams, or half a rupee per annum? These people are scattered near the village of Muthilagata, on the island of Chethay, in Southern Malabar, and formerly belonged to the Dutch government; but came into our possession on the conquest of Cochin. Besides these, there are a considerable number of other slaves in different parts of the province, from whom no revenue is derived, but who are considered by their employers as much their private property as if they had purchased them. These have come into the possession of the company, either by escheat or by the rebellion of their former owners, and are consequently forfeited along with the property of which they formed a part.

It may be asked by some one who has not inquired into the subject, whether, in the improvement which has taken place in the administration of the country since we assumed the direction of its affairs, the situation of the slave part of the population has not been rendered in many respects more comfortable? This, we are sorry to say, has not been the case. The slave, in every respect, as to severity of labour, insufficiency of food and clothing, exposure to storm and sunshine, and liability to be torn away from his kindred and sold to the highest bidder, continues the same hopeless being as before. The boasted mildness and equity of our administration has done nothing to alleviate an evil, which has been truly denominated the bitterest under the sun. The curse of West India slavery was nothing to that of slavery in Malabar and the adjoining provinces. In the former, the bitterness of the cup was not unmingled with a few sweets, which partly reconciled the slave population to their doom. They had good food, comfortable dwellings, and sufficient clothing. They were allowed to purchase their freedom, and many of them accumulated the wherewithal to set themselves at liberty. Let us contrast this picture of West India slavery with that which exists under our rule in this country. There is a regular allowance of food set apart for the slaves, which allowance is not more than half of what is necessary, for the comfortable subsistence of man or woman. This allowance, miserable as it is at the very best, is in many instances diminished to about a half, at the caprice of a cruel or an avaricious master, and it is frequently withdrawn altogether on those days when there is no work to be done. Their clothing is scanty in the extreme, even in a country in which that of their free fellow-countrymen is barely sufficient to protect them from the weather. From the supposed impurity of these miserable creatures, their dwellings are in most cases situated at a great distance from those of their more civilized fellow-creatures, in the most unhealthy and desolate tracts of the district which is the scene of their degradation. They have no holidays whatever, but work all the year round from morning to night, and watch from night till morning. The labour most prejudicial to health, is on all occasions allotted to them, the wet lands being cultiveted almost exclusively by slaves. They are subjected to the lash, they are put into the stocks, and they are cast in chains, very often for the most trivial offences. They have no spot of ground to cultivate for themselves; and if, even out of the miserable pittance that is allowed them, they could save a sum of money equal to the value which is put upon them when sold by their masters, they are prohibited from purchasing their freedom! Can anything be more monstrous, more appalling, than this dreadful sentence, which has been passed on so large a portion of our fellow-creatures? Or is there anything which could be more properly taken into consideration by the philanthropic portion of the British parliament?

It will be in the recollection of our readers, that, along with the Africans taken in the Amistad, was a slave boy, Antonio, who had been long resident in Cuba. His case, of course, was to be decided on different grounds, and it was intended to deliver him over to the Spanish government. Happily, British soil has afforded him a refuge, as we learn by the following extract of a letter from Mr. Dougall, of Montreal, dated May 12th, 1841:—

"The slave boy, Antonio, who belonged to the Amistad, and by the laws of the United States, was to have been delivered up to the Spanish authorities, reached Canada a few weeks ago, and is consequently safe from all the slave-holders and slave-hunters in the world. He is for the present in my employment, and appears to be good natured and intelligent, considering his opportunities."

FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

At a meeting of the Baptist church at Thrapstone, Northamptonshire, held April 30th, 1841, it was resolved:—"That, being deeply convinced of the heinousness of slavery and the slave-trade, which they regard as a flagrant violation of the rights of man, an enormous sin against God, a foul blot upon the Christian name, and an incalculable hindrance to the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, this Christian society determine to have no fellowship with those churches or individuals who hold their fellow-men in bondage.

(Signed) HENRY COLLIER, Deacon."

Diss, Norfolk, April 30, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to the circular of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, received some weeks ago, I beg to forward you a copy of the resolutions on American slavery passed by the Baptist Church Diss, Norfolk, with the most perfect unanimity, at their church meeting, on 28th instant; and have the honour to be, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) J. P. LEWIS.

RESOLVED I.—That, in the opinion of this church, slavery is a crime of the highest character, being alike opposed to the law of God and every feeling of humanity and justice; that, wherever it exists within the boundaries of the christian church, it should be subject to the most decided church discipline, as those who practice it are both unworthy and unfit for christian fellowship.

II.—That, as this is the course we would recommend to every christian community, so we are fully prepared to act upon it ourselves, being resolved to refuse communion to any or every man who holds property in slaves.

(Signed) J. P. LEWIS, Pastor.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

REMONSTRANCE.

(*Continued from page* 127.)

The support of slavery by American christians must diminish the force of your example, and the success of your efforts abroad. Let the missionary inform the heathen that his fellow christians—they who sent him forth, are holding two millions of coloured persons in servile bondage, and depriving many more of the rights of citizens, and what would they think of the religion of such men? They would either say it was worthless, or doubt their sincerity; either the cross would appear the emblem of cruelty, or the men who professed to love it hypocrites. Besides the obstacles it offers to your direct efforts, slavery weakens the indirect influence which America's character and example should exert. Men cannot help feeling that its existence among a people who have only lately struggled for their freedom, and whose civil polity is based upon the broadest principles of liberty, is exceedingly anomalous; and when farther they think of that people's religious professions and activity, the inconsistency becomes most glaring. They who know little of your religion, or dislike it, accuse it of tolerating tyranny; while many who understand it better, suspect the sincerity of your profession—some condemn the principles, others the men. In either case, your moral influence is lessened; neither nations nor individuals feel so deeply the force of your character and the power of your appeals, as they would, if by at once removing the evil, you exhibited to the world a high-minded and noble consistency.

If, moreover, the support of slavery be a grievous crime against God, as we assuredly believe it to be, does it not *as such* affect the state of the church, and the progress of the gospel? The church has suffered in former days on account of its sins, and we have no reason to suppose it does not now. May not the guilt of slavery often grieve the Holy Spirit? May not prayer remain unanswered, because iniquity is regarded and the Saviour's name dishonoured? We are convinced that He who binds up the broken heart and sets the captive free, will never bestow his choicest favours on those who hold his freemen in bondage. Then, for the sake of the church and the souls of men, we entreat your attention to the subject.

In saying that slavery is a sin against God, we would remind you, that we express not simply our own opinion, for the people of the whole British Empire regard it as such; religious societies in all its sections, have entered their solemn protests against it;—Great Britain's ministers of religion generally, connected with the establishment, and belonging to the different bodies of Dissenters, many of them in solemn convocations, have pronounced it a grievous crime against God;—the periodical publications of the whole realm denounce it; and delegates of the highest character, both for intellect and moral excellence, assembled from all parts of the world, have condemned it as a violation of human rights, and a disgrace to religion. Now, dear brethren, we think your countrymen ought to pause before they pronounce all these to be mistaken: if not at once to act upon the opinion thus universally expressed, they ought at least to re-examine the subject, remembering that many of them are interested, and many more, in all probability, prejudiced parties.

We confess ourselves at a loss to discover anything like a valid reason by which the slaveholder can defend his conduct. The good of the slave is out of the question. The commerce of the nation may be urged, but we believe that its commerce would be just as good, were the limbs and energies of all its members free, and supposing it otherwise, should commerce be bought by tyranny, and a little wealth at the expense of men's moral feelings? The evil may be admitted, but the difficulty of removing it urged; but have even American *christians* done all they might to remove it? Were they to make a simultaneous and solemn determination, the thing would be done. It appears to us, brethren, that prejudice against the coloured population, and the self-interest of individual masters, are the chief motives from which the majority support this horrible system. We only ask, is this right?

We would earnestly hope, that the large majority of our brethren studying for the ministry are the decided opponents of this unrighteous tyranny;—that you are prepared, not to advocate a system of emigration, which, while it admits the evil, will continue it for ever; but, to claim for the slave his rights, to shew the disastrous effects of his continued bondage, and to demand immediate and entire abolition. If so, we offer you our hearty congratulations, and we entreat you to continue and increase your efforts. Look again at slavery—convince yourselves more deeply of its dreadful evils—consider the reasons why it is supported—make it the subject of discussion in your colleges, and of conversation in your social circles—spread your sentiments as widely as you can, and leave nothing untried that may help to remove an obstacle so serious to human happiness, and the triumphs of the cross. If you make this your solemn resolution, you will do wonders. You may be exposed to the taunts of the interested, and the insults of the ignorant; you may even be accused of rashness by some of your best friends, but nothing great and good was ever achieved without such opposition; and we have too much confidence in your piety and decision of character, to suppose you will shrink from duty because this awaits you. The abolitionists of Britain—and all Britons are abolitionists—are observing you with intense interest, and your efforts call forth their warmest applause.

We can hardly suppose that there are any among you who advocate slavery, though there may be some who are unconcerned about it, and who think that the decided opinions expressed by Englishmen, result from their ignorance of the circumstances. But we remind them, that England universally condemns slavery as a serious crime, independently of all circumstances. And, as to these, if the testimony of faithful witnesses, of every class of society and shade of opinion, be worthy of credence, and if the laws, both of individual states and of the general government, give anything like a correct view of the facts of the case, we cannot be much mistaken.

If, dear brethren, you have doubts on the subject, if you have not given it a thorough and impartial investigation, we beseech you, for the honour of your nation, for the prosperity of your churches, for the success of your own labours; in the name of Christ, and for the sake of his cause, to do it now. If slavery be a crime, it is a grievous one;—if an evil at all, it is a great one. It is possible to decide, and the vast importance of the question, makes it your duty to decide at once. Consider the power you possess at present, and what will be in your hands a few years hence:

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from your situation and engagements you must exert an almost unlimited influence on public opinion; and for the character of that influence you are deeply responsible. With earnest prayer, then, for divine direction, investigate the question and make your decision; should that be that slavery is a sin, your character as men of God assures us at once that you will at once strive to remove it. May the God of truth and love guide your inquiries, and render your efforts successful!

Were the students of your Colleges and Universities generally, or even all who are preparing for the ministry, to become abolitionists, decided in opinion and energatic in effort, no opposition of self-interested slaveholders, or scheming but unskilful politicians, could resist you long; we are confident we should soon have to congratulate you as the deliverers of your nation and the church from the disgraceful bane of slavery.

It is impossible in this brief epistle to say all we wish. We have attempted no lengthened argument, but simply to suggest a few of the evils of the system, and to express our own feelings and sentiments respecting it.

We have taken the liberty of addressing you freely, because we feel towards you as brethren, as with us the servants of Christ, and soon to be the ministers of his gospel to the world. We regard you as those with whom we hope hereafter to co-operate in every holy and noble enterprise; in supporting and directing the great institutions of our kindred countries, and in devising and executing other schemes, for the universal reign of Christ and the salvation of the world. We hope to enjoy a closer union of sentiment, affection and effort, and are earnestly desirous that neither you nor ourselves should countenance anything that would impede the triumphs of that cause to which we are equally pledged. We have therefore spoken freely and faithfully, but we trust kindly. Receive what we have said in the same spirit, respect our motives, and believe that we are your affectionate brethren in Christ.

UNIVERSITIES.

SIGNED:—

William G. Blakie, A.M. *on behalf of the Theological Students of* Aberdeen University.

George Mackay . . . . . St. Andrews University.

THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES.

Henry Lings *on behalf of the students of*	Airedale College, Yorkshire.
John Hughes	Blackburn College, Lancashire.
Daniel Ace	Brecon College, South Wales.
John Mortimer Stephens .	Bristol Baptist College.
Thomas Thomas	Carmarthen College, South Wales.
Harford Jones	Cheshunt College, Hertfordshire.
Joseph Smedmore . . .	Coward College, London.
Alexander Bell	Dublin Theological Academy.
Thomas Byerley Sainsbury . .	Eastern Academy, Norfolk.
William Reid	Glasgow Theological Academy.
James Andrews	Hackney College, London.
William Henry Dyer . .	Highbury College, London.
Joshua Clarkson Harrison . .	Homerton College, London.
David Peacock	Horton College, Bradford, Yorkshire.
J. G. Pike	Loughborough Academy, Leicestershire.
Charles Wilson	Masbro College, Rotherham.
Frederick M. Holmes . . .	Newport Pagnel College, Bucks.
William Thomas	Pontypool College, South Wales.
John S. Giffen, A. B. . . .	Relief Theological Hall, Scotland.
Eustace R. Conder . . .	Spring Hill College, Birmingham.
Joseph A. Baynes	Stepney College, London.
Joseph Davenport Elliot. . .	Western Academy, Exeter.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

(*Continued from page* 127.)

The official information laid before government, previously to 1833, determined the ministry of Earl Grey to grapple with the evil, and, on the renewal of the company's charter, to fix the period, beyond which its existence should not be prolonged in British India.

In conformity with this determination, a clause was introduced into the East India Charter Bill, as follows, viz.—"And whereas it is expedient that slavery should cease in the said territories, as soon as sufficient time had elapsed for making such provisions, as the change of the condition of the numerous class of persons therein, now in a state of slavery may appear to require; be it therefore enacted, that all rights over any persons, by reason of such persons being in a state of slavery, shall cease throughout the said territories, on the TWELFTH DAY OF APRIL, ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVEN: provided always, that it shall be lawful for the governor general in council, to make laws or regulations for the extinction of slavery, either entirely or in part, PREVIOUSLY to the said twelfth of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, throughout the said territories, or any part of them." The bill was brought into the House of Commons on the 28th of June, 1833, and thus four years were allowed to make the necessary arrangements in India, to meet the contemplated change in the condition of its servile population, supposing it could not be accomplished within a shorter period.

In the summary of the main provisions of the India bill, transmitted to the chairman of the East India Company, Mr Grant thus referred to the measure:—"As to the natives, besides placing them on a level with the British in point of lands, there are two enactments. *First*, No person, native or natural born in India, is to be excluded from any office, merely by reason of his religion, birth-right, descent, or colour. *Second*, Slavery, after a specified period, to be abolished." The answer of the Court of Directors to this official communication was as follows:—"Any plan which may be calculated to improve the condition of the natives, by abolishing slavery, without doing violence to the feelings of caste, or the rights of property, cannot fail to meet with the court's cordial approbation." This wary and plausible answer contained the germs of that hostility to the measure, which became so apparent at the meeting of the Court of Directors, on the 5th of July, 1833, when Mr. St. George Tucker, and Mr. Jenkin, vehemently opposed it. The consequence was, that the clause was modified on the second reading of the bill, and stood thus:—"And whereas it is expedient that slavery should cease throughout the said territories, be it enacted, that the said governor-general in council shall, and he is hereby required to frame laws and regulations for the extinction of slavery, having due regard to the laws of marriage, and the rights and authorities of fathers and heads of families; and that the said governor-general in council shall on or before the 1st day of January, 1835, and on every first day of January, from that time forward, report to the Court of Directors the progress which he shall have made in framing such laws and regulations; and that the Court of Directors shall, within fourteen days after the receipt of such report, if parliament shall then be sitting, or otherwise within fourteen days after the next meeting of parliament, lay such reports before both houses of parliament." When the clause came up for discussion, it gave rise to an animated debate, in which Sir Robert Harry Inglis took a conspicuous part, and was sustained by Mr. Cutlar Ferguson, Mr. Buller, and others. The system was patriarchal, it was the result of caste, it was a religious institute, it was altogether different from West India slavery, it must be approached with caution, the natives were most jealous of any interference with their domestic habits; their harems and zenanas were declared to be places of "sanctity," an intrusion into which would excite rebellion from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya mountains, and from the mouth of the Ganges to the Persian Gulf. On the other hand, it was contended, that slavery and caste were perfectly distinguishable from each other, that it formed no part of the religion of the natives of India, either Mohammedan or Hindoo; and as to its character, Mr. Grant observed, "I have no hesitation in saying, that I do not believe that slavery exists anywhere in a more loathsome form than in some of the countries of the East Indies;" that the design of the clause was not to interfere with domestic servitude, but only with praedial slavery; and with regard to the danger to be apprehended from its abolition, Mr. Macaulay, then secretary to the India board, said, "The Board of Control has been in communication with some of the most able of the civil servants of the company; and they all assure me, that they do not anticipate any danger from our endeavouring to get rid of slavery, if proper caution be used to prevent interference with the domestic habits of the people;" and then, to quiet the fears of the member for the University of Oxford, he added, "No danger is to be apprehended from an interference with the zenanas, as this is prohibited in the words, 'due regard shall be paid to the laws of marriage:' those who live in the zenanas may be considered as coming under this class, the connexion in these cases is a *quasi* marriage." The first part of the clause, as it passed at the third reading of the bill, on the 27th July, was as follows:—"And whereas, it is expedient that slavery should cease throughout the said territories; be it enacted, that the said governor-general shall, and he is hereby required *forthwith* to frame laws and regulations for the extinction of slavery, having due regard to the laws of marriage, and the rights and authorities of fathers of families." The latter part of the clause stood as before.

Four days after the second reading of the bill, the Court of Directors met again, when the hostility of certain honourable gentlemen to the limited measure of emancipation, contemplated in the clause referred to, degenerated into violence and misrepresentation. "What!" said Mr. Randle Jackson, "are all the fair inhabitants of the seraglios, all the harems, all the attached attendants of the Sepoy soldiers, all to be declared free on the same day and the same hour? Are domestic inmates to be shown abroad to the world?" A mere reference to the clause, and to the debate which took place upon it would have shown the learned gentleman that it was framed with a special design to prevent the intrusion which he feared; and that no period was fixed when freedom should be enjoyed by any portion of the servile population of India.

Although the clause, as it originally stood in the India bill, had been shorn of its chief glories in its progress through the Commons, it was doomed to undergo further mutilation in the House of Lords. There it encountered the opposition of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Ellenborough, the Earl of Harrowby, and the Marquis of Salisbury. Lord Ellenborough pronounced the clause "useless and unnecessary;" and said that if it passed, "it would not only excite the indignation of the landed proprietors, but it would, at the same time, shake the confidence and the allegiance of the native officers." The Duke of Wellington said, "Though I entertain no doubt whatever that slavery does exist in that country—domestic slavery in particular, to a very considerable extent. . . . . I would recommend the striking of this clause from the bill . . . . . I know that in the hut of every Musselman soldier in the Indian army, there is a female slave, who accompanies him in all his marches; and I would recommend your lordships to deal lightly with this matter if you wish to retain your sovereignty in India." The Earl of Harrowby thought the bill ought not to be printed and circulated with the words "extinction of slavery" in it. The Marquis of Salisbury considered slavery in India to be "nothing more than an affair of caste." Lord Auckland agreed with the noble duke, "that the subject of slavery ought to be handled with tenderness and caution. I deprecate," said the noble lord, "interference in any thing which is a matter of caste; but then there exists in India *also* a most atrocious system of slavery, to which the same consideration ought not to be extended." The discussion resulted in the striking out of the preamble of the clause which declared it to be expedient that slavery should be abolished in British India; and, said the Marquis of Lansdowne, "to remove all danger of too rash or rapid an extinction of slavery," it will be made "imperative on the governor-general to send home an account of all intended regulations and proceedings on the subject previously to carrying them into execution." The clause was then altered as follows:—"And be it further enacted, that the said governor-general in council shall, and he is hereby required forthwith, to take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery; and of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout the said territories, so soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe; and from time to time to prepare and transmit to the said Court of Directors, drafts of laws and regulations for the purposes aforesaid; and that in preparing such drafts, due regard shall be had to the laws of marriage, and the rights and authorities of fathers and heads of families; and that such drafts shall forthwith, after receipt thereof, be taken into consideration by the said Court of Directors, who shall, with all convenient speed, communicate to the said governor-general in council, their instructions on the drafts of the said laws and regulations; but no such laws and regulations shall be promulgated, or put in force, without the previous consent of the said court; and the said court shall, within fourteen days after the first meeting of parliament in every year, lay before both houses of parliament, a report of the drafts of such rules and regulations as shall have been received by them, and of their resolutions thereon." (3rd and 4th Gul. IV., cap. 85, sect. 88).

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In commenting upon the alterations which had been made in the original clause, that excellent nobleman, the late Lord Suffield, observed, "I cannot forbear the expression of my regret that it has been thought fit to alter the original clause in any way, and particularly by the omission of the preamble. The statements which have been made respecting the alarm likely to be created throughout India by the retention of the preamble, are wholly and entirely groundless; and, I believe, have been put forth as a mere bugbear by persons who are opposed to the bill, in order to frighten your lordships into its rejection." His lordship added, "I cannot but express my surprise that whenever the *sacred* cause of slavery is attacked, there should always be found certain noble lords its sure and ready advocates. Your lordships are sure to be told that the subject must be approached with the greatest caution, and that there is danger in any interference at all. I trust," Lord Suffield continued, "that I shall be among the first to admit at all times, the claims of the noble duke on the gratitude of his countrymen, for his great military exploits; but I must be allowed to express my astonishment, that he, by whose exertions the despotism of one man was overthrown, should be, on all occasions, the advocate of the system of slavery by which the despotism of a thousand tyrants is maintained." In conclusion, his lordship remarked, "I feel myself bound to say a few words with respect to the condition of those unfortunate individuals in a state of slavery in the East Indies; and I must observe, in the outset, that I can perceive no distinction between their situation and that of the slaves in the West Indies. They are both subject to excessive toil, deficiency of food and clothing, cruelty of punishment, degradation of character, the separation of families by sale, and deprivation of property; and they are kept in a state of the grossest immorality by the utter disregard of the sacred ties of marriage. But above all, there is observed in the East, as in the West, the striking fact of the decrease of the population among the class of agrestic slaves, while all the other classes around them increase in number. For this, I refer your lordships to the evidence before your committee. The cruelties to which the slaves in the East Indies, especially in Malabar, are subject, are as great, if not greater, than those inflicted on the slaves in the West Indies. I could mention the case of four slaves, so recently as the year 1823, having their noses amputated by way of punishment! One of them died under the severity of the chastisement; and no step was taken to bring the perpetrators of this outrage to justice. This occurred in Malabar; and its recital may be found in the Circuit Report for the second session of 1823." . . . . . "One word more only as to the pretended alarm. I hold in my hand a copy of a petition presented to the House of Commons some time ago, signed by four thousand most respectable persons, Hindoos, Parsees, and Mohammedans; in which, after expressing their approbation of the conduct of Sir Alexander Johnstone, in promoting the abolition of slavery in Ceylon, the petition concludes with these expressions:—'Illustrious legislators, benefactors of the human race, your persevering exertions to abolish the trade of slavery, have spread the fame of your humanity over all the world.' I think this is a sufficient proof that the natives of India would not be alarmed by the passing of a law for the abolition of slavery; and I conclude, by repeating the expression of my regret that the honest declaration in the preamble of the original clause is not to be promulgated."

We cannot forbear appending to the statements of Lord Suffield extracts from an important communication of Mr. J. Vibart, acting criminal judge, dated 30th November, 1825, addressed to the secretary to the government, in reply to his letter requiring Mr. Vibart's opinion "as to the expediency of abolishing, either totally or in part, the sale of slaves throughout the territories under this presidency" (Bombay). That gentleman having "given the subject every consideration," and "instituted every inquiry in his power," observes, "there exists no valid objection, at least in this part of the country, to the practice being entirely abolished." Mr. Vibart then states his persuasion that "the total abolition of the practice would be very acceptable to the higher and respectable class of Hindoos;" for, he adds, "one of their chief objections to the practice, and which most forcibly tends to make them wish for its abolition is, that by it a great number of Hindoo children *of all castes* are sold as slaves to Mohamedans, and, consequently, are brought up in the Mohamedan faith." And he further ands, "I do not apprehend that the Mohamedans, amongst whom the practice is most prevalent, would offer any great objection to its being abolished: and, even if they did, I humbly venture to think they would not be deserving of any great consideration, since almost all the children sold as slaves, are born of Hindoo parents; and considering also the small proportion the Mohamedans bear to the Hindoos, who, I have observed before, are in favour of abolition" (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 449). Even the commissioner in the Deccan, Mr. Chaplin, admits that though "the want of slave-girls would be a great inconvenience in the families of Mohamedans of rank, who always employ a number for household purposes; both in the case of Kunchenies, (dancing women), and in the domestic slavery of the Mohamedans, the inconvenience that may be sustained by the abolition of the practice of buying and selling slaves would soon remedy itself, as the demand for service would, probably, soon be supplied by free competition, as it is in all other commodities." (*Ibid* p. 435).

On the 24th August, the Lords amendments or rather their alterations, were agreed to by the House of Commons, and on the 28th the bill for the better government of India received the royal assent; but instead of the clause for the absolute "extinction of slavery," and the cessation of "all rights over any persons," on the 12th of April, 1837, another was framed, which bound up the hands of the governments in India, and deprived them of the power which they previously possessed. The supreme government was reduced to a mere council of state, whose only function was the drafting of laws and regulations, to be submitted to the Court of Directors in Leadenhall-street; who, in their turn, were merely called upon to report to both houses of parliament such drafts and regulations, and their own resolutions thereon!

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

We now proceed to show the steps taken by the company, to carry the clause, such as it was, into effect. Sixteen months were allowed to elapse, after the India bill had become law, before the court of Directors transmitted their instructions respecting slavery to the governor-general. From the public letter which contained them, we make the following extracts, which will show how far they were inclined to go in the abolition of slavery, and the utter hoplessness of expecting their co-operation in this great and necessary work, unless compelled thereto by the irresistible voice of public opinion.

"Para. 71. Among the objects to which your legislative deliberations are earliest to be directed, there is one to which we have not as yet adverted, that of the mitigation of the state of slavery, with a view to its extinction at the first safe period. The 88th clause of the act contains the provisions on this head."

"72. This subject in India is one of great delicacy, and requiring to be treated with the utmost discretion. There are certain kinds of restraint required, according to native ideas, for the government of families, and forming, according both to law and custom, parts of the rights of the heads of families, Musselman and Hindoo, which are not to be included under the title, slavery, In legislating, therefore, on slavery, it may not be easy to define the term precisely, it is necessary that the state to which your measures are meant to apply should be described with due care. We think also that your remedial measures should generally begin with the cases of the greatest hardship."

"73. Of the two kinds of slavery, praedial and domestic, there is not a great deal of the former. It exists mostly on the Malabar coast, and the new territories on our north-east frontier, and there, it would appear, the cases of the greatest hardship are found, though the vague information we possess on the subject leaves the state of the evil in no small uncertainty. Domestic slavery in India is generally mild. The origin of a great part of it is in seasons of scarcity, when a parent who is unable to maintain his child sells him to some person of ample means. To dissolve such a connexion by forcible means would in general be to inflict an injury on the emancipated individual. The means of escape where the colour, features, and shape of the slave are not distinguished from those of other classes, and in a country of vast extent, facilitating distant removal, are so easy, that the treatment of a slave cannot be worse than that of an ordinary servant, without giving him an adequate motive to abscond; and the market value is so small that it is seldom worth while to be at the trouble of sending after him."

"74. We think that the law should be made as severe against injuries done to a slave, as if they were done to any other person, and his access to the judge, for the purpose of preferring a complaint, should be facilitated to the utmost."

"75. With respect to cases for emancipation, it appears to us evident that the desire for it, on the part of the slave, should always be previously ascertained. The declaration of the desire should be made to the judge, and access to him, for that purpose, ought to be equally facilitated. The next question will be, what means should be adopted for his emancipation? Compensation will be due to the owner, but that will seldom be a heavy charge. The business however, in all its parts, should be regulated by precise rules, into the detail of which we shall not enter; and every case of emancipation should be a judicial proceeding, investigated and decided by the judge." (Ibid. p. 22.)

We need scarcely point out to the intelligent reader that whilst instructions such as these can never accomplish even the limited objects contemplated by the British legislature, they are admirably, if not studiously framed to contravene them. To the emancipation of any slave, legally or illegally held in bondage, three things are required. 1. That "the desire for it on the part of the slave, should always be previously ascertained." How, when, where, by whom is this to be ascertained!) 2. That "every case for emancipation should be a judicial proceeding, investigated and decided by the judge. Who is to pay the expense attendant on such legal process? On whom will the burden of proof be thrown? How will the slave gain access to the courts? 3. That "compensation" should be given to the owner! Who will have to pay this—the poor slave or the Company? We will not trust ourselves to comment on these instructions, nor on the apology which the Court of Directors offer for the mode in which domestic slavery is kept up; but we would respectfully, yet firmly, tell the members who compose it, that they cannot be allowed to remain the arbiters of the fate of the slave population in British India, nor to stand much longer between them and their undoubted rights.

On the 31st of August, 1835, the communication of the Court of Directors was acknowledged by the governor-general, in the following terms:—"The delicate question of slavery in India will shortly be referred to the consideration of the Law Commission; at present it is only necessary to communicate our cordial agreement in the just, enlightened, and moderate views entertained by your honourable court upon this subject, as expressed in these paragraphs." (*Ibid*, p. 30). Two years had now been suffered to elapse, and not a single step had been taken to carry the intentions of parliament into effect, although the governor-general in council was required "*forthwith* to take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout the said territories, so soon as such extinction should be practicable and safe."

SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND.

Impatient of the delay which had taken place, Mr. (now Sir Fowell) Buxton, on the 29th of July, 1836, called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject, when Sir John Cam Hobhouse the president of the Board of Control, concluded an explanatory speech on the state of the question, by saying, "I shall certainly draw the attention of the Court of Directors to the fact, that, no law or regulation for the amelioration of the state of the slaves there, has been transmitted as yet to the home government. I repeat that there shall be nothing wanting, on my part, to carry into effect what, no doubt, was the intention of the legislature." A correspondence thereupon took place between him and the chairman, and deputy-chairman of the East India Company, which added nothing to the amount of information already possessed, and which promised nothing for the future. (*Ibid*, p. 36).

In 1837, Sir Fowell Buxton renewed his inquiries, when Sir John Hobhouse said:—"I beg to state that I will take an early opportunity to call the attention of the Court of Directors to the matter, with the view of ascertaining whether any plans have been yet framed in India for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves there; and I can assure my honourable friend that the Board of Control will direct its best attention to the subject."

The parliamentary session of 1838 was allowed to pass without any questions being asked, or any information given, relative to the deeply interesting subject of slavery in India. In 1839, however, in reply to a

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question of Mr. Ewart's, the president of the India board stated: "There is a commission sitting in India upon the subject of slavery, and as soon as its labours should be concluded, a report would be forwarded to this country." We presume Sir J. C. Hobhouse meant that the subject had been referred to the law commission to report thereon, *not* that a special commission had been appointed for the purpose of investigating it. 1840 passed without the production of such report, or any communication being made to the legislature of the progress made in carrying the law of 1833 into effect.

It may appear extraordinary to some that the anti-slavery societies of this country should have failed, under the foregoing circumstances, to have grappled with the subject, and, with their usual energy and perseverance, have sought its overthrow; but, the fact is, the impression generally prevailed that slavery in British India had been actually abolished on the renewal of the East India charter:—added to this, it was not until 1838 that their exertions against slavery in the West Indies were crowned with success by the abolition of the apprenticeship system. The time has now, however, fully come, when they dare not confine their attention to private solicitations, but must openly take the field against the great iniquity, nor allow any considerations of policy to interfere with the great duty they owe to humanity and religion. The right honourable Dr. Lushington, not less in compliance with the earnest wish of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, than prompted by his well-known principles, and generous self-devotion to the cause of the suffering and degraded slave, has given notice of his determination to bring on the subject for discussion, as soon as the papers recently sent home from India are printed. In the mean time, every Anti-slavery Society throughout the country must do its duty by the circulation of information on the subject, by petitions to both houses of the legislature for its immediate and entire abolition, by addresses to their representatives in parliament, and by such other legitimate means as may, under the divine blessing, accomplish their object speedily and effectually. To Dr. Lushington we sincerely trust is reserved the high satisfaction, before the close of his useful and honourable career in the Commons House of Parliament, to secure the liberty of every slave in every part of the British empire; and to obtain the fiat of the imperial legislature, that all its territories and dependencies, like the mother country itself, shall henceforth be the asylum and home only of the free!

No. VI.

SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

The number of slaves in this colony previous to 1806 cannot be ascertained from official documents, though they are believed to have formed a numerous body. The domestic and field slaves are usually classed under the denomination of Covias, Nalluas, and Pallas.

On the 14th of August, 1806, General Maitland passed a regulation by which all slaves, not duly registered within four months from that period, were declared free. On the 27th of May, 1808, seventeen months after, it having been found that the regulation had not been generally complied with, the term for registration was extended for a period of six months longer, viz., to the 27th of November, 1808. This regulation was neglected also; but the penalty of forfeiture consequent thereon was never exacted.

On the 10th of July, 1816, Sir Alexander Johnstone, then chief justice of Ceylon, recommended to its inhabitants, the holders of slaves, to declare all the children born of slaves from and after the 12th of August, 1816, being the Prince Regent's (afterwards George the IV.) birth-day, free, and declarations to this effect were made by the Dutch inhabitants and Burghers, Cingalese, Malabars, Moors, and a variety of other persons interested in slave property.

On the 5th of August, 1818, Sir Robert Brownrigg issued a regulation for securing to certain children, emancipated by the proprietors, the full benefit of such proprietor's intentions; and for establishing an efficient registry of all slaves, and abolishing the joint tenure of property in the same. "The period allowed for making the registry was within three months from the date of this regulation," viz. to the 5th of November, 1818. Penalty for non-registration, forfeiture of slave or slaves and their children, who shall be and are declared absolutely free."

In a despatch from Lord Bathurst, dated 20th of June, 1817, in which his lordship recommended the foregoing registration, he says, "the more rigidly its provisions are enforced, the more will it meet my cordial concurrence."

The number of slaves in Jaffnapatam and Trincomalee at this period was estimated as follows, viz.

Domestics	2,000
Covia, Nallua, and Palla slaves	20,000
In all .	22,000

From the passing of the foregoing regulation to the 10th of May, 1821, a period of nearly three years, we have no report of the progress of the measures contemplated by it.

On the 10th of May, 1821, Sir Edward Barnes informs Lord Bathurst of the passage of a regulation for the gradual emancipation of all female children of the Covia, Nallua, and Palla castes, by the purchase of their master's interest in such female slave child at the period of her birth. The date of the regulation was the 17th of April, 1821, and its enactments were to take effect from the 24th of April, 1821, the time of his Majesty's (George the Third) birth-day. "The price to be paid was the sum of three rix dollars if the mother is of the Covia caste, and the sum of two rix dollars if she be of the Nallua or Palla caste. The number of grown up females of these castes was reckoned at that period to be 9000. Annual number of births of female children estimated at 2500." The result of all these measures may be seen in an extract of a report from Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke, one of his Majesty's commissioners of inquiry, upon the administration of the government of Ceylon, dated 24th of December, 1831, viz. "There is reason to infer that some of the subordinate castes were originally slaves, who, in the revolutions of the country, were left to provide for their own subsistence, and were recognized on the footing of servile castes, deriving their subsistence from the land; and, in the Kandyan provinces it has been a custom for debtors to become the slaves of their creditors. Personal slavery, however, is nearly extinct in the Cingalese provinces (this was an error); but it still exists among the Malabars in the northern districts of Ceylon. The number of slaves in the district of Jaffna, according to the returns of 1824, was 15,350. The number of domestic slaves throughout the maritime provinces does not exceed 1000, and they are chiefly the property of the Dutch inhabitants and their descendants, who, in 1816, agreed to enfranchise the children born of them after that date." "The slaves of the Malabar districts were first registered in 1806, and in 1818 provision was made for annulling all joint ownership of slaves, and for enabling all slaves to redeem their freedom by purchase.

"To lead to the abolition of slavery, a regulation was passed in 1821, for the emancipation of all female slave children by purchase at their birth, the government engaging to pay to their owners the sum of two or three rix dollars, according to the caste of the mother." "The number of children who have been registered as free by the subscribers to the address to the Prince Regent in 1816, is ninety-six: fifty male and 46 female children. The number of female children who in 1829 had been purchased by the government under the regulation of 1821, was 2211; and the number of slaves who had purchased their freedom under the regulation of 1818, either by labour on public works or otherwise, was 504; or males 200, females 171, and children 133.

"By the provisions of this law, the value of the slave is determined by arbitrators; and it may be objected to the regulation of 1821, that the government should have fixed the sum to be paid for each female child, with reference to caste, and at so low a rate as three rix dollars (or 4s. 6d.) for the highest, which sum the owner was bound to accept. It would be more just that, as in the case of adult slaves purchasing their freedom, arbitrators should be appointed to determine the rate.

"Latterly the Malabar slaves have not come forward in any numbers to redeem their freedom by purchase, but many children have been enfranchised under the regulation.

"These laws are objected to by the Malabar proprietors, who have complained of the compulsory manumission of their slaves; but as the gradual extinction of slavery in Ceylon may be accomplished with so little sacrifice, the regulations of 1818 and 1821, with some modifications, should be maintained, and their operation extended to the Kandyan provinces, where personal slavery, to a limited extent, also prevails" (Par. Pap. 158, 1839, pp. 597, 598.)

From the foregoing report, it appears that the Kandyan provinces were excepted from the regulations of 1818 and 1821, though that fact does not appear in the regulations themselves.

From 1831 to 1837, a period of six years, we have no information on the subject of slavery in Ceylon, when we find it thus referred to in an extract from a despatch of Lord Glenelg's to the Right Honourable J. Stewart Mackenzie, dated Downing Street, 2nd of October, 1837. "I regret to think that the evil of slavery still exists in the island, though it be only to a comparatively small extent. The number of slaves is stated to be 27,597; they chiefly reside in the Malabar districts. A regulation of government was passed in 1818, to enable them to redeem their freedom by purchase; and a second regulation in 1821, for the emancipation of all female children by purchase at their birth; the value of the slave is determined, under the former law, by arbitrators, but the latter awards the price of the female children with reference to caste, the highest rate being fixed at three rix dollars (or 4s. 6d.). Colonel Colebrooke did not consider this to be an equitable mode of adjustment, and has recommended in his report that arbitrators should be appointed to determine the rate, as in the case of adult slaves purchasing their freedom" (Ibid. p. 598).

It was during the foregoing period that Sir R. W. Horton, Bart. was governor, a man from whom little was to be expected in promoting the abolition of slavery, until, urged by Justice Jeremie, he passed a regulation for the "triennial verifications of the registers," in September, 1837, in which provision was also made for registering all the Kandyan slaves. On that occasion he made a characteristic speech to the council (Ibid. p. 600).

The regulations respecting registration were but coldly received by Lord Glenelg, who appears to have adopted Sir R. W. Horton's opinion, "that, slavery having become little more than a nominal relation, there may be good policy in permitting it to expire silently." It would appear that the law for the triennial verification of the slave registries is a dead letter. Sir R. W. Horton, who passed it on the suggestion of Mr. Jeremie, refused to act upon it (Ibid. pp. 599, 612).

It is quite evident that, if the regulation (1806) of General Maitland had been strictly enforced, slavery would have ceased long ago in Ceylon; and the same may be said also of the regulations of 1818 and 1821; the fact is, these provisions have been allowed to become inoperative, and slavery exists even more extensively now in that colony than in 1816, when 763 slave proprietors agreed to manumit all the children born of their slaves from the 12th of August of that year.

SLAVERS CAPTURED.—We learn, by the arrival of the British brig of war, Wasp, at this port, on Monday last, fifty days from Sierra Leone, that twelve prizes, slavers, belonging to different nations, then lay in that port, having been captured by British vessels. It does not say whether any of them were American vessels or not. We presume that some of them, at least, sailed under the American flag. By the arrival also of the ship Grotius, at Boston, last from St. Helena, we also learn that seven vessels had arrived at that island, (prizes), having been captured by British cruizers, with 700 slaves. Verily, these slavers intended to drive a large business of *barburism*, but they have been nicely defeated, and doubtless resulted in a great losing concern. Why is it that American ships of war never capture a slaver? It looks very suspicious. Who can answer why?—*Colored American.*

BREMEN AND HAMBURGH SLAVERS.—We are credibly informed that the slavers taken the other day under the flags of the above-named free cities, belong to a Portuguese house established in Hamburgh, Lisbon, several parts of Brazil, and even in this country; which, to facilitate its nefarious commerce, has taken in Brazilian, Hamburghese, and Bremen partners, using the flags of all these nations at different times, as may best suit their purpose.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XL. Vol. II. No. 13.] WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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This day is published, price 1s. 6d.,
Dedicated by permission to the Venerable Thomas Clarkson, Esq.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA shown to be peculiarly abominable, both as a political anomaly and an outrage on Christianity. By WILLIAM DAY, formerly editor of the *Christian's Friend* and *Jersey Argus*.

London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., Paternoster-row; and T. Balle, 247, High-street, Exeter.

AT a MEETING of the BIRMINGHAM BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE, held at the office of William Morgan, June 16th, 1841,

THOMAS BEILBY, Esq., Magistrate, in the chair.

Resolved unanimously,

That this committee, hearing that upwards of one million of British subjects are still in a state of slavery in British India, would earnestly urge upon all abolitionists throughout the United Kingdom, and upon every elector, the great importance of pressing upon Candidates for a seat in Parliament who may solicit their suffrages, the duty of voting for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in British India, and in the several dependencies of the crown in the East.

THOMAS BEILBY, Chairman.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA, AND THE PRESENT ELECTION.

The attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has been directed to the importance of turning the present parliamentary election to account, in relation to the highly important subject of slavery in British India. On the 11th instant a meeting was held, at which the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That, in the judgment of this committee, the question of Slavery in British India, involving as it does the personal liberty and civil rights of upwards of One Million of human beings, the subjects of this realm, imperatively demands the attention of Abolitionists throughout the United Kingdom, in view of the anticipated general election and the return of representatives to the next parliament; they would, therefore, earnestly urge upon abolitionists, and the constituencies in general, the great importance of pressing upon those candidates who may solicit their suffrages the duty of voting, in the event of their return to parliament, for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery (however modified or sanctioned) in British India, and in the several dependencies of the crown in the East in which it at present exists, whenever the question shall be brought before the house of commons: and of thus delivering their country from the guilt and dishonour of sustaining a system of degradation and oppression in the East, which has been happily terminated in the West Indies."

Copies of this resolution have been forwarded to their friends generally throughout the country, with a request that the committee may be furnished with the names of such candidates as may give assurances of support.

In addition to this measure, the committee have issued the following address to the electors of the United Kingdom.

"Electors

"Slavery still exists within the British Dominions—exists to an almost incredible extent, as to the number of its victims, and the horrors of its oppression.

"In British India, under the protection of the Crown of England, millions of our fellow-creatures—our fellow-subjects—are held, under different forms, in a state of abject slavery!!

"Slavery under any form is an evil of tremendous magnitude. It is to deprive human beings, male or female, of that liberty which is their birthright; to reduce them to a chattel, and the level of a beast; it is to place irresponsible power in the hands of a petty tyrant, who may use it upon his victim according as he is impelled by cruelty, avarice, anger, or lust. Such is its character, and such at this very time are its effects in British India, under the various forms of domestic or field slaves, eunuchs, concubines, dancing girls (kept for purposes of prostitution, the lawless gains of which come into the hands of their masters). Slavery, sustained in its numbers by kidnapping, breeding, by home produce, or foreign importation from Abyssinia, Africa, Arabia, and other parts of the world, exists to the extent which has been stated in our dominions in the East.

"Your voice has been once heard, saying, 'Africa, be free;' let it once more be heard for the oppressed children of the East. In the British senate must your demands be preferred, and the sentence be pronounced. In the approaching appeal for your votes, give them to no candidate who will not pledge himself to the steady uncompromising support of a measure, for the total and unqualified abolition of slavery—abolition as great and perfect as that which has been effected in the West.

"Friends of humanity—

"You have not the same difficulties to encounter as in the former case. No money will be drained from the exhausted exchequer of our country. Slavery is not an essential part of the system of Indian caste. There is no law, Hindoo or Mohammedan, that requires its perpetuation. Your united efforts must be crowned with success.

"Signed on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

"J. H. Tredgold, Secretary.

"27, New Broad-street, June 22, 1841."

Answers from Parliamentary Candidates.

The Albany, June 23, 1841.

Dear Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, containing an interesting extract upon the subject of slavery in British India, accompanied with a pamphlet upon the same subject. I cordially concur in the views taken by you in reference to this important question; and, as far as my vote is concerned, you may be assured of its being, as I trust it always has been, in favour of the extinction of slavery wherever it is to be met with. I sincerely hope that a bill of the description you name may be introduced; and, if it is, it shall have my support.

I think this time we shall have no contest; but I equally feel it to be my duty to give you a cordial answer to the question you have been good enough to propound to me, and to thank you for the documents by which it is accompanied, and which I shall make a point of reading when I have a little more leisure than I have at this moment.

I remain, dear Sir, your's faithfully,

Joseph Soul, Esq. Thomas S. Duncombe.

35, *Bedford Square, June* 26, 1841.

Sir,—Mr. Wakley requests me to acknowledge for him the receipt of your letter and the pamphlet; and to say that, a multitude of engagements having pressed upon him during this week, he was not before able to reply to your question. He now begs me to say, that if such a bill as you have named be brought into the house of commons during the next session of parliament, and Mr. Wakley occupies a seat in the house at the time, it shall receive his warm and zealous support through the whole of its stages.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,

Joseph Soul, Esq. George J. Mills.

Mark Lane, June 26th, 1841.

My Dear Sir,—I hope I need not tell you that I am an opponent of all slavery. That existing in the East Indies it will be my duty, as it is my disposition, to make myself acquainted with, and to do all in my power to abolish.

I remain, my dear Sir, your's very truly,

B. Wood.

To Henry Sterry, Esq.

Mr. Humphery presents his compliments to Mr. Henry Sterry, and begs, in acknowledging his letter of this day's date, to assure him of his uncompromising hostility to slavery, wherever or in whatever form it may be found.

His parliamentary influence (should he be again returned) may therefore be relied upon, in support of every measure tending to promote its abolition.

Hay's Wharf, June 26th, 1841.

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DEATH OF SIR JOHN JEREMIE.

THE friends of humanity throughout the world will hear with the deepest regret of the death of Sir John Jeremie, the recently appointed governor of Sierra Leone. A private letter, dated the 27th of April, brings the intelligence that he died on the 23rd of that month, of a Port Locco fever, after an illness of twenty-one days. The colony, says the writer of this letter, is "plunged into the deepest distress" by this melancholy event; and all friends of the cause of humanity will feel that it has lost much, in the sudden termination of the career of this distinguished person. Had his life been spared, his intelligence, benevolence, and firmness might have done much for Africa; it is now only added to the number which have been sacrificed on the altar of Africa's welfare. We are thus called anew to bow to the inscrutable pleasure of the Disposer of all events, who, we doubt not, has mercy in store for that desolated country, but who will accomplish his purposes in his own way.

We hope in an early number to furnish some account of the useful and honourable course which our late valued friend, with eminent consistency, pursued.

ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN BRAZIL.

WE have been favoured with the following interesting information on this subject, which may be fully relied on. Our informant commences with an account of distinguished persons in Brazil who are adverse to slavery.

Antonio Perreira França, deputy for Bahia, after repeatedly urging in the strongest manner the abolition of slavery, proposed in 1835, that all slaves who had been born in Brazil should be emancipated; and this motion was seconded by Senhor Martin Francisco de Andrado, lately minister of finance, and supported by several other members. Senhor Antonio Carlos de Andrada, the late premier, spoke repeatedly against the system of slavery; contending that it was impossible that Brazil could prosper while one race oppressed the other, and stigmatizing slavery as the *plague-spot* of Brazil.

Senhor Hollanda Cavalcanti, late minister of marine and senator, steadily declared himself the enemy of slavery, and lately discharged all slaves from the arsenals of the empire. On his own plantations he employs exclusively free-labour. Senhor Aurdiano de Souza Oliveira, lately minister of foreign affairs, when minister of justice in 1832, took the strongest measures to prevent the slave-trade; as did also his Excellency Senhor Montezuma, now ambassador to this court. While minister of justice and of foreign affairs, in 1837, he declared himself most strongly against the slave-trade, and established a severe scrutiny of the vessels which came from Africa.

His Excellency Senhor de Oliveira, at various times minister of finance and of foreign affairs, and now ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg, was so much opposed to the slave-trade, that he withdrew the acknowledgment of the Portuguese chargé d' affaires, because that functionary connived at the traffic by the facility with which he granted passports to Portuguese vessels well known to be engaged in it.

The following works are published against the slave-trade by Brazilians, and publicly sold at Rio de Janeiro:—

Senhor Bonifacio de Andrada, minister at various times, and tutor and guardian to the present Emperor when a minor, published a plan for emancipation, substituting immigrant white labour in lieu of that of imported slaves.

Major Burlamaque, of the Engineers, and professor of the military academy at Rio, published, in 1839, a work deprecating slavery and the slave-trade in the strongest terms, which work is reported by men capable of judging of its merits to be full of practical hints, and to display much research.

Two memorials against slavery, published in the journals of the historical and geographical institute of Brazil, the one by Senhor Joze Silvestre Pabello, formerly chargé d'affaires in Washington; and the other by the Rev. Januario da Cunha Barboza, canon of the cathedral of Rio de Janeiro, and principal librarian and chronologist of the empire. These works are the fruits of much experience and research.

The laws for the emancipation of the slaves, either by their own exertions or those of others, are highly favourable; and it is so popular a measure, that benefits have been given at the theatres of Rio de Janeiro for the purpose of ransoming slaves.

The Freemasons' grand lodge at Rio, of which most of the influential statesmen and proprietors are members, on the anniversary of St. John's day manumit a certain number of slaves by purchase.

By the law passed against the slave-trade on the 7th of November, 1833, it was declared that all Africans landed in Brazil after that period should be free. The number of negros now in Brazil who have been clandestinely introduced subsequently, must amount at the lowest computation to 300,000!

At the breaking out of the revolutions in Bahia and Rio Grande, the latter of which is not yet quelled, the slaves were all declared free; by which a most powerful body (physically speaking) were ranged under the banners of the malcontents, and an impressive lesson taught to those in authority, which it is to be hoped they will not be too blind to learn.

THE COFFEE CROPS.—The coffee crops in both Indies are abundant. In British Guiana the expected supply is double that of last year.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

[From *Le Siècle.*]

AT the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Society, founded in London for the abolition of slavery, held at Exeter Hall on the 14th May, 1841, the venerable William Allen in the chair, Daniel O'Connell, member of parliament, proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Charles Remond, of the United States, and unanimously adopted. "This meeting view with the most lively interest the proceedings of the government and people of France, with regard to the abolition of slavery in her different colonies; it cherishes the hope that no measure will be adopted on this subject, other than one of complete and unconditional emancipation; and that the prompt and just adoption of this desirable plan will be to the honour of that great nation, and will be an example to other people, which it will be their duty to imitate."

This resolution has been brought to Paris by Messrs. J. J. Gurney and Josiah Forster, who have had the honour of being received by the king and his ministers. These men, justly respected in their country for their virtues, and for the sacrifices which they have made for twenty years in this noble cause, have convened in Paris a special meeting, composed of peers of France, deputies, and distinguished citizens of all classes, to whom they addressed a religious discourse. Mr. Joseph John Gurney, one of the two, related, in the most lively and touching terms, the facts which he had lately observed in a journey, completed in 1840, in the United States, and in the Danish and British isles. In the United States there exists an internal slave trade, in which the offspring of the negros are sold, like the beasts in our departments. In the southern states, the number of victims consigned annually to this infamous traffic is about 60,000; and it frequently happens that the father and the mother, the daughters and the other children, are sold to masters of different states. Slavery being maintained only by force, it gives birth to hardships and barbarities which it is impossible to repress.

In the Danish islands the traveller remarked that, in spite of the ordinances of the monarchs of Denmark recently published, the practice laid open the most complete degradation of human kind. In St. Thomas' they openly sell all those who are saleable. The English islands, where emancipation has been accomplished, have every reason to anticipate prosperity: he cited Tortola, Antigua, and Dominica. In Jamaica things were not so happy; but then they retained there what they desired to perpetuate—slavery under another name—by raising rent in order to coerce labour. Nevertheless, the year 1842 promises an augmentation of one-fifth in the produce, in consequence of a better understanding between the former masters and the enfranchised negros.

Mr. Gurney furnished numerous proofs that everywhere, where there has been a good understanding between the proprietors and the free labourers, there was a certainty of continuous labour; that labour was cheaper by more than one-third; that the value of property is everywhere increased; that the moral progress of the negros is immense, and rejoices the hearts of all the friends of religion and humanity.

In Dominica, formerly a French colony and in the same state as the colonies in our Antilles, the progress is as great as in Antigua; the blacks of Guadeloupe and Martinique who have taken refuge there, far from living in misery and desiring to re-assume their chains (Mr. Gurney has seen them), conduct themselves admirably, and are very happy.

He is convinced that there is no intermediate point between slavery and freedom, because, in a mixed state, the results of moral and religious instruction are null. Experience has every where demonstrated this fact.

M. François Delessert, in the name of the meeting, returned thanks to these noble and estimable strangers, from whom conviction had passed into the minds of all the audience, and he expressed the hope that France would very soon, by a wise and prudent law, resolve this important question of liberty and civilization.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

A large and distinguished assemblage, among whom were General Coletti, the Greek Ambassador, Count Gasparin, M. Geoffroi, of the Institute, M. Isambert, and M. F. Delessert, met on Wednesday evening, at the hotel Meurice, to listen to the philanthropic expositions and arguments of Messrs. Forster, J. J. and Samuel Gurney, members of the London Society for the abolition of slavery, against that inhuman system. The business of the evening was opened by Mr. Forster, who briefly explained the great object of the society, and the beneficial results it has produced during the sixty years it has existed. Mr. J. J. Gurney then took a general view of the state of slavery in America and the West Indies, proving by facts collected by himself, during his recent travels in those countries, the salutary effects of the emancipation of the negros in the British colonies; and, by detailing the present flourishing condition of the island of Antigua, he showed that the abolition might have been effected without previous apprenticeship, and even without any indemnity to the slave-owners. During his address, Mr. J. J. Gurney was repeatedly interrupted by loud plaudits. Mr. Samuel Gurney depicted the frightful state of the slaves in the island of Cuba and other colonies, and demonstrated the necessity for France to follow the example of England in abolishing slavery in her settlements. M. François Delessert returned thanks to the three philanthropists, expressing a hope that France may soon be induced to fol-

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low in the footsteps of England, and take a decisive part in these measures so greatly in the interest of morality and humanity. The assembly separated at eleven o'clock, full of admiration for the three members of the Society of Friends, who have devoted a large portion of their lives and fortunes to promote so sacred a cause. These gentlemen had been on Tuesday evening presented at the *soirée* of M. Guizot, where they received from the minister and many eminent men numerous marks of interest and esteem. —*Galignani.*

SIERRA LEONE: EMIGRATION.

THE efforts of the West Indians to recruit for immigrants at this colony are thus detailed by Mr. Barclay, the agent for Jamaica, in a letter which appears in the *Morning Journal* of May 12, and is dated Sierra Leone, April 5.

"We arrived here on the 16th March; and I am glad to say all are well on board the Hector. I have been kept in a regular bustle every day 'palavering,' with crowds of people, taking down their names, and posting them in the secretary's office; which causes sad delay and trouble, as they can do nothing for themselves. Another serious difficulty presents itself in procuring the requisite proportion of females, from the great preponderance of the other sex. What number I shall be able to take with me it is impossible yet to say. Between Maroons and liberated Africans, I have more on my list than the ship can carry; but I have great doubts how far the latter (by far the most important class) are to be depended upon when the hour of embarkation arrives. We propose to sail on the 20th instant (April), and hope to arrive about the 25th of next month (May).

"The Trinidad ship reached here on the same day with us; and yesterday a large ship, the Superior, anchored alongside of us from Demerara—too many at one time.

"The mass of population here is much too large for the limited means of employment which the colony affords. They are generally fine healthy-looking young people; and, beyond all manner of doubt, the removal of a part of them to the fertile islands of the west will be of mutual advantage to them and to us. This I have no doubt they will find out, although in the first instance they are naturally enough shy of moving. To overcome this feeling, and inspire them with confidence, much will depend upon judicious arrangements; in which, of course, I shall do the best that I am able for our good old island."

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE President's speech contains the following reference to the African slave-trade:—

"I shall also, at the proper season, invite your attention to the statutary enactments for the suppression of the slave-trade, which may require to be rendered more efficient in their provisions. There is reason to believe that the traffic is on the increase. Whether such increase is to be ascribed to the abolition of slave-labour in the British possessions in our vicinity, and an attendant diminution in the supply of those articles which enter into the general consumption of the world, thereby augmenting the demand from other quarters, and thus calling for additional labour, it were needless to inquire. The highest considerations of public honour, as well as the strongest promptings of humanity, require a resort to the most vigorous efforts to suppress the trade."

The *Salem Register* complains loudly of British interference with American vessels, suspected of being engaged in this inhuman traffic.

The ship Seamew, taken by the British cruisers on the coast of Africa some months ago, under the pretext of her being engaged in the slave-trade, arrived at this port on Tuesday. The Seamew is owned by Mr. Robert Brookhouse. She was seized at Ambriz, on the south-west coast of Africa, by her Britannic Majesty's brig Persian, all her crew taken out, leaving on board only the captain, mate, and cook, and ordered to Sierra Leone in charge of a British lieutenant and prize crew. On her arrival at Sierra Leone, Captain Briant was kept a prisoner on board, and not allowed to go on shore, nor hold any communication with any person from the shore. All his papers, including even his family letters, were likewise taken possession of. The court of commissioners established at Sierra Leone for the purpose of trying vessels concerned in the slave-trade, finding that there was no cause for suspicion, refused to have anything to do with the Seamew, and she was taken thence to St. Helena, where she was given up to Captain Briant. The detention of the Seamew, from the time she was seized until she returned to the same port, was about four months. During this period, both vessel and cargo were shamefully neglected, very much to the injury of both. At St. Helena, Captain Briant was obliged to ship a new crew to enable him to prosecute his voyage. The original crew, having been taken from the vessel when first seized, were afterwards transported to St. Helena, and there released and left to shift for themselves. All but two of them have, in one way or another, reached home, and the owners are obliged to pay the wages of all until they return. We forbear to comment on these outrages at present, as we learn that a suitable representation of the Tigris case has been laid before the government, and, as soon as the proper papers can be prepared, the case of the Seamew will be represented. We have full confidence that ample reparation will be demanded for these aggravated offences. We learn that the barque Jones (likewise a prize, it will be remembered) had sailed several times from the coast after being given up, but was obliged to put back in consequence of leaks, &c., the effects of the climate and neglect of the prize officers, and it was feared they would be obliged to condemn her. We are also informed, that, in the case of the Tigris, the evidence was so shallow, that the grand jury found not the least pretence for bringing in a bill against the officers, and both they and the vessel were discharged. Nevertheless, the United States are obliged to pay to the British prize-master mileage, at the rate of 8 cents a mile, for the distance from Africa to the United States, and from the United States to England, say 7000 or 8000 miles, and also one dollar-and-a-quarter per day for witness fees. A fine speculation this suppression of the slave trade!

COAST OF AFRICA, AND THE WEST AFRICAN COMPANY.

EXTRACT from a letter dated Fernando Po, *March 19th* 1841.

On my passage I have learned a few particulars respecting the notorious Pedro Blanco, from a ship captain who had been in the African trade, and had visited frequently the slave factory of this man. His house is situated on an island at the mouth of the river Gallinas, and is supplied with the luxuries of Europe. In going from the factory to the residence, the way strangers are taken is through a labyrinth of creeks, making its distance appear much greater from the sea than it really is. The house is large, airy, and commodious, and is surrounded by other buildings, occupied by females. He has the character of being hospitable and kind, even to the officers of the men-of-war placed to guard the coast, and to put an end to his lucrative traffic. He sometimes purchases the whole of a ship's cargo, and has had goods consigned to him to the amount of £30,000. His bills are always considered good in the estimation of the traders, and he gets the character of giving without scruple a good price for the goods he purchases. He spoke of giving up his factory, and returning to Europe, on account of his losses; but at this his factors smiled, saying afterwards that Pedro had now been talking in this way for many years, and they did not think he meant to move yet.

Many slaves were in the barracoons. When these were allowed to go out to wash themselves, they were strongly guarded by a factor and some kroomen; the factor with two brace of pistols and a naked sword, the kroomen with cutlasses. The men are in irons, and are let out in very small parties. With the women they are not so particular. Another large slave factor here is named Francisco. His slaves rose a short time before this captain visited the place, and four or five of them were killed before Francisco, and his dogs and servants, were able to overcome them. In consequence they were in very heavy irons, and had not then the small portion of liberty they had previously enjoyed.

At Grand Cestos I heard of another slave factory, and of the successful shipment of a cargo of slaves, which had taken place a few days or weeks before we reached Cape Palmas. This information I had from Captain Harper, of the schooner Gil Blas, on the 10th of December, 1840. At Cape Coast, I learnt from Captain Tucker, of the Wolverine, that his boats had been fired into in the Brass River, by the natives who favour the slave trade; and that the feeling against the British was bad wherever this nefarious traffic had in former days been carried on. At Coriso Bay a slave factory was broken up by this vessel, and the buildings blown to the ground.

At Bimbia I saw a Portuguese slave collector, and was informed by Captain Becroft, of the steamer Ethiope, that he belonged to the factory in Coriso-Bay, just destroyed. He came to me, and very anxiously inquired if I had heard of such a matter; he afterwards put the same inquiry to Captain Becroft, and obtained from him a decisive answer that such was the fact. This man shipped off a boat load of slaves from Bimbia a little while ago for Prince's, but the boat was taken by a vigilant man of war. The boat in which myself and ——— sailed to Bimbia and Cameroons was once employed in the same work, the transporting of slaves from the main land to the island of Prince's.

The sort of liberty enjoyed in Africa is in general a description of slavery. Even the kroomen (which term, as commonly understood, comprehends the natives nearly along the whole line of the Grain coast) are in a sort of slavery, to chiefs, and kings, and tradesmen. The account given is, that their parents send them in from the country, to learn the art of trading with the whites; that they give them up to tradesmen, who cannot sell them to slave-ships, but dispose of them to English captains for so many handkerchiefs, &c. The poor naked youths have nothing to say in the matter, but are marched forward; and, if supposed likely to attempt a swim to a canoe, are placed below, until distant from the country to which they belong. In this way nearly all the wood-cutters are got for the West African company. They did not come in chains, they came voluntarily; but they stood as people who had no part in the agreement. The tradesmen would bring six or eight, and bargain for cloth, &c., and get it, and go on shore as unfeelingly as possible, not supplying the poor boys left with a handkerchief to wrap about the loins. All of them had an old cloth of this sort, but no other covering, and no bed; nothing like what the nature of the voyage would seem to require. Our captain was a kind-hearted man, and the kroomen were very quiet. The idea that they were free, and that they should visit their native land again in two or three years, with plenty of cloth, guns, powder, &c., bore them up; yet many looked very sad, and some came to me frequently, and said, "we wont go;" "me go home;" "the country;" Cradstown," &c. Several slipped into the sea from the fore chains, and escaped to land; and five left us at Cape Coast Castle. Eighty were brought safely to Fernando Po. On the second Saturday, two of these, and one who had been in the country before, were tied up before our windows, and flogged for running away. Other severe punishments have since occurred, but the floggings have been at another place; there the men were tied over a great

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gun, on which they had punishment inflicted. Nearly all who came in the Godden Spring, are worked in the woods at timber cutting by day, two or three miles distant, and marched into the hospital, to be confined on a narrow cape by night. Here an artificial cut runs across, and men, with loaded guns and pistols and swords, are placed by a powder magazine and dungeon, but serve also to prevent the escape of these poor kroomen. The gentlemen of the West African Company, in St. Helen's Place, London, certainly do not know that as real a system of slavery is carried on by their agents here as can possibly exist; with this one exception, that the poor wretches have the hope of seeing an end to it. About eighty expect to get home this year, but several of these have been in bondage four or five years.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 30TH.

WE hope all our friends are alive to the importance of the present crisis, in relation to the abolition of slavery in our eastern possessions. The hope of British India hangs on the current election. It is now, and too probably *now only*, that the gentlemen who are to constitute the next House of Commons, will accept information, and promise to make themselves acquainted with this important subject. It is now that those who are favourable to the abolition of slavery in British India may be induced to make an explicit declaration of their principles, and to lay a foundation for confidence in the course they will pursue when the subject shall be brought forward. It will be seen by our columns to-day, that some answers of a most satisfactory kind have already been given; and we cannot doubt that many more, equally satisfactory, will follow. Only let electors be in earnest upon this matter, and make candidates feel that they are so, and preparation will be made for an effective blow at this gigantic evil in the first session of the new parliament. Of all answers, whether satisfactory or otherwise, it will be useful to send information to the office of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

There is the greater urgency in this case, because of the impulse which is now given to the agricultural industry of British India, in relation both to sugar and cotton. If these articles are to be cultivated by free-labour, it is necessary that the entire population should be free. If there are slaves in India, and agriculture becomes largely profitable, the slaves will be set to work with severity; and we shall have all the atrocities and miseries of the West Indies repeated in the East. To show that such an apprehension is not chimerical, we may mention, that, according to private accounts, the proposals made by the parties who are now endeavouring to extend the cultivation of cotton in India, are at so low a rate that the occupiers of land will not accept them. Under such circumstances it is but too probable that the labour of slaves may be resorted to; and that a new source of incalculable mischief may thus be opened unawares. The only security against this is, that EVERY SLAVE IN INDIA SHALL BE SET FREE.

THE best news brought by the West India mail is, that the drought has been broken up by some copious rains. So far as we are concerned, the silence of the papers is the best news possible.

THE following gratifying letter has been received from our friend and fellow-labourer, M. Isambert.

Paris, June 22, 1841.

SIR,—I have the pleasure of acquainting you, that, in its sitting of yesterday, the chamber of peers adopted, by a majority of 116 to 14, the project of law relative to the financial regulation of the slave colonies. This measure was attacked only by baron Charles Dupin, a salaried delegate of the colonial council of Martinique. He was answered by M. Barthe; who remarked that the colonial councils had voted to their delegates secret sums, by help of which they resisted the measures of the government. Admiral Duperré, minister of marine and the colonies, forcibly maintained that the law was necessary, because the colonial councils had abused the power which had been conferred upon them for the voting of imposts and local charges; and further because the government could not allow itself to be opposed in the great measure it was preparing for these colonies. He insisted particularly on this consideration. His speech was written, and had been deliberated on in council. We may be confident, therefore, that the present cabinet will present a law for emancipation in the next session, without further delay.

Accept the renewed assurance of my regard.

ISAMBERT,

Secretary of the French Abolition Society.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq., &c.

SLAVERY IN GUADELOUPE.

IN a recent number of *Galignani's Messenger* we find the following account, fearfully, but too truly illustrative of the state of the slaves in the French colonies. The case shows a wholesome determination to prosecute on the part of the government: the murderer, however, escaped without difficulty, by flying from the island.

"The Court of Assizes at Point à Pitre, in the island of Guadeloupe, was engaged, on April 28th, in the trial of M. Manche, the overseer of the estate of Tesseron, for the murder of two negros, named Firmin and Auguste, and wounding a third, named Jean Pierre. The following is a summary of the case, as given in evidence:—Some maroons, or runaway negros, had for some time taken shelter in the woods of the commune of St. Rose, and lived by committing robberies and other depredations in the neighbourhood. Manche determined to get rid of them, by attacking them in their retreat. At four o'clock in the morning of September 7th, being armed with a double barrelled gun, and accompanied by three slaves belonging to the estate under his charge, he went out to accomplish his intent. Having met Alexis, the slave of Madame Poyen, who had run away from her, Manche seized and bound him with cords to one of his own negros, and compelled the man to guide him to the retreat of the maroons. At a further distance he made a similar attempt upon Jean Pierre, a slave belonging to M. Kayser. This man refused to surrender, and took to flight, but was immediately wounded by a shot from Manche, and was secured and bound like the first prisoner. Manche then led on his party, and had not proceeded far before he descried Firmin, flying with his best speed; but, as the man would not stop on being called to, Manche discharged both his barrels, and killed him, and had his body immediately buried on the spot. This being done, the chase was renewed, and Auguste became the next victim of this sanguinary sport. Mondesire, another maroon, was in company with Auguste at the time, and became a witness against Manche, and his evidence was supported by Jean Pierre, the wounded maroon, whom, however, Manche had, by giving him five francs, endeavoured to bribe to silence. A partial admission of the fact by Manche himself, in a letter written by him to a brigadier of gendarmes, was produced in court. Manche had contrived to evade arrest, and therefore was tried in default of appearance. He was found guilty by the jury, and sentenced to close confinement, with hard labour, for ten years.

WEST INDIES.

THE operation of the new market for labour which freedom has created in the British West Indies is producing, as was from the first anticipated, effects of the happiest kind. Labourers who are free to move are at length courted to stay; and this by planters who have hitherto sought to attain their purpose, first by starving the peasantry, and next by violently obstructing emigration. The following extract from the *Barbados Mercury* is very significant in relation to this matter:—

"We beg in the most respectful though ingenuous terms, to refer to the long lists of names set up at the secretary's office of intending emigrants, which from time to time we have purposely published in our columns for their inspection. On Sunday last thirty-nine took their departure in the Peg-a-Ramsay and Carib; and (it is useless to dissemble) report says that numbers are awaiting the arrival of the Venezuela, to follow. The reason for so much dissatisfaction is openly declared everywhere, to be the scarcity and dearness of indigenous provisions, beyond the rates of wages which can be afforded.

"If it be urged against these reasons, that Demerara holds out no better prospect of plentiful and cheaper supplies of food, the reply is ready—'We may just as well run the risks attendant on our going to Demerara, and even suffer the severest privations in a strange country, as remain to be *starved to work* in our own.' Is there no remedy against a growing evil, the magnitude of which will ere long sweep off a population proverbially known to be sincerely attached to their native soil! As yet, we believe, the voyagers and locomotives have been principally of that class of operatives to be found in our penal gangs; who, for all their being worthless characters, have not lost their influence over their connexions and acquaintances, far and near, nor do they fail to exercise it. Planters of Barbados! look to the list of names; ask the churchwardens of your respective parishes how many certificates they have granted, and how many applicants are yet to be supplied. To our humble conception, and to most reflecting minds, they unfold a tale upon which at present we are reluctant to expatiate. We are not alarmists, neither do we desire to obtrude our opinions on the important subject of an obviously increasing emigration; but we cannot help repeating what we have so frequently written before, that there are strong indications of a required reform of the system of agriculture, and much need of unanimity in carrying that reform into operation. Locate our labourers by all possible and reasonable means, or Barbados in a short time must be afflicted with an immigration mania, equally deplorable with that which now distracts the 'magnificient province' of British Guiana."

THE BREMEN SLAVER.—The seizure of this vessel gives rise to a trial of a very interesting character. The question which arises is, whether the ship, although not engaged in the slave-trade, is not liable to condemnation under treaty, as conveying *equipments* for those which were.

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ADDRESS OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION OF COLOURED CITIZENS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE.

FELLOW CITIZENS.—The State Convention of coloured citizens, assembled in Albany, August 18th, 19th, and 20th, to consider their political condition in behalf of their people in this state, would respectfully address you on a subject to them of the most vital import. They would call your earnest and unprejudiced attention to the unjust and withering policy that, in 1821, led to the endorsing of an Anti-republican enactment (Art. II. sec. I. State Constitution), by which a portion of the citizens of this state were restricted in the exercise of a natural right, and refused an equal participation in its political arrangements; and they would also solemnly desire you to look around, and witness the multiplied evils that have for years weighed, and do now weigh heavily upon them, from not being allowed to use, on liberal and worthy terms, the all-important privilege of the elective franchise.

The patriotic framers of our State Constitution, in view of the then recent unwarrantableness of British jurisdiction, and pondering on the self-evident truths that had been made the solemn charter of their country's liberties, did, in 1777, (by suffrage and free choice appointed,) assemble in deliberative convention, and adopt such "acts and declarations as were calculated most efficiently to secure the rights and liberties of the good people of this state—most conducive to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and of America in general; basing themselves upon the avowed principle of the democratic colonies, that taxation and representation should go together, and that governments receive their power from the consent of the governed—they established in the constitution, as a foundation guard to the plainest rights of the people, such provisions as were best designed to keep inviolate their undeniable prerogative to select their rulers—this being the first article of belief in their republican faith.

In so doing, they did not think it consistent with the principles they professed to divide freemen—those who had shared with them the dangers of war, who had ever been willing to aid them in achieving their independence—we say, they did not divide these, their fellow citizens, into caste, and in the face of justice, confer privileges on one class that were refused to another. Every freeman, according to article VII of this firstly adopted instrument, who paid taxes, and hired a tenement worth forty shillings a year, was entitled to exercise the common right of voting.

In 1821, in opposition to the intellect, the philanthropy, and consistent republicanism of many noble men, who dignifiedly stood up and contended against the unprovoked intolerance that urged forward the measure, an act was passed, which, while it protected liberally others in the exercise of the franchise, made it incumbent upon every coloured citizen to possess 250 dollars freehold estate, in order to use the before common privileges. This requirement, as we have before declared, resulted most disadvantageously to us.

We now find ourselves existing in the chief division of the government, with no marks of criminality attached to our names as a class; no spots of immorality staining our characters; no charges of disloyalty dishonouring our birthright; yet prevented (by an invidious complexional proscription) from being participants in those free-born rights and sympathies that are bountifully guaranteed, not only to the common humanity of this state, but also to foreigners, of [illegible] legislation.

We find ourselves the subjects, and not the objects of legislation, because we are prevented from giving an assenting or opposing voice in the periodic appointments of those who rule us, and are made passive instruments of all laws, just or unjust, that may be enacted, to which we are bound to subscribe, even while we have no instrumentality either in their formation or adoption.

We find ourselves crippled and crushed in soul and ability, because, with all the longing that our spirits may possess to drink deeply of those pure waters that mentally and morally refresh and invigorate, we are thrust from the fountain with the cold treatment of aliens, having even that self-protecting instrument taken from us, which is the primary assurance and safeguard of citizenship.

We find ourselves shut out, by the secondary influence of a monied restriction, from a right which is the basis of a people's liberties and prosperity; and, by the withering influence of this, we are virtually and manifestly shut out from the obtainment of those resources of pecuniary and possessional emolument, which an unshackled citizenship does always ensure, and which very resources are held up before us as requirements for the use of a privilege, that, in accordance with the spirit of government, should be freest and most sacred.

This unequal participation in the privileges of the state we consider invidious and proscriptive. It proceeds from no principle of justice; it is not predicable either from the position or character of the people upon whom it so unequally operates. The causes which were supposed to justify its enactment, or warrant its continuance, have either no existence, or are equally applicable to a large body of respectable voters of the state.

What are we, as a people, in the state? What is our condition? What is the character we have? What the reputation we sustain? We are native born citizens of the state—immediate descendants of men held, not long since, as slaves. From this state we were translated into the partial enjoyment and limited possession of freedom, cut off from the sympathies of our fellow-citizens, almost abject in poverty, allowed in many places but a scanty and inadequate participation in the privileges of education, and deprived almost entirely of the elective franchise; we have, nevertheless, by the practical operation of common sense, by habits of industry, and the cultivation of the religious sentiments, been enabled to elevate ourselves above abasement, and possess ourselves of many of the advantages of religion, intelligence, and property.

We present the curious and acknowledged creditable spectacle of a people bending under the weight of proscription, who will not suffer by comparison with their more privileged fellow-citizens of the same rank, in either religion, virtue, or industry.

Although from the arbitrary distinctions that prevail throughout the community, we have been debarred entirely from collegiate education; although to a considerable extent, we have been excluded from the advantages of the common school system, yet we have been enabled, not only to sustain them among ourselves, but likewise in many instances select schools of our own. A spirit of intelligence pervades our entire people. Keeping with the progressive spirit of the age, and the continual intellectual progress of the nation, there are but few families in which books are not a common and necessary commodity.

In all parts of the states, from Montauk to Buffalo, literary and debating societies and clubs exist among our people, city, town, and village. In some instances, these societies are adorned and made more useful by libraries and reading rooms. Our schools and associations are continually sending forth a host of youth, with strong determination and purpose of subserving the best and highest interests of their proscribed race; and not an inconsiderable number of the rising hope of our people, have sought in some of the higher institutions of learning, either in this or a foreign land, the privileges of a classical education.

We have scattered, as bright spots all along the states, a number of young men, aspirants for the ministry, preparing for academical instruction; or entering, once in a while, the medical profession, with cultivated minds, and hearts devoted to the interests of men, and the great purposes of truth. The causes that have thrown a damp upon our literary ardour, have operated disadvantageously in our ecclesiastical relations. The prejudice against us in the community, has been more potent than the dictates of christian equality. Not only are we debarred from the rightful exercise of ecclesiastical privileges, but we also meet with indignities and hindrances in the simplest forms of religious communion.

We have often been driven from the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of those rights with which the death of a common Saviour invested us, in common with the rest of our fellow-creatures of the human family. Of necessity, then, have we been often forced to form religious societies of our own. Throughout the state we have upwards of forty independent congregations, of the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist denomination; each with a temple erected to the worship of the Almighty; most with settled pastors, under a regular yearly stipend; in connexion with which there are about 6000 communicants, who, with the respective congregations in attendance on them, average in the aggregate not less than 15,000 of our people, who statedly are under the influence of religion in connexion with our own churches, besides those in attendance elsewhere.

The amount of energy and intellect brought out by these various projects, may be justly regarded as speaking much for the virtue and character of a disfranchised and oppressed people. Aside from this, a large body of our people are in partial communion with the various Christian communities throughout the states. From these sources, streams of religious influence and blessing are in continual flow, refreshing and invigorating our entire body.

An undue and disproportionate development of powers produces unnatural effects. A continual enlargement of certain capacities, to the entire neglect of others, of equal or (it may be) of more importance, produces deformity. In order to develop symmetry of either form or character, a full, general, healthy, and vigorous exercise of all the powers, is absolutely necessary. In bringing forth the character of a people this is clear and manifest. The history of the serfs under the feudal system, the character of the same class in Russia, and the prominent traits of the disfranchised class in all communities at the present day, and especially the condition of enslaved men throughout the universe, give strong verity to the sentiment herein expressed. Human nature is complex in its formation. In proportion as the various powers of man are harmoniously educed, so is the nobleness and vastness of its capacity manifested. Free powers to the detriment of the moral, a muddiness of character is evinced. And so, if the moral alone is cultivated to the neglect of the mental and physical, the character is not symmetrical.

In a community man sustains various relations, and possesses powers adapted to them, which, if not permitted a natural and legitimate exercise, are turned upon himself, and followed with augmented and fearful capacity for evil, from the fact of having been diverted from a natural channel. It is thus with the possession or non-possession of the franchise in any state of society. Man is a creature of law—his nature adapted to government and its various functions. He sympathizes with its modes, and forms, and operations; and this from the fact, that there is not a single shade of revolution in the political aspect of a country, but it is felt to the extreme limit of the body politic, operating upon the individual being of all its subjects.

The deprivation of our people of the elective franchise, and a participation in the various rounds of public duty, shows the evil here spoken of. The power that should have been thus employed, have not lain dormant.

A trait which we possess in common with our common humanity has been manifested in us. Powers will have exercise, either healthy or unhealthy. The partial and proscriptive non-suffrage act has been to us hurtful in the extreme.

The powers that should naturally have been thus exercised were wrested from their legitimate employment. It has been the source of evil, unmitigated, unalleviated, without even an approach to an adequate benefit. It is true, we might become possessed of the immunities of citizens and votes by the property qualification. But this spur, this incitement, as it is regarded by some, lost all its zest in the bitter reflection, in the searing conviction, that we were made aliens and strangers in the country of our birth; a disfranchised class in the very land where lie the bones of our fathers—the land whose liberties they helped to achieve by patriotic service, and whose soil is enriched by their purest and noblest blood! But this is not all. When we were deprived of the elective franchise, the blow was given that severed that hold by which respect, deference, and consideration is obtained by the poorest and humblest citizen. Our fellow-citizens saw they had nothing to expect from us; we became a proscribed, depressed class; we felt every where we went, in all our relations, that we had been made separate from the rest of our fellow-citizens.

The pure and refreshing waters of literary excellence were not allowed to flow by us, to quench the burning thirst of an eager and longing people. In the various religious bodies, they have not found their purity of christian feeling powerful and universal enough to treat men aside from arbitrary distinctions, "without respect of persons." In short, the means and facilities, the ways and avenues to wealth and influence, were shut against us. We ask, what might be expected of any people in such circumstances? What might be anticipated as legitimate results from such a condition?

Under like disabilities, we perceive the sufferings of the Irish in Ireland, the degradation of the Greek, the besotted stupidity of the lower caste in India, and the abasement and continual decrease of the aborigines of our

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own country. So in this state: under like injustice, the greater amount of crime and suffering among our people have proceeded from a non-participation in the prerogatives of citizenship. Notwithstanding all these difficulties and depressions, calculated as they are to sicken the heart to a great extent, and make the soul give up, we have nevertheless been enabled to live above them.

We have been deprived of the elective franchise during the last twenty years. In a free country this is ever a stimulant to enterprise, a means of influence, and a source of respect. The possession of it sends life, vigour, and energy through the entire heart of a people. The want of it in a community is the cause of carelessness, intellectual inertness, and indolence. Springing above all these depressing circumstances, and exerting ourselves with unwonted alacrity by native industry, by the accumulation of property we have helped to contribute to a considerable extent, not only to the means of the state, but likewise to its character and respectability.

We claim that there is no consideration whatever in existence, on account of which the odious proscription of which we complain should be continued. The want of intelligence, our misfortune and the crime of others, which was once urged against us, does not now exist.

Again. We are the descendants of some of the earliest settlers of the state. We can trace our ancestry back to those who first pierced the almost impenetrable forests, that then lifted their high and stately heads in a silent grandeur to the skies. When the vast and trackless wilderness that had alone answered to the fierce roar of the roaming beast, or the whoop of the wild native, spread itself before the earlier settlers, our fathers were among those who, with sinewy frame and muscular arm, went forth to humble that wilderness in its native pride. Since that time our fathers, and we ourselves, have lent our best strength in cultivating the soil, in developing its vast resources, and contributing to its wealth and importance. Those who are the least acquainted with the history of the state cannot but grant that, *in this* respect, we have contributed more than our proportionate part. In times when patient toil and hardy industry were demanded, it will thus be seen that we have ever been present and active. Not only so: in times of peril has our aid been called for, and our active services as promptly given. When the country, its interests, its best and most cherished *rights and institutions*, have been assailed, not unavailingly have we been looked to. When the shrill trumpet call of freedom was heard amid the mountains and the rocks, and along the rivers of the north, and a reverberating reply was heard from the fields and pine forests of the south; when the whole country, aroused by the injustice of British policy, arose as one man for the maintenance of natural and imprescriptible rights; the dark browed man stood side by side with his fairer fellow-citizen, with firm determination and indomitable spirit. During that memorable conflict, in severe and trying service, did they contend for those principles of liberty set forth in the declaration of independence, which are not of partial or local applicability, but which pertain alike to every being possessed of those high and exalted endowments that distinguish humanity. Their blood is mingled with the soil of every battle field, made glorious by revolutionary reminiscence; and their bones have enriched the most productive lands of the country. In the late war of 1812, our people were again called upon to defend their country. The splendid naval achievements on lakes Erie and Chaplain were owing mostly to the skill and prowess of coloured men. The fame of Perry was disfranchised people. Not inconsiderably is it owing to them, that Americans of the present day can recur with pleasurable emotions, and pride of country, to the battle fields of Plattsburg and Sackett's Harbour.

We are Americans. We were born in no foreign clime. Here, where we behold the noble rivers, and the rich fields, and the healthful skies that may be called American; here, amid the institutions that now surround us, we first beheld the light of the impartial sun. We have not been brought up under the influence of other, strange, aristocratic, and uncongenial political relations. In this respect, we profess to be American and republican. With the nature, features, and operations of our government we have been familiarized from our youth, its democratic character is accordant with the flow of our feelings and the current of our thoughts. We have thus laid before you, fellow-citizens, some considerations why we should never have been deprived of an equal suffrage, and why a just and impartial guaranty of this right should soon be made. But, bating all these, we lay our claim on still higher ground: we do regard the right of our birthdom, our service in behalf of the country, contributing to its importance, and developing its resources, as favourable considerations—considerations adapted to banish all thought of proscription and injustice from the power-holding body of the country, and to lead them to a hearty and practical acknowledgment of the claims and rights of a disfranchised people.

Yet these alone we do not ask for the extension of the elective franchise We should not, we do not, predictate any right to it from any such basis. We would not fall into the error of basing rights upon grounds so untenable. We object to others placing our rights upon complexion. We ourselves would not lay claims to consideration on this, or on any similar grounds. We can find no system of moral or political ethics, in which rights are based upon the conformation of the body or the colour of the skin. We can find no nation that has the temerity to insult the common sense of mankind, by promulgating such a sentiment as part of its creed. However individuals or nations may act, however they may assail the rights of man, or wrest from him his liberties, they all, equally and alike, profess regard for natural rights, the protection and security of which they claim as the object of the formation of their respective systems.

Rights have an existence, aside from conventional arrangements or unnatural partialities. They are of higher origin, and of purer birth. They are inferrable from the settled and primary sentiments of man's nature. The higher dignities and exalted tendencies of our common humanity, are the original grounds from which they may be deduced. Wherever a being may be found endowed with the light of reason, and the exercise of its various exalted attributes, that being is possessed of certain peculiar rights on the ground of his nature.

We base our claim upon the possession of those common and yet exalted faculties of manhood.

WE ARE MEN. 1. Those sympathies which find their natural channel and legitimate and healthy exercise in civil and political relations, have the same being and nature in us that they have in the rest of the human family. 2. Those yearnings and longings for the exercise of political prerogative that are the product of the adaptedness of man's social nature to political arrangements, strive with irrepressible potency within us, from the fact of our disfranchised condition, a prevalent and unreasonable state of caste, and the operation of laws and statutes, not proceeding from, yet operating upon us. 3. Those indignities and wrongs which naturally become the portion of a disfranchised class, and gather accumulated potency from an increase and intenseness of proscription, naturally and legitimately revert to us. From possessing like sympathies for civil and political operations with others, and like susceptibilities for evil, when nature is hindered in any of its legitimate exercises, on the ground of our common humanity do we claim equal and entire rights with the rest of our fellow-citizens.

All that we say here meets with the full sympathy from all connected with the history of the country, the nature of its institutions, the spirit of its constitution, and the designs and purposes of its great originators. We have no reason to think that the framers of the declaration of independence, in setting forth the doctrines it contains, regarded them as dogmas or idle theories. We believe they put full faith in them, as actual truths and living verities. This they evinced by pledging to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honours. This they manifested by an unswerving opposition to injustice and oppression.

It was in accordance with the views of that great charter of American freedom that they framed the constitution of the country. Setting aside the stale primogenital fallacies of the blood dyed political institutions of the whole world; repudiating the unnatural assumptions of the feudal system, and exploding the aged and destructive sophism of natural inequalities in the family of man: they clung with undying tenacity to the connecting chain that runs through the whole mighty mass of humanity, recognised the common sympathies and wants of the race, and framed a political edifice of such a nature and character, as was congenial with the natural and indestructible principles of man, and was adapted to secure under its broad ægis the purest liberty God ever conferred upon him.

That declaration and the constitution, we think, may be considered as more fully developing the primary ideas of American republicanism than any other document. In these, individuals are regarded distinctly and respectively, each and every one, as men, fully capacitated by the Creator for government and progressive advancement, which capacities, in a natural exercise, are not to be interfered with by government.

Republicanism, in these two documents, has an eye to individual freedom, without lets or hindrances.

In her operations she is impartial. She regards men—all men; and is indifferent to all arbitrary and conventional considerations. This we deem to be the character of the Declaration of Independence; and this, likewise, the character of the constitution after which it was modelled. Republicanism was to be the distinguishing feature in its operations. The constitution of our state, as it sprang from the clear head and pure heart of that imparable patriot, John Jay, in its preamble and several sections, was, in spirit accordant with it. By this we mean, that, although the qualifications for voting, in general, were higher than those prevailing at the present, yet the ground of the suffrage enactment was not based upon national peculiarities or complexional distinctions. It is said that any man possessed of such and such qualifications should be a political denizen of the state.

As the state advanced in age, intelligence, and population, augmented in wealth, increased its resources, the call went forth for the extension of the franchise right. In accordance with the will of the people thus expressed, a convention was held in the city of Albany in the year 1821-2.

We beg that it may be remembered, that the convention was called for the purpose of extending the suffrage right. We would also call your attention to the fact, that the votes by which many of the delegates were elected to the convention were cast by coloured voters. And more especially would we remind you, that, during the proceedings of that convention, in its reports, addresses, &c., a peculiar deference is ever paid to the republican features of our common country, and its democratic tendencies.

Yet, in that convention, that portion of the citizens of the state whom we here represent were shut out from an equal and common participation in the prerogatives of citizenship, in the operation of both state and national governments, and thus placed under the operation of laws and statutes without our agency, and to which we are subjected without acquiescence.

We, the coloured citizens of the state in convention assembled, representing 50,000 of the population, do ask your earnest attention, your deep reflection, your unbiased and conscientious judgment in this matter. We ask you, as a matter in which you are deeply concerned, to come forward and restore the fountains of political justice in this state to their pristine purity. We ask you to secure to us our political rights. We call upon you to return to the pure faith of your republican fathers. We lift up our voices for the restored spirit of the first days of the republic—for the great principles then maintained, and that regard for man which revered the characteristic features of his nature, as of more honour and worth than the form and colour of the body in which they dwell. For no vested rights, for no peculiar privileges, for no extraordinary prerogatives, do we ask. We merely put forth our appeal for a republican birthright. We wish to be something more than political serfs and slaves. We fully believe in the fundamental doctrines set forth in the declaration of independence. We acquiesce in the sentiment that "governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed;" and we say it is injustice of the most aggrieved character, either to deprive us of a just and legitimate participation in the rights of the state, or to make us bear the burdens and submit to its enactments, when all its arrangements, plans, and purposes, are framed and put into operation utterly regardless of us, in their incipient state, as if we were nonentities; but which, in their practical operation, act upon us with destructive tendency, eat away our soul, and destroy our life. We ask for a living manifestation of belief in the above doctrine; we know already too much of its dead letter.

Fellow Citizens! the coloured citizens of this state, through us their representatives, respectfully and earnestly ask at your hands the speedy adoption of such plans, and the formation of such measures, as may soon lead to the erasure of the odious proscriptive act of which we complain—we secured an equal suffrage, and the state freed from a stain upon its character.

(Signed) A. STEWARD, President.

C. L. REASON,
H. H. GARNET, } Secretaries.
W. H. TOPP,

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SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

(*Continued from page* 136.)

CEYLON.

The Census of 1837 gives the number of slaves in Ceylon as follows, viz.

Western Provinces,	Males	373	Females		332
Southern ditto.	ditto	431	ditto		342
Eastern ditto.	ditto	12	ditto		11
Northern ditto.	ditto	12,605	ditto		11,910
Central ditto Kandyan ditto	ditto	687	ditto		694
	Males	14,108	Females		13,289
	Females	13,289			
	Total	27,397			

It appears, however, that the above statement is not strictly accurate. In the eastern provinces there does not appear to be any return kept in the "Seven Korles division," and in the Kandyan provinces the number returned in 1824, was, males 1,443, females 1456=2,899, and in 1829, males 1,067, females 1,046=2113.

We have reason to believe, on the best authority, that the number is much greater in Kandy, 6000 being the least that can be reckoned, but 12,000, probably, being nearer the mark. It is also computed that the entire number of slaves in Ceylon is about 37,000!

We now draw attention to the incidents of slavery in Ceylon.

Employments of slaves:—"The Covia, Nallua, and Palla slaves are generally employed in cultivating the lands, tending cattle, and collecting produce from trees. The Covias alone are used as domestic slaves" (Ibid. p. 594). They are the *absolute property* of their owners: "Slaves are all personal property; none are attached to the soil, but can be disposed of in any way the proprietors may think proper" (Ibid. p. 608). The *punishments* inflicted on them: "By the laws and customs of the country, a master has the power of punishing his slaves in any way short of maiming or death. The punishments usually inflicted are flogging, confining in stocks or irons, cutting off their hair, and, when very refractory, selling them" (Ibid. p. 608.) They *may be separated*:—"Slaves are seldom sold or families separated; but, when given as a marriage portion, or on the demise of a proprietor, in common with the rest of the deceased's property, they are distributed among his heirs." (Ibid. 608.)

How obtained:—"Some are descendants of native Kandyans, others of slaves brought from India, others by purchase of children during famines, and others by seizing free persons in satisfaction of pecuniary claims." And others by importation, according to Mr. Jeremie (Ibid. 608). (Vide Sawer's Law of slavery in the Kandyan provinces, a high authority.) *Value of slaves*:—"The rates at which slaves were valued have been established from time immemorial, viz. for a male, without reference to his age, fifty ridies, or £1 13*s.* 4*d.*; for a female, without reference to the age, 100 ridies, or £3 6*s.* 8*d.*" (Sawer's laws of Kandy.)

The whole of Mr. Sawer's observations should be read. On the subject of privation and punishment he says, "A master may drive out his slave, and, while his slave is in absolute destitution, he may abandon him to starvation." And again, "short of the deprivation of life or limb, the master has the power to punish his slave, and could put him to torture with the red hot iron!"

In addition to the information respecting slavery in Ceylon, drawn from the Parliamentary papers, No. 138, 1839, we make the following extract from a despatch of Lord Glenelg's, dated 24th of November, 1838: "I am induced to believe that slavery might be speedily extinguished in Ceylon, with little risk or difficulty. It is, indeed, alleged to be merely nominal, a circumstance which must greatly facilitate its extinction. * * * * I am therefore anxious," adds his lordship, "that measures should be immediately taken for effecting the entire abolition at the earliest practicable period." * * * * And again his lordship says, "I am unwilling to impose upon you specific instructions, an adherence to which might, in your judgment, be injurious to the public interests; but I have thought it right to convey to you my deliberate opinion, that slavery may be safely terminated more rapidly than by the existing process of gradual manumission." The governor, J. A. S. Mackenzie, Esq. is, therefore, called upon to transmit to his lordship, "as soon as possible, a full and detailed report on the actual state of slavery in every part of the island, containing, of course, an account of the number of slaves now remaining in the island, and of their owners; and a statement of the nature of the occupations and employments of the slaves, and any other particulars relative to the subject which may be material to a just and complete consideration of it." (Par. Pap., No. 467, 1839.)

The abolition of slavery is necessary, not only on general grounds, but because the cultivation of sugar and coffee has been introduced into Ceylon, and is likely to be very greatly extended. From a letter dated April 12th, 1837, we make the following extract: "The report that sugar planters intend settling here is confirmed. Two from the Mauritius, aided by Indian capital, have sent funds, and are clearing lands, so THERE IS NO TIME TO BE LOST." Subsequent accounts add that additional numbers have resorted to the island for the same purpose; and that the cultivation of coffee is rapidly extending over the whole island.

SLAVERY IN MALACCA.

On the 6th December, 1819, the anniversary of the birth-day of the king of the Netherlands, Governor Thyssen proposed to the inhabitants of Malacca holding slaves, to declare that all children, the offspring of such slaves, should from that day be born free. About seventy slaveholders voluntarily signed a declaration to that effect. (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 248).

On the 9th April, 1825, Malacca was transferred to the English government, when Mr. Lewis, Assistant-Resident, states there were 1339 slaves of various descriptions in the island (Ibid. p. 252).

In 1826, the census of the slave population gave its numbers 1097. The census of 1827 raised the number to 1519! on which Mr. Garling, the resident councillor, observed, "The nefarious importation of slaves has not been put down," and adds, "It cannot be put down, unless the police department be more vigilant and more interested in the measure" (*Ibid.* p. 254.)

In reference to the alleged treatment of the slaves, the same gentleman observes, "I should be happy if the police could prevent all barbarities. As far as complaints are made by slaves I should hope that this department would extend redress; but, unless the purlieus of the bazar and domestic prisons could be inspected, the department cannot, however well-disposed and vigilant we desire to esteem it, prevent many barbarities. As to the real truth, that these people have 'been treated more as children than slaves,' I must close my mind against ocular conviction before I acknowledge the justness of so general an assumption." (*Ibid.* p. 255). And in another place, he says, "that the subscribers to the slave petition should speak of the 'comforts' which the slaves forfeit by seeking their liberty, and should declare that these people have been treated more as children than slaves, is not surprising—they speak of themselves! Before I can subscribe to such an opinion, I must cast from my mind the remembrance of the cries which I have heard, and the mental degradation, the rags, the wretchedness, the bruises, the contused eyes and burns which I have witnessed; I must blot out adultery from the calendar of vices; I must disbelieve the numerous proofs which I have had of obstacles opposed to regular marriages, and the general humiliation of females. I must put away every iden of the modes of punishment of which eye-witnesses have given me account, and the short jacket must no longer be deemed a badge of slavery" (*Ibid.* p. 270.) In addition to the domestic discipline to which slaves were subject, we find such punishments as the following ordered by the police magistrate: "Chimpu, twelve lashes with the rattan, and to work on the roads in irons for a period of six weeks; thereafter to be placed at his master's disposal:" offence, false accusation (*Ibid.* p. 292). "Si Surra, one dozen stripes of a rattan, and to be worked in irons on the public road for one month;" offence, impertinence and idleness (*Ibid.* p. 293). "Tom, sentenced to receive three dozen lashes, and to work on the public roads in irons for six months;" offence, absconding (*Ibid.* p. 294), Salip, slave boy, "to receive eighteen lashes of a rattan;" offence, running away (*Ibid.* p. 226). "Tulip, being a notorious bad character, and not having yet the wounds healed of the punishment inflicted on him on Monday last, is sentenced to be flogged on the posteriors with eighteen lashes of a rattan;" offence, stealing from his brother (*Ibid.* p. 297). Toby "is directed to be punished with one and a half dozen lashes;" offence, insolence (*Ibid.* p. 297). These extracts will sufficiently illustrate the severity of the slave system in Malacca.

On the 13th of November, 1829, the governor, in council, addressed certain of the principal inhabitants, and recommended them to terminate the "unwilling and forced labour of the slaves" by a system of gradual emancipation (*Ibid.* p. 260); and the result is given in the following memorandum.

"Pursuant to the wishes of the honourable the governor, a meeting of the inhabitants was convened on Wednesday, the 18th of November, to take into consideration the best mode for abolishing slavery in this settlement.

"Mr. Lewis having been requested to take the chair, the letter received from the secretary to government was read; and after discussing the matter therein alluded to, viz. the speedier termination of the state of slavery in name and substance than can be expected to arise from the gradual demise of the persons now in the list, the following resolutions were made:—

"That it is highly desirable that means be taken to put an end to slavery.

"That it appears that domestic works have been always executed by slaves; that all the respectable inhabitants are dependent on this mode of service, and that therefore, the abolition cannot be immediately effected; therefore it is resolved, that the several classes of natives be invited to name some definite and as short a period as may be practicable for completing this desirable measure.

"That the Portuguese, Chinese, Malays, and Chooliats, do severally agree amongst their own tribes to name the period, and that they do depute five persons from each class to meet the gentlemen of the settlement on Wednesday next the 25th instant, to make known their sentiments.

(Signed) "W. T. LEWIS."

"Wednesday, 25th of November, 1829." (*Ibid.* p. 235),

The meeting thus summoned being but thinly attended on account of the badness of the weather, it was resolved that it be adjourned to Saturday the 28th instant, when it re-assembled pursuant to the resolution; the deputation of natives being present, viz., five persons on behalf of the Portuguese, five persons on behalf of the Chinese, five persons on behalf of the Malays, and five persons on behalf of the Chooliats.

The sense of the meeting is taken, and twelve years fixed for the emancipation of the slaves borne on the register books of this settlement.

It is therefore resolved, that Mr. Lewis, in the name and behalf of the inhabitants of Malacca, do convey to the honourable the governor, their acknowledgment of his Excellency's regard for their interests, as shown by redressing the grievances of the inhabitants complained of in their petition.

That the inhabitants are sensible that the decision of the judges in the case now to be referred will be consonant to the law of England, and the legislative acts regarding slavery, by which they, as British subjects, are bound both by inclination and duty to abide; but

That, pending such reference, and to prove to his Excellency the governor, and the world in general, that their motives have been guided by a sense of humanity, they hereby record their assent,

That slavery shall not be recognized in the town and territory of Malacca, after the 31st of December, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one. (1841.)

The board, in adverting to the measures reported in Mr. Lewis's communication, records its entire approval thereof pending the reference to higher authority, and directs that copies of the letter and proceedings do form an enclosure in the despatch to the honourable court of directors now under preparation (*Ibid.* p. 236). No government regulations, that we can find, were ever passed to give legal effect to the above decision of the residents at Malacca.

Previously, however, to this period, the resident councillor, Mr. Garling in a minute dated 28th of October, 1829, had stated it as his "firm belief that *local slavery had no legal existence*," and adds, that, having referred the subject to the government so far back as the 24th of December, 1828, the acting deputy secretary in his answer, dated the 9th of January following, corroborates his opinion. Mr. G. observes:—"The sentiments of the

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honourable board, as conveyed in that letter, are precisely such as I have all along entertained, and such as I am of opinion may be substantiated on the most unquestionable grounds, viz. *The government is decidedly of opinion that slavery has not, in any shape, a legal existence in Malacca.* No provisions whatever are made for its continuance by the treaty of transfer; and it is not, as in the West Indies, recognized by act of parliament, or by any law made under sanction of the legislature (*Ibid.* p. 241).

A difference of opinion upon the foregoing point having existed, however, between Mr. Garling and president Fullerton, the question was referred by them to the governor general, Lord William Bentinck, on the 26th of November, 1829, and by him it appears was referred home, for we find in Par. Pap. 1839, p. 56, the following communications from the government to the East India Company upon it.

India Board, 12th of January, 1831.

SIR,—I am directed by the commissioners for the affairs of India to acquaint you, that the board consider it may be highly desirable that the opinion of the law officers of the Crown and of the East India Company's counsel should be taken, as soon as possible, on the question of the legality of slavery at Malacca, which has been brought to the notice of the authorities in England by the letter from the supreme government, dated 16th of June last. The board have therefore desired me to request that the company's solicitor may be put in communication with the solicitor to this board, and that, when a case has been prepared by them, it may be transmitted to this office previously to its being submitted to counsel. I am, &c.,

(Signed) SANDON.

PETER AUBER, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

No answer having been given to this communication, another was forwarded, of which the following is a copy:—

India Board, 18th of June, 1831.

SIR,—The commissioners for the affairs of India having received no communication from the court of directors, in consequence of the letter which Viscount Sandon addressed to you on the 12th of January last, respecting the legality of slavery at Malacca, have directed me to request that you will call the court's attention to the subject, and move them to cause the draft of a case, for submission to the law officers of the crown and East India Company, to the board without delay. I am, &c.,

(Signed) HYDE VILLIERS.

PETER AUBER, Esq.

No notice appears to have been taken of this either; and here the question was suffered to rest, as we have no further reference to it in any of the official documents.

It is worthy of inquiry, What is now the actual condition of the slaves in Malacca? and whether the government has ordered the necessary steps to be taken for their *bonâ fide* enfranchisement this year?

Note.—For further information on the subject of slavery in Malacca, consult Par. Pap. 138, 1839, pp. 241 to 306 inclusive.

Literary Notice.

Slavery in America shewn to be peculiarly abominable, both as a political anomaly, and an outrage on Christianity. By William Day, formerly editor of the *Christian's Friend and Jersey Argus*. London: 1841.

This accurate, judicious, and spirited publication deserves to be extensively patronized. In the compass of eighty-four duodecimo pages, it exhibits a compact and vigorously executed view of the painful subject to which it relates, and is thus adapted to diffuse correct and important information upon it among that numerous class of persons, to whom large books and much reading are either unwelcome or impracticable. The author is a valuable coadjutor in the great work of abolition, and is entitled to thanks for his zealous and useful labours. We hope a book of so small a bulk and price will be taken up for extensive circulation by abolitionists in general. We give the following extract.

There is another anomaly in the political institutions of the United States, which, as it results from the iniquitous system of slavery, may properly be noticed here. This is what Dr. Morison has correctly designated "a system of *caste*, so utterly tyrannical as to render the emancipation of Africans in America, even in those states which have abandoned slavery, a comparatively worthless boon."

To detail the various schemes and laws by which these unoffending men are harassed and persecuted, and the systematic plans and local enactments for degrading and retaining them in ignorance, would far exceed the limits assigned to this chapter. Let it suffice, therefore, to give a summary of their cruel wrongs, and social and political grievances, which I shall draw from the publications of Judge Jay, J. G. Birney, Esq., and the *New York Anti-Slavery Examiner*, all American witnesses of high character and first-rate respectability.

To political and civil rights, in their comprehensive sense, they are utter strangers. Though there exists no enactment to disfranchise them, they are not suffered to approach the ballot-box; neither will white men, generally speaking, teach them trades, sit with them in public places, or ride with them in public conveyances. Nay, to such a height is this contemptible prejudice carried, that, in nearly all the places of worship, in the *free* as well as in the slave states, there is a *particular pew* set apart for negro accommodation! Those not merely black, but those also who have the slightest tint of the loathed colour, are scrupulously consigned to this condemned cell, as if contamination were it their touch, and in their breath pollution! They are commonly denominated "greater nuisances than even slaves themselves," "a vile excrescence upon society," "a curse and contagion wherever they reside," "an anomalous race of beings, the most depraved upon earth," and "notoriously ignorant, degraded, and miserable."

If these poor, persecuted, but generally amiable, people are not what they are here described to be, it is certainly not the fault of their persecutors, who strain every nerve to render them vicious, debased, and wretched. Lest they should raise themselves by mental improvement, to that state of respectability of which they are capable under proper instruction, their education is almost universally discouraged, and many of the states have passed laws to inflict penalties on "any person who teaches a *free* negro to read or write." These penalties vary from fine, whipping, imprisonment, and *death!* Yes, startling as is the fact, we have it on record, that "In Louisiana, the penalty for instructing a free black in a Sunday-school, is, for the first offence, five hundred dollars; for the second offence, DEATH!" This almost incredible sentence is given in the very words of Judge Jay, in his "Slavery in America," (p. 17,) a work to which those who desire a full and faithful account of the infamous laws and disgraceful prejudices against these nominally *free* citizens would do well to refer. In the "Proceedings of the New York Colonial Society," it is confessed to be "the business of the free—THEIR SAFETY REQUIRES IT—to keep the blacks in ignorance." These tyrannical republicans can rest satisfied with nothing short of unqualified subjection; and, as the surest means of gaining for themselves the desired pre-eminence, they seek to perpetuate the intellectual and moral degradation of their victims. They well know that this must be effected, before the natural love of liberty, and the consequent desire to defend it, can be totally extinguished within them. For "surely oppression maketh a *wise man* mad!" (Eccles. vii. 7.)

Thus, the coloured population of the United States are systematically deprived of every equitable right that appertains to civil and social life; and the partial and anomalous administration is carried out in every conceivable manner, to the most pernicious extreme. Indeed, the unhappy *nominally-free* men of colour are never absolutely secure of their *personal liberty*. They are constantly exposed to seizure by the brutal kidnapper, and liable to be sold to labour in the south. The Rev. Dr. Price thus speaks of this most infamous state of things:

"One of the most revolting features in American society is the insecurity of life and liberty amongst the FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR, in the *northern* as well as the southern states. No free black is safe, even in the city of New York, without his parchment certificate about his body, at *all times*, and in all places. A set of miscreants are constantly prowling about, who, under colour of searching for run-away slaves, kidnap those who never were slaves, and hurry them off into interminable bondage! The papers published by the friends of the negro abound with cases of oppression and cruelty of this kind. The laws passed for the protection of such persons, are too feeble against that universal prejudice which is inherited by almost the entire population; so that a case of wrong which, in England, would ring from one end of the land to the other, is but slightly regarded in America, however deep the interests that are involved!"

Confirmation of this horrible fact is given by Mr. Bourne, in his "Picture of Slavery," a short extract from which may not be thought unnecessary:

"Nothing is more common than for two white kidnappers to demand the certificate of a black freeman, tear it in pieces, or secrete it, tie him to one of their horses, hurry to some jail, while one whips the citizen along as fast as their horses can travel. There, by an understanding with the jailer, who shares in the spoil, all possibility of intercourse with his friends is cut off. At the earliest possible period the captive is sold to pay the felonious claims of the law, bought through jugglery by this trio of men-stealers, and then transferred to some of their accomplices in iniquity, who fill every part of the southern states with fraud, rapine, and blood."

Thus the term equality, so pompously preached, and often most absurdly practised, amongst the *white* citizens, loses its true signification when the *sable* race are concerned; and thus it becomes a bye-word and a reproach, to designate the intrinsic baseness of American polity! This baseness will appear the more glaring, when it is considered that, by the "Thirteen Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States," it is provided,

"That the *free* inhabitants of *any* of the states shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of *free citizens* in any other state."

Here is a virtual stipulation for the protection of *all* free men, of whatever complexion, in the full enjoyment of those rights belonging to free men in a free country. In this clause not the slightest hint is dropped, whereby advantage could reasonably be taken for one man to oppress another. The contract is clear and straightforward. Indeed, all doubt must have been removed from the subject, by an attempt to alter the clause to the exclusion of the negro. This attempt is noticed by Judge Jay. "While these articles," says he, "were under consideration in congress, it appears from the journals, that, on the 25th of June, 1778, the delegates from South Carolina moved the following amendment *in behalf of their state:* In article fourth, between the words *free inhabitants*, insert WHITE. Passed in the *negative*,—ayes, two states; nays, eight states; one state divided." "Here, then," adds that benevolent Judge, "was a solemn decision of the revolutionary congress, that free negros should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states."

After so clear an exposition of American law by one of their own justices, is it not a monstrous anomaly in politics, that the American white people are permitted to perpetuate the most execrable despotism over their coloured fellow-citizens? Is it not humiliating to every good man to behold how bad men are not only allowed, but encouraged, to contaminate the moral character of their country, and to destroy the equity of its civil code, by transfixing it with the poisoned shaft of partiality? Is not the pernicious wrong so palpable, that its denial or doubt must be deemed rather the affectation of the heartless tyrant, than a possible state of mind for an inquirer after truth?—pp. 32—38.

PORTUGAL.—In the sitting of the 19th June, in the chamber of deputies, M. Jose Estavao, addressing the minister of marine, said he had been informed that the governors of the Portuguese African settlements openly connived at the slave-trade, and that in so flagrant a manner, that, in order to facilitate the departure of slave laden vessels, they were in the habit of ordering ships of war on idle errands in a different direction; and requested that measures should be taken to put an end to the evil. The minister promised in reply, that the subject should be strictly inquired into, and the necessary steps taken accordingly.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XLI. Vol. II. No. 14.] WEDNESDAY, JULY 14th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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PROCEEDINGS IN CUBA.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Havana, May 1st, 1841.

Sir—Since my last of the 8th ult. many things have come to light, which tend to prove how well founded is the belief entertained by the friends of freedom, that no effective measures are likely to be adopted in this place for the suppression of the slave-trade.

It is currently asserted, that private orders have been issued for the destruction of all public barracones, and every other public establishment that may tend to attract attention; accompanied at the same time with a secret mandate to protect and promote the interests of the slave-trade in the most effectual manner, it being a traffic necessary to the agricultural and commercial welfare of the country. The fact is, that the barracones are being pulled down; but that vessels continue to be fitted out as usual for the coast of Africa, and that slavers arrive every week with fresh victims, without there being any precautionary measures adopted by this government to prevent it.

It is very evident that the Captain-general of this island is resolved on following the track of his predecessors, and that all the fair promises, refusal of the perquisite, &c., said to have originated with him, have proved to be a mere *ruse de guerre*, to put at fault the vigilance of those who are watching his proceedings. The consequence is that he is now assailed from all sides with memorials. The slave-dealers solicit his willing protection of their nefarious trade, and the friends of philanthropy, whilst appealing to him on behalf of humanity and violated treaties, demand but justice.

The enclosed translation of a memorial presented the other day, by one of the first and most wealthy men of the country—the possessor of a fortune of two millions of dollars, and the holder of 800 slaves—will tend to prove the facts I have stated. The Conde de Santo Venia (to whose honour be it said that he is the memorialist) has taken a widely different and more extensive view of the subject, than the authors of the memorial, a translated copy of which I had the pleasure to hand you in my last, and which is still in course of signature. I was mistaken in having stated that it had already been presented. Some unavoidable delay prevented its being got ready at an earlier period, and now many who would then most willingly have signed it fear to do so, in consequence of the public conviction that the Captain-general is resolved on protecting the slave-trade, of which there cannot be the shadow of a shade of doubt.

The unfortunate emancipados continue to be sold as hitherto; the only variation consists in the price, which now is, by order of his Excellency, six ounces of gold for a male, and four ounces for a female, for a term of five years.

It affords me the greatest pleasure to be able to inform you that abolitionist principles begin to take root in this city, and at Matanzas. The present moment is fraught with the greatest hope of results favourable to humanity, and freedom; and, if properly improved, must eventually lead on to success, in spite of the opposition we have to encounter from the deleterious influence of the slave-trade. I submit, therefore, without the fear of contradiction, that every servant of her Majesty appointed to hold a commission in this island should be an abolitionist. This is also the opinion, and the particular wish, of all the abolitionists of this city, who, although few in number, are influential in means. It is, perhaps, incredible, the good that such men could do. Their example would give vigour to the new birth of abolition principles throughout the country. Their energy and activity, proceeding from principle, would seek and find daily and hourly means of arresting the frightful progress of the slave-trade in this place. Such men are wanted in the court of mixed commission in this city.

If your great Convention of 1840 had accomplished no other practical good, but that of compelling the whole corps of English functionaries in this stronghold of the African trade to abandon the practice of slave-holding, its meeting could not be said to have been useless, or unprofitable to the great cause of African freedom. It is to the readiness with which Lord Palmerston adopted the views of the Convention, enclosing their memorial and resolutions in a circular letter addressed to all the officers in his department, and enjoining them for the future to regard the principles of that memorial as the rule of their conduct, that the clearing out of this Augean stable is to be ascribed. It is true that his lordship, in so far at least as this island is concerned, did not content himself with the mere subscription of his illustrious name to a circular despatch. In the new consul he appointed to carry his views into effect, he gave the friends of abolition a guarantee that his despatch was not intended to remain a dead letter.

Within a week after Mr. Turnbull's arrival at his post, one of her Majesty's commissioners, Mr. Dalrymple, made a public announcement of his intention to abandon the practice of slave-holding, by printing an advertisement, which appeared for several days successively in all the newspapers of Havana, both in English and Spanish, offering high wages to such free persons, whether white or of colour, as might be willing to enter his establishment. The commissary judge, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Jackson, the clerk of the mixed court, have not been so prompt in their obedience to the orders of their government. If there be any truth in the voice of public rumour, an official correspondence has been going on for several months on this subject between these gentlemen and her Majesty's consul, whose zeal on the subject is already well known to you. I have reason to believe that Mr. Kennedy has at length yielded a reluctant obedience to the strict letter of the despatch, not without remonstrances against the tyranny and injustice of any interference with his domestic arrangements. Pancho, the slave whom he gave up a few days ago, had been two years in England, had acquired there a knowledge of his rights—and had his misery, therefore, materially aggravated by being brought back to Cuba, and reduced a second time to slavery. Mr. Jackson (the immediate protege it is said of this Mr. Kennedy) has not yet abandoned the practice, clinging with the grasp of a tiger to what he calls his property, to this very hour. Nay, it is announced that one of those emancipados of whom you have heard so much, and who (strange to say) have been assigned to him by the Spanish authorities, with the concurrence of the English commissioners, is to accompany his master to England, during the leave of absence he has obtained. But I sincerely hope and confidently trust, that the friends of African freedom will take care to have this unfortunate young man instructed in the nature of his rights, so as to protect him against the danger of being brought back to his house of bondage, as was Pancho, the slave of the commissary judge.

May 13.—The Captain-General has issued a circular to the subaltern authorities, prohibiting the introduction of negros into the island, and ordering that all vessels now fitting out, shall be stopped, if they are suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade. All this looks wonderfully well on paper, but there is every reason for believing that, as usual, it will remain a dead letter. The Spanish brig Bolador was stopped the other day. Since then she has changed the Spanish for the Portuguese flag, and she proceeded to sea yesterday morning. She carries a long gun on a pivot, and four smaller guns.

The Portuguese brig Trueno arrived in this port on the very day, or the day after, the Captain-general's circular was issued, after having landed 450 Africans at a place a short distance from the Havana, called La Chorrera. The captain of the port, immediately on her arrival, reported to the Captain-general that this vessel was suspected of having landed Africans on the coast; but behind the suspicion there yawns a chasm called insincerity, which swallows up all the proofs, as appears by the fact of nothing having been proved. A long experience of 24 years has taught the most credulous to place no confidence whatever on the good faith of the authorities of this island.

A few days ago a dealer in earthenware found, in a crate of English crockery which he had lately purchased from a merchant in this city, several plates representing negros dancing round the flag of liberty; he immediately carried them to the Captain-general, in order to avoid the possibility of his being implicated,

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or suspected of participation in the deed. The excitement caused hereby has been so great, that it is believed the custom house will cause every crate of English earthenware which may exist in the place, or may arrive hereafter, to be opened and examined. This circumstance will serve to prove, that the men who are perpetually talking of the sacred character of their right of property in their fellow-beings, are fully aware of the utter insecurity of the basis on which they have erected their right.

I have just been informed, on the most undoubted authority, that the captain of the brig Bolador has taken with him to the coast of Africa a very handsome young American woman (who was seen on board at the time of his sailing, and previously thereto by many persons resident in this city), whom he intends to offer, instead of money, in exchange for slaves. It is said that the same thing has been done before by others, and that from 50 to 500 Africans are readily given for a white woman, whose worth is determined by her youth and beauty. In behalf of humanity, I would be happy if I could conscientiously declare that I doubt the truth of this assertion, but so great is the degree of depravity to which the habitual committal of crime has reduced the slave-trader, that I believe deeds equally revolting to human nature are of frequent occurrence with them. In the case of the young woman on board the Bolador, the only thing doubtful is, whether this poor creature, thus condemned to a life of infamy and slavery, was a consenting party to her own misery.

The following article, taken from a Caracas paper, the *Gazeta de Venezuela*, of Sunday, the 10th of January, 1841, will help to confirm the fact.

"TRAFFIC IN WHITE SLAVES.—The depravity of slave-traders is every day causing greater horrors. It is now two years since they have been committing a new sort of crime. They seduce young women at New York, to whom they hold out the most brilliant prospects in order to induce them to embark for Havana, when they are taken to the coast of Africa, and there sold to the chief who will give the greatest number of slaves for them. One alone has been known to sell for a full cargo."

I hand you enclosed two memorials, which have been forwarded to the provisional regency of Spain; the one from the tribunal of commerce, the other from the municipal corporation, both of this city. Their arguments, sophistical as they are, will serve to show that the prevailing spirit of the majority is in favour of the suppression of the slave-trade, in order to secure the continuance of slavery throughout the island. Humanity is evidently not one of the motives which have actuated these people to address the mother country on this subject.

C. R. F.

May 20.—I have merely time to add, that the Portuguese brig Aguila, with about five hundred Africans on board, has been wrecked at a place on the coast of this island called Cabanas; that thirty of the negros have been drowned, and that the remainder arrived in this city last night, having been seized by the authorities of Cabanas by order of the Captain-general. The fact was too glaring to admit of anything else being done. I presume that, as soon as condemnation has taken place by the mixed court, the victims will be handed over to her Majesty's superintendent of liberated Africans.

MEMORIAL OF THE TRIBUNAL OF COMMERCE.

THE tribunal of commerce of the ever most faithful city of Havana, at the moment when a voice of terror is spreading rapidly throughout this capital, and over the whole country, the alarm that, in the approaching session of the Cortes, legislative measures will be proposed, the tendency of which will be to produce the emancipation of the slaves of this island, cannot do less than raise their voice also to the provisional Regency of the kingdom, in testimony of their fidelity and adherence, and of the love they bear to the well being and prosperity of the monarchy; disclosing the dangers and misfortunes to which objects so dear will be exposed, should questions of this delicate nature be agitated in the bosom of the national representation, or should the dignity, intelligence, and wisdom of the supreme government omit to oppose an insurmountable barrier to the suggestions of an ill understood philanthropy, the object of which can only be to promote the aggrandizement of a powerful nation, at the expense of our own ruin.

This tribunal is perfectly aware, that the present memorial extends to objects beyond the natural sphere of its duties; and that the occasion which has given rise to the alarm, and the sinister rumours which are now in circulation, might be regarded as futile and unworthy of notice, since they may be referred exclusively to an article addressed by Don Ramon de la Sagra to the journal called *El Corresponsal*, on the 21st of December last. But the subject of which it treats is so grave and so delicate, and of such vital interest to every inhabitant of this country, that a whisper of it cannot be heard without alarming the minds of men least liable to terror, and producing ideas which lead to extravagance and absurdity.

Thus it is seen, that an article in an insignificant journal, which, on any other subject, from the smallness of the importance to be attached to an individual opinion, would have been of no importance, has been sufficient, when it touches on this particular, to put men's minds in a state ofeffervescence and excitem ent which it is difficult to conceive among a population so little conversant with questions of a political nature, as to have paid a very slight and momentary attention to the serious and important changes which have taken place of late years in the system of the government of the nation. But, seeing themselves threatened, not only in their property but their very existence, they are no longer in a situation to discuss their opinions, but must prepare to defend themselves at any cost from the dangers with which they are assailed.

An imprudent speech delivered in the extraordinary constituent cortes of 1811, which did not refer to the abolition of slavery, but to the suppression of the slave-trade, so alarmed the authorities and corporations of the island, as appears from the official communications of the period, that the fears which were then manifested had the appearance of being exaggerated; and yet a few months had scarcely elapsed, when a horrible conspiracy was discovered, which, if it had once been installed, would have produced a general conflagration of property, and the universal massacre of the white population. This conspiracy was fortunately discovered at the very moment when its objects were about to be carried into execution, and a portion of the convicts who had projected the ruin of the island met their fate on the scaffold. Their chiefs were not slaves, who had been beaten, oppressed, and mal-treated by their masters; but free negros, who had enjoyed the advantage of education, and had conceived some notions of honour and religion.

At that period the sect of abolitionists in England, and even the Quakers, the Methodists, and other religious denominations, who consider it a duty to belong to that sect, had not yet established their societies, which now, by means of their agents and their money, are endeavouring to undermine all those countries where slavery exists; and, without regard to means, are incessantly employed in promoting the object of their hypocritical and fanatical zeal. But now, when in every Englishman who lands on these shores we may see a spy, and an apostle of this doctrine in disguise; now that these missionaries introduce themselves at the court, as into our cabins, some by public and some by fraudulent means; now that they enjoy the decided protection of their government, identifying their private objects with the promotion of their public designs; now it is not a fact, nor a word, nor a mere idea which might be overlooked, but the decided object of liberating the negro race which proceeds from England, and which unites with it the purpose of ruining the productiveness of this island.

In this place, and with this view, it will not be improper to refer to the recent case of an Englishman, Mr. Turnbull, who, having come with the character of a mere traveller, introduced himself into our society and into the interior of our houses; and, as the result of his observations, published a book full of inaccuracies and concealments, the chief object of which was to accuse her majesty's government, its agents in this island, and the inhabitants in general, of the infringement of the treaty for the suppression of the slave trade; in which work he had the audacity to suggest the proposal to her majesty of the extension of the powers of the mixed commission, to the point of raising it to the rank of an ordinary tribunal of the country. As a reward for this publication he has obtained the appointment of consul-general of his nation, and superintendent of liberated Africans in the court of mixed commission; it being notorious that his ideas, widely published among the people, have already produced the circulation of opinions among the negros, which in their ignorance they have adopted, in the seductive hope of obtaining their liberty, which may very well give occasion to a general revolution, if the government does not speedily apply the necessary remedy. And is it not to be feared that the other fanatics, of a lower station in society, and imbued with more cunning, but equally decided, at the risk of martyrdom, to accomplish their objects in the promotion of a cause which they conceive to be identified with that of christianity, will not be disposed to labour in silence in spreading insurrectionary ideas among our slave population, when, in the event of their crime remaining undiscovered, they are sure of meeting with decided protection from their own government, and with lenity from ours! That the British government should be desirous of promoting the prosperity of its own commerce at the expense of ours, and should endeavour to enforce the abolition of slavery in rival sugar colonies, is a consideration which must be obvious to the most superficial observer; and that this consideration is identical with the interests of the British East India Company, and may become the motive for a deviation from the path of justice, and from the rule of international right, is at least very greatly to be feared, when we consider that the smallest political commotion may interrupt the production of sixteen millions of arrobas of sugar now manufactured in this island, a large proportion of which would be called for from the British possessions in the east. And it cannot be doubtful to the most careless observer, that the doctrines thus diffused by the English missionaries, and by the imprudent discussion of such subjects in any form by our own cortes, cannot be interpreted otherwise by our negros than in a sense more extensive and more dangerous than that which is really intended.

The love of liberty is naturally the dominant passion of the slave, not from the influence of reflection and comparative reasoning on his physical or moral well-being, but from an instinct which is common to man, and to the e ver animals; and which is indulged the more vehemently in proportion to its distance from sound reason (as may be observed in the wild beast); and as the first use which they make of their strength, when the chains

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which confined them are loosened, is in the destruction of those by whom they were broken, so the slave, who does not understand the true use of rational liberty, and is equally unable to comprehend the genuine meaning of the word in the state of society in which he has lived, is instantaneously driven to its abuse; for the truth of which we have the mournful and authentic testimony of the unfortunate island of St. Domingo.

Religion, philosophy, social improvement, necessity, or force, are the only moral or physical means by which man can be restrained within the limits of his duty, and by which his passions can be repressed. Law has no other basis. But would the last of these means of repression be sufficient of itself to dam back the ferocious passions which would suddenly seize on half a million of barbarians, entirely destitute of christian or moral education, and accustomed in their natural state to recognize no other difference between one man and another than that of owner and slave, of master and servant, of oppressor and oppressed? Force! But force would not be sufficient, because it infers a struggle with beings, of whom it has been said by a celebrated philosophical historian, "that, wretched all their lives, they are heroes only for a moment." And even when the victory was gained, it would be precarious or useless, because the mere resort to force would leave behind it consequences sufficient to initiate and ensure our complete destruction.

Will it be said that men who have just acquired their freedom will keep in view and follow the example of those who have long been acquainted with its peaceful enjoyment! But this is the very worst of the evils with which we are threatened. The influence of our free people of colour will undoubtedly operate on the minds of those who are newly emancipated, which will be the inevitable consequence, first of the equality or analogy of castes among themselves; and, secondly, of the superior intelligence of those who have long been free. Hence it will follow, as took place in St. Domingo, that those who are newly liberated will form the mass, and those who have long enjoyed their freedom will become the soul of a disastrous revolution, which will not be long in declaring itself.

But it must not be forgotten, that when the emancipation of our slaves is in question, it is not merely a social relation which is to be changed, nor a law which is to be abrogated by which one man was subjected to another man, and thereby the sole distinction between them destroyed; but the change must go the whole length of placing the negro and the white man on a footing of legal equality, and of uniting in ties of social intercourse two races who carry, imprinted on their countenances, the indelible stamp of separation, as strongly marked in physical as in moral qualities; insomuch as, when both are free, they are rarely united, even under the influence of vice and immorality. Hence it follows, that the one must command, while the other must obey; this necessity not being capable of being destroyed, even by those suggestions of religion and humanity which are now in every mouth, but which would be very distant from the hearts of our modern philanthropists, if they were only placed and required to act in our situation.

In the bosoms of our free people of colour there exists—there must exist or they would not be men—a concentrated hatred of the whites, if there were no other cause for it but that state of isolation in which they have been placed, that aversion with which they have been treated, and that semi-legal disparity which exists *de facto* between them and the free whites—an odium more deeply rooted than that which is caused by the system of oppression exercised in some countries by certain privileged classes over others who are compelled to endure it, because, when once destroyed, the distinction is still maintained by the diversity of origin marked by nature on the countenance, and is, therefore, as permanent as the colour by which they are separated.

And what guarantee of tranquillity presents itself between that portion of the race already free, and those who are now in a state of slavery? The regency will allow a Spanish traveller who has resided among us, who has visited the United States and some part of Europe, and whose attention has been especially called to the state of philanthropic institutions, and to all that has a tendency to improve the public morals, to answer in our name, because for this reason, still more than for his scientific attainments, he has acquired celebrity in Spain. We allude to Don Ramon de la Sagra, who, in his work entitled *Five months in the United States*, expresses himself on the subject of emancipation of the slaves in the following terms:—

"The number of people of colour in the prisons of this country has compelled me to reflect on the misfortunes of this race, precipitated and overwhelmed in vice and crime by want of a good education. I have read a great number of publications, the authors of which are of opinion, that, for the slave, the supreme good is the attainment of freedom. I believe, on the contrary, that liberty is the most baneful of gifts which can be bestowed on the unhappy African who has received no education; a thousand times worse than the possession of unlimited wealth by an uninformed and licentious young man spending his time amidst the dissipation of a great city, more fatal than all the incentives of seduction to the innocent damsel who wanders into the flowery path of pleasure. The slave is a machine, brutalized in his condition, deprived of all moral enjoyment, and limited in what is physical to a scanty ration of food; his rest interrupted, and the very possession of his wife incomplete. Such a state of existence is undoubtedly miserable, and its amelioration is a fit object for the attention of the philanthropist; but the custom is to deem the slave as the child of misfortune and misery, thrown amidst a crowded circle by whom he is unknown, and placed in contact with all sorts of seductions, which infallibly lead to the brink of the precipice. As long as we are unable to cement and confirm the freedom of the negro race by means of a moral, religious, and intellectual education, it is better not to think of his emancipation at all. But is it just, the philanthropist will ask, to leave them in their misery! And would it be human to make them criminals! I reply. Between education and perpetual slavery there is no alternative.

"In the island of Cuba, where I have resided for twelve years, and in the United States, which I have traversed with admiration, I have observed that the free people of colour are the most corrupt and demoralized class of society, and that their vices are only to be compared with their ignorance and irreligion. But are not the one the immediate consequence of the other? And, by diminishing the one, would not a remedy be provided for the other!" Surrounded by these considerations, the author continues. "I see the approach of a period most critical to the country in which I have so long resided, and which has hitherto been so fortunate. The doctrine of negro emancipation is spreading over Europe, and finds an echo in the national congress of Spain. A few men of ardent passions find the means of securing a cheap popularity, by repeating what has been said by so many; and others, under the influence of an impartial love of their kind, and a sincere compassion for the misfortunes of an unhappy race, unite their eloquent voices to the unreflecting clamour of the former. The triumph will be secure, because it is the triumph of the doctrines of the age. But look well to the consequences! A decree of emancipation without the preliminaries of religious and intellectual instruction, will be a decree of calamity, which will open before these unfortunate beings, whose lot it is intended to ameliorate, an unfathomable abyss of crime and misfortune. Under this persuasion, then, those who have the temerity or the courage to sign such a decree, and are fearless of the consequences, would do well to prepare for them the construction of extensive prisons, and the erection of the scaffold."

In quoting this passage, so full of truth, it is impossible, while reflecting on the last of its expressions, to avoid a sentiment of terror, on comparing it with the purport of the article which has given occasion to the preparation of this memorial, since it serves to demonstrate the foresight of the author in question, when he announced that, "men of ardent passions, and of ambitious or hypocritical pretensions, would seek the means of purchasing a cheap popularity by the agitation of the question in Spain."

But nothing so fully corroborates the reasonableness of the fear of applying a remedy in this particular inopportunely, imprudently, or prematurely, as the opinion of Dr. Channing of Boston, one of the most ardent abolitionists of the United States, professing the most christian hatred of slavery and of slave-holders, believing most firmly in the useful results of emancipation, and least fearful of its consequences, depreciating the importance of the question as it regards the right of property, and sacrificing everything to the restoration of the right of the negro as a free man. This writer, the apostle of the abolition of slavery, to whose cause he has consecrated his eloquent pen, in his last work entitled *Emancipation*, in which also he proposes to demonstrate to his countrymen the advantages obtained in some of the English colonies in consequence of the experiment made by that nation, suggesting to the states of the north, where slavery does not exist, the adoption of certain legislative measures indirectly tending to promote emancipation in the south, expresses himself in the following terms.

"I do not desire that emancipation should take place in the south by force. Were I in possession of political power, I would fear to use it in this affair. A forced emancipation in the British West Indies is (generally speaking) making favourable progress, because the mother country has been watching over it, guarding it, and shedding moral and religious influences abundantly around it, to tranquillize, enlighten, and mollify the minds of those who have newly acquired their freedom. Here such means are not at our disposal; freedom in the south, if it is to lead to good, ought to originate in the south. It ought to be the effect of benevolence, and of a conviction of its justice; or, at least, of its tendency to promote their own interest, and not that it is torn from them by a foreign power. With such an origin, the experiment would have a better issue than in the West Indies. In these islands, and especially in Jamaica, the want of cordial co-operation on the part of the proprietors continually obstructed the beneficent work of emancipation, and still throws a doubt over the completeness of the result."

From other apostles of the so called philanthropy, belonging to the French sect, the following words have escaped—"Without speaking of the ruin of the proprietors, which would be the immediate consequence of emancipation, it must be confessed that it would be very dangerous to place the negro in a situation for which he is not prepared." And, after pointing out as a positive evil that indolence, to the temptation of which the negro is unable to offer any effectual resistance in climates where, without labour, he can amply provide for his limited necessities," he thus concludes:—"Those who have just issued from a state of slavery cannot fail for a long time to preserve the views and defects of their origin. In consequence of a state of idleness, or of labour which is voluntary and indolent, they would speedily fall into a

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state of degradation more baneful than that from which justice and humanity had thought to rescue them."

The tribunal has ventured to engage the attention of the regency of the kingdom with the quotation of these opinions, because they proceed from men who have the reputation of being eminently liberal and philanthropic, because none of them are slave-holders, nor inhabitants of this island, and because, under such circumstances, they could not in any way be actuated by views of self interest, nor be prejudiced in favour of slavery, which they gratuitously suppose in all those who have anything to lose in the country.

All are of opinion, that, without the preliminary of a moral and religious education, and without the cordial concurrence and co-operation of the present proprietors, as the result of their conviction or benevolence, in the work of emancipation, freedom would in fact be an evil to those who had newly obtained it; or, at least, would not produce the beneficent results expected from it. And it may even be observed, that, if emancipation in the United States, under a legal sanction, would be attended with danger, much more would it be dangerous in the island of Cuba, if we refer only to two considerations, leaving a multitude of others aside. The one is, that, in the United States the proportion of negros, as compared with whites, is as sixteen to eighty-four; whereas in this island they are as fifty-five to forty-five. The second is, that in the United States the population is concentrated and united, and the means of communication are so rapid and abundant that resources of every kind might be collected almost instantaneously from every part of the union; but, in the island of Cuba, the population is scattered over a surface proportionally vast, which, in the event of an insurrection, would make mutual assistance difficult from the want of guides who could be safely depended on; insomuch that the negros would easily find an asylum among the various and impenetrable groups of mountains, where, even in ordinary times, the fugitive negros make their haunts, and sometimes live there for ten or twelve years.

It may be said by some, that the fears of an immediate insurrection by the blacks against the whites are exaggerated. But it is certain that, if those who thus argue could form an idea of the matter in all its intensity, the sketch we have given of it would appear too lightly coloured; from which the future condition of the population may be inferred, living for ever in a state of alarm and uneasiness, and compelled to guard themselves from the attack of an unseen but inevitable and terrible hand. The first consequence will be the alienation of the capitalists, and the emigration of the inhabitants, with as much as they can carry away with them, to go and live elsewhere with more tranquillity. The second will be the abandonment of the manufacture of sugar, which forms almost exclusively that mass of wealth by which the commerce of the island is sustained, and by which all classes of the inhabitants are supported. The third and last, without analyzing or even suggesting those of a derivative character, will be the great reduction in the numbers of the white population, and the relative increase of the power of the blacks.

We have intentionally omitted to mention the greatest of the dangers to which the island of Cuba would be exposed on the approach of the hurricane, because it cannot have escaped the penetrating perspicuity of the regency. The tribunal alludes to the policy of the government of the United States of America, which, although at the head of the freest nation of the universe, maintains the condition of slavery in several of its states, and concedes to the authority of the master a protection as powerful, as it is diametrically opposed to the fundamental basis of the constitution. And is it possible that a government which maintains such an absurd contrariety of principles, for no reason but the fear of emancipating more than two millions of slaves, should be able to look with indifference at a similar change in its neighbourhood in the island of Cuba, without finding a motive, or at least a pretext, for putting in practice in Cuba the same maxims which have guided its conduct in Texas! And this policy would meet in the island of Cuba, subverted and demoralized as it would be by misery and terror, with none of that resistance which would undoubtedly be opposed to it by Cuba in a state of opulence. The tribunal trembles to reflect on the dreadful shock to which the undoubted fidelity of the inhabitants of Cuba will be exposed, that is, of the small number of whites who remain in the country. The tribunal is not without the fear that the event may really take place, on the accession of her Majesty's government to the perfidious instigations of hypocritical fanatics, who blind the careless with the mask of philanthropy, under the protection of a government which finds in it the means of promoting certain important interests; but we cannot see the approach of that direful epoch announced by La Sagra without alarm, when ambitious men are about to agitate the cortes with dangerous questions, the mere mention of which will be sufficient to paralyse, in a great degree, the prosperous march of our agriculture and our commerce, and will be capable of producing that emigration which is to be the first and the immediate consequence already announced.

This tribunal does not consider itself destitute of the principles of liberality, humanity, and philanthropy. On the contrary, it is on these principles that it rests its application for the maintenance on this subject of the *status quo* in the island of Cuba; because it would not be humane, or just, or equitable, to sacrifice 400,000 whites, for an object which would only render 500,000 persons of colour more miserable, instead of improving their condition. It was not the present inhabitants of the country who created the condition of domestic slavery. This fatal gift they received from their ancestors; and, it having been conceded to them by law, with all its fatal consequences, including the inherent ignorance and brutality of the slaves and the demoralization of the free people of colour, they find themselves in the dreadful dilemma of either maintaining their authority, or submitting to extermination; while for those in subjection the dilemma is not less odious, of becoming criminals or remaining slaves.

Cut away at once and for ever all that remains of the contraband traffic in negros, which may still be carried on *in* fraud of the treaty for its abolition, and in defiance of the laws of the country; and this may be done by the Spanish government without any foreign intervention whatever, respecting at the same time, from the most powerful considerations of policy, such facts in this matter as have already been consummated. Let our beneficent legislation on this subject be carried into effect, in virtue of which every honest and industrious slave enjoys the means of making himself free, and of becoming a useful and laborious member of society. Let the light of religion be more generally propagated by respectable clergymen, as was proposed to the government by this tribunal, in the name of the Royal Junta de Tormento, in a memorial on the subject of rural policy, dated the 20th of December, 1827; and let the work proceed slowly under the safe influence of time, that useful and salutary work, which the thoughtless and fanatical only could ever think of accomplishing by violent or unseasonable means.

The provisional regency, in its wisdom and patriotism, will condescend, the tribunal hopes, to take this memorial into its enlightened consideration; and will determine on what is fittest to be done to attach this bright jewel more firmly to the crown of Castile, one of the most precious by which it is adorned, which is all that the Tribunal of Commerce aspires to in this humble representation.

God grant you many years.

(Signed) JORGE P. DE URTELEGUI,
NICOLAS GALCERAN,
ALEJANDRO MORALES.

Havana, 30th March, 1841.

MEMORIAL OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF HAVANA.

THE municipal corporation of the ever most faithful city of the Havana addresses to the provisional regency of the kingdom the complaints of the island of Cuba, on a question in which its very existence is involved. However unworthy, still the only semblance of representation which these faithful inhabitants enjoy, the municipality proposes, with all the warmth which justice inspires, and with all the confidence which the wisdom of a just government authorizes, to demonstrate the impossibility of resolving on the emancipation of the slaves of this island without compassing its destruction, in return for its untainted loyalty, and its great and constant sacrifices in favour of the mother country. But they would also appeal to the justice and the policy which an ill understood philanthropy, not so well supported by positive data as by an unworthy jealousy, advances in support of emancipation.

It is painful to observe, that the circumstances which have served as a pretext for denying to the provinces of America the right of representation and other social guarantees, are not taken into account when the emancipation of the slaves is in question; but it is much more painful to find, that the sufferings of one class of the population are exaggerated, in order to promote the disastrous and sanguinary ruin of the other. Those who have discussed the question of domestic slavery in America, have left out of their consideration the fact that the difference of castes is involved in it—a difference which inspires the most serious alarm with regard to an important portion of the population, which, without being of slave condition, desires the extermination of the white race. If the increasing number of slaves were placed in more immediate contact with the free people of colour, and if the difficulties which are raised by the subordination and isolation of the slaves were thrown down, so as to prepare the way for commotions, the experience of Cuba, like that of St. Domingo, would speedily confirm the prediction, that in these islands the negro race is to exterminate the whites, and that the whites are to prevail over the blacks on the continent. It is to be wanting in all knowledge of the human heart, to suppose that no desire exists for the destruction of the white population, and to believe that this desire, when stimulated by the complaints, not of the slaves, but of their gratuitous defenders, will not produce disasters and revolutions. But those who exaggerate the sufferings of slavery ought to consider that its evils are not so great as those which lead to the extermination of the white class; and that this island will be lost to civilization and to trade, if a degraded and ignorant class is to preside over its destinies.

It is not the desire to perpetuate slavery, it is not the wretched love of wealth which must perish with the slaves which compose it, on which the opposition to emancipation is founded. The preservation of the existence of the white class is that which can and ought to prevent it, and the inhabitants of the island of Cuba, who are not to blame because their government permits and protects the abominable traffic in slaves, have a better right to demand the preservation of their lives, than the slave race have to ask for their liberty. This liberty may be just in the abstract, but the preservation of the white race is not less so; nor ought

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the local circumstances to be forgotten which make emancipation impossible. The freedom of the minor and the madman is just in the abstract, but other reasons interfere with its enjoyment; and those who, affecting philanthropic sentiments, would declaim against the authority of the father and the curator, would not be more unreasonable than those who claim an emancipation for which the slaves are not prepared. It is in vain that preparations for the transition are proposed. The interests of the owners of slaves will not permit the alarm of preliminary concessions, nor could they be granted without producing commotions. The only remedy which reason or philanthropy can suggest, is to soften the sufferings of the slave, in order to prepare him by slow degrees for the enjoyment of his freedom; and it is honourable to the legislation of the country and the manners of the people, that the regulations regarding slavery, and especially the royal cedula, of the 31st of May, 1789, and the humane treatment of the masters, make the declamations of those who are interested in promoting emancipation appear chimerical, and even ridiculous.

The labouring classes of Europe are undoubtedly in a more unfortunate condition than the slaves of this island. The slave, who is maintained and supported by his master in sickness and old age, has a more cheerful prospect before him than the labourer who lives by his daily toil; who, even without the supposition of sickness or old age, would die of hunger, if improvements in machinery or an increase of parsimony should exclude him from the workshop. The sufferings of the slave in the island of Cuba are less than those of the soldier or the sailor; and, if for this it cannot be said that the manufacturers and capitalists should be doomed to destruction, as little can it be said to be just or convenient that the white race of the island of Cuba should be exterminated. Our slaves are not in a situation so miserable as those of foreign colonies, where the master holds the power of life and death, where the slave has not the right to complain of his master, and where for him there is no human justice.

There are few testamentary settlements in this island which do not contain a provision for the manumission of certain slaves, as a reward for their services; there are few well conducted slaves who do not so increase their savings as to enable them to purchase their freedom, under the protection of the syndicos and the procuradores generales. There are few excesses committed by the masters which are not repressed, to the advantage of the slaves themselves; they are admitted to the right of coartacion, which limits the price of their redemption, and their savings are carefully protected. But, if further alleviations are sought for in the condition of the slave, if additional guarantees against abuse are demanded, their attainment presents no great difficulty; since they would be perfectly in harmony with the protecting spirit of our laws, and with the humane habits and the natural dispositions of the owners—but not a general emancipation, which could only lead to disaster and ruin. The slaves would thus be gradually promoted to the condition of freemen; and, if we reflect that a just proportion between the sexes is not now to be found, and that among those of mixed blood the whites have the ascendancy, who shall say that within a few years the difference of castes may not cease to excite alarm, and that domestic slavery may not cease to exist? This supposes the entire suppression of the execrable traffic with Africa. The inhabitants of the island of Cuba are the most deeply interested in seeing that the number of the people of colour is not imprudently augmented. The laws of the country and a solemn treaty with England have already prohibited the slave-trade; and, although it may be believed that the sole object of the pretended philanthropy of a civilized nation is the aggrandizement of the possessions of that nation in India, nay, although it may be believed that the destruction of the colonies of France and Spain, Portugal and Holland, is intended to promote the prosperity of English colonies in Asia, it is not the inhabitants of the island of Cuba who defend a traffic in every sense to be reprobated. If the faith of treaties has been disregarded, if the trade in men has been permitted, it is but just that such abominable excesses be repressed, as every other illegality should be repressed. But those who have committed these excesses are not in the island of Cuba; and it is not just that the native inhabitants should pay with their lives, and the loss or conflagration of their property, for the delinquencies of others, on the erroneous pretext that our dependency on the mother country is to be maintained by the increase of the negro population. That dependency will be perpetual if the elements of order are preserved, which, happily, now exist in the inviolability of our property; it will be perpetual, while the enlightened government of Spain shall extend to this country her protecting arm. If its inhabitants have known how to resist the example, and even the suggestions, offered them from other parts of America, and if they have been willing to shed their blood and lavish their money, not only in Europe but in the neighbouring provinces of America, for the suppression of those who were formerly their brothers, they need not be afraid of the doubts which are thrown on their inviolable loyalty, unless in the impossible—because the unjust—event of their being compelled to yield to the imperious law of their own preservation. Abolish, then, the African trade, but let not its odious and clandestine continuance be allowed to produce the total ruin of the island of Cuba.

But to what good is emancipation to lead? What use will the slaves make of their freedom? Plunged in a state of ignorance from which the acquisition of liberty will not release them; destitute of capital and knowledge, and without any stimulant to induce them to acquire and accumulate, their indolence and sloth will make them miserable in proportion to their numbers, and they will not be able to preserve their existence without the perpetration of crimes, without impiously and barbarously avenging the previous loss of their liberty, and without making their own existence incompatible with that of their present masters.

Political economy may be able to demonstrate that those countries are more productive in which labour is free than those where domestic slavery prevails; but, when we bring into comparison, not the power of the production of people distinct from each other in their laws and customs, but the labour of a slave as compared with that of a freeman, both living on the same spot; when we consider that the labour of the journeyman is not much less forced than that of the slave; when we observe that the consumption and the cost of living of the slave is less than that of the freeman, it will not be possible to establish the superior utility of the labour which is forced by means of misery and pauperism to that which is exacted by means of a gentle form of slavery. If the introduction of slaves into a place where they did not previously exist were in question, the doctrine of the superior productiveness of free labour might be held to be applicable. But this is not the state of the question. The existence of slavery is a fact; and if this fact exercises a great influence in the depreciation of labour, in the deterioration of manners, and in arresting the progress of the knowledge and skill of the artizan, the greater expense of the operative and the mechanist, who, accustomed to higher enjoyments, will exact a higher compensation, becomes evident and unquestionable.

The emancipation of the slaves infers the removal of a great number of hands from the cultivation of the soil; and, without taking into consideration the loss of their value, which ought always to be indemnified, without considering the damage occasioned by every change in the application of capital, the loss which must arise from the want of the means of cultivation must be incalculable. That loss could not be supplied until after the lapse of many years by emigration from Europe, because the emigration of whites cannot take place with the same facility with that of negros; and the greater cost of the produce of white labour would exclude the fruits of this island from a fair competition in the markets of the world. The melancholy condition of Jamaica is more convincing than all our economical theories, and demonstrates how sad the prospects of the island of Cuba would be, even if its white inhabitants were not exterminated.

And what would then be the advantages which the Spanish nation would derive by retaining this island in her dependence? By what means could we contrive to send four millions of dollars to the mother country, after supplying our own necessities? Where would be the benefit of introducing into this island the productions of the peninsula, when they could be no longer exchanged for other productions? How could the interests of industry or trade be promoted? All the nations of the earth, with one exception, are interested in the preservation of this island, and in the prosperity of its commerce and its industry; and the Spanish government can never decree the imprudent emancipation of our slaves without committing suicide, and without the loss of its own dignity and independence. Spain has no need to receive lessons in philanthropy from other nations. The colonies of Great Britain have always been in a worse condition than the provinces of Spain, to which the very name of colony was offensive, and the acknowledgment of foreign influence in questions of positive right would be as injurious as it is disgraceful.

The circumspection required in the consideration of a question of such vital importance to this island, the necessity of local knowledge in order to arrive at a right conclusion, and the right of those to be heard who are so deeply interested in the issue by means of legitimate representatives, may possibly prevent the enactment of a sudden measure of emancipation: but the municipal council of Havana would be wanting in its duties, if it did not represent that the mere discussion of the question is as injurious as its inconsiderate decision could be; if they did not make it known with frankness and fidelity, that the slightest notice of the subject will endanger the political existence of the island; and finally, if they did not declare that the inevitable result of its discussion will be a bloody revolution. The government will acknowledge the accuracy of these observations; and, if the island of Cuba is to perish, if the ruin and extermination of its inhabitants is to be the reward of their sacrifices and their fidelity, at least it shall not be said that the evil might have been avoided, nor that it has been hastened by the cowardly silence of this municipality.

MEMORIAL OF THE CONDE DE SANTO VENIA.

Most excellent Sir, Governor and Captain-general,—

The Conde de Santo Venia, grand cross of the royal and distinguished order of Charles III., submits to your Excellency, that, being deeply interested in the maintenance of the tranquillity which this valuable island so happily enjoys under the influence of the officers so discreetly chosen by the mother country for its government and prosperity, he has constantly foreseen and apprehended a crisis, which, while it disturbed the uncertain foundations of our property, might even shake the superstructure which we fortunately possess, and cause the whole of that prosperity to disappear, which has been acquired at the expense of so much anxiety on the part of the government,

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and of so much forbearance on the part of the judicious portion of the population.

Since the period when the humanity of the age had begun to display itself at the expense of private interest, and much more since the time when a solemn treaty was concluded (in 1817 between our nation and Great Britain), in concert with the other sovereigns of Europe assembled at the Congress of Vienna, with regard to the abolition of the slave-trade, the island of Cuba ought to have opened her eyes, and contemplated her situation and her prospects; not neglecting, day or night, to seek for the means of liberating herself without hazard, and of securing her existence on solid and indestructible foundations. But the evil was deeply rooted. The disastrous prejudices of some, the ill understood interest of many, and the supposed remoteness of the danger, excited hopes that it might be evaded, although without any rational foundation; thus closing men's eyes to the danger, and their ears to the voice of reason, as well as to their true interests, public and private.

I shall not enter, most excellent sir, on a description of the abuses to which this political and economical error has given rise. They are so notorious that I shall not lose time with their specification. I shall content myself with stating to your Excellency, with the frankness required from a Spaniard and a gentleman in addressing an enlightened chief in whose able hands the supreme government has placed the destinies of Cuba, that I consider the tempest already over our heads, and that it must be quelled, unless we mean to sit down and be buried amidst its ravages. The alarm is general, which is an evident proof of the danger; and even those who resist the most rational reforms with the greatest obstinacy are compelled to yield to the necessity of the case: but, in seeking a remedy, they are afraid to take the initiative, and it is for this reason that I venture to break silence, persuaded as I am that your Excellency has been appointed by Providence to be the saviour of the island, and that you will listen to my reasons, free from prejudice as I am from fear in addressing myself to an old and illustrious general, whose valour has given so many glorious days to his country.

Without opposing ourselves to the ideas of the age to such a degree as to reduce ourselves to the rank of barbarians in the eyes of the whole world without the infraction of a solemn international treaty; without provoking a collision with the contracting power; without involving the nation in a serious moral and pecuniary responsibility, and provoking the energies of those numerous and influential societies which, in England, in North America, and in France, have arrogated to themselves the mission of abolishing slavery in favour of one race, although another should perish by it; and without seeing the conflagration of our beautiful fields with indifference, or consenting to perish ourselves under the ruins of our nascent cities; we must not remain any longer in a state of reprehensible inaction, but must set our hands to the work, and make it known to the whole civilized world that we also know what is due to humanity—that, if we are obliged to maintain an institution which degrades us, and which injures our interests in public and private life, it is the fault of the time in which it took its origin, and of the difficulty and danger of uprooting an evil which counts its age by centuries; and that, although it be true that we resist with all our might a violent mode of suppression which destroys us, we know how to find resources within ourselves to escape from the danger, without the aid of foreign intervention, conducted in a manner which is equally unbecoming as applied to us, and to the illustrious mother country to which we belong.

But, even setting aside the immediate political circumstances by which we are surrounded, the greater part of this community are persuaded that we should greatly gain in safety, in civilization, and in our pecuniary interests, by the substitution of free labour for that of slaves; and every thing appears to be prepared for this reform. To your Excellency it belongs to place the first stone of the solid edifice of our future and perpetual tranquillity. At your Excellency's call every tongue will reply, and, gathering round you as a centre of salvation, we shall unite our strength in order to justify your confidence.

The formation of new colonies where slave-labour is absolutely prohibited—the introduction of labourers from Spain and the Canary islands, and even from foreign countries, if required, on the firm and just basis of benefit alike to the proprietor and the labourer—administrative arrangements which shall for ever put an end to the contraband introduction of Africans—the adoption of measures by which funds might be raised for the transportation to colonies in Africa of such free persons of colour as might desire to go there, or of such as by their conduct have shown themselves unworthy of remaining in this island; such I believe are the principal objects for your Excellency's solicitude during the happy period of your administration, before the evil becomes so overgrown as to make the remedy more difficult.

These simple indications I submit to your Excellency's superior judgment, exclusively animated by the love of that country in which exists all that I possess, and by the earnest desire to see it for ever united to the mother country, forming an integral part of the Spanish monarchy, and of that noble nation which has always distinguished itself by the stamp of catholicism, and by the honour and good faith with which its compacts have been fulfilled.

With these views, I beseech your Excellency to receive this respectful representation with favour; weighing it in your wisdom, and taking such a resolution on the subject of which it treats as may be the fittest to be adopted. Such are the hopes inspired by the prudence, capacity, and judgment, which distinguish your Excellency's character.

God grant your Excellency many years.'

EL CONDE DE SANTO VENIA.

Havana, April, 1841.

MR. STURGE'S ADDRESS TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

I WAS commissioned by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to present a memorial from them to your President, and proceeded to Washington a few days ago, accompanied by John G. Whittier of Massachusetts, and a friend from the state of Delaware.

It was my first visit to the seat of legislation of your great republic. On our arrival we went to the house of representatives, then in session. A member from Maryland was speaking on our entrance, who was the author of a resolution which had been carried in a former congress, excluding nearly three millions of your countrymen, on whom every species of wrong and outrage is committed with impunity, from all right of petition, either by themselves or their friends. He was advocating the re-enactment of this very resolution for the present congress, and stated that he had a letter from your President approving the measure. Although I believe I do not speak too strongly when I say, that an attempt to enforce such a resolution by any crowned head in the civilized world would be inevitably followed by a revolution, yet it seemed evident that no small portion of your present members were in favour of it. It was with no ordinary emotion that I saw the venerable ex-president Adams at his post, nobly contending against the violation of the rights of his countrymen; and I could not but regret that, with one or two exceptions, he appeared to find little support from his younger colleagues of the free states.

The same day we visited one of the well known slave-trading establishments at Alexandria. On passing to it we were shewn the costly mansion of its late proprietor, who has recently retired on a large property acquired by the sale of native-born Americans. In an open enclosure, with high walls which it is impossible to scale, with a strong iron barred door, and in which we were told that there were some times from three to four hundred persons crowded, we saw about fifty slaves. Amongst the number thus incarcerated was a woman with nine children, who had been cruelly separated from their husband and father, and would probably be shortly sent to New Orleans, where they would never be likely to see him again; and where the mother may be for ever severed from every one of her children, and each of them sold to a different master. From thence we went to the Alexandria city gaol, where we saw a young man who was admitted to be free, even by the gaoler himself. He had been seized and committed in the hope that he might prove a slave, and that the party detaining him would receive a reward. He had been kept there nearly twelve months because he could not pay the gaol fees, and, instead of obtaining any redress for false imprisonment, he was about to be sold into slavery for a term, to reimburse these fees.

The next morning I was desirous of handing to the president the memorial, of which the following is a copy:—

ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

SIR,—As the head of a great confederacy of states justly valuing their free constitution and political organization, and tenacious of their rights and their character, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through their esteemed coadjutor and representative, Joseph Sturge, would respectfully approach you, in behalf of millions of their fellow-men held in bondage in the United States. Those millions are not only denied the political immunities enjoyed by the citizens of your great republic generally, and the equal privileges and the impartial protection of the civil law, but they are deprived of their personal rights: so that they cease to be regarded and treated, under your otherwise noble institutions, as MEN (except in the commission of crime, when the utmost rigour of your penal statutes is invoked and enforced against them), and are reduced to the degraded condition of "chattels-personal" in "the hands of their owners and possessors, to *all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.*"

This is the language and the law of slavery; and upon this law, guarded with jealousy by their political institutions, the slave-holders of the south rest their claim to property in man. But, sir, there are claims anterior to all human laws and superior to all political institutions; claims which are immutable in their nature—claims which are the birthright of every human being, of every clime and of every colour—claims which God has conferred, and which man cannot destroy without sacrilege, or infringe without sin. Personal liberty is amongst these the greatest and the best, for it is the root of all other rights, the conservative principle of human associations, the spring of public virtues, and essential to national strength and greatness.

The monstrous and wicked assumption of power by man over his fellow-man which slavery implies, is alike abhorrent to the moral sense of mankind, to the immutable principles of justice, to the righteous laws of God, and to the benevolent principles of the gospel. It is, therefore, indignantly repudiated by the fundamental laws of all truly enlightened and civilized communities; and by none more emphatically than by that over which, sir, it is your honour to preside.

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The great doctrine that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, and that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," is affirmed in your Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the theory of your constitutional laws. But there is a stain upon your glory. Slavery, in its most abject and revolting form, pollutes your soil; the wailings of slaves mingle with your songs of liberty, and the clank of their chains is heard in horrid discord with the chorus of your triumphs.

The records of your states are not less distinguished by their wise provisions for securing the order and maintaining the institutions of your country, than by their ingenious devices for rivetting the chains and perpetuating the degradation of your coloured brethren. Their education is branded as a crime against the state; their freedom is dreaded as a blasting pestilence; the bare suggestion of their emancipation is proscribed as treason to the cause of American independence.

These things are uttered in sorrow; for the committee deeply deplore the flagrant inconsistency so glaringly displayed, between the lofty principles embodied in the great charter of your liberties, and the evil practices which have been permitted to grow up under it, to mar its beauty and impair its strength.

But it is not on these grounds alone, or chiefly, that they deplore the existence of slavery in the United States. Manifold as are the evils which flow from it, dehumanizing as are its tendencies, fearful as its re-action confessedly is on its supporters, the reproach of its existence does not terminate in the institution which gave it birth. The sublime principles and benign spirit of christianity are dishonoured by it. In the light of divine truth it stands revealed in all its hideous deformity, a CRIME AGAINST GOD, a daring usurpation of the prerogative and authority of the Most High. It is as a violation of his righteous laws, an outrage on his glorious attributes, and a renunciation of the claims of his blessed gospel, that they especially deplore the continuance and support it receives among you; and, in the spirit of christian love and fraternal solicitude, they would counsel its immediate and complete overthrow as a solemn and imperative duty, the performance of which no sordid reasons should be permitted to retard, and no political considerations to prevent. Slavery is a sin against God, and ought therefore to be abolished.

The utter extinction of slavery, and its sister abomination the internal slave-trade—second only in horror and extent in the United States to the African, and in some of its features even more revolting—can be argued by the philanthropists of this country only on the abstract principles of moral and religious duty; and to those principles the people of your great republic are pledged on the side of freedom, beyond every nation of the world.

The negro, by nature our equal, made, like ourselves, in the image of his Creator, gifted with the same intelligence, impelled by the same passions, and redeemed by the same Saviour, is reduced by cupidity and oppression below the level of the brute, spoiled of his humanity, plundered of his rights, and often hurried to a premature grave, the miserable victim of avarice and heedless tyranny! Men have presumptuously dared to wrest from their fellows the most precious of their rights—to intercept, as far as they may, the bounty and grace of the Almighty—to close the door to their intellectual progress—to shut every avenue to their moral and religious improvement—to stand between them and their Maker! It is against this crime the committee protest, as men and as christians; and they earnestly and respectfully call upon you, sir, to use the high powers with which you are invested to bring it to a peaceful and speedy close.

May you, in closing your public career, and in the latest hours of your existence on earth, be consoled with the reflection that you have not despised the afflictions of the afflicted; but that, faithful to the trusts of your high stewardship, you have been "just, ruling in the fear of God"—that you have executed judgment for the oppressed, and have aided in the deliverance of your country from its greatest crime, and its chief reproach!

Signed on behalf of the committee,

London, March 8th, 1841. THOMAS CLARKSON.

I thought it more candid to address a letter to the president, informing him of the character of the foregoing memorial, than to take advantage of a merely formal introduction to present it without such an explanation. To this letter no reply was received, nor was there the slightest allusion made to it by the president at a subsequent introduction which we had to him. It may be proper to state in this connexion, that memorials of a similar character, bearing upon the slave-trade and slavery, signed by the venerable Clarkson, have been presented to different heads of governments in other parts of the world, and have been uniformly received with respect.

Previously to our departure we visited a private slave-trading establishment in the city, and looked in upon a group of human beings herded together like cattle for the market, within an enclosure of high brick walls surrounding the gaol. The young man in attendance informed us that there were five or six other regular slave dealers in the city, who, having no gaols of their own, either placed their slaves in this establishment, or in the public CITY PRISON. The former was generally preferred, on account of its superior accommodation in respect to food and lodging. On my making some remarks to the young man on the nature of his occupation, he significantly, and I think very justly, replied, that *he knew of no reason for condemning slave-traders which did not equally apply to slave-holders.* You will bear in mind that this was said within view of the capitol, where slave-holders control your national legislation, and within a few minutes walk of that mansion where a slave-holder sits in the presidential chair, placed there by your votes; and it is certainly no marvel, that, with such high examples in his favour, the humble slave-dealer of this district should feel himself in honourable company, and really regard his occupation as one of respectability and public utility.

From thence we proceeded to the city prison, an old and loathsome building, where we examined two ranges of small stone cells, in which were a large number of coloured prisoners. We noticed five or six in a single cell, barely large enough for a solitary tenant, under a heat as intense as that of the tropics. The keeper stated, that, in rainy seasons, the prison was uncomfortably wet. The place had to us a painful interest, from the fact that here Doctor Crandall, a citizen of the free states, was confined until his health was completely broken down, and was finally released only to find a grave, for the crime of having circulated a pamphlet on emancipation, written by one of the friends who accompanied me. On inquiry of the keeper, he informed us that slaves are admitted into his cells, and kept for their owners, at the rate of 34 cents per day, and that transfers of them from one master to another sometimes took place during their confinement; thus corroborating the testimony of the keeper of the private gaol before mentioned, that this city prison, the property of the people of the United States, and for the re-building of which a large sum of your money has been appropriated, is made use of by the dealers in human beings as a place of deposit and market. Thus you, in common with your fellow citizens, are made indirect participators in a traffic equal in atrocity to that foreign trade, the suppression of which, to use the words of your president in his late message, "is required by the public honour and the promptings of humanity."

As one who has devoted much of his humble labours to the cause you wish to promote, perhaps I shall be excused for thus stating these facts to you, as they all passed before my personal observation in the course of a few hours. I shall deem it right to publish them in Europe, where I am about shortly to return. Recollect, they all occurred and exist within the district of Columbia, and that those who elect the legislators who uphold the slave system are justly responsible for it in the sight of God and man. Is it not all the natural consequence of your electing slave-holders and their abettors to the highest offices of your state and nation? Some of your most intelligent citizens have given it as their opinion, that fully two-thirds of the whole population of the United States are in favour of the abolition of slavery; and my own observation since I landed on these shores, not only confirms this opinion, but has convinced me that there is a very rapid accession to their numbers daily taking place; and yet we have the extraordinary fact exhibited to the world, that about 250,000 slave-holders, a large proportion of whom, bankrupt in fortune and reputation, have involved many of the north in their disgrace and ruin, hold in mental bondage the whole population of this great republic, who permit themselves to be involved in the common disgrace of presenting a spectacle of national inconsistency altogether without a parallel. I confess that, although an admirer of many of the institutions of your country, and deeply lamenting the evils of my own government, I find it difficult to reply to those who are opposed to any extension of the political rights of Englishmen, when they point to America, and say, that, where all have a control over the legislation but those who are guilty of a dark skin, slavery and the slave-trade not only remain unmitigated, but continue to extend; and that, while there is an onward movement in favour of its extinction, not only in England and France, but even in Cuba and Brazil, American legislators cling to this enormous evil, without attempting to relax or mitigate its horrors. Allow me, therefore, to appeal to you by every motive which attaches you to your country, seriously to consider how far you are accountable for this state of things, by the want of a faithful discharge of those duties for which every member of a republican government is so deeply responsible; and may I not express the hope that, on all future occasions, you will take care to promote the election of none as your representatives, who will not practically act upon the principle, that, in every clime, and of every colour, "all men are equal?" Your sincere friend,

Philadelphia, 6th mo. 7th, 1841. JOSEPH STURGE.

THE LATE SIR JOHN JEREMIE.

(From the Sierra Leone Gazette Extraordinary.)

Council Chamber, Sierra Leone, 23rd April, 1841.

THE members of Her Majesty's Council have the melancholy duty of announcing to the civil and military officers, and to the inhabitants of the colony at large, the afflicting intelligence of the decease of his Excellency, Sir John Jeremie, Kt., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief, who expired at half-past ten o'clock this morning.

In making this painful communication, the council feel their inability to do justice to the high character and valuable services of the late lamented Governor, whose unwearied exertions for the welfare and benefit of all classes of the inhabitants of this colony were not less zealous than unremitting, and whose death cannot fail, therefore, to be considered as a public calamity, and as such deeply deplored.

L. HOOK, A. C. J. | W. COLE, M. C.
J. CARR, Q. A. M. C. | W. FERGUSSON, M. C.
N. W. MACDONALD, C. S., M. C.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In consequence of a mistake on the part of the Printer, a portion of the Type set up became displaced, and was not discovered until the whole of the impression was thrown off. We beg to apologise to those of our friends who have received copies of the first impression, and to assign this, as a reason, to other friends for the delay in the now corrected impression reaching them. EDITOR.

The communications of F. A. C. and Mr. Reynolds are somewhat unseasonable at the present moment.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 14TH.

THE documents recently come to hand from Havana are considered of so much importance as to be given entire in the present number of the *Reporter*; and the attention of our readers is directed to them, as indicating the difficulties in the way of abolition to be overcome, and the grounds on which we may hope that the time is not distant when that great work will be accomplished.

They are not less remarkable for their omissions, than for their admissions. Their writers do not attempt to justify the system of slavery on the ground of its accordance with reason or revelation. On the contrary, they speak of it as "an institution which degrades them, and which hinders their interests, in public and private life." They regard it as a "fatal gift received from their ancestors," and as leading to "fatal consequences." They admit that the existence of slavery "exercises a great influence in the depreciation of labour, in the deterioration of manners, and in arresting the progress of the knowledge and skill of the artizan." In this the monarchical Spaniard is unlike the proud republican of North America, who boasts of the institution as "the corner stone of the republican edifice," and a "blessing" he would transmit unimpaired to his latest posterity! The Conte de Santo Venia conceives it to have been the duty of the island of Cuba, from "the period when the humanity of the age began to display itself at the expense of private interest," to have contemplated her situation and her future prospects," and to have endeavoured to secure her "existence on solid and indestructible foundations." He, and those who think with him, would not oppose themselves "to the ideas of the age, to such a degree as to reduce" themselves "to the rank of barbarians in the eyes of the whole world." He says, "the greater part of this community are persuaded that we should greatly gain in safety, in civilization, and in our pecuniary interests, by the substitution of free labour for that of slaves; and," he adds, "every thing appears to be prepared for this reform." Convinced of the imminent peril of continuing the system of slavery, he submits the outline of a plan to the captain-general of Cuba by which he thinks the danger may be averted. It combines with "administrative arrangements which shall for ever put an end to the contraband introduction of Africans," the formation of "new colonies where slave-labour is absolutely prohibited," the colonizing of "such free persons of colour as might desire" it in Africa, and the transportation thither of such of them as have shown themselves unworthy of remaining in Cuba. This scheme is essentially defective. It does not touch the root of the evil, it merely provides against its increase. Nevertheless it is a great advance towards just views on the important question of abolition, and as such we hail it. The municipal corporation of Havana would leave the question of emancipation to the "testamentary settlements of slave-holders, "and the right of self-redemption enjoyed by Spanish slaves; and they add, "who shall say that, within a few years, the difference of castes may not cease to excite alarm, and that domestic slavery may not cease to exist." But further, the municipality are not reluctant to "farther alleviations"....."in the condition of the slave," and are utterly opposed to the continuance of the slave-trade. The tribunal of commerce would "cut away, at once and for ever, all that remains of the contraband traffic in negros," and would have the work of slave emancipation "proceed slowly, under the influence of time." To this end they say, "Let our beneficent legislation on this subject be carried into effect, in virtue of which every honest and industrious slave enjoys the means of making himself free, and of becoming a useful and laborious member of society."

Thus we learn, that that part of the community in Cuba represented by the Conde de Santo Venia, the municipal corporation, and the tribunal of commerce, so far from justifying the existence of slavery, are not opposed to its gradual, though remote abolition. They are, however, vehemently opposed to its immediate abolition. The municipal corporation say, "a general emancipation" would "only lead to disaster and ruin." "It is not," say they, "the desire to perpetuate slavery, it is not the wretched love of wealth which must perish with the slaves which compose it, on which the opposition to emancipation is founded. The preservation and existence of the white class is that which can and ought to prevent it." The tribunal of commerce observe, that it "does not consider itself destitute of the principles of liberality, humanity, and philanthropy. On the contrary, it is on these principles, that it rests its application for the maintenance on this subject of the *status quo* in the island of Cuba, because it would not be humane, nor just, nor equitable, to sacrifice 400,000 whites, for an object which would only render 500,000 persons of colour more miserable, instead of improving their condition." Substantially the enlightened Conde de Santo Venia takes the same view of the case, and, speaking in the name of those who think with him, says, "we resist with all our might a violent mode of suppression, which destroys us." Yet are the Cuban slave-holders in a dilemma. If abolition has its terrors, so has slavery! In the emphatic language of the Conde, "the tempest is already over their heads," and must be "quelled, unless they are content to be buried in its ravages." "The alarm," he says, "is general, which is an evident proof of the danger, and even those who resist the most rational reforms with the greatest obstinacy are compelled to yield to the necessity of the case." Something must be done, and done immediately, to allay their fears. They dread the slaves, whose natural instincts are all in favour of freedom. They dread the people of colour, whom they designate their "natural enemies," on account of the hateful prejudice which is cherished against them, and the semi-legal bondage in which they are still held. They fear to bring these classes into contact with each other by emancipation, "lest the experience of Cuba, like that of St. Domingo, should speedily confirm the prediction, that, in these islands, the negro race is to exterminate the whites." Already the slave population predominates over the free, in the proportion of 55 to 45; therefore they unite in beseeching the mother country no longer to tolerate "the contraband traffic in negros, which may still be carried on in fraud of the treaty for its abolition, and in defiance of the laws of the country." They cry out for "the entire suppression of the execrable traffic with Africa," as "the inhabitants of the island of Cuba are the most deeply interested in seeing that the number of the people of colour is not imprudently augmented." In their agony to avoid the crisis which the wise among them have long foreseen, and which is now apprehended to be near—a crisis "which, while it disturbed the *uncertain foundations* of their property" might "cause the whole of their prosperity to disappear"—they renew their entreaties that "administrative arrangements may be made" which shall for ever put an end to the contraband introduction of Africans;" and then anxiously suggest a variety of measures to avert the impending danger, and to prepare for that emancipation which they seem to regard as all but inevitable. They would alleviate the condition of the slave—they would afford additional guarantees against his ill-treatment—they would more rigidly enforce the laws which ensure to him the right of self-redemption at a fixed price—they would extend to him the blessings of education—in short, they would do almost any thing but emancipate.

Let us, then, briefly examine the arguments they adduce why they should not perform this great act of justice. 1. Emancipation would lead to the extermination of the whites. 2. Emancipation would lead to the utter destruction of property. 3. Emancipation would not benefit the slave. We advert not to the additional pleas set forth in the memorials to the provisional regency of Spain, on the loss of revenue that would accrue to the state by emancipation, and the implied threat of defection, should the cortes venture to take the subject into consideration. These are points with which the enlightened government and legislature of Spain will know how to deal, when the matter may come before them. Neither shall we attempt a vindication of the abolition societies of Great Britain, France, and the United States, from the absurd charges brought against them, beyond barely stating, that they repudiate all means but those which are strictly of a *moral, religious, and pacific nature*, in promoting the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. They make their appeals to the understandings, the consciences, the hearts, and the interests of men. They appeal not to the passions of the slave—they evoke not the power that slumbers in his arm. Whilst they call on the slaveholder, in the name of humanity, justice, and religion, to restore that to which he has no right, liberty to the slave—they exhort him to patience under suffering, and obedience to the laws under which he has been forcibly placed, until his chains shall be broken by the hand of justice, or melted by the spirit of love.

Nor shall we attempt a formal reply to the imputation cast upon the British government, that its object, in the measures it has taken to promote the suppression of the slave-trade, is the ruin of foreign colonies and the aggrandizement of its own. If this indeed were the object of Great Britain, why has she not sent her fleet to Cuba, to enforce her claims, under the treaties which she has formed with Spain for the abolition of the slave-trade! Why does she not now demand at the cannon's mouth the liberty of every slave, and of the descendant of every slave, who has been illicitly introduced into that island since the year 1817! Has she not the right to do so! Has she not the power! The debt of gratitude which Spain owes to this country is immense; she can never repay it. But we dwell not upon this delicate topic. Let Spain fulfil her solemn engagements with Great Britain—let "the execrable slave-trade" be for ever abolished, and we shall hail with delight this proof of Spanish honour and good faith; and then let the Spanish colonies abolish slavery, and they will find a market for their produce in this country, and a friend—not a spy or a foe—in every Englishman that visits their shores.

We now proceed to notice shortly the objections urged against the abolition of slavery in Cuba. The first and most formidable is, that emancipation would lead to the extermination of the whites, as instanced in the case of St. Domingo. We will not pay the Cubans the ill compliment of supposing that 400,000 whites, armed with all the powers of the government, could not keep in order 500,000 people of colour when free, as they are now confessedly able to do as slaves. Neither will we suppose that they

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really consider that acts of injustice and cruelty are less likely to produce the catastrophe they dread than acts of justice and mercy. The writers of the memorials are too intelligent not to perceive, that there must always be more danger in the tyrannical exercise of an usurped authority, than in the firm, yet impartial administration of an equitable law. The government of men by brute force may last so long as that force is adequate to their government, but no longer. The moment the oppressed become conscious of their numbers and their power, the fate of the oppressors is sealed. The fact is, there is no safety but in justice. The Cubans feel this, and hence their alarms. As to the horrors of St. Domingo, they arose not from emancipation, but from the base attempt of the whites to re-enslave a population that had been made free, and had used their freedom well. Let us be permitted to record a few facts, which ought never to be lost sight of in connexion with the emancipation of the slaves in St. Domingo. In 1793 it became apparent that, either emancipation must take place, or the most terrible calamities must ensue; and proclamations were issued to the planters, exhorting them to concur in the measure by inscribing their names in a registry opened for that purpose. This they very generally did. Whilst this measure was in progress, the French convention (in February, 1794) passed a decree abolishing slavery throughout the whole of the French colonies; thus completing and consolidating the emancipation of the slaves in St. Domingo. The planters in the west of the island, however, were violently opposed to the measure, and carried on a wicked and senseless crusade against negro liberty. Intestine war was thus prolonged, with all its attendant evils. But what were the legitimate results of emancipation! Colonel Malenfant, who resided in the colony at the time, informs us, that, "after this public act of emancipation, the negros remained quiet, both in the south and in the west, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates, indeed, which had neither owners or managers resident upon them, for some of these had been put into prison by Montbrun, and others, fearing the same fate, had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English; yet, upon these estates, though abandoned, the negros continued their labours where there were even inferior agents to guide them, and on those estates where there were no white men to guide them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions. But, upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labour as quietly as before! And this state of things continued, without any servile outrage having occurred, during the years 1794, 1795 and 1796. At this period Colonel Malenfant says, "the colony flourished under Toussaint. The whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negros continued to work for them." Toussaint then became General in Chief of the armies in St. Domingo, and remained in power until the invasion of the island by General Leclerc, in 1802, during the whole of which time the planters kept possession of their estates, and lived upon them without disturbance; and the negros, though they had all been emancipated, continued to labour. In 1797, General La Croix, having witnessed the wonderful progress that had been made in agriculture under the government of Toussaint, used these remarkable words: "The colony," said he, "marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendour. Cultivation prospered, every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape, and the plantations of the north, rose up again visibly to the eye." And let it be remembered also, that such of the white proprietors as had quitted the island during the struggles of 1793, and afterwards, were invited by Toussaint to resume the possession of their estates, under the most solemn guarantees of safety and protection.

And this was the state of things until 1802, when Leclerc came to the island for the purpose of re-establishing slavery; and then commenced those horrors over which humanity weeps, and religion turns pale. But who commenced them! The French. They set examples of the most cruel and heartless butcheries. They sent to Cuba, and were supplied with bloodhounds, which they fed on the flesh of negros; and almost the whole island, with the exception of the mountain fastnesses and the forts, became one scene of carnage and desolation. At length the French army was destroyed, and the colony ruined. The blacks were left in possession of their bare liberty, without capital, to build their fortunes as they best might. Was it any wonder that, under these circumstances, they should resolve no longer to trust the whites! They have now established their independence; they are recognised by the two most powerful nations in Europe; and they stand forth to the world an example of what the negro race may become, and a warning to oppressors not to presume too long upon their patience and forbearance. It is clear from this statement, that the horrors of St. Domingo did not result from emancipation, but from a wicked attempt to make slaves of freemen.

Guadeloupe may be instanced as another proof of the safety of immediate emancipation. In 1794 the negros were declared free; and, as soon as the furious intestine commotions between the different political parties of the whites, and between the whites and the free people of colour were repressed, we learn that the agriculture of the colony was carried on with spirit and success. In 1801, the number of plantations under cultivation amounted to 390 of sugar, 1355 of coffee, and 325 of cotton, besides 25 pasture or grass farms. In 1802, the supreme council addressed the Commissary Valluet, of the canton de Deshayes, to this effect:—"We perceive with pleasure that you have devoted your attention to this most essential branch of your administration (the payment of wages to the free labourers). It is in exercising this justice towards the men whose sweat is the source, both of our private and public wealth, that you can alone acquire a right to exert your authority to enforce upon them the due performance of their duties. Continue to maintain that order in your canton, which now reigns universally throughout the colony. We shall have the satisfaction," they add, "of having given an example which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures justice to all classes." But this happy state of things was disturbed. Immediately after the peace of Amiens, a powerful French force was sent to take possession of Guadeloupe, and to reduce the negros to their former state of bondage. They resisted the iniquitous attempt, and it is said that 20,000 of them fell in their struggle for freedom. They were conquered, however, and slavery was re-established, to the everlasting disgrace of Napoleon Buonaparte, and the whites who urged him on to the foul deed.

All the instances of emancipation (and they are numerous) which have taken place during the last sixty years, prove the entire safety of the measure. Besides the instances of St. Domingo and Guadeloupe, we may enumerate those of Java, whilst under the government of Sir Stamford Raffles (unfortunately reversed by the Dutch, at the cost of 6000 negro lives); the free states of North America, Mexico, St. Helena, the crown slaves in the British colonies, the Hottentots (30,000 in number) at the Cape of Good Hope, and (last in the catalogue) the emancipation of 750,000 slaves belonging to Great Britain, in the West Indies, South America, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. In which of these cases have the whites suffered extermination, as the result of emancipation! May we not appeal with confidence to the intelligence—the sober good sense of the Cubans themselves, to corroborate our statement that the danger lies with slavery, not with emancipation! The history of servile insurrections, though often put down by the sword and the scaffold, if not by more terrible means than these, attests the dangers of slavery. Emancipate, and you remove the cause of these insurrections. Gratitude will then take place of revenge; and the slave, who now regards his oppressor as a foe, will then hail the same man as a benefactor.

In the second place, it is said that emancipation will lead to the utter destruction of property. "The ruin of the proprietors would be the immediate consequence of emancipation," says the tribunal of commerce. This is altogether an exaggeration. It is the language of fear, not of reason; or, if it be not the language of fear, it must be considered as an appeal to the cupidity of the mother country. Indeed, the government is reminded, that it derives four millions of dollars annually from Cuba under the slave system, which would be risked by the abolition of it; and the merchants are reminded that there would be no market for their produce if emancipation took place. The Cubans adduce no proofs of this, except what they are pleased to term "the melancholy condition of Jamaica." It is certainly to be lamented that any planters in that island, by their base conduct and false statements, should have given the slightest occasion to their neighbours to question the beneficial results of emancipation. Nevertheless it is a fact that cannot be disproved, that, with the exception of those who had forfeited the confidence of the negros, of those whose estates were too much impoverished to be cultivated, and of those who have violated the trust reposed in them by absent proprietors, the abolition of slavery in Jamaica, as well as in every other colony of Great Britain in which it has taken place, has worked well. Not only has the most perfect peace prevailed there—not only has crime of all kinds greatly diminished; but, on those plantations where the labourers have been paid moderately for their hire, and have been treated as freemen, the expenses of cultivation have been diminished from twelve to twenty-five per cent., and the import of manufactured goods, the produce of Great Britain, has increased 50 per cent. Let not the Cubans be deceived by the reports of interested men; but let them consult the official papers printed by order of the government and legislature of the country, which will be found to demonstrate the following facts: 1. That the negro freeman, so far from being indisposed to labour, is anxious to sell his labour for moderate wages; and, 2nd, that, in those cases (which are the mere exception to the rule) in which he has refused to labour, the fault was not his, but may be traced to the system pursued by his master. In the islands generally the value of property has risen greatly since emancipation, and in none of them has it decreased—a decisive proof that ruin and emancipation are not synonimous terms. But, supposing that the immediate effect of emancipation had been injurious to the pecuniary interests of the planters, they have gained that which no wealth, under the system of slavery, could purchase—security! They have no fears of insurrections now. They dread not now the midnight attack—the conflagration of their fields—the destruction of their cattle—the terrible revenge of exasperated slaves. They have gained also morally. No longer slave-holders, they can now move in society without having the finger of scorn pointed at them, or hearing the stern rebuke of the friends of humanity. How many of them have feelingly and eloquently observed, "the day that liberated our slaves, emancipated us!" Happily for Cuba, all her sons are not alarmists. The key note that the interests of the colonists would be advanced "by the substitution of free-labour for that of slaves" has been struck by one of her most eminent men, and will vibrate until it meets with a response from the whole community. On the reception and application of this doctrine the present tran-

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quillity and the ultimate prosperity of Cuba depends. May the inhabitants of that fine island be wise to comprehend, and prompt to apply it! Then they will find no truer friends or more faithful allies than the abolitionists of this country, whom they are now pleased to brand with the opprobious epithets of hypocrites and fanatics.

But, thirdly, we are told that emancipation would be injurious to the negro. Admitting his abstract right to liberty, the municipal corporation would yet deny him the enjoyment of it, not only on the ground that it would be incompatible with the safety of the whites, but that they would "not be able to preserve their existence without the perpetration of crimes"—"they would be miserable in proportion to their numbers." On these grounds, then, their slavery must be perpetual. This is the doctrine of the tribunal of commerce. "This tribunal," say they, "does not consider itself destitute of the principles of liberality, humanity, and philanthropy. On the contrary, it is on these principles that it rests its application for the maintenance on this subject of the *status quo* in the island of Cuba, because it would not be humane, nor just, nor equitable, to sacrifice 400,000 whites, for an object which would only render 500,000 persons of colour more miserable, instead of improving their condition. It was not the present inhabitants of the country who created the condition of domestic slavery. This fatal gift they received from their ancestors; and, it having been conceded to them by law, with all its fatal consequences, including the inherent ignorance and brutality of the slaves and the demoralization of the free people of colour, they find themselves in the dreadful dilemma of either maintaining their authority or submitting to extermination; while, for those in subjection, the dilemma is not less odious, of becoming criminals or remaining slaves." Now all this has been affirmed again and again by slave-holders, in the face of the mighty accumulation of facts which history presents on the subject. We ask the Cubans to look around them. Let them study well the history of Hayti. Amidst all the defects which attach to the people of that interesting republic, amidst all the difficulties with which they have had to struggle, they are improving in intelligence and increasing in wealth. They have more than doubled their population in 30 years, and, under a more extended system of education and religious culture, we are confident they will be second to no people in the Antilles—they are already superior in civilization and government to most of the South American republics. But especially we say, look to the British colonies. The testimony of all impartial men bears witness to the rapid improvement of the emancipated slaves in civilization, education, and religion—to their cheerful obedience to the laws, and their willing industry when fairly and honourably treated. As to the retention of the slave population of Cuba in perpetual bondage, that is impossible. The doom of slavery throughout the civilised world is sealed. We are no advocates for accomplishing its overthrow "by violent or unseasonable means." We wish to see it everywhere abolished by peaceful means—means which shall secure alike the welfare of the master, and the happiness of the enfranchised slave. But our doctrine is "immediate and entire abolition," as the only safe mode of proceeding—the wisest and the best for all parties. Of course we do *not* mean emancipation without those necessary legal restraints which bind civil society together. Let the act of emancipation be coupled with equitable laws, and with an impartial administration of justice, and we may safely predict that the results will be as beneficial as the measure will be just.

In a second edition of our last number, we gave to the public an interesting document which came to hand at the moment—an address from Mr. Sturge to the abolitionists of the United States. We have reprinted it to-day for the information of our readers at large. They will read it with great pleasure. It professes a characteristic combination of simplicity and power, and cannot fail of producing a most valuable effect. Up to this point Mr. Sturge has pursued a private and quiet course in the United States; but, while his address will show that he has not been retiring through want of courage, the pro-slavery papers furnish evidence that his private operations have not been without influence.

We give two extracts, the one from the *New York Inquirer*, and the other from the *New York Herald*, the tone of which is highly satisfactory. The soreness and bitterness here shown are a most trustworthy measure of the efficacy with which the party assailed has been promoting the anti-slavery cause. It cannot be necessary to state on this side the Atlantic, that Mr. Sturge never was a member of the British parliament, and that he is an uncompromising opponent of the corn monopoly.

THE MOVEMENTS OF THE ABOLITIONISTS HERE AND IN ENGLAND.—Our readers are aware that a notorious and violent abolitionist, named Joseph Sturge, lately arrived in this country from England, with designs almost as wild and incendiary as the notorious Thompson, and with a determination to do all in his power to break up the "domestic institutions" of the southern states. For this purpose he has been backed up by all the wealth and power of the abolitionists in England, who seem determined to interfere in and destroy, if possible, our social institutions, and set this country in a flame. To effect this, we have reason to believe this man Sturge has brought large sums of money; and if there was any doubt of his real intentions, the letter addressed by his brother to the *London Standard* impudently discloses them:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

"*Birmingham, May* 19.

"SIR,—After the manner in which my brother, Joseph Sturge, is mentioned in the *Standard* of yesterday, I think it but due to him that you should inform your numerous readers that he is now in the United States, doing all in his power to assist the abolitionists there, and that, if in England, I am sure he would oppose, to the utmost of his ability, this abominable Whig attempt to introduce slave-grown sugar.

"I am very respectfully, &c.

"CHARLES STURGE."

Soon after the arrival of this man here the abolitionists had a grand meeting, and formed a new plan of organization, when they issued the following circular:—

The abolitionists of the city of New York are estimated at between three and four thousand. And whereas the majority between the two great political parties was shown by the last election to be less than five hundred, it seems beyond all reasonable doubt, if one thousand will come out and stand aloof from their respective parties, and vote for none but true men, they can thus hold the balance of power, and thus compel at least the weaker of the two to put in nomination true abolitionists.

In view of such results, we have sketched out a plan (subject to be revised) hereunto annexed. And, should you deem the object worthy of your support, we earnestly request you and your friends to enroll your names and place of residence thereto, and forthwith return the same to yours respectfully,

G. Wheeler,	George R. Barker,
R. Sedgwick,	Leonard Gibbs,
Thomas Day, Jun.	William Tracey,
Norman Francis,	Alexander Macdonald,
James E. H. Wallin,	Horace Dresser,
Thomas Ritter,	Asher Atkinson,
James J. Sawyer,	Anthony Lane,
James H. French,	R. G. Williams,
Asa Parker,	George M. Tracy,
N. Southard,	Joel M. Hubbard,
W. S. Dorr,	Augustus I. Gillett.
C. B. Hatch,	

New York, June 1st, 1841.

PLAN.—This committee agree to the following rules, subject to such alterations as a majority shall direct.

I. No person shall sign these articles (except as honorary members) unless he be a voter in the city.

II. No person shall be bound by any of these articles till one thousand names are hereunto subscribed.

III. When one thousand names are so subscribed, any five members may call a meeting and organize.

IV. It shall be the duty of this committee, when organized, to put in nomination such candidates for important offices as honest and good citizens can support with an approving conscience. Such, and such only, as will remember the poor and oppressed, who, on the theatre of action, will do justice and judgment, "and go to the very verge of the constitution and the laws," "to undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

V. When such nominations are so made, and approved of by a majority, every member shall stand pledged each to the other, in all honour and honesty to, vote for such candidate.

It will doubtless be deemed by the people of this country a very kind and considerate act of this itinerant abolitionist, to put himself to so much trouble to rectify the institutions of this country. But, first, it may be as well to state that Messrs. Joseph and Charles Sturge are two of that odious class of creatures known in England as "*corn monopolists.*" They began business in the corn monopoly trade about ten years ago, with a very small capital, but, by riding half over England, and buying up all the corn they could lay their hands upon, monopolizing it on the largest scale which their means would allow, and then holding on to it as long as possible, they would at last sell it out to the poor white slaves of England at enormous prices, and thus obtain enormous profits.

In this way these two "corn monopolists" have realised large fortunes. With the sufferings of the poor white labourers of England they have no sympathy; all their tears and affections are reserved for the negros of this country. And, in furtherance of their impudent plan of disorganization and interference, this Joseph Sturge is now at Washington, using every means in his power to procure the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia. It was principally through his sinister influence that the division in the house of representatives the other day resulted in favour of the abolitionists; and what he may effect before he gets through with his schemes there it is impossible to say.

Of course, as Charles Sturge says, his brother would oppose the measure of the whigs relative to the sugar duties, because they know that such a plan would be a relief to the suffering white population of England; and because also, the whig ministry having introduced a bill to abolish the odious corn laws (so long and loudly demanded by the great body of the people of England), their monopoly in it would be broken up, and their "occupation gone," so far as relates to their grinding and oppressing the labouring white man.

Let the Southern delegation in Congress look after this Sturge.—*New York Herald.*

Joseph Sturge, an abolition agent to this country, who, we believe, either is or was a member of the British Parliament, has published a letter of which he is the bearer to the president of the United States, on the subject of the enormous iniquities of our slave system. In other words, a memorial to our chief magistrate to rescind the constitution of the United States; for, if the letter is not utterly senseless, that is the only sense in which it can be interpreted. It was written originally, we are gravely informed, to General Harrison, but will be presented to Mr. Tyler. We presume Mr. Tyler will treat the mission and its bearer with the contempt they merit. The letter itself purports to have been written by the "venerable Thomas Clarkson," but, by whomsoever written or by whomsoever borne, it is a piece of impertinent impudence that ought to consign every body connected with it to *the care of the door keeper*, whenever they enter the presidential mansion. It is a gross and direct insult to the country, and should be so treated.

It is a pretty time of day, sure enough, if these English gentry suppose they can be permitted to interfere in this way with the internal concerns of the country, and make the very executive hall the theatre of their fathomless insolence. We recollect a good deal of the history of this

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Sturge. At some assemblage of abolitionism in England not long since, or in a letter to some body of the sort, he indulged himself in abuse and invective upon the people of the United States, only equalled by the burley blackguard O'Connell. A very proper person this to carry letters to our president, and deliver them in person at Washington while Congress is in session.

In time of war it was deemed necessary to send British subjects "forty miles from tide water." When, in a time of profound peace, an emissary comes among us intent on mischief infinitely more dangerous, it would be about as well to escort him "forty miles *towards* tide water," and tell him to go home and mind his own business. We do not recommend a supplimental kick or two, by way of reminding him of his manners hereafter, but it would be no inappropriate mode of teaching John Bull that he had better take care of his own slaves before he meddles with ours.—*New York Enquirer.*

Intelligence from the United States.

OUR news from the United States is unusually copious and interesting, and we shall devote to it as much space as more pressing matter will allow.

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Was held in New York, on the 11th of May. We give the following extracts from the report.

STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

Though the year has been one of comparative inaction, with reference to efforts in this country under direction of your committee, we can sincerely congratulate the society that the anti-slavery cause, both in Europe and this country, has been neither inactive nor stationary. In no former year has the general progress of the public mind towards the universal extinction of slavery been so extensive. The limits of an annual report will allow only a glance at some of the facts which illustrate this view of things. It will be seen that the prevailing bankruptcy and pecuniary embarrassment which has so curtailed the resources of anti-slavery societies, has at the same time been doing the work of those societies. By its long continuance, by the baffling of every effort for a retrieval of affairs, by the constant sinking of both governmental and individual credit deeper and deeper into a pit of which no well-informed man will affirm that we have even yet touched the bottom, by spreading its calamities over the nation, in the midst of profound peace, and universal health, and overflowing plenty —it is at length compelling a reluctant nation to look at the cause of its calamities. Should this cause operate a little longer, as it promises to do, it will do the work of a thousand anti-slavery lecturers, in convincing the people of the United States that they must speedily destroy slavery, or slavery will speedily destroy them. The other causes which have embarrassed our organized anti-slavery operations have, in one way or another, been overruled for the advancement of the Anti-slavery cause; while there never has been a year in which every thing actually *done* for abolition has told with a better effect, than in that which is just past.

THE LONDON CONVENTION.

One of the most important of the great events of our cause the past year, is the holding of the General Convention of Abolitionists from various countries at London, in June last. The members of this committee, at a very early period, adopted a resolution in favour of such a meeting; but, in due respect to our brethren of the London committee, the calling of the convention was referred to their discretion, as the labour and responsibility of getting it up would devolve upon them. Nobly did they discharge the trust, and under their auspices there was convened such a body of philanthropists, from different countries, as the world has never seen assembled before. The result of their deliberations has already been widely communicated to the public, and ought to satisfy even the careless that the day is not distant, when the extinction of human slavery by peaceful means will be deemed a common interest of human nature. By the slaveholders of this country the World's Convention has been viewed with deep dismay. From the manner in which it is constantly referred to by their governors, editors, and members of congress, it is clear they think the convention a movement which they cannot but respect, however much they may hate its doings. The abolitionists of this country have generally approved the principles on which the convention proceeded, as well as the tone and spirit of its acts. Its attention was turned to a great variety of subjects, and a vast amount of highly important information was collected and diffused. The utmost impartiality and singleness of purpose ruled in the convention, and the highest expectations of its friends were fully realized. Among its most important acts, there were two measures which require a particular notice—the addresses to the different governments, and the resolutions with regard to the exercise of christian fellowship and communion towards slaveholders. The former is already preparing the way to bring the subject of emancipation into the diplomacy of all nations. The latter promises ere long to bring the power of Christianity to bear against the great stronghold which slavery has found in the churches.

Impressed with a deep sense of the good achieved by the first convention, the committee have deemed it their duty to request the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to take measures for holding another convention, on the same principles, in the summer of the year 1842.

The report next adverts to the progress which has been made among the churches towards a definite determination in regard to the question of communion with slave-holders. The decided resolution adopted by the London convention, and sustained by many of the leading ministers of the Great Britain, such as Wardlaw, Cox, James, &c., has been followed by concurrent resolutions in a large number of individual churches, in both countries. This form of operation has an advantage in being out of the contact of the larger ecclesiastical bodies, and therefore likely to be acted upon under other considerations than those of expediency, and a temporizing spirit. The committee believe the day is drawing on, when churches, ministers, and religious professors, who are guilty of slaveholding, and who refuse to renounce their sin after proper christian remonstrance, will be regarded in the same light as those who persevere against light in the sin of idol-worship, or any other kindred enormity.

POLITICAL EXCITEMENT.

One of the most material incidents of the year, affecting the anti-slavery cause, has been the uncommon political excitement connected with the last presidential election. As soon as it became apparent that the opposition to the late administration was about to take an effective attitude, the ever-vigilant SLAVE POWER was on the alert, to take care that the overshadowing interests of that "detestable institution" should be well secured in case of a change of rulers. Having held uncontrolled sway under the "northern man with southern principles," and gained all that he had to give, the most profound political skill was put in requisition to secure an equal subserviency, although differently manifested, under his successor. At the same time, it was almost equally necessary for the opposition to take such a course as should secure the support of the main body of northern abolitionists, who were either politically opposed to the administration, or had been sickened or driven from its ranks by its shameless subserviency to slavery, and its readiness to prostrate justice, liberty, law, the constitution, the interest and honour of the nation, and the union itself, if necessary, for the preservation of slavery. It deserves to be recorded among the remarkable triumphs of political finesse, that both of these schemes were signally successful; and the country has witnessed the strange spectacle of the great body of slaveholders and the great body of abolitionists zealously uniting for the elevation of the same men, and shouting harmonious pæans at the election of Harrison and Tyler to the highest offices of the nation. That two parties so opposite in their views, with principles so conflicting and with antagonist interests so paramount as they both professed theirs to be, could be both acting intelligently and consistently, is clearly impossible. Which party gained and which lost in this new compromise, is now no longer problematical.

The committee looked on this tornado of party spirit, in which the interests of truth, justice and humanity were lost sight of, with the deepest concern, and especially at seeing many who, by their public station, intellectual power, or zealous services, had become prominent in the anti-slavery ranks, either actively engaged to swell the torrent, or to counteract the efforts of those who were endeavouring to bring out the truth in regard to the state of affairs. Though the great body of the abolitionists fell into the snare which slaveholders and their venal parasites had set, and for a time it seemed that the abolition cause had been laid aside and abandoned, yet the committee rejoice to record the fact that a tried and faithful band were found in every one of the free states, who were not ashamed to proclaim themselves uncompromising abolitionists, who would not vote for a slaveholder for president, nor for the office which by contingency would make him president of the United States. Seven thousand voters, of a class yielding to no other equal number for virtue and intelligence and inflexible perseverance, refused to bow the knee to the Baal of slavery, but cast their votes directly against the further domination of the slave power. Although they are in numbers but a handful, among more than two millions of citizens who gave their votes at the last election, yet we are sure that the slaveholder does not despise them. The fact that, in every place where the question has since been carried to the polls in local or state elections, the number of anti-slavery votes have increased two, four, and ten fold, shows that the northern politicians would be wiser not to affect too much contempt for this movement.

One important result of the late campaign, has been to increase and strengthen the conviction among many of the most devoted and active abolitionists, that the conduct of politicians of all parties has driven the friends of liberty to the adoption of a systematic and independent political action. The political power of slavery is one of its great strong holds. It might be difficult to decide which is most essential to its perpetuity, its standing in the church, or its control of the federal and state governments. The constitution of the society forbids any actual participation in the machinery of party political arrangements. But the committee would do injustice to their own convictions, were they not to say that they regard the general policy of independent anti-slavery nominations as having become a permanent and integral part of the great movements by which slavery is to be overthrown.

With regard to the extent and degree to which this policy should be carried, the committee would not pretend to dictate for their fellow-citizens. But they trust the day will never come again, when professed abolitionists will allow themselves to unite with slaveholders in elevating to office men who, they have reason to believe, will use their trust for the support of slavery. The slaveholders profess to construe the support given by professed abolitionists to pro-slavery candidates at the late election as a pledge of abandonment of the cause. Though we do not believe it was so intended by abolitionists, who yielded to the pressure of the times, yet we are satisfied by the present condition of the cause, that the future beneficial influence of such men upon the politics of this country will depend upon their *future* course in regard to the support of pro-slavery men for office.

TEXAS.

Among the instances of that wise providence which overrules the selfish measures of men for the furtherance of the benevolent designs of God, we may class the recent complete derangement of the plans o four slaveholding politicians, in consequence of the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of Texas. With the act itself we have no fellowship, satisfied as we are that it was brought about by the grossest mis-representations, operating upon the most sordid motives that ever influenced national diplomacy. But its effect has been, under all the circumstances in which it took place, to defeat for ever the great design of annoxing that territory to the American Union, for the creation of a sufficient number of slaveholding states to serve as a counterpoise to the political power and growth of the free north-west. It has also opened Texas to an influx of free labourers, and of anti-slavery influence from Great Britain, which may in time change the character and the policy of the republic, and make the republic a strong-hold of Anglo-Saxon liberty—instead of Anglo-Saxon slavery, as its founders intended.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The London convention, with the subsequent labours of the late secretaries of this society, has given a new impulse to the anti-slavery cause in Great Britain. While we have no idea that the government or people of Great Britain are actuated by considerations less exclusively selfish than those which govern the policy of our own or other countries, it is a matter of rejoicing that circumstances should have imposed upon such a nation

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the necessity of carrying out certain magnificent undertakings in favour of liberty and humanity, at any cost that may be required. The anti-slavery committee in London seems to be indefatigable in its labours, as well as singularly comprehensive in its views, and wise and energetic in its action. While it maintains a sleepless vigilance on behalf of the lately emancipated subjects of its own government, it turns a scrutinizing eye upon every country of the globe where slavery exists, and there appears a possibility of commencing a movement for its extinction. Surely it required no ordinary measure of zeal and confidence, to undertake anti-slavery missions, first to Egypt, and then to Spain; to investigate the abuses and cruelties of slavery in the mines of Brazil, and on the sugar plantations in the interior of the island of Cuba; to find and keep an open door of official intercourse with nearly every government of the civilised world, except the United States. So far from being wearied with the great labour, care, and expense connected with the holding of the general convention, they seem to be all the while gathering new strength and courage. Recently we have been favoured with the pleasure of welcoming to our shores one of their fellow-labourers, himself a mainspring of their movements, who brings us the assurance that they are prepared for any new undertakings which the interests of the cause may seem to require. We cannot but hope that the visit of Joseph Sturge to this country may be the means of great good to the anti-slavery cause—that his single-hearted wisdom, his impartiality and uprightness, and his habit of accomplishing what he undertakes, may be the means of giving a desirable impulse to the anti-slavery movement in this country.

The labours of the British India Society, of the African Civilization Society, of the India cotton cultivation, all affecting slavery, continue to attract interest, although they do not come within the compass of direct efforts for the single object of abolishing slavery. The increased activity of the British cruisers against the African slave-trade must cause great embarrassments to those engaged in this nefarious traffic; but the greatest point gained in this respect, is in the conviction recently expressed by the British secretary, Lord Palmerston, to a deputation who waited on him from the anti-slavery society, that no measures can be effectual for the suppression of the slave-trade without the extinction of slavery itself. Let this conviction become a settled maxim of the British government, and it will soon employ all the influence of its diplomatic intercourse with all nations to procure as decided and universal action against slavery, as it has already procured against the slave-trade. The king of Prussia, in his reply to the communication of the World's Convention, has already declared his desire to do all that lies in the power of his government to remove so crying an outrage against the universal human race.

MOVEMENTS OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

The intimate connexion of the condition of the people of colour who are nominally free with the question of slavery as it is presented in this country, has naturally devolved upon the anti-slavery societies the duty of watching for their interests, and of aiding, as far as practicable, their laudable efforts to rise to their proper place in the social scale. The past year has produced a new and most promising movement on their part, which the committee view as a pleasing proof that the proper spirit of enterprise is waking up in the bosoms of our disfranchised fellow-citizens. The elevation of men depends upon their own efforts, and it is a thing unheard of in history that those who are not actual slaves should gain an enlargement of their civil rights without a determined movement among themselves. With this view, we rejoiced at the call for a state convention of the free citizens of colour in the state of New York. From the beginning we felt it our duty to give this movement all the encouragement in our power. It seemed to us to be straining a point beyond reason, to allege the calling of a separate convention under such circumstances as a departure from anti-slavery principles in regard to the equal right of all classes of citizens. The result has surpassed the hopes of the most sanguine. The doings of the convention, especially the address put forth to the people of colour, and to the inhabitants of the state, have had a most beneficial influence in opening the eyes of men to the intelligence and worth already gained by the disfranchised and oppressed class. So strong was the impression produced, that, when the agents appointed by the convention to attend to their memorial with the legislature of the state, requested a public hearing before the judiciary committee, the request was promptly granted, and the committee was addressed for several evenings by citizens of colour, with an array of facts, a cogency of reasoning, and a pathos of appeal, that surprised even the most enlightened friend of the memorial. The report of the committee which followed, though brief, was fully in favour of allowing the prayer for the restoration of the equal right of suffrage. There is some reason to fear that prejudice and party machinations may yet defeat the measure, during the few remaining days of the session. But "God helps them that help themselves," and, if our fellow-citizens will persevere on their present track, they must succeed in the end.

We are happy to observe that measures are already in train for holding similar conventions in the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania. The chief object of both is to take into consideration the civil disabilities and restrictions under which they labour, and to adopt lawful measures for obtaining their rights.

In the same connexion it is proper to refer to the continued support of a valuable newspaper called the *Coloured American*, to the multiplication of literary and other societies for the improvement of the younger people of colour, and to the progress of temperance in the same class.

While those whose interests we plead are thus faithfully labouring to make themselves more valuable citizens, the events of the year have renewed our early convictions that their present prosperity, as well as the general destiny of their class, requires them to consider this their native land as their fixed abiding place. The wretched poverty and internal dissensions of the colony of Liberia, the plans for removing the inhabitants of Sierra Leone to the West Indies, the disastrous issue of the attempted emigration to Trinidad, all show the importance of a general and definitive understanding, by all parties, that the compulsory settlement of this country by the African race, with the cruel sufferings they have endured, and the immense labours they have performed, have given them a right of continuance on the American soil, which God requires them to claim for themselves and their children, and from which he does not intend they shall ever be driven. The sooner all parties make up their minds to act on this basis, with a wise cast for the welfare of posterity, the sooner will these tedious agitations be settled. In no other way can they be put to rest.

The report then adverts to the important disclosures of the late census in regard to the comparative growth and peace of the slave and free states, the waste of life occasioned by the domestic slave-trade, to the increased regard for principles among the governments of the free states, to the noble stand taken by Governor Seward in his controversy with Virginia. It then proceeds:—

All these things have at length begun to awaken the slaveholders to consider the subject of emancipation as a practical inquiry. Of this we have several specific proofs.

1. The Hon. Mr. Cooper, member of congress from Georgia, in his speech in reply to Mr. Giddings, declared his intention of returning to his constituents, to lay the question before them for a decision at no distant day, whether they shall withdraw from the union, or set themselves to prepare for gradual emancipation.

2. The Hon. Mr. Walker, U. S. senator from Mississippi, in his argument before the supreme court, appealed to that tribunal to sustain the right of Mississippi to protect herself against the overwhelming influx of slaves from the north, on the ground that, otherwise, his state would be driven to the alternative of emancipation, as the only resource of self-preservation.

3. The Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, in his argument on the other side of the same case, urged that, if it was not in the power of congress to protect northern states, in the right of disposing of their surplus slaves, they would have to emancipate to prevent being overrun with them.

4. The rev. Richard Fuller, Baptist minister, Beaufort, South Carolina, in a letter to the *Biblical Recorder*, March 2nd, 1841, says, that, "as the universal feeling at the north renders more than problematical a continuance of this confederacy, if slavery continue;" and, "above all, as great abuses will be inevitable while the institution lasts, ought not patriots and christians throughout the land to mingle their counsels and their prayers, and seriously ask *what can be done?*" And he expresses the hope "that a vast majority throughout the whole country may yet unite in suggesting and achieving some project, by which, at as moderate a price as possible, our slaves may be slowly freed and colonized—*leaving only a sufficient number to cultivate the soil as hired labourers!*" How many are to be required "to cultivate the soil" of one-half the Union, and by what means they are to be kept in the condition of "hired labourers," probably the gentleman has not fully settled in his own mind, nor how "slowly" those should be "freed" who are left among us for this purpose. "Leaving only a sufficient number to cultivate the soil," we have no objections against "colonizing" the rest, with their own consent, nor would we care how "slowly" those are freed, provided the others are *bonâ fide*, and at once placed in the condition and protected in the rights of "hired labourers."

5. The recent discussions in the legislature of Kentucky have settled the policy of that state in favour of the extermination, rather than the extension of slavery; and the leading papers of both parties admit, that, whenever the question comes before the people, the great majority will be in favour of abolition. The numerous and burdensome absurdities of the state constitution cannot be borne much longer, and, whenever its revision is undertaken, the people will have the power to act on the subject of slavery.

THE RESOLUTIONS adopted at the meeting were as follows:—

"Resolved, That the defence which slaveholders have offered of their right to hold their fellow-men as property, so far from shaking our faith in the doctrine of immediate abolition, has only confirmed us in the belief, that their system of slavery has a tendency to blunt the noblest sympathies of their hearts.

"Resolved, That, under a government like ours, the idea that christians and philanthropists have nothing to do with politics is pernicious; that, inasmuch as slavery is not only a moral evil, but the greatest political evil of our country, and only to be abolished by political action; and as each individual voter possesses political power in the proportion of one to the whole number, all sincere and enlightened abolitionists must feel it to be their duty to use their votes for the overthrow of slavery—as an object paramount in importance to all other political questions.

"Resolved, That the wonderful providence of God displayed in the history of the Mendi Africans of the Amistad; in their rescue from Spanish slave traders; in wafting them to this land; in the circumstances attending their condition and various trials; in the righteous decision of the supreme court of the country, triumphing over an executive conspiracy of unparalleled atrocity, and in the opening vision of mercy to Africa through these humble instruments, must inspire the heart of the christian with devout gratitude, and give new courage to all the friends of human liberty.

"Resolved, That the action of his Excellency the governor of this state in the existing controversy between Virginia and New York, has the approbation of this meeting, and does equal honour to this great state, and to the chief magistrate who presides over it.

"Resolved, That this society cordially approves the principles on which the general Anti-slavery Convention in London was organized, and the spirit with which its proceedings were conducted; that we rejoice in the great advantage which has already resulted to our cause from its acts, and in the belief that consequences of still greater value are to follow, and that we recommend to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to whom the subject was referred by the Convention, to call another Convention on the same principles in the year 1842.

"Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to the churches and christian societies of every name the duty of bearing decided testimony against the abomination of slavery, by refusing the privileges of membership and communion to all who are guilty of that sin, or who justify the practice, until they give evidence of repentance, and also to bear decided testimony against the sinful prejudice against colour."

We add from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the following editorial remarks:—

In reviewing the events of the past year—and the part we have been permitted to take in carrying forward the great cause of emancipation—we have much to inspire us with gratitude to God, and to fill us with hope that the same gracious being will continue to smile upon the cause so dear to him. The seed that has been so bountifully sown by abolitionists is springing up in all directions, and all not blinded by prejudice must see that a glorious harvest will be the result. "Abolitionists have not been the cause of it," say some, "nor shall they have the credit of it." We will not dispute this point, nor do we desire that abolitionists have the credit of what God has effected, and is effecting, through their instrumentality. To Him be all the glory.

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We have much to encourage us with regard to the future. The attention of the whole nation is now awake to the anti-slavery question. It is discussed in legislative halls—in courts of justice—in periodicals—in steamboats—in railroad cars—in churches—everywhere. Now is the time, then, for abolitionists to press forward, diffusing intelligence, scattering publications, and arousing the nation to increased action. The executive committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society are determined, with united energy, to do all they can to fulfil the trusts committed to them. It is their intention to scatter publications—to urge on the churches non-communion with slaveholders—to urge on the people, and especially abolitionists, consistent political action—to invoke the legislatures of the free states to expunge from their statute books every vestige of slavery—to urge the congress of the United States to do all they can constitutionally for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the extinction of slavery—to labour for their coloured brethren, that they may enjoy all the rights which other citizens enjoy—and to make preparations for the general convention to be held in London the ensuing year. For the accomplishment of these objects, and others that may occur, the committee are in want of funds; and they urgently appeal to their brethren to furnish them with the pecuniary means to carry forward the trusts committed to them, while they ask the prayers of the devout that the blessing of Almighty God may attend their labours.

NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION.

A NEW body under this title met at New York, on the 12th of May. It consisted of 141 delegates, from eleven states; and it was their object to consider and act upon the propriety of then nominating presidential candidates for the election of 1844. After ballots which were decided by very large majorities, it was resolved unanimously,

That James G. Birney, of New York, as candidate for the Presidency, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, as candidate for the office of Vice Presidency, be unanimously and cordially supported at the election of 1844, and recommended to the support and confidence of the people of the United States as the worthy representatives of the just principle of liberty, and deserving the highest honours that can be bestowed by a people wishing to be free.

The following resolutions also were adopted:—

That the friends of liberty throughout the nation be requested to nominate and to vote for Township, County, and all other officers, favourable to the immediate abolition of slavery.

That duty, patriotism, and humanity, call upon all Americans to unite heartily and fully in the effort to remove all oppressive laws, and to establish equal rights and the impartial administration of justice throughout this land.

That the thanks of the liberty party, and of the people of the United States, are due to Joshua Leavitt, for his memorial, accompanied with appropriate statistical tables, to the 22nd congress, praying the adoption of measures to secure an equitable and adequate market for American wheat.

That this convention recommend to our friends throughout the country to send in their memorials to the congress now about to assemble, to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, and the inter-state slave-trade.

That the president of the United States be respectfully requested to liberate his slaves, and that the presentation of this request be referred to the discretion of Alvan Stewart, Samuel Webb, and Benjamin Shaw.

The convention then adopted a plan of organization for the Liberty Party (for so the new party is to be called), and resolved to meet again in two years.

FRIENDS' MEETING.

ON Thursday evening of last week, the members of the Society of Friends (orthodox) assembled in this city at their annual meeting, met at their meeting house in Orchard street, to listen to the statements of John Candler, of England, lately returned from a visit to the West India islands, as to the results of emancipation in those islands, and also of our esteemed friend, Joseph Sturge, in reference to the general subject of emancipation throughout the world.

The meeting was largely attended. The successful and happy results of the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the colonies, as detailed by John Candler, were calculated to strengthen the conviction that to do justice is always expedient. Joseph Sturge gave a history of the progress of the anti-slavery cause in Great Britain from the time of the old abolition society, of which Thomas Clarkson was a member, and of which he is sole survivor. He also glanced at the state of the cause in other quarters of the globe, at the efforts for East India emancipation, and at late movements in France, Brazil, and Spain, in favour of emancipation; concluding with a most affecting appeal to the members of his religious society to omit no right opportunity for pleading for the slave, and for hastening the day of his deliverance.—*A. & F. Reporter.*

ABOLITIONISM IN KENTUCKY.

IF the signs of the times do not deceive us, the time is come when the people of Kentucky should call a convention, and change their fundamental law. The slaveholder must prepare himself to give up his slaves. We have not read a speech made in the Kentucky Legislature against the repeal of the act of 1833, which does not abound with maledictions upon the evils of slavery. If these gentlemen are representatives of their constituents' feelings, Kentucky is at length ripe for harvest. Let the abolitionists of the north rejoice!

There is but one hope for the slave-holder left. It is, either that those who are now clothed with power are ignorant of the real feelings and opinions of the people, or that, knowing them, they regard them not. If the present members of the General Assembly truly represent the popular feeling upon this subject, it is useless for us in Fayette to keep up the hopeless and unprofitable struggle. Kentucky would this day abolish slavery, if a convention were called. Let not the slave-holder repose in the soft delusion that this convention will not be called. There are keen minds and ardent spirits, in and out of the state, who watch with sleepless vigilance these legislative indications.

Is it not better for the slave-holder to risk the convention now? Is it not better that he be freed from suspense? If his property is to be taken from him, is it not better that he should know it, and make his arrangements accordingly? Is it not better that this fierce controversy, in and out of the legislature, with regard to the moral and political sin of slavery, be brought to an end, either by its final abolition, or by fixing it upon the immovable basis of constitutional law? These are grave questions, and it becomes us to look well to them.—*Danville (Ky.) Rep.*

SIERRA LEONE.

THE Guiana papers contain the address of the emigration agent for this colony to the "free African labourers." We extract the principal part of this document. It seems that the agents for Jamaica and Trinidad have issued addresses also; but we do not find a copy of either in the papers from those colonies.

NOTICE TO EMIGRANTS FOR DEMERARA.

Her gracious Majesty the Queen, having by her principal secretary of state for the colonies of Great Britain authorized the emigration of free African labourers to Demerara, where they will be landed unrestricted, and they are at liberty at once to hire themselves to the highest bidder.

In that "magnificent province" they will receive great wages, and excellent provisions.

Should they not immediately procure other offers, I hereby guarantee them the following rate of wages.

"Tariff of wages"—8½ Spanish dollars per month, with comfortable lodgings, and a sufficient extent of garden ground, medical attendance and medicine.

Tariff of labour for the above wages seven and a half hours per day.

Or, in lieu of the above wages, I will guarantee them at their option,

5½ Spanish dollars per month.
14 Pints of Rice per week.
3½lbs of salt fish or pork.

A small gratuity of rum, tobacco, and pipes, with a comfortable lodging, and sufficient garden ground, medical attendance, and medicine

You will clearly understand, free African labourers, that this scale of wages is binding upon me and my constituents, but not on the emigrant f on his arrival at Demerara (British Guiana), he is immediately to be at liberty to dispose of his labour to the highest bidder. They will in fact be transferred to the appropriation and disposal of his Excellency the governor of Demerara.

Liberated African labourers, free settlers and others—I act, and will always act, with rectitude—honestly, and with honesty of purpose towards you. We hold out no delusive hopes, nor expectations, nor offer extravagant wages that cannot be realized. My friends, the respectable and opulent proprietors and other colonists at Demerara would scorn such a mode of proceeding; we offer you high and regular wages, for limited and reasonable hours of labour.

In periods of scarcity of labour you may gain half a Spanish dollar per diem, as stated in the Trinidad address, or three to four shillings by piece work, as offered in the Jamaica address.

I again repeat, you can offer your labour, on landing at Demerara, to the highest bidder perfectly unrestricted; but I guarantee to you the aforesaid scale of wages and provisions, with lodging and garden ground, medical attendance, &c., for your labour of seven and half hours, the time of labour being ten hours in Sierra Leone.

ARRIVAL of IMMIGRANTS AT DEMERARA.

Yesterday arrived the Superior, a fine barque, from Sierra Leone, bringing 202 Kroomen and freemen. She had a good middle passage, during which not a single death occurred. The immigrants, who are able-bodied people, landed in high glee. About forty are women. They are furnished at the expense of the colony with lodging and every necessary, until they procure suitable employment. At first, probably until they become seasoned to the climate, it will be prudent for them to confine themselves to the lighter descriptions of work. There will be no indenturing of any kind. The people land here at the expense of the colony, and no private individual whatsoever will have a title to deprive them of their chance of the run of the wages market, whatever it may be. The only limit to their acquisition of money will be that which bounds their strength, diligence, or skill.

Under the Immigration Ordinance, 30 dollars a-head is the maximum premium allowable to parties introducing immigrants. Thus the spirited London gentlemen who chartered the Superior are entitled to 6060 dollars out of the public chest. This will be paid out without stint or grumble, if, indeed, it has not been paid already. We understand, however, that the London gentlemen calculated upon £2000 sterling. That the colony will make up the difference we cannot with certainty pronounce, although the energy and judgment of the applicants entitle them to every consideration.

One circumstance is calculated to prove a drawback on the satisfaction natural to the occasion. The colony, in ignorance of the intended voyage of the Superior, chartered at large expense a vessel called the Herald, which, it now turns out, has left Sierra Leone without a single immigrant, her lay-days having expired. There was mismanagement here.—*Guiana Times.*

ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANTS AT TRINIDAD.—The Barque Elizabeth and Jane, twenty-eight days from Sierra Leone, came into harbour yesterday, with 181 immigrants on board.

The arrival of this vessel was looked forward to with some anxiety; for, although our merchants in England had incurred very considerable expense and responsibility for the purpose of sending out the vessel, her success in the enterprize upon which she was sent was still problematical. She has, however, been successful, not only in obtaining, but bringing over the number above stated, in safety and health.

The Elizabeth and Jane being the first vessel which arrived at Sierra Leone in search of immigrants, some difficulty was experienced in making the people comprehend the nature of the step proposed to them. Some suspicion also, most probably lurked in their minds, that there might be a snare laid for them; but, with the assistance of the public authorities, all difficulties were cleared up, and then came a competition to obtain a passage.

The complement of men for which the vessel was licensed, was not only made up at once, but might have been quadrupled, and there is no question now but that the first wave of *African Emigration to the West Indies* has broken upon the shores of Trinidad. Who shall name the number or size of those which may follow?—*Trinidad Standard.*

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THE GLADSTONE SLAVE-TRADE.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—In March last I addressed you a letter, in which I called public attention to the *fact*, that John Gladstone, Esq., the father of the member for Newark, and of the late member for Walsall, had sold his celebrated estate, Vreed-en-Hoop, in Demerara, for an enormous sum (£85,000) and the Coolies that were upon it for the additional sum of £2000. I made this statement on the authority of the Hon. H. E. F. Young, the government secretary of British Guiana. I then gave it as my opinion that such sale was illegal; and I ventured to call the attention of the home government to the fact, that it might interpose the authority of the law for their deliverance from bondage. In the papers which have recently been presented to both houses of parliament, by her Majesty's command, the facts of the case are brought to light, and I am happy in being able to state, that both Governer Light, and Lord John Russell, have not allowed the transaction to pass without scrutiny; although I deeply regret to say, their notice of it has been without advantage to the poor Coolies.

In a despatch from Governor Light to Lord John Russell, dated 13th November, 1840, he says, "Plantation Vreed-en-Hoop, belonging to Mr. Gladstone, was sold a short time ago, but the services of the Coolies he had located there, were not included in the sale. Mr. Gladstone has since sold his other estates in this colony, to one of which he has transferred the services of the Coolies. Having reason to believe that it would neither be advantageous to their health or comfort, if this transfer were to be enforced without the consent of the Coolies, I desired the annexed minute to be sent to the crown lawyers, for their consideration and report." The minute embraced two points: whether, if a transfer took place, it must not be to an estate belonging to the importer; and secondly, whether the consent of the Coolies was not indispensable to the legality of their transfer. The crown officers gave it as their opinion, that "*the consent of the Coolie is indispensably necessary* to his transfer," thus proving that, so far as Mr. Gladstone was concerned, he had forfeited all claim to the services of the Coolies by the sale of Vreed-en-Hoop, and that he had no right whatever to stipulate for their services to any third party. In another despatch, dated the 18th November, 1840, Governor Light says, "This mail has brought out an agreement between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Smith, by which the latter, in the name of his brother, has paid an additional £4000 sterling, for the services of the Coolies at Vreed-en-Hoop to Mr. Gladstone." The attention of Lord John Russell having been thus directed to the subject, we find, in a despatch which he addressed to Governor Light, dated 13th February, 1841, that he had submitted the case to Her Majesty's attorney and solicitor-general, who fully confirmed the opinion of the crown officers of British Guiana, and who stated that "such transactions, certainly, have very much the aspect of a sale of the services of the Coolies, *as if they were slaves* for a limited time, and must be liable to great abuse." His lordship very significantly added, "I have to observe that such a transaction as the one in question will make her Majesty's government insist more strongly on the maintenance of the order in council, which forbids contracts of service for more than one year."

On receipt of the despatch of Governor Light, Lord John Russell entered into correspondence with Mr. Gladstone on the subject, and elicited the following account of the matter from that worthy personage:—"The Coolies in question were in the spring of 1838 locatedon Vreed-en-hoop, then my property. In 1839, *I transmitted the estate to my sons, with their services*, when, *with their consent*, they remained on the same terms of remuneration. In September last, *they sold the estate* . . . under the stipulation, that I retained the power to remove these people to two other estates, should I find it necessary to do so, or their desiring it. After the sale I entered into an agreement with the purchaser to transfer the services of the Coolies to him, on condition that they were willing to remain with him for the remaining term of their agreement with *me*, which will expire in January 1843, two years hence; he enguging to supply them in all respects with food, clothing, lodging, medical attendance, &c., and employ them in the same manner as I had, and paying them the same wages as stipulated for in their agreement with me—with the exception, that I was to remain subject to my engagement, that when *their* engagements expired, I would provide and send out a suitable vessel, properly fitted, to carry them back to Calcutta, free of all expense of any description—in consideration of £2200 in four instalments, at intervals of six months; but should they prefer being removed, then this agreement is to be cancelled. I think it right to mention," he added, "that since my sons sold the estate in question, I have sold another (Vreedestein) on which a part of my Coolies were located, on condition that, provided they remained on the estate, the purchasers were to provide for and pay them in all respects as stipulated in my agreement with them, and *relieve* me from the expense of sending them back to Calcutta, I remaining bound to the people to do so; in consequence I receive no consideration for their services, should they remain with them."

In this letter, Mr. Gladstone informs us, that he transferred Vreed-en-Hoop to his sons in 1839; from that time, therefore, his interest in the estate ceased, and the sons were the legal proprietors; and from that time the Coolies were legally released from their engagements. Mr. Gladstone had clearly no right to transfer them with the estate to his sons. Yet these sons and Mr. William Ewart Gladstone (who would give the state a conscience) among them, have enjoyed the fruit of their labour up to the period of the sale of the property in September 1840, without compunction. Like father, like sons!

It is curious to observe the phraseology of Mr. Gladstone's letter. He transferred the estate *and the services of the Coolies*, to his sons in 1839. In 1840, *they* sell the estate, and *he* sells the Coolies, or transfers their services for a money consideration, which is the same thing in point of fact; but why this was done does not appear, though it were not difficult to give the reason. He had no legal right to transfer their services to his sons, or to any one else; and when he says they were transferred *with the Coolies' own consent*, there is not a tittle of evidence adduced to prove it: on the contrary, if we may believe the stipendiary justice, Mr. J. O. L. Mure, they were entirely ignorant that they had been transferred at all. In an address which he delivered to the Coolies on Vreed-en-hoop in explanation of the sale which had taken place, he said, "You know that Vreed-en-hoop has been sold to Dr. Smith and his brother; but, perhaps, you do not know that Mr. Gladstone parted with Vreed-en-hoop twelve months before to his sons. You have, therefore, for the last year been employed in the service, not of Mr. Gladstone, but of his sons, and *without asking your consent*. I was not aware of this till lately." This ends the first part of the proceedings.

On the 15th March, 1841, Governor Light again wrote Lord John Russell, about the Coolies, to the following effect, which brings us to the second stage in the proceedings:—"Mr. Gladstone was the possessor of several estates in this province, transferred privately, I understand, some twelve months ago, to his sons, but afterwards sold in his name to individuals here. The first estate sold, named Vreed-en-hoop, had between fifty and sixty Coolies, located on it, who were offered to the purchasers, Mr. Smith, and his brother, the colonial surgeon, on condition of paying £2200 for their services, and £1800 for their keep, with the *intimation of an intention on the part of Mr. Gladstone, to offer the Coolies for public competition by sale, if the terms were not agreed to*. Dr. Smith, referred to by his brother in England, *on examining the condition of the Coolies, did not find them in the effective condition represented*; and, moreover, the lawfulness of the transfer, without the consent of the Coolies, being doubtful, he would not confirm the contract. In the meantime, Mr. Gladstone disposed of his remaining estates, and thus virtually *broke his contract with the Coolies*. It became important to secure them from losing their claim on Mr. Gladstone for passage back to Calcutta, and I directed the crown lawyers to state their opinion. Their view was different from my own. They considered that, Mr. Gladstone having sold his estates, the Coolies were so far relieved from their identures that they could claim an immediate passage back to Calcutta; but, if they remained in the colony not subject to transfer, their claim to free passage from Mr. Gladstone would be lost. Some weeks passed in communications on the subject, and I made the attorney-general responsible for the final arrangements in the interests of the Coolies."

The negotiation with Mr. Smith for the sale of the Coolies having failed, it appears Mr. Gladstone then transferred them to his old attorney, Mr. Stuart, as the following communication from that person clearly shows. In a letter addressed to Mr. Mure, dated 22nd February, 1841, he says:—"I have to inform you, that I am about to remove the Indian labourers to either Wales or Vreedestein, whichever you think most eligible, and I have to request your sanction for their removal, on the 1st of March next, to either of those properties." The magistrate, thus appealed to, sought instructions from the executive, "as Mr. Stuart now seems determined to bring the matter to an issue." The law officers had previously declared that Mr. Gladstone's contract with the Coolies was vitiated by the transfer of Vreed-en-Hoop to his sons, "that they might therefore relieve themselves from their engagements," that they were "entitled to demand a free passage back" to India, and that, "in case of refusal on the part of the agent of Mr. Gladstone, they will have recourse upon him by actions at law." This important information, so nearly affecting the rights of the Coolies, was not imparted to them by Mr. Mure, as he had "been instructed to avoid any communication which was likely to cause excitement;" and they were consequently kept in ignorance, till Mr. Stuart "brought matters to an issue."

What instructions Mr. Mure received from Governor Light does not appear; but we find in a communication of his to the executive, dated the 9th March, 1841, that he had addressed the Coolies, and that they were content to remain in the colony until 1843, as the serfs of Mr. Gladstone, to secure their return to India at that period. The means by which they were brought to this conclusion were as follows. After Mr. Mure stated to them that their indentures were vitiated, by the transfer of Vreed-en-Hoop to the younger Gladstones; that he was prepared to *cancel* the indentures of any who wished it, and that *then* they could demand a free passage back to India; that, if Mr. Gladstone refused to give them such passage, the law officers *think* you can force him to give the passage by action at law;" he added, "these lawyers say, that, if you do not ask to go back *soon*, you will lose your right to a free passage, except by remaining in the service of Mr. Gladstone." He then observed, "I would not advise any of you to demand a passage just now; for, if Mr. Gladstone refuses you, you can only have recourse by actions at law, and these will be attended with delay, expense, and some uncertainty. I cannot," said he, "undertake to give you a free passage at the public expense, in the event of a recourse to law being unsuccessful." In conclusion, he warned them not to engage as labourers with other persons in the colony, unless they were "determined not to return to India." Whereupon Mr. Stuart, who was present, stated that, "as agent for Mr. Gladstone, he promised a free passage back to India to any who might continue to work for the benefit of Mr. Gladstone till the termination of the indentures, *but he would not give a passage to any who might refuse to adhere to their contract, or refuse to go to Wales or Vreedestein*." Thus the only alternatives left these poor creatures were starvation, or the abandonment of the hope of ever regaining their native land, or submission to the will of Mr. Gladstone. Slaves they were, and slaves they remain.

The correspondence in this latter affair, as well as the former, was submitted by Lord John Russell to Mr. Gladstone, who, in his reply attempted to evade the responsibility connected therewith, on the plea that he was not a party to it; and, reiterating the statement of his former letter, and denying that he intended "to offer the Coolies for sale by public competition," concludes by observing—"the offer I made of the Coolies (to Mr. Smith) did not stipulate that the people were to be in the effective state described by the governor, but stated them simply to be "labourers."

Now, when it is borne in mind that these unfortunate Coolies were entrapped into their engagements with Mr. Gladstone by the agents employed by him in Calcutta; that their indentures covered a period of five years on a very moderate supply of food, &c., with the scanty wages of from three to five rupees per month, subject to deductions for absent and sick days; that the indentures became void, in the first instance, by the frauds practised on the Coolies in Calcutta—secondly by the cruelties practised on them after they reached the colony—and thirdly by the transfer of the estate to which they were attached, to the sons of Mr. Gladstone; I feel surprised that their indentures were not cancelled; and the necessary measures taken by Governor Light to enforce their claim to be sent to their native land. What course the government may have taken I know not, though I hope it will be found that Lord John Russell has done his duty towards these poor and defenceless strangers.

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In order to prevent a misconception that the Coolies, on the expiring of their indentures, were to be sent to India free of expense, I beg to state that it was the common practice, on the estates where the Coolies were located, to deduct a proportion of their wages monthly to form a fund for that purpose. The legality of this practice I questioned when I was in the colony, but nothing was done to prevent its continuance.

In conclusion, I beg to state, that the number of Coolies reported to have been shipped at Calcutta for British Guiana, in the early part of the year 1838, was 437, but only 334 were alive on the 1st March 1841, including the children born in the interval! So much for Coolie emigration to British Guiana.

I am, Sir, your's respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 10th July, 1841.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

SLAVERY IN PENANG.

InPenang, or Prince of Wales's Island, there are said to be about 3000 slaves (Peggs's East India Slavery, p. 84); and it is evident, from an inspection of official papers, that an active slave-trade has been carried on for the purpose of recruiting their numbers. To the Rev. Mr. Boucho, Mis. Apos., we are indebted for denouncing this traffic to the government in 1828, when he drew the attention of the resident councillor, Mr. Ibbetson, to the fact, that a Chinese junk, from the west coast of Sumatra, had "imported into the island not less than eighty captives from Pulo Nias," who had been "sold to different Chinese;" and that a few of the young girls had been seen in the houses, "entertained by some Chinese for the purpose of prostitution." (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 223). This communication led to the discovery of three other junks, which had arrived between the 1st of May and the 19th of June, 1828, having on board nineteen slaves (*Ibid.* 224), sixteen of whom were recovered after they had been sold (*Ibid* 225). Orders were given by the government for the prosecution of the offenders. It appears that the original cargoes of these junks consisted of "100 persons, most of whom were afterwards landed and disposed of at different Malayan ports" (*Ibid.* p. 227). The Chinese engaged in the odious traffic belong to Penang, and were consequently British subjects.

On application by the president and resident councillor at Penang to the admiral on the station, to adopt measures "best calculated to put an end to these illegal traffickings," he replied, that he regretted to find that his power was "too circumscribed to be made available in any way that could tend to the attainment of so desirable an object" (*Ibid.* pp. 232, 233).

The result of the trial of the Chinese slave-traders is not given in the official papers.

In 1830, we learn by a minute recorded by the president (Mr. Fullerton) "that the practice of importing slave debtors clandestinely still continues; that persons so imported are procured by Nakodhas of Prahus, and other native vessels from the adjacent islands, mostly from Bali; that they are procured exactly in the same manner as regular slaves, by purchase-money, or goods in barter; that they are frequently the captives taken by pirates;" and "that they are imported, to all intents and purposes, as articles of trade" (*Ibid.* p. 238).

The president finds a "few redeeming qualities," besides the argument which may be drawn from the long-established custom and usage of these countries, in favour of slavery in Penang. He observes, "the slavery or service is entirely domestic, and not partaking of the severe labour exacted from the slaves of our West India colonies." But he adds, "the proportion between the sexes in this settlement, according to the last census was, males ———, females ———, (numbers not given), and the small number of the latter has always been considered one great cause of crime. The emigration of females from China is not allowed; from India it is repugnant to Hindoo ideas; of indigenous Malays the proportion between the sexes is nearly equal. It is only, therefore, from females imported under the present system that the population can arise out of the progressive addition of new settlers; and it will be recollected, that the female slaves imported into Penang from Pulo Nias, before the operation of the slave-laws, are the mothers of the whole indigenous population of Prince of Wales' Island. I mention these circumstances," said the president, "as forming part of the subject, but by no means to urge them as arguments in favour of the continuance of a practice in which evil so far predominates; for giving all weight to the above consideration, it must be admitted also that the practice of female slave-dealing is liable to, and often attended with, circumstances of depravity, that far outweigh the advantages on the other side. Setting aside all considerations of local policy, we are, no doubt, bound by every obligation, legal as well as moral, to put down a practice which, however conducted in form, is, in reality, slave-dealing forbidden by law, and the continuance of which must carry with it a continuation of all the horrors induced by it in other places, as exemplified in the case of African slave-dealing, the encouragement to wars for the purpose of making captives for sale, and, in these seas, even the piracies which it encourages, slaves being often the principal object in view. When the habit is inveterate, and in a place like Singapore *affording the best market for slaves* as well as every other saleable article, the suppression will not be an easy matter, and much evasion, particularly by Chinese, will probably take place, notwithstanding all our endeavours to suppress it." The president then recommends that the practice of slave-trading be forbidden, that the registrar of imports and exports should report suspicious cases; but adds, "When so little actual control is exercised over the trade, there being no custom-house at these ports, I know of no other measures that can be taken to repress the practice" (*Ibid.* p. 230).

In reference to the unfortunate and wretched beings who had been illicitly imported into Penang, Mr. Fullerton observes:—"There cannot be a doubt that all so situated are *ipse facto* free"....." but it must be here considered," he remarks, "that, although many be detained against their consent, and even ill-treated, that many are also satisfied with their situation," and therefore, any direct interposition by the government would be objectionable!" (*Ibid.* p. 239). We note no farther, but merely observe, that this gentleman urges a variety of arguments in favour of letting matters alone, and concludes his long article with these remarkable words:—"*When called upon*, we do all that can reasonably be done for the amelioration of the habits of our people, and their gradual advancement in the scale of civilization!" (*Ibid.* p. 239).

Before we close this brief notice of slavery and the slave-trade in Penang and Singapore, we feel it to be our duty to advert to one fact, which illustrates the spirit which too frequently pervades the government of the distant possessions of this country; and how little of warm and hearty co-operation may be expected from the resident functionaries, in correcting the grossest abuses which exist, and in putting down practices which are not less inhuman than they are illegal. It appears that in Malacca there had been established a paper, entitled the *Malacca Observer*, and in Singapore another called the *Singapore Chronicle*. Both of these publications issued from the mission press. The editor of the former felt it to be his duty to animadvert strongly on the existence of slavery in Malacca; this was construed into a great offence, by the local government, on the representation of the slave-holders, and he was obliged to discontinue it. The columns of the *Singapore Chronicle* were, however, open to him; and through that medium he continued his attack on the evil, but was not long permitted to do so, for, in a despatch of Mr. Secretary Patullo, Malacca, to the resident councillor at Singapore, the Hon. K. Murchiston, dated 20th of November, 1829, we find, that he was "directed to desire that no observations bearing on the question of local slavery at Malacca, be for the present permitted to appear in the *Singapore Chronicle* (*Ibid.* p. 234). Besides which a communication was made on the same day by the same gentleman to the managing school committee to the following effect:—"The attention of the honourable the Governor in Council has been called to a publication in the *Singapore Chronicle*, signed "The late Editor of the *Malacca Observer*, adverting in a most improper and offensive style on the discussions on the slave question, which have lately created so much interest in this settlement. It is known that the person, signing himself as above, is employed as schoolmaster at Malacca, under your superintendence, and paid by means of the monthly allowance granted by government for schools. I am, therefore, directed to call your particular attention to this point, and to acquaint you, that should any future publication adverting to slavery, and emanating from the same person, appear hereafter, the allowance will be immediately withdrawn by government" (*Ibid.* p. 234). What grounds the governor in council had for complaint against the editor of the *Malacca Observer* in the absence of the articles which appear to have given them so much annoyance, we know not, but had that gentleman charged them with having thrown in the way of Mr. Garling, the resident councillor at Malacca, every obstacle to the accomplishment of his laudable purposes to suppress the slave-trade, and to secure liberty to the slaves illegally held in bondage, he would have only stated the simple truth, and deserved the thanks of every philanthropist (*Ibid.* p. 254).

DEBTOR SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA, ETC.

This form of slavery appears to have existed with various modifications in British India, and in the various settlements possessed by this country in the East, such as Ceylon, Malacca, Penang, &c. In two very interesting papers communicated to the government by Mr. Presgrane, acting resident councillor at Malacca, in 1830, we find that it had long been the custom to introduce into the island slaves under the appellation of "slave debtors." The countries whence the chief supply of these slaves is attained, are "the Batta, the Balli, the interior of Borneo, called Daya Ro, and a few from the island of Nias." The principal importers of this class of persons are "the Chinese from Singapore, where they are obtained from the Malay and Buger Traders, chiefly the latter." "One of the most fertile sources of supply of slaves is undoubtedly piracy; to this end chiefly are those piratical expeditions directed, and the profits arising from the sale of the captives is at once the inducement and main support of these barbarous and destructive undertakings." And thus "all the peculiar hardship and cruelty of the slave trade may be said to be perpetuated by sanctioning the free introduction of slave debtors (actual slaves)."—(Par. Pap. 138, 1832, pp. 304—306).

In Penang some notice was taken of the prevalence and illegality of this abominable species of slave-trading in 1830, and it was believed "that the means adopted will have the effect of at least diminishing the continuation of a practice so dissonant to the principles of British government, and so revolting to the feelings of humanity" (*Ib.* p. 7).

The practice of debtor slavery prevails extensively in the countries and provinces east of Bengal. In the Tenasserim provinces it "prevails universally." It exists in Bengal itself;—"occasionally," says Hamilton, writing of Silhet, "the poorer descriptions of free persons sell themselves when in extreme distress." In Gorakpur, "a native, for a loan of fifty-one rupees, at twelve per cent. interest, comes under an obligation to give his own labour *and that of his family* to the lender at all times and in all forms, for an indefinite period, until the amount of the loan shall be repaid, principal and interest, in full." The effect of this arrangement is, on the death of the father, to leave his wife and children in bondage. In the Dekhan "debtors have sometimes become slaves to their creditors." In the Madras territory persons in discharge of their debts, bind themselves "to servitude either for life or for a limited period." Such bond service must often practically become perpetual slavery by the inability of the bond servant to discharge the pecuniary obligations which have been incurred. (Adam's Law and Custom, &c., pp. 158—161.) In Assam we find that during a partial famine in 1825, the political agent, Mr. Scott, issued a proclamation "permitting payiks, or persons owing service to the state, to sell themselves as slaves or bondmen, agreeably to the former custom of the country in similar cases." This permission, of which the East India Company did not obtain information until the year 1829, it very properly denounced as a proceeding of "a very questionable character." In the despatch which contained their disapproval of the measure, the directors say, slavery in every form is an evil of great magnitude, and peculiarly revolting to the moral feelings of Englishmen;" a golden sentence, but of no force unless practically applied by them to the extirpation of the evil in all the territories subject to their control. In the case of payiks, they add, "it would appear that temporary relief from the government would have obviated that dreadful necessity of selling themselves as slaves for life, to obtain present subsistence, which seems to have been brought upon the unfortunate people of Assam by distress of a temporary nature." (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 2.) In Arracan "there are slave debtors called Ponghrany, or Keeoong-bong, or the pledged, in consideration of money paid," (*Ibid.* p. 47.) The only other reference we find in the printed papers of 1839, to this subject, is

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contained in an extract from a judicial letter from Bengal, dated September 19, 1836, as follows:—"The practice of debtor slavery is one which, the commissioner stated, could only be abolished by a change in the moral condition of the people. All, therefore, that could be done on the part of the government would be to discourage, without absolutely prohibiting the custom. To this end it was suggested, that after a certain date, no contract for debtor slavery under any shape, should be deemed valid in the courts; the 1st of July of the current year was the date proposed. In giving public notice of the above measure, Mr. Blundell suggested the expediency of setting forth a short exposition of the objects of government, in desiring to discourage a practice which he describes *as degrading and vitiating the people, and as furnishing an additional stimulus to the national passion for gambling.*" (*Ib.* p. 30).

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.

(Extract from the Log of her Majesty's Schooner Fawn.)

LAT. 22 30: LONG. 40 WEST.

LIEUT. COMMR. J. FOOTE, H. M. SCHR. FAWN.

On the 19th of February, 1841, Cacupos, on the Coast of Brazil, about eighteen miles, observed a large brig standing in for the land; altered our course so as to cut her off, if possible, on approaching. She appeared not to have the least idea of our being a man-of-war—allowed her to close within range of our long 32 pounder—fired a gun over her, and another as quick as possible ahead—she then up with her helm, attempted to run, but appeared in great confusion. We continued to throw the shot over, ahead and astern of her, without intention of striking, as we were positive of slaves being on board; after a short time she was increasing her distance; Lieutenant Foote then determined to put a shot into the hull, but with great regret, on account of the unfortunate beings on board. Shots were then thrown close under her stern twice—a third was about to be fired, when we observed her round to. In about twenty minutes we came up, and boarded her. The slaves were all below, with the hatches on: on turning them up, a scene presented itself, enough to sicken the heart even of a Portuguese. The living, the dying, and the dead, huddled together in one mass. Some unfortunates in the most disgusting state of small-pox, in the confluent state, covered from head to foot; some distressingly ill with ophthalmia, a few perfectly blind, others, living skeletons, with difficulty crawled from below, unable to bear the weight of their miserable bodies. Mothers with young infants hanging at their breasts, unable to give them a drop of nourishment. How they had brought them thus far appeared astonishing; all were perfectly naked. Their limbs much excoriated from lying on the hard plank for so long a period. On going below the stench was insupportable. How beings could breath such an atmosphere and live, appeared incredible. Several were under the loose planks, which was called the deck, dying, one dead. We proceeded to Rio Janeiro with the prize. On the passage we lost thirteen, in harbour, twelve from small-pox and debility, a number also died on board the recovery ship, Crescent. After clearing the hold and fumigating the brig, it was determined by Mr. Ouseley, the British minister, to send the brig, with a part of her cargo, for adjudication to the nearest colony, under the command of Mr. G. Johnstone, mate of the Fawn. We sailed on the 19th of March, with 180, well provided with medicines, and directions in what manner to use them. Tapioco and and lime juice were also provided, notwithstanding all the care that a small crew could bestow on them, we unfortunately lost twenty, chiefly from scurvy and general debility. This unfortunate brig left Bahia forte, on the coast of Benguela, with 510 negros! and eighteen days after, on her capture, she had but 375!!

WE have been supplied with the following additional particulars.

Portuguese brig, Dous Fevereiro, burthen 280 tons, Portuguese admeasurement.

Extreme length of deck - - 90 feet
" breadth " - - 33 feet..

Space allotted to the males below.

Extreme length 60 feet. } 60 by 15 = 900 feet.
Mean breadth 15 feet. }

Number of males probably placed there on leaving Africa, 250.

∴ $\frac{900}{250}$ = 3 3-5ths square feet for each.

The space required for a person to lie at full length is about 5½ feet by 1½ feet = 7¾ being about double the space allowed in the brig.

Height of the male *slave-room*, 3¾ feet.

Total number of persons on board on leaving Benguela		510
Died previous to capture - - - - - - - -		155
	Captured	355
Died during four days passage to Rio Janeiro,	13	
at Ditto	12	
Passage to Berbice	20	
At Berbice, two days after disembarkment	4——45	
	330	
Brought from Rio	160	
Number left at Rio (of whom perhaps 30 are since dead)	170	

135 + 13 + 12 + 20 + 4 = 184, the number of deaths as yet ascertained, being above 35 per cent. of the original number embarked.

Number of days out when captured 30 } Africa to Berbice,
Number thence to Rio Janeiro 4 } 87½ days.
Number to Berbice 53½ }

Return of captured Africans at Berbice, 16th May, 1841.

	Men.	Women.	Lads or Boys.	Girls.	Total.
At Depôt in Good Health	31	28	41	24	124
In Hospital.	11	6	11	4	32
Deaths since Landing.	2			2	4
Number disembarked on the 11th inst.	44	34	52	30	160

GREEK SLAVE TRADE.

WE are much gratified in laying before our readers the following important piece of intelligence, which has just reached this country.

The king of Greece has just promulgated a law forbidding all traffic whatever in slaves among his subjects, to the following purport:—

"Whoever is convicted of carrying on such a trade is to be subject to from ten to fifteen years' hard labour, or to inferior punishments, if guilty only of an attempt to infringe the law. Any Greek vessel on which slaves shall have been illegally carried is to be condemned, and the captain and crew sentenced to the punishments mentioned above, according as they may be proved principals or accomplices. The owner of such a vessel is not only to be liable to the extreme penalty above stated, but is also to be declared incapable of commanding a vessel in future. Other minor punishments, varying from three to five years' imprisonment, are to be inflicted on the captains, crews, and owners of vessels, for attempts to carry on the traffic; and offences committed against slaves on board such ships are to be punished according to the established penal code of Greece. All Greek consuls and vice-consuls are authorised to prosecute slavers under this law; and foreign authorities are allowed to set at liberty all slaves found in Greek vessels."

MR. DAY'S WORK ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.—If any profits accrue from the sale of this publication, they will be most cheerfully employed in furtherance of the righteous cause it advocates.

SLAVE-GROWN SUGAR IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.—Some of the West India legislatures have raised the duty on British refined sugar, from 6d. to the prohibitory amount of 1s. per pound, with the view of cherishing the refineries abroad; and others are likely to follow their example. This will put an end to one of the arguments used for the admission of slave-grown sugar into the English market, namely, that, as refined, it was already admitted into the colonies.

BRITISH EMIGRANTS TO JAMAICA.—[Extract of a letter from the rev. W. Knibb.] "The awful waste of human life in the newly invented slave-trade, you will see depicted in the *Herald*. Be assured that you cannot be more appropriately employed, as an Anti-Slavery Society, than in putting a stop to this inhuman traffic." The *Baptist Herald* states the mortality of the recent immigrants from Great Britain at from 50 to 70 in the hundred.

KIDNAPPING IN NEW YORK.—About three months since a coloured child, twelve years old, daughter of Abraham Tanner, then of this city, was carried to New Orleans, and there *sold as a slave*. By the exertions of some benevolent individuals, the child has been recovered. She arrived in this city a few days since in the ship Orleans, and is about to be restored to her parents.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

THE LAND OF LIBERTY.—The slaves belonging to Mr. Marigny, sold yesterday at the Exchange by Mr. Gadriel, brought the following sums:—

	Dollars.
Thirty-eight negros, from eighteen to fifty years, brought	47,810
Twenty negro women, from eighteen to forty years, with eighteen children, from six years to one month	21,950
Sixteen young negros, eleven to thirteen years	12,875
	82,635

The terms were one-tenth cash, and the balance at one and two years.—*New Orleans Bee.*

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XLII. Vol. II. No. 15.] WEDNESDAY, JULY 28th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

Since the publication of the last *Reporter*, two volumes of parliamentary papers have been issued, in continuation of the documents presented to the House of Commons in 1838, on the subject of Slavery in British India. The first of these volumes (No. 238—1841) embraces the correspondence of the Directors of the East India Company with the local authorities in India, on the preparation of a report on Slavery in India by the Law Commissioners—on the state of slavery generally—on the protection of slaves—on the power of correction possessed by a master over his slave—on objections to any legislative enactment defining the rights of masters—on the proposed law enacting that offences against slaves shall be punished in the same manner as offences committed against free persons—on the state of the law and practice relative to the sale of children in India—on debtor slavery in the Tenasserim provinces—on slavery in Assam—on the condition of the chernars, or rustic slaves, in Malabar—on the kidnapping of children in the Madras presidency—on the slave-trade in the Persian Gulf and Bombay—on the importation of African slaves into Cutch and the Portuguese settlements of Demaun and Diu—on defects in the existing law for the punishment of parties charged with exporting slaves and free persons and selling them in a foreign territory, and on various other points arising out of the foregoing particulars.

In this volume also we have the particulars of the emancipation of the East India Company's slaves in Coorg. They amounted in number to 1115. Nearly two years after their liberation from bondage, the superintendent of Coorg, in a letter to the commissioner, dated 14th August, 1839, thus adverted to the conduct they had exhibited under their new circumstances:—"I have much pleasure," he said, "in stating that I have not heard a single instance of any of the individuals who were emancipated from slavery at the beginning of the last year having misconducted themselves, as it was at first apprehended they would do. Indeed, as far as I can judge from what has fallen under my observation, I have every reason to believe that they are remarkably quiet, well-behaved, industrious people. A number have continued in the service of the ryots to whom they were formerly attached; but it will be observed under the head of 'house-tax' in the accompanying memorandum, that 383 families of them have, during the past season, established themselves as independent labourers. Between 50 and 60 families cultivated on their own account small patches of land." This is a cheering account, and is a full proof that the Indian slave can appreciate his freedom, and make a right use of it too. We are happy to perceive that it is the intention of the Company to liberate the slaves they hold on their estates in Malabar. The number of men, women, and children who will thus enjoy the blessings of freedom is reported to be 2009. One thing, however, surprises us, that, although measures began to be taken as far back as 1836 for the accomplishment of this important work, the papers before us do not indicate that it has been consummated. We hope it has taken place, although we have not any official notification of it, unless it be implied in the following extract from a revenue despatch to the government at Fort George, under date the 17th August, 1838, to the following effect:—"We entirely approve this proceeding, and we desire that you will take into consideration without delay the means of extending a similar benefit to the slaves on the estates of private individuals in this and other districts." Whether the latter proposition was agreed to by the local authorities does not appear, though we hope that on inquiry, we shall find the East India Company does not now possess a single slave, or derive any revenue from so unhallowed a source.

The second volume (No. 262—1841) treats of the systems of slavery and bondage prevailing in the territories which were subject to the presidency of Bengal prior to the year 1814; and the practice of the courts and magistrates in cases respecting slavery and bondage. To this are added, short digests of the papers already presented to parliament on the systems of slavery prevailing in the presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and an appendix, which contains the evidence of thirty-two native and four European witnesses, on the extent, nature, and incidents of slavery in Bengal. Most of the natives were slave-holders. From their evidence, and the information collected by the law commissioners from other sources, we learn that slavery, both domestic and prædial, is more generally diffused than we had previously expected it to be. On this point we make a few extracts from the report before us. Referring to Bengal—the districts south, as well as east and north of the Ganges—Orissa, Behar, Oude, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Saugor, and Nerbudda territories, Kumaon, Assam, Arracan, the Tenasserim provinces, Prince of Wales's Island, Malacca, and Singapore, the commissioners say:—"It may be stated generally, that slavery prevails, more or less, throughout the whole of these territories;" and in the more detailed account they say, "it prevails to a great extent in the northern and central divisions of Cuttack, particularly in the chukla of Bhudruck in the former, and the chukla of Jehazpore in the latter division." One of the witnesses examined himself the owner of fifty slaves, stated that in those districts, a wealthy zemindar will possess as many as 2000 slaves; and it is stated that there are 200 or 250 landholders who have that number each. In the province of Bengal south of the Ganges, they say that the slavery which "does exist appears to be almost exclusively of the domestic kind. This part of Bengal includes Midnapore, Hoogly, Burdwan, Beerbhoom, Moorshedabad, twenty-four Perguunahs, the city of Calcutta, Nuddea, Jessore, Backergunge. "In the city of Calcutta. The majority of the Mohammedan, Portuguese, Armenian, Parsee, and Jew inhabitants possess slaves."

"In the districts lying beyond the Ganges, slavery prevails to a great extent. In Chittagong all the Mohammedan families of respectability possess slaves." One of the witnesses, a landholder, stated that he had twenty-four Mussulman slaves; and "we are informed," say the commissioners, "that the Hindoo slaves are even more numerous than those of the Moslem faith." "In Tipperah the slaves are supposed to constitute a fourth of the population." A single family frequently possess from ten to twenty-five slaves, and Hindoos and Mohammedans are alike slaveholders. "In Dacca Jelalpore most of the better class own slaves." "In Mymensingh all the great Zemindars hold slaves in proportion to their wealth, *who are settled upon their estates*." One landholder, whose agent was examined, possessed 1400 slaves. On many estates they compose the greater part of the cultivators. Even persons of small means, such as clerks, "have generally five or six slaves." In the district of Sylhet no just estimate can be formed of "the multitude of persons existing in that servile condition." One witness, a Mussulman from that part of the country, stated that he had about 25 families of hereditary slaves" in one talook, and "about 120 families in another." Another witness, a Hindoo, stated that his "father, who is the proprietor of a small talook, owns about 75 families of slaves." In 1813 the slaves in Sylhet were estimated at one-sixth of the population, "they are now supposed to amount to nearly one-third." In Rajeshahy "most persons of respectability, both Hindoos and Mohammedans, have domestic slaves. In Rungpore and Gowalpara "there are many slaves among the domestics, especially towards Assam, and every where along the northern frontier. Among the Garrows the slaves form "two fifths of the whole population." In Dinagepore "the number of slaves is very small." In Purneah the slave population is estimated by the commissioners, on the authority of Dr. Buchanan, at 24,560; it is probable, however, that the number is larger. "In the districts composing the province of Behar slavery prevails to a great extent." "To possess slaves is considered a mark of distinction." In Behar and Patna, according to Dr. Buchanan, who made his surveys in 1807 to 1811, there were 131,280 slaves; in Bhaugulpore, 17,736; in Shahabad, 21,340. The limits of the several districts, however, have since been altered. In Sarun "some of the great landholders have as many as 200 slaves." In Goruckpore, province of Oude, the slave population is estimated at 1643, four-fifths of whom are engaged in agriculture. In the provinces of Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi, we have very little information. Slavery exists "principally in the cities and towns," and is supposed "to be almost exclusively of the domestic kind." In Ghazeepore "slavery is chiefly confined to the towns." In Juanpore "the slaves are supposed to

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be very few." In Benares "most families of respectability possess them." In Bundelcund "Hindoo slavery is very limited, but Mussulman slaves are common." In Cawnpore domestic slaves are to be found in the families of Mohammedans. In Etawah "many families of substance possess domestic slaves." In Muttra the number of slaves is small. In Allygurh "slavery is confined to the houses of the wealthy." In the districts of Bareilly and Mooradabad "almost all families of respectability, especially Mohammedans, keep them." In Saharungpore the number of slaves is said to be very trifling." In the Delhi territory the number of slaves is stated to be confined to the city of Delhi, though in all the surrounding independent states, especially where the chiefs are Mohammedans, it is more common. In the Hurrianah division the Rajpoots only possess a few slaves. In 1813, Sir Charles Metcalfe, then resident at Delhi, addressing government on the means of checking the traffic in slaves within the territory, observed, "The natives of this country are undeniably greatly addicted to the purchase of slaves, especially of the female sex; some because slaves are kept at a less expense than other servants; others for the sake of the privacy of the apartments of their wives; others for the gratification of their own vicious propensities; others for the purpose of public prostitution. They will go to any expense, and run any risk to possess slaves." This is the substance of the information furnished by the commissioners on the extent of slavery in Bengal. We regret much that these gentlemen were not able to ascertain the number of prædial slaves in that presidency, though in some districts it is quite clear they abound. It will be our duty hereafter to inquire into the nature of their employments, with a view of ascertaining whether any portion of the sugar, rice, and cotton imported from British India into this country is the produce of slave labour. In the meantime we fear we must state it to be our impression that slaves are employed in the cultivation of these articles; and that now the duties on sugar and rum, the produce of the East as well as the West Indies, are equalized, it becomes the more necessary that the people of this country should urge the abolition of slavery in British India, not merely on the ground of its essential injustice, but as a duty which they owe to the sugar growers in our emancipated colonies, and as an example to the world.

We cannot follow the commissioners in our present number, through the various details they give of the origin of slavery in British India—of the castes to which Hindoo slaves usually belong—of the extent of the master's dominion over his slave—of the modes in which slaves are employed—of the coercion used to enforce obedience or exact labour—of the food, clothing, and lodging of slaves—of the treatment and general condition of slaves, and of the moral evils connected with the system of slavery in that part of the British dominions; and there is the less necessity for doing this, as the digest of the parliamentary papers on these points contained in the pamphlet entitled "Slavery and the Slave-Trade in British India," which has been recently published, and which we have strongly recommended to our readers, contains the pith of what they have collected and submitted to the consideration of the government. Of course we shall notice the additional evidence the commissioners have collected on slavery in the presidency of Bengal, so that our readers may have the whole subject completely before them. We cannot, however, refrain from stating here, that one or two additional features of the system of Indian slavery, not less hideous and brutal than those which mark the slavery of the United States, have been brought to light; and, notwithstanding the attempt which is made to gloss over the evil, and the obstacles which are thrown in the way of its abolition, we believe that, when the facts of the case are known, it will be impossible to screen it from universal execration, and from the doom it deserves.

In suggesting measures for correcting "the abuses of slavery," to use the expression of the commissioners, as though slavery itself were not the greatest abuse, these gentlemen differ in opinion. Messrs. Cameron and Millett would take from the masters the power of punishment altogether; but Messrs. Amos, Elliott, and Borradaile, were of opinion, that whilst the *status* of slavery remained, it would be inexpedient to withdraw from the masters the power of punishment.

The remedial measures proposed by Messrs. Cameron and Millett are as follows:—viz. 1. That it shall be unlawful for any free person to become a slave by any means whatever. 2. That it shall be lawful for any free person of full age to contract to serve another for life, or for any number of years. 3. That it shall be lawful for parents or guardians of minors to apprentice them till majority, or for a shorter period. 4. That all contracts under recommendations two and three shall be void upon the ill treatment or prostitution of the service or apprentice, and shall be void *ab initio* if made with a view to prostitution. 5. All contracts to be registered within a limited time by some public officer. Other recommendations, of which there are five more relating to persons of free condition, are mere adjuncts to the former which are here given. Their recommendations as to slavery are, 1. That it shall be unlawful for any person to acquire any slave, or to hire the services of any slave from his master, except persons who are the issue of Hindoo, Mohammedan, or Parsee fathers and mothers. 2. That any act which would be an assault if done to a freeman shall be an assault and punishable as such if done to a slave by his master, or by any other person. 3. That no sale or gift of a slave, nor any transfer of his services for a limited period, except where land in the cultivation of which such slave is employed is sold, given, or transferred for a limited time, shall be valid, unless it be made in writing and authenticated by some public officer, and unless it be made with the consent of the slave, if adult, or of his parent or natural guardian, if a minor. 4. That no slave shall be sold by public authority in execution of a decree of court, or for the realization of a decree of court, or for the realization of arrears of revenue or rent. 5. That any slave who has been treated with cruelty by his master, or has become a common prostitute through the influence of her master, shall be entitled to emancipation. 6. That any slave shall be entitled to emancipation, if a reasonable price be tendered to his master. 7. That whenever any slave is entitled to emancipation, the wife or husband, and the minor children of such slave, shall be free, provided they are slaves of the same master. 8. That any person exporting a slave by land from the British territory into those of any foreign power against the will of the slave, or removing a slave against his will with a view to such exportation, shall be punishable by fine or imprisonment. 9. That any person who shall remove from the British territories any slave who may have taken refuge therein, or any slave whom he may have brought into these territories, and who is unwilling to return, shall be punishable by fine, or imprisonment. Other recommendations incidental to some of the foregoing are noticed by the commissioners, but those quoted are the most material.

The recommendation of the commissioners with respect to bondsmen are the following: viz. 1. That no right to the services of any bondsman shall be transferred without his consent. 2. That no right to the services of any child or other descendant, or of the wife of any bondsman, shall accrue upon the death of any bondsman to the person entitled to his services, notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary expressed or implied between the bondsman and the person entitled. 3. That all contracts of bondage shall be void upon the ill-treatment of the bondsman, or upon the ill-treatment or prostitution of the bondswoman, &c.

For the prevention of the slave-trade, under the statute 5th George IV. cap. 113, the recommendations of the commissioners are, 1. That the government of India should request the home authorities to cause commissioners of vice-admiralty to be sent to all places within the limits of the Company's charter where there is a court of admiralty, and where no vice-admiralty commission exists. 2. That the government of India should request the home authorities to apply to parliament for an act declaring and enacting, or simply enacting, that the government of India, and the governments of Madras and Bombay, and of the Straits, shall exercise the same powers, as, by the above-mentioned statute, are to be exercised by the governors of any colonies, &c. belonging to Her Majesty; and that the officers of the East India Company shall exercise the same powers, as by that statute, are to be exercised by Her Majesty's officers, civil and military.

Messrs. Cameron and Millett add, "Several other measures have occurred to us which might perhaps contribute to secure both to master and slave, the benefits which each party looks for from that relation, which we nevertheless abstain from recommending. The reason is, that we are anxious the law should be, as far as possible, in such a state as to oppose no obstacle to the dissolution of slavery, whenever it shall cease to be in accordance with the feelings of the people; and also in such a state as to oppose no obstacle to that change in the feelings of the people."

The other commissioners, Messrs. Amos, Elliott, and Borradaile, in a separate report, observe, that "while they cannot concur in the observations and conclusions of their colleagues on some important points, yet they agree with them for the most part in the opinions expressed, and the recommendations offered." They add, that "the main difference between them relates to the power of coercion and restraint which the masters of slaves now possess and exercise, for the purposes of enforcing their services, maintaining discipline among them, and preventing their absconding, the effect of that power, and the consequences of abolishing it." They are unwilling to withdraw that power—the compulsory power of the masters over their slaves—and hint that compensation would be required, if it were done. But they think "the injury that would be most felt, arising from the relaxation of discipline among domestic slaves, and consequent disorder in families, would admit of no compensation, and there would be no other means of allaying the discontent which it is feared would be excited by a law calculated to produce such results." They concur with their colleagues in their recommendations respecting the slave-trade abolition act; but not on "the importation and exportation of slaves to and from the British territories by land." In other words, these gentlemen would not make the soil of British India sacred to freedom to fugitive slaves. In conclusion they say, "though they have maturely considered their various recommendations, they could have wished for some further time in order to explain and illustrate their sentiments more fully." We could have wished it also, for certainly, at present, it is difficult to conceive how the learned commissioners could have arrived at the conclusions they appear to have reached. We must not, however, forget that these gentlemen have had the difficult task assigned them, of suggesting measures for "mitigating the state of slavery," and for "ameliorating the condition of slaves," a thing which we believe to be impossible. It must be cut up root and branch; for, so long as the thing is allowed to remain, its pernicious fruits will remain also. What those fruits are we shall have occasion to see, when we come to a closer and more extended examination of the report before us.

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The extent of slavery in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories cannot be ascertained. In Kumaon a census of the slave population has never been taken. We find, however, from the testimony of several natives, that "whoever has the means buys slaves"—that "Brahmins, Dalaras, Daftries, Rajpoots, Sahukars, and other persons of respectability, have about twenty or twenty-five domestic slaves, male and female"—that "persons of every class (Brahmin excepted) may be slaves;" and that one class of the slaves named (halis, or domes) are employed in agriculture, "for the support of the country is therefrom." In Assam the adult slave population is estimated to be about 11,000 or 12,000, of whom it is calculated about a quarter are married; allowing four births to one marriage, this would give altogether a slave population of 27,000 souls." Independent of these, there is another class amounting to about 3000 or 4000 in number, who have placed themselves under the protection of the great men of the province. Their state approximates to slavery. Arracan and the Tenasserim provinces, it is said, that "the system of holding the person in bondage is one of common practice in the province would seem to admit of no doubt;" and that "the inhabitants of this country advance money to men and women, and retain them as slaves. . . . . This practice is the bane of the country." We are further informed, that parents, to meet the demands of a creditor, will "place their children in bondage;" that they will sell them "with a view to secure a retirement free from labour;" that female children are "sold and bought to be maintained in a state of concubinage;" that "a husband, embarking in an adventure requiring a sum which he happens not to possess, pledges his wife as a bondmaid," to the individual from whom he borrows; and that a father borrowing money to game with (not an uncommon case) will make his child "the bondsman of another." These, among others, are the sources of slavery in those parts of our Indian empire.

The latter part of the volume is taken up with correspondence on the subject of slavery in the Madras and Bombay presidencies, with illustrations of the proceedings in the law courts in which slaves have been interested. To this point we shall return hereafter, though but little is added to our previous store of knowledge. We are also furnished with further information on the slave-trade which exists in the Persian gulf, and are pleased to learn that his highness the Imaum of Muscat has entered into an additional treaty with this country, which is likely to prove more efficient in its operation than that which previously existed, though we are convinced that no measure short of the entire abolition of slavery in British India will destroy that nefarious traffic.

We regret to learn that an extensive slave-trade in the persons of children has recently been discovered in the Madras presidency. For years it has been carried on without having apparently attracted the attention of the authorities. It appears that a native vessel, called the *Moydeen Bux*, was discovered at Madras to have on board thirty-two children "of very tender age, none being above seven or eight years old, and some apparently being no more than four years old." These children, it was found upon examination, had either been bought, kidnapped, or obtained by fraud or force, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bimlipatam; they were shipped at Calingapatam for Nagore; and the disgraceful practice of kidnapping and selling children has prevailed for a length of time. It appears also, from the statement of one of the parties implicated in this transaction, that the children thus obtained have not only been disposed of at Nagore, but have been taken to Sumatra and other places, and sold into perpetual slavery! The wretches engaged in this traffic were to have been tried for the offence; but, through the culpable neglect or carelessness of the officer who drew the indictment, they escaped all punishment.

Our readers will see from this glance at the papers recently printed by order of the House of Commons, to be followed by others giving a more extended and particular account of slavery in Madras (where prædial slavery exists to the greatest extent, and in its worst form), and also in Bombay (with which, perhaps, the African slave-trade has most prevailed), that they have a great work before them, and that no efforts must be spared to remove from British India the foul abomination of slavery, which degrades so many millions of their fellow-subjects which has now become the reproach of our country, and which must be abolished to perfect the great work in which British abolitionists have been so long and so honourably engaged.

TRINIDAD.—The following is the quantity of sugar shipped from the 1st of January to the 31st of May, for each of the last four years:—

	Hhds.	Tos.	Brls.
May 31st, 1838	11,051	649	1,379
1839	8,291	436	1,724
1840	8,260	484	2,242
1841	11,838	667	1,773

The weather had been favourable for sugar-making on a majority of the estates. The crop was finished, but it is represented as being far from what was expected at the beginning of the year, which was attributed to the very wet weather last season, which had chilled the cane stools, and retarded their growth.

BRAZILIAN SLAVERY AND SLAVE-TRADE.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

London, 7th Month 26th, 1841.

SIR,—Having just returned from a voyage to the Brazils, where I visited several of the provinces of that extensive empire, I am desirous of communicating, through the medium of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, some considerations on the system of slavery.

In the course of my inquiries, I very soon discovered that the same baneful effects which slavery produces wherever it obtains, were eminently conspicuous in that empire: for the Brazilians, but lately emancipated from the tyranny of the Portuguese government (a tyranny of the most flagrant character, inasmuch as it mainly prohibited the education of the people), are the more subjected to the demoralization of the system of slavery, which their Portuguese progenitors have entailed on them. They, indeed, shook off the death-bearing trammels of that mental slavery to which they themselves had been subjected; but a strict adherence to humanity and justice in the preservation of the lives and property of their oppressors, prevented the Brazilians from severing from their social compact the people of that nation, many of whom are to this day the leading land proprietors, the influential merchants, and the principal, if not almost the only slave-traders. And such is the influence that the Portuguese portion of the inhabitants still possess, either by the power of wealth or the terror of the knife, that even now the efforts of their more liberal associates, the native Brazilians (amongst whom there are many abolitionists), to redeem their country from the thraldom of slavery are thwarted. Redemption in such a state of things seems, to their understanding, hopeless.

I have now before me a list of the movements of 260 slavers, which, since 1835, have sailed from Rio de Janeiro alone. Of these I found that 189 were Portuguese, 59 Brazilian, 11 American, and 1 Hamburghese. Of the 59 Brazilian vessels I am informed that the proprietors were principally Portuguese. But, although these are the direct workers of the traffic, they are not the only parties interested; for I am sorry to say that some English merchants are deeply concerned in the profits of the slave-trade.

The interest of the English residents in the traffic may be exhibited in various ways. 1st. In the wants created by the existence of such an extensive trade calling for merchandize of all kinds. 2nd. In the direct sale of English manufactured cloths, technically called coast goods. 3rd. In direct agency. Of these the first seems to be the least exceptionable, yet not without a heavy share of responsibility, inasmuch as the extensive credit given to purchasers enables them to turn their capital over and over again. Of this class I have heard of one firm which, on a conscientious principle, does not import coast goods; and this house, as I am told, has a floating credit of £200,000.

The second class, which actually imports coast goods, is practically condemned by the house alluded to, as directly depending on the slave-trade; for, if there were no criminality attending the importation of coast gooods, why does conscience forbid that respectable house to import them! This class has, like the first, the responsibility of giving extensive credit, but it has not the same plea, viz. "that their customers misapply the funds if they purchase slaves with the proceeds;" for these sell directly to the coast merchants, and the credit is amply sufficient to allow of the slaves being imported and sold ere the payment becomes due. In illustration of this I would state, that I heard a slave-dealer (who was a Portuguese), in disputing with an Englishman, say that England was as much interested in the traffic as the Portuguese, for, exclaimed he, (whilst pointing at a quotation from our parliamentary papers, and striking his breast with great energy,) "I did that myself." On reading the sentence to which he referred, I found it to be an extract of Mr. Gordon's letter to Lord Palmerston, whilst the former gentleman was in charge of the embassy at Rio de Janeiro, dated 4th mo. 21, 1838. "I regret to have to add that it appears probable that much British capital is engaged therein, even directly. Indirectly many British houses in this city have, for some time past, greatly assisted enterprises for the nefarious end. Formerly, when it was believed that the risk of being taken by British cruisers was considerable, no merchant would sell the goods suitable for the African market unless he received ready money for them; but, since it has been perceived that such risk is very small indeed, British houses have altered their rule in this respect, and they now allow the slave dealers to purchase such goods as they have need of on credit, the debt to be paid at the conclusion of the speculation they were employed in." The Portuguese compiler of the book in which this quotation was contained adds, that the English merchants enjoy the certain profits of the trade, whilst the Portuguese traders incur all the risk and danger.

The third class, the direct agents, or consignees of vessels engaged in the slave trade, has been discovered. For instance, when the Recuperador sailed for Africa with a cargo of English goods, the draw back was claimed by an English house. The claim, however, was not admitted. The vessel made three voyages, and was at length captured as a slaver by H. M. S. Grecian. It also appears that an English ship sailed from Bahia, being loaded by an English firm of that city, for the coast of Africa; where she was captured by one of our cruisers, and condemned at Sierra Leone.

So much for the traffic in slaves. As regards the holding property in man, I would at present merely state, that nearly all

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the English housekeepers are owners of domestic slaves, whilst several are considerable proprietors of estates. Amongst the latter, I would class the English Mining Companies, five of which held 2078 in 1840:—viz., the Brazilian Imperial—the Brazilian Company—the Macaubas, or Cocaes Company—the Minas Geraes Company—the St. Joao del Rey Company. It is remarkable that the Brazilian company is principally conducted by two naval officers, who are its agents. These purchase slaves, even Africans, whilst their brother officers serving in the British fleet are using every effort to suppress the trade. Surely this is a glaring inconsistency, and no trifling cause for remark on the conduct of our government, by those who endeavour to prove that England is interested in the disgusting traffic in man.

GEORGE PILKINGTON.

REMONSTRANCE WITH AN AMERICAN SLAVE-TRADER.

TO HOPE H. SLAUGHTER, SLAVE-TRADER, BALTIMORE.

SINCE thou courteously allowed *me*, in company with my friend John G. Whittier, to visit thy establishment in the city of Baltimore a few weeks since, I have often felt a desire to address a few lines to thee. I need not perhaps say, that my feelings were painfully exercised in looking over thy buildings, fitted up with bolts and bars for the reception of human beings for sale. A sense of the misery and suffering of the unfortunate slaves who have from time to time been confined there—of their separation from home and kindred—of the dreary prospect before them of a life of unrequited toil in the south and south-west, rested heavily upon me. I could then realize the true nature of the system of slavery. I was in a market house for human flesh, where humanity is degraded to a level with the brute; and where children of our common Father in heaven, and for whom our blessed Redeemer offered up the atoning sacrifice of His blood, were bargained for and sold like beasts which perish. And when I regarded thee as the merchant in this dreadful traffic, and heard thee offer remarks which might be considered in some degree as an apology for thy business, calling our attention to the cleanly state of the apartments, the wholesome provisions, &c.; and especially when I heard thee declare that thou hadst been educated by a pious mother; that thou wast never addicted to swearing or other immoralities; that thy business was a *legalised* one; that thou didst nothing contrary to law, and that, while in thy possession, the poor creatures were treated kindly, that families were not separated,* &c.; I was glad to perceive some evidence that the nature of thy employment had not extinguished the voice of conscience within thee. In thy sentiments, and in the manner of their utterance, I thought I could see that truth had not left itself without a witness in thy breast, and that a sense of the wrongfulness of thy occupation still disturbed thee.

To thy remark that thy business was necessary to the system of slavery, and an essential part of it, and that, if slave-holding was to be justified at all, the slave-trade must be also, I certainly can offer no valid objection; for I have never been able to discern any moral difference between the planter of Virginia and the slave dealer of Baltimore, Richmond, and Washington. Each has his part to act in the system, and each is necessary to the other; and, if the matter in all its bearings were not painfully serious, it would be amusing to witness the absurd contempt with which the slave-owner of Maryland or Virginia professes to look upon the trader, whose purchase of his surplus slaves alone enables him to retain the residue in his possession; for it seems very evident that the only profitable part of the system in these states, at the present time, is the sale of the annual increase of the slaves.

In passing from thy premises, we looked in upon the triennial convention of the Baptists of the United States, then in session in the city of Baltimore, where I found slave-holding ministers of a high rank in the church, urging successfully the exclusion from the missionary board of that society all those who in principle and practice were known to be decided abolitionists, and the result of their efforts satisfied me that the darkest picture of slavery is not to be found in the slave-jail of the trader, but rather in a convocation of professed ministers of the gospel of Christ, expelling from the board of a society formed to enlighten the heathen of other nations, all who consistently labour for the overthrow of a system which denies a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures to their millions of heathen at home!

But allow me, in the spirit, as I trust, of Christian kindness, to entreat thee not to seek excuses for thy own course in the evil conduct of others. Thou hast already reached the middle period of life—the future is uncertain. By thy hopes of peace here and hereafter, let me urge thee to abandon this occupation. It is not necessary to argue its intrinsic wickedness, for thou knowest it already. I would therefore beseech thee to listen to that voice which, I am persuaded, sometimes urges thee to put away the evil of thy doings; to "do justly and love mercy," and thus cease to draw down upon thyself the curse which fell upon those merchants of Tyre, "who traded in the persons of men."

That these warnings of conscience may not be longer neglected on thy part, is the sincere wish of one who, while he abhors thy occupation, feels nothing but kindness and goodwill towards thyself.

JOSEPH STURGE, of Birmingham, England.

New York, 6th month 30th, 1841.

* The latter remark of course applies only to the time they remained with thee; for, on the day we visited thy establishment, a friend with whom I was dining informed me, that, a few days before, a woman and child had been sold to thee, whose husband and father was a freeman, who, in his distress, had offered to bind himself for a term of years, in order to raise the sum, (I think 800 dollars) demanded for them; but, as he had been unable to do so, my friend had no doubt they had been sent off with the very lot of slaves which we were told by thyself had just been forwarded to New Orleans from thy prison. Who is most guilty in this atrocious transaction, the slave-owner who sold thee the woman and child at Baltimore—thou, the transporter of them for ever from their husband and parent—the purchaser of the mother and child at New Orleans, where they may be for ever separated from each other—or the citizen who, by his vote or influence, creates and upholds enactments which legalise this monstrous system—is known only to *Him* before whom the secrets of all hearts are revealed.

CUBA:—CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD PALMERSTON.

WE have much pleasure in laying before our readers the following correspondence.

27, New Broad Street, London, July 6th, 1841.

MY LORD—In transmitting to your lordship a copy of documents which have just been received from the island of Cuba, I am directed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to express to your lordship the deep sense they entertain of the weight of obligation under which the great cause they are associated to promote is laid, by the promptitude and decision with which your lordship has forbidden British functionaries, in the Spanish colonies and elsewhere, holding slaves for any purpose whatever. The moral effect of this wise measure is already felt at Havana, and they trust in the Brazils also; they would therefore cordially and respectfully unite in the suggestion of their correspondent, that no person be appointed to offices under the crown in countries where slavery and the slave-trade exist, who is not prepared, in the use of all legitimate and honourable means, to second the efforts of the home government and the people of this country, in their laudable design to terminate evils which have so long and so fearfully afflicted and degraded mankind.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

Rt. Hon. Lord Palmerston, &c.

Foreign Office, July 13th, 1841.

SIR—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to his lordship, enclosing a copy of documents on the slave-trade, recently received from the island of Cuba by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and suggesting that no person should be appointed to an office under the crown in slave-holding countries, who is not prepared to second her Majesty's government in its efforts to suppress the slave-trade.

And I am to request that you will express the thanks of Lord Palmerston to the committee for their communication of the documents transmitted by you, and that you will state to the committee that Lord Palmerston is sure her Majesty's government will not fail to bear in mind the principle laid down in your letter to his lordship.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) LEVESON.

John Scoble, Esq.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 28TH.

A West India mail arrived on Saturday. Partial drought of great severity still prevailed. The *Barbados Globe* supplies the following instances:—

How they are suffering in Tobago from drought may be estimated on perusing the following extract. This island has suffered very severely from long protracted drought. For twenty years back no recollection of such a privation of rain subsists with the colonists. The ground in general is caked, and the stunted vegetation parched up; whilst the atmosphere, chastened even by gusts of the northerly wind—unusually long prevalent at this season—under the intensity of the sun's rays feels, in the intervals of those gusts, in the more sequestered valleys and gulleys, like air from an oven. Looking from an eminence over an extent of low country, one sees rising along, in many directions, for miles pillars of smoke emitted from combustion nearly spontaneous in the brushwood; whilst the summits of hills and their sides, nearly inaccessible by human beings, are dotted over with similar fires, which rapidly course along, leaving marks of desolation in their track. These indications, we fear, forespeak sad short-comings of crops for this, as well as the next year's export.

Our Grenada advices are also coloured with the shade of melancholy,

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more or less pervading the public prints in consequence of the suffering produced from the long continued drought. A correspondent of the *St. George's Chronicle*, of the 1st May, writes that the island was in a miserable state. The few people remaining were employed in digging pits to get a little water, 'so as to keep body and soul together'—the cattle dying off, and the labourers escaping to Trinidad 'as fast as the vessels could carry them.' These accounts were from Caracaou, and the writer adds, that 'the good people of St. George's could not confer a greater act of charity, than by sending over a few ships' load of water.' From the then indications, there did not seem to be any prospect of an early change in the weather.

We perceive by the Barbadian papers, that Sir Evan Murray Mc. Gregor, late governor of Barbados is dead. His Excellency died, it appears, after a short illness. For several years he has been in feeble health, supposed to have arisen from the wounds he had received in the military service. To this feebleness of health we attribute the weakness of purpose which for some time past marked Sir Evan's career, and which brought him into general disrepute with the coloured population of the island. His successor, we trust, will be a man of firmness, intelligence, and decision, who will not allow himself to be governed by the little clique who have so long and so injuriously ruled the colony.

THE French government has adopted the strong, but necessary measure of dissolving the colonial council of Guadeloupe; and, consequently, the commission of its delegate, M. Granier Cassagnac, the great enemy of the blacks, is revoked. He has recently arrived in Paris, after an unfortunate excursion to Hayti, and a hasty touch at the British West India islands. This is the gentleman who stated, at a public dinner at Demerara, his belief that the negros were brutes and not men. He now says he is a convert to the necessity of abolishing slavery.

It appears that the two councils of Guadeloupe have sent home their respective opinions on the question of emancipation. The secret council have arrived at the conclusion that this measure may be advantageously effected; the colonial council are absolutely opposed to it. This just represents the difference between the planters and the government. The French minister has directed the favourable opinion of the secret council to be published.

IT has been privately known that Her Majesty's government have been negociating with that of Spain for the purchase of the islands of Fernando Po and Anna Boy, on the coast of Africa. We are now enabled to state that the purchase has been effected, for the sum of £50,000. These islands command the mouths of the Niger, and afford the utmost facilities for whatever can be done for Africa by means of that river.

A fortnight ago we were permitted to congratulate ourselves on the vote of the United States Congress, by which the gag on anti-slavery petitions was withdrawn. The gleam of common sense in this enlightened body has been of short duration. The vote has been reconsidered, and repealed!

WE scarcely need direct attention to the summary, which appears in our columns to-day, of the parliamentary papers just printed on the subject of slavery in the East Indies. In addition we may here say that the practice of kidnapping the Coolies is by no means at an end. We may be able to give in our next the particulars of a case in which thirty were discovered on board a ship, and happily released.

WE have seen in the *Morning Herald* an article on slavery in the Spanish colonies, extracted from a French periodical, *La Revue des deux Mondes*. This work is the organ of the pro-slavery party in France, and is in the pay of the planters. The publication of the article, however, is a cheering token of the interest which the question of Spanish slavery is exciting, and an instructive illustration of the method in which those argue who are determined to support it. No one at all acquainted with the subject will be misled by its misrepresentations and false reasoning; while enough is *admitted* in it to authenticate the view which the friends of humanity have given of this atrocious system, and to confirm their resolution to effect its overthrow.

WE direct especial attention to a paper—the first of a series—from Mr. Pilkington, who has just returned from an extensive tour in Brazil, undertaken with a view to the collection of facts in reference to slavery and the slave-trade there. In his successive communications he may be expected to make a valuable addition to our correct and authentic knowledge on this important subject.

SIERRA LEONE.—The state of things in this settlement is thus described by the recent emigrants to British Guiana, some of whom are acquainted with individuals in the African regiment lying at Demerara. They say that they are laying out the land in large estates for the growth of colonial produce, and that the natives from the Bullom country, the Mandingos, Canga, and Foulahs, are pouring into Sierra Leone across the boundaries for work:—that, by these large estates being formed, they have been obliged to give up the ground they hitherto held, and to retire farther into the interior, near to the mountains—that, rather than do this, they resolved to emigrate, and that there are thousands who will do the same. They state that provisions are very cheap at Sierra Leone, and that they can earn only 4d. per diem for agricultural labour.

THE BRITISH EMIGRANTS TO JAMAICA.

THE *Baptist Herald* contains the following affidavit:—

Jamaica, ss.

Patrick Tomlinson, a native of Drogheda, Ireland, and Henry Weech, a native of Somerton, County of Somerset, England, state, that they were induced to come out to Jamaica as emigrant labourers, from the fair promises made to them by the agent for emigrants in London, named Hendricks, that they should have liberal wages, kind treatment, and be located in a healthy situation, cool and salubrious, in the mountain districts, with many other inducements, as stated in a printed paper now in their possession. Instead of which they were offered wages quite insufficient to keep themselves and families—for instance, 1s. 6d. per day for an able ploughman; which, considering the high price of the necessaries of life in Jamaica, is not equal to 9d. at home. In short, they find to their grief that they have been quite deceived in every particular, and are now threatened to be made to pay their passage out; and they view such conduct as a base attempt to make them political white slaves (so they express themselves). And further add, that, had they been aware of the usage they have met with since their arrival, they would rather have suffered death at home than have come out.

All of which is the truth, so help us God.

H. WEECH,
his
P. ✕ TOMLINSON.
mark.

Sworn before me this 31st May, 1841.
JOSEPH SOLOMON.

Witnesses to the above being the voluntary declaration of the Subscribers,
EDWARD EVANS, DAVID EEDF, COLIN MCKENZIE.

In reference to the case of these men, and the emigrants generally, the same paper has the following remarks, under the title *What is to be done with the deceived emigrants?*

We are induced to propose this question from an interview we have just had with two poor but noble fellows, who have waited upon us to state how they have been deceived, and to ask what they are to do. Their names are Henry Weech, from Somerton, Somersetshire, and Patrick Tomlinson, from Ireland, brought here by the ship Etheldred.

It appears from their own statement, as well as from the remarks published by the West India Immigration Society which will be found in another part of our paper, that they expected constant employment, good wages, a cottage and provision ground, while every possible attention was to be paid to their health and comfort. With these proposals the poor fellows were naturally taken, and no doubt expected (as, from the statements of those wholesale murderers who have deceived them, they had a right to expect) they would find in this island peace and plenty. But how woefully they have been mistaken! Good wages to an Irishman or Englishman is never less than 3s. or 4s. per day; guess than the surprise and indignation of Henry Weech and Patrick Tomlinson, when they found that good wages in Jamaica consisted of 1s. 6d. per day, while they were to have the privilege of paying rent for their cottages, and finding their provision grounds where they could.

Those of our readers who know anything of the feelings of the English and Irish peasantry will not be surprised, that, under these circumstances, and for such wages, they refused to work, declaring that they would rather go into the bush and feed upon guavas: and we commend them for their determination. Finding that this was to be their treatment at Hyde Estate, they came back to Falmouth, and stated *positively* that they would not work for the above wages. With a view of striking terror into their minds, they were told that, if they would not engage themselves, they would break their agreement, and would then have to pay the whole of the expenses incurred in bringing them out. To this they nobly replied, that, as the party who engaged them had deceived them, they did not feel bound to fulfil their engagement; and here again they were right, and have our commendation. But the question is, what is to be done with them? If they will not work for 1s. 6d. per day, can any of our readers tell us where they can get more, or what they are to do for a living? Are we to see our countrymen duped by unprincipled men, and be obliged to tell them they can obtain no redress, they cannot be sent back, but must stop and starve, and die in our streets? That they have been deceived—shamefully deceived, the printed statement shows, and those whose names thereon appear as a committee stand charged before the face of the British nation with deception of the most cruel kind. They knew that the English peasant would not consider one shilling and sixpence per day good wages, and they penned and sanctioned the statement with a view to deceive, and they have succeeded admirably; hundreds of poor deluded creatures have found their way to our island, and have been sent to a jail instead of a cottage, and met with insult and lying instead of kindness and truth. And what has been the consequence? Why, already the green grass has begun to grow over their heads. Disappointment seized them—a consciousness of having been deceived stung them to the heart; and, finding themselves in a strange land, without food or clothing, they thought of home—they mourned over their desolate condition—they cursed their murderers, and they died. Sorry indeed are we to write thus, but duty compels us. The disconsolate looks of those lately arrived, the weeping of the widow and the sighing of the orphan, have not yet reached, neither will they ever reach, those who have betrayed them to misery. They are still urging and pushing onward the murderous—the body and soul destroying system, as if they were determined to be revenged on the living for those who have been brought to misery by their deceit and fraud, and have been killed by disappointment and cruelty. What is to be done with those who live, and who by their looks, and by their resort to the rum bottle, tell how much they feel, and how deep their misery? We know not what to advise them. To tell them to submit to oppression, and bow their necks to those who so long insulted the negro race, we dare not—the voice of nature and the voice of God forbid us to do this. To see our countrymen die with disappointment is painful—to see them die of starvation is horrid—to see them driven by desperation to the worst of crimes is heart-rending; but all these shall come to pass before we tell Englishmen and Irishmen to submit their necks to be trodden upon by the proud, tyrannical, and blood-thirsty planter. * * * *

We most respectfully, yet earnestly, call the attention of his Excellency

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to the state of the European emigrants in this island, and we implore him to put a stop to this abominable and disgusting trickery. A more deceptious system was never invented, and the safety of the colony, as well as the wickedness it involves, demand its instant annihilation. Let its advocates, if they dare show its present actual state—let the number of deaths, the squalid misery, the total failure of the system, be exhibited; and, case-hardened as its originators and supporters are, they will shrink with horror from the ghastly spectacle. The African slave-trade was bad enough, but this has a refinement of cruelty in it to which that had no claim, while the treatment the deluded wretches receive from some of the petty despots in power is enough to arouse the feelings of the most misanthropic. We refer in this to the treatment of the two men from Hyde. We are not ignorant of the blustering and tyranny of the alien Jack in office who is appointed their protector here, and he may rest assured that he will not long be permitted to treat Britons as if they were the scum of the earth. The deluded victims we pity and will relieve as far as we can. Let our anti-slavery friends in England demand the inquiry we implore, and this wholesale nuisance will cease. A vessel ought instantly to be chartered by the government to take back the deluded victims of avarice that are starving on our shores.

THE PLANTERS OF TRINIDAD AND BRITISH GUIANA.

JUST views in relation to the treatment of the labourers are making decided progress in the colonies we have named above. With respect to Trinidad, we have to refer with pleasure to a correspondence which has taken place between the governor (Sir H. McLeod) and Mr. Burnley. In writing to his Excellency on behalf of the agricultural and emigration society, this gentleman expresses the following just and important sentiments.

I beg the liberty of stating to your Excellency, that I have now passed above one month in the colony since my return from Europe and the United States, and clearly perceive, from the best observations and inquiries I have been enabled to make, that the most injurious consequences will ensue to the labouring classes, unless the present system of gratuitous allowances, in the shape of houses, provisions, and spirits, is put an end to. In consequence of paying no rent for his house, the labourer feels that he has no right of permanent residence in it; he views it only as a temporary shelter, not as a fixed home; and, as he finds that he can change it whenever he pleases, and obtain another elsewhere on the same easy terms, he acquires restless habits, feels independent of the good will of his employer, and entirely neglects the cultivation of vegetables, or the raising of small stock, notwithstanding their present exorbitant price and the abundance of spare time at his disposal. By the adoption of a moderate charge for rent, adequate only to the cost of the house and land provided for him, he will probably begin to attach some value to a residence for which he pays a consideration, and will gradually see the advantage of making himself permanently settled and comfortable.

The distribution also of salt provisions, flour, rice, &c., tends to create unthrifty habits. The labourer receives them, not in proportion to his wants or the extent of his family, but in proportion to the labour he may perform. He frequently may receive more than he actually requires but if the surplus does not constitute an object of easy and ready sale, it will, of course, be wastefully disposed of. By suppressing all allowances, and charging a moderate rent for his house, a higher rate of money wages could and would be cheerfully paid by the proprietor. The labourer would then be rewarded exactly in proportion to his industry, and would purchase only the quantity and quality of every article he might desire.

But of all the allowances granted, that of rum is the most intolerable in its accompanying circumstances, and the most alarming in its future consequences, and, unless immediately checked, will be productive of the most serious evils to the whole community.

As the commutation which I have suggested requires the substitution of an increased money rate of wages in lieu of the allowances specified, your Excellency will readily perceive the difficulties which oppose themselves to its being effected by any effort of the proprietors alone. Independently of the distrust which, for a series of years past, has been systematically infused into the minds of the labourers of these colonies (by those who have assumed to themselves exclusively the title of the friends of the negros), as to the motives and objects of every effort of the planters, which constitutes at the present moment a great and unfortunate barrier to the improvement of our free-labour system by any exertions of the latter, it is clearly advantageous that a third and disinterested party should intervene between them and the labouring class, for the satisfactory adjustment of this question. And when it is further considered that the charge proposed will appear to many to involve in some degree the abandonment of old habits of vicious indulgence, it will require, I fear, the united influence of the executive, the clergy, and the magistracy, ultimately to effect it; at the same time it is equally evident, that the longer the attempt is deferred the greater will be the difficulty in accomplishing it.

It affords us additional pleasure to say that these sentiments are echoed by the colonial secretary, replying to Mr. Burnley on behalf of the governor, as follows:—

You remark on the injurious consequences likely to ensue from the present mode of paying part of the wages of labour in kind—that is, the allowance of houses, grounds, provisions, and spirits.

From the moment of the abolition of slavery his Excellency always viewed this as an unsound practice; but, in his endeavours to obtain an alteration of the system, he was told that the people had been so long in the habit of living in the house as their own property, that anything in the shape of rent would produce discontent.

With regard to allowance of provisions and rum, his Excellency apprehends they are given only in this colony and British Guiana, at least to any amount, but coincides most perfectly with you in the view taken of this subject, which his Excellency is glad to find you state to be the opinion of the society.

The allowance of rum particularly, has been universally represented to the governor as demoralising in the extreme: and in a conversation which his Excellency lately had with three gentlemen of the society of Friends, who came here from Baltimore, the necessity of doing away with it was strongly urged by them.

Strongly impressed, however, as the governor is with the necessity of a change in this part of the system, there are very great difficulties attending it, which it will be unnecessary to state here, but for which the employer alone can find a remedy; for his Excellency would deprecate any attempt at legislative enactment as regards rates and modes of labour. These must be left to find their own level."

That the same light is breaking in upon the "proprietors, managers, and others interested in the agriculture of" British Guiana, appears from a petition from this class of persons which has just been presented to the governor of that colony. These gentlemen, it appears, are now desirous of "rendering the colony less dependent upon immigration," the expenses of which they find "press heavily on the colonial treasury." With this view, they acknowledge their past errors. The petition "respectfully sheweth," that the petitioners, "having acquired nearly three years experience of the working of the system adopted generally for the management of plantations in this colony after the abolition of the apprenticeship, are firmly impressed with the conviction that a radical error was committed in retaining the custom of giving to agricultural labourers their houses and provision grounds rent free; with sundry other 'allowances and indulgences,' which ought, for the mutual interest of employer and labourer, to have expired with the apprenticeship.

"That, guided by experience, your petitioners are fully convinced, that it is most desirable *to render the labourer wholly independent of any claim upon his employer, except for the money value of his labour;* and that the sooner he is thrown upon his own resources, to supply himself with house, food, and all incidental expenses, the better it will be for himself, his employer, and the community at large.

"That contracts having for their object the securing continuous labour after the abolition of the apprenticeship, which were at first eagerly desired, and sometimes insisted upon by the employer, have proved, in almost every instance, practically useless and unsatisfactory to both parties.

"That the 'allowances and indulgences' adverted to having been always considered as so much additional to the money price of agricultural labour, your petitioners are quite prepared to acknowledge the claim of the labourer to an increased money rate of wages, *fully equivalent to the value of the old allowances*, as compensation for their withdrawal."

All this is sound sense and discretion, and we sincerely congratulate the Guiana planters on their arrival at it. Let them allow us, however, in a spirit of sincere kindness, to call their attention to one clause in their petition, which seems to us to indicate a lingering remnant of erroneous views. It is the following:—

"That the value of the privileges proposed to be withdrawn, and the rate which the landlord can in fairness claim for interest of capital invested in houses, and the contingent expenses of repairs, &c., be carefully estimated by referees in whom all classes of the community may repose confidence, in order that, while disclaiming all desire to fix by tariff certain prices for the various descriptions of labour, *something like an approach to uniformity* may be attained in regulating wages and rent upon the adoption of the new system."

This hankering after "an approach to uniformity" in wages and rent is what we regret. In the first place, the desire after such uniformity proceeds, we think, on a wrong principle. It argues a dissatisfaction with the market price of labour. Now the market price of everything which is to be sold is its real value, and that which ought to be given for it. As no seller ought to expect more for it, so no buyer ought to wish it for less. In the next place, we should not think such uniformity desirable, even if it were right. If labour is of different values at different places, it is better for all parties that those different values should be paid. A forced uniformity could have no other effect than, either to enable some persons to get labour at less than it is worth, or to constrain others to give for it more than it is worth; the former being an injury to the seller, and the latter to the buyer. In the third place, we are sure that the desired uniformity can never, as a general and permanent condition be produced. By whatever forces it may be constrained for a moment, there are causes which will soon disturb it. On the one hand, in places where labour may thus be raised above its market value it will become plentiful, and its price will fall; and on the other, in places where labour may thus be depressed below its market value it will become scarce, and its price will rise. It is a *law* in this case, and no ingenuity can long evade it, that planters everywhere must buy labour at what they can get it for. Its price will be regulated by supply and demand, and may vary, in spite of them, on every plantation in the colony, every day in the year. In the last place, there can be no doubt that, whatever degree of uniformity may be possible, it will establish itself without any measures being taken for this purpose. However dissimilar prices may be at a given moment, if those diversities arise from unnatural causes, they will soon disappear, and such "an approach to uniformity" as may correspond with the actual determining elements of the case will result without effort. We earnestly wish, therefore, that the planters in Guiana would relinquish all care about uniformity of wages. They have nothing to do, we think, but to give everywhere the market price for labour.

Although not indicated in their petition, we shall here add a remark on the unjust and impolitic course which has been pur-

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sued for the last two years by the combined court, in reference to the taxation of the colony. They are progressively diminishing the taxes on land and its staple produce, and augmenting those on the necessaries of life. In other words, they are relieving the small body of proprietors by throwing the burden on the community at large, that is to say, chiefly on the peasantry. On these general taxes they are at this moment charging the enormous amount of £104,000 for facilitating the introduction of labourers, and to pay for a canal excavator! This method is as preposterous as it is unjust. If the price of food is enhanced, so of course must be the wages of labour. Yet the Guiana planters are at once making food dear, and complaining of high wages! This outrage on common sense is well exposed by the colonial secretary, Mr. Young, in the following extract of his speech on the budget, on the 7th of June last.

In a country like this, where the rate of wages is justly complained of by the employer as exorbitant, but where the labourer as justly avers them to be no higher, in comparison with prices, than in the neighbouring colonies, nothing but some strong necessity should induce us to levy duties on the necessaries of life. This necessity, at least to the extent of £104,000, would cease, if the landed interest would but bear its own just burdens The taxes on plantains, flour, corn, beef, pork, malt liquors, and clothing, might be greatly reduced, and possibly altogether repealed. But, sir, the scheme of ways and means introduced by the chairman of the committee, is distinguished beyond its predecessors by fresh items of taxation, which, bearing in mind the outcry against high wages, whether viewed as tending to increase the price of necessary articles of consumption, or considered in connexion with our sacrifices to procure labourers, appear to me to be the greatest solecism in political economy of which this court was ever deliberately invited to be guilty. .

The two descriptions of flour are taxed, one 33 per cent., and the other 50 per cent. higher than last year; rye flour, 70 per cent. higher; beef and pork, 50 per cent.; corn meal, 600 per cent; fish, 600 per cent. per quintal; and, in addition to the tax already existing on plantains grown within the colony, you are now imposing a prohibitory duty on foreign plantains.

VALUE OF PROPERTY IN BRITISH GUIANA.

DESPATCHES FROM GOVERNOR LIGHT TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Government House, Demerara, 1st August, 1840.

MY LORD—In connexion with the prosperous condition of the monetary system published by the Directors of the British Guiana Bank, whose report I have had the honour of transmitting, I am induced to draw your lordship's attention to some late sales of estates here, which certainly do not indicate any want of confidence in the future agricultural prospects of the province.

Plantation Richmond, in Essequibo, was, or is to be, bought by the attorney and manager for thirty-six thousand pounds sterling. This person, in the beginning of 1839, sent me in a long calculation which he was about to transmit to the proprietor in England, wherein he pretended to prove, that, according to expenses, produce, and sales, in three years from that period the estate must be abandoned.

Rome and Houston, two estates adjoining each other, were bought from the proprietor in England, Mr. Hyndman, under the impression, that the colony was ruined, for thirty-six thousand pounds, which was afterwards increased voluntarily by the purchaser to forty thousand pounds. Had it been put up to sale here it would have brought fifty thousand pounds, the present holder having been offered ten thousand pounds for his bargain. Under the present owner these estates will produce at least one thousand hogsheads of sugar, when, for the last two years, mismanagement had reduced the produce to at least one-half.

Plantations Montrose and Ogle, the joint property of Messrs. Shands of Liverpool and the heirs of a Mr. Simson, were yesterday sold at public vendue. The former estate, though, according to Mr. Arrindell, its attorney, it was one that proved the ruin of the agricultural interest in the colony, was bought by Sir Michael M'Turk for thirty-eight thousand five hundred pounds, to be paid within the year, with interest from the day of sale on bills at three, six, and nine months. Mr. Shand himself, the elder partner of the house, was present at the sale, and declared that he would prove by his books, that the estate last year had, notwithstanding the unfavourable season, cleared twelve and a-half per cent. on its outlay, and he himself bid thirty-eight thousand pounds sterling, when it was knocked down to Sir Michael M'Turk.

Plantation Ogle, the latter estate, sold for twenty-six thousand pounds, and was bought by the house of Anderson and company, resident merchants, on the same terms of payment, which are considered ready money.

With such facts before your lordship, there is no reason to place entire confidence in the predictions of ruin. It is very certain that, without additional hands, the estates will have diminished crops; but, so long as high prices are obtained, that diminution ought not to excite the constant expressions of discontent at the agricultural prospects of the colony.

I have, &c.

Signed, HENRY LIGHT.

Right Hon. Lord John Russell, &c.

Government House, Demerara, 5th August, 1840.

MY LORD—I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship, in a preceding despatch, the sales of certain estates in this province, as a proof that confidence in the existing state is not impaired,

I am desirous of bringing to your lordship's notice, some facts connected with the late purchases, and to mention another purchase, which will prove what may be done even with diminished hands.

The estate Montrose, was held between the Shands of Liverpool and a Mr. Simson. On the death of the latter some three or four years ago, his share fell to several heirs, his children or relations, amongst whom it was to be divided. It was proposed to value the estate; appraisers were appointed, and the price they set on it was £26,000. This was previous to any thought of emancipation; one of the appraisers *wished* to be the purchaser. The parties selling, or rather the heirs of Simson, considered the price too low, and Sir Michael M'Turk was requested to value it. He considered its value to be £38,000, but I *believe* was not then able to purchase it. The emancipation took place, and the estate remained unsold, and certainly mismanaged; though there was clearly no cause for discontent, when it produced twelve and a-half per cent. in a bad year.

One of the most outrageous of my opponents bid £37,000 for it, Mr. Shand £38,000, but it was finally knocked down to Sir Michael M'Turk for £38,500.

Sir Michael was consistent, and thinks he has a bargain.

In June or July, 1838, while the emancipation on the 1st August, was in debate, he was applied to, to appraise an estate called Profit; he fixed £8000 (which nobody would give) as its value; he purchased at that price; in the two years since the 1st August, he has cleared £1000 by the produce, and concluded a bargain with Messrs. Glens, which I learnt yesterday from the younger brother, to sell the estate for £16,000; thus clearing in two years £12,000.

The particulars of what I have written were given me yesterday by Sir Michael M'Turk, and I have had his authority to repeat them to your lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY LIGHT.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell, &c.

Government House, Demerara, 5th September, 1840.

MY LORD—Every additional fact proving the stability of confidence in the prospects of the colony, ought to be made known to your lordship, I therefore transmit a copy of a written statement handed to me yesterday by Mr. James Glen.

In this you will find that in 1837, plantations Schoon, Oord, and Kitty, were on the point of being purchased by his brother and himself, when anticipated emancipation was not mooted, for £53,000 the papers and contracts ready for signature, when the purchase was abandoned, by the widow of the late owner being unwilling to sign.

On the 15th and 17th of last month, these estates were appraised conjointly by Messrs. Glen, Croal, and Colin Simson, (the two latter, the determined opponents of all my views of the prosperity of this province, and of all my acts; who have considered me an enemy to that prosperity, because I will not join in the senseless outcry that party has chosen to raise) at a value far exceeding the sum at which they were estimated in 1837, and which was then considered a high valuation, though three years and upwards of coerced labour was supposed assured to the estates—which are now for sale, for the benefit of heirs.

In addition to the late sales of estates, to which I have in my last despatches drawn your lordship's attention, plantation Belair on the East coast, a small, and to my knowledge an unprofitable estate, has been purchased for £20,000 sterling, by the brother-in-law of Mr. Rose, manager of the Colonial Bank, and if report be true, at his recommendation.

Without assuming any great merit for my determined opposition to the predictions of ruin to the colony, I think the proprietors in England, and in this colony, ought to appreciate the sincerity of my statements and opinions. Had Mr. Hyndman, the proprietor of Rome and Houston, given credit to my opinions, and not been led away by those of his attorney, who, after mismanaging those estates and depreciating their value, went home to purchase them, a fact notorious in this colony, these estates, most probably at this moment, would have realized double the sum for which they were sold.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY LIGHT.

The Rt. Hon. Lord John Russell.

SLAVERY IN THE SPANISH COLONIES.

FROM an article in *La Revue des Deux Mondes* to which we have elsewhere referred, we make the following extracts. Surely we may say, Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee!

Let the holy man of Chiafra * pardon me, the slavery which he imported was a deplorable gift for Havana! Having become a gigantic tree, it now bears the bitter fruits of its origin; but it cannot be cut down without the risk of being overwhelmed beneath it. Besides this, it is, by the excessive expense which it occasions, a principle of permanent ruin. The labour of freemen would not only be an element of greater wealth, but more solid. If the conditions of the treaty were rigorously observed, and colonization were encouraged with activity and perseverance, the extinction of slavery could be operated without shock and without damage.

One of the saddest consequences of slavery is, that it swallows up physical labour. Agriculture being the first and the most general resource of the working classes, the excess of the European population is directed in preference to a country which offers them good wages, rather than proceed to the cold regions of North America. But no sooner do European labourers arrive than they see themselves confounded with a race of slaves, their pride recoils—they blush at the affront, and in their turn endeavour to be served by slaves. The first use which a poor labourer makes of his little savings is to purchase a negro, at first with a view of diminishing his own labour, and afterwards to be rid of the shame of working with his own hands. Thus at all epochs the same abuses have developed the same passions; and our manners, even in the nineteenth century, bear much resemblance to those of the Greeks, the Romans and the feudal ages.

It is worthy of remark that the Creoles in our colonies exhibit more humanity towards the negros than Europeans. A Creole slave-owner is much kinder to his slaves. Although acting towards them with all the proper authority of a master, he blends with that authority a kind of paternal solicitude, which fails not of its effects on their minds. The European, who brings with him to Cuba all the refined notions of his country, begins by showing towards the slave a kind of exalted pity. He passes from that to contempt for their ignorance, and then becomes impatient at their stupidity; and as the poor negro does not understand him, he finishes by persuading *himself* that a negro is a beast of burden, and begins to beat him as he would any other animal. Such acts are not exclusively confined to the masters; they are also practised by the European domestics who are brought to Cuba; and their pride, revolted at the sight of domesticity degraded into slavery, renders them insolent and cruel. Nevertheless, these inconveniences are not insurmountable. A thousand prejudices have been destroyed by the progress of time and by

* Las Casas, bishop of Chiafra.

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the march of civilization; a thousand difficulties have been smoothed down by the progress of reason. One of the richest estate holders in the island, some years since, formed the idea of establishing a model sugar manufactory, to be worked solely by freemen. But at the moment when it was proposed to bring over a certain number of German colonists for this purpose, difficulties were raised by the authorities, and the scheme was compelled to be abandoned. There is no doubt that the plan would have answered could it have been carried into effect.

Unfortunately the policy which has been hitherto followed has raised obstacles which now present a formidable barrier to the substitution of free labour for that of slaves. The systems now in operation must be modified in accordance with the wants of the day. The Spanish government has been always afraid of foreign interference with her colonies, at first from a feeling towards other nations, and afterwards from suggestions of a fearful policy, a policy little favourable to liberal ideas. The losses and misfortunes of Spain have long since removed all the sentiments of envy which she might have inspired, and the changes and reforms already made in her institutions, promise a happy re-action for the colony. However this may be, Spain, instead of favouring the introduction of colonists from the mother-country into Cuba, fearing to diminish her own population, which had been already seriously thinned by former emigrations to America, scarcely gave to the colony were then a few adventurers, who fled thither to avoid military conscription, and a few merchants, who having already derived considerable riches from the island went to reside there from gratitude.

They (the slaves) rarely marry, and the reason is obvious. The husband and wife are liable, from one day to another, to be sold, and it might happen to different masters; nor can they ever find anything in the shape of domestic happiness, for the children are not their own, but the property of their master. The ties of nature are, therefore, with them, confined to the gratification of a sensual passion. Should a negress become pregnant, the master, if he has any scruples of morality, punishes her by keeping the negro at home; but in general the woman alone is punished; but the punishment is not often a preventive to repetition of the offence, nor does it act so as to deter others from being led into the commission of the same offence against the laws of morality.

This punishment for immorality is not, however, general in all parts of the island; for in some parts the female slaves have a premium for every child, whether legitimate or not. This regulation, although certainly opposed to the laws of morality, yet is favourable to the increase of the race, and tends to ameliorate the condition of the negresses. They no sooner show symptoms of pregnancy than they are exempt from all laborious work, are fed with greater delicacy, and do not resume their habitual occupations until forty days after their delivery. How different from the condition of many a poor female in France. For the free labourer a day without work is a day without pay, and the existence of a poor family depends on the labour of its head; the slave, on the contrary, careless of futurity, sees his family provided for, and lives on from day to day in careless indifference. It is a very rare thing to find slaves honest. They are invariably addicted to thieving, and with people who are without any feeling of moral principle, the cause is obvious. It is the impunity with which they practice it. A master who is robbed hesitates to bring his slave to justice, for should he be imprisoned, he would lose his labour and the costs of the prosecution. He, therefore, contents himself with reprimanding him, or perhaps whipping him, and he recommences again on the first opportunity. They are, however, obliged to work out the amount of the money stolen. Their great object is to save up money enough to purchase their freedom. Some of them observe the strictest economy, and very soon acquire money enough to purchase this boon. Sometimes, not caring about their liberty, they deposit their savings in the hands of their master, and it frequently occurs that after purchasing their emancipation; they return in a short time and beg their old masters to buy them again. It is not, however, a common practice for a colonist to take a slave back in this way, as a very short enjoyment of liberty gives them habits of indolence which are very difficult again to eradicate.

A GOOD WITNESS TO A MATERIAL POINT.—A correspondent of the *Jamaica Morning Journal* thus dilates on the alleged want of continuous labour there.

"I maintain that, if an iniquitous slander was ever put upon any people, this of the refusal of the negro to work is it. It is slandering him out of the little civilization he has, and of all the cunning he boasts of. If the assertion were true, human nature would be a libel on the wisdom and goodness of the all-wise. I listen not here to the trial of his policy on the first obtaining his freedom, when the poor wretch quickly found himself in deep waters, as an objection, because that very experience has sharpened his wit. But who are these assertors of the want of continuous labour? Alack the day! Intellect is at a premium since 1834 in Jamaica, and the poor noodle of a busha, having lost all his in the whip which was then swept away, gives it as his opinion to his no less sapient attorney, that the negros will not work continuously! And yet I never knew (though my experience of the island is large) any one possessing a fair share of common sense and resolution who ever talked in this manner.

The real state of the peasantry is this—they have fictitious wants enough to induce them to work continuously, if they are fairly treated by their employers: but also they have sense enough not to risk the privileges of freedom (and, if you like it, the impertinences of ignorance), beyond the bare supply of their present fictitious wants and necessities. There is truly a want amongst us—of intellect and gentlemanly principles. Where these are so deficient at the upper end of society, what can we look for in the wretched negro!"

BLACK DOINGS IN THE UNITED STATES.—The senate of Georgia has been recommended by its committee of internal improvement, to raise money by an annual tax of one dollar per head on all slaves between the ages of ten and sixty-five years, and of ten dollars per head on all free persons of colour residing within the state. Verily, their brow is brass.

SUGAR IN LOUISIANA.—According to an official statement there are 525 sugar estates in Louisiana, employing 40,000 hands and 10,000 horses, and the average crop is equal to 70,000 hogsheads of 1000 lbs., or 70,000,000 lbs., and 350,000 gallons molasses. The average value of sugar is six cents per pound, and molasses twenty cents per gallon.—*Pennsylvania Inquirer.*

FIVE DANISH SLAVERS.

EXTRACT of a letter recently received from Denmark, dated 9th July, 1841:—

"The Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires at Altona, named Jos Santos, has dispatched a fleet of five large *well manned* Danish ships, equipped at his own expense, to the coast of Africa, under the pretext of taking possession of an island given him by the Queen of Portugal; but our private suspicions have been roused by the formidable arraying of his ships and the expense that has been incurred, as also by the privacy that has been observed as to the proceedings of the whole gang. Would any information from us, tend to serve the good cause, nothing would be more gratifying to our feelings than to see their nefarious tricks frustrated. Jos Santos, we suspect, is an old practitioner at this trade, as he has realised a large fortune, and this equipment alone cost him upwards of £30,000. There are no passengers, nor yet merchandise on freight account; but more than a full complement of men, with doctors handsomely paid, and bound down to secrecy. The ships sailed from Altona ten days ago."

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

THE following extract of a recent letter to the rev. J. Peggs, from the rev. H. Beddy, a missionary in India, affords independent confirmation of the statements derived from other sources.

"With regard to slavery in this part, it is a fact that cannot be denied, and it exists under the full sanction of the government—that is, domestic slavery. I suppose there is not an Hindoo or Mohammedan family in the country possessed of the means of support that has not slaves in it, particularly females. The only impediment to purchase them is, that you must not buy out of the purgunnah, or district, in which you live. A servant of mine, contrary to my positive orders, bought a female child for five or six rupees some eighteen or twenty months ago. It happened that the woman who sold the child had stolen her. The mother, finding out the thief, lodged a complaint with the magistrate, and the man was compelled to pay a fine of fifty rupees and to give up the child, not because he had bought, but because the child happened to be stolen, or at least it was said so. Among the wealthy natives slaves are in abundance. Some few years ago, as I was sitting in my chapel, a native woman ran into it, and claimed my protection. I found she was a slave woman, belonging to a ——, from whom she had ran away. Not knowing the law, I wrote to Mr. Morris, the judge, to afford her and myself protection. He wrote me word he had no power; that it was probable the owner would threaten me with an action; but that, if I thought well of it, I might keep her, as the threat would not be put into execution. She remained with us for some time, but subsequently left, not being able to act according to her vicious propensities. It is true that slaves are by many treated with kindness, but it is equally true that they are slaves in every acceptation of the word. They descend from father to son, just as they do in America, and as they did in Jamaica. Cruelties are practised on female slaves to an alarming extent."

BAPTIST UNION.

The following resolutions were passed unanimously during the recent annual session of this body.

1. That the Baptist Union retains its frequently declared solicitude for the universal enjoyment of human rights, as defined and ordained by the Creator; and rejoices in the accelerating progress of correct sentiments on this subject, not only in England, but also in all other nations.

2. That the members of this Union rejoice in the rapidity with which the lingering elements of oppression in Jamaica are disappearing, amidst the good behaviour of the emancipated classes, and the wide diffusion of evangelical truth; and that they regard the progress of the gospel in that island as a clear and experimental proof, that undisturbed liberty is most congenial with the extension of Christianity.

3. The brethren unfeignedly rejoice to learn, that the results of emancipation in the British colonies have already led other nations of Europe to prepare for a similar change in their dependencies.

4. The members of this Union have heard with approbation and thankfulness of the advances of their brethren and coadjutors in the work of emancipation on the continent of America, and trust that the present crisis will lead to important results in that country; and, although prevented from uniting with the convention now meeting at Baltimore, this Union earnestly implores a bountiful bestowment of Divine grace, so to guide its deliberations and sustain its measures, that by their efforts the moral power of the church may be employed in establishing universal liberty.

5. This Union affectionately commends to the prayers and assistance of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ, such operations of benevolence as may lead to the final annihilation of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XLIII. Vol. II. No. 16.] WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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PRESENT STATE OF LIBERIA.

The Rev. J. Clarke, one of the gentlemen who have gone to Africa on an exploring expedition for the Baptist Missionary Society, visited Cape Palmas, and has collected from intercourse with parties who have long resided there, and at other parts of the colony of Liberia, chiefly missionaries of the episcopalian, presbyterian, and baptist persuasions, the following particulars. They are communicated in a letter to Mr. Sturge, dated

Clarence, Fernando Po, April 5th, 1841.

The extent of territory claimed by the colonists reaches from Cape Mount river to the river Cavally. The map of the colony goes to the river Solymon, in the seventh degree of north latitude; and when, I was off the Cavally river, a paper signed by a Dr. Hall was handed to me from king Bappo, in which the said king was recommended to the favourable consideration of traders, on account of having granted *gratuitously* a large tract of land on the Cavally river to the Maryland colonization society. Cavally river is twenty miles to the south of Cape Palmas; so that the line of coast claimed and partially occupied by the different colonization societies, and comprehended under the term Liberia, is not short of 300 miles.

The coast thus occupied is not so unhealthy as is the Bullom shore and Sierra Leone on the north, or as Cape Coast Castle, Popor, and the Delta of the Niger on the east. With these exceptions, and keeping off the mouths and marshy sides of rivers, the coast of Africa from the Rio Ponga to the Coanga is much alike in point of insalubrity. In reference to the colony of Liberia, one fact appears evident from the united testimony of all I have heard speak on the subject; viz., that the health of children born in the colony is better than it was at first, and that coloured persons, after seasoning, enjoy better health than they did some years ago. Whites are still in danger from the acclimating fever, and for the most part look sickly and feeble. Some of the missionaries have good health, and speak as if they could walk further, and bear more fatigue, than they formerly could in their native country.

I was informed that to enter into the causes of the wars with the natives would require a long explanation, in which different parties would give different accounts according to their prejudices and interests. But one cause certainly was the prohibition under which many of the natives near Mesurado were placed, in reference to trading with the vessels that visited their coast. This prohibition arises out of the selfish policy of the colonial government, which has induced them to lay a fine on vessels found trading with the natives, and to increase the expenses on foreign trade by harbour dues, and the employment of a commissioned agent; so that goods are sold one-ninth higher at and near Monrovia, than on other parts of the same line of coast, and all impediments and hinderances to trade are thrown in the way of the natives, to force them to obtain their supplies through the merchants settled in the colony. This has been felt keenly, and in some cases has met with resistance from the natives.

Another cause is the attempt made to prevent the natives from fishing in Bassa Cove, and other places, where they formerly employed themselves in fishing without molestation. In agreeing to allow the Americans to settle, the natives never contemplated a curtailing of their own rights and privileges, but looked for great advantages from the trade promised them with America and Europe. They now feel themselves grievously disappointed in these their too sanguine expectations. It is also candidly admitted that the colonists have frequently acted unjustly towards the natives, and oppressed them; and that injustice and oppression still, to a certain extent, continue.

A considerable number were lately slain at a station belonging to a Methodist missionary, some way in the country behind Mesurado. The account has appeared in the Monrovia newspaper, and also in a Boston newspaper, in one of which I doubt not the statement has been seen by you.* Dr. Prince and myself were distinctly informed that the tribe among whom the missionaries resided gave them time to fly, with their wives, children, aged people, and property; and that, instead of flying, the missionaries sent to Monrovia for guns and ammunition, and resolved to risk life in the protection of their property. When the hostile tribe appeared the attack commenced, and the people were beaten off with considerable slaughter. When the defence for a time ceased the assailants made an attempt to carry away their slain; but at this time the firing recommenced, and much injury was done to the flying natives. An unfeeling letter appeared in the *Liberia Herald*, written by one of the principal actors in this bloody scene, in which the missionary disgraces himself by showing an utter want of the spirit of the Master whom he professed to serve. The editor lauds him as a hero; but his brother missionaries highly disapprove of his conduct, and those of them with whom I conversed appeared much to regret the spirit of revenge that had been manifested on this mournful occasion.

A short time ago a native thought himself wronged by a colonist who resided near Cape Palmas. He complained, and from the governor obtained redress. This exasperated the colonist so much that he took his gun down, and, as the native passed his farm, he fired, and it is said lodged a few small shots in the shoulder of the man he had injured. The native went to his tribe, and brought with him a band who entered into the house of the colonist, cut off his head, and the heads of two of his children—the wife and the other children escaped the fury of these barbarians. They left the place without any further attack upon the people, and escaped speedily to their country, several miles distant in the interior.

I was assured that the late wars have had the worst possible effect on the minds of the natives, that they are increasingly jealous of the power and influence of the colonists, and highly displeased at their proud and overbearing conduct. When their kings or headmen gave away or sold a part of their territory, they did so from the immediate advantage of a large dash, or present, or the future prospect of an increase of trade. They had no idea of curtailing their own comforts, or of being over-run by persons from a foreign land. Then they saw only the favourable side, but they now see the opposite; and, living in a part of Africa already teeming with a native population, and not very rich in soil, they find that the rising power of the colonists must be kept down, or that they must be driven *inland* among hostile tribes, jealous of any such encroachment upon their hunting or provision grounds. It was stated as a thing self-evident, that, as the colony increased, wars would also increase; and that the spirit cherished on both sides would make these, as much as possible, *wars of extermination*. The agreements made with the Africans are nearly all *decidedly unjust*. A mere trifle is given for thousands of acres of land. The benefits of trade are put before the ignorant people in a fascinating manner, a footing is obtained, and force is used to retain it, and to extend, if necessary, the boundary line as far as the aggressors think proper to wish or desire.

A small provision ground, producing rice, plantains, &c. is termed a farm, and such provision grounds are common in the colony; but, as to the growing of cotton, sugar, or the like, no such thing prevails to any extent in any part of Liberia. Horses, mules, &c. are not numerous, and are seldom put in harness; and oxen are too small to be thought of for the yoke. The hoe is the agricultural instrument in general use, and man is the agent by whom it is employed. Only one saw mill exists in the colony, and no flour mill, or other article of machinery, has yet been introduced.

Formerly slavers did visit the colony, but not now, except at those places (distant from settlements) where slave factories exist. Colonists, however, are not chargeable with giving encouragement to these factors; nor are they known to trade with them at present, in any direct or indirect way.

At Cape Palmas there is no jurisdiction exercised over the natives, or acknowledged by them; but several tribes are in amity here, and on other parts of the coast, with the colonists. The native towns close to the settlements at Cape Palmas remain quite distinct from the colonists, keep up their own customs, and appear as far from any approach to civilization or religion as if they had never seen the colonists, or heard the gospel preached amongst them. The people wear a small cloth about the loins, and are ornamented with rings and greegrees. One or two of the colonists have married natives at Cape Palmas;

* This account was inserted in the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter* for November 4th, 1840, and was so atrocious that it was by many persons deemed incredible, and therefore untrue.

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but these have rather receded towards the natives, than succeeded in improving the aboriginal inhabitants. Few attend the worship of God, and these few are often offended by the pride of the colonists, who shew the same disposition to make distinctions in the house of God that whites in America do towards their coloured brethren there. In sending the children to school the natives look for some advantage, and have not yet come to value learning for its own value. A few have embraced the christian religion, but most of these are from among the school children, who have for several years enjoyed the advantage of daily religious instruction from the devoted servants of God who have long laboured among them. Since the bible and other books have been used in the school in the native tongue, as well as in English, knowledge has been on the increase, even among the parents at home; and it is hoped that the reading of these books at home by the native children, in the native tongue, will ultimately be blessed of God to the benefit of many of the adult population. All here are engaged in trade, except the missionaries. Even the governor has not enough to keep him, from those by whom he is appointed. He is in fact the principal merchant at Cape Palmas. There are four places of worship: a presbyterian, an episcopalian, a methodist, and a baptist. All the missionaries are from America. The presbyterian and episcopalian are sent to the natives; the methodist and baptist are chiefly employed among the colonists. The presbyterian missionary has a printing press, speaks and preaches in the Grebo tongue, and has translated and printed several books in that language.

Temperance prevails in the colony, and no rum is sold. Governor Musewarm is esteemed and loved, and unites a few of the colonists with him in the administration of justice. The colonists are not in the least jealous of him on account of his appointment by the society in America. They are content, not yet having confidence in themselves. *The desire manifested by the colonists to return to America is so great, that, if the vessels were supplied, such a number would leave in them that those willing to remain would find themselves too few to protect themselves from the natives, and would therefore leave on this account.* No obstacle but the want of means prevents the return of the colonists to America; but this is a sufficient one, and confines them to the land of their exile.

It is readily admitted that individuals have been found in the colony, who, for present interest, have given incorrect views of its flourishing state; and that such statements have appeared as must have been known to the writer at the time to have been contrary to the real facts of the case.

I shall conclude this brief account of Liberia, by giving it as my opinion, from all that I have seen and heard, that the good set forth by the Colonization Society will never be attained unless a complete change of plan be effected. The colonists must be men chosen for their work, and well supported in it. Righteousness, mercy, and love must regulate the conduct of all towards each other, and towards the natives. Good and equal laws must prevail, and the great object aimed at must be the benefit of the native, before any great good will arise to him from strangers, on whom he looks at first with an eye of suspicion and jealousy. As to any benefit arising to the colonists themselves, this is out of the question. Had their temporal good been sought, America would have been found sufficiently large to contain them all. If a few *native* Africans had desired to be sent back to their country, it would have been benevolent to have done all for their security and usefulness in the land that gave them birth; but to ship off native Americans, almost, if not altogether, by force, was at once cruel and unjust, and cannot have resting upon it the blessing of the Most High.

THE WEST AFRICAN COMPANY.

THE letter from the Rev. J. Clarke from which we have extracted the preceding article furnishes the following revolting details respecting the proceedings of the West African Company, by its agents, at Fernando Po.

"When the British government gave up their establishment here (at Fernando Po) Lieutenant-colonel Nicolls sold the houses, &c. to a private company, for about £15,000, arranging that the government should have all back again in good repair at any time, by paying a stipulated sum. Vessels were sent to take back the liberated Africans to Sierra Leone, and many of them left the place; but a few were prevailed on by the representations of Captain Becroft to remain. To these this officer, while in charge, acted the part of a faithful friend; but since the property was again sold, and came into possession of the West African Company, little but oppression, cruelty, and injustice, has marked the conduct of their agents towards the people. All the houses and gardens formerly held from government are claimed by this company, and a nominal rent of palm oil is demanded each quarter. All, if required by the company, are forced to work for them at such rate as the agent thinks proper to give. No objection is allowed. If one is made and persisted in, the person is handed over to constables to be put into a place called a guard house, but more properly a dungeon, as it is built in a cut across a narrow point of land, and its eaves are level with the surface of the ground. If resistance is made to the authority of the constable, or passion causes the person to give liberty to the tongue, he is flogged, loaded with irons, and kept as long as the agent pleases in this den of death. This last arrogates to himself the power of doing what he pleases, and boasts of being accountable to none but the West African Company, from whom he says he has the fullest possible powers to do what he thinks proper. Besides this dungeon, he has a house on a small rocky island for persons to be banished to for a time. This is chiefly for women, who quarrel in the streets, or do anything to offend the agent. Men have occasionally been sent there, but not often. Frequently men and women have been confined in the same place, and conduct the most arbitrary and despotic has been indulged in towards all. Take a few examples. A canoe full of refugees (four men and two women) escaped from the island of Prince's last year, and, after great hardships, reached this island. They were sent off immediately to the dungeon. One of them soon died in it, the others remained about four months, and were let out a little before we reached the island, but are still on the black list, and are compelled to work for the company for rations alone—that is, without pay, having only food sufficient to support life. Prisoners have 2 lbs. of yam, cassava, or cocoa nut, and water; no meat—no salt. Those sent over to the island have a still smaller supply, and the poor kroomen, who cut timber and drag it miles out of the woods for the company, have only 5 lbs. of yams, rice, or cocoa, per day, and one bottle of watered rum per week; and one piece of cloth, containing 17 handkerchiefs (made up for Africa) per quarter. Headmen have a little more. No meat is regularly allowed; so that the rum and the handkerchiefs are often bartered for monkeys to eat with the yams, &c. Another case of cruelty was the flogging of three kroomen, because one headman said to another that these men intended to run away. There arose a demur about the work, and all refused to go out until they had their 'palaver' settled. Two of the headmen were picked out, and severely flogged to intimidate the others. A sentinel fell asleep, and, being found out, got four dozen, and three months in the guard house, and was to work in the garden all the day. While he was so employed, some one left open the garden-gate, and a cow got in and destroyed some maize. The poor man, with his unhealed back, was tied up to a tree, and had two dozen more given to him before our window. My paper is full, and so is my heart; but I could fill many sheets more with the oppressions and cruelties practised here. We have downright slavery, and the people know not where to turn for relief. Can you do any thing for them! Can a British public put an end to their woes! Mr. Thompson has gone to England. Call him and the company he represents to account for their conduct."

DOINGS IN CUBA.

WE are favoured with another letter of recent date from our valuable correspondent in this island. It will be read with painful interest. Of the concluding statement, that the proceeds of the sale of the Africans rescued from the wrecked slaver, the Aguila, have been handed over to her owners as a remuneration to them for their losses, we have a confirmation from an independent source which places it beyond doubt.

Havana, 28th June, 1841.

SIR,—In my last of 5th and 13th of May, per Pigeon packet, I informed you that the Portuguese slaver, Aguila, the property of Messrs. Fernandez, Pozo, and Co., hardware merchants of this city, had been wrecked at the port of Cabanas in this island, and that about four hundred and seventy of the surviving victims had been seized by the authorities, and conducted in safety to this port. I now beg leave to communicate to you some further particulars relative to this unprecedented occurrence.

It would appear that many of those persons to whom the captain-general's circular was addressed had believed that his Excellency was sincere in ordering that everything possible should be done for the effectual suppression of the slave-trade. The consequence was that the order was seconded by the captain-general of marine and by the intendente, who directed the subaltern officers of their respective departments to yield implicit obedience to the very letter of the order contained in the circular.

It had scarcely been issued, when the brig Trueno arrived, after having landed 450 Africans on the coast. The captain of the port and the health officer, Doctor Francisco de Orta, immediately reported to the captain-general the arrival of the Trueno, and informed him that there were strong suspicions of her having come from the coast of Africa, and of her having landed negros on the island. The vessel was subjected to quarantine by the captain of the port, at the suggestion of the health officer, until the captain-general should determine on what course to pursue. Two days were allowed to pass over without anything being done by the captain-general towards instituting an inquiry into the case. In the mean time, the owners of the vessel were enabled, through the connivance of the authorities, to discharge every article from on board which could tend to prove the fact of her being actually a slaver; and, when the inquiry was instituted, as was anticipated, nothing was proved. This vessel has again been fitted out, and is now ready for sea.

A few days only had elapsed after the case of the Trueno, when the Aguila was wrecked at Cabanas, or (as is positively asserted) was chased on shore by one of our cruizers. In the attempt to land the negros upwards of thirty were drowned, and the remainder were seized by Don José Lunar, the commanding officer of the intendente's revenue guard stationed at Cabanas. Don José Lunar immediately dispatched an express to the intendente, giving him information of the capture; and the intendente

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without loss of time, communicated it to the captain-general, who sent the steam-boat Tacon to Cabanas, and had the Africans brought to this port, where they arrived the following day. On their arrival here the captain-general summoned the mixed court to assemble, and offered to hand over the negros for adjudication by that court, according to the regulations of the treaty; but, strange to say, the English commissary-judge, Mr. Kennedy, in conjunction with his Spanish colleague, the assessor, Pinaso, refused to admit this most laudable offer of the captain-general, declaring that the mixed court had no power whatever over them, nor had it any right to interfere with them, in consequence of their having been seized on shore by the authorities of the island.

This is the substance of the opinion expressed by the English commissary-judge at the meeting of the court; and I am credibly informed that he was the only member who evinced any desire to prevent the court from interfering.

This most extraordinary proceeding, if not in direct opposition to the letter of the treaty, is certainly opposed to the object and spirit of it. The mere circumstance of the captain-general's having addressed himself to the mixed court on the subject is sufficient to prove, that, if Mr. Kennedy had wished to do so, the court might with propriety have taken charge of, and passed the sentence of emancipation on, these unfortunate persons, by which, they would have been placed under the protection of the British government, in conformity with the 13th article of the treaty. But now, in consequence of the mixed court not having considered themselves authorized to take cognizance of the case, it becomes purely a Spanish question, with which, perhaps, it may hereafter be contended that we have not a right to interfere, because the English commissary judge had already decreed the non-interference of the court of mixed commission.

The Spanish commissary judge is the captain-general's lieutenant governor and assessor general, and it is by no means probable that he would have opposed the interference of the mixed court, particularly after the offer which was made to it by the captain-general.

This deplorable event, proceeding, no doubt, from a want of proper zeal on the part of the English commissary judge, has caused the captain-general to emancipate these negros on his own authority, and in *his own way*. Forty-eight hours after the sentence of emancipation was passed, his Excellency, in defiance of all laws human and Divine caused them to be reduced to the very worst sort of slavery which the world has ever known, by selling them to owners of sugar estates for a term of five years, for nine ounces of gold for a male, and seven ounces for a female.

To whom shall we appeal for redress, when Englishmen who are sent here for the special purpose of suppressing the slave-trade, and of watching over the fulfilment of the treaty, contribute by their own conduct to deeds so prejudicial to its object!

It is rumoured that the case of the negros by the Aguila has caused a misunderstanding between the captain-general and the intendente, and that the result will be that he will not again interpose his authority towards the fulfilment of the captain general's jesuitical orders. Indeed it is said that the revenue coast guards have already received written orders to wink at the disembarkation of negros.

There were thirty-eight Africans drowned on board the wreck of the Aguilla at Cabanas. These unfortunate victims of the cruelty and cupidity of the slave dealer were the finest and most robust of the men composing the cargo. Their unprincipled oppressors, who had not forgotten the case of the Amistad, and who feared a similar attempt on board the Aguila, had secured them in the hold by fetters attached to a heavy rod of iron; and, when the vessel struck the reef, she filled so fast with water that these poor creatures were allowed to perish without an effort being made to save them.

I cannot refrain from calling your attention to another circumstance which is extremely prejudicial to the cause of African freedom in this country, and which (I submit) is well deserving the attention of your society, in order, through its influence, to cleanse from the pollution of slave holding the British name in this country. I allude to Mr. Clarke, the consul at St. Jago de Cuba, and the principal manager of one of the copper mines in that place, which is worked at this moment by 400 of the unfortunate victims of slave dealing cupidity. With what grace can we appeal to the world in behalf of this interesting race of persons, when our own public officers contribute to the continuation of slavery, and the consequent degradation of our fellow-men! Surely it must appear clear to the British government, as well as to yourselves, that the man who is directly or indirectly the holder of slaves cannot be a fit person to represent the British nation in this country, where his most active and untiring exertions are daily and hourly required to suppress the frightful progress of the slave-trade.

What was the use of removing Mr. Hardy, if you were to appoint his successor in the management of the copper mines at St. Jago in his stead! And, above all, why remove Mr. Tolmé from the Havana—a man remarkable for the suavity of his manners and the gentleness of his disposition, if not for the firmness of his abolition principles—when, at the other end of the island, such men as Hardy and Clarke were left at full liberty to wield the cart-whip and the cow-hide!

It was only yesterday that I heard a worthy native (an abolitionist) of my acquaintance, declare that the greater part of the British functionaries resident in this island might be compared to the priests, who preach a morality they do not practise. Do as I bid you, but do not follow my example—is a doctrine from which no good can come; and such practices afford an obvious excuse for those of the slave-holders.

I have just been informed that our consul has succeeded in rescuing from slavery a British subject, a native of Jamaica, originally of free condition, who was stolen from that island about ten years ago, and brought to this, by a Spaniard named José Antonio Le Desma, who has held him in bondage ever since. It is to be hoped that the zeal and activity for which Mr. Turnbull is so well known, will enable him to rescue many others who still exist in this island in the same state of degradation.

June 29th.—It is currently reported and believed that the amount produced by the sale of the Africans by the Aguila has been handed over to Messrs. Fernandez, Pozo, and Co., as a remuneration to them for their losses.

J. H. TREDGOLD, Esq.

THE BRITISH EMIGRANTS IN JAMAICA.

WE have been favoured with the following letter, depicting in colours of the deepest sadness the condition of the recent emigrants from this country to Jamaica. The readers of the *Reporter* will not overlook it; but we hope further that the public press will give a wide circulation to it.

Kingston, Jamaica, July 1st, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—It is not to relate the woes and wrongs of the despised and long oppressed sons of Africa that I take up my pen this evening. A subject (if possible) more atrocious, and claiming a deeper interest in our sympathies, requires that I should address you; I mean the sufferings, misery, and want, of those of our poor countrymen and countrywomen who have become the dupes of colonial duplicity and falsehood, and the sad victims of colonial heartlessness and cruelty.

I have been for some time past closely watching the operation of the emigration scheme. From its first commencement I was confident that it would prove a failure, but I little expected it would prove so fruitful a source of wretchedness and death. Anxious to give it a fair trial, I have hitherto refrained from any thing like complaint at several things which came under my notice; but now silence would be a sin, and, if I was to hold my peace, "the very stones would cry out."

You are aware that last session a bill passed our legislature to encourage immigration; but you are not perhaps aware that, under the shadow of this Upas tree, another weed has sprung up, still more foul and deadly. I allude to a West India Emigration Society, of which a Mr. Hendricks (of scheming notoriety) is the agent. Bad as is the Jamaica emigration act, this is a thousand times worse, as it leaves its poor victims without any resource to which to apply for shelter or support. Here they are *consigned* to one Dr. Paul, the sub-agent of the Jamaica scheme, but only as so much merchandize to be disposed of; and so completely are they at the mercy of that paltry and cruel despot, that the moment they complain of or resent his insolent despotism, they are denied food, and turned like dogs into the road, to die without a home or a friend. But I will not longer dwell on generalities. I will mention a case which will, I think, fully bear out my remarks.

Some weeks ago I received a letter from a man named James Swallow, who styled himself (I believe) a grandson of the late Rev. Mr. Uppadine of Hammersmith. Being in very reduced circumstances, he had been induced, by the flattering promises of the emigration agents, to embark on board the Ethelred for Jamaica. After suffering much on the voyage, he arrived here about two months ago, and was sent to the Admiral's pen, a place about a mile out of Kingston, now used as the emigration depôt. He appeared to be in the most destitute condition, and was unable to obtain employment, even at the paltry sum of 1s. 6d. per day—which *I wish to assure my poor fellow-countrymen is the utmost farthing they will get here for strong able bodied labourers*, and out of even that a given sum is stopped weekly, until the entire expenses of their outfit and passage (about £14) are fully paid. The man appeared ill when he first called on me, and complained of his side. About a week after I heard that he was in jail, where I visited him. He stated that a felony had been committed at the depôt, and that he had been selected by Dr. Paul to discover the thief, whom after much labour he found. On Monday, the 14th June, he had a considerable distance to walk in order to identify two witnesses, which, as this is the most sultry season of the year, so increased his complaint that he was obliged to go to Dr. Paul (who is also medical attendant to the emigrants, as well as agent) and request some medicine. This Dr. Paul refused, saying he did not need it; and, on his urging his request, Dr. Paul took him by the throat, and pushed him out of the house with so much violence that he fell, and severely struck the back part of his head. The poor wretch then left the house of his inhuman *Protector*, and crawled as far as the parade, when he was obliged to sit down from weakness. His wretched condition struck a gentleman who was passing, and who directed him to call on a medical gentleman residing near. He said he required immediate bleeding, &c., and gave him an order to be received into the public hospital. The man was unable, however, to reach the place, and at length was led to the depôt by two black men. About ten o'clock the same night he was aroused by a policeman, who said he had a warrant for his apprehension, and at that hour took him to Half-way Tree House of Correction (about three miles) where he was locked up. On Tuesday he was taken to the court house to be examined; but, as Mr. Daly, a liberal and benevolent special

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magistrate, entered the office soon after, they removed him to Kingston (four miles back), where he was again locked up in the cage, until Wednesday, when his case was heard. Dr. Paul failed in proving the least assault (indeed, I don't know whether he attempted to prove one), but said the man disturbed his domestic quiet, and had him bound over by two very accommodating magistrates to keep the peace for six months, himself in £10, and a surety in £5. This, to a poor friendless emigrant in a strange land, was just equivalent to six months imprisonment; but, lest he should escape that snare, Dr. Paul (who was Swallow's surety to appear as a crown witness in the felony) withdrew his bail, thus binding the poor wretch with double cords. The poor fellow was accordingly imprisoned until the following Monday, when I became his bail, and liberated him. At the same time the attorney-general kindly offered to get a situation for him in the police, and he went to Spanish Town to be appointed. A delay occurring, he returned to the depôt, where Dr. Paul stopped his rations, and ordered him out of the place. Since then he has been very sick. I saw him this morning with his arm in a sling, he having been bled yesterday, when he lost 24 oz. of blood. He told me that the depôt presented a spectacle of inexpressible horror, sickness and death reigning there in their most terrible forms. Two were buried (he said) yesterday—two the day before—one was then lying a corpse, and another was dying. The circumstances of one, whose name I forget, he described as awful. The man, I imagine, died from dysentery. He said that, when he saw him, he was lying on his pallet surrounded by the blood which had flowed from him, with no one to attend to his wants, or to cleanse the filthiness, which he declared was absolutely licked up by some pigs. Death has been, and is, awfully busy amongst the poor wretches; and I fear, unless they are soon returned to their native country, all will be swept off, and no witness remain of the murderous cheat.

I should have said that I directed Swallow to write out his case, which I sent to the governor, who wrote me that the matter should be investigated. I do not yet know the result.

This is but one case out of many. Wherever we go, the poor squalid emigrants, like spectres, cross our path. Last week, about eight miles from Kingston, we saw four—a man, a woman, a full grown lad, and a child about ten years of age. They told me that they landed about three months ago at Annatto Bay, and had been hired by Dr. Spalding. They had, however, left him; the magistrates having, in consequence of their complaints, cancelled their agreement. They declared that 1s. per day was all he paid them for toiling under a tropical sun. They were in the most destitute state, and declared that they had not tasted food for 24 hours. I could mention many other cases equally cruel and distressing. The fact is, that, as the blacks are free, the emigration scheme is nothing less than an attempt to supply their places with *white slaves*.

Do, my dear sir, raise your voice against this crying sin; and, if possible, save other victims from being offered up before this colonial Moloch.

Even here the scheme is acknowledged to be a failure by its former advocates; and I have been informed this evening that fifty of the poor creatures are to be shipped home to-morrow on board the Emma, viâ America, but I cannot vouch for the truth of this. It was however published in the *Morning Journal* of this day. Some I believe are to return, but how many I know not.

I remain, &c.

To the Rev. J. H. HINTON. SAMUEL OUGHTON.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

X. Y. Z. We publish every atom of intelligence we can get from the colony referred to.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 11TH.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society are under the necessity of stating to their friends that they are much in need of pecuniary resources. Some kind consideration at the present moment would be of great value to them.

THE rev. J. Clarke, now at Fernando Po, has forwarded, in a letter addressed to Mr. Sturge, some highly important, but painfully interesting details, respecting both that island and the colony of Liberia, at a part of which he touched for several days on his voyage. We need not say more to draw attention to his statements, which will be found elsewhere. We wish, however, to bring out more specifically the fact, that within the line of coast now claimed as the colony of Liberia, and extending three hundred miles, there are regular slave factories. Mr. Clarke was informed, indeed, that the colonists had nothing to do with these establishments. But, if this be true, the fact remains, that the establishments themselves are within the territory, and thus vaunted Liberia may become the nursery of the slave-trade.

The statements relating to the West African Company are altogether revolting. Their present agent, Captain White, we are happy in knowing to be a far different man from his predecessor. But it is still more favourable that the island is likely to become a British possession, and to be within reach of the justice and beneficence of British rule.

THE letter from the rev. Samuel Oughton, on the condition of the late emigrants from this country to Jamaica, should be carefully read, and deeply pondered. The late Rev. W. Uppadine, of Hammersmith, was a highly respectable Baptist minister; and it will be affecting to many that the descendant—a grandson—of such a man should be among the victims of this heartless and wicked delusion. Mr. Oughton's letter encloses the original of a note he had received from poor Swallow, the day before he wrote. We copy it for further illustration of the case and the system.

Kingston, June 30th.

Rev. and kind Sir—Since my return from Spanish Town I have been extremely ill. I was taken down to the hospital this morning, and lost nearly a pound and a half of blood. Dr. Paul has stopped my rations since Friday last, and will not let me remain at the pen. I am hunted like the deer, am *indeed cast down*. The dying scenes around me are truly awful. Oh! where will my scene of trouble end! I ought, rev. sir, to have been at Spanish Town to-morrow; but I feel as if I were dying. I never was so ill—and houseless, and foodless. Oh! my dear sir, send me one line of comfort, and direct me how to act. My head burns. Rev. sir, pray forgive this scrawl, and *pity a despised wretch!* Returning a thousand thanks for all your favours shown towards me, I remain, rev. Sir, your truly obliged and humble, but distressed servant,

JAMES SWALLOW.

THE intelligence contained in our last concerning the suspected Danish slavers was deemed of sufficient importance to be communicated to Lord Palmerston; and his lordship has made the following acknowledgment of the communication:—

Foreign Office, August 5th, 1841.

SIR,—I laid before Viscount Palmerston the letter which you left with me on the 21st ultimo, stating that five Danish vessels, supposed to be employed in the slave-trade, had been dispatched from the port of Altona for the coast of Africa by M. Santos, Portuguese charge d'affairs at Altona. And I am desired by Lord Palmerston to request that you will convey to the anti-slavery society his lordship's thanks for this communication, and that you will state to the committee that his lordship will be glad if they will procure, and communicate to this office, any further information which their correspondents at Altona may be able to obtain relative to this matter.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) LEVESON.

THE following extract from an editorial article in *El Huracan* of July 26th, will serve to shew that the now pending cession of the islands of Fernando Po and Annabona to this country is regarded in Madrid as a severe blow to the slave-trade with Cuba and Porto Rico.

"We are not partizans of the abominable traffic in negros: but, if our government wishes to retain the powerful and opulent colony of the island of Cuba by the present system, does it think to be able to do so unless this traffic is permitted, or tolerated! And if its preservation is not possible on the present principles of government, and in the maintenance of the actual order of things, without the cultivation being carried on by negro slaves, and if the mortality of these last in a great proportion exceed the births, it follows that not only for the increase of cultivation, but to prevent its rapid decay, it is necessary to renew incessantly, and in increased numbers, the fraudulent introductions. If there are now actually introduced year after year some thousands of negros, does the government believe that these importations will continue if these two islands are ceded! Does it not penetrate the object of England in proposing this cession!"

ATTENTION should be paid to an article which we have extracted from the American papers on the subject of the Colonization Society. The Maryland portion of the society have now avowed the intention of effecting a *forcible* transportation to Africa of such persons as do not go voluntarily. Not that the intention is anything new. The only novelty is the audacity with which they now throw aside the mask they have so tenaciously worn.

OUR readers will remember the case of the Bremen slaver, at present under investigation at that city. We now learn that this is not the first thing of the kind. A gentleman, lately a naval officer on the Brazil station, informs us that, when he was there (in 1838), he saw a Bremen-built vessel which had brought over several cargoes of Africans. The purchasers had made no alteration in her masts and sails; but she sailed under the Portuguese flag, had Portuguese papers, and always made her entries at the Rio custom-house as a Portuguese vessel. She once passed an English corvette outside the harbour of Rio, when she had 630 Africans on board. She hoisted Bremen colours; and the deception was so complete that our cruizer had not the slightest suspicion, though she passed almost within hail. All the Africans were landed the next day, within sight of residents at the Gloria.

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SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

(From the Parliamentary Papers.)

THUGGEE.

This monstrous practice has only lately been brought to light, and it is described in Major Sleeman's report under the name of Megpunnaism. "There seems good ground to believe that the system began with the siege of Bhurtpore, in the year 1826. Parents had no doubt, long before this, been occasionally murdered for the sake of their young children, *in that and in every other part of India where children are allowed to be bought and sold*; but we have no reason to believe that there was, before that time, any gang, in that or in any other part of India, that followed this system of murdering indigent and helpless parents for the sake of their children as an exclusive trade. We have reason to believe that it has not yet extended beyond the Upper Dooab, the Delhi territories, and the Rajpootana and Alwar states; and the able and successful exertions of Lieutenant Mills have given me reason to hope that we shall very soon, if well supported and assisted by the local authorities, be able to suppress the system where it has prevailed, and effectually prevent its spreading to other parts. It will be seen that these gangs always select for their victims the parents and grown-up children of distressed families, who have been driven to emigration by famine or domestic misfortunes. *Brinjarahs, who, all over India, trade in children that have been stolen from their parents, and in prostitutes, who purchase those that are good-looking wherever they can get them*, will give more for those whose parents are certified to be dead than for any others, because they have less apprehension of such children ever absconding in search of them, or being reclaimed by them. In seasons of great and general calamity, like those by which Upper India has been for some years past afflicted, great numbers of the most respectable families of all castes have been reduced to indigence, and obliged to emigrate; and the children of parents of this description, who have been taken great care of, and sheltered from the sun, and who, are in consequence, commonly very fair, are those most sought after by these murderers.

"In such seasons of calamity, the permission to purchase and sell children saves, no doubt, a great number from starvation; but, as such seasons, happily, even in India, return after long intervals, and as this permission is liable to foster such horrible crimes as are here exposed, it had perhaps better be withheld altogether. It is, I believe, understood where such purchases of children are permitted, that, when they reach the age of maturity they shall be free to go where they please; but who shall say into what hands, or into what country, such children shall be transferred before that time comes? If Hindoos, they must become outcasts in their own religion; and in nine cases in ten they become, I believe, Mussulmans, in order to secure a recognition of civil and social rights in some circles of society above the very lowest. Lieutenant Mills, in his letter of the 15th of October, 1838, states, 'This system of murdering indigent parents for their children has been flourishing since the siege of Bhurtpore in 1826; and the cause of their confining their depredations to this class of people seems to have been the great demand they found for these children in all parts of the country, and the facility with which they inveigle their parents into their society. They were in the habit of disposing of the female children they obtained for very large sums to respectable natives, or to the prostitutes of the different cities they visited, and they found this system more lucrative than that of murdering travellers in good circumstances, and less likely to be brought to the notice of the local authorities, as inquiries were seldom made after the victims by their surviving relations.

"These gangs, contrary to the custom of those whose proceedings are *now so well known to us, invariably take their families with them on their* expeditions; and the female members of the gangs are employed as inveiglers, to win the confidence of the emigrant families they fall in with on the road. They introduce these families to the gang, and they are prevailed upon to accompany them to some suitable place for their designs upon them, where the parents are murdered by the men, while the women take care of the children. After throwing their bodies into the river, or otherwise disposing of them, the men return to their women in the camp; and when the children inquire after their parents, they are told that they have sold them to certain members of the gang, and departed. If they appear to doubt the truth of these assertions, they are deterred from further inquiries by a threat of instant death. They are allowed to associate freely with the families of the murderers, and in a few days their grief subsides, and they become reconciled to their fate. The female children are either adopted by members of the gang, or sent in charge of the women to be disposed of. They find a ready sale for them among the Brinjarahs, many of whom are connected with these gangs in their murderous trade, and all of them are well known in Upper India to traffic in children. These Brinjarahs re-sell the children to the prostitutes of the different cities, who soon become acquainted with the fate of their parents, and are much pleased to learn it, as it relieves them from all apprehension that they will ever come to reclaim them.

The numerical strength of these Megpunna gangs, as far as I can yet learn, are between 300 and 400 persons over and above what I have already secured; and many of them have living with them the unhappy orphans of respectable persons whom they murdered. I fear, however, that the gangs will hereafter be found more numerous, though I have here given the names and descriptive rolls of all who are known to those whom I have as yet admitted as approvers. Indeed, I am disposed to think that the greater part of the Hindoo Brinjarah tribes practise this system of murder; but I am not at present in possession of sufficient evidence to authorise the apprehension of any. The conviction of these gangs for specific acts of murder is attended with considerable difficulty, from their practice of throwing the bodies of their victims into the rivers, near which they are commonly murdered; and from the obstacles we find in tracing and recovering the children who have become inmates in the zenanas of respectable people, or the establishments of common prostitutes, who all consider themselves justified in the purchase of them.* They are so, I fear, from the existing regulations; at least the purchase has not hitherto been considered a crime, particularly during the late famine, *when hundreds of children were bought and sold daily.*"

* "When the children are found, they are often too young to be admitted as competent evidences at the trial."

A PENAL SETTLEMENT is about to be formed in British Guiana, on the banks of the river Massaroony, a tributary of the Essequibo.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

London, 8th Month 9th, 1841.

SIR,—Having in my last adverted to the slave-trade and slave-dealers of Brazil, I now make a general reference to the treatment of slaves in that empire.

As the importation of slaves, although legally abolished in Brazil in 1831, is still carried on under the connivance of the government, and in concert with the official authorities (the celebrated Andrade and some of his co-adjutors in the late short-lived ministry alone excepted), from the highest officer of state to the lowest porter in its executive department, and as by this means about a million of Africans have been illegally imported since that period, I may class the present slave-owners in that country with those of our colonies prior to the year 1807. The above comparison may be reasonably made; for surely, in these days, one body of men is not considered better than another merely because of an accident of birth, which makes this English and that Brazilian. Alas! it is but too true that all men have the same propensities; and that under similar circumstances they will adopt similar courses, if, by the grace of God, they be not emancipated from the shackles of their own will. Those, therefore, who are acquainted with the progress of emancipation, and its effects on the temporal welfare of the slaves, can readily perceive that the treatment of this class of our *fellow-men in Brazil* is in keeping with the darker days of the British slave-system—days of which I have heard West India planters who held estates after the importation of slaves had ceased speak with astonishment and horror, as to the recklessness of human life which generally prevailed amongst their predecessors.

In confirmation of the above position I shall refer to practices which many proprietors have recourse to, not to shew what is actually done to every slave, but what extent of suffering is inflicted on many, and may be on any one of them according to the caprice of the master.

That the slave trade produces labourers at a cheaper rate than they can be reared at, is a general opinion in Brazil. The following fact is an instance. Whilst I resided in an hotel in the city of Rio de Janeiro, my wife had occasional interviews with the landlady, who occupied an upper portion of the building, and did all the washing and sewing of the establishment by her female slaves. These she guarded with the utmost vigilance, in order to avoid all chances of pregnancy, which, as she stated, would produce a considerable loss of labour. We had ample opportunity of witnessing her precautionary measures. On one occasion, when she went to the country for two or three weeks, these female slaves were locked up, and, from day to day, were fed through a hole in the door. This door formed one end of a long passage, as did that of my sitting room the other, so that we hourly saw this method of caging human beings.

It is surprising to me that the English residents in Brazil, who are generally the apologists of the system, can entertain the belief that the slaves there are better treated than those of any other nation. Few, if any of them, found their opinion on personal observation. If, however, eighteen years of actual residence in eight West India islands, and four years in Africa, in all of which places I had the direction of extensive public works, wherein both free labourers and slaves were under my control, give me sufficient experience, I hesitate not to say that I am of a very opposite judgment. In my justification I shall quote the following words of a Brazilian, as contained in a pamphlet entitled "Memoria Analytica á cerca do Commercio d'escravos," p. 43. "Atrocious punishments are common amongst us. Nevertheless, the false opinion is propagated that we are the best of slave masters. If we be the most merciful, oh what must the rest be! On the great sugar estates in the north of Brazil it would horrify you to witness the misery of the slaves, whose bodies, covered with wounds, sufficiently indicate the treatment of which they are continually the victims. In the provinces of Maranham and Piauhy, with which we are particularly conversant, '*as novenas*,' that is, whippings for nine successive days, is an ordinary punishment. The culprit is fastened to a cart, and there receives two or three hundred lashes; the mangled flesh is then cut, and cayenne pepper and salt are put into the wounds, to prevent, as they suppose, gangrene and corruption. I know a man named Joao Alvarenga, in Piauhy, who, when he wished to get rid of a slave, ordered him a "novena," and then exposed him in a sack to the burning sun, where the unhappy victim was farther tortured to death. The punishment of the tarniquete, hand and neck stocks, thumb-screws, irons, stocks, and many other instruments of punishment, are common on our plantations; and even in our cities they are not rare. It might be supposed that we inherited all these instruments of torture, as if they had been in use only in barbarous ages, and were worthy only of tyrants and the inquisition; but it is not so. The art of torturing is much more advanced amongst us. To expose a slave for a whole night tied to a stake over an ants nest (as is customary in some provinces), or on a cross, to the stinging of musquitos (as in Rio Grande de Sul), are refinements of barbarity peculiar to Brazil. And yet we are the best of masters!"

In England, where irresponsible power in man over man is unknown, it is difficult for some to believe that such cruelties really exist, especially when they are told that no man would wantonly injure or destroy his own property. But these should remember that the above assertion is incorrect. Even in this country it is found difficult to restrain some men from cruelty to their own animals; others, from pecuniary embarassments, cannot afford to feed and house them; whilst some who are in better circumstances delegate the charge of their food and comforts to those whose interest it is to withhold them. Surely the slave is subject to all this, as being the property of his fellow man. There is, indeed, a striking similarity in the language of the horse-dealer and the slave-owner. The former often says, "I feed my horse well, house it well, and work it well;" the latter asserts the same of his slave, by the vulgar proverb, "I give him the 3 P's." The three P's are Pao, Pao, Panno; which may be rendered into English by provision, punishment, pantaloons. The literal translation of the last word is *cloth*, but I have used *pantaloon*, in order to make 3 p's; and this is not far from the truth, if the domestic slaves be excepted.

But the slave is placed in worse circumstances than a horse, inasmuch as he is capable of *revenging* injuries by his own hand, or by combination with others. Hence the occasion of additional severity on the part of his owner, on whose mind the claim of personal safety is even more powerful than that of avarice. "How (said an Englishman to me) can the minority hold the majority in subjection, unless they keep their minds in a state of

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brutism?" Thus a slave to his own wickedness, the policy of the slave proprietor is to strike terror into the minds of the slave population by the excessive chastisement of an offender, even unto death. Instances of this kind are by no means of rare occurrence. I heard of a priest in the province of St. Paul, who killed his slave because he feared that the poor fellow intended to kill him.

Nor is the necessity for punishing slaves beyond the provision of the law for freemen confined only to individuals; for, in Brazil, as in every country where slavery exists, the government itself considers it necessary to the safety of the state to treat slaves more severely than others for like offences. In illustration of this I quote the following police act, which appeared in the *Journal do Commercio*, on the 17th February, 1841. "The game of the intrudo is prohibited within the city. Any person who plays at it will incur the penalty of from four to twelve milreis, and, in case of non-payment, suffer from two to eight days imprisonment. If a slave, he shall work eight days in the chain gang, unless his master send him to the castle to receive 100 lashes instead thereof."

It is said that there is a law prohibiting the infliction of more than fifty lashes at one time; but, from the foregoing police act, it would appear that any number may be given at intervals for the same offence. And this conclusion agrees with my information on the subject. Amongst other accounts I have frequently heard of the "novena," as quoted above. But, whatever may be the letter of the law in this matter, it is certain that neither the executive authorities nor the slave-owners pay the least regard to it. This may be seen by the following report of a trial by jury in Rio de Janeiro, extracted from the *Dispertador* of the 22nd April, 1840. "Francis José Coelho, native of the isle of Terceira, forty-four years of age, bachelor, merchant, was accused of having barbarously flogged his slave, named Francisco Antonio. The body of the slave proved that he had been cruelly flogged, the result of which was that he was ill in the Miserecordia hospital for more than two months. The accused confessed that he was the author of the offence, and admitted that the punishment lasted from three o'clock, P.M., until seven, P.M.; but farther alleged that he was a thief; that, as his owner, he had a right to do what he did; and that he could not be condemned in the circumstances of the country. *He was acquitted.*"

As an evidence that slaves are subject to such evils and sufferings as may arise from the peculiar circumstances of their owners, I give an extract from the French author, St. Hilaire, who by the Brazilians themselves is respected as a correct, though sometimes offensive historian. "It may be supposed that, because in the Campos Gostacazes there are proprietors who are not ashamed to take part themselves in agricultural occupations, the slaves of such, becoming in some sort companions of the freeman, would be treated with mildness; but, unfortunately, it is not so. They will make sugar, and each year they desire to increase their crop as much as possible: therefore they overwork the negros, without reflecting on the injury done to themselves by shortening the days of their unhappy victims. There are numerous sugar estates near the city of Campos, where may be seen all the year round slaves sick from blows which they have received, and where they are always in quest of runaway negros, who have sought to escape from an insupportable existence by flight. When the abohtion of the slave-trade was first agitated in Brazil, the government endeavoured to induce the proprietors of Campos Gostacazes to intermarry their slaves. There were some who complied with this proposition; but these very soon abandoned the plan, stating that 'it was useless to give husbands to negresses, as they could not rear the children.' Scarcely delivered, these poor women were compelled to work in the cane field under a burning sun; and when, after being kept from their infants for the greatest part of the day, they were at length permitted to return to them, the milk they brought them was poisonous. How could their weak frames combat the misery with which the avarice of the whites surround their cradle?"—vol. ii. p. 136.

If anything be wanting to prove the existence of such cruelties, it is supplied in the universally admitted fact, that slaves are occasionally required by their masters to assassinate those on whom they desire to be avenged. One large family at Pernambuco is said to be composed of at least 5000 individuals, and is so united that an injury done to one is resented by all, so that the unguarded offender is, humanly speaking, sure to die. The heads of this clan, as I am informed, keep slaves as assassins. These are represented to be harmless and well-disposed, except when directed to stab. On such occasions they strike home. And why so? Is it not the terror of their murderous masters that drives them to the bloody deed? What but the dread of such cruelties as I have described could make one man stab another, without any cause or inducement whatever save the pointing of the finger of the merciless owner?

Your's very truly,

GEORGE PILKINGTON.

BRAZIL.—[Extracts of letters from a correspondent at Rio de Janeiro.] In the month of March, under the Andrada ministry, the scandalous openness with which the slavers discharged their cargoes at Ilho Grande, forced the government to send down a small man-of-war's craft, commanded by lieutenant ———. After having cruised for a day or two off the port, this officer, on coming on shore, was taken hold of by the slave-traders, and put in prison as a pirate. And such a complicated accusation has been made out against him, that as yet he is kept in prison.

On the 12th of May, the brig of war Clio espied a slaver on the coast north of Campos, and, the wind being light, put out two boats well manned, which followed her close in to the land. The slaver then ran a-ground on the island Ruma, and the crew made for the shore. The men from the boats took possession of the brig, and had began to get her off by a hawser, when three other boats, full of men, came up, and, by firing upon them, obliged them to withdraw. The slaves were then discharged, and the vessel set on fire.

On the 20th, a man-of-war's boat from the Clio came into Campos, a British flag flying, with two officers and thirteen sailors. No sooner had they come on shore than the justice of peace required from them passports. Not having these to show, they were put under arrest, and kept so for a number of days, despite of their saying they belonged to the brig of war cruising off the river. The Campos slave-traders induced the justice of peace to believe that they might be pirates.

BRITISH GUIANA.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR—In your last *Reporter* you directed attention to the circumstance that the court of policy, combined with the financial representatives of British Guiana, had taxed the food of the labouring classes of that colony to the extent of £104,000 for the forthcoming year. This monstrous perversion of all justice Mr. Young, the able and accomplished secretary of the government, completely exposed, and sternly rebuked, and proved that the high wages said to be paid to the labourers was nominal, not real. The planters have thus shifted the burden of taxation from produce which formerly bore it, to the industry of the people, with the view of relieving themselves, and of providing an immigration fund, by means of which they hope to flood the land with emigrants from Africa and elsewhere, for the double purpose of reducing the wages of labour, and of bringing the enfranchised population still more completely under their control. The people are beginning to eat bread; every barrel of flour is therefore taxed two dollars—the people are become consumers of beef; therefore every head of cattle imported into the colony must pay six dollars. In the country districts, where the people can rarely, if ever, obtain the luxury of animal food, they are compelled to pay seven dollars each for leave to carry a gun to shoot wild fowl, or wild hogs. As to plantains, which might formerly be bought at two bitts, or ninepence per bunch, the people must now pay for it a dollar, or four shillings and twopence! This has arisen entirely from the planters, who, by diminishing the growth of this necessary of life, have made food dear to the labouring classes. And to keep it so, they have laid on so heavy a tax on imported plantains as to amount to a prohibition. This is the crooked policy of the Guiana planters; but we trust it will ultimately work its own cure. Still further to increase the expense of food to the poor, every cart employed for the purpose of conveying plantains, bread, &c., or plying for hire in the country districts, is subjected to a tax of ten dollars, whilst the huckster who vends these articles must pay for his license as much as sixteen dollars more! This shameful legislation ought never to have received the sanction of Governor Light; at all events, I trust that, whatever government may be in power next year, instructions will be given to the executive in Guiana, not to allow the people, who have no voice in making the laws, and no control over the expenditure of the colony, to be burdened with taxes so onerous and oppressive as these. I perceive also that a tax of twenty-five dollars is to be levied on all persons who open a shop or room for the sale of goods. This will be felt a great hardship in the agricultural districts. Many of the negros, previously to my leaving the colony, had commenced little bakeries on the plantations to which they were attached, for the accommodation of their neighbours, and probably have added to the sale of bread that of bacon, tapes, thread, &c., and for this they are to be taxed twenty-five dollars per annum—for all the taxes in the colony are levied by the year. It further appears, that on "every description of goods or commodities whatsoever imported into British Guiana, being of the origin or manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland, a customs duty of two and a half dollars on every hundred dollars worth," shall be levied. This new tax deserves the serious consideration of the manufacturers of this country, as it will undoubtedly tend to limit the sale of their goods to their best customers, the people. Once more allow me to state, the planters have put a heavy tax on the "transports" of land in small quantities, such as the labourers have hitherto been purchasing for themselves, the obvious design of which is to prevent their becoming independent freeholders. Surely no government will allow these men to fritter away the rights, or to abridge the privileges of the liberated bondsmen after this fashion. It is material to observe here, that, while the home government has generously lessened the imposts on colonial commerce, said to be equal to five shillings and sixpence on the sugars raised, the planters have taxed their ingenuity how they might increase the burdens of the poor.

The cry for immigrants is still as loud as ever. The arrival of 202 negros from Sierra Leone has whetted the appetite of the planters for more; and the *Superior*, the vessel that brought them, has been rapidly dispatched for a second cargo. The number of women who formed part of the first cargo, we are informed, was only 32! What then becomes of the equality of the sexes, which, it was understood, was to be insisted on by the government, as part of the scheme for removing labourers from Sierra Leone? Instead of the number of women being equal to the number of men, we find the authorities there, allowed them to be embarked in the proportion of five men to one woman. The interests of morality, not less than the interests of the colony, properly understood, require that this glaring evil should be instantly corrected. The Africans who arrived by the *Superior* have been distributed among various planters, among whom I regret to find the names of some of the very worst enemies of the negro race in the colony. Certainly, in selecting them the governor was more influenced by fear than by favouritism—his friends, however, will come next; and we trust our friends will keep a sharp look out upon all parties who have anything whatever to do with the matter, and give us the earliest information of their proceedings. The number of immigrants arriving in the colony, especially from Barbados, is considerable; yet we are informed by Governor Light, that "immigration is not necessary on account of the indolence of the labourer, but to supply the place of those who have chosen the work which suits them best, as well as to develope additional sources of revenue to the mother country."

From the parliamentary papers which have been recently printed by her Majesty's command, the habits and general character of the free negros in British Guiana may be gathered. His Excellency, governor Light, in his opening speech to the court of policy last year, observed as follows.—"It is consolatory to observe, that, such is the confidence in the permanency of property, that the price of those estates now in the market is far from being low; and I rejoice to say that, generally speaking, the proprietors exhibit no inclination to part with their properties. I cannot advert to this subject," he further observed, "and to the confidence which all have in the permanency of our system, without bearing testimony to the conduct of your labouring population. That they should be less constant in their industry than when coerced, was to be expected; that they are so industrious is subject of gratulation. Their cheerfulness and contentment dissipate the fears of many, and exceed the hopes of all." On the subject of crime his Excellency said, "Your colony is remarkable for a small amount of crime, and there are but few cases of an aggravated nature. Your peasantry are submissive, obey the law, and respect authority." Adverting to the desire which they have manifested to possess themselves of land, he stated, 'We

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have convincing proofs that there has been no wish to quit the precincts of civilization." On this latter point Governor Light had previously informed Lord John Russell, that, "so little inclination have the negros to quit civilization, not more than one house has been erected on the river since emancipation, and that by a coloured original settler, who was desirous of a new location." And with respect to vagrancy, we have the remarkable fact set forth in the jail returns, that, during the whole year 1840, only four persons were committed for that offence throughout the entire colony. A single reference to one of the monthly summaries of cases brought before the stipendiary magistracy for adjudication, will show that the labourers have more frequently to complain of their masters, than they have to find fault with their servants. In seven districts, embracing a population of about 24,000 adults, there were no complaints on either side; in the remaining seven districts, comprehending a population of about 30,000, the number of complaints for the month was 29, of which 27 were against employers for non-payment of wages, for assaults, and for destruction of property; and, on the part of the masters, two against Coolies for absenting themselves from work, and none against a negro. In Georgetown, where there is a population of 12,000, the number of complaints was 67, principally disputed wages, accounts between servants and their employers. In reviewing the documents which had been transmitted to him in September, 1840, Lord John Russell expressed his gratification at the state of the colony in the following terms:—"It is satisfactory to learn that so many new schools and churches have been established, and that they are so well attended; that an increase has been observed in the number of births and marriages, and that mortality is on the decline in the rural districts; that the number of prisoners in the jails is not considerable; and that at the five petty sessions stations which Mr. Wolseley visited there were no cases for trial. The superior cultivation of the provision grounds also, and the number of hamlets and villages which the labourers are building on plots of land purchased out of their own funds for the purpose, speak favourably for the dispositions and capacities of the population. They indicate a desire and an endeavour on the part of the negros to improve their condition; which is the surest basis of permanent prosperity, and promises well for the ultimate prosperity of the colony. Even the circumstances which lead Mr. Wolseley to apprehend a temporary falling off in the cultivation of sugar seem to grow out of the same spirit and tendency, and cannot be regarded as discouraging. The gradual withdrawal of the women from field labour to their more appropriate domestic occupations, and the resort of children to school, which causes a scarcity of hands to perform the lighter kinds of work, the great demand for skilled labour, which draws away the younger men from the field into the shop, the high rate of wages which enables an ordinary field labourer to enjoy all, and more than all, the comforts he has been used to, without the same continual toil; these causes, combined with an unfavourable season, are sufficient to account for the anticipated deficiency of produce. It is manifest, however," his lordship observes, "that they indicate a moral improvement, and a spirit of progress and independence in the newly emancipated population, which ought on no account to be deprecated or discouraged. The colony will gain more in the long run from the development of such a spirit in the labouring classes, than it will suffer from the temporary reduction of cultivation to which it may at first lead." These are wise words.

But the diminution in the export of sugar feared by Mr. Wolseley was not realized. The comparative returns for the last two years, ending respectively the 5th January 1840, and the 5th January 1841, give an increase for the latter year over the former of 1874 hogsheads, 352 tierces, and 63 barrels of sugar, 3865 casks of molasses, and 1,772,100 lbs. of coffee; whilst the diminution in the quantity of rum and cotton exported was inconsiderable indeed. Well might Governor Light say, "The predictions of greater decrease in this year than in 1839 have proved false—PREDICTIONS HAVE CEASED."

The financial prosperity of Guiana was, at the last period the accounts were made up to, and of which we have any official information, very great. The governor, in a despatch, dated 4th September, 1840, observed:—"Your lordship will perceive, that on the 31st December there was in the treasury (of Demerara and Essequibo), including the fund set apart in 1839 for emigration purposes, the sum of 203,375 dollars; and that on the 22nd August, after paying every salary, every demand or debt due to individuals (which amounted in all to 215,197 dollars) out of the treasury, there was still a balance of 222,795 dollars." In a note, he adds, "I ought to mention that, without being able to enter into detail, the Berbice treasury is proportionably unexhausted."

An idea of the extent of the importation of British manufactured goods, and other productions of this country and of the United States, may be formed from the following statement. The number of vessels entered inwards at the custom house, Demerara, in 1839, was 501, tonnage 81,293; in 1840, 567, tonnage 93,211. During the month of January 1840, 39 vessels were entered, tonnage 7511; in January 1841, 76 vessels, tonnage 15,056. The number of vessels entered inwards at the port of New Amsterdam, Berbice, is not given. In directing Lord John Russell's attention to these facts, Governor Light says,—"It is satisfactory to be able to give your lordship such striking proofs of the increasing prosperity of this colony."

Other evidences bearing on the same point are also given: such as the flourishing condition of the banks which have been established since the period of emancipation, the increased value of property in the towns, the formation of villages, and the opening of stores and shops in various parts of the colony, but especially the value of the estates sold under the free system. The correspondence of Governor Light with the colonial office on this point is in the highest degree cheering and satisfactory. From the report of his Excellency it appears that twenty-two estates have been sold in British Guiana, since the emancipation of the, labourers at the enormous sum of £603,900 sterling! These estates, Governor Light states, "have been purchased, not by strangers, but by men long resident and still present in the colony; and there is hardly an instance in which these estates have been sold below their value. It stands to reason," he adds, "that such purchases would not have been made, if ruin were anticipated."

Such then are some of the facts presented to our attention in the official papers recently laid before parliament. They are a triumphant vindication of the wisdom of emancipation, and of the character of the negros.

I am, Sir, your's respectfully,

London, 7th August, 1841. JOHN SCOBLE.

TEXAS.

TEXAS papers recently received to the end of May give some curious details of the working of republican slavery principles. In justice, however, it may be remarked, that a peremptory denial is given to certain allegations made in this country respecting slave importation from the coast of Africa. The *Galveston Gazette* observes on this head, that "Sir Fowell Buxton, the English abolitionist, states in one of his publications, that he has it from *high authority* which he cannot doubt, that 15,000 slaves were imported into Texas from Africa during the years 1837 and 1838. Now the whole number of slaves in the country last year, as appears from returns of the assessors, is only 11,323; and of this number we do not believe a single one was ever imported directly from Africa." These remarks would seem to evidence a laudable desire on the part of Texas to *bleach* herself white of the reproach of slavery with time, if not presently; but they contrast strangely with the tenor of a legislative enactment in the same paper, entitled an Act concerning free persons of colour. By the first section of this act it is ordained, "that it shall not be lawful for any free persons of colour to emigrate to this republic." By section two it is ordered that the sheriff or any constable of the county into which such free person of colour shall be found to have immigrated, shall arrest him after ten days' previous notice, and take him before the chief justice of the county or judge of the district, whose duty it shall be to receive the bond of the prisoner in the sum of one thousand dollars, with the approved security of a citizen, for his instant departure from the territories of the republic. Section three provides, that, if the person of colour shall not be able to give the bond security provided, he shall then be committed to the public gaol, with an order to the sheriff to expose him for public sale to the highest bidder, with four weeks' previous notice in the journals, and sell him into slavery for the space of one year. If, at the expiration of the term he be able to give the bond security, he may be discharged; but, if unable, he must be re-delivered to the sheriff who shall again advertise him for sale into slavery *for life*. Two years are allowed for the emigration of all free persons of colour actually in the republic at the passing of the act. But if any master of a vessel, or other person or persons, be accessory to the introduction of any free person of colour into Texas, they shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction fineable for not less than one nor more than ten thousand dollars—cooks or other hands on board vessels not being considered to come within the provisions of the act. It is quite clear from this specimen of Texan legislation that there is at least no immediate intention to provide for the gradual extinction of slavery, or to mitigate the severity of the servile condition.—*Morning Herald.*

JOS. SANTOS AND THE DANISH SLAVERS.

AFTER quoting (without acknowledgment, however) the extract of a letter from Denmark which we gave in our last, the *London Journal of Commerce* gives us the following information.

This Jos. Santos has, for many years, been the most extensive and notorious slaver in existence. He supplies Brazil wholesale with slave labour, and makes an annual voyage to the ports of that empire to collect the unhallowed and accursed proceeds of his sales of human flesh. He sells his fellow-creatures, torn by violence from their homes, for cargoes of sugar and coffee which he imports into Hamburgh, Trieste, and even London. He does not carry on his nefarious and wicked proceedings by stealth; he does not hide his diabolical light under a bushel: in the face of open day he fits out a fleet of slave ships in the heart of Germany; he dares to disgrace that great highway of German civilization and commerce—the Elbe—by arraying with irons, chains, and other slaving implements, "five well-manned Danish ships;" he fits them "with doctors handsomely paid," and he does not take the trouble to conceal their destination, "the coast of Africa"—fatal words! they involve the death or slavery of at least two thousand human beings. This Santos brings dishonour on several commercial cities of Europe, by having establishments or agencies in them—he has houses in all the large German marts of commerce; and it is added, let us trust falsely, he is not without confederates and accomplices in London.

This demoniacal merchant is wealthy; he is about to take "possession of an island given him by the Queen of Portugal."

It is, we are informed, no false statement that is thus made by Santos He has, we are informed, bought of the Queen of Portugal an island on the western coast of Africa. Where? Why, between Fernando Po and Annabon, in the Bight of Biafra, about to be ceded by Spain to Great Britain; it is either the island of St. Thomas or Prince's island. Thus, while the British nation is purchasing two depôts at the mouth of the Niger for the purpose of suppressing the slave-trade, a private Portuguese slaver bribes from his Queen the cession of an island at the outlets of that highway to the centre of Africa, as a spot whence to extend his dealings in African flesh. Will England tolerate such a proceeding? Are all our efforts to rid humanity of its blackest crime to be thus counteracted? Scarcely ten years have elapsed since the daring of the Landers opened to Europe the means of recompensing Africa for some of the evils which her previous knowledge and intercourse had inflicted on that continent: scarcely has England had time to take advantage of a discovery as important to humanity as that of the course of the Mississippi or La Plata, when this Jos. Santos interposes, and attempts to divert the great geographical fact into a curse, for his own private advantage.

Though a daring, Santos is a prudent man. These "five well-manned Danish ships" will not, on their arrival at this island, actually engage in the slave-trade. They will there be joined by his Brazilian fleet, which will have sailed light. The Danish ships will transfer their cargoes and "doctors handsomely paid" to the vessels from Brazil; and the latter will proceed along the coast to the south, to take in as many human beings as their cottons, their hardwares, and their spirituous liquors will purchase,

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or as the success of the African coadjutors in crime, whom they have corrupted, will permit. They will then crowd all sail for Brazil, throwing overboard the corpses of such of their victims as perish in the middle passage. Some of the vessels will, in all probability, escape the vigilance of the British cruisers; and, should any be taken and carried before the court of mixed commission at Rio, they will not be without assistance in that tribunal; for there it is said one of the British commissioners is remarkably successful in misusing the time of his country by discovering pettifogging loopholes through which the slave vessels may be driven unharmed, once more to pursue their disgusting trade.

We commend this statement, which may be relied on, to the consideration of Lord Palmerston, and of the British Admiralty. And at the same time we may inquire of the latter department whether the rumour in circulation, that Commander Denman, of the Wanderer, has been reproved for the manner in which, in the early part of this year, he destroyed the Spanish slave factories on the river Gallinas, be true?

CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD PALMERSTON.

27, New Broad Street, July 17th, 1841.

MY LORD—Presuming that your lordship may not have had transmitted from Cuba the documents referred to in the copy of a letter from their correspondent at the Havana, forwarded to your lordship on the 6th inst., the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have requested me, in the absence of their Secretary, to hand you copies of the same, viz:—

1. Copy of royal order for the suppression of the slave-trade, addressed to the Captain-General of Cuba, dated 2nd January, 1826.

2. Memorial of El Conde de Santo Venia to the present Captain-General of Cuba.

3. Memorial from the Municipal Corporation to the Provisional Regency of Spain.

4. Memorial of the Tribunal of Commerce to the Provisional Regency of Spain.

In looking over these important papers your lordship will not fail to perceive that the inhabitants of Cuba, as represented by the memorialists, throw the entire blame of the continuance of the slave-trade on the Spanish government. The municipal corporation distinctly say, "The inhabitants of Cuba are not to blame because their government permits and protects the abominable traffic in slaves," and ground on this fact "a better right to demand the preservation of their lives, than the slave race have to ask for their liberty." The ultimate abolition of slavery, say this same body, "supposes the entire suppression of the execrable traffic with Africa;" and they add, "if the faith of treaties has been disregarded, if the trade in men has been permitted, it is but just that such abominable excesses be repressed, as every other illegality should be repressed. But those who have committed these excesses are not in the island of Cuba; and it is not just that the native inhabitants should pay with their lives, and the loss or conflagration of their property for the delinquencies of others, on the erroneous pretext, that our dependency on the mother country is to be maintained by the increase of the negro population." In the prayer for the suppression of the slave-trade the Tribunal of Commerce joins. "Cut away," say they, "at once and for ever, all that remains of the contraband traffic in negros, which may still be carried on in fraud of the treaty for its abolition, and in defiance of the laws of the country; and this may be done by the Spanish government, without any foreign intervention whatever."

The foregoing extracts show conclusively that the responsibility of continuing the slave-trade between Africa and the Spanish colonies will rest exclusively with the Spanish government. It is, however, devoutly to be hoped, that the present liberal and enlightened government of Spain will not tread in the footsteps of its predecessors, but in good faith will second the generous efforts of Great Britain to put an end to so great a scourge of humanity as the African slave-trade. If it have the will, it has the power.

The committee take advantage of the present opportunity of again calling your lordship's attention to the important fact, that all the slaves introduced into the Spanish colonies since the year 1817, together with their descendants, are fully entitled to their liberty, both by Spanish law, and under the treaties of Spain with Great Britain for the abolition of the slave-trade; and that this country has, therefore, a right to demand their liberty.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

Rt. Hon. Lord Palmerston, &c.

(REPLY.)

Foreign Office, July 28th, 1841.

SIR—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, with its enclosures; and I am to return you his lordship's thanks for that communication.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) LEVESON.

The Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

THE PICTURE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—We understand that Mr. Haydon has broken up the collection of heads which have been exhibited with the picture at Egyptian Hall, as the studies from which the painting has been executed. The duchess of Sutherland and other persons of distinction have been among the purchasers, and the remaining sketches are on sale.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY THROWING OFF THE MASK.

[From the *Colored American.*]

THE leading colonization spirits of the state of Maryland, agreeably to a call, have just closed, in the city of Baltimore, a state colonization convention, which, for the stand they have taken should their proceedings be carried out, is to be of *notorious and of terrible memory.*

The meeting convened in the Light Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop Waugh in the chair, and was opened with prayer—yes, with prayer! The Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, &c., religious bodies of the state, were represented in that body by a *leading* minister from each, most of whom were of northern birth, and of northern education. They are now recreant sons.

This was an extra movement on the part of the colonizationists of that state. It was not the anniversary of their state society, but a *special* convention, called for a *special* purpose, and what that *special* purpose was will be seen by some of their proceedings. African colonization has always had in it something to the coloured people, yea, to humanity, of *terrible aspect.* It has always received their broad seal of reprobation, as not of heavenly birth, and to be disowned of humanity, as it is yet to be found to have been of God. It has thrown around itself the charms of benevolence, and laid claim to the countenance of the good. It has cloaked up its real features under the term "with their own consent." But it has been left for the Baltimore convention, composed of the professed ministers and disciples of the Prince of Peace, to cut loose its cloak strings, and let the mantle fall, to unmask its features, and shew its fore-front of threatened war upon humanity, consequently upon God; as the resolution which follows conclusively shows must be the result if carried out:—

"That while it is most earnestly hoped that the free coloured people of Maryland may see that their best and most permanent interests will be consulted by their emigration from this state; and while this convention would deprecate any departure from the principle which makes colonization dependent upon the voluntary action of the free coloured people themselves—yet, if regardless of what has been done to provide them with an asylum, they continue to persist in remaining in Maryland, in the hope of enjoying here an equality of social and political rights—THEY OUGHT TO BE SOLEMNLY WARNED, that, in the opinion of this convention, a day *must arrive, when circumstances that cannot be controlled,* and which are now maturing, WILL DEPRIVE THEM OF CHOICE, and leave them no alternative but removal."

The sentiment and spirit of this resolution, coming though it does from ministers of the gospel, cannot but fall upon the 60,000 inoffensive free coloured people of that *degraded* state with fearful forebodings. The effect will be different upon different individuals. Some will doubtless cower under it in despair; others will have excited in their bosoms a godly indignation; and it must not be thought strange, if, in the bosom of many, the spirit of a *determined resolution* will be set in motion. The members of that convention must pause a moment, and check the spirit of their proceedings, as well for their own sake, as for the sake of the coloured people, and of God.

Our people in Maryland are now placed in a position of dread responsibility. We tremble in view of the issue they may make of this matter. Upon the course they shall take with respect to the operation of this convention will depend almost the destinies of millions. Some, we fear, will be for fleeing the land of their birth, to seek an asylum in other kingdoms. Such will be a step of fearful consequences. Themselves may find an asylum, but it will only be to place others in a gloomy sepulchre. We beg them to pause before they take that rash step. Suffer not, from this circumstance, either the Trinidad or Guiana monomania to resuscitate itself. Let the spirit of a Hancock, a Leonidas, and of a Toussaint L'Overture prevail. Let a Spartan band be found, who will stick by the ship even though the tug of war should come, and determine to die upon the soil. Let not a soul leave; stay by, and meet the hour like men, *calmly, peaceably, firmly;* it will work your own, and the salvation of millions. They will never attempt, only three to one as they are, a removal by force; they cannot do it, and nobody will become accessory to so foul a deed as to come in and give them aid. Besides, humanity and God are against them.

We would say again to our brethren, could we reach them, *stick to the ship,* and die where you were born, rather than be driven from your country by the wicked spirit of colonization. These men, ministers and bishops though they be, have got to brave the rolling surges of the human mind, and stand the rebukes of humanity and of humanity's God. They will not be able to stand.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following Contributions have been received during the past Month.

		£.	s.	d.
G. W. Alexander	don.	100	0	0
Ditto	ann.	10	10	0
J. and E. Corderoy, Tooley Street	don.	10	10	0
Thomas Christy, Chelmsford	,,	10	0	0
Martha Fletcher, Mount, York	ann.	2	0	0
Lewis F. Pellot, Dominica	,,	1	1	0

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XLIV. Vol. II. No. 17.] WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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TO THE FRIENDS OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Having visited your country as an humble fellow-labourer in the great cause in which you are engaged, and which, through trials and difficulties which a stranger can scarcely appreciate, you have so zealously maintained, I have had a pleasing and satisfactory interview with many of you with reference to future exertions, in co-operation with those of other lands who unite with you in regarding slave-holding and slave-trading as a heinous sin in the sight of God, which should be immediately abolished. It is the especial privilege of those who are labouring in such a cause, to feel that "every country is their country, and every man their brother," and to live above the atmosphere of sectional jealousy and national hostility; and hence I feel an assurance that you will receive with kindness a few lines from me, on the eve of my departure to my native land.

You concur generally in opinion, that, in endeavouring to obtain the great object we have in view, it is very important that the friends of the cause should be united, not only in principle, but, as far as may be, in the character of the measures which they pursue; and I have been much encouraged in finding that you have generally adopted the sentiment, so rapidly spreading on the other side of the Atlantic, that there is no reasonable hope of abolishing the slave-trade but by the abolition of slavery, and that no measures should be pursued for its attainment but those which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character.

The progress of emancipation in Europe has been, beyond a doubt, greatly retarded by leaving slavery and the slave-holder unmarked by public reprobation, and by concentrating all the energies of philanthropy upon a fruitless effort to abolish the slave-trade; and, in this country, the colonization scheme, with its delusive promise of good to Africa, and its vague anticipation of putting an end to the slave-trade by armed colonies on the coast of that ill-fated continent, has been the means of obstructing emancipation at home, of unprofitably absorbing the energies and blinding the judgment of many sincere friends of the slave, and strengthening the unchristian prejudice against colour. The abolitionists of Europe, with few exceptions, have seen the error of their former course of action, and are now striking directly at the root, instead of lopping off the branches of slavery. And, if further evidence of the evil tendency and character of colonization is needed in the United States, the recent proceedings of a meeting of the Maryland Society at Baltimore must convince all who are friendly to the true interests of the people of colour, that it is a scheme deserving only the support of the enemies of freedom.*

The rapid progress of public opinion as to the iniquity of slavery, and the entire safety as well as advantage of its immediate abolition—the attention which has been awakened to it in all parts of the civilized world—the movements in France, Spain, Brazil, Denmark, and other countries with slave-holding dependencies, all indicating that the days of slavery are numbered, should serve to encourage and stimulate us to increased exertions; and, while it is a cause of profound regret that any thing should have disturbed the harmony and unity of the real friends of emancipation in this country—the hardest battle-field of our moral warfare—I am not without hope that, in future, those who, from a conscientious difference of opinion, not as to the object but the precise mode of obtaining it, cannot act in one united band, will laudably emulate each other in the promotion of our common cause, and in christian forbearance upon points of disagreement; and that, where they cannot praise, they will be careful not to censure those who, by a different road, are earnestly pursuing the same end. Without entering into the controversies which have divided our friends on this side of the water, I believe it would be nothing more than a simple act of justice for me to state, on my return to Europe, my conviction, that that large portion of the abolitionists of the United States who approve of the proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, and are desirous of acting in unity with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, from the general identity of their practice as well as principles with those of the British and Foreign Society, are entitled to the sympathies, and deserving of the confidence and co-operation of the abolitionists of Great Britain. It has been my pleasure to meet, in a kindly interchange of opinion, many valuable and devoted friends of emancipation, who, while dissenting from the class above-mentioned in some respects, are nevertheless disposed to cultivate feelings of charity and good-will towards all who are sincerely labouring for the slave. And in this connexion I may state, that, neither on behalf of myself nor of my esteemed coadjutors in Great Britain, am I disposed to recriminate upon another class of abolitionists, who, on some points, have so far differed from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, and the great majority of the Convention above-mentioned, as to sustain their representatives in refusing to act with that Convention, and in protesting against its proceedings, and who have seen fit to censure the Committee in their public meetings and newspapers in this country, as "arbitrary and despotic," and their conduct as "unworthy of men claiming the character of abolitionists."

As a corresponding member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, and intimately acquainted with its proceedings, I am persuaded that its members have acted wisely, and consulted the best interests of the cause in which they were engaged, in generally leaving unnoticed any censures that have been cast upon them while in the prosecution of their labours. Yet, before leaving this country, I deem it right to bear my testimony to the great anxiety of that Committee faithfully to discharge the duties committed to their trust, and to state that it has never been my privilege to be united to a body more desirous of keeping simply to the one great object of their association—*the total and immediate abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.* I am persuaded that all candid minds, making due allowance for the imperfections pertaining to human associations, will feel their confidence in the future integrity of that Committee increased, in proportion as they closely investigate their past acts, and that, even when the wisdom of their course may have been questioned, they will accord to them a scrupulous honesty of purpose.

The first public suggestion of a general anti-slavery convention, like the one held last year in London, originated, I believe, on this side of the atlantic; although the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society took upon themselves the heavy responsibility of convening it. At its close they invited an expression of the opinion of the delegates, as to the desirableness of again summoning such an assembly. The expression was generally in the affirmative, and after the discussion, a resolution was passed, leaving it to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (after consulting with the friends of the cause in other parts of the world) to decide this important question, as well as the time and place of its meeting, should another Convention be resolved upon.

Since I have been in the United States, I have found those abolitionists who approved the principles and proceedings of the late Convention so generally in favour of another, and of London as its place of meeting, that the only question seemed to be whether it should be held in 1842, or 1843. This expression of opinion is, I know, so generally in accordance with the views of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee, and of many other prominent abolitionists in Europe, that I have little doubt they will feel encouraged to act upon it, probably at the latter period. There is abundant and increasing evidence of the powerful beneficial influence of the late Convention, upon almost every

* The following resolution was passed at the meeting above alluded to:—"That, while it is most earnestly hoped that the free-coloured people of Maryland may see that their best and most permanent interests will be consulted by their emigration from this state; and while this Convention would deprecate any departure from the principle which makes colonisation dependent upon the voluntary action of the free-coloured people themselves; yet, if, regardless of what has been done to provide them with an asylum, they continue to persist in remaining in Maryland, in the hope of enjoying here an equality of social and political rights, THEY OUGHT TO BE SOLEMNLY WARNED, that, in the opinion of this Convention, a day must arrive, *when circumstances that cannot be controlled*, and which are now maturing, WILL DEPRIVE THEM OF CHOICE, and leave them no alternative but removal."

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part of the world where slavery is still tolerated; and we are encouraged to hope that the one in anticipation will be still more efficient for the promotion of universal liberty.

Painful as has been to me the spectacle of many of the leading ecclesiastical bodies in this country, either placed in direct hostility to, or acting as a drag upon, the wheel of the anti-slavery enterprize, and of the manifest preponderance of a slave-holding influence in the councils of the state, I am not one of those who despair of a healthful renovation of public sentiment, which shall purify the church as well as the state from this abomination.

There are decided indications that all efforts of council, and synods to unite "pure religion and undefiled," with a slave-trading and slave-holding counterfeit of christianity, must, ere long, utterly fail. And it is to me a matter of joy, as it must be to every friend of impartial liberty and free institutions, that the citizens of this republic are more and more feeling that the plague-spot of slavery has, with the increased facilities of communication, its horrors and deformity rendered more apparent in the eyes of the world, is fixing a deep disgrace upon the character of their country, and paralyzing the beneficial influences which might otherwise flow from it as an example of a well regulated free government. May each American citizen who is desirous of washing away this disgrace, to whatever division of the anti-slavery host he may attach himself, ever bear in mind, that the cause is of too tremendous and pressing a nature to admit of his wasting his time in censuring and impeding the progress of those who may array themselves under a somewhat different standard from his own! To waste any energies which belong to the one great object is, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, not only to defer the day of freedom to two and a-half millions of his countrymen; but, inasmuch as the fall of American slavery must be the death-blow to the horrid system wherever it exists, to leave undetermined the slavery or freedom of millions in other parts of the world, as well as the continuance or suppression of that slave-trade, to the foreign branch of which alone more than one thousand victims are daily sacrificed, and in reference to which it has justly been said—"That all that has been borne to Africa of the boasted improvements of civilised life, is a masterly skill in the contrivance, and an unhesitating daring in the commission, of crimes which the mind of the savage was too simple to devise, and his heart too gentle to execute."

There are no doubtful indications, that it is the will of Him who has the hearts of all at his disposal, that, either in judgment or in mercy, this dreadful system shall ere long cease. It is not for us to say why, in his inscrutable wisdom, he has thus far permitted one portion of his creatures so cruelly to oppress another, or by what instrumentality he will at length redress the wrongs of the poor, and the oppression of the needy; but, should the worst fears of one of your most distinguished citizens, who, in view of this subject, acknowledged that he "trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just," be finally realized, may each one of you feel that no exertions on your part have been wanting to avert the Divine displeasure, and to preserve your land from those calamities, which, in all ages, have rebuked the crimes of nations! Your sincere friend,

JOSEPH STURGE.

Boston, 7th Month 31st, 1841.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

ALLOW me to call thy attention, and that of thy readers, to the concluding portion of an article in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, containing a statement of the Grounds and Objects of the Budget. I think it desirable thus to notice statements which have been put forth in a work possessing a considerable amount of influence (not confined to our own country), because this influence has, I fear, on the present occasion, been unhappily given, in some degree at least, to support deep-rooted prejudices, and sentiments in no slight degree erroneous, on subjects connected with the great question of negro freedom.

I proceed to quote a passage which does not appear to be wholly free from objection. In speaking of Brazil, it is said—"The enlightened must grieve to people a country far larger than central Europe with an African instead of a European race—with the worst race instead of the best; the ambitious must regret to see an increase of population productive of national weakness, instead of strength; the humane must deplore the waste of life and happiness; and the timid, or, to speak more correctly, the prudent, must look at Hayti, and dread the increase of the barbarous portion of the community." Is it indeed stated, however inadvertently, in a work which was once devoted to the advocacy of the cause of liberty, not only for the white portion of our species, but for the shamefully calumniated and deeply injured descendants of Africa, that the latter are the worst portion of the human race! Is such a statement correct! Alas! there are to be found men having a fairer skin, with high pretensions to civilization, and calling themselves by the hallowed name of Christ, whose conduct proclaims them unworthy to be classed with the untutored and sable sons of Africa. I allude to the slave-owners and slave-dealers—to those destroyers of human life and happiness, the confederates of the man-stealer—in Brazil and Cuba, in the North American Union, in Portugal, in Spain, and wherever these supporters of an atrocious system of fraud, cruelty, and violence are to be found.

I fear that the allusion of the reviewer to Hayti may be interpreted to mean, that the existence of a large coloured population is a natural source of danger in Brazil, and, by inference, in countries similarly situated. This, however, would be an erroneous deduction from facts which took place at Hayti, except so far as the danger arises from holding such persons as slaves. What was the conduct of the negros of St. Domingo when freedom was first accorded to them, the largest population of bondsmen then existing in the West Indies! They conducted themselves well, and worked diligently; and the island was never more prosperous than during that period of seven years in which they first enjoyed the blessing of liberty. It was only when the wicked attempt was made, by force and fraud, to reduce again to slavery men who had once tasted the sweets of freedom, that the horrors inseparable from a civil war were experienced, and the invading French army, with the property of all the planters, and the lives of many, were destroyed. A large number of those who fought for their freedom also perished, and among these, by an act of cruel treachery, the illustrious TOUSSAINT—no mean specimen of a despised race. St. Domingo should always be cited—and for this purpose other examples might be given, derived from the history of our colonies during the period of slavery, when serious insurrections were not rare—as an instance of the peril which is inevitable wherever it is sought to make men slaves, or to retain them in slavery; and not as an example (to which it is not appropriate) of danger arising from the existence in a country of a class of men, different indeed from the rest in the land of their origin, but possessed of just and equal rights, and having, consequently, no motive to rebellion, or acts of violence. I well recollect hearing T. B. Macaulay state, at the first anti-slavery meeting held in London—a meeting never to be forgotten, for its character, the individuals who supported it, and the results which followed—that it is the infliction of the cruel wrongs of slavery which stings man to madness, and that without these all danger of insurrection in our colonies, then unhappily tenanted by slaves, would have had no existence. The correctness of this remark has been evinced by the large reduction which it has been deemed prudent to make in the number of troops in our West India colonies, since the introduction of entire freedom into those parts of the British empire, and by the peace and security which have followed that righteous measure.

I make another quotation. "We repeat, therefore, our belief, that the motives for desiring the abolition of the slave-trade exist still more strongly in Brazil than in Cuba, and that an additional impulse from this country—such an impulse as the government plans, if they had been adopted, would have given, would have enabled us to obtain the real co-operation of the Brazilian authorities in putting it down. With such co-operation on the part of Brazil and Cuba it can be effected—without it (and we have never yet obtained it) all our efforts on the African coast or on the high seas, all our expenditure of life, health, and treasure, have produced, and will continue to produce, effects worse than mere failure. They will *not* materially diminish the amount of the trade, and they *will* materially aggravate its horrors." It is here stated, but without the semblance of proof, and little had been previously offered, that the adoption of the government plan would have enabled England to obtain the real co-operation of the Brazilians in putting down the slave-trade. Our knowledge of the difficulty which has ever prevailed in destroying the slave-trade where slavery exists, and all its demoralizing and brutalizing influences, whether the attempt has been made in English colonies, or in foreign countries, or in their dependencies, is entirely at variance with so delusive and unwarranted an expectation. I am glad to find that the reviewer acknowledges the worse than impotency of efforts to suppress the slave-trade by force, which involve an expenditure of £600,000 annually to England, and the loss of many of her seamen; and I hope that this folly, and worse than folly, will no longer be persisted in.

The last quotation which I shall make is the following:—"If that policy (referring to the encouragement which it was proposed to give to the tropical productions of foreign countries, including those raised by slave-labour) will enable us, as we have shown that it will, to destroy the slave-trade, the amelioration of slavery is the necessary result. This is too obvious to require detailed explanation. The inequality of the sexes, one of the worst evils of slavery kept up by importation, must instantly begin to subside. We shall hear no more of gangs worked to death and re-placed every ten years, as the most profitable mode of consuming them. The labourers who can no longer be imported will be carefully preserved and bred. And this is the only mode by which they can be prepared for emancipation. Men must have been brought up in civilized life, accustomed to its wants and its restraints, to its obedience and its regular labour, before they can exist in it as free members, with advantage or even safety. To give freedom to Africans, and to expect them to become useful labourers, would be absurd. Discontinuance of the slave-trade is, therefore, a necessary forerunner of emancipation, and the success of the experiment in our colonies is mainly attributable to its having been made nearly thirty years after the importation of Africans had ceased. So long an interval may not be necessary in every case, nor is it necessary that so great a change should be always so rapidly completed. But we repeat, that discontinuance of the importation of Africans must always precede emancipation, and

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precede it by a considerable period; and that the extension of our commercial intercourse with the Spanish colonies and Brazil, as it affords the only means of putting down the slave-trade, affords therefore the only means of promoting emancipation."

I regard a large portion of the propositions contained in this long extract as seriously erroneous. They are such as I should have expected to meet with, rather in the journals of a country polluted by the existence of slavery, than in one published in a land whose laws and whose people are, to so great an extent, opposed to the existence or continuance for one moment of the accursed system of slavery as are those of England. I will only comment very shortly on a few of the most important statements, or sentiments, which appear to be incorrect in the passage quoted.

It is alleged that a long preparation is needful before liberty can be safely or suitably given to Africans, and that the circumstance of thirty years having elapsed subsequent to the abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain before freedom was granted in her colonies, is the principal cause of the success which has attended the experiment of emancipation that has recently taken place.

I am not disposed to dwell long on verbal criticisms; but I do not think it improper to ask, in what consists the act of emancipation! In a compliance with the apostolic command, "Masters render unto your servants that which is just and equal;" and, in those instances in which the spirit of the act has been observed no less than its letter, in an attention to the concluding portion of the passage of scripture quoted, which requires masters also to "forbear threatening." This act is likewise in strict accordance with those portions of the sacred volume, which inform us that it is an incumbent religious duty to "undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke." Is a measure which is thus sanctioned by the doctrines of holy writ—by the command and expressed will of him who cannot err, who is perfect in wisdom and goodness, to be regarded as an experiment—a word which implies more or less of uncertainty with regard to its beneficial results! I answer confidently, that it should not be so regarded, and that a measure thus framed on the eternal principles of justice could fail only by the height of folly, and the grossest misconduct, on the part of those who hold the upper rank in society in our colonies, as legislators, rulers, proprietors, and managers. It has succeeded admirably, in despite of the errors, the unjust laws, and the oppressive conduct of those who had been too long accustomed to the methods of a cruel despotism to abandon immediately a course, which, however, happily for the negro as well as for his master, cannot be long persisted in under a state of freedom.

But the alleged fact of the period which elapsed between the abolition of the slave-trade and that of slavery by Great Britain is (unless I am much mistaken) erroneous; and thus falls the miserably feeble prop on which the reviewer appears to build the monstrous assumption, that a generation of human beings must pass away subsequently to the abandonment of one great crime, before it can be safely succeeded by putting away another, scarcely less at variance with the requirements of justice and humanity. It is, indeed, well known, that the slave-trade was extensively carried on in our colonies for years after it was legally abolished, and that, in the Mauritius particularly, a very large portion of the slave-population had been illicitly imported from Africa or Madagascar, within a few years of the passing of the act for the abolition of slavery.

But are newly imported Africans so dangerous as the reviewer assumes them to be in a state of freedom! Ask the British West India merchants, who, at the present moment, are seeking with so much earnestness to stock our West Indian colonies, as largely as they can, with this most dangerous, but most patient and enduring of the human race! There are serious objections to such a proceeding; but the strongly expressed wish of so many British planters is sufficient evidence of the futility of fears conjured up by a guilty conscience, and an avarice which is never wanting in a pretext for retaining its prey.

I may further observe, that the false doctrine of the expediency of gradual emancipation has been long since exploded by the abolitionists of England, and that the opinion generally entertained by those who have devoted the largest amount of time and attention to the anti-slavery question is, that the only means of removing the enormous evils inseparable from slavery and the slave-trade is the abolition of the former. It would be easy to bring forward irrefragable arguments in support of this opinion. Does not every person acquainted with the history of abolition know, how vain were all the attempts of the people of England to obtain any material amelioration in the lot of the slave, while retained in that degraded and helpless condition, or even as an apprentice—a new form of slavery! How large was the measure of his sufferings, and how great was the mortality which took place under all the successive changes in the laws which attempted to regulate slavery, until freedom really came! Then, indeed, came happiness, morality, civilization, and religion, and the promise, already in no small measure fulfilled, to change the recent abodes of oppression into a comparative paradise, and a scene of unexampled prosperity.

The results of emancipation do, indeed, so far as they are known, although in some degree impeded by the folly and misconduct of too many of the planters or their agents, prove the falsehood of all the arguments which have been advanced against conferring liberty upon a race, whose unjust sufferings have scarcely a parallel in the history of human crime. An untiring zeal on the part of abolitionists everywhere in that righteous cause which has thus far advanced in its glorious course, and the blessing of the Almighty on this example and these efforts, will, doubtless, shortly banish from the professedly christian world a crime unworthy of the least enlightened portion of the human race, and a foul disgrace to a nation possessing any portion of civilization or religion.

Before I conclude, I may express my hope, that, in a future number of the *Edinburgh Review*, an attempt may be made to rescue that work from the degradation of being, or appearing to be, an apologist for cruel prejudices and opinions, at once superannuated and seriously erroneous.

It will be perceived that I have confined my attention to a small portion of the remarks on the grounds and objects of the budget. It may not be improper for me, in order to avoid misconception, to observe, that I am decidedly friendly to a general liberal commercial policy, in all cases in which it does not involve an encouragement of the slave-trade or slavery.

I remain thy friend,

GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER

Lombard Street, 8th Month, 1841.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

London, 8th Month 23rd, 1841.

SIR,—In my last I gave my reasons for believing that the treatment of slaves in Brazil is, at present, such as that of the darker days of slavery in the British colonies. I would now explain what that fearful system is, even under the English residents of that empire, who consider themselves the best of slave-masters. For this end I shall refer to it in English gold mines, in English plantations, in English houses, and in sales by English auctioneers.

Slavery in the English Gold Mines. In some of these are the very best samples of slave-managers that I ever saw in any country that I have visited. When the system of slavery in the control of large bodies of negros will admit of a deviation from its inseparable companion, severity, they endeavour to yield to it; and, in some instances, they have granted what usurpers would call a boon, but what British freemen should consider as a restoration of a pittance of their lawful right. It must, however, be distinctly understood, that they in no way depart from the general principle of compelling their slaves to work when they please, where they please, and how they please, whilst they withhold all the net proceeds of their regular labour. To effect this, they (to use their own words,) "feed them well, clothe them well, and flog them well." This last measure is, indeed, a matter of course; for unrequited labour cannot be procured without coercion, either from man or beast.

They punish principally with an instrument made like that used by our cellar-men for corking bottles, save that it is composed of heavy hard-wood, about seventeen inches long, having gimblet holes in the circular end to let the wind escape, that the blow may have full force. The circular end is in diameter nearly as large as the palm of the hand, on which the slave receives the blows, whence it is called a palmatoria. A medical man who attended two of the gold mines, informed me that he knew of two cases of fingers broken by the blows of this instrument. I asked how that happened. He explained in two ways: first, by the negro instinctively drawing back his hand, so that the blow intended for the palm strikes the fingers; and, secondly, by the swelling and contraction of the muscles, through which the finger points turn upwards, and receive the stroke.

I saw on the record kept at one of these mines, that twelve, twenty-four, and forty-eight blows were common punishments. I asked the officer who showed me the book, if it were not against the interest of the proprietors to use an instrument which swelled the hand, inasmuch as the negro, so circumstanced, could not without difficulty and pain use the tools necessary for the work. He replied, "that suffering is a part of the punishment; for, however the labour may hurt them, yet the task must be done."

On hearing that there was a *knack* in using the palmatoria, and that the blows from hand to hand were given with sharpness and speed, I inquired if a negro or negress, under dread of the suffering, should not extend the hand as quickly as required, how could this be managed? "In such case," said my informant, "they get it on the head, and soon find it better to receive the punishment as fast as they can throw out one hand after the other."

They also flog with a cat *both male and female*, after which infliction the patient is sent to hospital. In one of these mines there is an order from the Board, desiring that the medical officer shall always be present at such floggings. This I mentioned to one of the leading officers of the Imperial Brazilian, who, with a sort of indignation, replied, "I would not submit to such a regulation; but, nevertheless, when I intend to give more than two or three dozen, I always require the attendance of the surgeon." Hence it is evident that floggings which endanger life are sometimes considered necessary, both by the boards of management in England, and by their agents abroad.

The negros who were purchased for the establishment of these mines were Africans; and the supplies, either for increased labour or to replace those who died, or were killed by the falling in of mines, &c., were from time to time of the like description. Many were purchased even since 1836, five years after the importation was prohibited by the Brazilian legislature. The consequence is that many have suffered from the effect of seasoning. Indeed, the medical officer attached to one of them told me, that he had no

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idea of the misery which new slaves endured from acclimatization, until he witnessed *it*. This was further confirmed by the sacristaõ, or sexton, of the neighbouring parish, whose office it is to attend all baptisms and burials. This individual informed me, that his priest had, within the last three years, baptized many new negros for the English mine, and that he had since buried thirty-seven of them. This I suppose to have been one-sixth of the number actually purchased.

Such are the evils which the system entails upon the proprietors; for, the deeper they sink their workings in the mine, the greater is the number of labourers required, and these cannot be supplied but by newly imported Africans. Slaves of "good character"* are not to be procured in sufficient numbers; as the creoles (those born in slavery) are considered very "bad characters," and the ladinos (Africans trained to slavery) very much degenerated. For this reason large proprietors *look to the slave-trade* for occasional supplies, and the holders of these shares have likewise no other hope than that their increasing demand for labour shall be supplied from the same source.

Lest it be supposed, in opposition to this position, that the negros *may* increase by births, and that creole slaves trained under such slave-masters would not deteriorate in character, I would specifically refer to these two points; viz.—

1st. Increase by birth is physically impossible. The number of female slaves in one mine is considerably less than the males, while in the others they are nearly as one to three. Besides this, these mines afford an undeniable proof that children do not thrive in slavery, except, indeed, on breeding estates (of which there are none in Brazil), where the proprietor's profit arises from the sale of the offspring. For instance, I can state, on the authority of a very principal individual in the St. Joao del Rey mine, that, "out of one batch of twenty-four children born in one year, twenty-three died within the year, while the twenty-fourth was probably dead at that moment." That this fearful mortality is attributable to slavery is evident; for, in all the province of Minas Geraes, in which these mines are situated, the free coloured population increase in a manner that is surprising to every traveller. The French author, St. Hilaire, frequently refers to this, whilst describing his tour through that part of Brazil. On one occasion he thus writes:—"Nothing is more common than to meet women who have from twelve to fifteen children, and even more. * * Almost all the inhabitants of this village are men of colour, who, for the most part, are engaged in agriculture or trade." vol. i. page 78. But it is unnecessary to travel through the province to ascertain this fact; for the English children of the mines themselves thrive exceedingly well. Of one family in a house where I abode, and in the very same mine in which the awful mortality of infants took place, there was a numerous offspring, I believe ten in number.

2ndly. In reply to the position, that, if creole slaves were raised by these first-rate slave-owners, they would be improved rather than deteriorated in character, I am sorry to say, that these Englishmen are also the followers of that mistaken expediency which prevails in Brazil, of guardedly keeping the slaves in a state of ignorance. The Imperial Brazilian mine established a school about three years ago, but soon abandoned it, in consequence of the displeasure of their neighbours. Hence, as education offers the only barrier to the immorality which is so rampant in Brazil as even to destroy the mind of the untutored African, it is not to be expected that, under such a system, the English, or any other set of men, can improve the character of those who may be born in their hands.

In a conversation with one of the chief officers of the Brazilian company's mine, I mentioned that one, the Imperial Brazilian, had resolved to purchase no more slaves. "This," said he, "would bind us to keep those we have, which would be a great inconvenience; for, when they are bad characters, we sell them *(fora da provincia)* out of the province." By this method of selling the negro he is in a manner transported for life, as the purchaser gets him cheaper on condition that he never be permitted to return.

I was also told that there were runaway negros then in the woods, whom they could not catch. Therefore I conclude that their very best endeavours by no means satisfy their slaves; and that they are, at best, but an attempt to gild over a vicious and life-destroying system.

I have now said as much as a general reference will permit relative to slavery in the English gold mines of Brazil; and I purpose in my next to refer to the other points mentioned in the commencement of my letter.

I am, Sir, your's very truly,
GEORGE PILKINGTON.

* This phrase, in Brazil, has no reference to *moral* character; but denotes those who will bear any thing without resistance.

INDIA: DELHI.—A slave girl belonging to the king's family having been discovered in an intrigue with one of the princes, she was sentenced by his majesty to lose her nose; which cruel punishment was, we hear, carried into effect. A bazaar report has it, that her ears also were made forfeit to the king's indignation on the occasion. The unfortunate girl has died in consequence of her wounds.—*Bengal Hurkaru*, June 5th, 1811. The investigation of this case would at once proclaim that the slave has a protector. It would save a world of trouble with the innumerable small fry of rajahs and nabobs, by at once deciding that a palace is not a sanctuary for the slave-holder.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 25TH.

WE have the happiness of announcing the return to this country of our beloved friend and coadjutor, Joseph Sturge. He arrived in England on the 14th instant. Many will unite with us in thankfulness to the God of Providence, who has mercifully preserved him in safety and health. His farewell address to the abolitionists of the United States will be read with interest.

IN calling the attention of our readers to the strictures of Mr. Alexander on the concluding part of an article which appeared in the last *Edinburgh Review*, on the Grounds and Objects of the Budget, we feel it to be our duty to join with him in reprobating the tendency of the reviewer's remarks. To say that they are grounded on false assumptions, that they are contrary to historical facts, and that they are in opposition, therefore, to the deductions of a sound philosophy, would, we fear, be unavailing to counteract the mischief they are calculated to inflict on the best interests of mankind, unless it were done through the columns of that able and influential periodical. The *Edinburgh Review* circulates through the slave-holding regions of North and South America, and the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Danish West Indies; and most eagerly will the enemies of human liberty in these parts of the world avail themselves of its high authority, to justify their prejudices against the coloured race, or their tyranny in holding that race in bondage. Who the writer of the article in question may be we know not; but, certainly, it does not bear upon it the impress of the great mind to which it has been attributed, and it is as much opposed to the doctrines held by that eminent person, as it is inferior in its composition to the energy and beauty of his style. We never can believe that any man who has distinguished himself in the anti-slavery controversy, or is adequately acquainted with it, could be the author of that review.

When the reviewer would carry a point, he is ready enough to avail himself of the authority of such men as Mr. Burnley, of Trinidad: but he does not do justice to that gentleman, as we shall presently show; and, if he be quoted as an authority upon one point, and that an hypothetical one, we may quote him upon another with which he is practically acquainted. In reference to the principles of free-trade in their application to the products of slave-labour, Mr. Burnley, as quoted by the reviewer, observes:—"Thank God! *we* are now emancipated as well as our labourers, and we can walk abroad bold and erect, and claim the benefit of the freest principles. If we are fairly and honestly allowed to trade with all the world without restriction, we fear no competition from any quarter in the colonial market of the mother-country. When that is effected, the agriculture of Trinidad will successfully compete with that of every country depending upon slave-labour." Yet, subsequently to his having made this declaration, Mr. Burnley presided over a public meeting held in Port of Spain, to consider "the alarming proposal" of the home government to make a reduction in the foreign sugar duties, at which the following resolutions were passed unanimously; viz.—

That to expend thousands with one hand in attempting to repress the traffic in slaves with an armed force, whilst with the other we are to open the door of the home market of Great Britain for the consumption of the produce of their labour, thus directly encouraging the traffic we profess our determination to abolish, by enhancing the profit of the slave-owner—is a line of policy unintelligible to West Indian colonists, and one which, if persevered in, cannot but impair the confidence they would ever wish to entertain in the wisdom and justice of the councils of the mother-country.

That the plea of necessity for the introduction of sugar raised by the compulsory labour of slaves into home consumption is unfounded; as the island of Trinidad alone, from its extent and fertility, is capable *with a sufficient labouring population*, of producing more sugar than the inhabitants of Great Britain can consume, and at a cheaper rate by free labour than it can be raised in Cuba and Brazil, where slavery prevails: provided the restrictions which now impede the free current of immigration be removed, and an adequate protecting-duty be continued to the British grower, until such time as he can procure and render available such labour.

That this desirable object, by which the institutions of slavery would be gradually but peaceably undermined in every part of the world, could be effected in a short period of time, by only granting to the inhabitants of Trinidad the benefit of the principles which govern the just distribution of free labour, which are clearly consistent with the strictest rules of Christian philanthropy, and which were solemnly proclaimed as binding upon the nation and government when they divested West Indian colonists of property created by law, and abolished institutions which for centuries had been encouraged and supported by our national power and resources.

Now, here we have the grounds on which Mr. Burnley, and his brother planters in Trinidad, will consent to the reduction of the sugar duties. He wants the labour market of the world to be thrown open to him, and an adequate protecting duty on his produce until he can obtain the labour required, and render ti

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available for his purposes. Thus much in explanation of Mr. Burnley's views. But whither would he go for his labourer! To Europe, which, in the judgment of the reviewer, supplies "the best" race! No; but to Africa, which, in his judgment, supplies "the worst" race— a race to which it seems it would be absurd to give freedom. "Men," he says, "must have been brought up in civilized life, accustomed to its wants and its restraints, to its obedience and its regular labour, before they can exist in it as free members with advantage, or even safety. To give freedom to Africans, and to expect them to become useful labourers, would be absurd." Well, let us hear Mr. Burnley and his brother planters, practical men, intimately acquainted with the negro character, give their judgment on this matter. What says he!

I will now suppose that we are gravely asked, as if the question were of difficult solution, from what quarter of the world we expect to procure labourers? We can easily reply, that nature has pointed out the source, and that common sense and common humanity require that we should seek for them in a climate congenial with our own, to make the change as slight as possible to the moral and physical feelings of the immigrants. We should look for them in the tropical regions all round the globe, wherever they could be obtained on terms most beneficial to both parties: *but, for the present, it may be sufficient for us to point out the opposite coast of Africa as being the nearest and easiest of access, and where, from the barbarism and injustice of their local government, the natives would unquestionably be most benefited by the change.*

Hear Mr. Bushe, another eminent authority, on this matter —

There were said to be 1,000,000 of acres of land in the island fit for the cultivation of sugar. That statement was probably derived from the survey of the island made by Captain Columbine, who stated that it contained 1,500,000 acres, and that two-thirds of the island was fit for the growth of sugar. If one-seventh part of that were planted with canes, say 150,000 acres, it would yield 200,000 tons of sugar; which is more than the average consumption of Great Britain. But how were the planters to do this? *No other way than by importing labourers largely from Africa* and elsewhere. The miserable driblets in which the emigrants came here was only destroying our neighbouring colonies, and doing us little good. Since they had begun to arrive, wages had increased fifty per cent. *We should require at least* 75,000 *labourers from Africa*, calculating the additional labourers at the rate of one to every two acres.

And let us tell the reviewer, that so intent are Mr. Burnley and his associates upon the scheme of stocking Trinidad with the worst race instead of the best, that they are content not to draw their supplies of immigrants from Sierra Leone only, but they wish to range the whole western coast of Africa to obtain them, and this is what they mean by the "removal of restrictions which now impede the free current of immigration." And, let it be remembered, the planters of Jamaica and British Guiana are following in the wake of those in Trinidad. To Africa they are sending their vessels for emigrants, and they esteem it a great advantage to be allowed to draw their "free labourers" thence. The Africans who, during the last few years have been introduced into the Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guiana, are amongst the very best labourers in these colonies; and therefore the planters are most anxious to obtain them. We give one quotation more from Mr. Burnley, in favour of the "worst race." In combating an opinion which had been advanced by a stranger to the island, that "the intellectual condition of the natives of Africa was low," he said that that was "an opinion which the Committee (of Enquiry, over which he presided) would never have formed, judging by their own experience of the thousand liberated Africans landed in this island five years ago, *who appear to be as acute and intelligent, with respect to their personal interests, as any labourers in the island.*" This statement agrees with that of others, and, we may add, with our own convictions, after having been brought into contact with a considerable body of native Africans in British Guiana.

The reviewer hazards another opinion, namely, that the abolition of the slave trade should precede that of slavery, by some interval between "now and never;" and he considers that the necessary consequence of the former would be the amelioration of the latter. He says, in that event "we shall hear no more of gangs worked to death, and replaced every ten years, as the most profitable mode of consuming them. The labourers who can no longer be imported, will be carefully preserved and bred." It may be sufficient to reply to this statement, that, in our own colonies, in the space of eleven years ending in 1828-9, there was a decrease in the slave population of 52,000 over all the births, that the planters to the very last, resisted every amelioration in the condition of the victims of their oppression, and that these two facts led the imperial legislature to decree their liberation from bondage. As to any general preparation of the negros for freedom, however much it might have been thought of and urged by the mother country, it was, except in a few rare instances, opposed and frustrated in the colonies. And now let Mr. Burnley be again heard. In summing up the evidence he gave, last year, before the parliamentary committee on East India produce, he observed:—"I will only say, that the West India colonies are most valuable dependencies, and that hitherto we have been unable to understand their value, in consequence of the want of labour. WE COMMITTED THE ERROR OF SUFFERING THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY WHILST THE SLAVE-TRADE WAS ABOLISHED. The system was continued after the supply was cut off, by which these colonies were paralyzed. But, now that there appears to be a prospect of introducing a sufficient labouring population, I am firmly convinced that more valuable dependencies are not to be found in any part of the world."

With respect to the conduct of the enfranchised population, and the future prospects of Trinidad, he said, at a meeting of the agricultural society, held at Port of Spain, on the 11th February, 1841—"In seating myself again in the chair to which, by your flattering suffrage, I was two years ago elected, my mind naturally reverts to that period of gloom and despondency, when the most sanguine among us could hardly anticipate a favourable result from our exertions. Slavery had been recently abolished, and the first movements of our emancipated labourers threatened the growers of exportable produce with heavy loss, if not with absolute ruin; *a movement neither capricious nor unnecessary, but arising from natural causes, which called them to new duties under a new state of society.*" We thank Mr. Burnley for this generous testimony to the labouring population. And what was the result? We may learn it from the striking appeal made by him to his auditory:—"Where is the planter who entertains a doubt of being able this year to make a handsome crop, if we are only blessed with average fair weather! I have not met with one since my return. Where is the planter who does not avow that he is now further advanced in his cultivation and weeding; in fact, in everything on which the crop of 1842 depends, than at any former period at the same season, under a compulsory system of labour! The exceptions I have met with are so few, that I impute them solely to defects in administration, which a better acquaintance with the working of free labour will, no doubt, soon remedy." With this statement we close, merely remarking that, however much we may differ from Mr. Burnley in some of his theories respecting immigration and colonization, we prefer him as an authority, in all practical matters, to the reviewer, whose fallacies and false doctrines ought never to have found a place in a work designed to influence and lead the public mind in this and other civilized countries. We hope that more care will be observed in future to preserve unity of sentiment in the articles affecting the anti-slavery cause, which no work, in times past, has contributed more to uphold and defend than the *Edinburgh Review*.

WE direct the especial attention of our readers to Mr. Pilkington's third letter on Brazilian slavery, which appears in our columns to-day. It treats of the English mines; and, quiet as his statements are, they are truly appalling.

WE present our readers with some astounding and heart-rending disclosures, under the head of Slavery in British India. Let every friend of humanity see by what a horrible system of organized murder the market for slave-children in India has been supplied. We are truly happy to observe the attention which the public press generally is now devoting to this deeply interesting subject.

OUR notice of Liberia in our last number has provoked some anonymous writers in the *Morning Chronicle*, on whom it might have been necessary for us to bestow a word, but that they have been so well disposed of by a correspondent, in a letter which will be found in another column.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

THUGGEE.

For the further illustration of this astonishing depravity, we quote some passages from the confessions given in Major Sleeman's report, contained in the parliamentary papers recently published.

The confession of Jewan Dass, *alias* Prem Dass, relative to the Husseeagunge affair, taken in my presence on the 19th August, 1838.

"Q. Are you a jemadar of Thugs?—A. Yes.

"Q. How many men and women compose your gang?—A. My gang formerly consisted of fifty or sixty men and women, but of not more than ten or twelve latterly.

"Q. Relate some of the technical terms used by your gang.—A. We call our trade, viz., murdering travellers for their children, "Megpunna;" a male traveller, "Kur," a female traveller, "Kurree."

"Q. Do you observe any omens on opening a Megpunna expedition?—A. Yes; the call of the partridge, which, if heard on the left, is considered propitious, and on the right the contrary.

"Q. From whom did you learn this system of Thuggee, &c.?—A. From Umree Jemadarnee, a woman confined for life in the Delhi gaol.

"Q. Relate the particulars of Husseeagunge affair.—A. I left my home with a gang of forty Thugs, and proceeded to Husseeagunge, where Heera Dass and Rookmunee went to the city of Muttra for the purpose of buying some clothes, and succeeded in winning the confidence of four travellers, two men and two women, with their three children, whom they brought with them to our encampment. After passing two days with us, Teela Dass, Mudhoo Dass, Byragees, and Dewa Hookma, Teelake, Gunguram, Brinjarahs, Balluck Dass, Chutter Dass, Neput Dass, and Hunooman Dass, prevailed on this family to accompany them to the banks of the Jumna, and murdered the four elderly travellers in a garden near the village of Gokool. After throwing their bodies into the Jumna, they took their three children to the tanda, or encampment, of Dewa, Brinjarah, near the village of Kheur, and sold the two female children for forty rupees, and the male for five rupees. On their return to the encampment, Heera Dass, *alias* Pudma, and Mudhoo Dass quarrelled about the division of the money, which terminated in Hookuma, Brinjarah, preferring a complaint of selling children against Mudhoo Dass, at the Thana of Husseeagunge. The thanader made inquiries regarding the sale of the children, and succeeded in recovering them from Dewa, Brinjarah, who related at the Thana the particulars of the murder of their parents, and the circumstance of their having been taken by a party of Byragee Thugs, to the village of Khur, and sold to the Brinjarah, upon which the Thanadar apprehended twenty-nine of us."

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From the deposition of Radha, wife of Roopla:—"We now went off to the Thuneiseir, where we encamped in a grove on the bank of a tank, and here several parties of travellers were inveigled by the wives of the leaders of our gangs, to come and take up their lodgings with us.

"1. A Chumar, with three daughters, one thirty years of age, and the others young.

"2. The widow of a carpenter, and her son ten years of age.

"3. A Brahmin and his wife, with one beautiful daughter fourteen years old, another five, and a son six years of age.

"4. A Brahmin and his wife, with one daughter about fourteen, another twelve, and a son three years of age.

"These travellers lodged for two or three days among the tents of the Nacka and Brinjarahs, after which we all went one morning to a village in the territory of the Tocrolee rajah—I forget his name. Here a very heavy rain fell at night, and deluged the country, and we got no rest. The next morning we went to a village on the banks of the canal, still in the same Rajah's country. The next day we went to a village on the bank of the Jumna; and, two hours after night, Kaner Dass proposed that we should go down to the sacred stream of the Jumna, say our prayers, and remain there. They all went down accordingly, leaving me, Roopla, and his second wife (Rooknunee) at the village. They murdered the seven men and women, and threw their bodies into the river; but who killed them, or how they were killed, I know not. The Chumar and his eldest daughter, the two Brahmins and their wives, and the carpenter's widow, were all murdered.

"They brought the nine children back to us a watch and a half before day-light. They were all crying a good deal after their parents; and we quieted them the best way we could, with sweetmeats and playthings. We came to Beebeepore, and encamped in the grove. A daughter and son of the Brahmin's were extremely beautiful, and these we left with Dhyan Sing for sale. We came on to a village a coss distant from Beebeepore. Here a trooper came up to Beebeepore, saying that he had heard of several people being murdered and suspected us of the crime. The headmen of the village of Beebeepore, and some of the Brinjarahs, came to our camp with the trooper, and assured him that he must be mistaken, as they knew us all to be very honest, inoffensive people, and, taking him back to Beebeepore, they treated him with great consideration, and he went away apparently satisfied. But, fearing that our deeds had become known, Pemla and Newla's wives, and Pemla's mother, took off the seven other children to Dhyan Sing, and left them all in his charge. Pemla went to Kurnaul, Goorbuksh and his gang went to Beebeepore, while my husband and his party remained where we were. A woman who keeps prostitutes came from Kurnaul, and purchased and took away all the children. All were sold through Dhyan Sing. One boy was purchased by an elephant driver, who took him off upon his elephant, and another was purchased by a musselman. All the rest were taken off in covered carriages by the prostitute, to Kurnaul. I should know all their faces again, were I to see them. My husband and Kaner Dass disputed a good deal about the mare that has been brought in; but my husband got it at last in his share of the booty, and seven or eight rupees besides.

"At Thuneiseir, Goorbuksh and his party got six or seven travellers, with their six or seven children, at the same time that we got ours, and the parents were all murdered at the same time and place that the parents of our children were murdered, on the bank of the Jumna. He also sold his children through Dhyan Sing, at Beebeepore. There were several people from Beebeepore concerned with us. We came back to Beyree, in the Bhojpur Nawab's territory; and, three or four days after, Goorbuksh came to us, with one of the boys he had kept for himself out of his booty.*"

"The confession of Roopla Jemadar, relative to the sale of the children whose parents were murdered near Kurnaul.

"Three of the children whose parents were murdered at Kurnaul were sold to Emambuksha, who keeps prostitutes, and lives at a village about four coss from Kurnaul.

"Q. Describe the personal appearance of these three children.—A. One of these is about nine years old, remarkably fair, with very light hair, and the other two not quite so fair, about six or seven years of age.

"Thanah, Zemindar of the village of Beebeepore, takes five per cent. on every child he disposes of for us.

(Signed) "C. MILLS."

Lieutenant Mills had the following conversation with one of the two men who described this last murder, Dheers:—

"Q. You have stated in your various depositions that you invariably preserve the children, and sell them. Are you not afraid that these children will disclose the manner in which you get them, and thereby get you into trouble?—A. We invariably murder our victims at night, first taking the precaution to put the children to sleep, and in the morning we tell them that we have purchased them from their parents, who have gone off and left them.

"Q. You seem to have been in the habit of selling children in all parts of the country; how have you avoided being apprehended?—A. The children are seldom aware of the fate of their parents; and in general we sell them to people very well acquainted with the nature of our proceedings."

From the first confession of Khema, *alias* Nursing Dass, a jemadar of Thugs:—

"After the capture of Bhurtpore Nanoo Sing, Brinjarah, and four other Byragees, residents of Kurronlee, come to me with four travellers and their four children, and invited me to participate in their murder; which I consented to, and, with the assistance of my gang, we strangled the whole of them, preserving the lives of the children, whom we sold at Joipore for 120 rupees, half of which was divided among the members of my gang. After this affair, I resolved on selecting for my victims the poorest class of travellers, and murdering them for their children, for whom there was so great a demand in all the great cities; since which I have committed the following murders, the particulars of which I will detail as I may remember."

From the sixteenth confession of Hurree Singh, *alias* Seetal Dass, *alias* Sewram:—

"After my return from the last expedition, or ten days previous to my arrest, I went to Allum Bagh, in the Bhurtpore district, and was disappointed in finding only five Brinjarahs, one of whom gave me a rupee for my food, which was to be adjusted the first murder we committed."

There is an abuse of the practice of selling children into slavery, which consists in selling them for prostitution. This abuse does not appear to be confined to those who practise the frightful trade of Megpunnaism; of course, however, such persons are far more indifferent to the future destiny of the unfortunate children whom they sell, than parents or other relations who sell children when pressed by want; and it is, therefore, probable that a much larger proportion of children sold by Megpunna Thugs is devoted to prostitution, than of children sold by any other class.

* This poor boy Goorbuksh is supposed to have murdered, when he found it impossible any longer to escape from Lieutenant Mills's parties.

LIBERIA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—The following letter, addressed to the *Morning Chronicle*, was occasioned by two letters which appeared in that paper on the 18th and 20th instant.

I am, &c.

JOHN SCOBLE.

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

SIR,—There is a little knot of individuals in this country, American and English, who have been indefatigable, during the last twelve or eighteen months, in endeavouring to puff once more the American Colonization Society, and its settlement on the western coast of Africa, into notice. The character, however, of the Society and its colony is now so well known to the abolitionists of this country, that they require no further exposure to guard them from the deceptive statements put forth by the party referred to, and nothing but the "hardihood" of your correspondent, Fair Play, in insinuating the basest charges against honourable men, without having had the courage to attach his signature to them, and the attempted vindication of the "good men" who founded the colony, by your other correspondent, John Bull, at the expense of truth and candour, should have induced me at the present time to attempt a reply.

The honour or dishonour of having founded the American Colonization Society is assumed by one party for the southern slave-holders, and by another for the northern philanthropists. My own impression is, from the evidence before me, that to the south belongs the bad eminence of having originated this scheme for the expatriation of the free people of colour from their native land, and (whatever may be said to the contrary by its advocates in England) for strengthening the institution of slavery, by removing what they term a nuisance, an excrescence on the body politic, and a standing incitement to discontent and insurrection.

But, whoever originated the Colonization Society, it is quite clear that it has been chiefly managed, from its formation to the present time, by slave-holders. All its presidents, from Bushrod Washington to Henry Clay, have been slave-holders; the great majority of its vice-presidents and managers have been slave-holders also; and, it is not a little remarkable that, with only one exception that I have been able to learn, after diligent inquiry, none of the presidents, vice-presidents, or managers, have ever emancipated a single slave, even to go to Liberia.

The exception was Mr. Fitzhugh, one of the most active and talented of its vice-presidents. This gentleman died, I think, about four or five years ago, and, in his will, gave freedom to his slaves on condition of their going to Liberia; but he postponed their enfranchisement for a period of twenty or twenty-five years, on the ground that, such was the bad state of the colony at the period of his decease, that he could not trust them there without fear of injury to themselves. Better be a slave in America, was the opinion of that gentleman at that time, than a freeman in Liberia. As to the presidents of the society, they are known to have been traffickers in human flesh and bones throughout their lives, not excluding even the honourable Henry Clay, who, first and last, has been the purchaser of seventy human beings, which he dares, in the face of high heaven, impiously to call his property.

I turn from the society and its founders to Liberia, which is extolled as the focus of all excellence, the beacon light of liberty to enslaved Africa, the centre of the arts and christianity, whence are to radiate the lights of civilization and religion.

Already in the glowing language of the rev. R. R. Gurley, "towns, villages, school-houses, churches, for three hundred miles, throw a smile of beauty on the barbarous features of that continent." Rapt in the vision of future ages, another distinguished advocate, General Harper, sees Africa "filled with populous and polished nations, all emanating from the 'magnificent' scheme of colonisation," and "caps the climax" (as the Americans say) with the following burst of eloquence:—"When other states, and even the flourishing and vigorous nation (the United States) to which they belong, now in the flower of youth, which have run their round of rise, grandeur, and decay, and like the founders of Palmyra, Tyre, Babylon, Memphis, and Thebes, shall no longer be known, except by vague reports of their former greatness, or some fragments of their works of art, the monuments of their taste, their power, or their pride, which they may have left behind, then"—what?—the "populous and polished nations of the widely extended regions of middle and southern Africa will cherish their memories and sing their praises!" Is not this a noble consummation of slave-holding beneficence?

Now let us inquire by what agencies this glorious work is to be accomplished. Mr. Gurley, stand forth and tell us who are to be the regenerators of Africa, the founders of its cities and empires! He answers:—"Our free people of colour," who are "mostly uneducated poor, and without those moral restraints which self-respect, concern for reputation, and hope and prospect of improvement, impose upon other classes of the community;" a people who bear "the brand of indelible ignominy" upon them—who are "the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable"—who have been "scarcely visited in their debasement by the heavenly light." These be your civilizers of Africa! You send to that continent a race whom you cover with opprobium, and spurn from you with abhorrence, and ask us to countenance your doings. We tell you, that British benevolence has other and purer channels into which its sympathies can flow. Go to Maryland, where colonization finds most favour and has its chief seat, and learn what it is doing. After having passed an atrocious law last year, which condemns free people of colour resorting to that state to slavery, giving one-half of the proceeds of their sale to the informer, and the other half to the funds of the colonization society, it is now about to compel sixty thousand of that unhappy class to go to Liberia. A more monstrous and inhuman act can scarcely be imagined. These are the fruits of the colonization scheme.

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But I return to Liberia. According to a map which I have before me, attached to the fourteenth annual report (1831) of the American Colonization Society, I find the boundaries are marked as follows:—"From Gallinas river to the territory of Kroosettra, a distance of about 280 miles along the coast." In an explanatory note, however, it is added, "The territory at present under the actual jurisdiction of the colony extends from Grand Cape Mount to Trade Town, a distance of about 150 miles." This was in 1830. Mr. Gurley states the extent of the colony to be about 300 miles, and represents it as covered with "towns, villages, school-houses, and churches." He is my authority for the geography of Liberia, and for the manner in which it is occupied. Fair Play describes Liberia as "that part of the African coast lying between Capes Mount and Palmas;" but then he states that portions of it have never been under the jurisdiction of the colony. In making this exception his object is clear. It is a clever attempt to prove, that, though it must be admitted the slave-trade is actually carried on within the limits of Liberia, yet it has been eradicated within the colonial territory. For the first time we are told that there are chiefs in Liberia who have "refused to sell their land, or give up the slave-trade;" and yet, strange to say, Governor Buchanan is represented, as far back as 1836, as having, by treaty with seven neighbouring kings and chiefs, obtained a solemn pledge to abandon the slave-trade, and as having "subsequently" entered into "similar treaties with fifteen native powers to extirpate it at the only other intermediate point where it is known to exist." There is much that is vague, if not contradictory in these statements of Fair Play. But I pass on, to observe from the statement before me, that up to the year 1836, there appear to have been within the colony of Liberia twenty-two kings and chiefs more or less engaged in the slave-trade, and that seven of these lived in the neighbourhood of Monrovia; but for some time past the whole coast of the colony has been free from its ravages. For one, I should be delighted to find this to have been the case; but, notwithstanding the half dozen authorities referred to by this writer, or quoted by John Bull, I much doubt the fact, and here are my grounds for doing so. I commence my quotations from the year 1836, when it is said the treaties with the kings and chiefs in the neighbourhood of the colony were made.

In 1837, Captain Nicholson, of the United States navy, reported to the government, that, within a year, four slave factories had been established almost within sight of the colony (Monrovia).

In February, 1838, the British consul at Cape de Verds made the following communication to Lord Palmerston:—"On the 15th instant, arrived at this port a vessel under American colours, named Monrovia, last from Liberia, with a bill of sale and list of crew from the collector of that colony. This vessel had neither a register nor sea-letter. I have ascertained without doubt that she is a vessel belonging to Don Pedro Blanco, of the Gallinas, has put in here, directed to his agent, for a fit out for the coast, and that a cargo of slaves is ready for her. There is a black man on board for a flag captain, who speaks English well. Don Pedro Blanco's agent in Liberia is J. N. Lewis, commission merchant."

My next extract is from the *Liberia Herald*, a paper printed at Monrovia. In May, 1838, the editor observed:—"The first requisite to the prosperity and advancement of the colony is the suppression of the slave-trade in our vicinity. This trade has been gradually acquiring strength for the last four years; its ravages have been more fearful, and the vessels engaged in it more numerous, than at any former period of the colony's history. An exterminating war has raged over an extent of fifty miles around us; nearly all communication with the interior has been cut off; lands have remained untilled; every article of food has advanced 200 per cent in price, and horror and confusion have raged on every side."

In the slave-trade papers laid before parliament last year, we have the following intelligence from an intercepted letter of the captain of a slaver to his owner at Havana, under date of the 28th of September, 1838. He says, "To-morrow the schooner sails for New Sestos, to take on board a cargo of slaves which I have ready there. I have been obliged," he adds, "to have one hundred of shackles made at Cape Mesado" (Monrovia).

Governor Buchanan corroborates this disgraceful fact, in a communication dated August, 1839. After adverting to the wretched condition in which he found the colony on his arrival, he says—"While our mechanics could find no employment at home, the slavers offered them plenty of work, high wages, and good Spanish doubloons for pay. The temptation was irresistible, and some, whose necessities were too strong for their principles, went among them; but I recalled the wanderers as soon as I came here."

We thus learn from unquestionable authority, not only that the slave-trade has been carried on within the limits of the colony, but in the immediate vicinity of Monrovia itself; that one of the most notorious slave-dealers on the coast has his commission-agent residing at that place; that the collector of the colony had been a party to the transfer of an American vessel to Pedro Blanco, to be employed in the slave-trade; that shackles for the confinement of the victims of the guilty traffic have been manufactured at Monrovia; and that, so great had been the traffic in slaves for fifty miles around it for several years, that horror and confusion had raged on every side. The recent communication of the reverend Mr. Clarke, now on a visit to Western Africa, with Dr. Prince, a physician, for the purpose of founding a religious mission among the natives in the interior, informs us that slave factories still exist within the limits of the colony of Liberia, though he expresses his conviction that the colonists are not chargeable with their support. "At Grand Sestos," says that gentleman, in another communication, dated 19th March, 1841, "I heard of another slave-factory, and of the successful shipment of a cargo of slaves, which had taken place a few days or weeks before we reached Cape Palmas. This information I had from Captain Harper, of the schooner Gil Blas, on the 10th December, 1840. The editor of the *Reporter*, therefore, was justified in view of the facts in asserting that, "within the line of coast now claimed as the colony of Liberia, and extending 300 miles, there are regular slave-factories."

With respect to the colony of Liberia itself, the utmost number of coloured persons who have either been forced or cozened thither cannot exceed five or six thousand. Amongst these there has been a vast mortality; and in those who remain, Mr. Clarke informs us, "the desire manifested to return to America is so great, that, if vessels were supplied, such a number would leave in them, that those willing to remain would find themselves too few to protect themselves from the natives, and would leave on this account." Some have left already for Sierra Leone, and I am informed that, recently, not a few of the missionaries who had gone to the colony have returned to the United States, with serious complaints of the authorities, such as they are.

As it respects the native population, we cannot learn from the reports of the American Colonization Society, or any other authentic source of information, that they have been benefited, either morally or religiously, by the establishment of the colony of Liberia: but I do find that their lands, in more than one instance, have been obtained of them by the most fraudulent means, and that the collisions between them and the settlers have been frequent, and oftentimes bloody. The history of these contests would take up too much of your space; I shall, therefore, produce only a few citations from dispatches of the governor's of the colony, which will shew how the lights of civilization and christianity have been diffused among the natives through the agency of the colonists. In March, 1825, Governor Ashmun said,—"Every month's experience proves to me, that our neighbours (the natives) are corrupted by the influence of the bad examples, and derive no benefit from the good, that are set in the colony." In May, 1827, the same gentleman observes—"It is not known to every one, how little difference can be perceived in the measure of intellect possessed by an illiterate rustic from the United States, and a sprightly native of the coast. * * * The fact certainly is, that the advantage is often clearly on the side of the latter." In February, 1834, Governor Pinney, writing from Monrovia, says—"The natives are perfect menials (I mean in the town). Nothing has been done for the natives hitherto by the colonists, except to educate a few who were in their families in the capacity of servants." The same gentleman, in 1836, publicly stated—"The colony has now existed fifteen years, and yet the 20,000 Africans around it have not materially altered *any* of their manners." The late Governor Skinner, in 1837, observed—"But few of the natives have been civilized. I have known but *five* instances. Two of these are professors of religion." These five were, in all likelihood, the "few" spoken of by Governor Pinney. Subsequently to this period, two missionaries have separated themselves from the colony that they might be useful to the natives, declaring it to be their conviction that they could not effect their object by association with the colonists. In April, 1841, the Rev. Mr. Clarke says—"The native towns close to the settlements at Cape Palmas remain quite distinct from the colonists, keep up their own customs, and appear as far from an approach to civilization or religion as if they had never seen the colonists, or heard the gospel preached among them." In another part of his valuable communication he observes, "I have been assured that the late wars (which took place in 1840) have had the worst possible effect on the minds of the natives; that they are increasingly jealous of the power and influence of the colonists, and highly displeased at their proud and overbearing conduct." He adds, "that it was stated as a thing self-evident, that, as the colony increased, wars would also increase; and that the spirit cherished on both sides would make these, as much as possible, *wars of extermination*." Such is Liberia, and such are its prospects in 1841.

In conclusion, I would just remark, that there is not a single abolitionist of any eminence in this country but has publicly borne his testimony against the American Colonization Society, both as to the principles on which it is based, and the plan of its operations. Wilberforce, Macaulay, and Cropper, among the dead—Clarkson, Buxton, and Lushington, among the living; and not a few of its once most talented and influential advocates in the United States—the Tappans, Birney, and Smith, have joined in condemnation of it, as the enemy of the coloured race, and the greatest obstacle now existing to the cause of abolition in America.

I am, &c.

London, 23rd August, 1841. JOHN SCOBLE.

SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

To the Right Hon. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, &c.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society beg respectfully, yet urgently, to call your lordship's early and serious attention to the continued existence of slavery in the island of Ceylon.

On the 14th of August, 1806, a regulation was passed, by which all slaves not duly registered within four months from that period were declared free. On the 27th of May, 1808, seventeen months afterwards, it having been found that the regulation had not been generally complied with, the time for registration was extended for a period of six months longer, viz., to the 27th November, 1808. This new advantage given to the holders of slaves was neglected also, yet the forfeiture of the slaves consequent thereon was, the Committee deeply regret to say, never exacted.

Again, on the 5th August, 1818, another regulation was passed by the local government for the registration of slaves, allowing a period of three months from the date of the regulation for that purpose. The penalty for non-registration was declared to be "the forfeiture of the slave or slaves, and their children, who shall be and are declared absolutely free." Lord Bathurst, who was then colonial secretary, had recommended this measure in a despatch dated the 20th June, 1817; in which his lordship said, "the more rigidly its provisions are enforced the more it will meet my cordial approbation." The Committee have reason to believe that the registration was either evaded or neglected, and that no forfeiture of the slaves consequent thereon was exacted.

The Committee think it of no importance to do more than merely to advert to the regulation for the "triennial verification of the registers," passed in the period during which the late Sir R. W. Horton, bart., was governor, inasmuch as it never was allowed to be carried into effect; although, in the circumstances of the case under which it was passed, there can be little doubt that it would have secured liberty to a large body of slaves illegally held in bondage in Ceylon.

Your lordship will now permit the Committee to call your attention to another measure connected with the emancipation of slaves in Ceylon, which originated in a proposition of Sir Alexander Johnstone, formerly chief justice of that island. On the 10th of July, 1816, in compliance with his request, and to testify their gratitude for the benefits which had been conferred on them by

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the British government, upwards of 750 of the principal slave-holders voluntarily agreed, that all children born of slaves from and after the 12th August, 1816, that being the Prince Regent's (afterwards George the fourth) birth-day, should be free; and solemn declarations to this effect were made by the Dutch inhabitants, burghers, Cingalese, Malabars, Moors, and others interested in slave property. To give full legal effect to this determination, a regulation was passed on the 5th of August, 1818; but the Committee again deeply regret to say, that, up to the year 1831, a period of fifteen years, only 96 children, viz., 50 males, and 46 females, had been registered as free, although it was estimated that the annual number of births of female slaves alone was 2500.

Another, and, it was hoped, a more successful attempt, was made by the government in 1821, to secure the abolition of slavery in Ceylon. A regulation was passed on the 17th April of that year, "for the gradual emancipation of the female slaves, by the purchase of the master's interest in such female slaves at the period of their birth." Objectionable in principle as this regulation was, inasmuch as it recognised a right of property in human beings, it was found, in 1829, that only 2211 had been purchased, or less than the admitted increase of female slaves in one year.

The number of slaves who appear to have redeemed themselves by labour on the public works, or otherwise, from the year 1818 to 1831, is stated to have been 504; viz., 200 males, and 171 females, with their children.

From the year 1831 to 1837, so far as the Committee are aware, no reports on slavery in Ceylon were made to the home government; and the evil appears to have been lost sight of, when the attention of the local authorities was again drawn to it by your lordship's predecessor in office, Lord Glenelg. It appeared from a census of the slave population, that, in the different provinces and divisions of the island, there were in that year 27,397 human beings held in bondage; although, probably, this did not embrace the whole of the slaves in the Seven Korles division, and the Kandyan provinces.

In a despatch of Lord Glenelg's to the governor of Ceylon, dated 24th November, 1838, his lordship gave it as his opinion "that slavery might be speedily extinguished in Ceylon, with little risk or difficulty," and suggested certain measures as preliminary to that desirable act. Whether any measures have been taken since that period, either by the home or the local government, to "let the oppressed go free, the Committee are in ignorance.

In submitting the foregoing facts to your lordship, it appears clear to the Committee, that, had the registration law of 1806, or even that of 1818, been rigidly enforced, as they humbly conceive ought to have been the case, it is probable that few (if any) slaves would now be found existing in Ceylon; whereas they have the strongest reason for believing, not only that the number of slaves is greater now than in 1806, but that the slave population has been increased by importations. The Committee would further take the liberty of observing, that, but for what appears to them the culpable neglect of the functionaries connected with the local government in enforcing the law of 1818, which gave effect to the voluntary engagement of the holders of slaves in 1816, in respect to the freedom of all slave children born after the 12th of August in that year, the same great object might have been happily accomplished. The Committee say nothing of the government measure, passed in 1821, for the purchase of female slaves, however benevolently intended, because they cannot recognise the right of man, under any circumstances, to hold property in his fellow-man.

In conclusion, the Committee earnestly entreat your lordship to use the great influence which you possess, as one of the confidential advisers of the crown, to recommend that an order in council may issue for the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in Ceylon; and that, not only on the ground of its utter repugnance to every principle of humanity and religion, but because the extended culture of coffee and sugar which has taken place within the last few years, will necessarily extend the evil, unless it be for ever and entirely put down.

On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient humble servant, JOHN SCOBLE.

REPLY.

Downing Street, 9th August, 1841.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult., forwarding a memorial from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, praying that an order in council may be issued for the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in the island of Ceylon. And I am to acquaint you in reply, for the information of the Committee, that his lordship had called upon the governor of Ceylon to furnish a report on the actual state of slavery in that colony before the receipt of your letter, and expressed his anxiety to abolish every vestige of slavery therein.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

John Scoble, Esq. R. VERNON SMITH.

SLAVERY IN MALACCA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, AND WELLESLEY.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have forwarded to the President of the Board of Control a Memorial, of which the following is a copy, on the subject of slavery as existing in Malacca, Penang, Singapore, and Wellesley, British settlements in the east.

To the Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart., President of the Board of Control, &c.

SIR,—The existence of slavery and the slave-trade in the British settlements of Malacca, Penang, Singapore, and Wellesley, having come under the consideration of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, they feel it to be their duty to call the immediate attention of the government thereto, that effectual measures may be devised for the immediate and complete extinction of both.

That slavery in these settlements is not authorized by law, but is the creature of vicious and odious custom, appears clear from the documents which have been from time to time laid before parliament. That it should have been allowed to reach its present extent, and to assume its present form, under the administration of British laws by British functionaries, is matter for deep regret, if not for strong censure; but the committee would fain hope, that, the facts of the case being now apparent, its days are numbered, and that you, sir, will urge on those measures which are necessary for its overthrow.

From the recorded opinion of Mr. Garling, the resident Councillor at Malacca in 1829, the committee learn that it was his "firm belief that local slavery had no legal existence;" and in this opinion he was fully borne out by the government, to whom he had made an appeal in 1828. "The government is decidedly of opinion that slavery has not, in any shape, a legal existence in Malacca." Yet, notwithstanding these recorded opinions, it was still permitted to continue, and finally the question was referred home for the decision of the law officers of the crown. Nothing, however, was done, and the system was allowed to continue, notwithstanding there had grown up with it a slave-trade, by which it would appear the slave population in one year (from 1826 to 1827) was increased from 1097 to 1519.

In 1829 the holders of slaves, feeling the uncertain tenure by which they held them in bondage, and anxious to secure their services to as late a period as possible, passed certain resolutions, to the effect "that slavery shall not be recognized in the town and territory of Malacca after the 1st December, 1841:" but no legal measures seem to have been passed by the government to give effect to this determination.

The late president of Penang, in a minute written in 1830, fully admits the evils which exist in connexion with slavery in that island. He justifies it only on the ground of the "long established custom and usage of these countries," although it is highly probable that slavery in Penang was introduced only when the English took possession of it, by virtue of its treaty with the sovereign of Quedah. Alluding to the practice of introducing slaves from Bale, Pulo Nias, &c., which had grown up with it, he considers that "we are bound by every obligation, legal as well as moral, to put down a practice which, however conducted in form, is in reality slave-dealing, forbidden by law, and the continuance of which must carry with it a continuation of all the horrors induced by it in other places (as exemplified in the case of African slave-dealing), the encouragement to wars for the purpose of making captives for sale, and, in these seas, even piracies, which it encourages, slaves being often the principal objects in view." In reference to the wretched beings who had been illicitly introduced into Penang, he observes "there can be no doubt that all so situated are *ipso facto* free."

The committee deeply regret to observe that Singapore affords, according to the same authority, "the best market for slaves," and that the suppression of the traffic will be no easy matter—indeed, that it is hopeless to expect it.

In province Wellesley slavery exists; and, from its contiguity to the Siamese territories, there can be little doubt it will greatly increase, unless its extinction speedily take place.

The committee, in submitting these facts to your serious consideration, beg, Sir, respectfully yet earnestly to suggest the necessity of steps being immediately taken to relieve the slave population of these settlements from every species of bondage, by whatever name it may be known; that the national character may be vindicated, the atrocious traffic in human beings be suppressed, and an example worthy of imitation be set to the nations and people by whom these settlements are surrounded.

Signed on behalf of the Committee, JOHN SCOBLE.

27, *New Broad Street, July 24th*, 1841.

SIR,—On behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, I have been requested to forward to you the enclosed memorial on the subject of slavery in several British settlements in the east, and to state that, had you been in town, the committee would have solicited the honour of an interview to have enforced its prayer.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

SIR JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, &c. JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 29th July, 1841.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and of the memorial with which it is accompanied. I beg you will have the goodness to inform the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that I will pay due attention to the statements set forth in that document.

I remain, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

To JOHN SCOBLE, ESQ. (Signed) JOHN HOBHOUSE.

BRITISH EMIGRANTS TO JAMAICA.—At a special meeting of the members of the Baptist Western Union, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

Being awfully convinced that the present system of European emigration is fraught with misery and death to the unhappy victims who arrive in this island, and that, while it involves a great waste of the public money, it is injurious to the best interests of the island, we most earnestly implore the different anti-slavery societies in England, Ireland, and Scotland, to use every effort to put a stop to a system so destructive to human life, and to request those members of parliament who are known to be the friends of liberty and humanity, to call for a return of the immigrants imported, the number of deaths, and the quantity of produce cultivated by those who survive, feeling perfectly convinced that the views we have in these respects will be fully borne out by the disclosures that will there be elicited.

1st *July*, 1841. JOHN CLARK, Chairman.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XLV. Vol. II. No. 18.] WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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Advertisements.

ANTI-SLAVERY EXHIBITION, EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY.

The managers of this exhibition having determined to allow the children of the Metropolitan Sabbath and Day Schools to visit it *free of expense*, the conductors of such schools as desire to accept of this privilege, are requested to make application to Mr. J. Soul, at 27, New Broad-street, stating the name of the school, the day on which the order is required, and the number of children and teachers who will attend; when an order will be forwarded. As the exhibition will shortly close, the sooner the applications are made the better.

This day is published, in One Volume, 8vo., Price Fourteen Shillings.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, held in London in June, 1840.

London: British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street; Ward and Co., and Hamilton, Adams, and Co., Paternoster Row; and J. L. Porter, Sloane Street, Chelsea: Birmingham, J. W. Showell; Liverpool, Marples; Dublin, Curry, Jun., and Co.; Edinburgh, Oliphant and Son; Glasgow, W. Collins; Norwich, Jarrold and Son; Newcastle-on-Tyne, James Finlay.

This day is Published, price Three-pence.

SOME OBSERVATIONS on the concluding portion of an article in the EDINBURGH REVIEW, on the GROUNDS AND OBJECTS OF THE BUDGET; in a letter to the Editor of the MORNING CHRONICLE. By G. W. Alexander.

London:—SMITH, ELDER, and Co., 65, Cornhill.

To be ready on the 1st of October, in One Volume, demy 8vo.

THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS, FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY UP TO THE PRESENT TIME; and the cause of her separation from the republic of Mexico: with a description of the soil, climate, general resources, manners, habits, customs and institutions of the original and present inhabitants; including the whites, Indians, and negros. With a Map, showing the boundary of Texas proper, Texas as claimed by the Texans, and the exact extent of territory now in their possession; tables of roads, distances, &c. &c. By N. DORAN MAILLARD.

Subscribers' names received by the publishers, SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, Cornhill.

This day is published,

THE SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world; presented to the general meeting held in Exeter Hall, on Friday, May 14th, 1841. With an Appendix, List of Contributions, &c. &c. &c.

London:—Printed for the Society, and may be had at their office, 27, New Broad Street; and of Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster Row.

Price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

Sir—Before I continue the subject of my letter contained in your last number, I am anxious to correct an error which I have inadvertently made in the fifth paragraph. The word *Imperial* should have been omitted, by which the mine alluded to would be known as the Brazilian, not the Imperial Brazilian.

As the subject matter of my last, and this its continuation, is confined to that treatment of slaves over which the owners or agents have a direct control, I shall make no further reference to the English mines at present, but proceed to refer to the like treatment in English plantations—in English houses—and in sales by English auctioneers.

English plantations.—The proprietor of one of these is on such good terms with the slavers, that they occasionally land their cargos of human beings on his estate, which being on the sea-side, offers a convenient receptacle for them.

Another English planter, who resides on the mountains, and receives convalescents and others for change of air, is generally represented as a polished gentleman, and at the same time a master-like slave-owner. It is reported by some of his visitors, on his own authority, that he feeds them well; that he seldom flogs, but that, when he does, he lays it on so severely as to terrify all his slaves; that, notwithstanding the extent and variety of punishment inflicted on one of them, he could not deter him from repeatedly running away; that, at length, he hit upon the expedient of burning one of his cheeks with a hot iron, threatening him that, if he should ever run away again, he would burn the other in the same manner; and that this proved a radical cure.

An English lady's plantation.—This lady, with a surprising indifference to public opinion, offers a reward for one of her negros in a newspaper; being neither ashamed of the ignominy attached to the man-stealer by her country's legislature, which declares the offence of slave dealing to be piracy, robbery, and felony, nor concerned about the estimation she may be held in for giving the poor fugitive cause for such extreme dissatisfaction with her treatment. The advertisement speaks for itself.—"Runaway from Tijuca, on Lord's-day (Domingo) the 9th inst., a creole of Menas Giraes, named Francisco, a blacksmith, 40 years of age and upwards, robust, hair pretty grey, very humble in speech, and easily identified by a hole in one cheek; had on Minas cotton trowsers, striped shirt. Whoever will give information of or bring him to Mrs. Moke, of Tijuca, will be generously rewarded."—*Jornal do Commercio, 14th February,* 1840.

English domestic slavery.—An Englishman, now employed by the planter who burned the negro's cheek, is still in considerable estimation among his countrymen, notwithstanding that he frequently boasts of his skill in managing slaves. As one of the tests thereof, he gives the following account of his having killed his employer's cook, when he had the charge of the servants of a mercantile house in the city of Rio de Janeiro: — That, having had the entire management of the blacks, he found it necessary to be very severe with them; that he discharged the hired cook for some offence, and sent him to his owner; that, notwithstanding the negro was paid off, he sometime afterwards found him in the kitchen, and ordered him to quit the house immediately; that this mandate not being promptly attended to so excited his ire, that he took up a rolling-pin and split his skull; that he then threw him down stairs (in Brazilian houses kitchens are generally the back rooms of upper stories): that he then sent to inform his owner that the man had fallen down stairs, but the black, being able to speak, said, "Senhor Ricardo mim matore—" or, "Mr. Richard has killed me;" that the only individual capable of proving this was the cook's successor, whom he bribed by kindness to conceal it; that therefore the dying negro's assertion could not be substantiated; that, the black who was in possession of the secret being aware of his power, he became very impertinent, which was endured until the expiration of twelve months, when his evidence was of no value; that he (Mr. Richard) then balanced his account by giving him a severe flogging; that, in revenge, this negro immediately informed the owner of the true cause of his deceased slave's death; that, on the following day, when passing by the exchange, the owner charged him with having killed his slave; that he then laughed at the man, and said, "*It was not I, it was himself who fell down stairs, and broke his own head.*"

The last individual from whom I had a corroboration of the above account, defended the slave-manager by saying he did not

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kill the cook intentionally. This I do not desire to dispute. I merely state the fact as I heard it, in order to prove how slaves may be treated, even by foreigners, under the Brazilian system.

Another Englishman, who resides about four miles from the city of Rio de Janeiro, gave the following account of his domestic slave discipline :—That one of his negros had run away, and was re-taken ; that, on being asked what induced him to take such a step, he replied, that his fellow-slave had advised him to do so ; that he (the owner) then ordered this runaway slave to flog his adviser, and afterwards made the adviser castigate the advised. "Thus," added he, "each had his revenge, and was the more willing to lay on the stripes effectually."

Another Englishman stated that he had a most unmanageable black, who accompanied him as servant when travelling to the mines ; that, on the way, his fellow-traveller and countryman missed a valuable gold watch ; that their suspicion fell on the negro ; that they applied the torniquete to his head ;* that the negro confessed he had stolen the watch at the instigation of the clerk of the peace, who gave him 25 shillings (one-tenth of its value)for it ; and that, on complaining to the judge, the watch was discovered and returned.

It occurred to me when I heard this statement, that, whilst the Englishman was twisting the torniquete, and asking who stole the watch, he also had a Master in heaven, who, sooner or later, will ask him who purchased that stolen man, and, after giving him such a decided lesson in perfidy, dishonesty, and robbery, punished his scholar for a comparatively petty theft, and faint imitation of his owner's crime.

Another Englishman, on hearing the cries of a negro in the adjoining yard, looked out of his back window, and saw his neighbour, a fellow-countryman, flogging his slave. He immediately remonstrated, saying, "It is a shame to flog the poor fellow so unmercifully ;" to which the other replied, "*I have a right to flog my own black.*" "But, sir," said the remonstrator, "an Englishman has no right to hold slaves, much less to punish them." Shortly afterwards this moon-shine official philanthropist sent for a celebrated medical man (my informant), to ask his advice for an alarming swelling in his thumb-joint. The doctor, of course, asked him how it happened ; and the patient answered, "I struck a d—d black on the head yesterday."

It is a remarkable and well known fact, that few, if any, escape with impunity, who strike a negro about the head with their hand. I met an individual in Maranham, who had the knuckle joint of his middle finger so severely injured that he was laid up for several days by it. When he showed his hand to me it had a most unhealthy appearance. He told me that he received the injury in this way ; that it frequently happened to those who struck negros ; and *that many ladies had their hands injured from the same cause !*

English Ladies' domestic slaves.—One of these is a married lady, who resides in the city, the other a spinster, whose dwelling is about four miles distant from it. Their minds, polluted by slavery, have become so masculine, that they punish their negros by their own hands with that dreadful instrument, the palmatoria. The maiden lady admitted and defended the practice in my hearing, and all she pleaded for herself as a castigator was, that she never caused the negro to lay the back of his hand on the table whilst she struck it with a palmatoria. "Some do," said she, "but I disapprove of it."

I have heard such accounts of female furies amongst Brazilian ladies as are truly appalling. With these it is a common practice to punish their domestic slaves. I was credibly informed that a negress, on seeing her mistress approach for the purpose of chastising her, jumped out of a window, and disturbed my informant and the neighbours by her agonising cries. How terrible the palmatoria must be if used in anger, when the blow is as likely to be given on the head as on the hand ! It was probably in this way that that lady beat her female slave nearly to death, who, whilst her slave was expiring, caused her to be buried in the garden. This lady still lives at Batafogo, near the city, and her murderous conduct is as little thought of as if she had only slaughtered a dog.

English Auctioneers.—These have their share in the slave-trade, inasmuch as they sell slaves publicly. They are not a whit behind those of other nations in their vivacious and witty remarks, whilst the poor creatures are being exhibited to the bystanders ; and this without any regard to the sufferings which human beings so circumstanced must endure, not knowing how far they may, in a few hours, be removed from their dearest relatives and friends. That such sales are publicly made the following advertisements are a lamentable evidence.

"Cannell, Southam, and Co., by order of the administrators of the bankrupt, Manoel Carvalho de Moura, will sell, this day, at ten o'clock precisely, * * * Likewise, they will sell, on the same occasion, all the assets of the said bankrupt, and *four slaves*, viz. a porter, a house-servant, a tolerable seamstress, and an ordinary cook."—*Dispertador, 3rd November*, 1840.

"A. Lawrie and Co., give notice that they will sell this day, in in Dereita-street, No. 6, * * * crockery ware, glass, divers animals, &c., *two female slaves ;* one a native of the coast of Africa, a good lady's maid, and *an elegant figure ;* the other, a creole, eleven years old, having like qualities ; also a male slave, trained to service."—*Jornal do Commerico, 2nd January*, 1841.

In discussions with some Englishmen, produced by the publication of my anti-slavery tracts, I made frequent reference to the facts herein stated ; and, although opposed to the abolition of slavery, they did not pretend to deny the above-mentioned occurrences, which were generally known and openly talked of. I was, however, told as a palliative, that Englishmen freed their slaves, and I therefore made this a matter of inquiry. I accordingly heard that a medical practitioner then (1841) retiring from business, freed three slaves, and gave each one hundred milreis, £12. 10s. sterling. I had a personal interview with this gentleman, and ascertained that it was true. I was also personally acquainted with another who freed three slaves on his retirement from business. I know that this individual had instructed them in reading the scriptures ; that he had fed and clothed them respectably, and placed their earnings for extra labour in the savings' bank. I believe other cases of freeing slaves may *possibly* be traced ; but it is by no means a matter of frequent occurrence. There are, however, Englishmen who have freed slaves from necessity, in order to take them to England in English ships, which are prohibited from carrying slaves. Colonel Skerrett, in his letter contained in the *Reporter*, No. 28, speaks of the conduct of such as these. "Many of them have declared their negro or negress free, and have brought him or her to England as a servant; the poor ignorant dupe, unsuspicious of the possibility of such atrocity, and grateful for the short-lived happiness, has willingly returned with his supposed benefactor ; and, too late, discovered that his liberty was but a delightful vision ; and, when remonstrating against the treacherous return to his ill bestowed confidence, has been silenced with the lash, or a threat to sell the distracted being to some severe or distant dealer." I know of a shocking case of the above description, by an English wine merchant in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

An English clergyman, when returning to England from the Imperial Brazilian Mine, sold two slaves ; and, when I was declaring the sinfulness of holding such, he was mentioned as a pious man who knew, as well as I did, whether it were right or wrong to have such property.

Another opulent Englishman, on returning from Brazil, sold a slave, and left a distant relative in bondage, still receiving her wages.

If the isolated act of the medical practitioner, which is one of the very best of the above cases, were referred to the decision of British freemen, would they tolerate such conduct, or in any case admit it to be just, that, after several years of unrequited toil, they should be presented with £12 10s. each ; and thenceforth, as an act of condescension, be permitted to receive their own earnings ! If, then, the very best of those English slave-owners cannot stand the examination of an earthly tribunal, how can any of them appear before the bar of Him whose law is love, and whose command is, "do unto others, as you would they should do unto you !"

GEORGE PILKINGTON.

London, 9th Month 6th, 1841.

* This mode of torture is referred to in the publication quoted in my first letter, in No. 16, of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, as in common use. It is applied thus :—A small rope, tied at both ends, is placed round the victim's head, and a long stick is passed between this rope and the flesh. The stick is then grasped by the tormentor at each end, and twisted round until the rope becomes insufferably tight.

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.

OUR readers are already aware that, under favour of Lord John Russell, when colonial secretary, the planters of Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, were permitted to send vessels to Sierra Leone for the purpose of procuring African emigrants for their respective colonies. Two cargos have already arrived in Jamaica, one in Trinidad, and one in Guiana ; and vessels have been despatched from these places for more. Not content with the facilities which have thus been afforded them, the planters of Trinidad, with Mr. Burnley at their head, will not be limited to Sierra Leone ; they must range the whole western coast of Africa, and enter into competition with the traffickers in human flesh from Brazil and Cuba ! They want 75,000 Africans to stock their plantations. Sierra Leone can yield them and their sister colonies but 10,000 ; and why should they not be permitted to obtain them where they are to be had ! They would make freemen of slaves ! And, they ask, would it not be philanthropic to do so ! Nay, they promise more. Let them but resort to Africa for labourers and they engage, by the low price to which labour shall be reduced in Trinidad by that means, combined with the extent and fertility of the soil that can be appropriated to the cultivation of sugar in that island, to put down the slave-trade in Cuba and elsewhere ! Now, apart from the objection which, upon principle, we feel to this extraordinary scheme of the Trinidad philanthropists, we take leave to say, that the emigrants they would procure by it would not, and could not, be treated as free agents in Africa, whatever might be their ultimate condition in Trinidad. They would have no liberty of choice—not even to prefer their present condition of qualified bondage to expatriation from their native land, and the bosoms of their families. They would be mere *things*—merchantable commodities between the chiefs and the agents from Trinidad : as such they would be treated in their sale and purchase, and as such they would be considered until placed on board the emigrant vessels. But beyond this. Are the Trinidad planters quite sure they would diminish the foreign slave-trade by this kind of competition ! We think not. On the contrary, we believe they would increase its horrors by increasing the demand for human victims. Brazil

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and Cuba will not be satisfied with less than their usual annual complement of slaves. Of course, the new demand on the coast would be felt in the interior. Predatory wars would increase and extend on all sides, and become more savage and brutal than they are at present; and, for every emigrant placed on board a Trinidad vessel, we should have to deplore the loss of three natives forced into a premature grave under circumstances the most dreadful and revolting. The end will not sanctify the means here; and it will require a greater amount of logic and persuasive eloquence than Mr. Burnley possesses, to render his very plausible scheme palatable to British philanthropists. To all fair and legitimate ways of augmenting the population of Trinidad, and other colonies wanting labourers, we offer no opposition. The enemies of immigration are to be found in the colonies, not in England. Why is it, we ask, that the anti-slavery body have felt it to be their duty to watch vigilantly, and to point out faithfully, the effects of the various schemes of immigration propounded in the colonies since the year 1834? Not, as is too frequently stated in the colonial press and its organs in this country, from groundless and absurd prejudices indulged against the planters, but from the fact that they have never legislated on right principles, and in a right spirit, on the subject; and from the further fact, that what has been obtained favourable to free immigration has been wrung from them by the mother-country. How have they prepared for and treated the immigrants when they have received them? Let Trinidad tell us what has become of the Portuguese and Germans who were induced to resort thither. Let Trinidad inform us why immigration from the United States has been stopped. Let Guiana say what has become of the Irish, the Scotch, the German, the Portuguese, the French, the Maltese, and the Coolies, and why no more settlers from the United States can be obtained. Let Jamaica answer the same questions. We stake our credit, that upon full and honest replies to these interrogatories, it will be found that hitherto, at least, the planters have either been unable to manage the matter of immigration, or are unfit to be trusted with it. Alas for humanity! when the ignorant and sordid have the conduct of its affairs! Human life and human happiness are too precious to be trifled with in the prosecution of mere immigration experiments. We, therefore, call upon the honourable and really intelligent portion of colonial society, to aid us in our endeavours to secure protection to voluntary immigrants on their arrival in the colonies, the free disposal of their own labour to whomsoever they may choose to hire it, justice in enforcing their claims, and such a well regulated, independent, and vigilant superintendence of the whole affair of immigration as shall secure for it the confidence and approbation of the British public. One word more on the Trinidad scheme. Mr. Burnley would do away with the present very proper restrictions on the unlimited introduction of male emigrants into the colony. Can this gentleman be aware how seriously he comprises his character and his sagacity by such a proposition? It is of vital importance to the morals of the labouring population of the colony that there should be an equality of the sexes; and, we need not add, to its ultimate and permanent prosperity. We are sorry to see a man who might lead colonial society on this and other economical questions, injuring his own reputation, and destroying the confidence that otherwise might be reposed in him, by propounding wild and extravagant schemes which can never be realized, and preferring the premature development of the resources of the colony to which he belongs to its future and lasting prosperity.

In confirmation of the preceding remarks, we extract the following passage from a recent number of the *Barbados Liberal*, respecting the examination of Mr. Hamilton before the sub-committee in Trinidad, of which Mr. Burnley is chairman.

We have received three numbers of the *Standard*, containing a continuation of the evidence before the sub-committee; a part of which we shall lay before our readers in our next. This will serve to satisfy them of the justice of the remarks which we have already made on this subject.

Mr. Hamilton, whose evidence we are convinced will be read with a good deal of interest, had been closely questioned as to whether "there would be any difficulty in procuring labourers from other parts of the coast, *from whence slaves are now brought to slave colonies.*" Mr. Hamilton's answers are highly creditable to him, although not perfectly satisfactory to the editor of the Trinidad *Standard*. In reply to this and other questions, he told the Committee—1st. That "few of the natives are perfectly free and independent, and their removal could never be effected without first purchasing the consent of their native chiefs." 2nd. That "he should consider such an arrangement *virtually* slave dealing." 3rd. That "it would *not be a voluntary act* on the part of the emigrants." 4th. That he did not think that persons under such circumstances can emigrate voluntarily." 5th. That *he* had "the strongest objection to such a proceeding." 6th. That he thought "*that a nation which has made such great sacrifices for the abolition of slavery should not tolerate any proceeding which bears the slightest appearance of slave dealing.*" We trust these answers, and particularly the last, will not escape the attention of Her Majesty's government. Mr. Hamilton has given a knock down blow to the "traders in slaves for the free colonies," and he deserves the thanks of the *World!*

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SLAVE FACTORIES on the coast of Africa seems now to be the order of the day. By a letter just received, we learn that H. M. ships *Iris* and *Termagant* proceeded in the following manner at Pangus river, in April or May last. 'The boats were sent up to fire the baracoons (slave houses), which they accomplished, and brought away the 'queen' and eleven of her establishment. All the slaves had been dispersed. Unfortunately there were a few barrels of gunpowder in the huts, which exploded, and killed two of our men, and seriously injured about a dozen more.'

THE LATE SIR JOHN JEREMIE.

THE following eulogium on the character of the late Sir John Jeremie was pronounced by Chief Justice Reddie, in the royal court of St. Lucia, on the 15th June, 1841.

Gentlemen of the Bar,—On ordinary occasions of the death of private or professional friends, it is fitting for us to bury our vain regrets and sorrows in our own bosoms; but it will not be considered inappropriate, that, from the place where I now sit, I should notice the departure from this earth of the immortal spirit of one who was so long its pride and its ornament; and to whom belongs the still higher merit of having been the regenerator of the administration of justice in this colony.

The intelligence which has been received by way of British Guiana from Sierra Leone, leaves no doubt but that John Jeremie has fallen a sacrifice to the climate of that quarter of the globe, where those strong impulses of generous feeling and humanity, and earnest zeal in the discharge of his public duty, which characterized his career in this colony, had led him to venture at his sovereign's command; and while, on public grounds, the sons of Africa may well mourn his early death, and even government deign to deplore the loss of a public servant than whom no abler nor more honest has been left behind, we who have seen him in his every day life, or profited by his example, or benefited by his labours, or enjoyed his acquaintance, or valued him as a friend—we, I say, may be permitted to pause for a moment from the hurried business of life, and dwell in sacred sorrow on the memory of him who is no more.

Yes, in this very building, where he passed his vigils—in this very chair where he has so often presided, and given forth judgments and decisions which have cost days and nights of patient investigation, and which, for power of thought, felicity of illustration, and searching sagacity as applications of the law, may be studied as models—how, I say, is it possible to refrain from pouring out those feelings which are suggested by the scene! Yet my voice may not attempt to give utterance (even did my personal feelings at this moment permit me) to all that should be said on this sad occasion.

To say that Sir John Jeremie was the ablest judge, was the most useful judge, who ever presided in St. Lucia, is saying little indeed.

And it is you, gentlemen, who, having practised before him, have had the best opportunities of studying and knowing him as a judge, who best could appreciate his merit and worth. To almost all of you he opened up your career, and, despite the miserable party-spirit of the hour, or the still more despicable cabals which assailed him, he sought and fostered talent wherever he found it, without distinction as to whether its possessor's blood had flowed in the veins of Norman, African, or Saxon ancestors—stretching forth the hand of encouragement even to the sons of those who had most reviled him, and perhaps embittered some years of his residence here. To many of you he was your best friend—a friend when you had none other; to all of you he was an example, by which even now you may still profit.

The all-important and severe duty which devolved on him, of enforcing the first measures adopted by the British government for the amelioration of the condition of the slave, raised a virulent opposition to him for a time in this island; and his independent, decided, and fearless conduct, as chief civil and criminal judge, found him (as almost a matter of course in a small community) a few unscrupulous, and sometimes *unseen* personal enemies; creatures who could not separate the generous and noble character of the man from the stern duty of the judge, and whose hearts were dark because their deeds were evil. But I am not about to revive the recollections of scenes of which, I hope, they who participated and still exist have been long ago ashamed.

I feel, indeed, that I am already treading upon ashes thinly strewed over glowing embers; yet I will venture to say, that John Jeremie has not at this day a single personal enemy remaining; and that, short though was his life, it was long enough to live down malice and faction. Nay, I will go farther, and assert that, even when faction and calumny was at its height, his dignified forbearance, undismayed by the outrages of party or the supineness of rulers, even then commanded a general respect which now throws back a redoubled lustre on his memory.

For the laws which he enforced, and the reforms which he introduced into the legal system of this colony, giving stability to commerce and security for the safe investment of capital—the planters and merchants recognise to him a deep debt of gratitude.

Wherever you turn your eyes, you meet the proofs of his activity in the discharge of his administrative duties, which at one time devolved on the first president—the high roads opened up and levelled—the paving drains for the salubrity of this town—the erection of the protestant church—all attest his unwearied and zealous labours; and I may add, that the last letter I had from him urged me "to remind his old friends here, that without good roads this colony would never have its vast natural resources made available."

Yet will he be remembered throughout these islands for other things besides. The general mourning which I have seen, and seen with a melancholy gratification, shews that his memory will be long cherished by that class of the colonists whose equal rights he secured, and whose social position he upheld and vindicated—both by precept and example; when, to use his own striking language, "after having submitted to the minister of the crown (Sir George Murray) an argument on the grave colonial question—the distinction of colour—that eminent statesman recognized

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the policy and justice of a change, and 'the curse of Ham' disappeared from the Western World!"

My lot was to know him under still more trying and difficult circumstances of public life and political struggle—when he spurned office rather than remain a supple and convenient tool in the hands of others, whom he could neither trust nor respect—when he threw himself with a characteristic single-heartedness on the side [of the oppressed, caring little for himself, so that *that* might be protected, and the law enforced, and good government upheld, in the most disturbed and lawless of the colonial possessions of the crown.

Yes! in him the strong love of justice was the ruling passion—it was the master spring and explanation of all his conduct; and even the slight shades on his character (and who had fewer slight shades?) may be traced to this, operating upon a naturally vivid temperament—for his feelings were warm and easily touched, and his sensibility was keen; yet he never faltered in the worst, nor ever wearied in the best of times.

Such are my hurried and scattered recollections of him, who has been too early taken from a sphere of incalculable usefulness, and where doubtlessly he would have exercised a momentous influence on the future destiny of the whole African continent and race—a sphere in which the hearts of the British nation watched over him, and had wished him success. We may, indeed, well mourn his loss; yet not for him lament the change; since he has gone to receive the certain reward of an active, useful, and well-spent life; gone "as this mortal to put on immortality"—gone as judge and governor here below to the great judge and governor of all.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

[Although this letter was first addressed in a circular to the Society of Friends on that continent, it has since been extensively circulated in various periodicals there, and contains matter which is in part applicable to other denominations of Christians.]

DEAR FRIENDS,—Having for many years believed it my duty to devote a considerable portion of my time and attention to the promotion of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. I have acted in cordial co-operation with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society since its formation. The principles of that society may be briefly explained by the following extract from its constitution:—"That, so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, will be attained most effectually, by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this society, in the prosecution of their objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

My visit to this country had reference, in a great measure, to the objects for which this society was established. But, although I left my native land with the general approbation and full unity of my friends, they concurred with me in opinion that any *official* document, beyond a certificate from my monthly meeting expressive of sympathy with my engagement, might rather obstruct than promote the end I had in view. I was desirous of a personal interchange of sentiments with many of the abolitionists in this land, upon matters having an important bearing upon our future exertions. The warm attachment which I have ever felt to the religious society with which I am connected, and the ready co-operation of its members with their christian neighbours, in promoting this cause in Great Britain, inclined me to embrace every suitable opportunity to communicate with friends in this country. And I have been encouraged, not only by the great personal kindness I have received from them generally, but also by the lively interest expressed by most on the subject of emancipation, wherever I have introduced it.

A further acquaintance with friends in the compass of the three or four yearly meetings in which my lot has been cast, and my inquiries respecting the state of the other yearly meetings, have convinced me, that a large number of their most consistent members, including many aged and universally respected friends, are desirous of embracing every right opening, both individually and collectively, for the promotion of the abolition cause. And, while they are fully aware that there are reasons growing out of the existing state of things which render great circumspection necessary, they can see no good ground for believing, that the manner in which friends of this country of a former generation laboured for the liberation of the slave was not under the guidance of the Spirit of Truth.

This is now the course pursued by friends generally in England. That there may be no misapprehension as to the conduct of friends with regard to this subject in Great Britain, I may mention that I am the bearer of a document expressive of unity with my visit, signed by William Allen, Josiah Forster, William Forster, George Stacey, Samuel Fox, George W. Alexander, and Robert Forster, who declare themselves fellow members with myself of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee. This Committee is composed of persons of various religious denominations, amongst whom, it will be seen, are many of the prominent members of our meeting for sufferings. Upon the list of delegates to the late Anti-slavery Convention in London are the names of nearly one hundred well known friends, including those of four who are, or have been, clerks of the yearly meeting; and the present clerk of that meeting, my esteemed friend, George Stacey, took an active part and rendered essential service in the Convention. The meeting-house in Gracechurch Street was freely granted by friends in London who have charge of it for the use of the Convention, and the concluding sittings of that body were held in it.

In fact, friends generally in England think it their duty to render every aid in their power to the anti-slavery cause, whether in their collective capacity or individually uniting with their fellow-citizens, when they can do so without any compromise of our religious principles and testimonies. I speak more explicitly on this point, because I have ascertained with much concern that there is an influential portion of the society, including, I have no doubt, some sincere abolitionists, who have been so fearful that the testimonies of the society might suffer by any union with others, that they have not only avoided such a co-operation themselves, but have dissuaded those of their brethren who have believed it incumbent upon them to act otherwise; and, in one yearly meeting at least, I have too much reason to fear they have tacitly, if not actively, sanctioned the omission of the names of friends on meeting appointments, however consistent in their conduct, and concerned for the welare of the society, simply because they have felt it their duty to act with persons of other denominations in promoting the abolition of slavery. Thus, in appearance at least, throwing the whole weight and influence of the society in its collective capacity against a movement, which, although doubtless partaking of the imperfections attendant upon all human instrumentality, has already aroused the whole country to a sense of the wrongs of the slave, and secured to the nominally free coloured citizens in many of the states, rights of which they have been so long and so unjustly deprived.

Though I can hardly expect that anything from one entertaining my view of the subject can have much weight with those friends, who, with a full understanding of the heavy responsibility they were assuming, have discountenanced anti-slavery exertions, and the use of our meeting-houses, even by consistent members, for the purpose of giving information on the subject;* yet, as it has occasioned me no small degree of anxiety, both in reference to the anti-slavery cause, and the Society of Friends itself, I believe I cannot return to my native land with peace of mind, without earnestly and affectionately pressing upon such Friends, the great importance of a careful examination of the ground which they have taken. Our unwearied adversary is sometimes permitted to lead us into the most fearful errors, when he assumes the appearance of an angel of light. And is there not great danger in encouraging the young and inexperienced to suppose, that the maintenance of any of our testimonies may be neglected except when we feel a divine intimation to uphold them, and may it not open the door to great laxity in our practice? While I fully believe, that the true disciple of Christ will be favoured with the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, whenever it is needful to direct his steps; it appears to me especially important that, in matters of self-sacrifice and conflicting with our worldly interest or reputation, we should guard against being deluded into a neglect of duty by waiting for this direct divine intimation—where the path of duty is obvious and clearly understood, and when testimonies are concerned which we have long considered it our duty on all occasions to support. If, under such a view of the subject, we do believe it our duty to cease to act ourselves, and discourage our brethren from labouring in the cause of the slave, a close self-examination surely is needful, in order to ascertain if we are consistently carrying out the same principle in our daily walk in life—in our mercantile transactions, our investments of property, in our connexion with public institutions, and with political parties.

It should be borne in perpetual recollection, that we are in no small danger of shrinking from a faithful maintenance of those testimonies which are unpopular with the world, as well as of not seeing our own neglect of duty while censuring the real or supposed indiscretion of others. Besides, if this good cause be really endangered by popular excitement, and the indiscretion of its imprudent advocates, the obligation of consistent Friends to be found at their posts, faithfully maintaining the testimony of truth on its behalf, is greatly increased. And it is under such circumstances that I think I have seen the peculiar advantage and protection to our young Friends in England, of having their elder brethren with them, aiding them by their sympathy as well as advice and counsel. I am persuaded that those who are called to occupy the foremost ranks in society, cannot be too careful not to impose a burden upon tender consciences by discouraging, either directly or indirectly, a course of conduct which is sanctioned by the precepts and examples of our Divine Master, lest they alienate from us some of his disciples, and thereby greatly injure the society they are so laudably anxious to keep "unspotted from the world."

We are told on the highest authority, that "by their fruits"

* It is right to state, that I was much encouraged by the lively expression of sympathy in the anti-slavery cause in the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia and New York. At the former place Friends opened a room at the meeting house for my friend, John Candler, to give some information on the subject, and at New York, the large meeting house was not only readily granted to him and me for the same purpose, but the clerks of the Yearly Meeting kindly gave notice, and invited Friends to attend.

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we are to judge of the labourers in the christian vineyard. And while I am fully aware of the greater difficulties in the way of emancipation *here* as compared with Great Britain, I have been almost irresistibly led to contrast the difference in the results of the course pursued by Friends in the two countries. In America, during the last twenty-five years, it is evident that slavery and the slave-trade have greatly increased, and, even where the members of our society are the most numerous and influential, the prejudice against colour is as strong as in any part of the world,† and Friends themselves, in many places, are by no means free from this prejudice. In Great Britain, Friends by society action, and by uniting with their fellow-countrymen, not only contributed under providence, in no small degree, to the passage of the act of 1834 for the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies; but, when it was found that the system of apprenticeship which this act introduced was made an instrument of cruel oppression to the slaves, a renewal of similar labours for about twelve months resulted in the *complete* emancipation of our coloured brethren in those colonies.

In closing this letter, I wish to address a few words to that numerous and valuable class of Friends previously alluded to, with whom I deeply sympathise, who are only deterred from more active exertion by their reluctance to give dissatisfaction to those whom they respect. The sorrow which I feel under the consideration, that, in parting with many of you, we never probably shall meet again in mutability, is softened by the persuasion that the difficulties by which you are surrounded are lessening, and that some who are now opposing you will ere long join you in efforts, which shall remove from the minds, both of abolitionists and slave-holders, the belief so generally entertained, that the Society of Friends in this country are not earnestly engaged for the *total and immediate* abolition of slavery. No one regrets more than myself, that any friends to the cause of abolition should connect other topics with it, which, however suitable to be discussed on their own merits, must necessarily interfere with this simple and momentous object. You are aware of some of the circumstances which may have led to the state of feeling with many in our society which we so much deplore. And it is my fervent desire that none of you, in any steps you may consider it your duty to take, may afford just cause of uneasiness, by any compromise of Christian principle, any improper harshness of language, or by the introduction of any subjects not strictly belonging to the anti-slavery cause. Your situation is one of peculiar difficulty and delicacy. Both from a regard to your own religious society and the suffering slave, you have need to exercise great watchfulness, and to cultivate feelings of brotherly love, and that "charity which suffereth long and is kind." The beautiful example of John Woolman, in this respect, is worthy of your imitation. His labours were for years far less encouraged by the leading influences of society than your own at the present time; yet we find, in reading his invaluable journal, no traces of bitterness or uncharitable feeling.

Finally, dear Friends of all classes, in thus freely addressing you, I have written, not only with a strong attachment to our religious society, but I trust under a feeling of a degree of that love which is not confined to geographical boundaries, or affected by colour or by clime. The prayer of my heart is, that each of you may be willing to be made instrumental in the Divine hand in faithfully maintaining our christian testimony against slavery; bearing in mind that the labours of your ancestors have greatly increased your responsibility, by separating you from those influences which so deaden the feelings and harden the heart against the claims of our brethren in bonds. May these considerations, viewed in connexion with the difficulties which obstruct the progress of emancipation in this land, stimulate you to increased exertion. And, when you are summoned to the bar of that final tribunal towards which we are all hastening, may you have the inexpressible consolation of reflecting, that you have performed all you could towards "undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free!"

I am, very sincerly, your friend,

JOSEPH STURGE.

New York, Seventh Month 17th, 1841.

† I should, I believe, do wrong to conceal the sorrow which I have felt, that the scheme of African colonization, the great support of which at the present time appears to be hostility to anti-slavery efforts, and an unchristian prejudice against colour, still has the sympathy and the active aid of some members of our society.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

Mr. HERBERT BEAVER, who made some statements to the General Anti-Slavery Convention respecting the holding of slaves by the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, has forwarded to us the following extract of an official document in corroboration. It is from the report of Mr. Slacum, of the United States' navy, who visited the Oregon territory at the end of 1836, under the direction of the United States' government. Mr. Slacum says:—

The price of a slave varies from eight to fifteen blankets—women are valued higher than men. If a slave dies within six months of his purchase, the seller returns one-half the price. As long as the Hudson's Bay Company permit their servants to hold slaves slavery will be perpetrated, as the price of eight to fifteen blankets is too tempting for an Indian to resist. Many instances have occurred where an Indian has sold his own children. The chief factor at Vanconver says the slaves are the property of the women with whom their workmen live, and do not belong to the men in their employ, though I have known cases to the contrary. We shall see how this reasoning applies. Their women, who are said to be the owners of the slaves, are frequently bought by the men with whom they live when they are mere children; of course they have no means to purchase, until their husbands or their men make the purchase from the proceeds of their labour, and then these women are considered the ostensible owners. This neither lessens the traffic in, nor meliorates the condition of the slave. The Hudson's Bay Company find it to their interest to intermarry or live with the native women, as it attaches the men to the soil; their offspring (half breeds) in time become useful hunters and workmen at the different depôts of the company. The slaves are generally employed to cut wood, hunt, and fish for the families of the men employed by the company, and are ready for any extra work. Each man of the trapping parties has from two to three slaves, who assist him to hunt, and take care of the horses and camps. They thereby save the company the cost of at least double the number of men which would otherwise be required on these excursions.—*Senate Documents*. No. 24, 1837-8.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of I. G. on East India Slavery would have been published to-day, but it has been accidentally mislaid. Could the writer oblige us with another copy?

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

NOTICE TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

With a view to the diffusion of information on Anti-slavery subjects generally, the Committee have resolved to supply AUXILIARY SOCIETIES, *for gratuitous distribution only*, with all pamphlets and small publications published by them at one-half the usual price; and the larger publications, TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS GENERALLY, at a reduction of *twenty-five per cent.*, for immediate payment.

Collecting cards and books are preparing, which the Committee will be happy to forward to their friends in the country, on application, free of expense.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 8TH.

COMMUNICATIONS from the United States, brought by Mr. Sturge, impart the sentiments of our friends on the other side of the water in relation to the period of holding the next Anti-Slavery Convention. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have in consequence issued a circular, which we insert below.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad-Street, September 1, 1841.

SIR,—In conformity with the circular forwarded to you on the 29th of June last, I am requested by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to state that they have corresponded with their friends in the United States on the proposition of holding another Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1842, asking them for the special reasons which induced them to recommend that year in preference to 1843. The Committee having been favoured with their reply, and also with an interview with their esteemed friend, Joseph Sturge, since his return from the United States, they beg leave to lay the following statement before you.

First, that the whole of the Anti-Slavery bodies in the United States who sympathize with the object, and who are in correspondence with the Committee, are unanimously in favour of 1842.

Secondly, that many of the most active and ardent friends of the cause in this country equally express themselves in favour of 1842; but that the majority of the Committee in London, and of their friends in the country who have already consulted each other upon the point, are in favour of 1843, as the period best suited for holding another Convention.

Thirdly, that this fact having been intimated to their American friends, they have resolved that, however much they might have desired the Convention to be held in 1842, they are of opinion that unanimity among the friends of the anti-slavery cause in Great Britain relative thereto is of the last importance to its success; they therefore leave the final decision whether the Convention shall be held in 1842 or 1843 in the hands of the Committee. It has been resolved in consequence, to hold a special meeting of the committee, and of such friends of the anti-slavery cause as may be able or inclined to attend the same, on Wednesday the 15th instant, at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, at three o'clock in the afternoon precisely, for the purpose of finally deciding the question.

I am further requested to state that while the committee do not feel justified in summoning their friends from the country personally to attend the proposed meeting, they will be most happy to have their presence, and to be aided by the counsels of any of them who may be in town, or who can make it convenient to attend and would feel obliged to their friends generally to favour them, on or before the day of meeting, with their views relative to the point to be decided.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD.

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FROM advertisements which appear in our columns to-day, it will be seen that two important and long expected publications have at length issued from the press. One of them is the *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention*, the other the *Second Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. Neither of these documents will disappoint the eager and attentive perusal which, we doubt not, awaits them.

WE have received information of the most painful—we might say appalling—character, respecting the participation of British merchants of the highest respectability in the atrocious traffic in the persons of men which desolates the coast of Africa. At the present moment we are not at liberty to make public what we know; but the details cannot long be concealed.

ON the subject of Slavery in British India we insert to-day a letter from the rev. J. Abbs, an agent of the London Missionary Society, which deserves attention. We are pleased to find that the Missionaries in the east are applying themselves to the investigation of this interesting subject, and we trust they will still further pursue this humane and christian course. We are happy also to see that the *Times* has devoted three columns to extracts from the parliamentary papers recently published, and to quote the following observation of this influential journal.

"We shall probably, on some future occasion, return to this important and interesting subject, which assuredly demands a full and impartial investigation on the part of the government both in this country and in the East Indies."

THE last West India mail has brought papers to a late date; those from Jamaica are to the 29th of July; those from Demerara to the 19th of July; those from Barbados to the 21st of July, and those from Trinidad to the 16th of July. The crops at Jamaica had as yet a favourable appearance, but the soil was not sufficiently irrigated to form a positive opinion; there was in some districts a great want of rain.

In Demerara and Barbados business matters were proceeding much as they usually did, and in the latter island there had been seasonable showers. The planters in the various islands were endeavouring, according to all accounts, to increase their crops of produce, and the peasantry evinced a disposition to co-operate with their employers. In some of the districts the African emigrants were still discontented.

From the Trinidad papers it appears that a committee has been formed for the purpose of inquiring into the agricultural resources and general capabilities of the island. Generally, the islands had been favoured with refreshing and fruitful rains.

We have extracted from a St. Vincent's paper a warm, but well-merited eulogium, pronounced in the supreme court of Saint Lucia, by Chief Justice Reddie, on the late lamented Sir John Jeremie.

We copy the following startling, but characteristic announcement from the *Guiana Reformer*. We shall look anxiously for the result of the expected inquiry.

"We have been informed that, in the course of a few days, there will be an investigation by *authority*, into the nature and conditions of sundry contracts by which some labourers have become purchasers of land. It is said that the party who sold it to them has by terms contrived to secure to himself, as he imagines, the future services of the people, in addition to the sum of money actually paid down to him for the land.

"We some months ago warned the labourers against the danger of hastily signing contracts of sale and purchase. We should not be surprised to hear that a few of them, for want of necessary precaution, have, in buying property, not only sold their labour to a master willing enough to make slaves of them, but have failed to reserve to themselves the right of selling or transferring to others the property they have purchased with their hard cash. A form of contract somewhat to this effect has been actually under our eye.

Governor Light has informed the Combined Court of British Guiana that the formation of a penal establishment in the West Indies, for the reception of convicts from the West India colonies, is under the consideration of her Majesty's government; but that, until some plan be matured, no instructions on the subject can be sent to the governor. The colonial secretary will, however, be prepared to give every attention to any plan which may be framed in this colony for establishing a penal settlement in the neighbourhood of the large granite ranges, to afford useful employment to prisoners, in quarrying, cutting timber, or digging canals.

WE gather from the papers two articles of intelligence respecting Texas, both of them worthy of consideration. The first relates to destructive floods which have lately been experienced there.

The *New York Sun* reports that there have been great floods in Texas. The rivers had swollen to a great height, and people were obliged to climb trees to escape from drowning. The weather was, however, intensely cold, and ice and drift wood prevented the navigation of the streams.—*Jamaica Morning Journal.*

The second indicates the waste of human life which is going on in that country.

Houston, which was settled five years ago, has now four thousand inhabitants, and within the same period there have been six thousand *burials*—an average of nearly *four* every day in the year.—*Liberator.*

AN attempt has recently been made by the Mauritius, and some part of the Calcutta press, to revive the traffic in Coolies. For this purpose certain Coolies, whose period of service for five years had expired, have been sent home, and their testimony, as taken by the police magistrate of Calcutta and other gentlemen, is reported, with the view of showing, that upon the whole, the treatment they had received had been favourable; and much stress is laid on the fact, that they had returned to their native land with sums varying in amount from 30 to 300 rupees each. As the testimony of these men forms part of a parliamentary paper, *in connexion with an elaborate review of the evidence produced heretofore in India against Coolie emigration*, for the purpose of weakening its force, and inducing a more favourable view of it than the public in this country have felt justified in entertaining, we shall reserve our remarks upon the evidence adduced for the next *Reporter*, merely stating at present, that the testimony adduced proves too much, and creates the suspicion that the men have been sent back to India as decoys. In the meantime, we entreat the attention of our readers to the following extracts from the Calcutta press, which will show that means the most infamous are still resorted to for the purpose of supplying Mauritius with labourers; and that the greatest vigilance is required on the part of the authorities in India and at home, as well as of the anti-slavery body, to defeat the nefarious schemes of the planters of Mauritius and their agents in Calcutta. We say the planters, for they are the prime movers in the atrocious affair; the crimps being merely the tools with which they work.

Observing a report in Saturday's *Hurkaru* of some men decoyed away as Coolies for the Mauritius in the *David Scott*, we made some inquiry, and found the *Hurkaru's* statement in the main correct, but with this difference, that they were put on board of that ship, not as Coolies for the Mauritius, but as part of her crew. *The practice of kidnapping and placing men on board ships, to perform the voyage as handsmen, pocketing the three months advance, is but too common here;—there is not a captain in the country service but will tell you the same, and there is not a voyage performed by them, but three or four of the crew were found to be so forced.* This is the first time that we have had it on so large a scale. Thirty men kidnapped and put on board of one ship, shows that the system is improving and taking a wider range; for formerly it was confined to their own caste (the Batteyaras are shippers, or Musselmen), but now both Chinamen, Ooriah bearers, and Hindoos of the upper provinces compose the kidnappers. From what we could gather from the poor fellows, it is indeed an atrocious case, deserving that example should be made of the delinquent, and in fact the police cannot exert themselves too much to find out the parties. Here are thirty men decoyed away by means of intoxicating drugs, and taken on board in a state of insensibility. It appears that parties were sent in the provinces to bring down some of them, and on their arrival at Calcutta they were locked up, and taken on board during the night, very likely under the influence of gunjah, to prevent any of them giving a history of the affair till the vessel was too far down to admit of their return. The public are indebted to the commander of the *David Scott* for the return of these poor devils. Finding them totally unacquainted with the duties of the ship, he soon found out the state of things. The poor Ooriah bearers seem to have suffered much; and, by their statement, they had just arrived at the ghaut, when, meeting one of these crimps, they were induced to eat something, and were so put on board. We will not fail to give reports of the case. We are just given to understand that Major Steele, whilst superintendent, succeeded very materially in putting down this dreadful system of kidnapping, by establishing an office for the shipment of crews; which, if then carried out efficiently, would have broken up one of the most iniquitous systems, namely, that of the Ghaut Syrang.—*Calcutta Englishman.*

The *thirty* men kidnapped were not put on board the *David Scott* as Coolies, as we were led to believe from the confused statement given on the first occasion by the men themselves, but, what was calculated to create more mischief, they were shipped as lascars, as will appear from the annexed depositions taken before the chief magistrate. Some of the depositions characterise the daring character of the kidnapping system.

ABDOOLLAH.—I reside at Kidderpore, and I used to work as batta lascar. I came to Mochooah bazar to purchase shoes, where I was laid hold of by Samadally bhuttearah (*crimp*), kept closely confined in his house for two days, and put on board the *David Scott*. I received no advance whatever; all I got was a couple of pieces of cloth.

KARTICK KYBURT.—I am a native of Tamlook, where I used to cultivate. I came to Calcutta, to get service as a baboo's *goahlah*. I know nothing of a seafaring life. I was taken hold of forcibly by a bhuttearah (*crimp*) in Machooah bazar, and shipped on board the *David Scott*. I received no advance, nor any supply besides two pieces of cloth. I was made to eat something which rendered me intoxicated before I was put on board.

HUSSAIN ALLY.—I am a native of Cawnpore, and a coachman by profession. I came down to see a friend who is at Dum-Dum. I went to Chandney bazar, where a man accosted me, and gave me sweetmeats. After eating them I drank water at the Wellington-square tank. Immediately after I lost my senses, in which state I continued some time; and when I recovered, I found myself on board ship off Woollabareah. Besides three pieces of cloth, to the value of a rupee, I got no money or supply.

MIRZA ALFOO.—I am a native of Furruckabad, and was the manjee of a boat. I was intoxicated by a person in Chandney, kept in confinement, and then put in where I found myself off Woollabareah.

NUSSABOOLLAH.—I am a native of Hooghly, and a cook by profession. Five weeks ago I was accosted by a person in Dhurrumtollah. He took me to a house near by, and gave me sweetmeats, on eating which I lost my senses. When I came to myself, I was off Woollabareah in a Company's boat, and was told I would be put on board ship. I was shipped off Kedgeree, on the *David Scott*, with only these three pieces of cloth, worth eight annas.

MAHOMED ALLY, a native of Shahejanpore, where he was a cultivator, came down to see a brother, who is a Golundaz at Dum-Dum. I was

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taken at Chandney Choke by a bhuttearah (*crimp*), who made me drunk, and took me on board the *David Scott*. I got no advance and no clothes, except a ——. I was insensible for four days after I had got on board. I should know the party who decoyed me. [On subsequent examination]. This morning I saw the prisoner to whose house I was taken by the bhuttearah. He had on an ungherkha of mine, which must have been taken from me when I was insensible.

BUNGHSEE.—I am a native of Burdwan, and came to Calcutta to bathe in the Ganges. I was seized as a *begar*, or labourer, by Buddun, of Muchooah bazar, and sent on board the *David Scott*. I was put on board at night by three or four men. I could not resist.

MADUB.—I am a native of Cawnpore. I was coming down to beg, and was taken by a bhuttearah (*crimp*) on board the *David Scott*. I was three days confined, and kept drunk with *suddo* and other intoxicating articles, mixed up with sweetmeats.

ABDOOLLAH.—I am a native of Cuttack. I came to Burdwan a month ago. A bhuttearah brought me from there, and two days after put me on board ship. The man who shipped me got six rupees a month from the Serang, and I only got two pieces of cloth.

The rest of them gave in a similar story, ENOUGH TO SATISFY THE MOST SCEPTICAL OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES THEMSELVES, THAT A MOST ATROCIOUS, INIQUITOUS, AND EXTENDED SYSTEM OF KIDNAPPING OBTAINS IN THE VERY HEART OF THE CITY, AND IN THE FACE OF THE POLICE.—*Hurkaru, April* 14, 1841.

IT has afforded us sincere pleasure to observe that Lord Brougham, with his usual promptitude, has moved for certain papers in connexion with the emigration of Africans from Sierra Leone. On the 27th August the following conversation took place between his lordship and the Marquis of Normanby.

Lord BROUGHAM wished to know whether there was any objection on the part of the noble marquis to the production of some correspondence which had taken place on the subject of emigration to the West Indies. Unless the papers were before the house it was impossible to impute blame to any parties, because the facts were not properly before the house; but he had been told, upon authority to which he was inclined to give full credence, that considerable abuse had taken place in carrying away persons from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. He had also reason for believing that abuses existed with respect to the emigration of Irish labourers from their native country to the same destination; but, as he had already intimated, it would be premature to give an opinion unless the papers were before the house. Of one thing he was quite sure—that the house ought to keep a jealous watch over this species of emigration, because it was so liable to abuse.

The Marquis of NORMANBY suggested that his noble and learned friend should give notice of his motion, but at the same time he expressed an opinion favourable to the production of the papers, and in the mean time inquiries should be made.

Lord BROUGHAM here handed a paper in, containing the particulars of the information (as was understood in the gallery) which he was desirous of having, to the noble marquis.

We trust Lord Brougham will not confine his attention to the foregoing branch of the subject, but that he will extend it to the whole question of emigration to the West Indies. We would take the liberty of suggesting to his lordship the propriety of calling for returns respecting the large body of Europeans and Asiatics who have been induced, under various pretences, to go to Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, and Mauritius. A searching inquiry into this matter will prove a salutary lesson to the colonists; and enable the government to guard in future against those monstrous evils and abuses which have hitherto been associated with emigration to the West Indies.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

WE have pleasure in extracting from the *Missionary Magazine* of the present month, a testimony altogether confirmatory of the statements which have from time to time appeared in this journal, in relation to the prevalence and character of slavery in British India. It is part of a letter of the rev. J. Abbs, a missionary of the London Society, and relates to Travancore, in Southern India.

With regard to the existence of slavery in this country, it will probably not be considered irrelevant to our great object if I give some little information on this subject. My attention has lately been drawn to it by a series of questions proposed and circulated by T. H. Baber, Esq., on the nature and extent of this evil in Travancore and Cochin. Before the inquiry into which these queries led me, I was not aware of the degrading bondage in which most of the lower caste people of these kingdoms are held: a bondage recognized and defended by law, which shuts out a number of immortal beings from every privilege by which the mind may be ennobled and in many instances excludes them from all opportunity of knowing any thing of the nature or worth of the soul. It is difficult to ascertain the origin of this bondage, as the unhappy creatures under its influence have for generations been cut off from all social communion with their free countrymen; while the apathy of a Hindoo will not allow him to be at much pains to inquire into the circumstances or history of those who are accounted so far beneath his own grade in society. As, however, it is a known fact, that the poorer Pariahs and Fishers often sell themselves or their children for the sake of sustenance, it may be conjectured that the present slaves of Travencore are, for the most part, descendants of individuals who, through poverty or crime, were induced to yield themselves and their posterity to a perpetual servitude. It is said that Roman Catholics and Mohammedans of property have been known to purchase slaves of certain castes for the purpose of proselyting them to their own forms of worship: whether this has has ever been done by our own people I have not been able to learn, although I greatly fear that many who call themselves Christians, and follow with us, have servants who are as subject to their will, and as much disposable according to their pleasure, as the hereditary bondsmen of the heathen.

I have recently had some conversation with a rich Soodra, who possesses a number of slaves. He informed me that the highest price for which a slave could be sold was sixty fanams, a sum about equal to twenty shillings sterling. He says that he is at liberty to let or transfer his servants as he pleases; to separate the children from the parents, and the wife from the husband; to give them as presents to his friends, or allot them as the wedding-dowry of his daughters; to assign them over as payment for his debts; and, in short, as he expressed it, to him they are "as cattle." In my first interview with this man he was very communicative, and stated many particulars of the destitution and ignorance of slaves in general, declaring that many fell early victims to fevers, rheumatism, and other diseases, and that very few lived to old age; that they were but poorly fed and scantily clothed, and were notorious for drunkenness, dishonesty, and evil passions. When I urged it as his duty to allow them to receive christian instruction, he tried to evade my proposal by saying that "they loved the worship of devils, and would regard him as an enemy if he permitted any one to teach them another way." He afterwards became more cautious in answering my questions, and voluntarily stated many things which I have reason to believe were far from the truth. He gave me a flattering description of the comforts they enjoyed, and the care with which they were treated, asserting that their present condition is preferable to a state of liberty. When I asked him about the ill-treatment sustained by slaves, he smiled and said, "They could not be ill-treated, as it was for the interest of their proprietors to use them well, as a man would his bullocks or horses, that they might work the better."

Thus, in every place, does self-interest blind men to the enormities of this wicked practice. Here, as in other lands, slavery, however it may be palliated, is a source of wretchedness and a system of iniquity. We cannot calculate how many of the sons of bondage are prematurely removed from this world in childhood and youth, for want of sufficient nourishment and clothing. Those who reach maturity are doomed to work like beasts of burden, to live in wretched hovels, to eat the most offensive animals and reptiles, and to be treated as outcasts by their fellow-creatures. Their evidence is not admitted against their masters, and, if they meet a free person on the road, they are bound to run from him lest they pollute him. They draw out a miserable existence, and are often left in old age to beg for their support, or to perish with hunger. By few are they comforted, pitied, or relieved: none seek to remove their distresses, and no man cares for their souls.

MAURITIUS.

The *Cerncen* of the 22nd of April supplies us with the following:—

The sitting of the legislative council on Wednesday last was so usefully employed, and was of such interest and importance to our readers, that we conceive it our duty to lay before them an account of it.

Sir Lionel Smith, in the first place, communicated to the council the contents of a despatch that he had received from Lord John Russell, in which that minister acknowledges the receipt of a report upon the colony that had been addressed to him by our new governor. From Lord John Russell's reply it results, that Sir Lionel Smith, shortly after his arrival at Mauritius, hastened to make known in England the real state of our society, and the good spirit by which the colonists generally were animated towards the recently freed apprentices. Testimony of this kind, says the minister, adduced by a man such as Sir Lionel Smith, whose previous career is a guarantee for its truth and justice, cannot fail of turning to the advantage of the island of Mauritius, and of proving of great weight in the solution of the questions which interest that colony. Lord John Russell at the same time asks the opinion of Sir Lionel Smith with respect to emigration from Madagascar and Muscat.

His Excellency then handed over to the members of the council several ordinances that had been already adopted here, and had been sent to England for the sanction of the home-government, some of which, it appears, had not met with the approval of the minister. The Government Gazette will doubtless acquaint us with those that have been approved, and those that the minister has considered it expedient to reject.

After having communicated to the council each of the despatches received by him from England, Sir Lionel Smith stated, that since, the report to which Lord John Russell made allusion, he had sent home others of a much more favourable nature to the colony, in proportion as he became better acquainted with its real situation. In the course of the sitting, several important questions, intimately connected with the prosperity of Mauritius, were mooted by Sir Lionel Smith, and discussed by the council; among others, that of the labourers to be procured in order to keep the public roads and streets in repair, and that of the publicity of the sittings of the council. In all that his Excellency said upon both these subjects, it was impossible to avoid remarking that he bore a real interest to the colony, and that he was disposed to exert his influence in order to afford us solid proofs of it. We are happy to perceive that Sir Lionel Smith is impressed with the difficulties which the chief civil engineer has daily to contend with from want of hands, and that he has expressed his intention to have them removed as soon as possible. The principles he professed with respect to the publicity of the sittings of the council, are those which, from the known liberality of his opinions, we ourselves expected from him. The smallness of the apartment in which the sittings of the council were held constituted, in his opinion, the only serious objection to the realisation of the desire expressed in the petition which has been already published in this journal. But we are sure before-hand, that that will not be considered a sufficient motive for withholding from us a privilege so valuable and so universally desired; for, until a more commodious saloon were procured for the sittings of the council, and the right of admission were granted indiscriminately to the public, it would be possible at present even to recognize and apply the principle of publicity, by allowing each of the members of the council three entrance cards, to be handed over by them to whomsoever they might think proper. Besides, as we have already said, the number of persons likely to avail of the permission accorded by government would, after all, be extremely limited. At Mauritius, unfortunately, perhaps more than in any other place, the population in general occupies itself very little with public affairs. Apathy here deadens, if it does not destroy, every feeling of patriotism.

The Queen has appointed the Right Honourable Sir Charles Edward Grey, Knight, to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the islands of Barbados, St. Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, and their dependencies.

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BRITISH EMIGRANTS IN JAMAICA.

WE find in the last papers the following letter of the rev. W. Knibb on this painful subject:

To the Editor of the *Baptist Herald.*

SIR,—You noticed in your last that a subscription had been raised to enable a poor emigrant, with his wife and children, to leave this island, and towards that benevolent object I *cheerfully* contributed: and such is the distress, the cruelty, and the deceit practised upon others, that it is only for the want of the means that they have not fled from the speedy death that awaits them.

I have read with disgust the horrors of the slave-trade, and with dismay the atrocities practised upon the Hill Coolies from the East Indies; but I am confident that these fall short, painful as they are, of the refined malice and deep planned cruelty involved in the present system of European emigration. The present victims of colonial treachery are torn from civilized society, the comforts of life have been theirs, they are deluded here by false hopes of realizing a competency, if not a fortune, and the moment they arrive, they find that they have been decoyed to ruin and to death.

Before this system of legalized murder was formed I expected that the cup of colonial iniquity had been full, but it appears that tyranny needed this last infusion to make her happiness complete; and, in the death-struck curses of agonizing Europeans, she now revels with delight. And for this we as a people are taxed! Nay: not for this, but to salary a set of needy men, who are too lazy to work, but not too proud to beg.

To appeal to the conscience of such men would be to cast pearls before swine. By this emigration act, I consider that the house of assembly has been, and is still, guilty of deliberate and wholesale murder, and murder too in its most aggravated form. Every body here knows that it *is merely* a money-getting scheme, a desperate game played by men wrecked in fortune, who have too long fattened on oppression to be aroused to a sense of guilt by the groans of their dying victims. If what I advance can be contradicted, let it be. Let the deluded victims speak, let a court of inquiry be held, let the public know who is right, and whether it be true or false that emigration is another word for slavery, attended by all the additional horrors that must ever be felt in proportion as the victims have been formerly happy.

I *feel confident* that the result of such an investigation would disclose a scene unequalled in the modern annals of crime, and I do hope that his Excellency Sir Charles Metcalfe will institute it. If he possesses those feelings which are so freely given to him by the press, he will. He is surrounded by the wretched victims of despair; they are Britons; he has unwillingly, I believe, assisted in producing this misery, and justice demands, and mercy implores, that his arm be put forth, ere the whole of the present imported Europeans sink into a premature grave.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM KNIBB.

ESCAPE OF SLAVES FROM SURINAM TO BRITISH GUIANA.

(From the *London Journal of Commerce.*)

CANADA has long been a place of refuge for the runaway slaves of the United States, of whom there are not less than 18,000 in the British province; and this circumstance is a secret but a strong cause of much of the hostile feeling which exists in the Union towards England. It now appears that our West Indian colonies are likely to receive a supply of slaves by similar desertions, which, though they have commenced from a Dutch possession, will, if the runaway blacks be protected in the British possessions, quickly extend to all slave countries contiguous to our sugar colonies.

The *Guiana Times* of July 16th, thus describes the commencement of the new immigration:—

"At a late hour on Monday night, eight persons, apparently in the last stage of exhaustion from fasting and fatigue, landed at one of our wharfs from a boat of a remarkable construction, and surrendered quietly to the police. They turned out to be of Surinam, in which colony they had been working as slaves, when, inspired by the genius of liberty, they contrived to make their escape. They had hidden themselves during the day and rowed all night, for fourteen days and nights together; and the scantiness of their provision for the voyage was proportionate to the haste with which they must have undertaken it. Their boat the customs folks have of course seized. We believe it is intended to let the people themselves go where they please."

These black freemen will, of course, not be delivered up as runaway slaves; but the colonial journal seems to apprehend that they may be surrendered on demand, as felons, because they stole the boat in which they escaped. The custom has hitherto been for our government to deliver up persons charged with felony, on the mere allegation of the charge by the demanding government. And it is difficult to see how Governor Light will escape from this invariable precedent. The *Guiana Times*, indeed, furnishes him with a loop-hole, which, if he be a casuist, he may adopt. By the law of the colony it is a crime, says the ingenious writer, to hold a man in a state of slavery; it cannot then be a crime in British Guiana for a man to resist the imposition of the yoke, or to escape from the restraint. The case, it is clear, is not without great difficulty; but most sincerely do we trust that the eight now free men will not be restored to slavery, even under the guise of being felons. The point of felony is important, because, unless the slaves do steal some mode of conveyance, it is impossible that they can escape to freedom, and therefore a denial of their moral right to commit felony is a denial of the acquisition of freedom.

There is one view of these desertions which, if they be established on an extensive scale, is very important to slave-holding states. To prevent them they will be obliged to establish cordons of police round their coasts, the expense of which will largely augment the cost of slave production: and the keeping up of which will deprive them of the last excuse for the importation of stolen Africans.

Thus every circumstance that turns up in regard to slavery adds another appeal to the interests of slave-holding countries to abolish slavery. Thank God that it is so!

CAPTURE OF SLAVERS.

(*From the Scotsman.*)

H. M. Sloop Acorn, July 11th, 1841,

Lat. 0. 5. N., Long. 22. 48. W.

SIR,—I forward for your valuable journal the account of the capture of a large Spanish slave-brig, by H. M. sloop Acorn, Captain John Adams H. M. S. Acorn, July 6th, 1841, in latitude 5. 16, N., long., 17. 51. W., at half-past two, A. M., discovered a long, low, suspicious-looking brig, hovering on her weather quarter, and immediately gave chase until 2 P. M., at which time, the wind having increased considerably, chase carried away both top-gallant masts, and bore up large, setting all her starboard studding sails, royals, and flying-jib. At half-past three showed colours, and fired a shot and a shell at her, which chase, hoisting Portuguese colours, returned with his long tom, and continued to do so as oftenas he could, when fired at. But, owing to Acorn keeping well in his wake and on lee quarter, to avoid having spars shot away, he could only return six or seven shots, Acorn keeping up a brisk fire from a long 32-pounder in bridal-port, which appeared to annoy chase much, several shot taking effect on his main top-sail and boom main-sail. Two shells also burst over him. At half-past four we hoisted a large blue ensign in the weather-main rigging (owing to wind coming aft), and gave the chase a heavy fire of grape, which cut away his lee-main-sheet, boom-sheet, lower inner halliards, and fore-top-sail halliards, driving the men away from his guns; and a few seconds after, he hauled down his ensign, but continued to carry all sail. Half-past five, chase about half a mile a-head, commenced firing musketry from the marines, which drove his people below, riddling his bulwarks and sails, and cutting away the jib-sheet she broached to. We ranged up alongside, shortened sail to top-gallant sails, and hove-to, and sent the senior Lieutenant Hawkey, who boarded and took possession of the Spanish slave-brig *Gabriel*, from Havana, bound to Capinda for slaves, armed with a long 24 pound pivot gun, 12 feet 6 inches long, and two 18-pounder medium broadside guns, with a crew of sixty-two men. The sailing of the chase was most admirable, she being a Baltimore vessel only two years old. During the chase she cut away anchors, boats, spare spars, and everything that could in any way impede her sailing, reserving the guns as a dernier resort; and indeed they were fairly served, for several of the shot passed immediately over our stem and boom-main-sail. Acorn had one seaman, John Dean, wounded. The captain of the prize was missing.

The *U. N. S. Gazette*, May 29, mentions the boats of her Majesty's ship *Termagant* being beaten off by the Spanish brig *Gabriel*, on the 24th of February.

I remain, &c.,

W. D. ERSKINE, First-Lieut. R. N.

Letters from the coast of Africa mention a very gallant affair between the boats of the *Persian* brig, Lieutenant Somerville, and a piratical slaver called the *Astrea*, in which, after a sharp contest which lasted a considerable time, the boat's crew successfully boarded the pirate, and captured her, with a loss of two men killed, and several desperately wounded. The *Astrea*, out of fifty-four men, lost thirteen killed, and a great many wounded.—*Morning Herald.*

UNITED STATES: THE INTER-STATE SLAVE TRADE.

FROM several sources we glean the following statistics of the domestic slave-trade, which go far to show the wickedness of the ruinous business for which the south claims the legal approbation of the north, and of the whole nation.

The whole increase of the slave population, with the rate per cent. for the several decennial periods commencing with 1790, has been as follows, viz:—

Years . . .	1790 to 1800	to 1820	to 1830	to 1840
Total Increase	195,144	298,323	346,700	470,977	338,515
Per Cent. . .	28	32 1-3	29	30 2-4	16 3-4

While the increase in all the states has been 16 3-4 per cent. it appears that Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, and the district of Columbia, have lost 235,043 of their *relative* slave population; and Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Missouri, have gained 221,584 more than 16 3-4 per cent. The whole of the gain of the *importing states is to be set down to the account of the* trade. Besides this, in a former article on the waste of life by slavery, we showed that, from 1830 to 1840, more than 200,000 slaves have been worked to death, and otherwise destroyed by the "punishing and driving system," almost all of whom have perished in the planting states. These of course were purchased in the breeding states, inasmuch as there is no increase over 16 3-4 per cent. in the planting states. This would make at least 400,000 slaves, who within the last ten years have been sold to the south, and give an average yearly sale of 40,000 human beings from the marts of the northern slave states. At 600 dollars per head, the value of these would be no less than 240,000,000 dollars, and at 900 dollars (a price which they have more probably averaged), they must have brought 360,000,000 dollars, most of which has been swindled out of the north by bank accommodations, and other deceptive measures which slave-holders so well know how to employ.

The relative pecuniary ability of the exporting and importing states is proportioned to the gains and losses incident to the trade. Thus Mississippi, whose purchases during the ten years have amounted to not less than 160,000,000 or 170,000,000 dollars is at the lowest point of bankruptcy, while Kentucky, whose probable sales amount to 35,000,000, is above board, and boasts of being solvent by the sale of her own children. Such is the extent of that abominable traffic in the bodies and souls of men, which this nation has the constitutional and moral right to prohibit, but which is fostered by it as a branch of legitimate trade. When shall the country be saved from the curse which must follow such an infernal business!—*Abolition Standard.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XLVI. Vol. II. No. 19.] WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22nd, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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ANTI-SLAVERY EXHIBITION, EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY.

The managers of this exhibition having determined to allow the children of the Metropolitan Sabbath and Day Schools to visit it *free of expense*, the conductors of such schools as desire to accept of this privilege, are requested to make application to Mr. J. Soul, at 27, New Broad-street, stating the name of the school, the day on which the order is required, and the number of children and teachers who will attend; when an order will be forwarded. As the exhibition will shortly close, the sooner the applications are made the better.

This day is published, in One Volume, 8vo., Price Fourteen Shillings.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, held in London in June, 1840.

London: British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street; Ward and Co., and Hamilton, Adams, and Co., Paternoster Row; and J. L. Porter, Sloane Street, Chelsea: Birmingham, J. W. Showell; Liverpool, Marples; Dublin, Curry, Jun., and Co.; Edinburgh, Oliphant and Son; Glasgow, W. Collins; Norwich, Jarrold and Son; Newcastle-on-Tyne, James Finlay.

This day is Published, price Three-pence.

SOME OBSERVATIONS on the concluding portion of an article in the EDINBURGH REVIEW, on the GROUNDS AND OBJECTS OF THE BUDGET; in a letter to the Editor of the MORNING CHRONICLE. By G. W. Alexander.

London:—SMITH, ELDER, and Co., 65, Cornhill.

To be ready on the 1st of October, in One Volume, demy 8vo.

THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS, FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY UP TO THE PRESENT TIME; and the cause of her separation from the republic of Mexico: with a description of the soil, climate, general resources, manners, habits, customs and institutions of the original and present inhabitants; including the Whites, Indians, and Negros. With a Map, showing the boundary of Texas proper, Texas as claimed by the Texans, and the exact extent of territory now in their possession; tables of roads, distances, &c. &c. By N. DORAN MAILLARD.

Subscribers' names received by the publishers, SMITH, ELDER, AND CO., 65, Cornhill.

This day is published,

THE SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world; presented to the general meeting held in Exeter Hall, on Friday, May 14th, 1841. With an Appendix, List of Contributions, &c. &c. &c.

London:—Printed for the Society, and may be had at their office, 27, New Broad Street; and of Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster Row.

Price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers.

PETITION TO PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

Sheweth,

That, whilst your petitioners sincerely rejoice in the fact that the African slave-trade has been declared piracy by the legislature of this country, and that the law of the land denounces every British subject directly or indirectly engaged therein as a felon, and subjects him, on conviction, to the ignominious punishment of a felon; they deeply lament that not a few of their opulent countrymen, occupying influential positions in society as manufacturers and merchants, as officers in her Majesty's army and navy, and as civil functionaries, are well known to have been guilty of this flagrant crime, either personally or by their agents, unawed by the fear of God or of man, and still to persist in the same unaffected by the cruel sufferings and degradation they inflict on humanity, and uninfluenced by the requirements and denunciations of law, whether human or divine.

That your petitioners would call the attention of your right honourable house to the fact, that there have been formed, at different periods during the last fifteen years, various mining companies in this country, with large capitals at their disposal, who carry on their operations in the empire of Brazil, or in the Spanish island of Cuba; that their mines are worked principally by slaves purchased by the agents of those companies; that the greater part, if not the whole, of these victims of oppression have been illicitly imported into these countries since the period when such importation was declared contraband, felonious, or piratical; and that (as your petitioners are informed and believe) these companies still continue to purchase newly imported Africans, to supply the waste of mortality, or to meet the other exigencies of their establishments.

That your petitioners lament to say, that officers of her Majesty's army and navy, as well as functionaries in the civil service, have accepted engagements in connexion with these companies; and that they are informed and believe that such persons have been the agents employed in the purchase of slaves on account of the same.

That your petitioners call the attention of your right honourable house to the fact, that banking companies, with large funds at their disposal, have also been formed in this country; and that they either have already formed, or are in process of forming, branch establishments in countries where the slave-trade is carried on, or where slavery in all its horrors still exists.

That your petitioners grieve to say that there are manufactured in this country, in enormous quantities, articles known by the name of *coast goods*, which are employed exclusively in the African slave-trade, in barter for human beings; and that these form a considerable branch of the export trade of this country to Brazil and Cuba, and to the western coast of Africa.

That the consignees of British merchants and manufactures, or branch houses of their establishments in Brazil and Cuba, dispose of such goods to persons well known as traffickers in human beings; that they not unfrequently have, if not a direct, yet an indirect interest, by conditional arrangements, in the guilty traffic itself; and that in all cases they vend such goods, well knowing the disgraceful and inhuman object to which they are to be applied.

That your petitioners are informed and fully believe, that fetters and shackles employed in the slave-trade, or in the punishment and torture of slaves, form part of the export trade of this country to Brazil and Cuba.

That your petitioners have grounds for knowing that vessels have been built in this country specially for the slave-trade, and they have reason to fear, that many have been covertly prepared for that nefarious traffic in British harbours.

That your petitioners deeply regret to add, that British subjects have become the purchasers of estates in Brazil and the Spanish colonies, which they work by slaves and which they have stocked, either wholly or in part, with newly imported Africans, thus giving the benefit of their wealth, skill, and enterprise to the maintenance of these enormous evils.

It will thus be seen by your right honourable house, that British subjects, instigated by the sordid love of gain, to the great dishonour of their country, and in defiance of its laws, are, either directly or indirectly, among the chief props and supports of the

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African slave-trade; that they supply capital or the means of carrying it on to a fearful extent, reckless of the miseries which they inflict on the human race, the insult they offer to the Most High, and the evil example they set to others: that they obstruct the consummation of that great work to which the legislature, the government, and the people of this country have so nobly devoted themselves, and to secure which they have spent millions of the national treasure; that they offer the chief impediment to a peaceful, legitimate, and lucrative commerce with Africa; that they prevent the civilization and religious improvement of its people; and that they render the expensive armaments which are kept up on the coast of Africa, Cuba, and Brazil, the means of increasing the horrors, without diminishing the extent of the slave-trade.

Your petitioners, therefore, earnestly implore your right honourable house, either to extend the provisions of the act, 5th Geo. IV. cap. 113, commonly called the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act of 1824, so as effectually to prevent British subjects from holding and purchasing slaves in foreign countries, under any pretences whatsoever, and to bring to speedy and condign punishment those of them who have hitherto violated with impunity the existing laws; or to appoint a committee of your right honourable house to inquire forthwith into the facts alleged by your petitioners, whose duty it shall be to report to your right honourable house such measures as may be deemed requisite to suppress effectually the guilty practices referred to.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

(Signed) JOHN WOODWARK, Chairman of the Committee.

DEPUTATION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE TO THE EARL OF RIPON.

ON Monday last a deputation of the Anti-slavery Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen — Messrs. W. Allen, S. Allen, G. W. Alexander, J. Beaumont, R. Forster, S. Lucas, J. Scoble, G. Stacey, H. Sterry, and H. Tuckett, waited on the Earl of Ripon, as president of the Board of Trade. They were very courteously received, and presented to his lordship a memorial, of which the following is a copy.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Ripon, President of the Board of Trade, &c., &c., &c.

MY LORD,—In the prosecution of the great object which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have in view, namely, the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, by means which are purely of a moral, religious, and pacific nature, they felt it to be their solemn duty to oppose the measure of the late government for the reduction in the duties on foreign sugars, so far as it affected those which were clearly raised by the labour of slaves, on the ground that they believed the inevitable tendency of such reduction would be immediately to extend the slave-trade, and to aggravate and prolong its unutterable horrors, while at the same time it would render the condition of slaves already in bondage more grievous and intolerable than ever. On the same principle, and governed by the same motives, the committee feel it to be their duty respectfully to approach the present government, through your lordship as the president of the board of trade, with their earnest request that the produce of the tropics raised by free-labour, come from what country it may, may be placed on such a footing in relation to the productions of the British Colonies, as shall enable it to come immediately into fair and full competition with the same.

In further developing their views, the committee beg permission to suggest to your lordship, whether it would not be greatly to the advantage of the revenue to reduce the present duty on sugars, and other produce, raised in the British possessions in the East and West Indies. Such a measure, combined with an equalization of the duties on foreign tropical productions of a similar kind raised by freemen, the committee believe would have the further advantage of greatly increasing the comforts of the poor of the land, of leading to a rapid development of the resources of the British colonies and plantations abroad, and of opening new and extensive markets for British manufactures, whilst it would strike a heavy blow at the atrocious system of slavery, and consequently, at the slave-trade, wherever it obtains, and would operate, both as an economical and a moral argument, in favour of the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

The committee would still further venture to suggest to your lordship the propriety of removing the remaining restrictions on West India commerce, so as to enable the planters and merchants of our own free colonies successfully to compete with the foreign growers of sugar by slave-labour in the continental markets, and so as to admit of the complete equalization of the duties on tropical productions, whether of our own or of other countries, grown exclusively by free labour.

Coupled with a wise and judicious scheme of immigration into the emancipated colonies, which, on the one hand, shall throw open the labour market to fair and honourable competition, and on the other, shall guard against the abuses which have hitherto unhappily marked the course of colonial experiments in this way, and shall be exclusively under the direction of the government, the measures which the committee have ventured to suggest to your lordship, will, they believe, in combination, be part of a great series of means for securing the liberty of millions now held in bondage, for terminating the slave-trade, for greatly increasing the prosperity of this country, and for advancing the cause of universal justice and benevolence, of civilization and religion, of freedom and peace throughout the world.

Signed by order of the Committee,

WILLIAM ALLEN, Chairman.

27, *New Broad Street, Sept. 10th*, 1841.

THE BREMEN SLAVER.

[From the *Morning Herald.*]

THE Court of Commerce in Hamburg has decided with reference to the merchant ship *Louisa* (seized by the British cruiser *Grecian*, Captain Smythe, on suspicion of slave traffic), that she was neither engaged in the slave-trade nor fitted out for that purpose, and that, consequently, she did not fall within the cases supposed by the conventions between France and Great Britain, to which Hamburg acceded by the treaty of June, 1837. Thus the motion for confiscation of the vessel naturally fell to the ground; but the court, in its decision, expressly says, that, even though the vessel had been convicted of slave traffic, confiscation could not have been decreed, there being no such punishment provided by the treaty of accession of June, 1837, and the law of June, 1841, not being applicable in a retroactive sense. The condemnation of the ship and her cargo contended for by the government advocate was therefore refused, as was also the claim of the defendants' counsel for compensation against the captor. This latter motion was refused on the ground furnished by articles 6 and 7 of the convention. Article 6 provides, that any vessel may be seized on suspicion of slave traffic on board of which certain specified articles shall be found. Among these are "spare planks, either actually fitted in that shape, or fit for readily laying a second or moveable deck, or slave deck." "Two or more copper boilers, or even one evidently larger than requisite for the use of her crew as a merchant vessel." "Rice or farina, flour of the manioc of Brazil, or cassada, or maize, or Indian corn, beyond any probable requisite provision for the use of the crew." "Having on board an unreasonable number of water-casks, or other vessels for holding water." Now these articles were found on board of the *Louisa*, which, together with the destruction of the papers, furnished *primâ facie* evidence against her. And article 7 of the convention expressly declares that "no compensation shall *in any case* be granted, either to the master or the owner, or to any other person interested in the equipment or lading of a merchant vessel in which any of the particulars specified in the preceding article shall be found, even if the tribunal shall not pronounce any condemnation in consequence of her detention."

Conformably to these two articles of the convention, the court, though acquitting the *Louisa* of slave-trading, and of being fitted out for that trade, decided that no compensation could be claimed, owing to the *primâ facie* evidence furnished by the articles found on board the vessel when captured. The costs of the inquiry are to be paid by the proprietors of the *Louisa*; and the captain, with the first and second mate, are released by the court from the confinement in which they had been held while the trial was pending.

The substance of this decision, as far as we can understand it (for the pleadings which would throw light on the subject are not permitted to be published under the Hamburg censorship), would appear to be that no Hamburg vessel will be sentenced as engaged in the slave traffic, or fitted out for the purposes thereof, unless slaves are actually found on board. And even in that case the infliction of the extreme punishment of confiscation is scarcely to be looked for, the only law under which it could be inflicted, that of June, 1841, being far from explicit, and affording ample scope for the quibbling capabilities of any advocate or judge who may wish to evade it. We do not mean to say that there is a disposition on the part of the Hamburg authorities to screen the slave-trader; but we must declare that it is impossible to discover any clear and resolute determination to put down the disgraceful traffic which France and England have openly and honourably combined to suppress. Indeed, we are extremely sorry to be obliged to add, that not a few among the Hamburg merchants are so narrow-minded as to insinuate, nay, openly to declare, that England has a sinister motive in endeavouring to abolish the traffic in slaves, in order that no other country may enjoy the profits of slave-labour which she herself has relinquished. This is either a despicable slander or a pitiable delusion, and, without condescending to refute it, we leave it to be disposed of by every candid and generous mind capable of estimating the vast and disinterested sacrifices which England has made in this matter so interesting to humanity; and also the frank and noble emulation which causes France and Great Britain to vie with each other, for the attainment of an object worthy of the efforts of two nations standing at the head of European civilization.

The case of the alleged slaver, the *Louisa*, to which we yesterday referred, is not the only circumstance which causes England to cast suspicious glances at Germany with reference to the slave-trade. The decision of the Hamburg tribunal will neither convince the public of the purity of the vessel in question, nor will it satisfy the scruples of law or diplomacy. We, however, pass over its further consideration to allude to very painful rumours; we do not state them as facts, but as allegations which demand explanation and refutation.

It is then alleged that, within the course of the present summer, several ships have been fitted out in German ports, with all the apparatus, instruments, and accommodation necessary to a slaving expedition; that the mariners engaged for these vessels have been

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shipped in ignorance of their voyage, or precise destination; that medical men have been employed at very high salaries, under the bonds of the strictest secrecy: and that an unusual veil of caution has been thrown around every thing belonging to or connected with this fleet. It is some months since these alleged circumstances were first in circulation here; the vessels referred to have subsequently sailed, as is stated, with a view to colonise an island on the western coast of Africa; but, on a full explanation of all the suspicions entertained in reference to them, the admiralty, at the instance of Lord Palmerston, a few weeks before the late administration left office, despatched, we are informed, orders to the British cruisers on that coast to closely watch their proceedings. Within the last few days letters have been received from Germany, which do not lessen but increase the fears at first suggested by the fitting out of these ships, and the latest arrival from Brazil brought a reference to their departure from Germany, and a recommendation to the Brazilian planters and traders not to lose sight of the expedition.

We have thought it our duty to bring these alleged facts thus formally before the public, in order that they may receive either confirmation or refutation from those who have the means to do either. We have no wish to pre-judge the matter, and await that explanation which is due to humanity.

Before leaving the subject, we hazard a few observations on the general subject of the slave-trade. If our sugar colonies are ever again to compete with Cuba or Brazil, the slave-trade must first be suppressed, and Trinidad, Guiana, the Mauritius, and Ceylon fully supplied with labour. Thus far England is obnoxious to the charge, so frequently brought against her on the continent, of pursuing interested views in her attempts to terminate this foulest of human crimes; but it is a charge in which she may well glory, for, in the accomplishment of these so-called selfish efforts, the future civilization and prosperity of all Africa is involved. The interests of England, and of deeply-wronged Africa, are identical; christianity itself urges on their closer association.

The present position of England with countries whose subjects are engaged in the slave-trade cannot be much longer endured. Upwards of thirty years ago England abolished the slave-trade; since that period, Europeans have torn from Africa, it is calculated, 3,500,000 human beings, one-third of whom have been landed in foreign possessions—upwards of 300,000 have been destroyed in the passage—and the remainder have been captured and liberated, at an expense to this country greatly exceeding twenty millions sterling. The slave-trade is, at the expiration of thirty years, admitted to be increasing, instead of being diminished; and the productions of Cuba and Brazil have, in consequence, more than quintupled, while the exports of the tropical colonies of this country have been gradually declining. Are we then wrong in asserting, that the present position of this country relative to the slave-trade is unendurable!

The slave-trade is the only subject on which treaties between nations are treated as waste paper; and this treatment is, after all, at the bottom of the extension of this accursed traffic. At no trifling pecuniary cost, by the exertions of the foremost of our statesmen, and at great occasional sacrifices of national interests, England has procured from Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, the solemn engagements of which have been set at nought. The slightest infringement of diplomatic stipulations on other matters leads to energetic remonstrances; if they fail, to the withdrawal of intercourse, to war, and to blockades. But on this single point, in which all humanity is concerned, and by the continual commission of crime in relation to which all humanity is degraded, treaty right is worthless, and solemn engagements are only words. But this permitted disregard of slave-trading treaties inflicts a deep injury on our national honour; for, to accustom a nation to acts which are dishonourable, or in defiance of its acknowledged rights, is to lower at once its institutions, power, and character, and thereby to diminish the value of its possessions, and ultimately endanger its existence. Every consideration then, of national interest and policy—of humanity and of christianity—imperatively forces on England the duty of demanding the fulfilment, to the letter, from Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, of their slave treaties.

In such a demand there is nothing unreasonable. Since the British legislature abolished the slave-trade so far as the United Kingdom was concerned, it has been beyond the power of calumny or foreign rivalry to allege that her sugar colonies have increased their population at the cost of Africa. An internal colonial police gave vitality to the act for the abolition of the slave-trade, and effectually prevented the importation of slaves. What England did it is in the power of Spain and Brazil to accomplish; both nations could, by the aid of police, restrain and put an end to slave importations and so fulfil their engagements with this country.

A knowledge that the means of suppressing their share of the desolating slave-trade is so readily at the hands of the Spanish and the Brazilian governments, and is so simple in its nature, and so efficacious if directed with energy and honesty, and the additional knowledge that the police which England has for so many years employed on the African coasts is quite inadequate or inefficacious—a knowledge of these facts, we assert, augments the obligation which this country owes to herself and to mankind, to insist on the literal fulfilment of slave-treaties, and to enforce that fulfilment, when necessary, by those means which the law of nations sanctions. Let England only announce to Brazil and Spain, that every slave imported into the empire or its colony gives to her a *casus belli*, and that, if their governments will not by internal means prevent the introduction of slaves, she will by external force—that is by means of efficient blockades—and the slave-trade will swiftly disappear from its first position in the catalogue of human crimes, and no longer desolate and distract unhappy Africa.

We are no advocates for hostilities between nations. We are devoted to the interests of peace; but, while war has so frequently afflicted mankind for "mean ambition or the pride of kings," we should be neither ashamed or afraid of one war in the history of humanity for the sake of civilization and christianity. But, in truth, the course we urge is altogether peaceful. There can be no war between Great Britain and either Spain or Brazil; the contest is too unequal to be apprehended; all that is required is a little firmness and decision, and a determination not to be trifled with, and Spain and Brazil will cease to be partakers in the guilt they now encourage. As to Portugal, her refusal to accord to Great Britain the stipulations known as the equipment clauses—though somewhat justified by the unprecedented and disgraceful conduct of Lord Howard de Walden—deprives her of any leniency in the measures to be adopted by this country for the suppression of her share in the horrible trade for the engagement of her subjects in which she has not the poor excuse of the great temptation of a sugar colony, or any rich tropical possessions. And for our own parts, we should witness with pleasure the sinking of every Portuguese slaver by the thunder of British artillery, and the deprivation of the Portuguese crown of all her miserable ports and islands on either coast of Africa.

BRITISH GUIANA:—IMMIGRATION.

It would appear from the following article, which we extract from the *Guiana Gazette* (the official paper of the colony) that the distribution by governor Light of the emigrants lately arrived from Sierra Leone, has caused much discontent among certain of the planters, who think themselves injured by having been overlooked by his Excellency. While we certainly feel pleased that the executive keeps a watchful eye on the working of the new scheme of immigration, we trust it will never be made a pretext for the indulgence of favouritism, or a means of increasing the personal and political influence of the governor. We are quite satisfied that the East is decidedly preferable to the West coast for newly imported labourers, until they are acclimated; and, provided recommendation do not assume the character of dictation, and be purely meant (as it ought to be) for the general good of the immigrants and the colony, it is not only wise, but kind, on the part of the authorities to point out to the uninformed stranger, not only the healthiest spots in the colony, but where they may obtain the best accommodations, the best wages, and the best masters. Let this be done "without partiality and without hypocrisy," and British Guiana may yet redeem its character. We merely add, that the abolitionists, as well as the government of this country, keep a watchful eye on the "whole business of immigration," not for the purpose of retarding its progress when conducted on right principles and for honourable purposes; but to guard it against those abuses to which it would infallibly lead, were it left in the hands of the present race of planters. We say not this from prejudice—we would speak well of them if we could; but we know that the greatest enemies of immigration are to be found in the colonies, not in England, as facts abundantly testify.

It would appear that some planters who have not been successful in obtaining the services of any of the immigrants now daily arriving in the colony, are inclined to call in question the propriety and justice of the advice given to the immigrants, or said to be given to them, by the agent-general under the directions of the governor.

The whole object of the appointment of an agent-general is to secure the immigrants against imposition, and to see that proper precautions are taken by themselves, and that proper provision is made by their employers, to secure them as far as practicable against the effects of the climate.

Apart from any considerations of humanity, it is evident that these precautions are founded in the most ordinary policy. The immigrants are brought here at a heavy expense to the colony; and, if they are placed in unhealthy situations, or are unprovided with proper lodgings, and are taken sick and die in consequence, not to mention the loss of life, there is just so much colonial money thrown away. This is an argument, we should imagine, which even those who make no pretensions to sentiment might be able to comprehend.

Again, a great degree of sickness and mortality among the immigrants is certain to put a stop to the influx of labourers, not only by discouraging those who, otherwise, might be inclined to come, but by provoking the interference of the government at home, which, as is well known, watches this whole business of immigration with a very jealous eye.

Now, it is generally agreed that some parts of the colony are much more healthy than other parts of it. This is a fact which the immigrants are entitled to be informed of. It is also highly desirable that they should avail themselves of it, and should pass the period of seasoning in situations the most favourable to health. That this arrangement should not be very agreeable to the owners of plantations in unhealthy situations, that they should be very unwilling to confess to the fact of unhealthiness, and that some among them should be ready to sacrifice the lives of the immigrants, and the money of the colony expended in bringing them hither, for the chance of making a few additional hogsheads of sugar, is according to the ordinary course of things.

It is, however, to be hoped that the clamour of these interested parties will not deter the governor and the agent-general from a faithful discharge of their duties towards the immigrants and the colony. *We have had experience enough already to know that nothing but the most watchful attention, and the most strict and unyielding adherence to the*

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rules established for the protection of the immigrants, can secure us against abuses which would cast disgrace upon the colony, and would bring the whole scheme of obtaining a supply of labour by immigration to a premature and unfortunate termination.

It is astonishing how differently things appear to the eyes and understanding of parties interested, and to those of indifferent persons. *The proprietor himself being sole judge in the matter*, we will venture to say that there are very few estates in the colony which are not most abundantly supplied with first-rate cottages, and possessed of an atmosphere the most salubrious. It is the bounden duty of the governor and the agent-general to prevent the immigrants being sacrificed to these hallucinations.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE IN BRITISH INDIA.

(From the *London Journal of Commerce.*)

A LITTLE work under the above title, emanating from the Anti-Slavery Society, has been laid before us; and, as the subject which it embraces is not only one of great interest in itself, but is likely ere long to excite considerable discussion both within and without the walls of parliament, we shall take the present opportunity of placing the question before our readers as fairly and intelligibly as our materials will enable us.

Perhaps no question ever came before the public upon which authorities, unimpeachable on both sides for integrity of motive, differ so widely. "Turning," says Mr. Colebroke, "from law to practice, we find domestic slavery very general (in India) amongst Hindoos and Mussulmans. More trusty than hired servants, slaves are almost exclusively employed in the interior of the house for attendance on the members of the family, and in all the most confidential services. Every opulent person, every one raised above the condition of the simplest mediocrity, is provided with household slaves; and from this class chiefly are taken the concubines of Mussulmans and Hindoos, in regard to whom it is to be remembered that concubinage is not among people of those religions an immoral state, but a relation which both law and custom recognise without reprehension." Others, on the contrary, represent slavery in India as surpassing in horrors anything that has been recorded of slavery in the west, degrading the male slave literally below the condition of the brute, and debasing the female in a manner too gross even for allusion. The work before us is valuable, as presenting to us a synopsis of these contradictory accounts extracted from parliamentary papers, and enables the eye of the practised reviewer at once to detect the circumstances from which such apparently conflicting statements have originated. In a region so extensive as British India, there are a great diversity of tribes, marked by an equal diversity of customs and habits; and nearly every writer quoted, seems to have fallen into the common error of inferring the condition of the whole from the condition of that particular portion which has been the subject of his study. Thus Mr. Colebroke, in describing slavery in India as something resembling a patriarchal form of domestic government, draws a picture of it as he found it in Bengal; while his opponents, Messrs. Baber, Græme, Campbell, and others, paint it in all the hideous colours with which prædial slavery shocks the eye of the traveller in Malabar. This is an important point to be remembered with a view to legislating on the subject, for, unless we make due allowance for it, we may enter into a contest as fruitless and absurd as that of the two knights, who tilted at each other to decide whether a shield was black or white, because it presented a black surface to one, and a white surface to the other.

Notwithstanding, however, the infinite variety of shades of slavery in India, there are two conclusions which are not at all effected by the question of the degree in which it may exist—namely, that it would be conferring a social blessing on our Indian possessions to abolish slavery as soon as practicable, of every degree; and that there, as elsewhere, the first effective step must be to abolish the slave-trade itself. In India there is both an external and internal slave-trade; and the measures for their suppression must of course be different—the one depending upon the exercise of a sweeping admiralty jurisdiction, and the other mainly upon the vigilance of an active police.

In 1811, the importation of slaves into Bengal, and its immediate dependencies, was prohibited "for the purpose of traffic;" but the insertion of the words quoted has virtually rendered the regulation a dead letter. When a cargo of slaves were brought into a port, the purpose of bringing them there was palpable enough—but the law would *not* allow it to be presumed; it must be proved; and the difficulty of doing this, as might have been expected, has been an insuperable one. It is, however, by Bombay and Madras that the external slave-trade is chiefly carried on, through the agency of Arab traders by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, who chiefly import children for the gratification of the eastern sensualists from Abyssinia. Sir Robert Grant, it appears, endeavoured, in 1836, "to suppress the inhuman traffic carried on within the limits of the coasting trade of our immediate dependents and tributaries, and almost under our own eyes;" but, finding his authority and influence, alike inadequate, he was compelled to abandon all hope of success, and "leave the question to be settled by the government of India." The supreme government did subsequently take the matter into their consideration, but it does not appear that they came to any practical resolution respecting it. Whether the suppression of the slave-trade from the eastern coast of Africa presents the same difficulties as that by the middle passage in the west, we have no means of judging; but the Indian government certainly do not appear to merit the compliment of having earnestly made the attempt.

The internal slave-trade is chiefly supplied by kidnapping, and by parents selling their children to the more opulent, when, from dearth or famine, they are unable to support them. Kidnapping is usually practised by the Brinjarries (migratory dealers), the Dacoits, and Thugs; and the horrid trade of these wretches can, of course, only be suppressed by an effective police, or by at once declaring a state of slavery illegal. The sale of children by their parents to preserve them from perishing by starvation, is a more delicate subject. That the practice must have a most demoralizing effect upon the people cannot be doubted; but, when life is at stake, every other consideration gives way. The periodical famines which visit India are the root of the evil; and they are an evil of such magnitude, that, independent of the secondary evils which flow from them, they claim all the consideration which the administrative government can bestow upon them, with the view of preventing their recurrence. The power which we have assumed does not leave us in a position to rest satisfied that India is no worse than we found her, or that she herself is content to remain so. In return for the wealth and influence we derive from her, it is our duty to impart to her, not only the comforts, but the morals of civilization; and, with respect to the slavery by which her social condition is deformed, we can in no case find an apology for not endeavouring to extirpate it. If it is as mild as its apologists contend, then the easier will be our task; and, if it be as oppressive as the other side represent, then the more imperative is our obligation to exert ourselves for its abolition.

THE PROGRESS OF INDIAN COMMERCE.

The progress of Indian Commerce and industry must naturally be watched with much interest in this country, and especially so far as relates to the increase in those products of the soil, or of manufacture, on which most mainly depend the improving capacity of consumption for British produce and manufactures. It is gratifying therefore to find, that, in respect of the production of exchangeable articles, the progress of India is not only steady and prosperous, but really surprising, and all that can be wished. The fact of itself is a sufficient assurance that the trade of that immense region is as yet but in its cradle. The returns of sugar produced and exported exhibit the following satisfactory proportions of increased exports of sugar to Great Britain:—

	Maunds.
Year ending 30th of Jan. 1838	610,670
1839	719,056
1840	787,495
1841	1,912,125

The maund is equal to 82 lbs. The increased production and export between the years 1840 and 1841 alone is therefore, in round numbers, at the prodigious rate of about 150 per cent. The manufacture and exports of rum were as follow, for the same dates:—

	Gallons.
1838	169,804
1839	201,382
1840	491,693
1841	1,205,150

Which shows an almost equal ratio of increase for the last year, as in sugar.—*London Journal of Commerce.*

SLAVE-MARRIAGES: BRITISH INDIA.

In two recent numbers of the *Reporter* we called the attention of our readers to the system of *Thuggee*, in connexion with the atrocious system of slavery which is permitted to exist in British India. The painful details were drawn from parliamentary papers recently published. We now draw from the same source another, and, to us, a new incident in Indian slavery. Under the Mohammedan law, Mr. Colebrooke informs us, in the event of a female slave bearing issue to her master, both she and her offspring are entitled to freedom, if he have not legitimate issue; and under the Hindoo law, the same gentleman tells us, though "a female slave bearing issue to her master does not acquire freedom * * * * her issue is free, and ranks with other illegitimacy but acknowledged offspring of her master." In this respect, the Hindoo and Mohammedan law of slavery is superior to the slave codes of christian powers generally. But the followers of the Koran and the Shasters know how to evade the obligations imposed by the laws, when they would benefit the slave, as well as those who, in the southern states of the North American republic, profess to follow the Bible, as the following extract from the report of the law commissioners will show:—

There is another evil say, the Commissioners, connected with slavery as it exists in Backergunge, Tipperah, Dacca Jelalpore, Mymensingh, Sylhet, Rajshahye, Purneah, Sarun, and parts of Tirhoot, which we must not omit in this enumeration, although we have no specific remedy to propose for its correction—we mean the custom of marrying female slaves to a person called a byakara. Marriage to such a person is called "punwah shadee."

The byakara, who is generally but not always a slave, is the husband of many female slaves, whom he visits in turn, once a month, or once in two months. At each of his marriages he receives a present of four or five rupees from the master of the female; and at each visit to any of his wives he receives food and a small gratuity. Whatever he receives is for his own use, though he be a slave.

The object of this arrangement, according to Mr. Mytton, the magistrate of Sylhet, is that the slave girl may remain in her master's house, and that all her children may belong to him. The same reason for the arrangement is assigned by one of our native witnesses, Brijnath Das Vydia; and he adds what shows still more clearly that it is the master's interest, when he has a female slave and no male slave who is a match for her, to marry her to a byakara. "When two slaves* belonging to different masters intermarry," says this witness, "if there is no special stipulation, the owner of the female loses all his rights, and the children, of course, belong to the owner of the male. He, however, receives no consideration for giving up these; for, in an affair of marriage, who takes a price?" Unless, therefore, the master of a female slave marries her to a byakara, or to a slave of his own, he loses her and her offspring; and, moreover, he cannot, without the imputation of meanness, receive money for the property he thus parts with. This last circumstance seems also to show, that the feeling of the master towards his slave, resembles rather that with which he regards his children, than that with which he regards his horses or bullocks.†

* We must, of course, understand the witness to mean where the male slave is not a byakara. Indeed, according to his evidence, the byakara is generally a freeman.

† The only remark we feel it necessary to make on this conclusion of the commissioners is, that it is utterly at variance with the premises. The feeling with which a Mussulman or Hindoo regards his children is very different from that with which he regards his slaves. The Hindoo regards his female slave as "soil," and both Mohammedan and Hindoo speak of them in the most contemptuous terms.

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Two of the judicial authorities seem, from their answers to the questions of the Law Commission, to look upon this kind of marriage in a somewhat, different light, and to regard it as a cloak thrown, for the sake of decorum, over an intrigue between the master and his female slave.

Mr. Cheap, judge of Mymensingh, says, in describing this kind of marriage, "It appears to be confined much to this part of India, and, from the pundit's bewusta, would appear not to be authorised by the shasters: but it has the sanction of custom, on which, I believe, all Hindoo law officers place almost equal dependence." He then describes it as "the marrying of female slaves to a person who makes it his occupation to go about, and offer himself as a husband for any slave. This is called a punwah shadee. The bridegroom receives a few rupees, sometimes only two, and a cloth. He stays a night after the ceremony is performed, and then departs; and is generally called upon to visit his wife after she has been confined. This nominal marriage (for of its consummation some doubts may be entertained) removes any stigma of reflection that might arise from a female slave being *enceinte*. But, as her being so again would without another visit from her avowed husband, lead to suspicion or scandal, he is again called in, as I have above stated, after her delivery." He thus continues:—"Of the offspring of such marriages the putative father (who is a freeman) may, I believe, claim every alternate child, but it is not often, I believe, that he avails himself of this privilege; for, if he did, and his wives were prolific, he would find it difficult to provide for his numerous family, and paternal feelings cannot have much to do with the matter. He is, in fact, much the same as a Koolin Brahmin, and may form as many marriages, with this difference, that the latter confers an honour on the family where he makes an espousal; and the punwah-battur saves the reputation of a slave who may become pregnant, in the household, perhaps, of that very Koolin's wife's family, or of any other wealthy Hindoo."

Mr. Stainforth, magistrate of Backergunge, after mentioning other marriages of slave girls, adds, "Lastly, they are married to byakaras, professional bridegrooms, who, receiving three or four rupees, *marry scores*, cohabit with them for a short time, and quit them after the fashion of the Koolin Brahmins. * * * If the slave becomes pregnant when it could not have been by the byakara, he is sought for, and induced by a present to come and cohabit with her for a short time, to divert suspicion of the paternity from resting on the master. If the byakara cannot be found, abortion is resorted to, or the woman is turned out." It is to be observed, however, that Mr. Stainforth says, "The profession of a byakara obtains among the Musselmans, the birth of a bastard child in whose house is not necessarily discreditable."

The probability seems to be, that *the punwah shadee was invented for the purpose of keeping female slaves and their offspring in the possession of their masters; but that, being capable of serving as a cloak to the master's licentiousness, it is occasionally put to that use.* This view of the subject is confirmed by the evidence of Kashinah Khan, who says, "Sometimes this kind of marriage is intended only as a screen to conceal the intimacy of the master with his female slave."

We have already stated that we have no specific measure to propose on this subject. The Hindoo law permits unlimited polygamy, and it would probably not be prudent to meddle with that institution. *But the fact that slavery aggravates, as in this case, the mischiefs of polygamy,* is an additional reason why the termination of slavery should be desired, and if possible, hastened.*

Thus far the commissioners. Delicacy forbids the further exposure of this horrid system. We think that our readers will agree with us, that iniquities cluster thick round the system of Indian slavery; and that they will feel it to be their solemn duty to unite in one great effort more, to relieve their country from the guilt and dishonour of sustaining so foul an abomination.

* The great honour which Koolin Brahmin confers upon the families with which he intermarries, has given rise to a custom among that class analogous to that of the *punwah shadee*, but productive probably of much greater evils.

TEXAS.

THE incidental notice of our commercial relations with the Texan republic by Sir Robert Peel, in his speech on Friday night last, leads us to the conclusion, that the treaty into which General Hamilton entered with Lord Palmerston has not been consummated. We trust it has not been, and will not be, while Texas continues to hold slaves, and pursues a policy towards the aboriginal tribes, and the free people of colour, utterly at variance with the commonest dictates of humanity and religion. Not only has the institution of slavery been actually created under its laws, but its perpetuity has been provided for by the same laws. To the United States it looks for a constant supply of human victims for the slave-markets it has opened. It has legalized a slave-trade between that country and its own, and (what may not be generally known) with France also, if her colonists choose to avail themselves of it; for the treaty into which Texas has entered with that power grants her the same privileges as those enjoyed by the United States, and one of these is the free transit of slaves into the republic, and their unrestricted sale when there. We have reason to believe that a similar treaty has been made with Holland. If it be so, we have little doubt that the Dutch planters of Curaçoa, Saba, and St. Eustatius, at least many of them, will carry their slaves thither for sale or location, unless the government interpose its authority to prevent it. The attention of our French and Dutch friends is earnestly desired to this point.

With respect to the Indians found within the limits of Texas, we find it to be the fixed determination of its authorities to extirpate them. Treachery and murder most foul have hitherto characterised their proceedings towards them. They hunt and destroy them like wild beasts, and hesitate no more to kill an Indian than to shoot a dog. And with respect to the free people of colour, the offspring of whites, whether with negros or Indians, a law has been passed, and is now being carried into execution, for their expulsion from the state or their reduction to slavery. This last point leads us to remark on the treatment which the emancipated negros of our colonies may expect, should they be induced to resort thither, either for business or any other lawful purpose whatever. Will it be endured that the petty state of Texas shall treat with indignity the free subjects of her Majesty who may go thither as mariners, merchants, or travellers, because they happen to be black or coloured! Ought not any treaty with Texas to be repudiated, which does not contain the most express stipulation on the point, that distinction of colour shall make no exception in the treatment of British subjects by the Texan authorities! We go farther, and say, that no treaty with that republic should ever be signed, which did not contain a stipulation that slavery should be wholly abolished. The present government, we earnestly hope, will not lose sight of these points. It is for Great Britain to show, by the consistency of all her acts with foreign powers, that no hopes of commercial advantage or political aggrandisement will ever lead her to compromise the liberty and happiness of any part of the human family.

The news has reached this country, that Mexico has rejected with indignation the proposal of the Texan envoy for the recognition of the independence of the Texan republic, though backed by all the influence of Great Britain, and by a guarantee that one million dollars of the debt owing from that country to this would be borne by Texas, in the event of its being done; and it is by no means certain that Mexican troops may not once more attempt, by force of arms, to regain the territory which has been lost. At the present moment, Texas is as bankrupt in its treasury as it is in its character. Before the recognition of its independence by this country, its dollar notes circulated for the value of ten cents only. That circumstance raised their value to fifteen cents; but they are now, we are informed, receding to the former amount. We earnestly caution our countrymen not to be duped by the glowing statements of Mr. Kennedy as to the extent and wealth of Texas, nor by the diplomatic skill of General Hamilton, nor by the promised advantages held out by the Texan land companies established in this country. All will be found hollow and unsubstantial. Those who may adventure their property, or risk their persons, in speculations which promise such golden returns, will be miserably deceived, and rue the day they placed confidence in Texan faith. The republic was founded in fraud and violence, and can only be sustained by them.

UNITED STATES: THE SLAVE QUESTION.

[From the *New York Journal of Commerce.*]

It is neither the veto—deeply as we deplore it, and unsound as we believe its doctrines—nor yet the loss of the bankrupt law, that presents the most important subject for contemplation at the national capital. There is a question arising of far higher moment to the interests and durability of this Union, to which we would invoke the public attention, and especially that of our southern political friends at Washington, ere it be too late.

It is not permitted us to know precisely what transpires in the executive sittings of the senate, until the injunction of secrecy is removed by the senate itself. Still, the veil is occasionally lifted in part, so that glimpses of what is going on are allowed to be caught. By this means it is no longer a secret that opposition has arisen to the nomination of the Hon. Edward Everett, as minister to England: to General James Wilson, as surveyor-general of Iowa; and to the Hon. Joel Eastman, of New Hampshire, for a local office in that state, on the ground of the abstract opinions entertained by those gentlemen, or supposed to be entertained, touching the institution of slavery. And in this course, it is reported, the whig senators from the slave-holding states have joined the opposition; so that, by a majority of two, the nomination of Mr. Everett has been laid upon the table, with a view to its being withdrawn by the president!

It is not pretended, we believe, that these gentlemen are abolitionists, in the modern offensive sense of the word. Indeed, Mr. Everett lost his election, as governor of Massachusetts, two years ago, because he would not subscribe to the dogmas of that faction. But, even if they were, that fact could form no sound objection to their appointment to the stations to which they have been nominated by the president. As American citizens of unblemished reputation—of high moral and intellectual worth—they would, nevertheless, be entitled to all the rights and privileges of citizens; and, so soon as a demonstration is made in the senate of the Union, for their disfranchisement on that ground, an issue will be raised which it becomes our fellow-citizens from the slave-holding states to weigh well, before they allow it to be presented.

The readers of the *Commercial* have no need of being informed at this day that we are not abolitionists, in the sense of the term that has become so deservedly odious; that is to say, we have no idea ourselves of interfering, or of encouraging others to interfere, with the rights of the southern states, in regard to those peculiar institutions respecting which they are so sensitive, and the *enjoyment* of which is guaranteed them by the constitution. Upon this naked question public opinion in the free states is sound—a fact of which the south ought long since to have been satisfied.

But let the people of the south, of all parties, pause before they ask more of us, or push us further. Let them not, because we are ready to support, and even *defend* them in all the rights secured to them by the constitution, presume further to require that we shall become the *advocates* of slavery. Let them not require of us to believe in the *humanity* of *slavery*, or in its *advantages* as *political economists*, or in the *righteousness* of *the traffic in human flesh*—in the bodies, if not in the souls of men!

Let the people of the south—let their senators and representatives in congress, beware, we say, of making such an issue with the north. And we now call upon the senators of the free states as one man—we care not for party upon this question—at once to take ground upon this issue, if presented. We call upon the senators of Massachusetts, Vermont, Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey—to meet the question, if presented, in the case of Edward Everett: and, should he be rejected upon the ground indicated, by an unhallowed union between the

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whig senators of the south and the opposition—let the whig senators from the north see to it that no foreign minister be appointed who is a slaveholder! God forbid that such an issue should be presented; but, if forced upon us, we trust it will be met as FREEMEN ought to meet it.

Extract of a letter from a late member of the Massachusetts legislature to Joseph Sturge, dated 8th month 26th, 1841.

"The Tyler administration is more against us than Van Buren's. He was under slavery influence; Tyler *is slavery itself*. Edward Everett, late governor of Massachusetts, and, until within the last three years strongly pro-slavery, has been nominated to the office of *minister* to England, but has not been confirmed by the senate, on the ground that he is too much of an abolitionist to visit St. James's. Two letters which he wrote to abolitionists previously to his election as governor of Massachusetts are brought up against him. Several other nominations have been, for the same reason, laid on the table of the senate. One instance of the all-pervading *espionage* of the slave power I may mention. The newly appointed post-master of Philadelphia employed, among his numerous clerks and letter carriers, Joshua Coffin, who, some three years ago, aided in restoring to liberty a free coloured citizen of New York, who had been kidnapped and sold into slavery. The appointment of the post-master not being confirmed, he wrote to his friends in congress to inquire the reason, and was told that the delay was occasioned by the fact that he had employed Coffin as one of his letter carriers! Coffin was immediately dismissed, and the senate in a few days confirmed the appointment! Is not this a pitiful business? All this confirms me in the opinion that this cause must be decided at the ballot-box. Mere moral suasion is wasted upon men who wield the declaration of independence in one hand, and the slave-whip in the other.

* * * * * *

"You must push the East Indian emancipation. This will show to the most sceptical that you are in earnest. Our slavery statesmen are watching you with intense interest. Every movement of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee is carefully noted, and commented upon. I feel anxious about Cuba and Brazil. Nothing has given more apparent alarm to the south than the movement in Cuba."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have in type another and a most important letter from Mr. Pilkington, on Slavery in Brazil; but the importunity of more pressing matter has compelled us, very reluctantly, to defer it till our next.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 22ND.

WE insert at the last moment a Memorial which has this day been presented by a deputation of the Anti-slavery Committee to Sir Robert Peel. It will be seen that it relates to the deeply important subject of slavery in British India.

Memorial of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, addressed to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., Her Majesty's First Lord of the Treasury, &c. &c.

In calling your serious and deliberate attention, Sir Robert, to the question of slavery in British India, and to the duty of its immediate and entire abolition, your memorialists need scarcely observe, that, in the prosecution of that great object, they are influenced by no party or sectarian feelings, but solely by an earnest and sincere desire of relieving a large body of their fellow-men and fellow-subjects from the oppression under which they have so long groaned, and of establishing, in every part of the vast empire of their most gracious Queen, the right of every human being to personal liberty, and to the full and complete protection of the laws.

Constituted as the society which they represent is on the most catholic principles, and designed as it has been in the spirit of christian philanthropy—having for its end the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade—and seeking that end by means which are exclusively of a moral, religious, and pacific nature—men of various denominations in religion, and of all parties in politics, unite in its cordial support; and this fact, Sir, they offer as the proof of their sincerity, and the pledge of their ultimate success.

If, Sir, on the general principles of christian duty it is obligatory on your memorialists, and on all men, to relieve the oppressed and to lessen the sum of human misery and degradation, wherever their influence may extend, and, as they have opportunity, to advance the sacred cause of freedom throughout the world—it is still more imperative on them to do so, when these objects are more immediately within their reach, and the means of effecting them are placed, providentially, at their disposal.

It is an indisputablet fact, that slavery exists in British India to an enormous extent. Various as may have been the causes in which it originated, it resolves itself principally into two forms, prædial and domestic; the bondage of the Nautch, or dancing girls, prostitutes, and attendants on the obscene orgies of the Hindoo temples, being the exception.

With respect to prædial slavery, it exists in all the presidencies; but to the greatest extent, and in its most atrocious form, in the western peninsula of India. In all cases the slaves are regarded, not as *adscripti glebæ*, but as the absolute property of their masters, and can be sold and separated as their caprice may determine, or their necessities may require. On the concurrent testimony of military men and civil functionaries of high character and standing in the East India Company's service, and of clergymen of different religious bodies long resident in the east, your memorialists venture to assert their wretchedness and degradation to be complete. The lives of this class of slaves are, for the most part, made up of toil, privation, and punishment; yet it is not so much to the incidents of slavery, fearful as they undoubtedly are, that your memorialists would respectfully claim your attention, as to the institution itself, which is a violation of the fundamental rights of mankind, of the immutable and eternal principles of justice, and of the benign spirit and precepts of the gospel. It is, Sir, as a crime against God that your memorialists denounce it, and seek its speedy and complete overthrow.

Domestic slavery, though less revolting in the case of some of its victims than in that of others, cannot be contemplated, even in its mildest form, by your memorialists, but with feelings of disgust and detestation. Subjected by the law of slavery to the will of their masters, to resist would be fatal to the possession of any privilege which, as favourite slaves, they might be allowed to enjoy. In all cases the power of the master is complete over the persons of female slaves, and the consequence is, that all that is pure in morals and holy in religion is outraged; and that evils are perpetuated at which, to use the language of a learned Indian judge, "humanity shudders, and modesty recedes with blushes." Your memorialists would add, that it is their decided conviction, from the evidence before them, that the condition of the great bulk of domestic slaves is deplorable. The seclusion of the harems and zenanas of Musselman of rank and Hindoos is, they fear, too frequently the cloak of brutal outrage and horrid murders. Evidence is not wanting in proof of this.

It is scarcely necessary for your memorialists to touch upon the situation of the dancing girls, prostitutes, and female attendants on the obscene worship of Hindooism. With but few exceptions, the melancholy history and dreadful fate of these wretched creatures is too well known to need recital. Those who survive the bloom of youth, or are not destroyed when they can no longer minister to the gain of their employers, either become the vilest of slaves, or panderers to the most debasing appetites of human nature.

The system of slavery in British India sanctions, fosters, encourages, and perpetuates all this misery, degradation, oppression, and death. It robs vast multitudes of the Queen's subjects of their personal liberty, of their rights as husbands, wives, and children, and of the fruits of their labour and intellect. It reduces beings made in the image of God, and endowed with immortality, below the level of the brutes that perish.

To supply the constantly recurring demand for slaves occasioned by the continual decrease of the slave population, and by other causes, an extensive slave-trade is carried on. Hordes of kidnappers and traffickers in human beings, such as the brinjarries, gosaynes, and megpunna thugs, are continually employed in obtaining children of both sexes to meet the demand. Not content with those they can buy or steal, it is in evidence that these ferocious people murder the parents for the sake of their children, and find no difficulty in the cities of India in disposing of the youths thus obtained. Your memorialists are aware that the law does not justify this state of things, it furnishes, however, the motive, and is powerless to put it down.

The famines which so frequently desolate British India furnish another source of supply. Under plea of the necessities of parents, the sale of children is permitted and justified; but your memorialists cannot admit on any grounds, political or moral, the sufficiency of the plea, inasmuch as it strikes at the very root of human rights, whether personal or civil. Where famines are clearly the result of providential visitations, public munificence, combined with private benevolence, should be exerted to mitigate, where they cannot fully counteract, their desolating effects. Where these famines may, however, be traced to defective political institutions, oppressive fiscal arrangements, or misgovernment, your memorialists humbly conceive it is the duty of a wise and paternal government to interpose a better order of things, to meet the exigencies of a suffering and oppressed people. Your memorialists cannot contemplate without horror the sale of multitudes of innocent young children annually, within the limits of the British empire, to perpetual slavery; and they strongly feel that the permission of such a practice is not only calculated to relax the bonds of parental and filial love, and to induce the most wretched and deplorable habits among the people, but, to reflect indelible disgrace on the authorities who give it their sanction, and the country that will allow it to bedone.

Another source of supply is the African slave-trade. Through the Portuguese settlements of Goa, Diu, and Damaon, and through some of the native states on the borders of the Persian Gulf, native Africans are surreptitiously, yet continually introduced into the British territories, and are in great demand, particularly emasculated Abyssinians, who fetch a high price in the market. Nor is the supreme seat of Indian government itself, Calcutta, free from the illicit and detestable traffic; and your memorialists believe it never will be, while the system of slavery is permitted to exist.

Your memorialists do not feel it to be necessary to dwell on the various schemes which have been propounded during the last fifty years, for ameliorating the condition of slaves and mitigating the state of slavery in British India (all of which, however, have

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either been neglected, or have signally failed in accomplishing their object); simply because they are convinced, not only that there is no reasonable hope of the abolition of the slave-trade but by the extinction of slavery, but that slavery itself is an evil not to be mitigated, but destroyed. To its utter extirpation throughout the whole of the British dominions they stand solemnly pledged; nor can they swerve from their purpose, nor relax from their efforts, until the great work is accomplished.

This is the case which your memorialists venture, Sir Robert, respectfully to lay before you.

It is but the brief and imperfect outline of a mighty subject. In conclusion, they would earnestly implore you, as the head of her Majesty's government, to bring forward a measure for the complete abolition of slavery, in whatever form it may exist, throughout all the territories and dependencies of the British crown; and to declare that, henceforth, the whole of the British empire shall be, not only theoretically but practically, as sacred to freedom as Great Britain itself. To you, Sir, is committed, in great measure, the destiny for weal or woe of millions in British India, who have long been the victims of a ruthless despotism. You, Sir, can break their chains, and cause them, and their posterity after them, to bless you as their deliverer. And, by performing this great act of justice, you will not only advance the honour of your country, perfect in the East the great work of emancipation already consummated in the West Indies, and accelerate the progress of civilization and religion; but you will obtain for yourself the grateful homage of mankind, and the blessing of Him who commands us to "seek judgment and relieve the oppressed."

Signed by order of the Committee,

London, September, 10th, 1841.

THOMAS CLARKSON,
WILLIAM ALLEN, *Chairman.*

WE direct attention to the petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to the House of Lords, which appears in another column. It was presented on Monday evening last, by Lord Brougham, amidst tokens of the deepest attention from his noble auditors, and is adapted to produce a powerful effect, both on that right honourable house, and on the country. The allegations it contains are sufficiently startling; but much more so is the fact that the committee feel themselves warranted in so solemnly making them in the face of the world, and in challenging an inquiry which should have the effect of throwing on themselves the burden of proof. A similar petition was presented a few evenings before to the house of commons by Sir Eardley Wilmot, distinguished, however, by the insertion of a phrase which goes to impute a partticipation in the slave-trade to some of the members of that honourable house themselves. The mettle of the present parliament, and of sundry English gentlemen and ladies too, will certainly be tried by this petition.

We subjoin the account of the proceedings in the House of Lords upon the presentation of it:—

Lord BROUGHAM said, that he had to present a petition of great importance on a subject in which that house had taken very great interest. The petition was from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and was signed by the chairman on behalf of the committee of that society, on the subject of the slave-trade. It called the attention of the house to the lamentable fact that British subjects were extensively engaged in, and promoted, the traffic in slaves. He (Lord Brougham) had hoped that British subjects had long since retired from all participation in that trade; but the facts which he had to state would show that British capital and British skill were still engaged in, and seeking profit from, that infernal traffic. Various mining companies were formed in this country, which carried on their operations in Brazil and in Cuba, working their mines by newly imported slaves from Africa, who were illicitly purchased by the agents of these companies, although such agents well knew that the importation of the slaves into these countries was illegal, contraband, and piratical. The law, as applied to British subjects who engaged in the slave-trade, was somewhat different to that which applied to foreigners belonging to countries in which slavery existed. What might be lawful to a foreigner as to the purchasing a newly-imported slave in his own country was one question; but, if he procured or introduced such slave in a British colony, it would be felony. It might be perfectly lawful for a foreigner to possess such a slave in his own country, but if a British subject so participated in the slave-trade, that was to say, by the purchase of a newly imported slave in those foreign countries where it was not illegal, such British subject was liable to be seized and tried in this country, and convicted for engaging in the slave-trade. Three years ago he would have been punished with death, but now he would be liable only to transportation for life, whether such trade in the country in which the act was done were legal or illegal. In the case referred to by the petitioners the only question would be, whether the purchase of slaves newly imported was an act of slave-trading. The petition also stated that officers in the army and navy, and other public functionaries, had accepted employment from these mining companies, and had been engaged in making purchases of newly imported slaves in those countries as agents of these companies. It appeared, also, that large banking companies in this country had established branches in countries where the slave trade was still carried on, and that they lent money, which it was believed was employed in that trade. As far as regarded the establishment of such banks, he did not believe that there was anything illegal in the proceeding. The petitioners also stated that goods were extensively manufactured in this country which were called coast goods, and it was known that they were employed only in the slave trade. He would not say that the mere sale of those goods, out and out, although knowing the illegal use for which they were destined, was a felony; but if, as was stated in the petition, British subjects in the Brazils and Cuba sold such goods, not out and out, but on condition of a price to be paid proportionate to the profits of a slave trading adventure, then such person was guilty of felony. It perhaps could not be brought home to houses in this country, but he thought that inquiry should be made into the subject. If the practice could be brought home to any parties, he contended that for those acts they could be seized in this country, and tried as felons. The petitioners also stated that it was notorious that fetters and shackles were made in this country, and were part of the exports of our manufactures sent to Brazil and Cuba, to be employed in the slave trade. The petitioners also deeply regretted that British subjects had bought estates in the Brazils which were worked by newly-imported slaves. The petitioners also stated that vessels were built in this country for the purpose of being employed in the slave-trade. Vessels built for this trade could easily be distinguished, from the peculiar manner in which the decks were built, and from the other interior fittings. He had himself reason to believe that a vessel had been built in one of the best harbours of this country for this trade; it was afterwards sent to another place to have its interior fittings put up, and, having procured simulated papers, it sailed to the Havana, from whence it was to be despatched to the coast of Africa for a cargo of slaves. The petitioners prayed the house to extend the provisions of the 5th George IV., called the Slave Trade Consolidation Act of 1824, so as to prohibit all British subjects from holding slaves under any pretence whatever; and they also prayed that their lordships would appoint a committee to inquire into the subject. The latter object he would support. Before sitting down he begged to ask his noble friend, the President of the Board of Trade, whether there would be any objection to lay on the table of the house the report of Dr. Madden, who had been sent to Africa on a mission of inquiry on this subject?

The Earl of RIPON had not heard anything relating to the subject. The report alluded to would most likely be made to the Secretary of State, and not to the department over which he had the honour to preside. He would, however, make inquiries into the subject, and would communicate the result to his noble and learned friend. As to the carrying on the slave-trade in the manner described by his noble friend, he could only say that he had never before heard the statements contained in the petition, of British subjects disgracing themselves and the country by engaging in the slave-trade, and he trusted most sincerely that they were untrue.

OUR readers know that the subject of slavery in British India has occupied the constant and most earnest attention of the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society. Deeply have they deplored the obstacles which have from time to time arisen to the adoption of vigorous practical measures. But they hope the period has now come for them. At a special meeting of the committee, on the 17th instant, a series of resolutions were adopted, by which it will be seen, that, in consequence of Dr. Lushington's regretted absence from parliament, the introduction of the subject to the House of Commons, is placed in the hands of Sir Eardley Wilmot. The honourable baronet has already shewn himself worthy of the confidence thus reposed in him, and we have no doubt but he will still more amply justify it by his future exertions. The committee make an earnest appeal for support to the friends of abolition, not only in this country, but in the *emancipated colonies*, and in BRITISH INDIA. To the last item we are desirous of giving especial emphasis. There must be—there are—many friends of abolition in India. Wherever they are, however obscure, however dispersed, let their voices be heard in prompt and earnest application to the authorities every where, but above all to the British parliament, that this sin and mischief may cease. English abolitionists want and deserve this help. The influences against which they struggle are mighty; and all the co-operation that can be afforded them will not be too much to give effect to their endeavours. The following are the resolutions.

"That, whilst this committee deeply lament that causes should have existed during the last session of parliament, to prevent the subject of slavery in British India from being brought under the serious and deliberate attention of the House of Commons; and whilst they greatly regret the loss of the invaluable assistance of the Right Honorable Dr. Lushington, in the advocacy of the anti-slavery cause in that house; they gladly avail themselves of the aid of Sir Eardley Wilmot, bart., to give notice of a motion thereon, to be brought under the attention of the legislature at the earliest possible period.

"That, believing slavery, however modified or sanctioned, to be a crime against God, and therefore an evil not to be mitigated, but destroyed, the committee would respectfully urge upon Sir Eardley Wilmot the necessity of framing his motion so as to secure its immediate and entire abolition, as most in accordance with christian duty, in harmony with the great work of emancipation accomplished in the West Indies, and in unison with the laws and institutions of Great Britain; and so as to secure to every human being resorting to any part of the territories, dependencies, and possessions under her sway, the unquestionable right of personal liberty, and the complete protection of the laws.

"That the committee, deeply feeling the magnitude and character of the evil to be destroyed, and the mighty influence its abolition must have in hastening the overthrow of slavery and the slave-trade wherever they exist, earnestly entreat the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the United Kingdom, the emancipated colonies, and British India, to sustain the efforts of the Committee by petitions to both houses of parliament, and by memorials and addresses to the constituted authorities, seeking its immediate, unqualified, and unconditional overthrow.

(Signed) "G. W. ALEXANDER, Chairman."

ACCORDING to the announcement made in our last, a special meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society was held on the 15th instant, to consider of the period of holding the next General Anti-slavery Convention. The

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following circular has subsequently been issued, the copiousness of which precludes the necessity of further remark.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London, September 17th, 1841.

SIR,—One of the last acts of the General Anti-slavery Convention, held in London in 1840, was to devolve on the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society the important duty of summoning, at some future period, another assemblage of the friends of humanity, to aid in promoting, by their united counsels and efforts, the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. In accepting the charge confided to them by that large and enlightened body of philanthropists, the committee have felt the weight of responsibility connected with it, and have been anxious to meet it in a spirit becoming the magnitude of the interests involved, and the difficulties to be overcome.

In reviewing the period which has elapsed since the holding of the late Convention, the committee have felt great cause for thankfulness that its labours have already produced the most gratifying effects in different parts of the world, and give promise of yet greater good to come; and they are greatly encouraged by the almost unanimous concurrence of opinion of those who participated in its proceedings, on both sides of the Atlantic, to call another convention at no very distant period of time.

The committee deem it necessary, for the information of their friends generally, to state, that their attention was called some months since to the resolution of the late Convention, which left it "to the discretion of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to decide, after consulting with the friends of the cause of abolition, the time and place of holding the next convention;" and at the same time it was suggested that it be held in London, at some suitable period in the year 1842. This was the recommendation of several leading abolitionists of this country, and was seconded by the decision of many of the leading anti-slavery friends in the United States. After two or three preliminary meetings for the consideration of the question, a circular was issued on the 11th of June last, and several friends, representing anti-slavery societies in the country, met on the 22nd of the same month, when, after a very serious and deliberate consideration of the correspondence with which the committee had been favoured on the subject, and the interchange of opinion upon it, it was resolved:—"That, the proposal for holding another conference in London in 1842 having been deliberately and harmoniously discussed in its various bearings, it was deemed expedient that its further consideration be postponed to a future meeting;" and a further correspondence with the friends of the cause in the United States was recommended.

In compliance with this decision, the committee communicated with their devoted friend Joseph Sturge, then in the United States, and with the executive committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, on the subject. The result is, that the final decision of the period of holding the convention was left in their hands.

The next step of the committee was to issue the circular letter dated the 1st of September; when they were again favoured, on the 15th inst., with the presence and counsels of many friends from the country, and with a considerable correspondence in reply thereto. At this meeting the following resolution was adopted, to which they would respectfully call the serious attention of their friends in all parts of the world:—"That, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society and the friends of the anti-slavery cause present having taken into their consideration the proposition of holding another anti-slavery convention in London, it be called for June, 1843, unless special reasons may be found to exist for holding it at an earlier period; and that notice of the same be given to the public immediately."

It now remains only for the committee to say to their friends, that due notice will be given to them as to the arrangements that may be made for holding the convention. In the meantime they would remind them, that upwards of six millions of their fellow-creatures are held in the new world, by professedly christian powers, in the most abject slavery, whilst, in Africa and the East, millions more sigh "by reason of the bondage" in which they are held; that, to supply the slave-markets of the world, Africa alone is robbed of one thousand of her children daily, who suffer an intensity of misery unequalled in the history of human suffering and crime. Of these two-thirds perish in their original capture, their transit to the coast, and their removal to the distant slave-marts; and the remainder, with their posterity after them, are doomed to perpetual slavery in foreign lands. At this moment it is estimated that twenty thousand of these victims of a merciless cupidity are confined in the holds of slave-ships on the bosom of the Atlantic, subject to the unutterable horrors of the middle passage.

Let christian philanthropists contemplate these appalling facts, and in them behold, not only their own nature outraged and degraded, but the common Father of mankind dishonoured and defied; and, uniting their counsels, their prayers, and their efforts, accelerate the glorious period when oppression shall cease throughout the earth, and the benign spirit of christianity shall link the whole human family in a holy brotherhood of peace and love. I am, sir, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

WE briefly adverted in our last to the Second Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, which has just issued from the press; but we must be permitted further to draw the attention of all friends of the cause to this important document. It contains, not merely the Report, as read at the public meeting at Exeter Hall, but, in an appendix, a great mass and variety of interesting and important matter. We do not know that we can set this forth better than by placing before our readers the following enumeration of the contents.

No. I.—On Christian Fellowship. Resolutions of Convention, the Wesleyan conference, Congregational Union, Baptist Union, Northern Association, Irish Southern Baptist Association, list of chuches who have forwarded resolutions.

No. II.—Address to the Heads of Governments. Report of deputation, replies to addresses.

No. III.—On the suspension of the reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates in Jamaica. Resolutions of committee, letter to Lord John Russell, reply, resolutions at an adjourned meeting.

No. IV.—Emigration. Declaration of committee, handbill.

No. V.—Exportation of Coolies to Mauritius. Deputation and memorial to Lord John Russell, petition to the House of Commons, result.

No. VI.—On British functionaries holding slaves. Memorial of Convention, letter of Thomas Clarkson, reply of Lord Palmerston.

No. VII.—Texas. Deputation and memorial to Lord Palmerston, letter and resolutions of committee, reply, handbill.

No. VIII.—On the proposed scheme of emigration from Sierra Leone. Letter to Lord John Russell, reply, government instructions, alleged purchase of slaves for soldiers by French government, ditto by the Dutch government.

No. IX.—Case of the Amistad. Letter to Lord Palmerston, his Lordship's instructions to resident ministers in Spain and America, correspondence between Mr. Fox and Mr. Forsyth, release of captives.

No. X.—On the condition of the Coloured Population of Upper Canada, &c. &c. Letter to Lord Palmerston, British negros in foreign slave colonies, on the condition of Africans released from captured slavers, emancipados, libertados.

No. XI.—On the occupation of Crab Island. Letter to Lord Palmerston, reply, note on the same.

No. XII.—Places visited by Deputation.

No. XIII.—On the state of the laws, and the administration of justice in the colonies. Memorial to Lord John Russell.

No. XIV.—On the reduction of the Sugar Duties. Memorial to Lord Melbourne, resolutions of committee, petition to the House of Commons, explanatory statement, petition in favour of free produce, petition on the equalization of the East and West India rum duties.

No. XV.—On British officers acting as agents to slave-holding Mining companies. Memorial to Lord Palmerston, reply.

No. XVI.—Deputations. FRANCE: resolutions of committee, interview with the King of the French, address, statistics of the slave colonies of France. HOLLAND: Mr. Westmaas's address to the King on Surinam, statistics of slave colonies of Holland. SPAIN: report of proceedings in that country.

No. XVII.—Slave-trade. SPANISH COLONIES—Havana, Cuba, Porto Rico, slave population of Cuba and Porto Rico, exports. BRAZIL, Rio de Janeiro, slave population of Brazil, exports.

No. XVIII.—United States. Address to the President, population of the United States, the inter-state slave-trade.

No. XIX.—Addresses. Sir Lionel Smith, Sir John Jeremie, R. R. Madden, Esq., M.D., Sir William Colebrooke.

No. XX.—Brazilian Mines, statistics.

No. XXI.—Slave population under nominally Christian governments North America, South America, West Indies, Africa, Asia, British India, resolution of committee.

No. XXII.—Extent of the Slave-trade. Christian, Mohammedan, African slave-trade since 1808, Sierra Leone.

No. XXIII.—The extent of the Sugar and Coffee trade throughout the world.

Than such a record of highly important facts and correspondence scarcely anything can be more valuable, either for preservation as a reference, or for immediate utility by circulation. We trust our friends will be alive to this subject, and will promote the widest possible diffusion of this document, either by purchase at the small price affixed to it, or, where needful, gratuitously.

WE extract the following passage from the *Morning Advertizer* of the 10th instant:—

The question of slavery is likely ere long to be again brought before the public in rather a novel light, certain merchants abroad having considered themselves aggrieved by charges implying their participation in the odious traffic, and having accordingly instituted, as we are informed, legal proceedings against the public organ of the Anti-Slavery Society. It would be indiscreet, perhaps, in us, pending such a state of things, to speculate upon the various bearings of the case, especially as it is said that the Society, with their known energy and activity, have sent out a legal commissioner of considerable talent to sift the matter thoroughly. If the charges should prove unfounded, we have no doubt the Society will be perfectly ready to make the *amends honorable*; for we know of no accusation which in this age, of philanthropy and enlightenment, can prove more galling to the right feeling mind, than that of a participation in the accursed trade in human blood. It is, in fact, the "damned spot," which nothing can wipe out. On the other hand, therefore, and by parity of reasoning, supposing the Society substantiate their charges, the finger of scorn and the voice of execration will justly be raised against the delinquent parties; nor will, indeed, we trust, the moral punishment be all. The late Secretary for Foreign Affairs has always manifested praise-worthy vigilance in the repression of the slave-trade, and we have every reason to believe that his lordship forwarded such particular and strict injunctions to her Majesty's cruisers on the African stations, shortly before his secession from office, and in reference more especially to the very case we are alluding to, as, if successfully acted upon, will throw an important light upon it; for since it is a question for all ages, and all people, we can hardly suppose the present government will relax in the humane endeavour to set it at rest. There is another point, however, on which we feel disposed to bring to task the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, and which our readers will best understand by the following extract from yesterday's publication of the Society, in which it is stated:—

"We have received information of the most painful—we might say appalling—character, respecting the participation of British merchants of the highest respectability in the atrocious traffic in the persons of men which desolates the coast of Africa. At the present moment we are not at liberty to make public what we know, but the details cannot long be concealed."

This is a startling announcement; and, although we acquit our contemporary of any design to calumniate, we cannot suppose that the matter will be permitted to drop here. The high character of the British merchant generally entitles him to fair play. "A clear stage," as the saying goes, "and no favour." If there are members of our trading community who have so far tampered with their pecuniary standing—for respectability they certainly can have no claim to—as to be guilty of acts, the details of which alone are styled *appalling*, we see no reason in justice or policy why they should, for one moment be screened, to the prejudice of the body at

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large. The Society may possibly be deficient in its proofs; but then it had been wiser to have abstained, for a time at least, from any mention of the circumstances, for we know that the paragraph in question has excited attention in the city, if not some degree of pain.

On the first subject touched in this extract, our friends will for the present content themselves with the information which our contemporary has provided for them. With respect however, to the vessels fitted out in Denmark by Don Jose Santos (the foreign merchant referred to) we find in the city article of the *Times* of the 6th instant a passage which throws considerable light on their character and destination, and a light the more valuable because is comes from an independent and impartial source.

A letter from Hamburg has appeared in one of the Rio papers, informing the readers that a Portuguese house in the former city was entering into a new speculation. A convoy of vessels was to start from Hamburg to various Portuguese ports on the African coast, completely laden with Manchester and German goods, fitted for those African markets where they were to be distributed. The Brazilian "planters and traders" were told not to lose sight of the expedition. The letter conveying this intelligence to the Brazilian "planters and traders," is dated the 17th of March, and it is a clear hint to the Brazilians to expect a new supply of slaves, since, in any other commodity but human flesh, it is difficult to conceive how a return for the manufactured articles could be be made. If it is not too late, the hint may be serviceable, not only to the Brazilian planter, but also to the British cruizer.

As to the extract from our last paper, we are truly happy that it has excited attention in the city, and we should not be sorry that it had given pain, provided it were to the guilty parties. The *Advertizer* does us no more than justice in acquitting us of a design to calumniate; but it is far from the mark in supposing that the Anti-slavery Society may be deficient in its proofs. Nor is it by any means the intention of the committee that the matter shall drop where it is. A reference to the petition within these few days presented to parliament (a copy of which appears in our first page) will shew that they have made the same allegation in the face of the country, and in a manner which renders it impossible for them to recede. If parliament will only grant the inquiry prayed for, proofs of which no use can be made by us now will be readily brought forward.

SINCE our last a strong sensation has been produced in this country by the decision of the Tribunal of Commerce at Hamburg, in the trial of the *Louisa*, captain Boye. We are enabled, by the kindness of a valued correspondent (whose communication was just in type for our last paper, but was most reluctantly deferred through press of matter) to present a copious abstract of the pleadings in this important case, which will be read with great interest. The result, which has been looked for with much anxiety, is well stated in the following extract of a letter from a correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*.

You have seen the acquittal of the captain of the *Louisa*, in the Hamburg papers. The acquittal is grounded upon the fact of the ship's not being openly fitted out for the slave-trade, while the costs are adjudged against the vessel, on account of the suspicious nature of the coppers and planks, as well as because the captain had notoriously burned two letters, and thrown others, with the papers, overboard. It appears that the vessel could not have been confiscated, even if the captain had been found guilty, from an omission of such a stipulation in the convention, or in the laws issued in consequence of its conclusion at home. The treaty would, therefore, seem to require a speedy revision, as it must either be lame on more points than one, or the justice administered in a German court must halt considerably.

In another column will be found two articles on this subject which have appeared in the *Morning Herald*, from the warlike tone of which, however, we altogether dissent. We shall only say at present that the decision of the Tribunal of Commerce is far from proving the innocence of the *Louisa*. In our minds there is no doubt of her guilt; nor do we think that, even in a court of mixed commission, she would have escaped condemnation. If indeed our treaty with Hamburg for the suppression of the slave-trade be as deficient as now appears, the sooner the defect is rectified the better; more especially as the example of the *Louisa* has already been followed by one other vessel, and is likely to be followed by many more.

WE have copied an article from the *London Journal of Commerce*, as another proof that the question of slavery in British India is beginning to attract the attention of the press, both metropolitan and provincial. Our contemporary will allow us to correct one or two errors into which he has fallen, from the perusal of the conflicting statements of the different individuals who have treated of the subject of slavery in our East India possessions. If it be true that prædial slavery assumes its most atrocious form in the western peninsula of India, where it exists to the greatest extent, it is no less true that some of the most brutal cases in the treatment of slaves, both prædial and domestic, are to be found in the records of the Bengal presidency. Mr. Colebrooke, in the passage quoted by our contemporary, referred exclusively to the condition of domestic slaves; and, had it been given at length, it would have been seen that the writer was not insensible "to the miseries incident to the most degraded condition in human society," nor the advocate for its continuance. Though he considered domestic slavery among Hindoos and Mussulmans to be in general mild, he observes, "I should, however, demonstrate only an ill acquaintance with human character, if I affirmed this to prevail universally, without any exception. I cannot doubt," he adds, "that bad temper and disposition sometimes constitute a harsh, severe, and cruel master; nor have I been without occasion of being convinced that such characters are to be found amongst the owners of slaves." The fact is, that little can be known of the management of domestic slaves, secluded as they are within the precincts of harems and zenanas. It is only when they contrive to escape from their tormentors, or when their murder is accidentally brought to light, that the "gentleness and indulgence" of their treatment become known to the authorities. Mr. Campbell, who was for some time superintendent of the police at Madras, says, that domestic slaves "are too often treated with caprice, and frequently punished with much cruelty;" and he observes that the complaints made to him gave him "an insight into transactions committed in the recesses of the female apartments," which left a strong impression on his mind "of the cruelty and wanton barbarity with which this class of female slaves is subject to be treated: indeed," he adds, "*little doubt can be entertained that the seclusion of female slaves in the harems of Musselmans of rank too often precludes complaint, prevents redress, and cloaks crimes at which Europeans would shudder.*" The law of slavery, both Hindoo and Mohammedan, gives the owners of female slaves such unlimited power over their persons, that it would amount to a miracle if they were generally well treated. We have no faith in the mildness of Indian slavery, not because we have any disposition to exaggerate its evils; but because slavery, wherever it exists, gives full play to the worst passions and basest appetites of human nature—passions and appetites which it requires, even in a community and country like our own, all the restraints of law and all the influence of religion to curb and subdue.

Whilst our contemporary unites with us in condemnation of the slave-trade as deserving the strongest reprobation, we are sorry to perceive that he does not agree with us in condemning the sale of children by their parents, during the famines which so frequently devastate certain provinces of British India; at least he says "that this is a more delicate subject." We think, however, that, were he to inquire into the subject, he would find that the argument drawn from the prevalence of famine for the continuance of slavery, as a kind of "refuge for the destitute" would afford no support to that atrocious institution. Too frequently is the necessity of parents made the plea for the sale of children, and a pretext for the most inhuman and revolting practices. Where these famines are the result of providential visitations, the hand of public munificence joined with that of private benevolence, should be stretched forth to mitigate them; but where they are clearly to be traced to the folly or wickedness of men, a wise government should interpose for the deliverance of a suffering and oppressed people. In a country like India, rich in the extent and fertility of its soil, and with a paternal government to direct its affairs, an almost boundless prosperity should mark the career of its people, and be productive of the happiest results to the country to whose sway it has been subjected.

One word more, on the means which our contemporary suggests for mitigating, if not removing, the evils complained of. The slave-trade both external and internal, he thinks may be suppressed by "a sweeping admiralty jurisdiction," and "the vigilance of an active police." Never can that gigantic evil be put down by such means. While the market exists it will not want its victims; that is quite clear from the evidence already laid before parliament. You must adopt the other alternative to which he refers; you must at once declare slavery itself to be illegal. This is the true and the only efficient mode of dealing with the evil. Long enough have we tried our experiments upon it, and it has grown under our hands, until its magnitude has become appalling, and its character unendurable. Ought we not now to destroy it root and branch! We cordially unite with our contemporary in the sentiments embodied in the concluding paragraph of his able article.

THE anti-slavery question in the United States has assumed a very interesting and most promising aspect, on occasion of the nomination of Mr. Everett as ambassador to England. Although (as is stated) not an abolitionist, Mr. Everett is not a slave-holder; and he certainly holds opinions much too near abolitionism to be agreeable to southern gentlemen. On this ground opposition has been raised in the senate to his appointment; and, by this measure, the entire north has been aroused to indignant resolution. An extract which we have made from the *New York Journal of Commerce* will show the feeling which has been generated, and the course it is likely to take. It is understood to be the intention of the northern states, that, if Mr. Everett be thrown aside as ambassador to England, he shall be proposed for vice-president of the United States at the next election; and there can be no doubt that the feeling, under which this will be done will secure its accomplishment. This bitter realization of their fetters by the northern states, and their awakening to a determined struggle with the slave-power which has so long ruled the Union, argue well for the anti-slavery cause.

THE *Exit*, a vessel which sailed from Rio on the 15th of July, carried to the United States reports which are thus condensed in the New York papers.

The discussions in the legislative body of Brazil appear to be marked with great good sense and much decorum. We were somewhat astonished to find the minister for foreign affairs, in the chamber of deputies, avow that the determination of the government was that the clandestine introduction of slaves should cease, that the laws against the slave-trade should

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be strictly enforced, and the treaties with foreign nations on this point be carried into execution. The policy of the government would be, he said, to encourage the emigration of white labourers, and the Brazilian legations in foreign countries had everywhere instructions to do all in their power to promote it. We confess that, when we see the slave-trade abolished in Brazil and Cuba, we shall cease to wonder at anything.

To this remark of the American editor the *London Journal of Commerce* adds the following.

The above-mentioned instructions to the foreign legations regarding emigration are so absolutely vague, and without a tangible security or base, that nothing whatsoever can be expected from them. If Brazil does not take speedy and earnest measures to stop the slave-trade and attract foreign colonists, making at the same time, the most gigantic efforts at once to overcome the rebellion of Rio Grande, we consider it a doomed land; for a house divided against itself cannot stand.

We have nothing to do with war. But we have as little faith in the anti-slave-trade purposes of the Brazilian government as either of our contemporaries.

By a letter from a valued correspondent in Dublin, we are informed that the subject of slavery in British India has been brought before the inhabitants of that city, at a public meeting recently held at the Royal Exchange, and that a petition to parliament for its abolition was enthusiastically adopted. We learn further, that an address from the people of Ireland to their countrymen and countrywomen in America has been prepared, and is in course of signature, with the view of being sent over when it shall have received 100,000 names. We are happy also to observe, that the Irish papers abound with anti-slavery matter, and that the *Dublin Monitor*, the *Freeman*, the *Register*, the *Nenagh Guardian*, and others are in the field. The *Citizen*, a periodical, has an article on East India Slavery this month. Mr. C. L. Remond, likewise, is pursuing an anti-slavery tour in the south of Ireland, with un-precedented success.

TRIAL OF THE *LOUISA*.

HAMBURG TRIBUNAL OF COMMERCE, AUGUST 25th and 26th.

On Wednesday, the 25th inst., the case of the *Louisa*, Capt. Boye (captured by H. B. M. sloop, *Grecian*, Capt. Smyth), came on, pursuant to public notice. The court was thronged to excess. On the first day the court sat from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., and again from 7 to half-past 11; on the second, from 11 A.M. to 6 P.M., and from 8 to half-past 10. Throughout this time the audience followed the proceedings with the most intense interest. A number of sailors attended among the crowd; and, if we may judge from their countenances, we should say that, to a proper detestation of the slave-trade, there was joined a confident expectation that the Hamburg flag could not have so far degraded its hitherto unspotted character as to engage in so heinous a crime.

Dr. AUGUSTUS HEISE opened the case for the prosecution. He appeared for the *fiscalis in civilibus*, from whom the *ex officio* information proceeded. After reciting the general circumstances, which are sufficiently known from the public papers, he adverted to the Accession treaty (signed June 9th, 1837) of the Hans towns to the conventions concluded between England and France (November 30th, 1831, and March 22nd 1833), to the law of June 19th, 1837, for the punishment of the slave-trade, and of June 3rd, 1841, concerning the jurisdiction in such cases. The sixth article of the convention of 1833 contained the following: "Any merchant vessel of either of the two nations, visited and detained in pursuance of the convention of the 30th November, 1831, and of the provisions hereinbefore recited, shall, unless proof be given to the contrary, be held and taken of right to have engaged in the slave-trade, or to have been fitted out for the purposes of such traffic, if any of the particulars hereinafter specified shall be found in her outfit and equipment, or on board of her." Now, of the objects there specified, there were no less than three found on board the *Louisa*. First, there were a number of spare planks. It was true, that the property of those planks was claimed by the passenger, Gonsalvo Penna, and that the captain disclaimed any knowledge of their having been put on board. The captain went so far as to say that even had he known them to have been on board, he should not have considered them objectionable, having before this sailed with double that number of planks on board, without meeting with the least molestation on that account. But the court, upon inspection, would have perceived that those planks corresponded to the description given in the treaty —they were "fit for readily laying a second or moveable deck, or slave-deck"—and that was all the court had to attend to. Secondly, there was "an unreasonable number of water-casks." In excuse of this, the captain alleged that, having been sufficiently warned of the detestable nature of the water at Benguela, he conceived it advisable to provide himself with a more ample supply than he would have done had he been able to take a fresh supply at Benguela, for the continuation of his voyage to the Cape Verd islands. Thirdly, there was a second boiler—for which, in default of a more credible destination, a pretence had been set up that it belonged to one of the passengers, whose constitution (as appeared from the quantity of medicines he carried along with him) was rather sickly, and who made use of the said boiler to keep his person clean. Besides these three points, which, in his opinion, were decisive, there was a variety of circumstantial evidence. Almost the whole of the cargo had been taken out of two Brazil vessels; and the mate of the *Louisa* had stated without hesitation, that probably a cargo of that description might have been considered suspicious, if met with under the Brazilian flag. From the charter-party it appeared that the main object of the expedition was to take that cargo from the other two vessels. The charter-party contained the expression "a lawful cargo," which ill agreed with the great anxiety of the captain (more than once urged in his letters to the owner) to take care that the vessel should be properly insured. The merchant who put on board the greater part of the cargo, Da Costa Aguiar, avowedly had a "place of business" in slaves at Rio. Before his vessel sailed, a water-cask had been removed under very suspicious circumstances. That cask had obviously contained something else besides water; and the passenger Penna had not scrupled to avow that he supposed it to have contained handcuffs. Some leather whips were also detected on board, which had escaped the attention of the captor at the first search, and which could not be in any way accounted for. When the *Grecian* was in sight, and a visit was expected, several passengers ran on deck with a bag, which one of the sailors (who stated to have recognized Penna) deposed to have contained papers. A piece of iron was put into the bag, when (according to the expression of a passenger) it sank marvellously. It did not sufficiently appear how far the captain was concerned in this transaction. One of the men deposed, that, when the passengers were going to put an iron hook into the bag, the captain told them not to do so, as that hook was good for something else. Of this, however, the captain contended that he did not remember anything. But, on the approach of the *Grecian*, and immediately before the *Louisa* was boarded, the captain took a couple of letters from his trowsers, and considered with the mate, Andressen, what was to be done with them. The mate shortly after burnt those letters in the cabin, when the English were already on board. This the captain did not deny; but he affirmed that the letters had been delivered just before he sailed, that he was not aware from whence they came, nor, being sealed, did he know anything of their contents; and he conceived, that as they might possibly contain something objectionable, he had no business to expose himself, merely to oblige the writers of those letters, whose names and persons were perfectly unknown to him. This mass of evidence, he (the prosecutor) considered more than sufficient to prove the legality of the capture. Upon this evidence, too, he had no doubt, the court would think themselves warranted to condemn the vessel and cargo. They had to act as a Court of Admiralty in this instance; and the principles by which they were to be guided (in conformity with the law of June 3rd, 1841) were those of prize law, so far as they were applicable to the subject. They had nothing to do with the criminal part of the business; that would be tried elsewhere (in the superior court). They had merely to pronounce the legal consequence entailed by the civil law upon slaving transactions; and that consequence was confiscation. They had not to attend to the law of pains and penalties of June 19th, 1837; that would be applied in another place; they had to be guided in their decision by the letter and spirit of the treaties. The owner of the vessel was responsible for the act of the captain, so far as the consequences at civil law were concerned, though the criminal law might distinguish (as, *in fact, it did* distinguish) between the intention of the owner and the act of the captain. In this case the captain alleged that he had been ignorant of the treaty; but that was no difference; it was the business of the owner to take care that the captain should be made acquainted with existing treaties, so far as they might concern the transactions in which he was going to engage. There was, therefore, no hardship in moving the condemnation both of the vessel and cargo; or, even if the court should think *fit to acquit the* vessel, the confiscation at least of those parts of the cargo which belonged to Da Costa Aguiar, to Gonsalvo Penna, and José Antonio Villar, passengers, and to Joaquian Diaf Padras, of Rio de Janeiro; and, eventually he should move a condemnation of the vessel and cargo, to pay all costs whatever incurred by the capture, the conducting of the *Louisa* to Cuxhaven, and by the present proceedings.

Dr. HECKSCHER rose for the defence of the Louisa, Captain Boye. He was fully aware of the great difficulties with which this case was beset on all sides. If any case, it was imperatively necessary to approach this present one with a candid mind. They had to reconcile the emotions of philanthropy and charity to the dictates of unbiassed justice; they had strictly to maintain the faith of treaties, and at the same time not to lose sight of what was due to the independence of our flag. He apprehended he should be long in trespassing upon their indulgence, *very long*; for, first, he had not had time to be brief; and then there was the novelty of the case, which compelled him to travel over a great extent of ground. He found himself completely destitute of the aid of precedents. Domestic precedents there were none, (fortunately he might say); and, as to foreign precedents, he had nothing to do with them; he at once declined attending to them; for this was a German court of justice, and the flag, now for the first time impeached, was a German flag. He should have to read to them a variety of documents; amongst them, the depositions at large of some witnesses; for though they had met in that court to discuss the evidence, the witnesses had, as they were aware, been examined previously by a commission of that court; he was, therefore, deprived of the advantage of producing them in the court; and much of the living, he might say, the dramatic truth, would be lost. He trusted that no one in that room would ask him, whether he intended *to defend the slave-trade?* He, for one, could only meet that question by another: *whether they considered him a hardened villain, or a senseless idiot?* He hated and abominated the slave-trade, and (he might confidently say) so did the owner and the captain of the *Louise*. But, if there was anything that he hated and abominated still more, it was slavery. Slavery, the source and seminary of the slave-trade. The friends of emancipation in England appeared to have come to the same conviction, that, so long as slavery itself should not be extinct, all their efforts for putting down the slave-trade would be vain. Dr. HECKSCHER then entered upon the history of the attempts—the fruitless attempts, he was sorry to say—of Great Britain to suppress the slave-trade by means of treaties concluded with other powers. Those treaties had proved a source of endless difficulties. If the question were only of vessels on board of which slaves were actually found, the business would be simple enough. But Great Britain insisted on the "equipment clause" being made part and parcel of the treaties. Now, with the working of that clause the enemies of the slave-trade were no less dissatisfied than its advocates (he would not say, friends, for the slave-trade would not have any friends). The effect of that clause was constantly eluded in the most artful manner, by a variety of schemes. He would quote from a pamphlet, circulated by the Anti-slavery Society, entitled, *the Foreign Slave-trade*, where some of those schemes were detailed. He might also refer to Mr. Turnbull, who, though an advocate for the expediency of the clause (for which he was rather severely taken to task by Mr. McQueen), could not dissemble its inconveniences and want of efficiency. That clause was, in fact, a two-edged sword: too blunt to strike the guilty, and yet much too sharp not to injure the innocent. Though it certainly did very little good, it might very easily do a great deal of harm. When Portugal (although a weak power, and in many ways dependent upon England) could not be brought to conclude a treaty such as England demanded (and indeed England contended, that a deference to her

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demands on this point might reasonably have been expected), measures were introduced into parliament for the suppression of the Portuguese slave-trade. There was at that time considerable irritation at what was considered a want of loyalty in the Portuguese authorities. And yet the equipment clause met with a most strenuous opposition. And from what men did it meet with such opposition? He would only name two—Lord Lyndhurst (a man of great learning and mildness of character), and the Duke of Wellington, in whom it had lately been said moral and intellectual greatness were combined, and whoever had read his admirable '*Despatches*' would readily join in that sentiment. The Duke opposed the bill in all its stages, entering his protest in the Lords' journals. Let them turn to the United States of America, who had been among the first powers to prohibit the foreign slave-trade, and to stigmatize it as piracy. The late president, Martin Van Buren, had stated his deliberate opinion, in two successive messages to Congress, that that disgraceful trade ought to be put down by the severity of domestic laws, not by the unsafe and dangerous remedy of treaties. For any treaty would be found inefficient and prejudicial, so long as any legitimate trade was still carried on to the Western Coast of Africa. Treaties could only be expected to avail anything, if attended by an interdiction of all trade, even the most harmless, to that coast. Such was the opinion of a statesman whom no one would presume to accuse of any partiality to the slave trade. He next adverted to the accession treaty of the Hans towns, and to the recent law of June 3rd, 1841. In that law the German translation of the treaties was declared to be devoid of authenticity. Now, if it were his intention to cling to points of form, he might remind the court, that no law could be binding upon the citizen unless published in the language of the land, and that, by that declaration, the validity of the treaty as published in 1837 appeared to be, as it were, *retro*—annihilated. But, great as the weight of such an objection would undoubtedly be with an English court of justice, nothing could be farther from his intention than to stick for mere points of form. He was not reduced to such shifts. He would not for one moment insist upon the point; he willingly gave it up altogether, but he could not admit, that the law of June 3rd, 1841 possessed any retro-active power, to prescribe to the court any new principle for the adjudication of this now pending case. Against such an interpretation of that law he must solemnly protest. He should take it for granted that the court were to be guided by the stipulations of the treaty, and he was willing to abide by the legality of English and French originals. They had been told that, under the treaty, the capture and detention of the *Louisa* could not be subject to any doubt. He was of a far different opinion; for he had read the whole of the treaty, and compared it with the facts, which apparently the informant had not done. By the second article of the convention of 1833, the cruizers were obliged to conform strictly to the annexed instructions. Both that convention and the instructions formed an integral part of the accession treaty. But in what manner had Captain Smyth conformed to those instructions? From the documents before the court it did not appear that Captain Smyth had complied with the formalities prescribed for the first visit on board. The first article of the convention distinctly said: "When the commander of the cruizer shall not think proper to take upon himself the carrying in and delivering up the detained vessel, he shall not entrust that duty to an officer below the rank of lieutenant in the navy." But Captain Smyth had entrusted that business to *the mate*. If the lieutenant of the *Grecian* was actually unwell at the time, why did not the captor apply to the Rio station for a lieutenant? At all events, he had no right, under the treaty, to send a mate. The 4th article of the instructions said, no less distinctly: "No person whatever shall be taken out of the detained vessel, nor shall any part of her cargo be removed from her, until after such vessel shall have been delivered over to the authorities of her own nation." But Captain Smyth had removed one third of the cargo from the *Louise*, which was afterwards returned. After this, he trusted that the court would receive with the utmost caution the denunciation of any suspicious objects found on board the *Louisa*. He did not mean to throw out a suspicion; but he trusted that, at all events, after this he should hear no more of the leather whips discovered after the search. After the illegal removal of part of the cargo, he could not admit that there was any security for the identity of the original cargo, strong enough to ground any legal presumption upon it. Captain Smyth had also removed some of the men, and taken them on board the *Grecian*, contrary to treaty. Nay more: it appeared that promises had been held out to those men of prize money, and of enlistment in the navy, if they would depose against the captain, who was besides rather unpopular on account of his severity. He did not mean to say that the bait had taken; but this he must say, that this conduct (he considered it of course as the act of persons *unauthorized* by Captain Smyth)—he must insist upon it, that this conduct was quite sufficient to invalidate any depositions of those men, which might tend to prejudice Captain Boye, or the operations of the vessel. After such flagrant violation of the treaty, after such *nullities*, they would not be surprised to find, that the "declaration" of the captor was a *memorie justificatif*—an *oratio pro domo*—and not what it professed to be; for, from the French text of the treaty he understood a "declaration" of the captor to be tantamount to a *proces-verbal*. After exposing these illegalities in the conduct of the captor, he would throw more light upon those circumstances by which the capture was attempted to be justified. The informant had entertained them with what he pleased to call legal *indicia*. He (Dr. H.) could not admit the correctness of the phrase. If they would turn to the 6th article, they would find that it specified the grounds of *presuming* that the vessel had been fitted out for the slave-trade. Those presumptions (as, indeed, any presumption whatever) might be invalidated by arguments to the contrary. First, then, he should meet the presumption grounded upon what has been called the "spare planks" on board. Those planks, about which they had heard so much, were the property of one of the passengers. They did not belong to the "outfit or equipment" of the vessel. The mere fact of their having been brought on board without the knowledge of the captain could not prejudice the latter. Whatever might have been the intended use of the planks, that intention was not the captain's. If it were said, that the captain ought to have taken care that no spare planks (being one of the articles specified in the treaty) should be brought on board, he should merely aver, that the captain had been ignorant of the treaty. This would surprise them the less, as he had proved from an official letter of the consul at Rio, that even he, (the consul) was not in possession of the treaty. That gentleman, who was properly the consul of the free city of Bremen, but who, in the absence of the Hamburg consul from Rio, acted as his substitute, lamented that he had not been fortunate enough to meet with a copy of the accession treaty among the papers of his office. That gentleman had assured Captain Boye, upon application, that his cargo was lawful; and, upon the strength of this his conviction, afterwards very properly addressed a note to the English consul, complaining of the detention of the *Louisa*. But to return to the planks. They had been told that there were twenty-three of them on board. He begged pardon, but he really must flatly contradict this statement. There were only eight planks; seven of them divided into three parts each, and one into two; he said divided; for they were all but separated. Now the boards thus cut, if severed and used singly, were much *too thin* to serve as a slave-deck. They were of unequal lengths, and therefore unfit to serve any such purpose. They were, finally, far from sufficient, being too few in number. From a careful admeasurement and calculation it appeared, that, if the whole of these boards—or call them planks, though they were not planks—if the whole of them were put together, one by one, 373 square feet of the *Louisa* would still remain uncovered. They were unfit, therefore, and not, as the treaty would have it, fit for laying a second deck, or slave deck. They were any thing rather than fit for aiding a presumption that the *Louisa* had been "fitted out for the purposes of the slave trade." So much for the planks. Next there were the water-casks, of which it was pretended that there were an "unreasonable" number. He did not know what the informant might consider a reasonable allowance. He believed something had been stated concerning the allowance on board an English man-of-war. Now he must say that he could not discover any reason why Hamburg sailors should be reduced to any foreign standard, whatever that might be. Hamburg sailors were used to a liberal supply of water. If the captain were to eke it out grudgingly, why, there would be such discontent that he might have to beware of a mutiny. The Temperance Society might possibly take away the dram (he did not know if they would succeed in doing so—but there was at least the avowed purpose); but England and France surely could not have a wish to deprive the Hamburg sailor of his accustomed very liberal supply of water. Lastly, they had heard a good deal about a supernumerary boiler. To the best of his knowledge, there had not been a second boiler on board. The object mistaken and denounced as such was not a boiler; insomuch, as from its construction, it could not have been used for the purpose of boiling. If they had called it a brass pan, (instead of a copper boiler) they might have been somewhat nearer the mark. But there was no reason to doubt the statement as to its use, made by the passenger to whom it belonged. At any rate, it did not belong to the equipment; much less would it be made available for presuming, under the 6th article, that the vessel had been fitted out for the slave-trade. But, fortunately, he could produce the *direct testimony of the captor himself*, when he affirmed that the *Louise* had not been destined for the slave-trade. In the declaration of Captain Smyth, as recited by the informant, there was a remarkable passage, which he was sure could not have escaped the attention of the court. Captain Smyth stated, that *he did not mean to infer that the Louisa had been intended to carry a cargo of slaves*. Now that was all that he wanted—all that the court had to attend to. It was true that in the same breath Captain Smyth spoke of "aiding and abetting" the slave trade. If they were to descend to such vague and indefinite charges, there was really no saying where they were to begin, much less where they would end. Fortunately, they had no business to attend to a charge of that nature. The charge of "aiding and abetting" was unknown to the treaty. "Fitted out for the purposes of the slave-trade"—"*armé pour la traite des noirs*"—such was the language of the treaty, not "aiding and abetting." He had said, that he was quite willing to abide by the treaty; and he trusted the court would do so too. Under the treaty, then, the detention was not by any means justified. Having proved this, he would briefly advert to what had been advanced concerning confiscation; though, where there was no guilt, confiscation was of course out of the question. But even if he had not been able to prove the illegality of detention in this case, he apprehended that confiscation would not have been the legal consequence. The 8th article of the convention of 1833 said: "The master, the crew, and the accomplices, as well as the ship and cargo, shall be dealt with conformably to the respective laws of the two countries." Now, at the time of the capture, what was the state of the law concerning the slave trade? There was the treaty, which contained the provision just recited, and no more; and there was the law of June 19, 1837—the law of "pains and penalties," which contained personal punishments, very appropriate to the character of the crime, but which did not say one word as to what was to become of the ship and cargo. If England and France confiscated in such a case, that was no reason why Hamburg should confiscate too, unless under a special domestic law, which at the time did not exist. The law of June 8, 1841, passed after the capture of the *Louise*, and when the trial was expected, could not have any retrospective power. The throwing overboard or burning of papers (about which he had spoken more at large in an earlier part of the defence) even if it were fully proved could not entail confiscation. For, first, none of the ship's papers were missing—every thing of that description was in perfect order—and second, throwing overboard any thing, whatever that might be, even if private letters or mere waste paper, might possibly be considered to criminate a neutral vessel in time of war, but no such maxim could be imposed in the present case, as there was no express prohibition. After a speech of upwards of eight hours (of which the above is but a feeble outline) Dr. Hecksher moved, that the capture be declared null and void, the ship and cargo restored, and damages given for unjust detention.

Dr. MENO POEHTS rose for the defendant da Costa Aguiar, and others interested in the cargo. He found himself in a very different position from that of his learned friend who had just sat down. His clients were not Hamburg citizens, but subjects of the Empire of Brazil. The laws of this free city, or treaties concluded by this free city with a third power, could not be binding upon his clients. He trusted that he should not be met by the doctrine, that a Hamburg vessel was part of the Hamburg territory. The futility of that doctrine had long since been exposed, and duly ridiculed, even by such writers as might have been supposed to take up anything favourable to neutral interests, such as Jouffroy, a Prussian writer. But eventually he would make a few observations concerning the illegality of the capture. He must deprecate the application of the principles of prize law, which were enjoined to the court by a law passed after the capture of the *Louisa*. Besides, there was no such thing as a system of prize law. There was avowedly no domestic legislation on the subject. Nor was there any set of doctrines on that head so universally received

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that they might be considered common law. There were at most some three or four principles, which might be said to be invested with a sort of common law character. He (Dr. P.) considered himself at liberty whether to submit to those principles or not; but his antagonist had no such choice. The informant having, upon the strength of the law of *June 3rd*, urged the analogies of prize law, was bound to abide by the same. Now one of those very few principles—a principle, he might say, generally received, and embodied in prize ordinances, and sanctioned by practice ever since the peace of Utrecht—was this, that the captor was *forbidden* to remove any part of the cargo of the captured vessel. This very principle Captain Smyth had set aside. The supposed "spoliation of papers" had been described as a ground for condemnation. But even Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell) had decided (in the case of the *Rising Sun*, Captain Wilkye) that papers having been thrown overboard was no sufficient ground for condemnation of a captured vessel, if the other circumstances were satisfactorily explained. And he had no doubt that in this case the other circumstances might be so explained. Having gone over much the same ground as the former speaker, the learned gentleman said, he was really surprised to see what insignificant circumstances had been worked up into grounds of suspicion. For instance, the phrase "*facendos dictos*," in the charter-party. He would call upon Captain Smyth to produce, out of a hundred English charter-parties, only ten which did not contain the phrase 'a full and convenient cargo of *lawful* goods,' or something similar. Would Captain Smyth, in all such cases, comment upon the extraordinary caution, or suspect the parties of a slaving transaction? The fact was that nothing was more common, or could be more harmless than that phrase. But, even if the court should think fit to condemn the vessel, it did not follow that the cargo (for which he appeared) was to share the same fate. Nothing was more generally known, than that the ordinances and principles of the prize law, (and he might refer to that far famed and ancient record, the *Consolato del Mare*, in its 273rd chapter) did carefully distinguish between the character of the vessel, and that of the cargo.

Dr. LOLHR appeared for the passenger Penna. His client, Dr. L. observed, had undoubtedly been subject to the greatest hardship. For four *months* he had been deprived of his liberty, separated from his friends, removed from his country and from the place of his destination, and detained in a strange land, among persons whose language he could not speak, nor even understand. And for what crime? For that which, even had he been guilty of it, was not a crime by the law of his own country. But, from the very full and elaborate statements of his learned friends (to which he should subjoin such remarks, as appeared to be called for by the position of his client), it appeared, that the vessel was not in any way concerned in a slaving transaction.

Dr. VOIGT followed on the same side, for another part of the cargo. It was true that the English had of late made some attempts at extending the clause of the treaty, and that the practice of their courts appeared rather to favour the attempt. But that could not be any motive for the court to depart from a strict interpretation of the clause. And upon such interpretation the verdict could not be doubtful, since even the captor had anticipated it by the declaration which he had volunteered, and with which he was sure the whole of the evidence fully agreed, that the *Louisa* had not been intended to carry a cargo of slaves, and that, consequently, she had not been fitted out for the slave-trade.

The informant was going to reply, when

Dr. HALLER rose, and said, he had but just been called upon by the mate of the *Grecian* (Mr. Knighton), to whom Captain Smyth had entrusted the conducting of the *Louisa*, to say a few words in vindication of the conduct of the captor, and of his substitute. Though he was not properly authorised to appear for Captain Smyth, (who was absent, and unacquainted with the present proceedings), yet he would be allowed to state the impression of his own mind, which was this, that Captain Smyth had acted, as might be expected of a British officer, with mildness, so long as his duty allowed him, and with severity so far as his duty required it. He would read the instruction addressed by Captain Smyth to the mate, who conducted the vessel to Cuxhaven. From that instruction the court might form an opinion of the character of Captain Smyth, which, to judge from that document, was certainly far from arbitrariness, or lawless and uncalled for severity. Captain Smyth, they were probably aware, was not by any means a novice in the duties entrusted to him; but might claim the merit of having liberated upwards of 1200 slaves. Much had been attempted to be made of the promises held out to the men; but was the court aware, that an English ordinance held out to the men on board a captured vessel, a promise of obtaining their full pay, (else forfeited), and eventually of enlistment in the navy, if they would reveal the truth? And he did not believe that more than this could be proved to have been done. He (Dr. Haller) was not authorized, much less had he any inclination, to insist upon the condemnation of the vessel; but he thought it right to make a few statements, just to show that the grounds upon which the *Louisa* had been detained by Captain Smyth, were not by any means so futile as they had been made to appear. If the planks were rather thinner than usual, (and such was certainly the fact, having been divided into several parts each), it did not follow that they were unfit for laying a slave deck. He had been informed (and perhaps the court were also aware of the circumstance) that such planks used to be laid over the water casks, so that, although too weak to support any great weight by themselves, they had a firm and solid substruction. If they were not sufficient to cover any great extent of ground, he must tell them that the planks used not to be laid close to each other, but with interstices between. Hides were then placed over the planks, to render the layer a little less intolerable. Besides, there was no need of supposing, that the planks were intended to form a slave deck for the *Louisa*; they might have been intended for some smaller vessel. As to the water, he contended, and the experience of the mate, to whom the conducting of the *Louisa* was entrusted, went far to prove, that a considerably smaller supply would have been sufficient for the voyage. Lastly, the apparatus, which he had no objection to call a brass pan, though not intended for boiling, might be well adapted for dressing and stirring the sort of panado—the food of the slave.

Dr. HLISE rose to reply. The unexpected support, for which he was indebted to the last speaker, relieved him of the necessity of replying to many of the statements advanced by the gentlemen who conducted the defence. As to the objections to Captain Smyth's conduct, he should content himself with saying, that if Captain Smyth should really have been guilty of any irregularity, of any "abuse or vexation," he might no doubt be made responsible, under the ninth article of the treaty; but that would not affect the legality of the detention, which, he must repeat, (and here he entered upon many of the arguments in detail), was perfectly justified by the treaty stipulations. As to the interpretation of the treaty, he must differ *in toto* from the views hazarded by the defendants. The punishment of confiscation was implied in the treaty itself; the law of June 3rd, 1841, was but an authentic interpretation of the treaty. If Hamburg had acceded *bonâ fide* to the Anglo-French conventions, it was a matter which admitted of no doubt, that in such cases confiscation must ensue. If foreigners abused the Hamburg flag for slaving transactions, they were amenable to the penalties, even under the law of June 19th, 1837. He should be the first to protest against soliciting a severe sentence, merely from deference to the supposed wishes or expectations of the great maritime powers. But he would most earnestly call upon the court to weigh the importance, and consider the consequences of this matter, from another point of view. If any act of aiding and abetting the slave-trade were suffered to escape with impunity, was it not to be feared that foreigners, emboldened by the leniency of the court, would attempt to degrade the Hamburg flag, still farther to render it subservient to speculations of a more decided character, and ultimately, even to implicate it in direct participation in the slave-trade?

Dr. HECKSHER rose to reply in his turn. Although evidently much exhausted, (he said he had scarcely had time to rehearse to himself the objections of his opponents, much less to put his own thoughts in order), he followed the arguments one by one, insisting upon his former statements, and endeavouring to throw new light upon them. He cautioned the court with regard to the consequences of admitting such loose charges. Their verdict would be a precedent for future cases. Let them beware how they dealt with the demand of admitting such an indefinite and undefineable charge as this present one, of "aiding and abetting." Under the treaty they were not bound to admit it. Much less were they bound to go beyond the treaty. If they did so, their verdict would be tantamount to an interdict against any lawful trade on the coast of Western Africa. There was not a single article shipped to that coast, which could not by possibility be rendered available for the purposes of the slave-trade; for there was nothing that could not be converted into money, to exchange it for a cargo of slaves. As to confiscation, it had been said that his acceptation of the law of June 3rd, 1841, was no better than a satire on the senate, who had proposed that law to the civil assembly. To this he should reply, rather write a satire on the senate (although the court were well aware that he was not the man to do such a thing)—but rather indict a satire on the senate (for that would be forgotten in a day), than admit a doubt of the independence of that court, and the sanctity of public justice

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, September 17th.—Sir E. Wilmot presented a petition from the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, complaining of the extent to which the slave-trade was still carried on, supported in a great number of instances by British merchants, shipowners, and by members of that House. The petitioners prayed that measures might be adopted for the effectual suppression of this traffic.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Sep. 20th. In answer to a question put by Sir E. WILMOT, with reference to the slave-trade,

Viscount PALMERSTON said, that, from official information which he had received, he had reason to suppose that there were six vessels fitting out at Hamburg, for the purpose of being employed upon the coast of Africa in the slave-trade. He could not say whether the information was well founded, or not; but, without implying either opinion, he had thought it to be his duty to communicate the information to the Admiralty, in order that directions might be forthwith given to the cruizers on the coast of Africa, in case the report turned out to be true.

FREE COLOURED PERSONS IN NEW ORLEANS.—Since 1837, no less than one hundred and thirty-five persons of colour have been notified to leave the state by the authorities of the second municipality. During the recent excitement upon the subject, scores of these persons were arrested all over the city, and prompt measures taken to enforce the laws relative to their departure. Our neighbours of the third municipality have reason to be grateful to their vigilant police for ridding their quarter of these dangerous and suspicious people. Let the police continue their exertions for a few months longer, and our community will be saved hereafter from much trouble and anxiety.—*N. O. Bulletin, August 7th.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—Immigrants continue to flow in. Within the week, there have arrived a ship and a brig from Madeira, bringing upwards of 400, besides a schooner from Dominica, and a ship from Barbados.—*Royal Gazette.*

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN BELGIUM.—In Belgium the question of sugar duties divides public attention. The point in dispute is—whether beetroot sugar, which now enjoys protection, should not be subjected to the same duty as foreign sugar. But we cannot see how this would relieve the distress of the refiners in that country, who are represented as being in danger of annihilation. The discussions have brought to light an extraordinary fact. It appears that the experiments of M. Peligot have proved that potatoes contain more saccharine matter than either beet-root or the sugar cane. Millions of kilogrammes are now extracted from them, and sold at a price much below that of other sugar. The product is not quite perfect, not being crystallizable like that made from beet-root or the sugar cane, and therefore it must be mixed with one-third of other sugar for use; but, as the experiments are followed up, it will probably soon be rendered perfect, and in this case it may go far towards superseding the other kinds.

FISCAL RESOURCES OF CUBA.—The revenues of the island of Cuba during the last year exceeded 9,743,000 Spanish dollars, 3,616,000 of which were placed at the disposal of the government of the mother-country, being the surplus revenue after defraying every local charge, support, of the army and navy, &c., besides a considerable number of pensions assigned by this government to various individuals, payable in that island. It is said that another railroad is about to be commenced in this island.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XLVII. Vol. II. No. 20.] WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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PRO-SLAVERY RIOT AT CINCINNATI, U. S.

The United States, *par eminence* the land of freedom and equal rights, has just been the scene of another outbreak of ferocious violence against the abolitionists and the people of colour. To assist in bringing to bear upon this atrocious spirit of outrage the salutary influence of British and European opinion, we deem it our duty to publish entire the following narrative, which we find in the *Liberator* of September the 17th.

From the *Cincinnati Gazette.*

RIOT AND MOBS, CONFUSION AND BLOODSHED.

This city has been in a most alarming condition for several days—and from about 8 o'clock on Friday evening until about 3 o'clock yesterday morning, almost entirely at the mercy of a lawless mob, ranging in number from two to fifteen hundred. Amidst the confusion of such a state of things, it is almost impossible to collect a full or accurate state of facts. But, with deep regret and acknowledged humiliation, we detail what happened as well as we can.

On Tuesday evening last, as we are informed, a quarrel took place near the corner of Sixth Street and Broadway, between a party of Irishmen and some negros, in which blows were exchanged, and other weapons, if not fire-arms, used. Some two or three of each party were wounded. On Wednesday night the quarrel was renewed in some way, and sometime after midnight, a party of excited men, armed with clubs, &c., attacked a house occupied as a negro boarding house on McAlister Street, demanding the surrender of a negro, who they said had fled into the house and was there secreted, and uttering the most violent threats against the house and the negros in general. Several of the adjoining houses were occupied by negro families, including a number of women and children. The violence increased, and was resisted by those in and about the houses—an engagement took place—several were wounded on each side—and some say guns or pistols were discharged from the houses. The interference of some gentlemen in the neighbourhood succeeded in restoring quiet after about three-fourths of an hour, when a watchman appeared. But it is singular that this violent street disturbance elicited no report to the office, nor arrest—indeed, that the mayor remained ignorant of the affair until late in the day, when he casually heard of it.

On Thursday night another rencontre took place in the neighbourhood of the lower market, between some young men and boys and some negros, in which one or two of the boys were badly wounded, as was supposed with knives—how the negros fired we did not learn.

On Friday, during the day, there was considerable excitement; threats of violence and lawless outbreaks were indicated in various ways, and came to the ear of the police, and of the negros. Attacks were expected upon the negro residences in MacAlister, Sixth, and New Streets. The negros armed themselves, and the knowledge of this increased the excitement: but we do not know that it produced any known measure of precaution on the part of the police to preserve the peace of the city.

Before eight o'clock in the evening, a mob, the principal organization of which, we understand, was arranged in Kentucky, openly assembled in Fifth street market, unmolested by the police or citizens. The number of this mob, as they deliberately marched from their rendezvous towards Broadway and Sixth streets, is variously estimated, but the number increased as they proceeded. They were armed with clubs, stones, &c.

Reaching the scene of operations with shouts and blasphemous imprecations, they attacked a negro confectionary house on Broadway, next to Sycamore, and demolished the doors and windows. This attracted an immense crowd. Savage yells were uttered, to encourage the mob onward to the general attack upon the negros. About this time, before nine o'clock, J. W. Platt, in a way highly creditable to himself, addressed the mob, exhorting them to pence, obedience to law, and to retire without further violence. His voice was drowned by the violent shouts of the mob, and the throwing of stones. At this time, we verily believe, a determined corps of fifty or one hundred men would have dispersed the crowd. The mayor came up and addressed the people in a very proper way. The savage yell was instantly raised—"down with him!"—"run him off!"—were shouted, and intermixed with horrid imprecations and exhortations to the mob to move onward. We took some pains to learn who these leading disturbers of the peace were, and think a large portion of the leaders, and the most violent, came from the other parts—were strangers—some were said to be connected with river navigation, and were strongly backed by boat hands of the lowest and most violent order. They advanced to the attack with stones, &c., &c., and were repeatedly fired upon by the negros. The most scattered, but immediately rallied again, and again were in like manner repulsed. Men were wounded on both sides, and carried off—and many reported dead. The negros rallied several times, advanced upon the crowd, and most unjustifiably fired down the street into it, causing a great rush down the street. These things were repeated until past one o'clock, when a party procured an iron six pounder from near the river, loaded with boiler punchings, &c., and hauled it to the ground, against the exhortations of the mayor and others. It was posted on Broadway, and pointed down Sixth Street. The yells continued, but there was a partial cessation of the firing. Many of the negros had fled to the hills. The attack upon houses recommenced, with the firing of guns on both sides, which continued

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during most of the night—and exaggerated rumours of the killed and wounded filled the streets. The cannon was discharged several times.

About two o'clock, a portion of the military, upon the call of the mayor, proceeded to the scene of disorder, and succeeded in keeping the mob at bay. In the morning and throughout the day, several blocks, including the battle-ground, were surrounded by sentinels, and kept under martial law—keeping within the negros there, and adding to them such as were brought during the day, seized without particular charge by parties who scoured the city, assuming the authority of the law.

A meeting of citizens was held at the court house on Saturday morning, at which the mayor presided. The meeting was addressed by the mayor, judge Read, Mr. Platt, sheriff Avery, and Mr. Hart. They resolved to observe the law, to discountenance mobs, invoked the aid of the civil authorities to stay the violence, and pledged themselves to exertion in aid of the civil authority, to arrest and place within the reach of the law, the negros who wounded the two white boys in Columbia Street. That the township trustees enforce the law of 1807, requiring security of negros—pledging themselves to enforce it to the letter, until the city "is relieved of the effects of modern abolitionism," assuring "our southern brethren" to carry out that "act in good faith"—and to deliver "up, under the law of congress, forthwith," every negro who escapes from his master and "comes within the borders." They requested the mayor, sheriff, and the civil authorities, to proceed at once to the dwellings of the blacks, and disarm them of all offensive weapons; and recommending search for offenders against the laws, immediate legal proceedings against them, and an efficient patrol to protect the persons and property of the blacks, during the existence of the present excitement, and until they give the bonds required by the act of 1807 to leave the city. They requested the parents and guardians of boys to keep them at home, or away from the scene of excitement. They resolved,—"That we view with abhorrence the proceedings of the abolitionists in our city, and that we repudiate their doctrines, and believe it to be the duty of every good citizen by all lawful means to discountenance every man who lends them his assistance." These resolutions were reported by a committee composed of Messrs. J. W. Platt, J. C. Avery, R. A. Madison, G. C. Vaughan, B. Storer, D. T. Dimey, J. Read, J. Goodwin, and N. W. Thomas. They were adopted unanimously, signed by the mayor of the city, colonel Davies, as president of the meeting, and Edward Woodruff, president of the city council, as their secretary, printed in handbills, and posted in all parts of the city.

The city council also held a special session, and passed resolutions invoking the united exertions of orderly citizens to the aid of the authorities—to put down the violent commotion existing in the city, to preserve order, and vindicate the law against the violence of an excited and lawless mob—requesting all officers, watchmen, and firemen to unite for the arrest of all rioters and violators of law, and the marshal to increase his deputies to any number required, not exceeding five hundred, to preserve life and protect property—requiring the mayor and marshal to call in the aid of all the country militia to preserve order, and the captain of the watch to increase his force. These proceedings were posted in handbills. Intense excitement continued during the day, the mob and their leaders boldly occupying the street without arrest, or any effort to arrest any of them, that we have heard of.

The negros held a meeting in a church, and respectfully assured the mayor and the citizens that they would use every effort to conduct as orderly, industrious, and peaceable people, and to suppress any imprudent conduct among their population, and to ferret out all violations of order and law—deprecated the practice of carrying about their persons any dangerous weapon, pledged themselves not to carry or keep any about their persons or houses, and expressed their readiness to surrender all such. They expressed their readiness to conform to the law of 1807, and give bond, or to leave within a specified time—and tendered their thanks to the mayor, watch, and gentlemen of the city, for the efforts made to save their property, their lives, their wives and children.

At 3, p.m., the mayor, sheriff, marshal, and a portion of the police, proceeded to the battle ground, and there, under the protection of the military, though in the presence of the mob, and so far controlled by them as to prevent the taking away of any negros upon their complying with the law: several negros gave bond, and obtained permission of the authorities to go away with sureties, some of our most respectable citizens, but were headed even within the military sentinels, and compelled to return within the ground. It was resolved to embody the male negros and march them to jail for security, under protection of military and civil authority. From 250 to 300 negros, including sound and maimed, were with some difficulty marched off to the jail, surrounded by the military and officers, and a dense mass of men, women, and boys, confounding all distinction between the orderly and disorderly, accompanied with deafening yells. They were safely lodged, and still remain in prison, separated from their families. The crowd was in that way dispersed.

Some then supposed we should have a quiet night—but others more observing, discovered that the lawless mob had determined on further violence, to be enacted immediately after night fall. Citizens disposed to aid the authorities were invited to assemble, enrol themselves, and organize for action. The military were ordered out, clothed with authority as a police band. About 80 citizens enrolled themselves as assistants of the marshal, and acted during the night under his directions, in connection with judge Torrence, who was selected by themselves. A portion of this force was mounted. A troop of horse, and several companies of volunteer infantry continued on duty until near midnight. Some were then discharged to sleep on their arms. Others remained on duty till morning, guarding the jail, &c.

As was anticipated, the mob, efficiently organised, early commenced operations, dividing their force and making attacks on different points, thus distracting the attention of the police. The first successful onset was made upon the printing establishment of the *Philanthropist*. They succeeded in entering the establishment, breaking up the press, and running with it, amidst savage yells, down through Main Street to the river, into which it was thrown. The military appeared in the alley near the office, interrupting the mob for a short time. They escaped through the by ways, and, when the military retired, returned to their work of destruction in the office, which they completed. Several houses were broken open in different parts of the city, occupied by negros, and the windows, doors, and furniture totally destroyed. Among such, is the confectionary establishment of Burnet, near the upper market—a shop on Columbia, near Sycamore—the negro church on Sixth Street—four or five houses near it—a small frame house near the synagogue on Broadway, and several houses on Western Row, near the river. One of their last efforts was to fire, or otherwise destroy, the book establishment of Messrs. Truman and Smith on Main Street. From this they were driven by the police, and soon after, before day-light, dispersed from mere exhaustion, whether to remain quiet, or to recruit their strength for renewed assault, we may know before this paper is circulated.

Mortifying as is the declaration, truth requires us to acknowledge that our good city has been in complete anarchy, controlled mostly by a lawless and violent mob, for twenty-four hours, trampling all law and authority under foot. We feel this degradation deeply—but so it is. It is impossible to learn the precise number killed and wounded, either of whites or among the negros; probably several were killed on both sides, and some twenty or thirty variously wounded, though but few dangerously. Several of the citizen police were hurt with stones and brickbats, which were thrown into the crowd by the mob. The authorities succeeded in arresting and securing about forty of the mob, who are now in prison—others were arrested, but were rescued, or made their escape otherwise. We have attempted a plain general narrative of these disgraceful proceedings—have endeavoured to be accurate in our facts, and to narrate them in their order of occurrence without colouring or distortion. Such a narrative at this time we thought necessary, to check the exaggerated rumours which have doubtless spread in all directions. Many of these transactions occurred under our own observation during Friday night, and the evening and night of Saturday.

We see in these outrages much to deplore, and we see much which merits unqualified condemnation, which has been done and omitted during the violence of these lawless excesses. But it behoves all of us *now* to be calm and firm, to prevent another outbreak—to unite and draw out for the preservation of the public peace all good citizens. Many have hitherto done little to stop this destructive violence who should unite, and we still trust nearly all will yet unite, to restore the quiet of our city and efficacy to the law. Hereafter, when the public mind is in condition to be reasoned with, we shall speak as we think upon this subject, offend whom it may.

The mob was in many cases encouraged, and in some led on, by persons from Kentucky. They declared they had been sent for, and that hundreds of others were organized and ready to come here, to rid the city of the negros and abolitionists.

We ourselves heard one of these, a respectable looking man, shouting to the mob to put down the mayor and others. In some cases the motions of the mob were directed and managed by mere boys, who suggested the points of attack and the object, put the vote, declared the result, and led the way! Think for one moment of a band calling themselves *men*, disarming, carrying away and securing in prison, the male negros, promising security and protection to their women and children—and while they were confidently reposing in that security, returning with hellish shouts, to attack those helpless and unprotected persons! The cowardly character of the attack distinctly shows the want of *manly feelings* in the assailants. We cannot use terms too strong to mark the leaders and instigators of this mob—though we sincerely think there were many honest, but misguided men engaged in it, who, with ourselves, regret it most deeply.

Excitement continued during yesterday. The council held a meeting, and a meeting of the citizens succeeded, in which the governor, who is in the city, with other gentlemen, took part. Resolutions were adopted for an efficient organization for the night.

Monday morning, 3 A. M.

No disturbances have occurred in our city during the night. The different military companies were stationed at various points through the city. Captain Taylor's troop of horse, together with a large number of citizens, formed themselves into companies of about thirty each, who kept up a patrol until about two o'clock, when the citizens generally retired, leaving the military on duty.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

Our readers are already aware that a large folio volume on East India Slavery has been printed by order of the House of Commons during the present year. It contains but little new matter, and may be considered rather as a digest of the evidence which previously existed, accompanied with the observations of the Indian law commissioners, than as an independent investigation of the subject. We understand it is to be followed by another volume, and probably with the suggestions of the supreme government of India, as to the measures which may be thought necessary to be adopted to check the abuses of slavery which exist. But from our knowledge of the instructions, forwarded in 1834, by the directors of the East India Company to the governor-general in council, and the manner in which they were received; from the conflicting opinions and recommendations of the commissioners appointed to report on the subject—from the opposition of the authorities in India and at home—to all change, we have little hope that any serious intention exists to alter the present state of things; and, that if ever the evil of slavery be terminated in British India, it will be by means similar to those employed in the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. Let our friends, therefore, be up and doing.

The new matter to which we have referred as introduced by the commissioners into the report, consists principally of the testimony of certain native witnesses, from different parts of the Bengal Presidency, whom they found at Calcutta. Most of these persons either hold offices under government, or were the official servants of native chiefs in various provinces, and many of them were the owners of slaves themselves. To them, the commissioners submitted a series of questions in writing, which they answered more or less at length in the same manner. They were subjected

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to no cross-examination, and of course, either maintain silence where it would be judicious to do so, or gloss over the evils which are inseparable from a state of slavery.

The number of native witnesses examined was thirty one, and their evidence bore upon the existence and character of slavery in Tipperah, Sylhet, Cuttack, Tirhoot, Mymensingh, Dacca, Chittagong, Rajshahi, Behar, Moorshedabad, Colgong, Chotah Naghore, Sarun, and other provinces and districts in Bengal.

SLAVERY IN BENGAL.

From their testimony generally, we gather, first, that slavery exists to a much greater extent than was formerly supposed in the Presidency of Bengal, both in its prædial and domestic form. In the districts of Tipperah, Sylhet, Mymensingh, Dacca, and Chittagong, *Raj Govind Sen* says, "one-fourth of the population are slaves." "A family of respectability will frequently have from ten to twenty-five families of slaves; and there is no family of respectability, either Mohammedan or Hindoo, that has not at least one family of slaves." *Servanand Rai* observes, "all the great Zemindars of Mymensingh and the neighbouring districts, have slaves in proportion to their wealth;" and, "even those who live upon small salaries, such as writers and accountants, have generally five or six slaves." In Sylhet, "it is considered a mark of distinction to possess slaves." "Every meerasader has, in his family, one, two, or three slaves." "The number of meerasadars is a lakh and a quarter." *Dhurb Sing Das*, himself the owner of fifty slaves, states, that in Northern and Central Cuttack, "the proportion of slaves to freemen is as six to ten; a great Zemindar will sometimes have 2000 slaves. There are many such, Jumna Jay Chowdri and Bhagwal Chowdri and others. I dare say there are 200 or 250 who have as many." *Ram Christna Putnaik Mahanti* says, "One in ten are actual slaves in southern Cuttack," though "six to ten have the stigma of slavery" on them. *Lala Kashee Pardshah* states, that in Pergunnah Suresur (Tirhoot) two-sixteenths of the population may be slaves; but in other Pergunnahs the slave population is greater." *Vaydia Nath Missar* observes, "that the Rajah of Durbhunga (in Tirhoot) has a great many slaves." *Servanand Rai*, from Dacca Jelalpore, says, "my mistress is the owner of 1400 families of slaves, settled upon her estate;" and Mr. Mytton remarks, "that in Bickrampore, Dacca, which is inhabited by respectable Hindoos, Brahmins and Kayets, there is a great demand for slaves." *Arshad Ullee Khan, Bahadur*, states, that "in all these districts (Etawa, Allyghur, Mirzapore, Bhaugulpore, and Dacca) slavery obtains more or less; but in the greatest degree in Behar." *Kashi Nath Khan* says, "the slaves (in Rajshahi) may be about two-sixteenths of the whole population." *Chunee Lal Doobe*, from Moorshedabad, states, "those in actual slavery are about one-eighth of the whole population; but those who have the taint of slavery are about six-sixteenths." *Abdul Bari*, Chittagong, the owner of twenty-four slaves, observes, "it is usual, in my country, for respectable people to have slaves." *Lalu Deoke, Nundun*, Chota Nagpore, says, "slavery obtains in this part of the country." *Sankar Nath Jhah*, states that, in Kolgong, "Hindoos of all castes have slaves if they can afford it. My employer, Kashinath, has 200 families of slaves;" and, *Soo Durson Loll*, remarks, that, "some of the great Zemindars have as many as 200 slaves." We learn from some of the same witnesses, that there are from fifty to sixty families attached to various temples, presented chiefly by the pious; and that the offspring of such gifts belong to the gods of such temples.

It will of course be remembered by our readers, that the witnesses whose evidence we have quoted, only speak of those parts of Bengal which they knew; other parts of the Presidency would, no doubt, show slavery to be equally prevalent, if we could obtain direct evidence from them.

SLAVERY NOT CONFINED TO CASTE.

We now proceed to show, secondly, that slavery is not confined to caste. *Vaydia Nath Missar*, Pundit of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, Calcutta, says, "there are no slave castes in my country, *nor does the Hindoo law recognise slavery as incident to caste.*" Hence, according to the testimony of *Hafiz Ahmud Kubeer*, Principal of the Mohammedan College at Calcutta, "the Hindoo slaves are Brahmins, Rajpoots, Kurmees, Chumars, and Kolees; the three first being pure castes; the two last impure." He observes, however, that "the sale of Brahmin and Rajpoot children is not frequent." Another witness, *Dhurb Sing Das*, states, that among the pure castes held in slavery are the "Chasa, Khandait, Gualah, Tanti, Agari, Bas Bania, and Nursala;" and among the impure castes, "Dhobee, Chumar, Ghoka, Kyut or Kyburt, Raree, Pan, Kundra, Napit, Bhagti, Hari, and Dome." *Ram Christna Putnaik Mahanti* adds to the pure castes, "Soodra (proper,) Goorea (confectioner,) Buriee (carpenter,) and Loohar; and to the impure castes, Telee, Golo, Rungree (dyer,) Chumar, and Baslee. Others mention the Kayats or Kaicts, Kurmar (goldsmith,) Kumar (potter,) spurious Rajpoots, Khetryas, Kuhar, Bhuyans, Rajwar, Ghatman, Turi or Bokla, pure and impure castes, who are to be found among the slaves in Bengal as well as among freemen. *Hamid Russool* states, that "the sale of free children is rare, but in times of extreme distress, even Brahmins, Khitryas, and Syuds (the descendants of the prophet Mohammed) will sell their children. According, however, to Mohammedan authorities, Syuds and Sheikhs, (dscendants of the companions of the prophet,) Patans and Malaks (descendants of persons who have received titles from the sovereign,) cannot be slaves according to the custom of the country." Another authority says, "the children of all other castes, except Brahmins, are sold." The pure caste slaves among the Hindoos may be employed in in-door work; the impure castes never. We find, however, that both the pure and impure castes may be employed in out-door and agricultural occupations. In Cuttack, "the purer classes are sometimes employed in out-door work as well as in-door. In such cases, they work separately from the impure classes, by whom they would be contaminated. It appears that Brahmins in Cuttack are not permitted to have domestic slaves, the Rajah, Pursattam Deo, having prohibited them." The Byse also never keep domestic slaves, it being contrary to the principles of their caste." The Byse caste however may be enslaved. And from other authorities we learn, that Hindoos of inferior caste may hold those of superior castes as their slaves. Say the Moonsiffs in reply to a question, proposed to them for the purpose of eliciting their opinion upon the subject—"Famine or poverty may oblige a person of ANY caste to sell his freedom for food and clothing, to any one willing and able to purchase it, *whether the member of a higher or lower caste than himself.*"

We have dwelt at length on this point, because it is of material importance to the controversy we may have to carry on with the opponents of East India emancipation, many of them having asserted that slavery is confined to caste, whereas it is clearly separable from it, and in no otherwise dependent upon it, than that the poorest of all castes are most frequently subjected to it.

The price of slaves appears to vary in some measure according to caste. For instance:—"The price of a young Kayat woman varies from 40 to 100 rupees; that of a young man from 20 to 40. The price of a young Chundal woman varies from 10 to 20 rupees—that of a young Chundal man is about the same." The children of these castes in proportion: As to the price of slaves in general, that is regulated by the demand, as well as by caste. We find, therefore, that "the price of a young female may be from 50 to 125 rupees," and that of "children of from six to eight years, 10 to 15 rupees," in one district, (Behar.) In another, (Tirhoot,) "the present average price of a young girl is now from 25 to 40 rupees, and it used to be from 50 to 60. The price of a young male of 18 or 20, is from 16 to 20 rupees, and was from 30 to 40." In Cuttack, "the price of a young male varies from 5 to 30 rupees, that of a young female is the same." In Rohilcund, "the price obtained for males and females, both children and adults, used formerly to be from 10 to 20 rupees each, but it is now risen to 20 and 30 rupees." In Bhaugulpore, the price of a female varies according to age, from 25 to 60 rupees, and that of a male from 15 to 40 rupees. "In ordinary times," says Mr. Blaquiere, "dealers go from Calcutta into Sylhet, Dacca, and Mymensingh, and there purchase Hindoo and Mussulman boys and girls, whom they sell to Mussulmans of Calcutta, as domestic slaves, the prices varying from 20 to 30 rupees." Another witness, *Hafiz Ahmud Kubeer*, says, "There are persons, both Hindoos and Mohammedans in those parts, (Rohilcund,) who resort to the hill countries of Kumaon and Gurhwal for the purpose of purchasing Hindoo children and adults from their parents and relatives, whom they dispose of as slaves at Rampore and the districts of Bareilly and Moradabad, and also at Lucknow. These traders are called "burdeh feroshes," (slave-sellers), and this traffic was very considerable before the British rule. It is still carried on, but clandestinely, and only to a very small extent. The price obtained for males and females, both children and adults, so sold, used formerly to be from 10 to 20 rupees each, but it has now risen from 20 to 30 rupees." This advance in the price, evidently arises rather from the increased difficulty of obtaining slaves, in consequence of the alleged illegality of the practice, than from any diminution in the demand.

EMPLOYMENT OF SLAVES.

We draw the attention of our readers, thirdly, to the employment of slaves. We have before said, that impure castes are never allowed to perform in-door work. It would appear, however, that some difference is made in the mode of employing slaves arising from difference of caste. Says *Tek Loll*, "The only difference between the Kuhar and Juswur-kurmi is, that the former being of inferior caste, carry palankeens, which the latter do not; with this exception, they are both employed in the same menial offices, and in agriculture." *Vaydia Nath Missar*, Tirhoot, observes, "the slaves of the several classes mentioned, (Dhanuk, Amal, and Kurmi) are nearly the same in regard to purity, and are employed indifferently in in-door and out-door work." *Hamid Russool* states, "slaves perform menial offices in the house, including cooking, when the master is a Mahommedan. Slaves are also employed in agriculture." In Sylhet, "the slave population is principally employed in agriculture." The same may be said of the slaves in Northern and Central Cuttack. *Kashi Nath Khan*, speaks of part of the slaves in Rajshahi being engaged in agriculture. In Behar, according to *Tek Loll*, slaves are employed in agriculture. *Hafiz Ahmud Kubeer*, Rohilcund, says, "the males, whilst young, are employed as domestic servants." "When they grow up they are chiefly employed in agriculture, their masters then being averse to their continuing about the house."

In Dacca Jelalpore, the slaves are partly domestic, and partly field-labourers. *Lala Kashee Parshadh*, Tirhoot, says, "the slaves are employed both in in-door and out-door work, including field-labour, according as their services are required." *Parisnath Doobe* (Bhaugulpore) observes, "the slaves of these two classes (Dhanuks, pure, and Kuhar, impure) are employed indifferently in in-door and out-door work, including field-labour; but the superior castes cannot receive water from the Kuhar." *Choonee Lal Doobe*, Moorshedabad, states, that male slaves are employed both in-doors

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and out-doors; but when the establishment of slaves is large, those employed in agriculture are separated from the domestic slaves; and in that case, the females of the agricultural class do light work in the fields." *Abdul Bari*, Chittagong, says, "the slaves do both in-door and out-door work." *Sankar Nath Jhah*, Kolgong, remarks, that slaves not engaged about the household "are employed in the cultivation of the lands." *Arshad Ullee Khan Bahadur* says, "in Behar there is a caste called Bamans, who live by agriculture. Most of the landholders of Behar belong to this caste. The inferior landholders of this caste who superintend personally the work of cultivation employ slaves." *Damar Singh* (Purneah) states, that the "Khawases are employed in the cultivation of their master's private lands. The labour of ploughing and weeding is generally done by hired servants. The Khawases superintend and are employed in reaping, threshing, and storing." In Sarun, slaves are employed in agriculture. *Lala Deoke Nundun* states, that in Shahabad and Behar the poorer class of masters employ their slaves in agriculture." In western Beerbhoom and Ramghur, it appears also, from the evidence, slaves are employed in agriculture.

We have been thus particular in collecting the incidental notices, contained in the evidence of these natives, to show that there are considerable numbers of slaves employed in agriculture in the Presidency of Bengal. To what extent they may be engaged in raising the sugar, cotton and rice exported from that Presidency, we shall endeavour to show in another paper, as soon as we have collected and arranged the evidence. In the meantime, we give it as our decided opinion, that a portion of these articles is unquestionably raised by slave-labour.

In connexion with this subject, we beg to state, that the slaves in British India are not serfs, attached to the soil, as some have asserted, and too many believe; but that they are the absolute property of their masters. The whole of the witnesses, who speak to this point, state that slaves termed "*adscripti glebæ*," are unknown in the districts to which they severally belong, or of which they had any knowledge.

In reference to the sale of slaves, "the consent of the subject is quite immaterial and is not asked;" and it is added, "these sales take place not only to Hindoos, but also to Mussulmans and other persons." "Sales of free persons are very common, and so are sales of persons already in slavery." "If a person thus sold were to refuse compliance, the buyer would coerce him." "It would not be considered disreputable to take the acquisitions of slaves which by law belong to us." "The slave has no right to any portion of his time." "No absolute slave has a right to purchase his freedom; but sometimes there is a stipulation for redemption in the contract of self-sale, or the sale of a child." "By the shastres, property in slaves (*or bipeds* as they are called) is treated with the same respect as immoveable property." "The mortgage of slaves is legal, but not much practised, not being convenient." "Sale for the purpose of prostitution is of course illegal, because a prostitute necessarily loses caste." There is nothing illegal in the sale of slaves, for "arrears of revenue or rent," or "in execution of a decree." Cases are known of men selling "both themselves and their existing offspring by the same deed." "Slaves are not entitled to any time to work for themselves." "In the absence of special agreement, the master of the female slave is entitled to the offspring." "All kinds of slaves are constantly sold." "No time is allowed the slave to work on his own account, and any thing he may acquire belongs to his master." "There is no redemption in the case of self-sale, or sale of children by their parents." "There is a class of persons who agree to serve as slaves for food." "The children of such people, if born after the servitude commenced, are slaves for ever." "It is common to borrow money upon a mortgage of slaves." "The slave cannot hold property against his master." "In Mymensingh and Rungpore, masters let their slaves to hire, particularly females, but not in Rajshahi." "There are two modes in which slaves are mortgaged; one, when the mortgagee has possession of the slave whose services discharge the interest; the other, when the possession remains with the mortgagor, and the security remains upon the deed only." "Slaves are transferred by an absolute bill of sale." "The master has certainly a right to sell his slave to whom he pleases without his consent." "The masters have a right to their full labour." "Children are frequently sold by their parents for purposes of prostitution: sometimes by kidnappers." "Upon occasion of funerals, it is usual to give one or more slaves, amongst other presents, to the officiating Brahmin." "If the slave about to be sold is a pregnant woman, and the future offspring sold with her, the price is greater than it would be if the woman were sold alone." "The sale of children is very frequent in time of scarcity. The relations who sold them have no right to redemption." "It is lawful, and not disreputable, for a master to sell his slaves to purchasers living at a distance, and to separate families." "Slaves have frequently been sold in execution of decrees, by order of the courts in Behar, Patna, and Shahabad." "A man who has no relations will present his slaves to a temple whereby they become the slaves of the god." "The houses of bawds in Calcutta swarm with women who have been inveigled from their families and prostituted against their will." "Sales, for prostitution, still takes place very frequently." "The greater part of the prostitutes, both Mohammedan and Hindoo, purchase children from their parents, and from the burdeh ferostes (slave-sellers;) so that almost all the prostitutes in that part of the country (Rohilcund) are slaves." "The children follow the mother, and belong to the owner of the *soil*" (slave.) This degrading appellation is applied to female slaves in India. After the age of ten or eleven years, children might be sold separately (from their parents), and such a proceeding would not be blameable;" * * * "it would not be considered hard to sell a slave to any distance, or into another Zillah. The slave's consent is never asked in such transactions, nor would any objections he might make be attended to." "The children of all other castes, except Brahmins are sold," and "are heritable property." "When the parent or ancestor sells a child, or when a man sells himself, the deed purports to let the services for a long period, such as eighty years. In practice such an instrument is understood to convey the subject and all future offspring." "Sales by relations, and sales from one master to another, used to be common; but an impression has got abroad, that they are prohibited, and, in consequence of this, *sales are now made under the disguise of a deed of hire.*"

The foregoing extracts from the evidence will show, that slaves are property, and that masters can exercise all the rights of property over them. He can sell them whenever his necessities or caprice may dictate; he can mortgage them; he can give them away; he can bequeath them to his heirs or to his idols; he can separate the husband from the wife, and the parent from the child; except, under certain circumstances, he can claim the offspring of the mother as his property; and in those parts of the country where the impression exists that free people cannot be sold as slaves, the difficulty is got over by letting their services for a period of eighty years. In this case, the children follow the condition of their parents—they are slaves.

COERCION OF SLAVES.

We proceed, fourthly, to show the mode in which the labour of slaves is coerced as acknowledged by the native witnesses themselves. According to the uniform testimony of all the witnesses, no amount of severity, ill-treatment, punishment, or privation, entitles a slave to emancipation. This being understood, we lay before our readers the following admissions of the natives, most of whom were slave-holders, or represented slave-holders, and therefore, in a matter which would implicate their own character, they would deal as gently as they could. Says one, "If a slave give offence, it is usual to give him a slap or a blow with a shoe." Says another, "If a slave will not work, he is coerced by threats, by flogging, and by stopping his rations." Says the third, "If a slave refuse to work, the master corrects him with a slap on the face, or a rattan; if the slave is incorrigibly obstinate and vicious, he is turned away: this rarely happens." Says a fourth, "If a slave refuse to work, or otherwise misbehave, the master corrects him by beating with the hand or a cane, or by tying him up for an hour or two." Says a fifth, "The correction of a slave depends in a great measure on the temper of the master; sometimes he will reprove them, sometimes he will banish them from his presence, and sometimes slap them with his hand or with a rattan." Says a sixth, "A slave who misbehaves himself is beaten with the hand or with a thin stick, or a shoe, or twisted handkerchief." Says a seventh, "Slaves when they misconduct themselves, are punished by stopping their rations, and striking them with the hand or with a stick, according to the disposition of the master. *It is the master's right to beat his slave.*" Says an eighth, "If a slave is disobedient, it is usual to correct him, by slapping him with the hand, and occasionally with a whip or rattan." * * * "ill-disposed masters of this class (agricultural) will sometimes beat their slaves severely, and sometimes confine them by tying them up." Says a ninth, "Slaves are punished by blows with a slipper or a rattan, and by confinement." Says a tenth, "The masters enforce the services of their slaves by beating them either with a rattan or a staff, this depending on the disposition of the masters; *the arms and legs of the slaves are sometimes broken by the violence of the blows inflicted.* They confine slaves attempting to abscond, by tying them with a string, or putting fetters light or heavy on their legs, in the manner practised with convicts in the public gaols." One of the witnesses, however, *Parisnath Doobe*, Mooktear, of Maha Rajah Ruhmut Ulle Khan Bahadoor, of Kurruckpore, gives the following account of the matter:—"If a slave is careless, and spoils or breaks anything, the master takes the work out of his hands and *keeps him unemployed for a time.* This the slave feels to be a disgrace, and amends. Some masters slap their slaves, but *I never heard of one beating his slave with a rattan, or binding him with a string*, if he attempted to abscond. THE MASTERS, IN FACT, FEEL THE SAME AFFECTION FOR THEIR SLAVES AS FOR THEIR OWN CHILDREN! If a slave run away, the principal inhabitant of the place, to which he has fled, will persuade him to return to his master, on the latter appearing and proving his title; *but no violence would be used to compel him to do so.* If a slave abscond two or three times, I suppose the master would sell him." Strange that a slave treated with so much gentleness and affection should run away at all! Such a statement as this forcibly reminds us of the apologies offered for the West India planters by their well-paid and zealous advocates Messrs. Macqueen and Borthwick. If the slave-holders in the east have not precisely the same instruments of torture, formerly in use in the West Indies, to coerce the labour, and enforce the obedience of their bondsmen, they can advance from the blows of the slipper, the twisted handkerchief, and the rattan, to the heavier punishment of the staff, the rope, and the whip, and if this will not do, they can tie them up, and place them in confinement, and starve them into submission, and chain them at their pleasure.

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Nothing beyond these admissions is necessary to show the cruelty of the East Indian system of slavery.

DEGRADATION OF SLAVES.

We call attention, fifthly, to the degradation of female slaves, and the absolute power of the masters over their persons and happiness. "The master can, by law, compel his female slave to marry against her consent." "The Mohammedan master has a right to exact the embraces of his female unmarried slave." "It is a common practice for Mohammedan masters to cohabit with their female slaves." "The begetting of slaves upon concubines, is a practice which is not openly avowed, though it is done frequently. But in the Dahkan, this is done openly, without scruple." Sometimes female slaves are married to persons whose profession it is, to go about as the husbands of slaves. These persons are called "byakara," and this kind of marriage is called "punwah shadee." "The object of this arrangement is, that the slave-girl may remain in the master's house, and that *all her children may belong to him.*" "Sometimes this kind of marriage is intended only as *a screen to conceal the intimacy of the master with his female slave.*" "The offspring of a byakara, whether he be free or slave, belong to the masters of his wives respectively." These byakara, or itinerating husbands, are said, in some instances, to have scores of slave-wives—"his occupation is considered a profession." Yet this demoralizing system, corrupting as it does, society in India to its very heart's core, and adding new horrors to the social evils which afflict its population, is to be considered sacred! Away with the heartless sophistries, and shallow pretexts of expediency—our appeal is to the sympathies of human nature, and to the principles of religion, and we ask whether this system of enormous wickedness shall be permitted to endure.

MANUMISSIONS.

Lastly, we proceed to notice the fact, that few of the enslaved population of India, are ever cheered with the hope of freedom or put in possession of it. Most of the witnesses state, that they have never known an instance of manumission. One of them, however, says that though "manumission is rare it sometimes takes place when a master has particular cause of satisfaction with a slave." Another says, "Manumission is rare, and not generally desired by the slave. But it sometimes happens, that a master anticipating, from the evil disposition of his children, that they will maltreat the slaves, manumits such as he has a regard for." A third says, "The Hindoo masters never emancipate their slaves that I know of; Mohammedan masters do occasionally, it being a moral duty in them." In reference to the statement that the slaves do not desire emancipation, a fourth explains himself thus:—"When I said slaves do not desire emancipation, *I mean they look upon it as unattainable, and, therefore, do not think of it.*" Such is the iron system by which they are bound—their masters are inexorable, and they, having no hope to cheer, and no power to contend, submit quietly and patiently to their fate.

As to the statement that their condition is really better than that of hired servants, we give one quotation from the evidence before us. *Ram Christna Putnaik Mahanti*, says:—"*The condition of slaves is harder than that of free-labourers. Their work is harder, their fare and clothing worse, and they are sometimes beaten.*" and this not only agrees with what one might reasonably expect to be the case, but with the general statement, that slaves are kept for economy. *Vaydia Nath Missar* says:—"In general, I think it more economical to be served by slaves than by hired servants." *Hamid Russool* is of the same opinion. *Dhurb Singh Das* observes:—"It is more economical to employ slaves than freemen." *Tek Loll* and others make a similar statement. Now this must arise either from slaves doing more work than freemen, or from their getting a smaller return for what they do. In either case, we have a full proof of the injustice as well as inhumanity of the system.

We have thus completed an analysis of the evidence of the native witnesses, and have given to our readers their portraiture of "slavery as it is" in British India. In pursuing this course we cannot be charged with exaggerating its evils. Let our friends study it until they make the case their own, and we fear not the result. Supineness would be cruelty to the slave, and treachery to principle. With earnestness, therefore, we entreat them to give loud utterance to their feelings; and to bring their moral force to bear upon the imperial legislature, until it determine to raise the millions of India, who have so long groaned under an intolerable oppression, from their degradation to the dignity and the happiness of free men.*

* The evidence of which the foregoing article is an analysis will be found in Parliamentary Papers No. 262.—1841, pp. 223 to 260, inclusive.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

London, 9th month, 20th, 1841.

SIR,—As I was careful in all cases to search for the evidence of others on slavery in Brazil, in order that I might justify my own observations thereon, I sent transcripts of queries to different residents in that empire. Of these I select the replies of two distinguished individuals, one of whom wrote his own answers, and forwarded the paper to the other, who, having read and approved, added some further remarks thereto. You have seen this manuscript, and are aware of the respectability of the writers, their long experience, and exalted station.

I have transcribed their answers to the following queries, and have affixed to them the double inverted comma, to the opinions of others the single inverted comma; thus distinguishing them from such further information as I myself have attached to most of them.

Nature of slave-punishments?—"Flogging, tin mask, heavy chains, rings of iron on legs and neck, stocks, &c. The degree of punishment entirely dependent on the master's will. I know an instance of a slave being hanged by his master, probably not intentionally. In country places there is absolutely no control over the masters and fectors. Burying in ant hills, &c. Often flogged to death *intentionally*. An English proprietor declared his intention of so doing to a slave, but was persuaded to sell him."

I have heard of instances where slaves have been purchased expressly for the purpose of being flogged to death, for revenge. One was a case of jealousy; the other for not being saluted by the slave according to the law of usage, which requires that he or she should say, "*abenca me*" (bless me), to every white person he may meet in his walk.

Quantity and quality of food?—"The general food of slaves consists of jerked beef (beef slightly smoked and dried), farinha, or the flower of the manioc root, black beans, and the fat of salt pork. But the quantity, and whether all these articles are given or only part, depends entirely on the owner. One often sees in newspapers advertisements of damaged and unsaleable goods, as beans, farinha, &c. "*para escravos*," for slaves. It is not uncommon to give next to nothing to slaves."

Clothing?—"Entirely dependent on the master's will. Generally coarse cotton shirt and trowsers, with the addition of woollen shirt for bad weather."

Lodging?—"Fifty, or one hundred, or more males locked into a large barrack or barn at dark, and let out in the morning; and no check or semblance of control over any abomination resulting from such treatment."

In corroboration of the above, I heard from one who visited the government iron works in the province of St. Paulo, that there this system is literally adopted. The government, as well as the church establishments and priests, hold slaves to a vast extent.

Privations of slaves?—"Innumerable. Suffice it to say that the slaves generally are in a condition scarcely superior to the beasts that perish. Their mental culture and necessities entirely neglected. This, to them, is so far an advantage, that they do not feel their privations so keenly as they otherwise would; and, therefore instruction or justice to slaves is gravely deprecated. A slave-holder, to be consistent, must act on this principle."

The Portuguese pamphlet, *Memoria Analytica á cerea do commercio d' escravos*, contains the following corroborative evidence: 'All the religion which is inculcated in Brazil consists of certain superstitious practices, mummeries, and absurdities. Far from instructing them in the existence of a Supreme Being superior to all, such a principle would not suit them. In order that a slave-owner reign with sovereignty, it is necessary that his slaves be kept in ignorance of any authority superior to his will. Neither must the rewards and punishments which he may award be counterbalanced by other rewards and punishments, such as religion presents. The inculcation of such precepts would weaken the master's authority, and also be a check to the master's vices.'

Are the services required of the women similar in their nature, and equal in extent, to those of the men?—"In the field they are mostly employed in the same kind of labour as the men; but, of course, so much is not required of them as of males."

Is care taken of pregnant females?—"Very little."

Are any privileges allowed to mothers with young children?—"Their treatment entirely depends on the will or whim of the master or manager."

In the large towns or cities, it is the usual practice to hire out the mothers as wet nurses, which frequently causes the death of the infant. The following occurrence took place a few days prior to my departure from Brazil. A confectioner in the Catete, a short distance from the city of Rio de Janeiro, sold a negress without her child to an inhabitant of the capital. On being informed of her fate, she firmly refused to submit to it, unless her child went with her; whereon both her old and new master began to beat and drive her out of the house. When in the street, the poor creature laid herself down on the pavement, and there appeared resolved to die under their oft-repeated blows of sticks. Finding her thus determined, they caused her to be lifted into a cart, and ordered one negro to hold her down while another drove her off. On arriving at her new master's door in the city, she again laid down in the street, and there also they beat her in such an unmerciful manner that even the very neighbours remonstrated, but, nevertheless, she was obliged to submit.

How soon after their confinement are mothers obliged to resume their labour?—"Generally in ten days or a fortnight; but this is not so great a hardship as might be supposed in England."

Is the mortality amongst children great?—"I should think so. I oftener pass the corpses of negro children going to interment than of any other. Some estates never rear children, others many."

The neglect of children is the consequence of the slave-trade, which, the Brazilians consider, furnishes slaves at a cheaper rate than they can raise them.

What care is taken of the sick?—"This entirely depends on the disposition and ability of the master."

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A humane rich man may do a great deal for his slave; but, as the mass of slave-owners are poor, their comfort in sickness cannot be attended to. The English gold mines have excellent hospitals, and resident medical men. I was present when a convalescent was sent by the doctor to work. The negro asked the captain not to give him night-work, said he was very weak, and I confess that I thought it was far too soon to have sent him from hospital: he appeared very feeble.

What is the state of aged, infirm, and worn out slaves? "Often very destitute. When unfit for work, they are generally turned out of the house by their master (to do which he must give them their freedom), to shift for themselves. This is often the case also, when negros become blind, or otherwise unserviceable—not unfrequently when a negro is a confirmed drunkard, or unmanageable. I have seen them in great destitution, and once found at my gate an old man, either in a dying state, or very infirm. We sent him food and water for some short time, but I am told that, one day when I was out, the police removed him."

In confirmation of the above account, I translate the following from the French traveller, St. Helaire, vol. i, p. 262.

'In this city (St. Joao del Rey) I was astonished at the number of mendicants who filled the streets. The curate assured me he gave alms every Saturday to more than 400 beggars. These are old negros and mulattos, infirm and incapacitated for work. Barbarous masters take all profit from the youthful days of their slaves, which they even shorten by compulsory labour; and, when they can no longer derive benefit from these unfortunates, they disencumber themselves of them by manumission. Thus they have no other resource than to beg, and to become a public burthen. One cannot but shudder with indignation, when one reflects that this barbarity is repeated so often in a country where provisions are so abundant, and where it would cost so little to the slave proprietors to pay to humanity and duty so sacred a debt. Is it not inconceivable that the laws have made no provision against this horrible abuse of manumission!'

I observed the very same practice in St. Joao del Rey, and also in the villages and roads on my journey to the Gold mines. Space does not admit of a detail of the painful effects of this abuse of manumission.

Is suicide prevalent among the slaves?—"Several instances of it occur in Rio de Janeiro annually."

I copy from the *Jornal do Commercio*, 1st February, 1841, an extract of the trial of the slave Joaquim, for the murder of his wife and child of two years and four months old, in the petty session of the 23rd January, 1841. '* * * The defendant said that his name was Joaquim, that he belonged to the Benguela nation, a currier by trade, did not know his age, was the slave of Cyro Candido Martins de Brito, and married to the negress Maria Carolina of the Mina nation, by whom he had a daughter, Innocencia, now dead. Said it was true that he murdered his wife on the night of the 11th instant, his motive for so doing, was that she lived unhappily with her owner, who exceedingly maltreated her as well as himself the defendant—that this maltreatment consisted in blows of the whip and palmatoria, and the defendant was incessantly threatened with the house of correction, and the road to the mines, also that his wife should be sent away from him. That his daughter was not ill-treated, because she was yet too young, but, in order that she might not experience her parents' fate, he murdered her also. Further declared that he committed the deed with his trade-knife, which he carried home from his work with the intention of murdering himself, his wife, and child. Being asked if he were in his sound mind, he replied, Yes; that he well knew what he purposed to do, that he did not kill himself as he had intended, because he had not time ere he was seized.'

Another instance of the frequency of suicide, was related to me by an officer of the Rio Doce company [this company have no slaves]; viz:—

That an acquaintance of his had purchased thirty African negros, who were so effected by nostalgia (a disease arising from a vehement longing to return to their country), that one and another, day after day, hanged themselves, till he thus lost sixteen of their number. That the seventeenth was discovered in the attempt, and cut down ere death had done its office. That the owner, fearing he should be ruined by the loss of all these slaves, resolved to deter the remainder from committing suicide by inflicting a severe punishment on this unhappy creature. That he accordingly ordered him to be very severely flogged; and, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered, administered another, and so on, until the slave had received six floggings. That he then, offering the poor sufferer a rope, desired him to hang himself with it. That, on his being unwilling to do this, he flogged him the seventh time for disobedience of this order. As no more attempted to hang themselves, this was considered an effectual remedy.

I think I have now extended my letter sufficiently for the present, but shall continue till I have completed the replies to fifty-four of such questions.

I remain, Sir, your's very truly,
GEORGE PILKINGTON.

SEIZURES OF SLAVERS.—Captain A. Ward of Salem, who came passenger from Manilla, in the ship *Grotius*, bound to this port, which vessel was off Gay-Head yesterday afternoon, informed Mr. Hatch of the *Express*, that, when the ship left St. Helena, there were seven vessels, with seven hundred slaves, at that place, prizes to Her Britannic Majesty's cruisers. The last of the seven arrived on the 2nd of March, and had thrown overboard sixty dead slaves in sight of St. Helena.—*Jamaica Paper*.

NOTICE TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS.

With a view to the diffusion of information on anti-slavery subjects generally, the Committee have resolved to supply AUXILIARY SOCIETIES, *for gratuitous distribution only*, with all pamphlets and small publications published by them, at one-half the usual price; and the larger publications, TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS GENERALLY, at a reduction of *twenty-five per cent.*, for immediate payment.

Collecting Cards and Books are preparing, which the Committee will be happy to forward to their friends in the country, on application, free of expense.

To all subscribers to the Anti-slavery Society, or to any of its auxiliaries, the price of the volume entitled *Proceedings of the Convention* is 10*s.* 6*d.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several valued correspondents have drawn attention to the warlike character of some extracts from the contemporary press, inserted in our last number. They failed to observe, we think, that they were extracts, not original matter, and that the warlike tenor of them was expressly disclaimed in the leading articles which had reference to them.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 6TH.

THE deputation which, as we stated in our last, waited on Sir Robert Peel, with a memorial on the subject of slavery in British India, consisted of the following gentlemen:—Benjamin Hawes, M.P., Samuel Harford, M.P., Dr. John Bowring, M.P., Thomas Wakley, M.P., William Allen, Robert Forster, George Stacey, Henry Tuckett, Stafford Allen, George W. Alexander, Richard Barrett, Josiah Conder, Samuel H. Lucas, Henry Christy, Joseph Cooper, Henry Sterry, William Ball, L. C. Lescesne, John Scoble, J. H. Tredgold, George Pilkington, Robert J. Rouse, Rev. J. K. Holland, John Beaumont, Rev. James Carlile, Joseph Soul, John H. Laing, and George Allen. Letters were received from the following Members of Parliament, apologising for their absence:—Charles Buller, jun., C. P. Villiers, D. Barclay, William Aldam, jun., Esqrs., Sir John Easthope, and Sir Charles Napier. The deputation was most courteously received, and they were informed by the Right Hon. Baronet, that, previous to the intimation of the Committee of their desire of an interview, he had directed the attention of the noble lord, the President of the Board of Control, to the subject of their memorial, as deserving the most serious attention of the government.

The premier further recommended that a deputation should wait on the President of the Board of Control, to whose department the subject more especially belonged. Upon this suggestion the Committee accordingly acted; and, on Thursday last, Lord Ellenborough was waited on by the following gentlemen:—Messrs. G. W. Alexander, J. Beaumont, S. Allen, J. Conder, and J. Scoble. Their reception on the part of his lordship was courteous; but they would have been happy to have discovered a nearer agreement in their views.

Having thus appealed to the government, the Committee have further to appeal to the country. Everything must be done to prepare for an effective campaign in the next session of Parliament. It had been proposed that Sir Eardley Wilmot should have entered on the journals of the House of Commons a notice of a motion for an early period; but, instead of this, petitions have been presented to both houses, as the more desirable method of bringing the matter before them at the present moment. In addition to this, measures are in progress for engaging the attention of the country to the subject by a series of public meetings, of which further information will shortly be given. Every anti-slavery body should prepare itself to petition, and we hope every religious congregation will adopt a similar attitude. The voice of the country must be uttered and uttered aloud; for the resistance to be overcome is great, and such as will challenge, although we do not for a moment believe it will defeat, the entire moral force of the British empire.

OUR attention has been attracted by the following account in the *Morning Chronicle*, of some proceedings in the House of Commons, on Wednesday last.

MR. FOSTER begged to put a question to the noble lord, the secretary of state for the colonies. He observed a sum of money charged in the estimates as paid to a Dr. Madden, towards the expenses of a mission to the West Coast of Africa. He understood that that gentleman had returned to this country, and, after a very short stay in Africa, had made a very long report to the department over which the noble lord presided. The question which he wished to ask the noble lord was simply this, when that report might be expected to be laid on the table of that house.

Lord STANLEY said Dr. Madden had been sent out by the late government, to make inquiries of a confidential nature respecting our settlements on the West Coast of Africa. He had sent in four reports: one relating to Sierra Leone, one to the Gambia, one to the Gold Coast, and one which was confined to medical matters. He (Lord Stanley) believed there would be no objection to laying the last on the table. But the other three treated of subjects of the greatest importance and secrecy, affecting

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our defences on the coast, our relations with foreign powers, and matters relating to individuals engaged in trade, legal and illegal, on the coast of Africa. Such being their character, at the present time he (Lord Stanley) would not feel warranted in laying them on the table of the house; but the general subject was under the most anxious consideration of her Majesty's government.

The fact, then, thus comes out, that there are, and that the government know that there are, individuals—British subjects, of course, for to them only could Dr. Madden's inquiries have respect—engaged in an *illegal trade* on the coast of Africa. We shall hear, therefore, no doubt, of prosecutions instituted against the guilty parties. Surely the British government is not going to shelter enormities of this sort, and to screen such criminals, be their position and influence what they may, from merited exposure and condign punishment. But who is this Mr. Foster, that asked the question which has obtained for us this information? Can he have any interest in this matter? Or the mercantile firm of which he is the principal partner, and which trades to the coast of Africa? We beg also to ask Lord Stanley, whether it is wise for him thus officially to proclaim secrecy to the violators of British law in that quarter of the globe; and we cannot but express our hope that he will not long maintain it. Under any circumstances the facts may yet transpire. The anti-slavery committee have alleged in their petition, that some members of the House of Commons are implicated in this illegal traffic; and it is of importance to the character of that honourable house that the truth of this allegation should be ascertained. It is of importance to Mr. Foster himself to have an opportunity of proving that he is not the man. Besides which, the whole body of British merchants is concerned, and we are happy to know that they feel themselves to be so. The clean-handed among them wish it to be demonstrated that their hands are clean, and we learn that some of them are taking measures for this purpose. The most effectual measure, however, will be the parliamentary inquiry which the Anti-slavery Committee have asked for. We add to these remarks an extract from the *Morning Herald*, to show that others think and feel with us on this matter.

The immense interest which this country has at stake in the effectual suppression of the slave-trade, renders it imperative that she should be beyond suspicion of any participation in its guilt. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has, by its committee, and through the instrumentality of Lord Brougham, just presented a petition to the House of Lords, the statements of which are either eminently scandalous, or, if capable of proof, demand the immediate interference of the legislature with a view to restraint and punishment.

This society, composed, we believe, chiefly of persons professing at least more than ordinary outward devotion to religion and truth, not only alleges that British subjects belong to associations in Cuba and Brazil which have a property in their fellow-creatures, and are in the habit of purchasing Africans torn from their country; that officers bearing her Majesty's commission are public functionaries engaged in such companies; and that English banking companies lend their capital for the carrying on of the slave-trade; that British subjects in Cuba and Brazil participate in the accursed profit of slave expeditions; but the petitioners further allege the astounding fact, that they "have grounds *for knowing* that vessels have been built in this country specially for the slave-trade, and they have reason to fear that many have been covertly prepared for that nefarious traffic in British harbours." This allegation is not, be it observed, one of suspicion, it is of *knowledge*, and Lord Brougham himself gives corroboration to that knowledge by his personal belief; for, added his lordship, while drawing attention to this point, "he had himself reason to believe that a vessel had been built in one of the best harbours of this country for this trade, and it was afterwards sent to another place to have its interior fittings put up, and having procured simulated papers, it sailed to the Havana, from whence it was to be dispatched to the coast of Africa, for a cargo of slaves."

No minister can permit the British nation to remain under the stigma of such charges as these. The national character in the eyes of the world is at stake; they must either receive confirmation or refutation; and, we take the liberty to add, that the reputation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society must be injured, if not destroyed, unless the allegations be substantiated. The society asks for a parliamentary inquiry; it is, indeed, quite indispensable; and we trust that Lord Brougham will not allow the first week of the next session of parliament to pass over without moving for such an inquiry. It is one peculiarly suited to the dignity, the gravity, and the perfect independence of the House of Lords, who could add to the solemnity, if not to the truth, of such an investigation, the sacred character of an oath.

The Duke of Wellington has done more for the suppression of the slave-trade than any man living. By giving the high sanction of his approval and personal assistance to such an investigation, the noble duke would crown a life of incessant utility, by throwing around his mild decay the halo of a holy and a righteous cause.

We have inserted in another column, from the *Cincinnati Gazette*, a detailed account of the lawless and ferocious outrage which has just been enacted there against the abolitionists and the people of colour. The *Liberator*, from which we have extracted the narrative, speaks of the occurrence in the following terms:—

We lack words, as well as room, to express the mingled emotions of pity, indignation, and horror, that swell tumultuously within us, in view of the frightful outrages perpetrated upon the unoffending coloured inhabitants of Cincinnati, by a band of lawless ruffians, virtually headed by the mayor and city authorities, and sanctioned by the citizens generally. Thus far all the particulars are gathered exclusively from pro-slavery sources; and yet it is perfectly plain that no blame can justly be attached to the coloured people, either individually or collectively. Eternal infamy will rest upon Cincinnati, for her murderous spirit and bloody deeds. The Lord succour the hunted victims and their persecuted advocates in that city!

The *Cincinnati Republican*, a paper published on the spot, and therefore under the strongest local influences, uses the following language:—

To us, the brutal outrage committed upon the persons and property of the blacks is the foulest of all the events that occurred. They were disarmed. The faith of the rioters was pledged to protect them. Yet, while thus defenceless, when the men had been removed to the jail for safe keeping, the mob attacked their property, destroyed it, drove out the women and children from their houses, and some ruffians went even so far as to ravish the person of a young black girl! What a picture! What a tale to tell of a civilised city!

In a private letter with which we have been favoured, dated New York, September 15th, is the following reference to this fearful outrage:—

There has been a great abolition riot in Cincinnati, Ohio, attended with bloodshed. It was begun between some boys and free negros. As the mob increased the civil authorities seemed indisposed to quell it, being willing (as is supposed) that the free people of colour and their friends should be punished to a certain extent. It is even said, that, after the militia was called out, they were purposely withdrawn from the vicinity of the *Philanthropist* office. At any rate, the office, types, and press were destroyed, dragged to, and thrown into the Ohio river. The coloured people were set upon—they defended themselves with arms—arms were used against them—then the abolitionists were attacked, property destroyed, and some lives lost. A long account is published in one of their daily papers of the whole affair, and *not a word of censure occurs, on either the free people of colour or the white inhabitants!* It will make many converts, and be overruled for good, I doubt not.

A long account of a riot *without a word of censure on either party* is certainly a singularity. It is at all events evident from this, that the blacks and the abolitionists were not considered as deserving any. They would have instantly received it, if they had been so. Kentuckian slave-holders have obviously been at the bottom of this affair. But, as our corrrespondent at New York well remarks, it will doubtless convert many to abolitionism, and be overruled for good.

The West India papers bring intelligence to a late date. Among our extracts will be found a very pleasing novelty—accounts of anti-slavery meetings at Trinidad and Demerara. The most important local matter, however, is the measures which have been taken in both these colonies to abolish the system of allowances to the peasantry, in part remuneration of their labour. From the first we disapproved of this system, and regretted that an element so incongruous with a state of freedom should remain under it. We are glad, therefore, that it is likely to be got rid of. But common sense and common justice would dictate that these allowances should have been estimated at their money-value, and that a proportionate addition should have been made to the money-wages of labour. Will our readers believe that the equitable, generous, and noble minded planters of Guiana and Trinidad are taking away the allowances, and *giving nothing in lieu of them?* It is even so, as will be found by two articles in another column, which we commend to attention. This is an attempt on the part of the planters to make a direct and forcible reduction in wages. They seem to expect that it will produce unquietness among the labourers; and well they may, for a better recipe for disturbing a community could hardly have been devised. We hope, however, that the peasantry will have the good sense to be quiet, and take the proper remedy. Let them understand that no power can long disturb the market price of labour, so as to make it either higher or lower, and that both master and servant must give and take the market price for it. If their work is in demand they will get higher wages, and they will be right to take whatever wages the demand for their labour may place within their reach.

From the *Barbados Liberal*, we have extracted an important article on the unjust rent system which has so long prevailed on that and other islands. It would seem that the judges of the appeal court in Barbados had never heard of it until now. It is gratifying to state, however, that they have pronounced an unequivocal condemnation of it, and have accomplished, as we hope, its overthrow. Appellants on this ground will now be so sure of a decision in their favour, that neither manager will care to make the charge, nor magistrate to enforce it.

It has been long since we have had any tidings from the Cape of Good Hope. We have now the gratification of presenting to our readers the following pleasing extract of a letter from a respected correspondent at Cape Town:—

In my late journey through the colony, I have heard much of the cruelties exercised under the old system of slavery, which has led me to wonder that such things could have been tolerated so long; and now that we are free from any thing of the kind, the state of things is so widely different that it seems as if at least a century must have elapsed. It seems almost incredible that, only five or six years ago, the same men whom we now see exulting in the joys of freedom, should have been the subjects of such horrid tyranny as appears to have been exercised towards them. And when we reflect that the slaves in this colony are said to have been comparatively well treated, how wretched and miserable must have been the condition of those who are *acknowledged* to have been ill-treated! I fervently rejoice that slavery is no more. In all cases of oppression I know not who suffers most injury, the oppressor or the oppressed. I almost think the former. The ill effects of slavery may yet be seen in the characters of the old slave owners, and in their deadness to all the benevolent feelings which ameliorate the condition of men in this life. I pity the man who, like these men, can look down with contempt upon a fellow creature, and regard him only as a brute. Yet this is the general effect of slavery. For the sake of the slave-owner, therefore, as well as the slave, prosecute with vigour your holy warfare. Let it be known throughout the world that crime and infamy are inseparable, that to

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infringe God's laws is to draw down vengeance on the offender's head. And is it not a breach of his law to rob a fellow-creature of his dearest birth-right, liberty? I pity the ignorant christian who can argue otherwise.

The late slaves are flocking to the missionary institutions throughout the colony. There is an ardent thirst for instruction amongst the coloured people. They argue properly, that, so long as they remain ignorant, they may be the easy dupes of men of superior knowledge, and they are resolved to become wiser than they are. Indeed, unless a master will engage to instruct them, he cannot now obtain a coloured labourer. This is an indispensable condition in the contract between master and servant. The poor ignorant and prejudiced farmers are, of course, at a loss, and they are fast going to decay. When such masters have disappeared, we shall feel the good effects of freedom in their fullest extent.

It appears, however, from two articles which we copy from the *Patriot*, that some parties are determined that there shall still be both mischief and slavery there, if they can either get up the one, or perpetuate the other. We trust, however, that they will be disappointed in both.

WE have taken from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, of which we perceive a new volume is commenced, under the editorship of our talented friend, John G. Whittier, some highly interesting particulars concerning the Africans captured in the Amistad, and the measures which are in progress for restoring them to their country. In addition we are enabled to give the following extract of a private letter from New York:—

We have obtained information from Africa that leads us to expect confidently, that, if the Mendians at Farmington reach Sierra Leone, they will soon find their way to their native country, Mendi, *alias* Kossa. We think of sending them to Sierra Leone very soon. Can you procure letters to be written to the authorities there, announcing this determination, and directing that all proper facilities be given to the Mendians? Our government, I fear, will not be at any expense in sending them home. Shame on them!

We see by the United States' papers that the nomination of Mr. Everitt, as ambassador to this country, has been confirmed by the Senate. He is, at all events, not a *slave-holder*.

The anti-slavery action which has been directed towards the purification of the religious bodies in the United States is bearing fruit. It is with much pleasure we present to our readers the following extract of a letter from New York, promising, as we trust it does, still better things.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, composed of one hundred or two hundred ministers and laymen of high respectability, at their annual meeting the other day, held this year in Philadelphia, adopted a report in which they have gone further than they ever did before on the subject of slavery. They speak of it as an evil; they presume that no proceeds of it find their way into the treasury; and say that other benevolent associations will attend more specifically to the removal of the evil. Some of our New Yorkers opposed the report, as it seemed to approve anti-slavery societies, &c. but two ministers from *South Carolina* advocated it, and it was unanimously adopted.

WE have noticed in the *Times* of October 1st, a letter from Major Archer, under the inviting title of *Free Labour in Mauritius*. Its object is to turn the evidence of the Coolies who have returned to India, to account for the re-opening of emigration. To this subject we shall advert hereafter.

WE have to acknowledge the just and handsome terms in which some of our contemporaries have already spoken of the two important works which the Anti-slavery Committee have just sent forth into the world—the *Proceedings of the General Anti-slavery Convention*, and the *Second Annual Report of the Society*. A notice of a different kind has appeared in the *Colonial Gazette*; but one so decidedly adapted to recommend the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to public favour and regard, that we do it the marked honour of inserting it entire. The writer has evidently an anxiety to say something derogatory of the Society, if he could; the public may rest well satisfied, therefore, when they see that the heaviest charge he can bring against them is the exercise of a just and beneficent influence with cabinets and kings.

REVIEW.

Proceedings of the General Anti-slavery Convention, called by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and held in London from Friday, June 12th, to Tuesday, June 23rd, 1840. London, 1841.

Seldom has a more valuable present been made to the world than the volume we have thus announced, or a more important contribution been made to its welfare. If much interest was excited in the prospect of the General Anti-slavery Convention, and if much respect was felt for it during the period of its sitting, certainly neither the one nor the other of these feelings will be diminished by this authentic narration of its proceedings. It might have seemed that the sayings and doings of such a body, from morning till evening, for ten days together, would be of a nature too discussive and irregular to afford suitable matter for permanent record. A perusal of the work before us, however, will speedily dissipate such an impression. Much, no doubt, has been required of editorial care; but that indispensable element has been so abundantly supplied, and so wisely exercised, that we have a closely printed, but not a fatiguing, volume of six hundred pages, full of matter as important and as interesting as ever was brought within the same compass, the all-important topics of religion alone excepted. The value of the documents embodied in the work, if these alone were regarded, is very great. We could scarcely use any words adequate to express our estimate of them, whether as to the amount of information they contain, or the force of argument they display. The subject of slavery has hitherto been treated piece-meal, as it existed in one or another separate locality. Here it is treated as it exists throughout the world. Its atrocities are dragged to light as perpetrated in every quarter of the globe, and witnesses competent to detail them are adduced from every clime. Dens of oppression long known to exist, but hitherto barred against unwelcome intruders, are here opened up, and deeds of darkness, hitherto secure in their concealment, are brought to light. The whole earth is presented, in a sort of panorama, to the eye of the reader, and, for the first time, the sun of human sympathy and benevolence seems to shine upon it all. The value of the volume before us, however, is by no means confined to the documents embodied in it. There are many excellent and thrilling speeches; and the pruning knife has been so skilfully used, that, without offensiveness, the more trivial parts are effectually separated. For reading, it is rather an entertaining than a heavy volume; and it is thus the better fitted for the usefulness for which it is adapted, and to which, we trust, it is destined. It is not to be just looked into, and then placed on the shelf as a book of reference. It should everywhere be *read*. To the world at large its contents are still new; and the knowledge of them is necessary to generate those elements of feeling and impulse of which the cause of benevolence stands in urgent need. There is a great work to be done; and what it is, and why and how it should be done, is to be learned from the volume before us.

It is a further gratifying thought, that, as this work speaks *of* the whole world, it speaks likewise *to* the whole world. Into all the quarters from whence the members of the General Anti-Slavery Convention were collected will this account of its proceedings penetrate. Nay, more. The interest excited by the Convention will cause this volume to be sought for through the whole civilized world. Even the slave-holder and the slave-trader will be curious to know what has been said of them; while potentates, not a few will be inquisitive as to the proceedings of a body whose voice they have directly heard, and for the most part respectfully acknowledged. This volume will summon the abolitionists of all nations to the extinction of universal slavery. It will give to the *entire* body a unity which it has never yet possessed. It will make them acquainted one with another, and create facilities for an unexampled co-operation. It will proclaim to the supporters of slavery throughout the world that its doom is fixed, and forewarn them of the approaching announcement that its time is come.

We must say, likewise, that the volume is handsomely, as well as carefully, got up, and that it contains a very serviceable Index.

We may add, that those who make themselves acquainted with the contents of this volume will feel augmented interest in reading the Second Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, because they will find detailed in it the manner in which the Committee of that Society have carried out the many important objects committed by the Convention to their care. The Report is, indeed, a sort of necessary appendix to the Proceedings.

THE MENDI PEOPLE.

(From the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.*)

THUS the Africans, late of the schooner Amistad, call themselves. It is found that no such country as Mendi is known to geographers. The district from which the Mendians came may be known to them by some other name, but these Africans, one and all, very distinctly pronounce the word MENDI, when speaking of themselves or their native land. Its precise location is unknown to us. They cannot describe its situation. They say, however, that it is *six days* from Mendi to the coast. Thus they compute distances. A day's journey, we conjecture, is from twenty to thirty miles. Mendi, then, may be some 150 miles from the Atlantic coast; we suppose it to lie a little north of east of the mouth of the river Gallinas. Some have supposed that it is situated among the hills or mountains (on their western slope) in which the Niger, the Gambia, and Senegal take their rise. But the probability is, that it lies considerably east, and near the source of some smaller streams that flow directly into the Atlantic. The Mendians all say that their country is hilly, and that there are mountains near it. Several of these people had heard of Sierra Leone before they were kidnapped, and sold to the Spaniards. They say traders from that colony have visited Mendi with their goods. It will be recollected that, after they had rescued themselves from the Spaniards on board the Amistad, they expressed their intention to proceed to Sierra Leone; the name seemed to be familiar with them. James Covey, the interpreter, now here, is a native of Mendi; but, as he was sold into slavery when only six years of age, he is not able to describe the situation of his native land. Fuli-Wu-lu, one of the liberated Africans, who lived in the Timmani, near the Mendi country, it has recently been ascertained, has been at Sierra Leone. He, and many of the others, seem to entertain no doubt but they could easily find Mendi if they were only set down at Sierra Leone.

The Rev. Thomas Pyne, an episcopal clergyman of London, formerly a resolute abolitionist of this city, and now charged by the British government with the instruction of the two Ashantee princes in England, has sent to a member of the committee acting on behalf of these Africans, a copy of a new work published in London, for the benefit of those who have gone

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to explore Africa in the steamers fitted out for the Niger. It is entitled, *Specimens of African languages spoken at Sierra Leone, appended to African Vocabularies*, by Mrs. Hannah Kilham. We find by this volume, that the language or dialect which we have denominated *Mendi* is called *Kossa*; our friends at Farmington should, therefore, be called *Mendis* or *Kossas*. No intimation is given in the above-mentioned work as to the native district of the *Kossas*. Mr. David Bacon, of New Haven, speaks of it, we learn, as being in the interior, back of Grand Cape Mount and Sierra Leone, and as being called *Longobar*. The name *Kossa* is written *Korso*, in the Afric. Repos. vol. vii. p. 283. The *African Vocabularies* also contain the numerals in *Mendi*. But they are evidently taken from the American Journal of Science, although without any acknowledgment of the fact, or any intimation that the *Mendi* is the same as the *Kossa* given before by Mrs. Kilham.

Since the act of the committee appointing Mr. Coffin to proceed to Sierra Leone with two or three of the Africans, these distrustful people have opened their hearts more freely than heretofore to their instructors and friends. They have acknowledged that, hitherto, they had agreed among themselves to be reserved respecting their native country, because "they did not know that we would save them." All the kindness, liberality, and professions of their friends have not been able wholly to remove from their minds apprehensions, awakened by the treatment, incomprehensible to them, they have received from the claimants, (Spanish and American) the courts, counsel, jailer, executive, &c. Fuli-Wu-lu now says, that his father lives in Mendi, but that he, for three years before he was stolen, lived with his grandmother in Koyeh, near Sierra Leone. It is, he says, one day's journey by land, and two and a-half by water, from Sierra Leone. Fuli-Wu-lu says he has been at Sierra Leone a great many times. It is probable that some of the others have relations at or near this colony. Fuli says he has lived at Bullom since he was a small boy, in the same town, Mborre, with Kong, while his father has lived in Mendi.

On mentioning to the Africans that we had a book in which their country is described as *Kossa*, they say that is not its true name, but it is *a term of reproach*, a name that has been applied to the Mendi people by the English, and by those who dislike them. This accounts for their never having mentioned the word *Kossa* to their teachers and friends.

Thus light appears to be breaking in upon this subject, and the feasibility of these long exiled Africans returning to their kindred and their homes is made more apparent. We publish these details for the gratification of the numerous donors to the Amistad fund, and for the information of our English friends, *whose attention we specially crave to the facts elicited.*

So great is the desire of these people to return to their native country—to their "wives, children, and friends"—and so much encouraged are the committee in the belief that the situation of Mendi, and the route to it, can be learned at Sierra Leone, that they have resolved on sending a special agent to that colony the present autumn, accompanied by Covey and two among the most intelligent of the Mendians, on a tour of inquiry. If it be possible for them, they will reach Mendi, convey to the relatives of Cinque and the rest the fact that these men and children, supposed to be lost, are alive and well, that is, the survivors of the group who were torn from Africa by the human blood-hounds who transferred them to Ruiz and Montes. After conveying this joyful intelligence, they, or some of them, will return to the United States to conduct the whole band to Africa. Joshua Coffin has been selected as the proper individual to go to Sierra Leone on this important mission. His noble daring, skill, and perseverance, in visiting Mississippi, and bringing off Isaac Wright, a New York coloured young man who had been sold into slavery by a Yankee captain, together with his general intelligence, eminently qualify him for such an undertaking.

THE POLL RENT SYSTEM IN THE WEST INDIES.

The fact has been often stated, although from its atrocity often disbelieved, that the emancipated peasantry were extensively charged rent *per capita*, and higher rent when they did not work on the estate on which the cottage was situated. The truth is at length come out in an official form, in proceedings recently held before the Appeal Court in the island of Barbados. The judges of that court, we are happy to say, have annexed to the practice their unqualified reprehension.

Four persons had been taken before police-magistrate Morris, of St. Lucy's parish, by warrant, for sums of one and a-half, two, and four dollars respectively. Judgment was given against them, and against this they appealed. The following portion of the proceedings will tell the rest:—

Mr. Seale sworn—Justice Cuppage: Mr. Seale, be so good as to state to the court what it is for which you claim these sums of money, as it is not stated in the proceedings before the magistrate.

Respondent—For house-rent. It is understood by all the labourers on the estate, that, for each day they are absent, a bit will be deducted for house-rent, and, after the first fortnight, two bits a day. The appellant, G. Williams, resides with his mother.

Justice Cuppage—And do you charge him for house-rent because he stays with his mother? If she were to stay away would you charge her the same bit?

Respondent—All that live in the house I charge. All the appellants, except Jack Thomas, reside with their respective parents.

Justice Tinling—When before Mr. Morris did you tell him for what you claimed this money? Because, in his report, he does not inform us what it is for.

Respondent—I told him it was for house-rent.

Justice Cuppage—Did you point out to him the circumstances of the different appellants, as you have done here? I did.

Justice Cuppage—And did he approve of this system?

Respondent—He must have done so.

Justice Cuppage—It is more, then, than I do—most decidedly!

Respondent—Some of them had been paying rent for the houses before this case.

Justice Cuppage—For the houses occupied by their parents?

Respondent—Yes. I made them understand that all who were located should pay a bit for each day they were absent.

Justice Tinling—But you gave them no house. Would you turn away a child from the house of its parent?

Justice Cuppage—I consider it a most unjust plan. I cannot conceive how you can charge an individual for a thing he does not possess.

Respondent—They had land, and occupied the houses with their parents.

Justice Tinling—Your claim is for house-rent.

Justice Cuppage—Supposing there were ten in a family, all of whom had absented themselves—in that case the estate, after the first fortnight, would be receiving from that family two dollars a day for a trash house?

Justice Tinling—They cannot expect to live in the houses rent free; but give them houses, and then make with them your own stipulations. Do not charge every one in a house for the rent.

Justice Cuppage—This system can never have my sanction.

The court thought proper to reverse the decision of the magistrate, and directed the respondent to pay the costs of appeal, amounting to fifteen shillings.

Justice Tinling remarked, that this was the first case of the sort that had ever come before the court.

Justice Cuppage said—There is no country in the world in which freedom exists, that would countenance such a system.

DISCONTINUANCE OF ALLOWANCES IN THE WEST INDIES.

Trinidad.—We are happy to announce a blow given to one of the few remaining customs of the times of slavery. The planters of Couva and Tacarigua, having come to a conviction of the slavish, impolitic, and demoralising nature of the custom of giving their labourers *allowances* as well as wages, resolved a few days back to discontinue the same, with the exception of houses, grounds, and medical attendance; and, on Saturday last, it was announced on the several estates in these two districts, that the allowances were issued on that day *for the last time*.

The announcement was not productive, at the moment, of any marked dissent; but, on Monday, the consequence was a general strike and refusal to work in the district of Tacarigua, with the exception of one estate, the *El Dorado*, on which we understand, the labourers turned out as usual. The refusal to turn out was not, however, accompanied by any riotous and disorderly conduct, and really, from subsequent circumstances, appears rather to have arisen from indecision on the part of the labourers as to what course they ought to adopt, than any sense of injury or feeling of resentment.

By accounts received to-day, however, we find that the gangs on several of the estates have resumed their work, and made up their minds to the change without much repugnance.

We must not omit to state that the district is so well supplied with shops furnished with all the articles usually given to labourers by way of allowance, that the inconvenience to which the labourers will be put will be very trifling. We have heard also that in Couva the experiment is likely to meet with every success.

We congratulate the planters of these districts upon the penetration which has enabled them to appreciate, and the firmness which has assisted them to abolish, one of the few remaining badges of the former servile state of their labourers; and we trust that the Naparimas, and the other agricultural districts of the colony, will not be tardy in following the example. We would, however, warn all against making the attempt in any neighbourhood where, from the want of shops, the labourer would be either put to inconvenience, or be driven to deal with the proprietor himself, as this may expose the latter to the suspicion of practising the truck system.

This we take to be the first step towards establishing the labourers on a footing which will teach them habits of temperance, frugality, and forethought.—*Trinidad Standard.*

British Guiana.—The clique have formally proclaimed a reduction in the rate of labourers wages in this colony.

"On the first of August comes into force the law for prohibiting gratuities of rum on the plantations. Some discontent, no doubt, will be the result of the withdrawal of the drams, and some labourers will run away with the idea that they ought to get increased wages in lieu. If any planter could increase these, he would, we doubt not, do so, in order to secure hands. But, as far as our inquiries have gone, there is not one practical man who thinks it possible to carry on the cultivation much longer, even at the present rates. *Of the stipendiary magistrates it is reasonably expected, that they shall use their influence in preventing the dissemination of erroneous notions upon this head.* They will thus spare both employers and employed a deal of unprofitable and highly mischievous agitation. The peasantry must learn that they will always flourish or decay, according as prices are maintained in the European market."

We shall next hear that the "gratuities" of cottages and gardens have been prohibited, and that, "if labourers run away with the idea that they ought to get increased wages in lieu," it will be the duty of the stipendiary magistrates to use, as of course "it is reasonably expected they shall use, their influence in preventing the dissemination of *erroneous notions* upon this head." We hope the magistrates understand their duty better than to attempt to control the labourers in the matter of wages. The proprietors had their rum, and it was their undoubted right to give it, barter it for labour or other equivalent, or sell it for cash, just as they pleased. They voluntarily came forward and deprived themselves of the right of giving it away, or bartering it for labour. This they did by a positive enactment of the legislature—a manœuvre which we understand very well as intended to reduce wages. But they could not, *by law*, deprive the labourer of his natural power of parrying the blow thus aimed at him. Nor can the sit-

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pendiary magistrates exercise their influence to abridge that power, or illegally to interfere in any manner with the disposul of their services.

We have made some inquiries in relation to this matter, and are happy to say, as far as our information extends, that the labourers generally approve of the discontinuance of the rum allowance system. They rightly prefer receiving the value of their labour in money, and are willing to pay rent for cottages and land. But they *do* expect, and will not be content without, an increase of wages to meet the amount that they will have to pay for the *privileges* which they have hitherto enjoyed, nominally as gratuities, but virtually as part of the remuneration for their services. The employers, when they combine to regulate wages, should bear in mind that with the labourers combination is also practicable. The stipendiary magistrates may as well interfere with the one as with the other.—*Guiana Reformer.*

TRINIDAD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A MEETING of this Society was held at the house of the late Mr. Wharton, situate in Queen Street, in commemoration of the 1st August, 1838.

At 7 o'clock, THOMAS HINDE, Esq. was called to the chair. On the platform we observed the Rev. A. Kennedy, Rev. James Robertson, Rev. Mr. Hamilton, Wesleyan; Richard Ireland, Esq., C. Fitzwilliam, Esq., J. S. Hobson, Esq., G. Cowen, Esq., W. T. Paull, Esq., W. Clunes, Esq., G. R. Barry, Esq., and J. L. Stanislaus, Esq.

Mr. Hinde, on taking the chair, congratulated the meeting on the great benefit which had resulted to the community in general by the abolition of slavery; and he trusted that the condition of the labouring classes would be still further improved. The increase of commerce showed the great benefits of freedom; and, whilst he wished to encourage a proper system of immigration, he could not give his consent to the plan of sending to Africa to purchase slaves, and then making them free. He had observed in the papers, that king Sciatica had entered into a treaty with the British government to prevent the purchase and sale of slaves, and several slave-factories had been accordingly destroyed; and he did not think it would be consistent for us immediately afterwards to enter into a treaty for the purchase of the subjects of another king—the very demand for slaves or labourers by the British people, would only lead to greater cruelties being practised to obtain them. Let the grand scheme of the African Civilization Society be carried out, and the poor African properly educated, and then he would be able to carry his labour to where he could obtain the best price for it. He called on the Rev. Mr. Hamilton to move the first resolution.

The Rev. Mr. Hamilton, an American emigrant of the Wesleyan persuasion, then addressed the meeting on the horrors and atrocities of slavery, which, he said, he had endured for upwards of thirty years, and had witnessed many heart-rending scenes. He called on the meeting earnestly to pray to God for his blessing on such efforts as they were making for the poor slave; and moved—"That this meeting expresses anew its utter abhorrence of slavery, and its determination to lend its feeble aid to its utter extinction."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Richard Ireland, and carried unanimously.

Mr. G. R. Barry then moved, that—"The society rejoices in the increased prosperity which has taken place since emancipation." The speaker observed, that he believed there was nearly four times the business now carried on in the town of Port of Spain than there was in the time of slavery; and some of the evidence taken before the Agricultural and Immigration Society showed the prosperity of the colony. He might also instance the circumstance of the establishment of a second bank.

Mr. Fitzwilliam seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. W. T. Paull moved the third resolution, to the effect—"That whilst the meeting upheld the principle of free-trade in its fullest extent, they regretted that the legislature of Great Britain had ever contemplated the admission of slave-sugar, as they considered all property acquired by slave-labour as stolen property."

The Rev. Mr. Robertson seconded the resolution, and observed—that, although it was much to be wished that the people of England should be furnished with sugar at a cheaper rate than at present, yet he could not think that it was right to attempt a reduction at the risk of encouraging slavery. A great deal had been said on the subject of the admission of slave-cotton; but, however much this was to be deplored, still he believed there was little else than slave-cotton grown, and it was therefore an act of compulsion to use it; it was, however, no argument for the admission of slave-sugar, as no such case of necessity had been made out.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. George Cowen, in a speech of some length, then moved to the effect—"That whilst this society was desirous of promoting immigration as much as possible, they disapproved of the means at present employed for that purpose, in bringing labourers from the United States and Africa, and suggested that the matter should be taken out of the hands of the Immigration Society." The speaker contended, that, although many planters were without labourers, others had plenty; and that the cause of the high wages must be attributed to the planters, who had enticed the labourers one from another. There had been, it was true, a good many immigrants to this colony, but he was sorry to say that many of them had been deceived: false representations had been made to those in America, and he regretted to see many of them now compelled to beg for their subsistence. Had there been proper representations made, many more would have come, and many who have gone back would have remained. He, Mr. Cowen, would himself undertake to bring, in a very short time, at least 12,000 from America alone; but he should want them properly taken care of when here—he should want schools and places of instruction established: but had this been done? There had been £12,000 sterling spent in procuring emigrants, but no such thing as the grant of any land for the erection of churches or schools, or the offer of any funds towards keeping them up. The planter was not the proper person to be employed in such a cause; he was a suspected party—he was not yet purged from the stamp of the times of slavery. He, Mr. Cowen, would be glad to see the whole working of the immigration system placed entirely under the control of that enlightened minister—Lord John Russell.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Ireland, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. A. Kennedy moved the fifth resolution, to the effect—"That the evidence taken by the Agricultural and Immigration Society, for the avowed purpose of representing the state of the labouring population since 1838, was *exparte* evidence, and did not give a full and fair representation of the state of affairs in this colony." The rev. gentleman stated, that having been once before misrepresented, he now spoke from notes. He contended that the evidence taken was wholly *exparte*. He admitted, that it was got up with considerable talent—indeed the close proximity in the language of the questions and answers might almost tempt the public to believe the society had the gift of tongues. He had, however, no fault to find with the evidence itself; but he contended it was too limited in its inquiry—the witnesses had all been selected from a class. Why were not more headmen examined? Again, he had to complain of the sealed secrecy with which the evidence had been taken. The hon. gentleman who was the prime mover in the measure, had professed to be desirous of having the inquiry conducted as before a committee of the house of commons; but had he done so? Was the evidence taken with open doors, as in England? Who knew where the Agricultural and Immigration Society ever met? But again, he must be understood as not speaking against the contents of the evidence; he admitted it was all true, but he deprecated the contemptuous manner in which certain parties in this colony had been treated by the society. He saw an attempt made to obtain the official sanction of the governor to the evidence, but the caution and prudence of Sir Henry Macleod, in not having any thing to do with it, could not be too highly applauded.

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

The officers of the society for the ensuing year were then chosen, thanks voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated.

The meeting was numerously and very respectably attended.—*Trinidad Standard.*

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

From the *Patriot.*

WE have received Cape papers to the 3rd of *July*, in which we find reference made to rumours of outrages committed by thieves and vagabonds on the *frontier*; upon the ground of which the exciteable gentry of Graham's town had held a public meeting on the 21st of June, "to take *into* consideration the present alarming state of the frontier." In answer, however, to the requisition for leave to hold the meeting, the lieutenant-governor, while readily granting leave, took occasion to say, that "*his Honour cannot admit that the present state of the frontier renders a meeting necessary for the purposes stated, or that there exists any cause whatever for alarm.*

If his honour be well informed on this subject, the resolutions adopted by this meeting in a moment of excitement, must be viewed with regret by every friend of this colony.

This manifestation on the part of the inhabitants of Graham's town the Cape-town Journalist deems particularly unlucky at the present moment, when so many persons were actively engaged in maturing schemes for the encouragement of immigration.

"To all men seeking, or about to seek, their fortunes or a quiet asylum for industry and capital in the British colonies, it is a *procul este* proclamation. *Its language is*—Come not near us. We are in the midst of savage murderers, and in the hands of a government blind, deaf, and paralytic.

"If the respectable and responsible inhabitants of Graham's Town and the frontier are convinced on good grounds, that is, on facts fully proved, that these resolutions contain a correct description of the state of the frontier, they must, of course, allow them to be spread over the world uncontradicted, and abide by the consequences. *It* would be as wicked to quash unfavourable truths, as it is wicked and foolish to publish unfavourable falsehoods. But if, upon due consideration, they feel disposed to believe that these resolutions exhibit a grossly exaggerated picture of the incidental evils to which they are exposed—if they perceive that *they* are founded on statements known to be false, or on rumours that have no foundation but in the nervous excitement of timid individuals, or that they have sprung from the seeds of party politics—then let them, as quickly as possible, call another meeting, and rigidly exact *evidence* for every statement made to it. Government has done this, and come to a conclusion directly opposed to the principal statements contained in the resolutions."

The following communication from a correspondent of the *South African Advertiser*, who dates from Port Elizabeth, May 17, 1841, appears to claim the attention of philanthropists in this country. We give it without comment:—

"Port Elizabeth, May 17, 1841.

"In the *Graham's Town Journal* of the 6th instant, we read that a strong representation has been made by the magistrate of that place to his Honour the Lieutenant-governor, to drive over the boundary of the colony all *native foreigners* found going about without passes. We are, of course, led to conclude, that this alludes to the Fingoes, and that it is in accordance with Ordinance 49, July, 1828. This paper has for years been straining every nerve to bring about a vagrant law. Not having succeeded, they are now trying to persuade the government to be guilty of a most unjust and iniquitous act, fraught with most serious consequences in many respects, as well to themselves as to the colony at large (particularly the sheep farmers), by banishing one of the most useful classes of labourers that was ever brought into Southern Africa—the Fingoes. But not only this—at once to plunge them into the hands of their most inveterate enemies, the Kafirs, from whom they were only rescued in the late Kafir war, and with whom, being a conquered tribe, they were kept in the most abject state of bondage, and who have actually with the friendly tribes of Pato, Congo, and Kama, been acknowledged, as well as by the home government, as colonial subjects of the crown of England. (Vide Notice, 23rd July, 1835, 3rd, 15th, and 29th May, 5th June, 23rd Sept., and 2nd Oct., 1835, and communication to Hintza, 15th April.) Why, you might as well say, banish every Irish and Scotch man out of England. Should these wise men of the East gain their point—which God forbid—sheep farmers, the sooner you sell off your flocks the better. Again I say, banish them, you banish with them the friendly Kafir tribes, which, if placed in their proper position on the frontier, would form a strong barrier, and enable government to withdraw some of our troops. But this would be to you, *money graspers*, a death-blow. Riches are the god you worship, and you care not at whose expense you acquire them.

"The Fingoes are a tribe whose attachment to each other is such that they are inseparable, and move one party you move all. And woe betide

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Port Elizabeth and the shipping interest, as it is solely by them that ships are loaded and unloaded, and at this laborious work you will find them up to their necks in the surf, from day-light to dark. They are well paid; their conduct, since they were brought into the colony, has been the surprise of many; sober, honest, and laborious—and it is to be wondered at how soon they came to know the value of money, to obtain which even the little children you will see going through the streets with bundles of firewood on their heads, for which they get 3d. and 4d.; they bury their money in the ground, and in the neighbourhood where I reside there are many that can turn out from six hundred to one thousand Rds. It was only the other day I read in one of our Graham's Town papers of a Fingo purchasing cattle to the amount of 1600, and he paid for them in silver money. These are the class of people, notwithstanding your constant cry—a want of labour, that you wish to banish from the colony, because you cannot compel them to labour for you at your own price."

BRAZIL.

Extract of a letter from a correspondent at Rio de Janeiro.—I send a paper of the 29th of May, in which you will find the question argued in the chamber of deputies respecting the equality of civil rights for persons of all colours. This is, I believe, the first time that this question has been mooted, and the subject is likely to become, ere long, a very sore one: for, although it appears that the constitution grants an equality of civil rights to all, without distinction of colour, yet the coloured people are effectually kept out of all offices, except those of porters, beadles, or guards, and none but those who consider themselves genuine whites enjoy even the meanest salaried offices. Before giving you some extracts from the discussion alluded to. I must premise that the word "cabra" is the most offensive epithet that is applied to mulattos. In Portuguese it signifies also a goat.

One deputy, Dr. Peixoto de Alemca, protested against recruits of the national guard of respectable families being obliged to exercise indiscriminately with the *cabras*. On the mention of this word a great sensation took place.

Sen. Ottoni and others.—"No, no; all are citizens."

Sen. Andrada Machada.—"All are citizens. I admit no distinction arising from the colour of the skin."

Sen. Ottoni.—"I cannot allow the expression of my noble colleague for the province of Seará to pass without observation. He lamented that the citizens of the town of Sobral should have been obliged to exercise indiscriminately with mulattos. It is not many days since the noble ex-president of Seara, wishing to throw contempt on an individual whom his successor had made commandant of a detachment, called him a mulatto. I abstained from making any observation on that occasion, because it proceeded from the opposite benches, not wishing it to be said that I was accusing them of a desire to treat the people of colour with contempt."

Sen. S. Martino.—"That word is not so offensive in the north."

Sen. Ottoni.—"It is a term of reproach which is used to all the coloured classes, and which men born in Portugal apply to Brazilians, I consider the expression, with the permission of my noble colleague, at least an imprudent one, and one which throws an insult on a large and interesting portion of the population of Brazil. I do not understand what is meant by these distinctions. I only know that the constitution makes no difference between the whitest and persons of the darkest colour. All are equally citizens. Perhaps the constitution was too generous in granting this equality of rights to Africans; for, when it gave it to Portuguese residing in Brazil, it then also comprised the Africans."

Sen. C. Leon.*—"That measure was framed to comprehend the subjects of Portugal and its possessions; but this can be considered as including only the establishments on those possessions, such as Benguela, Angola, &c., and not the interior, from whence the slaves come to us."

Sen. Ottoni.—"The favour granted to those born in Portugal was extended to those born in Angola, Benguela, &c.; therefore all such as were born in the latter countries are just as good Brazilians as those born in Oporto or Lisbon, and have the same rights, be their colour what it may. It is, therefore, not well to use such expressions in this assembly."

* This gentleman is said to own about 300 negros (falsely called *Emancipados*) taken by the British cruisers, of whom he obtained possession by his great influence with every administration, except the last, that of the public spirited Andrada, which possessed too much sterling honesty to be thus trifled with.

Literary Notice Extraordinary.

(From the *Colonial Gazette.*)

Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and held in London from Friday June 12th to Tuesday June 23rd, 1841.

The Second Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world; presented to the General Meeting held in Exeter Hall on Friday, May 14th, 1841.

Of the two publications before us, the *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention* is a bulky octavo of nearly six hundred pages, containing a full report of the sittings and subjects discussed at the meeting held in London last summer. The *Second Annual Report* is little more than one-fifth the size of its companion; and describes the proceedings of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society during a twelvemonth, ending apparently in May last. As the whole of these proceedings have reference in some way or other to the slave-trade and slavery, this brochure may be held to contain a précis of the history of the subject during the period to which it relates, as well as of the opinions entertained, or professed to be entertained, by official persons both at home and abroad,—that is, according to the interpretation of the Anti-slavery party. One striking feature in both publications is the *management* of the leaders; how they "beg to suggest" a course of proceeding to the "respectable assembly," and tenderly lead it by the nose. At the same time, it must be admitted that they seem to have reason for this, as when the speakers are left to themselves they generally wander abroad, and utter no small portion of purposeless twaddle; and when an independent motion is introduced, as a section of the American delegates forced on the question whether females should not be members of the Convention, the discussion is the reverse of advantageous.

The activity and zeal of the Committee are also exceedingly conspicuous in the Report. No sooner is a case of any kind, however remotely connected with slavery, *nosed*, than they are in full cry. Their assumption and interference are not less conspicuous; intruding themselves, and often without preface or notice, upon persons with whom, as being foreigners, they cannot have the slightest relation—from the King of the French down to Mr. Vail, the ambassador to Spain from the United States, whom the deputation learned, in the evening of their arrival at Madrid, "was an inmate of the same hotel with themselves," and pounced upon the next morning. But their endless exhortations to their own government are not the least curious fact which is gleaned from the pages of the Report. No sooner is any kind of case connected with slavery heard of, than they require the government to take it up; no sooner is it taken up, than they urge the minister to more active proceedings; and it is impossible to turn over the pages of this Report, without seeing that a great deal of the time of several of the public offices must be occupied in reading, considering, and replying to these communications. The Society does not always wait for facts; mere suspicion will inflame them. They inferred in April, or rather they guessed from the high price of sugar and the impatience of the public, that something was contemplated with the sugar-duties. Swap they were upon Lord Melbourne with a deputation and memorial, in which they coolly say—

"It is not, and cannot be, a question with them, *how far the political interests and commercial policy of this country may seem to require the measure*; but whether the great principles of universal justice and benevolence may not be compromised thereby."

They do not confine themselves to what are commonly and properly understood as public matters, but sometimes interfere with the pursuits, and, for aught that they seem to care, with the livelihood, of private individuals. There are certain public companies in England holding mines in South America, the remnants, we believe, of the disastrous speculations that preceded the panic of 1825. It is said, but it is not proved, that slaves are used in working these mines. Independent individuals were, of course, beyond influence, save moral force; but not so, thought the Society, were some officers in the army and navy—

"In connexion with such establishments," they memorialize Lord Palmerston, "gentlemen of the army and navy have been engaged as chief commissioners, directors, or superintendents, to the grief of those most anxious to terminate this inhuman and revolting traffic, and to the great dishonour of their country." And so forth.

"The Committee would therefore respectfully urge upon the government, through your lordship, the *necessity of immediately issuing a general and peremptory order*, forbidding such engagement in future on the part of any persons holding her Majesty's commission; and marking the practice with the signal displeasure of the Crown."

The arbitrary interference of the suggestion, and the assuming manner of offering it, were, however, too much even for the politeness of Lord Palmerston. It was properly answered—

"I am to state to you in reply, that Lord Palmerston presumes that the gentlemen referred to are officers on the half-pay of the army and navy; and I am to add, that it is not the practice of her Majesty's government to interfere with the private occupations of half-pay officers."

The existence of this *imperium in imperio* is a constitutional anomaly, which, it strikes us, has not attracted sufficient speculation. The Anti-Slavery Society* is not, like many other societies, devoted to a specific object, affecting the rights or interests of its members as subjects, and probably attainable within a reasonable time, when the union of course dissolves; but the body in question meddles, and that not always courteously, with the proceedings and opinions of foreign states, and proposes to itself the extinction of slavery all over the world—America, Asia, Africa, and Turkey in Europe, if not Russia, Poland, &c.; so that its duration is a very undeterminable matter. Other bodies of persons—as the West Indians—also communicate with the government, and pretty constantly; but they communicate with a particular department, and on special business in which they are practically interested, and with which the government may have interfered by taxing their produce and regulating their industry. Some bodies have a chartered or recognised capacity—as the old East India and African Companies. But the Anti-slavery Society is self-constituted and irresponsible: having no particular business of its own, it has not of necessity any particular department to transact it, but takes upon itself to suggest to or lecture any branch of the government it pleases. The most remarkable point about it, however, is its communications with foreigners; not merely individuals or self-constituted bodies like itself, but with public authorities; sometimes by personal interviews—as with the king of the French and the president of the regency in Spain; sometimes by personal addresses—as that to the president of the United States. It is perfectly true that these communications are merely those of the persons who make them, having no national or public authority whatsoever; their nature also is doubtless understood by the respective authorities to whom they are addressed, and rated by them at their exact importance. The important question is, whether the people, and the more ignorant part of the people, of those countries rightly understand the matter; especially when the public mind is excited by seizure of ships, or any other act of force in connexion with the slave-trade—as is just now the case with part of Germany and the United States.

* Literally, the Anti-slavery Society is a young society: but this is merely formal—it is a direct successor of the abolition and other societies.

Maple Sugar.—General Chaney Eggleston has the most extensive camp in Ohio, situate in Auburn, Geauga county. His sugar house is furnished with fixtures and apparatus for manufacturing 500 lbs. of sugar per day. A reservoir, capable of containing sixty or eighty barrels, receives the sap, whence it is drawn into iron pans, placed over a large furnace to be boiled down, and transferred again to a large kettle for "sugaring off." 2700 trees have been tapped this year, though the season has not been a favourable one for making sugar. Some seasons he has made as much as 10,000 pounds. The quantity made by him in one season, three or four years ago, brought 1250 dollars.—*Cincinnati Republican.*

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THE AMISTAD: THANKS OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR TO MR. ADAMS.

To the Hon. John Quincy Adams:

SIR—We, the people of colour, residents of the city of Columbus, Ohio, deeply touched with the results of the trial of the Amistad captives, and sensible of the efficiency of your philanthropic efforts in their behalf, desire to express to you the gratitude which we think every humane heart in this native land must feel. We, therefore, assembled to congratulate each other on the joyful event referred to, have

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the Hon. John Q. Adams, for the example he has set this nation in the deep interest he has manifested for the due administration of justice to the weak and defenceless, and that the secretary of this meeting be directed to forward to the Hon. John Q. Adams this resolution.

D. JENKINS, H. JOHNSON, J. BENNETT, } *Committee.*

To the above, Mr. Adams returned the following excellent reply, which deserves to be written in letters of gold. What a contrast it affords to the speeches of Daniel Webster at Alexandria and Richmond!

Washington, April 15th. 1841.

FELLOW CITIZENS,—I have received your letter of the 30th of last month, together with the resolution of your constituent body communicated in it; and I pray you and them to be assured that I never received from any body of men a vote of thanks more grateful to my feelings than yours.

My only regret is, that any effort for the administration of justice, whether to the rich or to the poor, to the *feeble* or the strong, should be thought to deserve the thanks of any portion of the community. I hope and trust that the day is not far remote when *justice* will be universally considered as the common right of all, unconfined by any unjust and oppressive distinction of colour or complexion.

Whoever shall contribute to that result will be entitled to my thanks and to yours; and, though I may not *live* to see the day, he has them, and my prayers for his success in advance. I am, with respect, your friend and fellow-citizen, JOHN Q. ADAMS.

Messrs. D. Jenkins, H. Johnson, and J. Bennett, committee of the people of colour, residents of the city of Columbus, Ohio.

POSTSCRIPT.—HOUSE OF COMMONS, OCTOBER 5th, 1841.

MR. HAWES presented a petition from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, complaining of the continued existence of slavery and the slave-trade in various parts of the British empire, and praying the House to adopt measures for the immediate and unconditional emancipation of all slaves in each of our possessions; and that, at whatever part of our dominions a slave might land, he might instantly thereby be declared free.

The following is a copy of the petition referred to:—

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners have learnt with deep regret the continued existence of slavery in various atrocious and degrading forms in British India, by which immense masses of their fellow-men and fellow-subjects are held and used as property, contrary to every principle of justice, humanity, and religion.

THAT, in connexion with this system of slavery, an extensive foreign slave-trade is carried on, attended with the usual revolting features of that guilty traffic, by which the natives of Africa, Arabia, and other parts of the East, are surreptitiously introduced into the British territories through the Portuguese settlements of Goa, Diu, and Dumaon, and the native states bordering on the Persian gulf.

THAT a home slave-trade also exists, by which large numbers of free children, the subjects of her Majesty, and their posterity after them, are annually reduced to perpetual bondage, and the system of slavery strengthened and maintained thereby.

THAT there have grown up under this system of slavery organized bands of kidnappers, who carry on their detestable occupation to a great extent, and with great cruelty; and find a ready market for their victims in the chief cities and towns of the country.

THAT your petitioners, convinced from long and painful experience that all attempts to mitigate the system of slavery—to abolish the foreign slave-trade—to limit the victims of the home branch of it—to terminate the practice of kidnapping—and to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in British India, have failed, would entreat your honourable house forthwith to take this great subject into consideration, to adopt such measures as shall secure to the entire slave population of British India their immediate and unconditional emancipation, and to provide that, henceforth every person who shall hereafter touch any portion of British territory, in any part of the world, shall without exception or limitation be *ipso facto* free.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Signed on behalf of the Committee.

JOHN BEAUMONT, Chairman.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

In pursuance of a motion previously given, Lord Brougham delivered a most lucid, eloquent, and impressive speech on the present state of the law against the slave-trade, in its application to British subjects. It now appears beyond question or doubt, that all parties engaged in mining speculations in the Brazils and Cuba, or in the working of plantations in those countries, being British subjects, and who have personally, or by their agents, become the purchasers of slaves, or of persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, have incurred the penalty of the law, and are liable to the punishment of transportation for life, or for fourteen years, as the case may be. It appears also, that all British subjects who have advanced or lent money to be used in carrying on the slave-trade, are in the same predicament. We can only glance in our present number at these points. In our next, we hope to present our readers with a correct report of the able argument of the noble lord. The latter part of his lordship's speech was devoted to the horrible atrocities perpetrated in connexion with East India slavery, to which we referred in our number of the 25th August last. We were much gratified to find that his lordship, in proposing a remedy for these frightful evils, observed, "Their lordships might be assured, that, as long as it was possible to hold human beings in a state of slavery, the dealing in slaves would never be put down, and atrocities like these would, in one shape or other, continue to exist."

WE perceive that Mr. Alexander has published, in an enlarged form, the Observations on a recent article in the *Edinburgh Review* which appeared in our columns.

IMPOSITIONS ON EMIGRANTS.—We find by a Jamaica paper, the *Cornwall Chronicle*, that emigration agents in England have propagated the statement, that common labourers would be sure of earning in that island *ten shillings sterling per day!* Such is the power of money upon emigration agents!

CHANGE of system in the WEST INDIES.—A writer in the *Guiana Chronicle*, recommends to the colonists the following change in the system of sugar cultivation. We should be happy to know that such excellent counsel was universally adopted.—"Our advice to you is, keep your manufactories, let your managers be your factors, divide your large properties into middle-sized farms, lease them to industrious peasants, and let *them* keep up the cane-fields and the drainage. This will give them an interest in the soil, raise them in their own estimation, and induce them to work at all hours. They would bring their canes to your manufactory, pay you for making them into sugar, settle with you for their lands, and pocket the difference, which would be more or less according to their exertions. We are sanguine of its success, more especially with American, German, and other immigrants; it would place them in a more respectable sphere than working, like helots, in gangs on estates, with no interest in what they do. Every farm must have its homestead, with its neat farm-house, and labourers' cottages; this would be far preferable to seeing the labourers squatting on slips of land, and cultivating *nothing* exportable. They would then contribute to the keeping up of the staple products, at the same time they would not neglect their provision cultivation. Thus would all parties be benefited, and a middle order (so necessary to the well being of society) be encouraged."

THE BARBADOS POLICE.—The rural portion of this body is thus described by the *Barbados Mercury*, a planters' paper. "This section of the force has literally nothing to do, but dress, mount their horses, and ride about from morning till night—it may be, sometimes, to carry a note for the inspector, fetch his papers from town, or *perform an errand to some distant parish, to determine the accuracy of a bet*, or any other obliging offices."

LIBERIA.—We learn from New York that the letter of the rev. J. Clarke, which appeared lately in this journal, is fully corroborated by accounts received in the United States.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last list was published.

		Don. £.	s.	d.	Subs. £.	s.	d.
Poole.—William Binns					1	1	0
Plymouth.—James White					0	10	0
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,, ,, Jonathan Unwin		0	10	0			
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,, ,, Rev. J. Edwards		0	10	0			
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,, ,, Isaac Sewell		0	10	0			
,, ,, Sir T. Bloomfield		0	10	0			
,, ,, Richard Patching		0	5	0			
,, ,, Anonymous		0	5	0			
Belgium.—Spa. Mrs. Cracroft.		1	0	0			

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XLVIII. Vol. II. No. 21.] WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 20th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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Advertisement.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, held in London in June, 1840.

"The Anti-slavery public are laid under deep obligations by the care and industry which have been bestowed upon this report, which appears to be full and faithful, and is elegantly printed. It is a monument of benevolent feeling."—*Patriot.* "The work is one of thrilling interest, and will be read with eagerness by every friend of human liberty and human happiness. No man interested in the question of slavery ought to be without it—and we may add no man who has it and reads it can be otherwise than interested."—*Nonconformist.* "The *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention* is a bulky octavo of nearly six hundred pages, containing a full report of the sittings and subjects discussed at the meeting held in London last summer."—*Colonial Gazette.* "This volume contains a very full and faithful record of the proceedings; we regard it as a volume which will possess increasing interest for centuries to come."—*Christian Examiner.*

Also price One Penny, or Five Shillings per Hundred.

THE SPEECH OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BROUGHAM, on the liabilities of British subjects to the penalties of the law for holding and trafficking in slaves in foreign countries; and on SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA. With illustrative Notes.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., Paternoster Row; British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street; and all other Booksellers.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF LORDS, OCTOBER, 5, 1841.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Lord Brougham.—I rise to call the attention of your lordships to a subject of very great importance, and upon which, as there happily exists no difference of opinion either in this or the other House of Parliament,—and as there prevails, indeed, a singular unanimity regarding it in every part of the country,—it will be the less necessary for me to trouble you at any considerable length. The subject to which I refer is the slave-trade and slavery. I believe that there exists in no part of either House of Parliament, or of the community, any description of persons who feel any but the strongest desire to see this most execrable traffic universally and instantly destroyed; and also to see the state of personal slavery itself as universally, and with all practicable expedition, extinguished. The ground upon which I deem it necessary to trouble your lordships, upon the present occasion, is, that great misapprehension has, apparently, gone forth, touching the state of the law with respect to the slave-trade as it at present stands. I presented a petition to your lordships, some ten or twelve days ago, which contained a variety of important allegations upon this matter. I then distinctly stated that the responsibility for the truth of those allegations must, of course, rest with the respectable petitioners who brought the subject before the House; but that, if the facts which they stated turned out to be true, it would follow that, to a large amount, the capital of this country was embarked not only in continuing slavery in foreign countries, but actually in upholding, and even extending, the slave-trade itself. I thought it expedient, in going over the different statements which that petition contained, to specify those dealings which I understood, from the best attention I could give the subject, to be not contrary to the existing law—those dealings which I conceived to be of a doubtful character—and those which are clearly and distinctly prohibited—some of the statements describing acts as having been done, and as still doing by British subjects, which acts, without any doubt whatever, are prohibited by the laws of this country.

I shall begin with the last class of these dealings, namely, those alleged to have been entered into by British subjects, and which are clearly quite illegal. The law is, that any British subject, in any part of the world, whether in a country where the slave-trade is lawful, or in a country where the slave-trade is not only allowed, but protected and even encouraged by the law,—if, except on some savage coast, there be such a country,—the slave-trade, if engaged in by a British subject, is, in that person, illegal—a felony and piracy, punishable with transportation for life, if committed on the high seas, or within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty; punishable with transportation for fourteen years if committed in any place out of the Admiralty jurisdiction. For several years the offence of slave-trading, if committed within the Admiralty jurisdiction, was a capital felony; but, by an act passed four years ago, it has been reduced to transportation for life; though it is still piracy as well as felony. If committed elsewhere, by a British subject, though in a colony or a country where slave-trading is ever so much permitted, and even favoured by the law of the place, it is a felony in that British subject; he is liable to be tried, if taken and brought to a settlement of the British crown, or if taken and brought into this country, he is liable to be tried for that act of slave-trading, as if it had been committed in the county of Middlesex; and, on being convicted, he is liable to be transported as a felon for fourteen years. Having distinctly stated this, I trust I shall not again hear my opinion cited, to show that it depends on the law of the foreign country where a British subject resides and commits the act, whether he be guilty of felony or not; whereas I have always expressly stated, that the law of the foreign country is utterly immaterial as regards British subjects; and it is equally certain, no doubt, that if a foreigner commits an act of slave-trading within any of our dominions or settlements, he is also liable to be dealt with as a felon, and transported for life or for fourteen years, according as he may have committed the offence within or without the Admiralty jurisdiction. The only question that can ever arise is, whether any given act amounts to slave-trading or not. Now, several of the acts described in the petition do not, as it appears to me, amount to slave-trading; some of them appear of a doubtful character; others appear quite clearly to be slave-trading, and to come within the provisions of the abolition law. If a person fits out a vessel for traffic with a slave factory, and if he sells goods to that slave factory, although these goods may be used in the slave-trade—although they may be of such a kind as can either be used for the slave-trade, or for the innocent commerce of Africa—if they are sold out and out for a price, I do not think that this amounts to slave-trading. Whether it be a commendable use of capital is an entirely different question—whether it be a kind of trade which one would wish to be engaged in, or could approve of on those who drive it, is another matter; but, as regards the law of this country, it does not appear to me to be slave-trading within the meaning of the Abolition Acts. If the goods sent are of such a description that it is by no means doubtful whether they are to be used in slave-trading or not;—if, for instance, a cargo of fetters and shackles be sent out to a slave factory, or any other article which can only be used in the slave-trade, this may be more questionable;—but I am not prepared to say that even this is an act of slave trading which would make the exporter liable to a charge of felony: it appears to me to be, as the law now stands, of a doubtful description. But, if either one kind of goods or the other—either goods that may be used indiscriminately in the innocent and in the guilty commerce, or goods that must needs be intended to be used in the slave-trade by the slave factory to which they are exported—are bargained to be paid for in a price, to depend on the slave traffic, as the petition asserts they are, in many instances,—then I state my opinion, it is of little importance, but, for myself, it is fit I should state it, that this is an act of slave-trading, being a partnership with the slave-trade, and that the person exporting such goods, upon such contract, is guilty of felony, within the meaning of the English abolition laws.

Now, there is another and much more important description of dealing, because much more extensive in its application, to which I entreat the attention of your lordships and of her Majesty's government, that is, the act of holding property in a foreign settlement, which is to be cultivated or worked—cultivated in the case of a plantation, or worked in the case of a mine—by slave labour, and, in consequence of holding such property, being concerned in the purchase or sale of slaves, with a view to cultivate the plantation or to work the mine. Upon this kind of dealing, the question arises, do the abolition acts affect it or not?—Is the ownership of such property, and the management of it by buying and selling slaves, within those acts or not? My lords, this is a matter of very great importance; because it appears, though I do not see how or whence the doubt has arisen,—but I should rather say how the confident opinion is entertained, that this is a dealing in slavery and slaves, to which the abolition law does not apply. That some such opinion is generally prevalent, seems clear, for it has been acted upon by a number of most respectable individuals, and acted upon to a great extent. It has led to their engaging in a variety of important transactions,—it has induced them to invest their capital to a large amount in foreign settlements,—it has encouraged some to purchase and work the slave concerns, others to lend their capital to those who work them. These respectable parties never would have thought of such transactions, had they not been well assured of their legality; and yet, when your lordships come to consider the provisions of the law, and how it bears upon such dealings, I hardly think I have a right to express a doubt that you will be under the necessity of holding them to be illegal. The acting or dealing on which the question arises, is this:—we are not speaking of holding slave property;

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that of itself is nothing; for the emancipation act of 1833, did not prohibit British subjects from holding slaves in foreign settlements in the same way that the Abolition Act had prohibited British subjects from slave-trading in foreign settlements; the measures were, in this respect, differently framed, consequently, after the act of 1833, and even after the *final period of emancipation*, 1840, it was lawful for a British subject to have property in slaves in a foreign settlement. But the question is this:—Has it been lawful since the Abolition Law—meaning, of course, the law abolishing the slave-trade,—has it been lawful for a British subject to purchase slaves, voluntarily to make himself the holder of slaves, to buy slaves or to sell slaves, in a foreign country? The question arises upon the legality of that act, I have been represented as having said—I must have been so represented, because I have received one or two letters probably from persons engaged in these transactions, or whose friends are so engaged, and who are desirous of knowing if it be true, that I had no doubt, that such dealing was lawful, and was not struck at by the abolition law. Now, in presenting the petition, I carefully abstained from saying any such thing—I most carefully abstained from giving any such opinion. I could not have given any such opinion; because if called on to say whether it was lawful or not, my opinion certainly was, that it is illegal. I do not say it is a matter free from all doubt; but, certainly, though my opinion may be worth little, yet, as far as it goes, the abolition law strikes at those dealings; and I will state the grounds of that opinion. As your lordships will remember, a change took place in the abolition law in 1824. The act of 1811 (the 51st Geo. III. c. 23.), which I had the great satisfaction of introducing, and which obtained the unanimous concurrence of the House of Commons and of your lordships, in every stage of the Bill, made slave-trading punishable as a crime; before that time, it had only been dealt with as an offence against the revenue laws—treated as smuggling, and visited with fine and forfeiture. But my Bill made it a felony. Then in 1824, a material alteration was made: slave trading was divided into two kinds, one being declared to be piracy, and liable to capital punishment, if committed within the Admiralty jurisdiction; and the other, if out of that jurisdiction, declared to be a *clergyable* felony, and punished with fourteen years transportation. Now, in attaching the lesser punishment to the act of slave-trading committed out of the Admiralty jurisdiction, the statute 5 Geo. IV. c. 113. gives this description. I shall only read the part *applicable* to the transactions in question—the buying and selling slaves in foreign countries. The first section having declared all such proceedings to be unlawful, and having generally prohibited them, the tenth declares them to be felony, and punishable, as I have stated, with fourteen years transportation, in these terms:—

"Except in such special cases as are hereinafter provided for, if any person shall deal, trade in, purchase, sell, barter, or transfer, or contract for the dealing, trading in, purchasing, selling, bartering, or transferring of any slave or slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, he shall be deemed and taken to be a felon, and, being convicted thereof, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer fourteen years transportation."

Then the thirteenth section provides for these special cases, contemplated in the exception of the tenth section, following precisely the words of the enacting part of that section:—

"Provided always, that nothing hereinbefore contained shall be deemed or taken to prevent any person from dealing, trading in, purchasing, selling, bartering, or transferring, or contracting, to deal, trade in, purchase, sell, barter, or transfer any slave or slaves, lawfully being within any island, colony, dominion, fort, or factory, belonging to, or in the possession of, his Majesty, in case such dealing, &c., be with the true intent and meaning of employing such slave or slaves in such colony in which he or they may be at the time of such employment."

And then comes the fourteenth section, which gives power to remove, by land or by sea, any slaves from one part of any such colony, in the possession of his Majesty to another part of any such colony; but if the other part of the colony happens to be another island, then that person shall only be allowed to transfer a slave from *one island* to another by *licence first* had and obtained from the governor of the colony, upon satisfactory proof being made to such governor, that the slave is only intended to be removed from one estate, the property of the owner of the slave, to another estate, also the property of such owner of the slave. Then how can a person in Brazil or Cuba be authorized to buy a slave under the thirteenth section, or to remove a slave by land or by sea from one part to another of Cuba or Brazil under the proviso in the fourteenth section, when neither Cuba nor Brazil are places in the possession or under the dominion of the British crown; the special cases in which, alone, it is provided by the thirteenth or fourteenth sections, that the felony is not committed, namely, the cases of buying, selling, or removing in the colonies' settlements or possessions of the British crown? It is upon these grounds, I feel bound to state my inability to understand on what view of the law those respectable parties have been advised to proceed, who have embarked in these speculations—have become the owners of slaves by purchase, or, which is the same thing, have, by their agents, purchased and sold, or transferred and removed, slaves in Cuba or in Brazil. I am unable to perceive upon what view of the law they can have been advised that they may safely embark in such speculations. So, likewise, it is made felony by the tenth section, knowingly to lend or advance money or goods to be employed in accomplishing any of the objects hereinbefore forbidden or declared to be unlawful,—those objects being the buying, selling, bartering, or in any manner dealing in slaves or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves. How any person can have been advised, with a due regard to the provisions of these Acts, either to send goods or to advance money for the purpose of working a concern which requires the buying and selling of slaves, surpasses my powers of comprehension. Nevertheless, that such advice must have been given,—that such a view of the law must have been taken, there cannot be a doubt; because numbers of wealthy and respectable individuals are known to have embarked their capital in the cultivation of foreign plantations, and the working of foreign mines; to say nothing of the original act of becoming owners of the stock of slaves upon the property by the purchase. What then remains to be done? I trust that my Noble Friends opposite will turn their attention to this subject at the earliest possible period; and if any doubts should, upon a full consideration of the statutes appear to exist, that they will, as soon as Parliament meets, come down with a declaratory Act to have those doubts removed; but if there should be no doubt,—if it should be clear that the Acts in question are illegal,—then the most satisfactory course would be to notify the law by Proclamation, warning all persons who have unwarily got into the predicament which I have described, that the sooner they remove themselves from that predicament the better and the safer will it be for them. Such a course is only fair towards the parties, more especially towards those who have unwarily purchased shares in joint-stock concerns, most of whom may be supposed ignorant of the dealing in slaves which their capital has been supporting. The proclamation will give them due notice of this, and put them upon withdrawing from the partnership. At all events, it will prevent the possibility of any persons hereafter embarking in the same speculations, by stating what the inevitable consequence must be of such transactions.

My Lords, the course which the legislature formerly took with respect to the slave-trade, appears to me, in connexion with the present question, to be well deserving the attention both of the government and your lordships. In 1806, the first Bill prohibiting the traffic, was brought in by my late learned and excellent friend, Sir Arthur Pigott, then Attorney-General under Lord Grenville's Administration; it passed with little opposition, and is the 46th Geo. III. It prohibited the foreign slave-trade; that is, it forbade any British subject to engage in the slave-trade carried on by foreign countries or colonies; and it forbade the lending of money, or sending goods, or in any way embarking capital in transactions connected with that foreign traffic. In 1807, Lord Grey (then Lord Howick) brought in the first general Abolition Act, the 47th Geo. III., which made all slave-trading within the dominions of the British crown, and all slave-trading by British subjects everywhere, liable to pecuniary penalties, including the forfeiture of the ship and cargo. Then came the 51st Geo. III., the Act which I had the honour of passing through parliament, and which declared slave-trading to be felony, in the way I have already described. And, lastly, the Act of 1824, brought in by Mr. Canning, (the 5th Geo. IV.) made the change in the law which I before stated, repealing or consolidating the former statutes; but that Act, so far from diminishing the stringency of their provisions, extended them considerably, and made some dealings which before were not deemed slave-trading to be clearly slave-trading; and amongst others, made the transactions to which I have called the attention of your lordships punishable as felonies, with the differences to which I have adverted.

It thus appears that the slave-trading of British subjects in foreign colonies was the first branch of the traffic which the law struck down, and that when all slave-trading was not only made illegal, but, in the end, felonious, the foreign branch was, as might be expected, included in the enactment. My lords, nothing but the late period of the session prevents me from taking the course, now, which I took in 1810, with respect to the African slave-trade, when it was found that the acts of 1806 and 1807 were ineffectual; namely, the moving a resolution and address, pledging the house, "at an early period in the next session, to take the subject into its serious consideration, with a view to prevent such daring violations of the law." That proposition was adopted unanimously by the House of Commons; and, in consequence of the address, the felony Bill was brought in the next year, and passed with equal unanimity. If your lordships see any objection to such an address now from the session being about to close, I should be unwilling to press it on your attention. At any rate, I shall be satisfied with the declaration of the noble earl, the president of the board of trade, that he will lose no time, upon the prorogation of parliament, in drawing the attention of the law-officers of the crown to the subject, and in dealing with it as the result of the inquiry may show to be most effectual for carrying into complete execution the existing laws. Legal proceedings may probably be required in some cases; but the proclamation will also be advisable. With respect to the report of Dr. Madden, on the state of things upon the African coast, I understand my noble friend has some objection to its being laid before parliament. I have no doubt he will state the nature of that objection. As it contains some valuable details, I shall move for its production. But whether it be produced or not, I trust the government will not fail to act immediately upon the information which it conveys.

Before concluding my statement, I wish to call the attention of my noble friend, the president of the board of control, to the state of slavery and the slave-trade, in that part of the world with which his duties are most immediately connected. Much doubt has been expressed as to the legal existence of slavery in Malacca. It certainly was the opinion of one Malacca government that there was no such thing countenanced by law, although another entertained, subsequently, a different opinion; but all doubts should have been removed by the unanimous resolution which was adopted by the whole body of the proprietors, in November, 1829, to liberate all their slaves on the 31st December, 1841. I think this would be perfectly good ground for an order in council, putting down slavery in the colony; and I have no doubt my noble friend will take that subject into his consideration, the rather that I believe he agrees with those who hold it to be unsanctioned by law. I will now draw his attention to the dreadful effects of slavery and slave-trading in that part of the world which is under his administration. By the kindness of one of the individuals engaged in the law commission in India, I have had access to a report made by Lord Auckland, and which I apprehend has been sent to my noble friend.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.—It has been sent, and was printed and laid on the table of the House of Commons early in April.

LORD BROUGHAM.—I was not aware of that, having been abroad at the time. It contains a report made to the commissioners by Major Sleeman, who describes the practices resorted to by certain gangs of the natives for the purpose of supplying the slave-market, he says:—

"These gangs invariably take their families with them on their expeditions, and the female members of the gangs are employed as inveiglers to win the confidence of the emigrant families they fall in with on the road. They introduce these families to the gang, and they are prevailed upon to accompany them to some place suitable for their designs upon them, when the parents are murdered by the men, while the women take care of the children."

He then gives the examination of a number of the wretches who belong to those gangs. One of them says,—"We call our trade megpunna, our trade being," he adds, "the murder of travellers for their children." Another of them, being examined, says, in answer to the question:—

"Are you not afraid that the children will disclose the manner in which you got them, and thereby get you into trouble?—We invariably murder our victims at night, first taking the precaution to put the children to sleep,

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and in the morning we tell them that we have purchased them of their parents, who have gone off and left them."

Again he is asked :—

"You seem to have been in the habit of selling children in all parts of the country, how have you avoided being apprehended?—The children are seldom aware of the fate of their parents; and, in general, we sell them to people very well acquainted with the nature of our proceedings.'

But it is not merely a general description which they give. The details, of their commerce are presented to us. Another Jemadar, or leader of one of these gangs, says:—

"After the capture of Bhurtpoor," (which, according to my recollection, was in the year 1826,) "Nanoo Sing, Brinjarah, and four other Brinjarahs, residents of Kurnoul, came to me with four travellers and their four children, and invited me to participate in their murder, which I consented to, and with the assistance of my gang we strangled the whole of them, preserving the lives of the children, whom we sold at Jelpore for 120 rupees,"—(that is about £12.) "half of which was divided among the members of my gang. After this affair, I resolved on selecting for my victims the poorest class of travellers,"—(which they do manifestly because poor people are less likely to be inquired after), "and murdering them for their children, for whom there was so great a demand in all the great cities. Since which I have committed the following murders ——."

And then, I presume, he related the number of murders, though the report omits them.

Another of these jemadars, when examined, is desired to give the particulars of the Husseesgunge affair, and he says,—

"I left my home with a gang of forty Thugs, and proceeded to Husseesgunge, where Heera Dass and Rookmunee went to the city of Muttra for the purpose of buying some clothes, and succeeded in winning the confidence of four travellers, two men and two women, with their three children, whom they brought with them to our encampment; after passing two days with us, Teella Dass, Mudhoo Dass, Brinjarahs, and Dewa Hookma, Teelake, Gungarum, Brinjarahs, Balluck Dass, Chutter Dass, Neput Dass, and Hunooman Dass, prevailed on this family to accompany them to the banks of the Jumma, and murdered the four elderly travellers in a garden near the village of Gokool; after throwing their bodies into the Jumma, they took their three children to the tanda, or encampment, of Dewa Brinjarah, near the village of Kheir, and sold the two female children for forty rupees, and the male for five rupees."

The murder, therefore, of these four persons was committed for between £4 and £5. Another person, a woman, who was examined, said,—

"We now went off to Thuneiseir, where we encamped in a grove on the bank of a tank, and here several parties of travellers were inveigled by the wives of the leaders of our gangs to come and take up their lodgings with us :—1. A Chumar, with three daughters, one thirty years of age, and the others young. 2. The widow of a carpenter, and her son, ten years of age. 3. A Brahmin and his wife, with one beautiful daughter, fourteen years old, another five, and a son six years of age. 4. A Brahmin and his wife, with one daughter about fourteen, another twelve, and a son three years of age. These travellers lodged for two or three days among the tents of the Naeks and Brinjarahs; after which we all went one morning to a village in the territory of the Toorooee Rajah; I forget his name. Here very heavy rain fell at night, and deluged the country, and we got no rest. The next morning we went to a village on the bank of the canal, still in the same Rajah's country. The next day we went to a village on the bank of the Jumma; and two hours after night Kaner Dass proposed that we should go down to the sacred stream of the Jumma, say our prayers, and remain there. They all went down accordingly, leaving me, Roopla and his second wife (Rookmunee) at the village. They murdered the seven men and women, and threw their bodies into the river; but who killed them, or how they were killed, I know not. The Chumar and his eldest daughter, the two Brahmins and their wives, and the carpenter's widow, were all murdered. They brought the nine children back to us a watch and a half before daylight. They were all crying a good deal after their parents, and we quieted them the best way we could with sweetmeats and playthings. We came to Beebeepore, and encamped in the grove. A daughter and son of the Brahmin's were extremely beautiful, and these we left with Dhyan Sing for sale. We came on to a village, a *coss* distant from Beebeepore. Here a trooper came up to Beebeepore, saying that he had heard of several people being murdered, and suspected us of the crime. The head men of the village of Beebeepore, and some of the Brinjarahs came to our camp with the trooper, and assured him that he must be mistaken, as they knew us all to be very honest, inoffensive people; and, taking him back to Beebeepore, they treated him with great consideration, and he went away apparently satisfied. But, fearing that our deeds had become known, Pemla and Newla's wives and Pemla's mother took off the seven other children to Dhyan Sing, and left them all in his charge. Pemla went to Kurnaul, and Goorbuksh and his gang went to Beebeepore, while my husband and his party remained where we were. A woman who keeps prostitutes came from Kurnaul, and purchased and took away all the children."

Human language sinks under the vain attempt at giving utterance to the mingled feelings of pity and of horror which rise in the breast upon the recital of such atrocities as these,—a vain attempt, and as superfluous as vain,—for I defy any power of the imagination to paint a scene more hideous, more unbearable than the simple description of the deeds themselves, in the plain words of the monsters who perpetrated them. Africa itself, steeped in blood for centuries by other branches of the infernal slave traffic, and still laid waste by the Spaniards and Portuguese,—with the connivance, I am grieved to say, of more humane nations,—Africa itself never presented a more appalling sight,—a more horrible example of that utter disregard for human life,—that proneness to take it away,—with which the traffic in human beings appears to strike and blight the heart in every region which it is permitted to curse.

My lords, while giving way to our natural feelings respecting these wretches, we ought to reserve a part of our indignation for the system in which their execrable enormities have their origin. They are the naturally appointed fruits of slave trading; but you may be well assured that, as long as it is lawful to hold human beings in slavery, the dealing in slaves cannot be put down; and atrocities like these which I have deemed it my painful duty to detail, will, in one shape or another, never cease to be committed.

My lords, I have no doubt whatever, that the advice will now be adopted which was given by my noble friend, formerly the secretary for the colonies (Lord Glenelg), a few months before he left that department, when—well acquainted as he is with all Indian affairs, and anxious for the general emancipation of the slaves,—he strongly recommended the acceleration of that great event in Ceylon. Considering the great weight of his authority on this subject, I have no doubt that his very important despatch of the 24th of November, 1838, will be taken into early and attentive consideration by my noble friend at the head of the Indian department. It applies, in principle, to India, as well as Ceylon, and it will, I trust, lead to measures, accelerating, as much as possible, a general emancipation,—the most effectual means of extinguishing the slave-trade, and preventing such atrocities as we have just been forced to contemplate.

HOLLAND.

We have much pleasure in inserting the following extracts from a letter, dated Amsterdam, November 10th, 1841, and addressed to Mr. G. W. Alexander.

"My dear Friend,—Thou hast judged very rightly in stating that I and many others were not aware, several years ago, of the frightful evils which attend slavery. I can truly say, that the more I consider it the more I become desirous of seeing an end of it, but I fear the moment is as yet far when this wished for event will take place in the West India colonies of this country. Several planters, indeed, are fully convinced of the propriety of the measure, and heartily wish it might be soon accomplished, but many others are opposed to it; and our government dares not take any decisive step, not having the means to propose an indemnity to the planters. There is besides a circumstance which throws an obstacle in the way of this measure, but which ought on the contrary to forward it; this is the existence of the free negros in the upper part of the colony of Surinam. It is generally feared, that, if the slaves were set at liberty, a great number of them would repair to the woods to join their free brothers, who for the most part are still attached to their heathen and superstitious worship, and on that account, instead of increasing in numbers, are rapidly decreasing, as their women are kept by them in a worse state of slavery and abjection, than is the case among the slaves themselves. It is to be hoped, however, that their situation will ere long be altered for the better, as the Moravian brothers have now established a station among them, and wherever they obtain a certain preponderance the manners of the people are soon improved, and the marriages increase, by which means the population increases in proportion, and the women are treated with greater care, and—less exposed to hard work—can nurse their children better. The bad state of the finances of the colony, and the commercial monopoly exercised by some of the leading merchants there, and tolerated, it would seem, to a certain extent by the colonial department at home, are other obstacles thrown in the way of improvements in that colony. Curaçao is in a better state, and the consequence is that the population is increasing in that island, and the slaves feel so happy that they are not desirous of any change. I have no account of the other small islands belonging to this country, but I do not think that they are in a better situation than Surinam, or the Danish island of St. Croix.

"Thou hast no doubt been informed that our friends, Joseph John Gurney and his sister Elizabeth Fry, have visited this country and Denmark, and have everywhere pleaded the cause of emancipation with their wonted eloquence. They had some meetings entirely devoted to that purpose at Rotterdam, the Hague, and this city, which were largely attended, and the result of which, though it cannot be positively asserted, may be supposed to have greatly forwarded a disposition in some of the parties concerned to look towards emancipation with a less fearful eye. The facts advanced by J. J. Gurney were certainly very conclusive, as they showed the real advantages of free-labour, and the moral improvement obtained in consequence of emancipation. The religious point of view was eminently treated by him, but still more so by his sister, who very properly pointed out the reasons which ought to engage truly religious people to come forward in this cause, as the poor negro slaves are not in a situation to plead their cause themselves; and it appears to be the duty of every well disposed christian, to endeavour as much as possible to direct the attention of others to the sufferings of all those who are deprived of the opportunity of themselves exposing their sufferings, and soliciting the redress of the wrongs by which they are oppressed. They had, while at the Hague, an audience of the King and Queen of the Netherlands, and were allowed to lay before them their sentiments on the subject of slavery, as well as on some subjects connected with the prisons of this country. They were attentively listened to, and the King promised to consider seriously their wishes and remarks, and, at his demand, a memorial has been sent to him, through the medium of the British ambassador. They had likewise some interviews with the director of the department of colonies, (Elias, the minister being absent,) and likewise with the ministers both of finance and the interior, who both expressed a concurrence in their views. I have been informed that, at Copenhagen, they have been very kindly received by the King and Queen, and that J. J. Gurney had a very long and interesting interview with the first, and made a deep impression on his mind with regard to the subject of emancipation. I hope this will not remain fruitless.

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"We have here a publication recommending the emancipation of slaves in our colonies, which is the work of a young advocate, Jacob de Neufville Az, the same who wrote the dissertation of which I sent thee a copy, entitled *Dissertio hist. polit. inaug. de iis quæ ad tollendum servorum Afrorum commercium, &c.* The title of his new work may be translated as follows:—*The emancipation of the slaves examined in its consequeeces, and applied to the colonies of the Netherlands.* The epigraph he has placed before his book is pretty severe, and taken from Isaiah xiii. 11, 12. 'And I will punish the world for their evil, and the wicked for their iniquity; and I will cause the arrogancy of the proud to cease, and will lay low the haughtiness of the terrible. I will make a man more precious than fine gold; even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir.' The work is divided into two parts, the first of which contains five chapters, shewing the results of emancipation in the English colonies. The second part has only two chapters, the first of which is devoted to prove how desirable emancipation is in the Dutch colonies, the second contains a plan for realising the same. The first part is grounded on the parliamentary reports, and J. J. Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*. In the second part he again takes the English colonies as a model to follow, and tries to prove that a smaller quantity of persons will be necessary when liberated than before to do the same quantity of work, and that, the religious and moral condition of the negro population being thereby improved, the population will soon be increased, and this will enable to extend the plantations, &c. In the second chapter he examines all the plans which have been proposed to effect emancipation, and endeavours to point out the obstacles to the accomplishment of these measures and ends with proposing a measure which, in his opinion, is the only one that can be adopted; this is, *to bring all the grounds and slaves into the hands of other proprietors, and to place all these properties in the hands of a single proprietor.* This appears at first sight almost impossible and, his plan might be considered as inexecutable; but he explains it afterwards in such a manner as gives reason to suppose that, if well conceived and matured, it might take place in case the government approved of it. The society would of course include all the actual proprietors of plantations who are disposed to emancipate their slaves, and who would agree to have their properties in the colony taxed and valued as the rest, but who in consequence of this consent would keep their property at their disposal, provided they gave liberty to their slaves: the proprietors who would refuse to do this would be dispossessed by law, and their plantations would become the property of the society, which would take possession of their lands, and dispose of them in behalf of such capitalists as would agree to the terms on which the society should be founded, namely, the complete emancipation of the negros. I am afraid it will take some time before the great proprietors agree to this proposal, and yet it is urgent for them to take some decisive measures if they will not lose all; for, should the colony go on as it has for ten or twenty years back, it will in ten or twenty years be fully ruined. The population will dwindle away, and the whole colony will return to a state of nature. The author proposes likewise to send European labourers, but many people think that this measure will never answer, the climate being such that European labourers cannot bear it, and it is certain that the white population there, though nowise obliged to hard manual labour, decreases rapidly, even more so than the blacks: but I am rather inclined to attribute this to the vicious behaviour of many of the whites, and particularly to the use as well as abuse of strong liquors and gererous wines. And to this may be added another cause, namely, that the doctors or physicians of the colony are few in number, and many of them possess but little skill. They do not study sufficiently the effect of climate and the means of preserving health. I intend sending thee two or three copies of the above-mentioned work per first opportunity. It has been violently attacked in a new publication called *De Tydgenoot* (the Contemporary), but has not yet passed through the paws of our reviewers."

SLAVE TRADE ON THE BARBARY COAST.

[From the Parliamentary Papers.]

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO LORD PONSONBY.

Foreign Office, October 8, 1840.

MY LORD,—I herewith transmit to your Excellency the accompanying copies of papers, relative to the exportation of black slaves from the port of Tripoli to the Levan in Turkish vessels; and I have to instruct you to communicate these papers to the Turkish government, and to endeavour to persuade the Porte to discourage the trade in question. I have, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

COLONEL WARRINGTON TO SIR H. GREY.

Tripoli, July 22, 1840.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that his Highness the Pacha sent 500 horsemen to meet a rich and numerous caravan from Ghandames and Timbuctoo, and escort it down to Tripoli.

Sheiks Abgelled and Ghoma despatched a body of cavalry, took the caravan, and destroyed the escort sent by the pacha.

The commander of it, Bash Aga Bezan, was strangled last Saturday at the camp of Pacha, and four sheikhs of the Sharfana tribe disgraced, by being placed on borricos with their faces blackened, and paraded through the camp. By this plunder great wealth falls to Abgelled and Ghoma, and many black slaves.

On Saturday last another caravan was captured coming from the East.

The Turks have the greatest facility in transporting black slaves to the Levant, as their vessels returning without cargo, which tends to increase that trade.

The export of black slaves from the port of Tripoli may be computed at 3000 annually. The demand for them has increased considerably, inasmuch as they now sell from 50 to 100 dollars each, and the women from 100 to 110 dollars, whereas in the time of Yousuf Bashaw the average price was from 30 to 40 dollars. Abgelled takes one out of four, or 25 per cent., in passing the territory he holds; but I know he is averse to that trade, and it is to his credit, that during the last eight years he has never sent a marauding army to capture them. I have, &c.

(Signed) H. WARRINGTON.

COLONEL WARRINGTON TO MR. BIDWELL.

Tripoli, August 10, 1840.

SIR,—In the *Morning Herald* I see what passed at a public meeting for the suppression of African slavery, in which his Royal Highness Prince Albert, expressed deep interest on that important question.

After twenty-seven years' residence here, and having had these suffering people daily under my observation, and having always taken a lively interest in their fate, I trust my offering an opinion will not be considered presumption. The cause of this revolting traffic in the flesh and blood of our fellow-creatures arises generally from the want of labour and occupation. The unbounded natural wealth, the spontaneous productions, and the fertility of the soil, plainly show that labour is the only thing wanting (and commercial outlet for the produce of that labour) to direct the mind in more profitable and honourable pursuits. I wish particularly to state the necessity of promoting industry and labour, otherwise the slaves taken in battle, and now preserved for the sake of gain, would be destroyed.

A free and direct intercourse with the inhabitants of the interior is the first step I should recommend in the promotion of civilisation and commerce. Resident agents at various places in the interior would be desirable, at least where we know they would be safe.

The profits on trade will be great, and the advantages the natives would derive, will tend much for the safety of individuals and the accomplishment of the grand and ultimate object, the emancipation of the poor and suffering slave. To obtain a footing in the interior it is evident Tripoli affords advantages not to be found in any part of the extensive coast of Africa. Excepting by name (which is certainly revered and respected), England cannot dictate or use force in the interior; but an opening is to be made, and protection given, on the coast.

The natives of the interior are great fanatics, and their bad feeling to Christians has arisen from the want of intercourse and knowledge of our humane and honourable intentions. In the first stage I should think it would be impolitic to send missionaries to convert, which can only be effected by the gradual advance of intellect, and the proof that our condition is superior to their own. The distribution of simple moral interesting tracts would be well received, and would lead to more desirable ends. Medical men in the interior would be of infinite service; and even a professional man on the coast to send medicines in doses for the use of the natives, would give us great popularity, and prove our benevolent intentions. The civilization and emancipation of the poor and suffering slave has created deep interest and reflection in my mind, and, during the time of Yousuf Bashaw, hundreds have been restored to freedom by me; and I hail with prayers the present period when, apparently, the grand structure will be built on the foundation already laid.

The abolition of black slavery is to be effected, I am certain, in the interior, and not on the high seas only, as the nearer we can approach the disease the more effectual will be the cure.

If I can in the remotest way contribute to the glorious cause, it will give me infinite pleasure, as I have no wish except to do good to my fellow-creatures. The plan I have already suggested of establishing a vice-consul at Fezzan, will, I am sure, pave the way to greater events.

The slaves who have been fortunate enough to obtain their freedom here, have always evinced anxiety to return to their own country; nay, they congregate together and build their huts in the conical plan of the interior, and await favourable circumstances to return.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. WARRINGTON.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO COLONEL WARRINGTON.

Foreign Office, October 22, 1840.

SIR,—I have received your despatch of the 1st August, 1840, respecting the traffic in slaves from the port of Tripoli, and I have to desire that you will take such steps as you think will be most likely to induce the Moorish chiefs themselves to give up, and to prevent other persons from continuing, the practice of procuring slaves for exportation from Tripoli to the Levant. I have, &c.

PALMERSTON.

SIR THOMAS READE TO MR. BACKHOUSE.

Tunis, June 9th, 1840.

SIR,—I have hitherto delayed acknowledging the receipt of your despatch dated November 22, 1839, under a full impression that I should have been enabled to have obtained, as I had been promised, copies of the contract betwixt the several Moors and Captain Loffredo, of the Tuscan vessel named the *Giovane Affricano*, for the conveyance of slaves from this place to Constantinople.

I have no doubt now that these Moors have been persuaded not to grant me these documents, but notwithstanding this, however, the most influential one amongst them, named Sidy Mohammed Benayad, has unequivocally acknowledged to me, in the presence of M. Santellana, the chancellor (clerk), that he had been, together with other Moors, in the constant habit of forwarding slaves for sale to Constantinople by the above-named vessel, and that a portion of the 134 mentioned in my former despatch were his, and were sold at Constantinople.

In the letter from the Prince Corsini addressed to Mr. Fox, copy of which you transmitted to me, he states "that no embarkation of slaves had taken place at Tunis in Tuscan vessels, neither for Constantinople or other destinations;" and he likewise states, "that the Mussulmans, white or black, directed for Constantinople, did, it is true, profit by that occasion of Captain Loffredo, but those passengers were not slaves, each being furnished with a tiskere delivered by the local authority." From what I have above stated, you will perceive that Mohammed Benayad asserts the blacks which were embarked in the *Giovane Affricano were absolutely* slaves, and sold at Constantinople.

I have examined M. Gaspary, the agent at the Goletta, who is particularly charged with despatching vessels from this port; and he had no hesitation in stating to me, that he was not ignorant that the blacks on

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board Captain Loffredo's vessel were slaves, and that he had authority for permitting the vessel to sail, for he never could for a moment have taken upon himself the responsibility of placing these slaves upon the ship's papers without being authorized so to do. Besides which, it is notorious here that slaves have been sent, as mentioned in my former despatch, by vessels despatched from the Tuscan consulate.

It is true that these slaves are embarked with a Tiskere from the Bey, because no Mussulman, of whatever description, is permitted to be embarked without a Tiskere; but these Tiskeres do not mention whether they are slaves or free, but merely describe them as passengers; and if slaves can be so easily embarked by such means, of course the laws for the prohibition of conveying them can at any time be evaded.

The Bey grants these Tiskeres whenever applied for; but surely it cannot be maintained that such Tiskeres can in any manner whatever authorize European vessels, as in the case of Captain Loffredo, taking on board, contrary to law, such a number of blacks for conveyance to other ports, in consequence of their being described *solely as passengers*, without taking any trouble whatever to ascertain the real object for which they were embarked.

M. Gaspary has repeated to me that the whole of the blacks mentioned in the return which I had the honour of transmitting to you were slaves, and I am perfectly convinced that he would never have placed them upon the ship's papers, and have permitted them to leave this, without being authorized so to do by the consul to whose nations the ship belong, which he states most positively to be the case.

M. Gaspary, by a letter which I have received from him in answer to one I wrote, demanding to know if he was aware of any other slaves being embarked upon other vessels than those mentioned in the list which he had delivered to me, or whether any other passenger embarked on board the *Giovane Affricano*, July the 14th, 1835, states, "that he placed these negros in the ship's papers because he knew of no prohibition to the contrary." He, however, adds, "that ten months ago he was formally prohibited from placing any black whatever upon the ship's papers. This order I have no doubt was given to him in consequence of the communication made by Mr. Fox to the Tuscan government.

I enclose a copy of M. Gaspary's letter; and you will perceive by it that he states that no other passenger embarked on board the *Giovane Affricano*, the 14th July, 1835, but *the conductors* of the negros. This expression alone, in my humble opinion, proves that the unfortunate negros were slaves. But, however, M. Gaspary, as well as Mohammed Benayad, as I before stated, have confessed to me in the fullest manner that they were slaves.

I have also received another letter from M. Gaspary, a copy of which I beg leave to enclose, in which you will perceive that, since he received the orders not to place any blacks upon ship's papers leaving this, a Turkish brig, named the *Kangali*, Captain Mohammed Enepogli, left this for Constantinople, despatched by the Tuscan consulate, and conveyed away thirty slaves, which, however, he states were not placed in the ship's papers.

I should imagine that, if the Tuscan consul had authority for granting papers to this vessel, he surely could have withheld those papers if the captain persisted in taking slaves on board; for, as I have before mentioned, if slaves can be embarked so easily, the law can be at any time evaded. In the same letter you will likewise find that a Russian brig, named the *Blahaslamen*, Captain Hagelstein, left this for Constantinople the 29th of May, 1836, with thirty slaves on board, despatched by the same consulate; and I am sorry to say, that you will likewise find in the same letter, that a Sardinian brig, named the *Madonna del Boschetto*, Captain Antonio Ognio, sailed from this on the 21st of June, 1837, having on board thirty-two. I was not before aware of these two last circumstances.

I have called M. Gaspary before me, and read to him this despatch in the presence of Mr. Moses Santillana, in order to avoid any mistake, and he confirmed to me the information which is contained in it. I have, &c.

(Signed) T. READE.

J. Backhouse, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

(Translation.)

In reply to the letter with which you honoured me under yesterday's date, I hasten to inform you that, to my knowledge, no other negros have been embarked here for the Levant than those of which I made mention in the statements I have transmitted to you, which negros were entered by me on the bill of health of the vessels as Mussulmans, as expressed in the Tiskere of the Bey, and not as negro slaves; and I have also acted thus as there was not any prohibition against it; and to my knowledge no other flags have embarked negros but the Russian, Tuscan, and Ottoman, and two Greek vessels with Russian protections. But for some months before this, about ten months, I have been formally forbidden, in fact, to enter on a ship's list any negro; and indeed an Ottoman vessel which sailed in January for Constantinople, having about thirty negros, took them on board without their being entered on the bill of health.

On board the *Giovane Affricano* there were no passengers but the conductors of the blacks; as far as I can recollect they were of Tripoli.

The Russian vessels are despatched from Tunis by the same Dutch consulate as Turkish vessels; but of these latter some have been actually despatched by the Sardinian or Imperial Consulate; but this last named practice has existed but a short time. I have, &c.

(Signed) GASPARY.

(Translation.)

In reply to your prized letter of this day's date, I hasten to inform you that the Turkish vessel *Kangali*, Captain Mohammed Enepogli, which sailed hence on the 24th January for Constantinople was despatched by the consulate of Tuscany, but the thirty negros which she embarked, were not entered on the vessel's papers in any way.

Having afterwards examined my register of arrivals and departures, I find that the Australian brig *Zodiaco*, Captain P. G. Calvi, which sailed hence for Smyrna and Constantinople, on the 5th July, 1836, did not embark any negros; that the Russian brig *Blahaslamen*, Captain Hagelstein, which sailed for Constantinople the 29th May, 1836, embarked forty-two passengers, among whom were thirty negros; and that the Sardinian brig *Madonna del Boschetto*, Captain Antonio Ognio, which sailed 21st June, 1837, for Constantinople, had thirty-five passengers, among whom were thirty-two negros. I have, &c.

(Signed) GASPARY.

SIR THOMAS READE TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

Tunis, October 15, 1840.

MY LORD,—It has just come to my knowledge that an Ottoman polacca ship, whereof Aly Cinbayaglu is master, left this for Constantinople this morning, having on board fifty-four negro slaves. I am informed that this vessel was furnished with consular papers from the Dutch consulate (the Dutch consul acting here as consular agent for the Ottoman Porte); but that the negros were not mentioned in any manner upon the papers, nor is my informant aware of the circumstance of their embarkation being known to the Dutch consul.

It appears to me, however, to say the least of it, extraordinary that such a quantity of slaves could have been thus put on board a vessel without any knowledge of the consul who furnished the ship with her papers, or any person belonging to his consulate; and, if greater precautions than such as have been manifested upon this occasion are not taken, it will be difficult to place that check upon this abominable traffic, which I am of opinion might with facility be effected, provided the consul who despatches the vessels intended for the conveyance of slaves should feel disposed to do so. (Signed) THOMAS READE.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA: LORD AUCKLAND'S MINUTE

IN the year 1833, the Act for the renewal of the East India charter was passed. That Act required, among other important things, that the Governor-general in Council, should "*forthwith* take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout the said territories, so soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe." Instead, however, of this having been done, year after year has been allowed to pass away without producing any the least amelioration in the condition of the slave population, or making a single advance towards the consummation of the great object the British legislature had in view. Had the people of England remained silent, the subject would have still remained in abeyance. As soon, however, as it became evident to the home government that the abolitionists were earnestly directing their attention to the matter, they forwarded instructions to the governor-general to use greater diligence in complying with the requisitions of Parliament, and to report in what position the question stood. This was felt to be very inconvenient to the law commissioners to whom it had been referred, and they entered upon the duties which had been devolved on them with reluctance. They say, in a communication to Lord Auckland, probably written in the early part of this year, "it was not without regret that we were compelled to withdraw our attention from several subjects on which we were engaged, and which, in our opinion, are of still greater importance than slavery." An affair upon which these gentlemen entered with such evident reluctance, and which they considered as comparatively unimportant, though it actually involved the personal liberty, the civil rights, and the happiness of millions of British subjects, was not likely to engage that measure of attention, and that promptitude in applying an effectual remedy, which the monstrous evils it involved, so peremptorily required. It was felt to be a burden rather than a duty, nevertheless after two years' labour, they produced a report, founded in great measure on documents which had been already laid before Parliament, and in view of the instructions they had received from the East India directors, through the governor-general of India. That report was transmitted to England, on the 8th of February, 1841, and has been printed by order of parliament, and to it the attention of our readers has already been called.

After the lapse of eight years from the passing of the East India Charter bill, the governor-general has transmitted to the home government a minute on "Slavery in India," founded on the report of the commissioners, which we now propose to review. It bears date the 6th May, 1841, and is the first of a series of minutes on the same subject, with which we are to be favoured, by the members forming the council of that high functionary. In the despatch from that body, dated 10th May, 1841, which accompanied the governor's minute, addressed to the court of directors of the East India Company, they say, "Your honorable court will be pleased to consider the subject as still under discussion by the government, and the sentiments of the remaining members of the council will be communicated with the least possible delay." It thus appears that we must wait yet longer before we can form any opinion as to the measures that may be recommended for the ultimate adoption of the government, for the removal of the palpable evils so long and so justly the subject of complaint.

The observations of the law commissioners, contained in Parliamentary papers No. 262, 1841, pp. 188 to 222, both inclusive, and the minute of the governor-general of India, which will be found in No. 54, 1841, pp. 2 to 5, are chiefly valuable as shewing the opinions entertained by these functionaries of the system of slavery in British India, and the measures they recommend for adoption to mitigate its severities and correct its abuses.

The commissioners are not agreed as to the regulations that should be enforced for "ameliorating the condition of slaves." Messrs. Cameron and Millett advise "that any act which would be an assault if done to a freeman, shall be an assault, and punishable as such if done to a slave by his master, or by any other person." Messrs. Amos, Eliott, and Borradaile, after a laboured statement that the law of Indian slavery allows the master the power of coercion, "for the purpose of enforcing their (the slaves') services, maintaining discipline among them, and preventing their absconding"—that the slave "submits without complaint to moderate correction inflicted by his master for the breach or neglect of his regular duties," considering that the evil "of thus being com-

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pelled to work, is compensated by the advantage of maintenance for himself and family"—that "slaves employed in field labour, at least, would not work with the like industry as hired labourers" without the power of moderate correction being lodged somewhere — "that they will indulge in that propensity to idleness so characteristic of the lower classes in India," and will do nothing they can avoid doing," without correction, that, as every master, at least, of prædial slaves, "may be expected to have a natural desire of improving his income, and thereby increasing his comforts, and in proportion as that desire is more or less strong, so will be the motive to urge his slaves to exertion," which he could not do without the power of coercion: therefore "the majority of the commissioners consider, that as "a law taking away all power of correcting and restraining slaves, would have the effect, as far as the promulgation of a law could do it, of abolishing slavery," they think it would neither be just nor prudent, to take it away, without providing compensation, or without transferring the power to the magistrate, neither of which courses appears to them desirable," and, therefore, they would continue "the restricted power of coercion and restraint, which the masters may now lawfully exercise." In one point all the commissioners agree, namely, to let slavery itself alone, and to direct their attention exclusively to the correction of its abuses. In their separate report, Messrs. Cameron and Millett observe, "As the object is to let slavery perish quietly, legislation should, it seems to us, be confined to the mere prevention of its evils;" and their colleagues, Messrs. Amos, Eliott and Borradaile, concur in the conclusion, that it "would be more beneficial for the slaves themselves, as well as a wiser and safer course, to direct immediate attention to the removal of the abuses of slavery, rather than to recommend its sudden and abrupt abolition." These gentlemen may be excellent lawyers, but they are poor philosophers. They would prevent the evils which necessarily spring from slavery, itself the greatest of all evils—they would remove the abuses of slavery, itself the greatest of all abuses—by letting it alone, as though the effect could be destroyed while the cause was in operation. We have had experiments enough in the West Indies to prove the folly of attempting to "mitigate the state of slavery," and the wisdom of securing its entire abolition.

But ample as are the materials for discussion afforded by the separate reports of the commissioners, we must direct our attention, at the present time, more particularly to the minute of the Governor-general, and only refer to them as occasion may require.

In perusing this important document, the first thing that struck us was its obscurity, and the almost total want of interest manifested by Lord Auckland in the great subject to which it refers. Perhaps the first may have arisen from transcription, or may be traced to the printer; and the second may be attributed to the absorption of his lordship's mind in the Afghan war and its consequences, or the still later contests with the Chinese, and what remains to be done with them. But whether this obscurity and indifference are to be traced to these causes or not, we are quite sure that the people of England are quite alive to the subject, both as a question of humanity and of national honour, and will admit of no other delay in its settlement than may be necessary to pass the law for that purpose.

In the opening remark of the governor-general, he observes, that the subject of slavery in India "is undoubtedly a most difficult and extensive one," and yet his lordship disposes of it in a very summary manner, and arrives at a general conclusion, which he expresses in the following terms: "In a word, I would legislate as little as possible now, and that only so as directly to advance the great end of practical freedom, whilst I would look forward with anxiety to a period when the government may be enabled to fulfil the design of the British legislature by a declaration of the entire extinction of slavery as a state in any manner recognised by our laws." How far his lordship would legislate may be seen from the following extracts from the minute: "I am prepared to pass a law declaring that any act which would be an offence if done to a freeman, shall be equally an offence if done to a slave, or as I would rather say, to any one in any condition of dependence on a master, and I would add to such an act, that "no right claimed as arising out of an alleged state of slavery, shall be enforced by a magistrate," concurring in the last particular with two of the commissioners, Messrs. Cameron and Millett, and going beyond them in the former, those gentlemen expressly limiting their recommendation to assaults on slaves, whereas the Governor-general extends his to "*any act which would be an offence done to a freeman.*" This, strictly interpreted, would amount to the abolition of slavery in India, which we fear is more than his lordship intends by it. The sale of a freeman is illegal—this would make the sale of a slave illegal also—compulsory labour, as it relates to freemen, is illegal—this would make it illegal in reference to slaves also. In the one case the master could not deal with them as property, in the other he must, to secure their services, pay them an equivalent for the same, and treat them in all respects as freemen. He could not compel their residence on his estate, nor exact from them any but voluntary labour. His lordship goes on to say "such an enactment would be entirely in accordance with the dictum of the Mohammedan lawyers as applied to the actual state of those classed as slaves in India." This is an important admission, for it settles at once the question so far as the Mohammedan part of our India subjects are concerned, and is in harmony with the best authorities upon the subject. According to the most eminent law doctors, "All men are by nature free and independent and no man can be the subject of property, exceptan infidel, inhabiting a country not under the power and control of the faithful. This right of possession, which mooslims possess over heurbees (that is infidels fighting against the faith) is acquired by isteela, which means the entire subduement of any subject of property by force of arms. The original right of property, therefore, which one man may possess over another, is acquired *solely* by isteela, (as defined above) and cannot be obtained in the first instance by purchase, donation, or heritage. As far back as the year 1808, Judge Richardson proposed, "that the state of slavery throughout the British possessions should be determined by Mohammedan law." Had this been done not a slave would now be found in British India. At the present moment there are a large body of slaves held by Mohammedans illegally, these of course must be declared free. The judges of the Foujdary Adawlut, in a letter addressed by them to the government, 22nd March, 1841, say the decision of the Mohammedan law officer, referred to by Lord Auckland in his minute, "applies to males as well as females, and *to the prædial slaves in Malabar, Tanjore, and elsewhere.*" This point must be borne in mind. It places a weapon in our hands, which if skilfully wielded, must inevitably terminate slavery in British India, as it will be utterly impossible to preserve the institution of slavery among the Hindoos, when once it is abolished among the Mohammedans in British India.

The effect of the proposed law is thus stated by his lordship: "In prohibiting every kind of coercion by the master over the person, and all summary interference of authority, for the return of a person claimed as a slave to his assuming owner, we shall in truth do away with all such practices, for no one will be found to purchase that, of the continued possession of which he can have no assurance." But why should his lordship shrink from declaring slavery to be illegal, openly and publicly? He admits it to be so among Mohammedans. The Mohammedans admit it themselves. Then why not act upon the admission immediately, and follow up that act by a law, if it be necessary, which shall terminate the same system among the Hindoos, immediately and entirely? This, Lord Auckland may be assured, is the only way to prevent the sale of children for prostitution—to put down the horrible system of kidnapping and megpunnaism, to destroy the slave-trade; and deliver the slaves from their oppressions. While slavery is suffered to remain in any form, whilst its name is suffered to exist, whilst its taint is allowed to remain upon any one of the millions of India, the work of emancipation will not be complete.

That Lord Auckland does not contemplate the entire abolition of slavery in British India is clear from the following paragraphs, viz. "I would, however, be disposed by a separate law, (guarding the national custom of adoption,) wholly to prohibit the sales of children, excepting possibly, after the example of the Bombay regulation of 1827,) in seasons of distress, such as follow upon inundation or famine, and under checks which might be then imposed by the executive government." Again, "It might perhaps be as well, as a part of our measures for the amelioration of the condition of servitude in India, to obtain periodical reports of the state of slaves or bondsmen, and of legal transactions affecting them, in the districts in which such classes are most numerous." Thus it will be seen that his lordship would provide for the sale of children during inundations and famines, notwithstanding the "frightful abuses," which he admits, "grow out of such sales;" and would confine the attention of government to "periodical reports of the state of slaves or bondmen, and of the legal transactions affecting them." And is this all his lordship contemplates in his proposed enactments? We should be sorry to do his lordship injustice, by misrepresenting his proposed measures, but we feel utterly at a loss how to harmonise the different parts of his minute with each other. At one time, he appears to lay down a principle which, if honestly applied, would overthrow slavery, and at another time, to sanctions the existence of slavery, and merely proposes measures to check its abuses. His lordship would "legislate as little as possible" on this great subject, and so would we—the difference, however, between us is great, what he would regulate, we would destroy.

WE extract the following observations on the same document from the *Morning Herald.*

We have laboured long and zealously in denouncing the hideous condition of slavery, wherever it is permitted to exist, as among the most enormous offences against his MAKER, and the most insolent treason against his own race, which it is possible for civilised man to sanction. In this feeling we have watched for some years past, with increasing jealousy and suspicion, the aspect of *domestic society* (so to call a social condition to the miseries and defects of which we are happily strangers in Europe) in British and in tributary India. The Indian government at home and abroad, and its various responsible functionaries—when challenged from time to time, on this painful subject—have been somewhat forward in denying the existence in the British territory of any species of slavery, except in a very modified and almost patriarchal form. The inquiries instituted in—and the correspondence maintained with—the tributary states, by an odd accident, appear to have elicited the most valuable clue for guiding the investigation which it was necessary to prosecute in British India.

On the general subject of slavery in the East Indies we may observe, that a paper which was ordered on the 5th instant (September) by the House of Commons to be printed (No. 54) and which is entitled "Slavery (East Indies") does not appear to us altogether satisfactory. The paper was moved for by Mr. W. B. Baring, and contains "A Copy of the Letter from the Governor-General of India in Council in the Legislative Department, dated May 10th, 1841, (No. 8.) and of the Minute of the Governor-General enclosed therein on the subject of Slavery in the East Indies." The letter, signed by the Earl of Auckland and five members of the Council,

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appears to have covered the copy of the minute of the 8th of the same month. Lord Auckland's minute admits in express terms the existence of the evil; but that admission is coupled with a degree of apologetic extenuation as to the facts, which renders it difficult for us to infer any very decided anxiety on the part of his lordship to adopt a large or vigorous policy in repressing its growth, or extinguishing its conditions. His lordship declines to enter "into much detail" in pointing out the "generally mild character of what is *termed* slavery, or in marking how the agrestic servitude which exists in several of its districts" (as Malabar Jamal, Districts of Madras, Behar province, &c.) "is connected chiefly with distinctions of *caste*, and will be upheld, notwithstanding any measures of the public authorities, by the force which natural habit and opinion have imparted to those distinctions."

A more quiet formula for cushioning the question of the deplorable result of these "distinctions," we can hardly imagine than these expressions convey. Where the supreme power of a state assumes that a particular condition of things will be upheld notwithstanding its own efforts to put it down, there is little hazard in predicting that the event, thus invited as it were, will assuredly verify the prediction. We cannot see how Lord Auckland establishes a case for the sort of non-intervention policy which he evidently advocates on this subject, by telling the world that "in Coorg, many of the slaves emancipated by government on its own estates have, from various causes, been led to destroy their certificates of freedom, and to place themselves again in servitude under their former masters." Surely this voluntary return into bondage is explicable, much more naturally and probably, on the theory that there is no demand for their labour from other quarters, or in other pursuits, which would yield them adequate means of subsisting themselves and their families—than on such an attachment to slavery in the abstract, or such a marvellous influence of *caste*, as must thus override the original inherent principles of human nature itself, older by countless ages than the earliest institutions into which the distinctions of *caste* were ever adopted. From innate tendencies to violence—from temperaments naturally excitable and never restrained sufficiently by education or accident, men have been said (perhaps absurdly, after all) to be born tyrants. But to suppose that any man is born with the predisposition to be a slave is not more monstrous than to imagine that free men, being free agents, will voluntarily return into slavery when they have once quitted it. In fact, the reasoning of the noble Governor-General is illogical throughout the greater part of the "minute" before us. He argues from particulars to generals. His *minor* is the text: his *major* the commentary. "In Malabar," says his lordship, "all the influence of the English proprietor of an estate cannot obtain for any of his labourers a greater degree of respect or privilege than the strict local usages of *caste* allow them: they remain, whatever the liberty of action which he accords to them, as degraded as before, for they cannot raise themselves above the low class to which they belong, and must mix only on the terms to which they have been accustomed with their caste brethren, the churmur slaves of the province."

Why then, what becomes of the noble earl's "*mild* character of what is termed *slavery* in India," if neither the mighty authority of English law, nor the vigour of that marvellous dominion which has flourished, now for nearly a century, in the moral grandeur of the English name and feeling, rather than in any adequate representation of English power in the handful of civilians, and of its military forces (accomplished, brave, and disciplined as these have been)—has been able to cope with the grinding despotism of "the local usages of caste." Supposing, for example, that these manumitted slaves be of the "Dher or Paria caste," mentioned at p. 3 of the minute. We all know that Hindoo superstition denies to this ill-fated class of its fellow-men the ordinary aids of all human sympathy, the manifestations of all human pity, the communication of fire, the gift of water, the sustenance of food, the solace of suffering, the balm of pity—under any circumstances where the pollution of contact with these outcasts of the family of man is to be apprehended by their higher-caste countrymen. Yet they have been often emancipated for their good and faithful conduct to European masters and christian teachers. Shall these reclaimed children of wrath (as we might well term them, looking to the almost inconceivable cruelty of the doom pronounced against them by the debasing institutes of a monstrous combination—a theocratic oligarchy)—shall they be driven back into the toils from whence a principle of European justice has set them free, out of respect and delicacy for the most wanton excess of the wildest pretensions ever advanced by idolatrous priestcraft?

Our limits will not allow us to pursue this part of the subject any further, however, because we are now to produce some other evidence—supplied by our Indian government itself, which militates much more powerfully against the "*far' niente*" policy of Lord Auckland on this question—(we have no such charge, unhappily, to bring against his territorial *ventures*)—than any protest of ours can do.

We have already shown that his lordship considers the character of agrestic slavery to be mild in India. But in another passage (p. 2.) he holds that, "in effect, that which constitutes the essence of slavery may be said to have been already abolished nearly everywhere throughout India. I mean by that essence, an entire subjection, sanctioned and upheld by the law, of an individual and his family to the will of a master, and the absolute claim of property, with the right also, and the means of enforcing that claim, of one man over another."

This declaration has surprised us; and the rather that it is almost coincident with the reprinted revelations comprised in the "Report on Slavery in the East Indies," originally promulgated by the East India Company, and containing those allegations which were cited in the House of Lords last week, in the course of the discussion originated by Lord Brougham. "The slavery" (according to this report "prevailing in the territories subject to the Bengal presidency may be traced *to several sources*.

"1. The sale or gift of children by their parents or other natural guardians.

"2. The sale of children and adults by their mothers or maternal relations.

"3. The sale of wives by their husbands.

"4. The self-sale of adults.

"5. Marriage or cohabitation with a slave.

"6. Kidnapping.

"7. Importation.

"8. Birth."

Who can doubt, on perusing this *classification* of the form and modes of a practice so various as to require to be classified, that "the character of agrestic slavery" (to which the victims are thus devoted wholesale) is very "mild" in India, or that, "essentially," the practice of slavery "may be said to be already abolished?" We have not room for the horrible "details" of which Lord Auckland speaks so languidly, derived as they are from the most unquestionable authorities, that would illustrate the excesses on the one hand, the sufferings on the other, to which these different modes of slavery inevitably tend. We must refer all those who are desirous of more minute information on the point to Hamilton, Buchanan, the Nizamut Adawlut Reports, the columns of the *Asiatic Journal*, &c.

Let us only oppose some fearful contradictions to his lordship's theory.

"The practice certainly exists in some parts; and, wherever it does occur, the victims are generally female children, who are entrapped and sold, sometimes to Mohammedans for concubines or servants in their zenanas, but principally to procuresses to supply the demands of their profession."

But there is also a kidnapping of men for the "mild condition" of "agrestic slavery" mentioned by the Governor-general. Thus (p. 15)

"Marriage or cohabitation with a slave.

"In Tipperah sometimes the consideration for which a freeman gives himself up to slavery is marriage with a slave girl, whom the master will not permit him to marry on other terms.

"In Rajeshahy a free female on marrying with a slave descends to his condition.

"In Purneah a freeman by marrying a slave girl is personally degraded to slavery, but cannot be sold; and the same, according to Dr. Buchanan, is the case in some parts of Bhaugulpore.

"One witness states, that in all the territories west of Benares if a free man marries a slave he becomes the slave of his wife's owner, for so long as he cohabits with her, but he may put an end to his servitude at any time by relinquishing his wife. But if a free woman marries a slave she becomes permanently the slave of her husband's master."

More horrible, by far, is the lot of the weaker sex:—

"In the neighbourhood of Calcutta, not only are female children kidnapped, but grown up and married women are inveigled from their families, and sold in the city to replenish the brothels, as will be further mentioned under the head of 'Prostitution.'

"In the city and district of Dacca, in 1816, the persons sold in slavery were generally young female children or grown-up girls, decoyed away from their parents or other relations in the country under pretext of marriage or other pretence, and disposed of either to public women, or to rich individuals as servants for their zenanas. This description of offence was believed by the magistrate of the city to be very frequent, though few cases of the kind were brought officially to notice."

Again—

"The appalling system called *megpunnaism* has recently been brought to light in the western provinces, of murdering indigent parents for the sake of obtaining their children."—p. 16.

But a sense of what is due to decorum and decency absolutely withholds us from making further extracts under this head, and that of "dancing girls," to show what is the character of slavery in India other than "agrestic." Let us, then, finally, turn to Lord Auckland's "minute," and mark the terms of indignant and stern reprobation in which he, doubtlessly, denounces these disgraceful and revolting crimes of daily occurrence within the vast limits of his jurisdiction—

"I would *for the present* be *content with legislation to the effect which I have above stated*. Compulsory contracts or transfers with a view to prostitution would, I *apprehend*, be void and punishable under the existing law. We shall have a better guarantee for good treatment and easy emancipation at the wish of the slave, in the protection from any personal restraint which the law to which I have assented will confer upon him, than in express rules of the kind proposed by the commissioners. In a word I would legislate as little as possible now," &c.

Is this the language of indifference and apathy, or the cautious but far-seeing reserve of profound statesmanship? We know not. But this we know—that, verily, it is high time that something were done to vindicate the christianity and morality—as well as the political power and influence, of Great Britain in India!

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN TUNIS.

To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*.

Malta, 27th September, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—I hope you will not fail to notice the laudable act of the Bey of Tunis, in taking the preliminary steps for the total abolition of slavery in the regency. You will find an account of this philanthropic act of his highness in the *Malta Times* of the 25th instant. Sir Thomas Reade, Her Britannic Majesty's consul-general in Tunis, has greatly exerted himself in this good work, using every effort to persuade the Bey thereto, and therefore deserving great praise from the christian public. It appears a very extraordinary thing that no efforts are made to induce the Sultan of Constantinople to put a stop to slavery. This conduct of his vassal in Tunis ought to make the divan blush.

I am, dear sir, yours truly.

JAMES RICHARDSON.

The following is the article in the *Malta Times*:—

We are most happy to hear that the sinister and puerile prognostications of some persons, who ought to have been better informed, respecting the Bey's intentions of abolishing slavery in his extensive and important territories, have completely, and most fortunately for the interests of humanity, failed—nay, *have been signally belied*. Our correspondent of the 16th instant informs us:—

The Bey's conduct above alluded to is, that he has abolished all the *public slave-markets* in the regency, THE BUILDINGS OF WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN ABSOLUTELY PULLED DOWN; he has prohibited, under severe pains and penalties, the public sale of any slave; and *I have no doubt that he will ultimately emancipate every slave in the regency*.

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"But it must be observed that he has great difficulties to overcome for there are many proprietors of slaves who possess from two to three thousand each, and who naturally look for indemnification in some mode or other, whenever their emancipation may be effected."

From this it will appear that the Bey is a much calumniated person, whereas he has given an example of noble philanthropy to all the Ottoman countries in Asia and Africa, nay, a lesson of virtue and charity to the boasted civilizers of Africa, *the "patrons and inventors of razias;"* in Algiers.

We are opportunely informed that the clique of *slavery-patronizing* French merchants in Tunis are hatching some calumnies against the *Malta Times*, and even against Lord Palmerston, for our insertion of an article on the dismissal of M. Gaspary, who some time ago, nefariously and secretly occupied himself in the embarkation of slaves at Tunis for Greece. We wish them all success in their infamous attempts to blacken the character of those who seek, for the honour as well as for the relieving of the miseries of the human race, the abolition of the inhuman, the diabolical system of slavery: but we have the means at hand, of completely exposing to the odium of the world these calumniators.

We repeat again our former observation, that any man caught in the nefarious practice of slave-dealing is unworthy of all confidence, much less ought he to be trusted with the consular affairs of christian, or any other nations; but such is the case of M. Gaspary. *Confessedly, however, the virtue of Frenchmen and Italians at Tunis is at a low ebb.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq. at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

HINTS TO FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS.

As the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have now a considerable number of correspondents in various parts of the world—a class of coadjutors of which they desire a continual augmentation, they beg to draw attention to a few hints, by regarding which their friends would render their communications of the utmost possible value, and their help to the anti-slavery cause of the greatest efficiency.

The subjects on which the committee particularly desire information are the following.

Any recent facts or statistics respecting the slave-trade or slavery as connected with particular countries, with the authority on which such facts or statistics are given.

The titles of any publications, especially of government documents, which throw any light on subjects of this class. The committee would be obliged by such particulars as should distinctly mark out the works intended (such as author's name, publisher's name, place and date of publication, if to be obtained *in London*, &c.), and by some general account of their contents and merits. Should works of considerable importance appear, the committee would be glad to have a copy immediately transmitted to them. Others might be forwarded as opportunity should serve.

Any measures which may have been recently adopted for promoting the objects contemplated by the Anti-slavery Society; whether by the circulation of *information by books*, lectures, and public meetings, or otherwise.

Whether any applications have been made to government, or to persons in authority, for the abolition of slavery or the slave-trade; or any steps taken preliminary to such application.

Should the committee have the pleasure of receiving communications from new correspondents (a favour which they earnestly request) they would desire to be informed of the general state of the slavery question in the country in which their correspondent may reside—the extent of slavery and the slave-trade—the laws affecting them—and the actual state of both. They would be glad, also to receive copies of all works published on these subjects up to the present time, and to be informed of the probable extent of their circulation and influence. To this should be added an account of any existing Anti-slavery Associations, with the names of their officers, &c.

The committee would be happy, finally, to learn from their correspondents in what manner (whether by information or otherwise) assistance in promoting the good cause can be rendered them. As far as practicable, it will be readily and gladly afforded.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 20TH.

A DEPUTATION of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee, consisting of Messrs. Josiah Forster, John Beaumont, Joseph Cooper, John Scoble, Thomas Bax, and Robert Rouse, waited yesterday on the Earl of Aberdeen, at the Foreign Office. They were very courteously received, and held conference with his lordship in reference to the Mendians captured in the Amistad, the treaty with Texas, and other matters connected with slavery and the slave-trade.

WE seized the opportunity of announcing by a postscript, in our last number, the important speech which was delivered by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords on the 5th inst. It related principally to the state of the law, as it affects British subjects engaging in the slave-trade; and more especially to the question whether share-holders in properties (whether plantations or mines) for the cultivation or working of which slaves are purchased, are guilty of the offence of slave-trading within the meaning of the British statute. Although his lordship did not affirm this subject to be absolutely free from doubt, he declares his own opinion to be that all such parties are violators of the law. And he recommended that a proclamation should be issued, warning all persons who had unwarily become implicated in this offence, and giving them time to withdraw themselves from these illegal partnerships. Should the opinion of the legal advisers of the crown concur with that of Lord Brougham—of which it is reported there is a high probability—such a proclamation, perhaps, may shortly be expected. But, should it be otherwise, the matter will not rest where it is. The facts are admitted on all hands to be so directly in violation of the spirit of the law, that, if the present statute cannot reach the guilty parties, a declaratory act will be introduced for the purpose. We suppose the directors and share-holders of the Cuban and Brazilian Mining Associations will now look to themselves. The loud call of humanity and justice, we are sorry to say, they have despised; but, unless they wash their hands of this wickedness now, an indictment for felony by the law officers of the government hangs over the head of every one of them. We hear that one of the mining companies is taking measures to *sell* their slaves; and we should not be surprised to hear of a panic among the proprietors eager to *sell* their shares. But this will not do. Neither shares nor slaves must be *sold*. THE SLAVES MUST BE SET FREE, AND THE SHARE-HOLDERS MUST DEMAND IT.

We cannot conclude these remarks without expressing our gratification that the speech of Lord Brougham is published in a cheap form. It should be most unsparingly distributed. It is thus characterized by a writer in the *Morning Herald*.

The noble and learned lord is ever in his happiest mood where the dignity of a great moral principle is to be asserted against the pretensions of mere private interest. He enforced, accordingly, his protest against this violation of the spirit of imperial statutes which had been passed with the most solemn formalities of British legislation—in a strain of indignant and flowing eloquence. In moving that the reports of Dr. Madden on the slave-trade be laid upon the table, Lord Brougham powerfully impressed upon the peers who were present—(few in number, undoubtedly, they were,) that the locality in which British subjects maintained, or mixed, themselves up with, the traffic in slaves, could not alter the character of their offence, or the nature of their responsibility for it, under those memorable acts of the British parliament which had been passed for its suppression and extinction. If they were "British subjects"—these capitalists, whether they were engaged in mining operations, in the Brazils, or in the raising of produce in the East Indies, by the aid of slave-labour; came, equally, within the spirit of the penal laws which had been passed for the prohibition and prevention of this frightful traffic. His lordship enforced his argument by the most powerful of all illustration—drawn from the practical evils which result, in both hemispheres, from this illegal diversion of British capital. The terrible destruction of human life which attends the capture, the supply, and the transport of African slaves to South America, is aggravated by the cruelties which are visited on those who unfortunately survive to an existence of hopeless consuming labour—unpitied suffering—unrewarded toil—and unmitigated despair. The atrocities practised on the slave-producers of sugar, opium, and indigo, in some of the regions of India are of a character revolting to the feelings of our common nature.

In refusing the papers called for, the Earl of Ripon unquestionably assigned ample reasons for the prudent course adopted by the government; and Lord Brougham, in thereupon withdrawing his motion, gave a satisfactory proof of the sincerity of the zeal with which he had vindicated the principle of the Slave Abolition Law. He disdained to lower the lofty character of the cause he thus advocated, by converting it into a means of obstructing the course of public business. For our own parts, we believe that the noble lord's address, on this momentous subject, will produce a salutary effect. The tone which pervaded it, and the manner in which it was responded to by one of the ablest as well as most honest ministers of the crown, must convince those Englishmen whom the excitement of commercial enterprise may have precipitated into connexions with such associations, of a fact, which they cannot too maturely deliberate upon. However great the temptations of profit they may hold out to the adventurers in them, the British capitalist will certainly lose caste among his countrymen who will attempt to advance his private fortunes in foreign establishments, by secret evasion, or open defiance of the laws of his native country, against the OBJECTS to which those establishments are devoted, or *the* MEANS *by which such objects are accomplished.*

OUR paper to-day contains matter of great importance, respecting slavery in British India. The report on this subject of the Indian Law Commissioners, which has been laid before parliament, and is thus in the hands of the British public, has, it appears been taken into consideration by the Indian government, and a parliamentary paper has just been issued, conveying in an official minute, the sentiments of the governor-general, (Lord Auckland,) in relation to it. We have gone fully into the merits of this important document elsewhere—here we shall only say that the question is now evidently becoming one of practical dealing, and is taking a shape fitted to excite the deepest public interest. It is announced that Lord Auckland will probably be succeeded in the governor-generalship of India by Lord Ellenborough. We hope his appointment will give birth to no impediments to the abolition of slavery there.

WE must direct the particular attention of our readers to the intelligence which they will find in another column respecting Texas. It appears—and, for the sake of the character of the British nation, we rejoice to learn is—that Lord Palmerston's diplomacy respecting this country has not attained its object. The government of Mexico has refused the mediation of England, and resists the recognition of Texan independence on any terms. It is at once a deep humiliation to a British minister, and a noble act of homage

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to benevolence and virtue, that the Mexican government should lay the stress of this decision on the establishment of slavery by Texas—a crime which Mexico is resolved never again to recognise. After such an answer, Lord Palmerston, no doubt, thought it prudent to avoid the ratification of the treaty with General Hamilton.

This position of affairs will, of course, put a check on the lending of money to the Texan government, and on emigration to the Texan soil. Our countrymen are leaving their native shores for purposes of peaceful industry, and not for a land in which their first business may be compulsory military service, and their constant hazard the irruption of an invading army.

OUR readers will see with great interest another letter from our valuable and well-informed correspondent in Cuba. The movement in that island, and the movements of the two governments which give origin to it, are of great importance and promise. The murderous and piratical character which the Cuban slave-traders are now assuming is neither a fiction nor a trifle. Of the affair referred to in our correspondent's letter the official particulars have not arrived; but we have learned, on unquestionable authority that four boats and forty men were sent by one of her Majesty's cruizers on the coast of Africa to cut out the *Irene* slaver from the river Gallinas, and that both boats and crews were entirely destroyed. Such are the melancholy results of the crisis to which the system of armed suppression is driving this fearful traffic.

WE direct attention to a valuable letter received by Mr. G. W. Alexander from a correspondent in Holland. Its contents are of great interest and importance.

FROM Mauritius—whence we can obtain so few trust-worthy accounts—we have been favoured with an extract of a letter to Mr. Tredgold. It is from a gentleman eminently worthy of confidence, and is, unhappily, of painful interest.

Port Louis, 8th July, 1841.

I am anxious to direct your attention to an ordinance you will find published in the *Cernéen* of July 7th, respecting the hiring of servants. It is an appropriate appendix to our vagrant laws, which prohibit a labourer from moving from place to place without a police permit about his person. It prohibits him from hiring himself to labour, and from labouring, without a certificate. It places a tremendous power in the hands of the stipendiary magistrates, who can find a thousand pretexts for refusing the certificates, and keeping the blacks on their present locations. The spirit of olden times breathes in this ordinance. With reluctance is the labourer allowed the least measure of personal liberty. He may be secured apparently by equal laws, in the legal form of his contracts of service, &c.; but this is all a mockery, so long as he is not allowed to maintain by all lawful means his right to better his condition, and to rise according to his talents and industry. Allow him to seek liberty for himself, and he will secure the blessing in the best possible way, and without any injury to society: but withhold this labourer's charter from him, by requisitions of permits to move about and certificates to carry about with him in search of labour, and you infallibly create in his mind suspicion and disgust. And by these interferences with the natural circulation of capital and labour, incalculable injury is inflicted on both the capitalist and the labourer. I should like to see more prominence given in the columns of the *Reporter* to the superiority of a *negative* and *leave-alone* legislation, over a *positive* and *fictitious* administration of government. Little good can be effected by preceptive laws, even under the administration of an upright and humane man; but immense evil may be effected under that of a wicked man.

In the present case I am not without hope that the law will prove to have overstepped a prudent moderation, and will thereby remedy its own mischief, by so completely disgusting the whites with the much-loved *contrats de service* as to make them cease to enforce them upon the labourers, preferring the precariousness of day labour to the endless annoyances and dangers of the contract system. This would tend more than any and all the enactments and devices which a world (if such a world could exist) of lawyers could concoct, to bring about a satisfactory and prosperous state of things in regard to capital and labour.

The Coolies may, I admit, and some few of them do, better their condition at Mauritius. But, if they come as free men, they have a right to the fullest advantages which the circumstances of the colony offer to the labourer; and those advantages they are not and never have been allowed (in their full extent) to enjoy; neither are the Madagascar labourers, or the Creole, or any other labourers. They are all liable to be seized on the highway, and shut up in prison for being without a passport; to be clapped into the *Bagne* for having no place; or for leaving one, or for seeking one, or for accepting one—without the certificate.

We further solicit attention to an important article in our present number on the *Coolie Slave Trade*.

THE series of papers on the slave-trade for the past year, just put forth from the parliamentary press, contains both a large quantity and a great variety of important and interesting matter. We shall avail ourselves of it with as much promptness as possible. In the present number will be found some extracts relating to the state of slavery in Turkey, and the slave-trade which, it appears, is carried on to a great extent between Constantinople and the Barbary coast. The attitude assumed by her Majesty's late government and their *employés* in the Mediterranean on this subject is highly gratifying and praise-worthy; and we wish in the strongest manner to express our sense of it. The efforts of Sir Thomas Reade in Tunis, appear to have been followed with very pleasing results; as the Bey of that regency is stated to have taken measures of an effectual kind for the abolition of the inhuman traffic. What a lesson will this "barbarian" read to the heads of *civilized* governments!

We take with pleasure this opportunity of acknowledging the very handsome manner in which Lord Palmerston conveyed to Lord Ponsonby, the address of the General Anti-slavery Convention. At the same time we may make our acknowledgments also, for the terms in which the memorial of the Convention on the holding of slaves by British functionaries abroad was communicated by his lordship to all the parties concerned.

WE have been favoured with a copy of the *Dublin Morning Register*, by which we perceive that our friends of the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society have been drawing public attention in that city to the frightful implication of British subjects in the atrocities of the slave-trade. A meeting was held recently at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, at which the following petition was agreed to, to be presented te both Houses of Parliament.

TO THE COMMONS AND PEERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The Petition from a Public Meeting, held in the Royal Exchange, Dublin,

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH—That your petitioners approach you with the mournful conviction that, notwithstanding the abolition of the slave-trade by the British legislature in 1808, it has vastly increased since that peroid, not only in extent, but in the dreadful atrocities which are practised on its victims; and they are fully and painfully convinced that British capital and British enterprise are amongst the main supports of the inquitous system.

As evidence of this your petitioners refer to the facts—that several companies have been formed in England, carrying on their operations in the Brazils and Cuba, which have their mines worked principally by slaves, the greater part of whom, in additional aggravation, have been illicitly imported since such importation has been declared piratical—that officers in the British army-and navy, as well as in the civil service, are connected with, and engaged in, these mines—that branches of English banking companies are formed, or about to be formed, in those countries where the mines are situated, evidently for supplying means to carry on the slave-trade—that enormous quantities of goods are manufactured in England, which are used solely in the slave trade—that fetters and shackles are manufactured there for a similar purpose—and that there is good reason to believe that vessels have been built and prepared in ports of England purposely as slave ships.

"Your petitioners feel it to be their duty to bring these deeply disgraceful facts before your notice—they earnestly urge them on your attention. They believe that, so long as slavery exists, it will be in vain to seek to put an end to the slave trade.

"Signed on behalf of the meeting,

"RICHARD D. WEBB, Chairman.

"29th September, 1841."

SUCH of our readers as may be interested in the winding up of the accounts of the Central Negro Emancipation Committee we beg to direct to our last page, where they will find a clear and very satisfactory statement in relation to this matter.

THE COOLIE SLAVE-TRADE.

SUBSEQUENTLY to the defeat of Lord John Russell's motion last year, to relax the prohibition laid by the supreme government of India, on the export of Coolies to Mauritius and elsewhere, in consequence of the fearful abuses which had attended the measure, and which all the police regulations they could devise had neither been able to correct or control, several important documents have been laid before Parliament relative thereto, which fully justify the course which had been taken, and render it imperative that the prohibition should be continued.

The argument raised by the Mauritian planters, that the prohibition interferes with the rights of the Indian labouring population, is met by the fact, that that population, so far from desiring to emigrate from their native land to distant and foreign parts, are utterly averse to it. They even object to go to distant and unknown sections of their own country, although allured by the company's servants, under the promise of constant employment, good wages, land for tillage, and ample protection. We have an instance of this in a communication of Captain T. Wilkinson, agent to the governor-general, south-western frontier, to N. Willieh, Esq., secretary to the tea company, dated 20th February, 1839. Captain Wilkinson states, that after having offered the Coolies if they would proceed to Assam for the cultivation of tea, "they would never receive less than three rupees per mensem, for their labour, and would be allowed land to cultivate, free of expense, for a period of five years, and have their travelling expenses to Assam paid at the rate of two rupees per mensem," states that they refused on the ground that they were not "willing to go to a country which they cannot ascertain has been visited by any of their brethren. They also expressed fears that I might be endeavouring to procure them to send them beyond sea, as several had been sent from Calcutta by gentlemen." Another of the company's servants, J. Davidson, Esq., in a letter to Dr. Wallich, dated 30th March, 1839, says, that, after having endeavoured to obtain Coolies to go to Assam "entirely without success," the idea that they "are willing to expatriate themselves is directly the reverse of the fact," as no people are "more attached to their own country than the Coolies, and with reason." It should also be observed, that, of all the thousands who have hitherto gone to Mauritius, or other colonies, there is no proof afforded that any of them went voluntarily; but, on the contrary, decisive evidence that they were either kidnapped for that purpose, and by force put on board vessels employed in transporting them, or were obtained by the most fraudulent statements, such as, that they were wanted for the "company's *Rabustie*," and that agency

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houses in Calcutta, crimps and police, were all parties to the infamous transactions. Even the governor-general, who is now willing to relax the prohibition partially, observes in a minute, dated 25th April, 1841, "I do not believe that this law (the prohibitory act) is yet felt as pressing hardly upon the rights and interests of the natives of India." The fact is the law is protective merely—protective of the liberty and happiness of the Indian population, and it will certainly be time enough to repeal it when they feel it to be a grievance.

But the Mauritian planters want labourers to extend their cultivation and increase their riches, and they consider it an infringement of their rights to restrict the labour market to them, by a prohibitory law, having reference to Indian labourers. The reply to this is, that they shut that market themselves. They did not obtain the labourers by fair means, but by foul. The most atrocious practices were resorted to, year after year, by their agents in India, until the evil of their doings became so glaring, and monstrous, and incurable, that they were absolutely forbidden to resort thither for more victims to satisfy their love of gain. The rights of Mauritian planters! Men who never respected the rights of others, should be modest in speaking of their own. They should remember that the miserable remnant of labourers they impiously claimed as their property, up to the period when the abolition act delivered them from their oppressors, were the victims of an atrocious slave-trade, carried on by themselves in defiance of all laws human and divine. They should remember that to them belongs the bad preeminence of having resisted to the last, the abolition of the apprenticeship, second only in horror to the system of slavery itself, and which was enforced by them by a more dreadful severity than by any other oppressors in the whole of the British colonies. They should remember that the Coolies they have already in possession, were obtained by force or fraud, when they talk to us of their rights. Had they recruited their population in the first instance, by honourable means, had they introduced the Indian labourers into their colony as freemen—free to choose their own masters, and free to demand the current wages that were given—had they legislated in the spirit of the Abolition Act, to meet the altered state of the colony—had they treated their emancipated slaves with justice, the probability is, that, under proper restrictions, they would have been allowed a free resort to British India, for such additional labour as they might want; but on all these points they have shown that they are neither to be trusted by the British government nor by the British people; and they must take the consequences of their own acts.

But to return to the official papers referred to in the opening paragraph of this article.

1. The first, No. 331, 1840, contains "copies of correspondence addressed by the Secretary of State for the colonial department, relative to the introduction of Indian labourers into Mauritius; and of the report of the commissioners of inquiry into the present condition of those already located in the colony." An analysis of this paper appeared in the *Reporter* of last year. From it we gathered that on twenty-two estates out of thirty, that were visited by the commissioners, serious complaints were made by the Coolies. It also appeared by the same document, that out of 25,000 Coolies introduced in four years, 7000 had perished! In a previous Parliamentary return, No. 58, 1840, the mortality at Port Louis, was stated to be from 8 to 9 per cent. per annum, and that out of 19,050 Coolies, which had then been introduced, only 205 were women! In both these documents, it was proved that the generality of the abodes of the Coolies were wretched, that the hospital accommodations were, in most instances, abominable—that they were sometimes coerced to labour—that their services were transferred from one master to another, by *sale* for *a pecuniary profit*—that they were obliged to obtain a "*billet de passe*," to go beyond the estates to which they were attached during out-of-work hours—that they were mulcted *two days' wages for one day's absence*,—and, were subject to various other "horrid abuses," to use the language of one of the gentlemen engaged in the examination.

2. The next Parliamentary Paper, No. 45, 1841, contains "copies of a letter from the secretary to the government of India, to the committee appointed to inquire respecting the export of Hill Coolies, dated 1st day of August, 1838—of the report made by the committee, with the minutes and appendix—of any minute recorded on that report by any member of the committee—of the letters from the government of India, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated the 16th and 19th days of October, 1840, on the same subject." The evidence contained in this important document decided the government of India as to the course which it was bound in honour and humanity to pursue, and led to the prohibition so often referred to. In the report of the committee, they say "we conceive it to be distinctly proved beyond dispute, that the Coolies and other natives exported to Mauritius and elsewhere, were, generally speaking, induced to come to Calcutta, by mis-representation and deceit, practised upon them by native crimps, styled duffadars and arkotties, employed by European and Anglo-Indian undertakers and shippers, who were mostly cognizant of these frauds, and who received a very considerable sumper head for each Coolie exported." "That kidnapping prevailed to a very considerable extent; and the Coolies while kept in Calcutta itself, and its neighbourhood, were actually in a state of close imprisonment." "That whatever measures were adopted by the police, were completely ineffectual as a check upon these abuses." "That the police regulations of Mauritius, were of not much greater practical utility in restraining illegal importations of Coolies." "That the hardships and miseries endured by the Coolies in the passage to Mauritius, were very great; and the mortality from drowning, (suicide, &c.) and other causes, was most serious—not much short," they add, "of ten per cent, on the numbers exported." They then submit certain suggestions to the government to prevent abuses in future, in closing which, they observe, "We have framed these suggestions, not without a hope, that if our views of regulating to the full extent pointed out, shall be adopted, the trade would be abandoned as unprofitable by all parties now engaged in it. And we repeat, that while we are of opinion that even such laws as those would not be wholly effectual in extinguishing abuses, if the exportation of Coolies should be carried on in great numbers, yet we believe that if adopted, it is unlikely that the exportation of Coolies would afterwards go on to any great extent, and then abuses might become manageable." The facts collected in the evidence were of the most painful kind. We need not dwell on them as they are well known. One of the witnesses examined by the committee as to the condition of the Coolies in Mauritius, made the following remarkable statement, which proves that the planters are as opposed to the education of the wretched Coolies, as they were reckless of the means by which they obtained them. Mr. Onslow says, "I may mention, with reference to the civilization and well-being of the Coolies, that means which had been taken to promote their spiritual welfare in Mauritius were, for some reasons prevented from being carried into effect, by, I believe, the government of the Mauritius. An impression existed, I understand, that the preaching of missionaries had a tendency to render people of the class of Coolies discontented with their situation and their masters."

In concluding their valuable report, the committee observe, "We have a full trust, that the benevolent and commanding intellects employed in the consideration of the whole subject in England, both within parliament and out of it, cannot fail to lead the legislature to right conclusions; and we rest humbly confident in the conclusion, that whatever may be the result, parliament and the people of England will duly protect the emancipated African from all competition in the wages of labour and means of subsistence that is not free, fair, and unaided by local power; and will not permit injustice to be done to the Indian subjects of the crown, (though of a poor and friendless class,) from any motives of political advantage, however weighty, or of mercantile gain, however large."

3. The third series of documents printed by order of parliament, No. 427, 1841, contains "copy of Mr. J. P. Grant's minute on the abuses alleged to exist in the export of Coolies, and an appendix, containing the examination of Coolies returned from Mauritius to Calcutta. The object of Mr. Grant is to obtain the relaxation of the prohibition laid by the government of India on the export of Coolies to Mauritius, on the ground that the whole of the labouring population of the vast portion of her Majesty's territories entrusted to the government of the East India company, ought to be as free as the rest of her Majesty's subjects in respect to the disposal of their labour, and their right of going about." It is material, however, to observe, that Mr. Grant fully admits the correctness of the statements contained in the report of the committee, before adverted to, as to the manner in which the Coolie trade was carried on, the treatment of the labourers before embarkation, and the treatment to which they were generally subject in Mauritius. "In these particulars," Mr. Grant says, "so far from objecting to the opinions of the majority, if I had agreed in the conclusion of the report, and so been competent to sign it, I should have felt it my duty to move for a more pointed expression of opinion in certain respects." Notwithstanding, however, this important admission, he is the advocate for Coolie emigration to Mauritius under certain regulations, which he proposes. He would limit the emigration to certain ports. At these ports, he would have a protector of Indian emigrants. He would have the labourer fully understand what he undertakes. He would institute a registry of certificates granted. He would not allow the Coolies to be shipped in batches. He would give the Coolie the opportunity of changing his mind at any time previous to the sailing of the emigrant vessels. He would have security that the labourers should return to their native land. He suggests that a law of the imperial legislature would be necessary to insure on the part of the owners of vessels obedience to such regulations as the Indian government might frame; and that to prevent smuggling, British vessels every where might be liable to search by men-of-war, and subjected to heavy punishment if found to have Coolies on board improperly obtained. He also recommends that permission might be refused by the government of India to ship emigrants to any colony, (Bourbon for instance,) where the law applicable to emigrants is not in all respects such as is suitable to freemen of that class. Other regulations, more or less stringent, to take effect in Mauritius, are suggested by Mr. Grant, and with such limitations and restrictions as he proposes he thinks the system may be permitted. How far his regulations qualify the proposition on which he bases his willingness to allow of emigration we will not stop to inquire. If his argument had reference exclusively to the spontaneous emigration of skilled labourers, whose acts were perfectly voluntary, we could understand it, but as he would apply it to the ignorant and unwary, we must say, with the facts before us, it is perfectly inconclusive, and as to the regulations which he suggests, we think it sufficient to quote from the Governor-general's minute of the 25th of April, 1841, the following

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ing extract, to show their inefficiency. His lordship says, "I greatly fear no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the frequent infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large number of persons helpless from their poverty, and from their ignorance and inexperience." It is to protect these that we advocate the continuance of the prohibition. And as to the police, to whose hands this matter must be left, his lordship adds, "It is but too true, that this branch of our service is most defective and ineffective, and the different experiments which have been tried for its reform have greatly ended in disappointment." But among the regulations of Mr. Grant, we do not find one that has reference to an equality of the sexes among the emigrants. We presume the reason for this will be found in the utter unwillingness of the female sex to leave their native homes. Yet it will, perhaps, not be improper to inquire what may become of the wives and children of emigrant Coolies, when their husbands and fathers are taken from them! In the appendix to the report of the committee, some light is thrown upon this subject. These gentlemen had been able to trace the history of many families after the departure of their relatives to Mauritius, and this is the melancholy account: "At present their families, for want of food, are begging from door to door"—"family is in great distress for maintenance"—"starving for want of food"—"their families have taken menial service (qy. become slaves!) for maintenance." And these remarks are not confined to a family here and there, but are applicable to a great extent to all the families left at home by the Coolies on their shipment for Mauritius. Now, two evils are inflicted by the wholesale removal of males; first, the injury inflicted on the miserable families they leave behind; and, secondly, the demoralization they necessarily carry with them. To dwell on this point is unnecessary. The introduction of 30,000 or 40,000 males of the Mohammedan and idolatrous population of Hindostan into the midst of the labouring community of Mauritius—subject to none, or but few of those moral restraints which christianity inculcates, must be an evil of frightful magnitude, in whatever point of view it be regarded.

In connexion with Mr. Grant's minute, we find the evidence of 113 Coolies, who have returned to Calcutta, after the expiry of their indentures. They were examined principally by Mr. M'Farlan, police magistrate, occasionally assisted by Mr. Grant, Mr. Downson, and Russomoy Dutt, a native gentleman. The mode in which they were examined is extremely unsatisfactory. No uniformity in the questions proposed to the Coolies was observed, except to elicit what might be deemed favourable to the Mauritian planters, and to the scheme of emigration. In the examination, both Mr. Grant and Mr. M'Farlan show themselves decided partisans. As to Mr. Downson, he was directly engaged in shipping Coolies to Mauritius, as may be seen by parliamentary papers 45, 1841, p. 75. In his deposition before the committee of inquiry he admits that his house shipped 6000 Coolies to Mauritius, and 51 to Bourbon. This man pretended not to know how his subordinate agents obtained the Coolies, or whether they were confined by his duffadars previously to embarkation, but confessed that, on one occasion, he had 140 in his own compound, guarded by brijabassis for no purposes whatever, certainly not to prevent the Coolies from going whethersoever they pleased. It appears, however, that the great gates of the compound were always kept closed, and that after four or five weeks confinement, the Coolies mutinied and fought their way out of the place, to the no small regret of Mr. Downson, who had made some advances to them. But to return to the evidence of the Coolies. The fact that they returned with money in their pockets, some after a residence of five years, and some after they had served a period of six years, with from 10 to 300 rupees each, is paraded in the examination as a most convincing proof of the excellent treatment they received. Now an ordinary Coolie's wages, at five rupees per month, would amount to sixty rupees per year, and in five years to 300 rupees; whilst that of a sirder or head servant, at seven to ten rupees per month, would of course be in proportion. In analysing, however, the amount said to have been brought by 123 Coolies to Calcutta, we find the result to be as follows, viz., 26 with 60 rupees and under, 34 with 120 rupees and under, 23 with 180 rupees and under, 17 with 240 rupees and under, 17 with 300 rupees and under, 1 with 350 rupees, another 354 rupees, and a third 400 rupees; whilst three appear to have brought none away with them. Upon a close examination we find that those with the larger sums were mostly the sirdars or headmen, or Coolies who had wives and children that could assist them in labour, or persons who added to their stock by trading, &c. It should also be observed, that in the sums brought home with them, was included the amount kept back, one rupee per month, as a deposit in case they should become diseased or incorrigible, and be sent back to India before the expiry of their indentures. The test, however, we would apply is their willingness to return to Mauritius. On this point the examinations give us the following results—three state they would go back—these were sirdars, or persons who had been instructed to bring labourers back to the Mauritius with them; ten doubtful—perhaps they might go back, cannot tell whether they might go back, and such like answers; eighteen would not return, the remainder either gave no answers upon the point, or were not questioned. Among those who gave a decided negative, we find several who brought away the largest amounts of money. In their examinations the Coolies are almost invariably represented as having no complaints, and yet we find many among them making the following statements: "They exact hard labour"—"I was flogged for not working properly."—"He was beat."—"He was beat if he did not do his work." "We were occasionally beaten, but not after we learned our business."—We were allowed very little, only about three-eighths of a seer (of rice) a day."—"We were told that we were engaged to do the company's work."—"If they had not supposed they were going to serve the company they would not have gone."—"On Sundays we did not work after eight o'clock in the morning." "On Sundays we got our week's rations."—"At ten o'clock, A.M., we had an hour allowed to eat our dinners; that was the only rest we were allowed in the day." "On Sundays, when we mixed with other Coolies, we heard complaints of ill-treatment from some; they complained that as a punishment, their hands were tied behind them and they were whipped with the mule whip, and their feet were put in stocks." "He, (the sirdar) practised oppression upon us."—"When we complained to the master, he used to say to him, that for not working we were beat. He used to take bribes from us, I paid two rupees three times to him." "After eight o'clock, (on Sundays) we had a pass if we wanted to go out; without a pass the police would stop us and take us to the thannah." "Many of us would not work and were beat." "We were beat when we did not work." "If I did not work I was locked up and put in the stocks." "I (a brahmin) experienced great trouble at Mauritius." "Two days' pay were deducted for one day's leave." "I was promised clothes every six months, but I only got annual clothing." "If I was sick one day, two days' wages were cut." "I was occasionally beat for not working." "The work is hard even in the rains. The sirdar used to administer the blows by order of the overseer." "We had hard work—we were made to work." "If I was slow at work I used to get a slap on my posteriors with a cane," &c. &c. These incidental allusions will show the sort of treatment to which the Coolies were subjected in Mauritius; and may well create a grave suspicion of the mildness of the system said to have been pursued towards the Coolies by the Mauritian planters.

4. The last parliamentary document presented to Parliament, No. 43, 1841, contains, among other matters, minutes on the export of Coolies to Mauritius, drawn up by the Governor-general, W. W. Bird, H. T. Prinsep, and A. Amos, Esqrs., and a communication dated 15th February, 1841, from the colonial secretary at Mauritius, to the secretary to the government of India, embodying the sentiments of Sir Lionel Smith on the same subject In this despatch his Excellency states, that the Coolies "have by no means been harshly dealt with, oppressed, or neglected; and he is quite satisfied that the interests of the planters themselves, and the intelligence of the Indians in the modes of ensuring redress of wrongs which they habitually enjoyed under the Company's servants in India, guarantee to them justice and good treatment from their employers in this island." To what are we to attribute this singular statement? To age and infirmity! The three things presented to our attention are the good treatment of the employers, the intelligence of the Coolies, and the habitual justice meted out to natives of India by the Company's servants! Why, we have as much faith in the one as in the other. If the poor Coolies have not a better guarantee for good treatment than this, we fear they will never get it! But Sir Lionel goes on to say, "he is quite satisfied that, with a government like this, powerful enough to enforce the Queen's commands, even the most ill-disposed planters in this colony, can be controlled against the exercise of arbitrary or unjust power." Then what becomes of his Excellency's experience in Jamaica? Is he stronger in Mauritius than he was in Jamaica? And what becomes of *our* experience of Mauritian honour, humanity, loyalty to the crown, and obedience to the laws! Sir Lionel is, we believe, stronger in confidence than in power, and he must pardon us when we say that even the pledge which he gives of his ability to keep the planters of Mauritius in order, is insufficient to convince us that he can do so, or that they are to be entrusted with the liberty and welfare of thousands of illiterate Hindoos. Mr. Amos, in his minute, observes, "I think it would be expedient to allow of the emigration of the natives of India to Ceylon, Mauritius, and BOURBON, under the following regulations. 1. The laws of these islands should provide for their protection during their period of contract, which should at first be limited, and for their return to India; and the possibility of these islands being made an entrepôt for the shipment of Coolies to more distant and less regulated places should be carefully guarded against. 2. Rules should be enacted, providing for the health and comfort of emigrants on board ship. 3. The enactment of severe penalties against crimping, which may be extended to Lascars, and which should include false representations, especially the use of the pretended authority of government. 4. Perhaps a register should be kept. It may appear presumptuous in us to differ in opinion from so learned a man as Mr. Amos, but we really think, that unless he go much farther than he states, his plan is a most inefficient one, and much less worthy of consideration than Mr. Grant's. Mr. Princep, the government secretary, "would not allow labourers to proceed at present beyond the Cape of Good Hope." He would require "that no labourer should be allowed to embark under contract for more than five years"—"a life contract should not be permitted, until we have full assurance that the labourer knows perfectly the kind of life, and labour, and the climate which he is binding himself to for ever." He would enact, "that whatever advances m ight be given as an inducement to embark, the labourer should not be bound for them after landing

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in the colony of his destination;" that "every ship licensed, should have an officer of customs on board to the time of sailing, to take account of the labourers shipped," &c.; and that a "registry should be established." Mr. Princep, as well as Mr. Amos, would allow the Coolies to be taken to Bourbon. Mr. Bird entirely differs from these gentlemen, and would continue the prohibition for many good and sufficient reasons. In reference to the prohibition itself, he says, "It was not resolved upon until repeated attempts, by means of regulation, to check the abuses that were being committed had been made in vain; and it is impossible, I think to doubt, after reading the evidence which has been adduced, that it is to this law alone we are indebted for a stop being put to a system of wholesale oppression, in which, with shame be it spoken, the police were deeply implicated, more disgraceful than any that the natives have experienced at the hands of Europeans in this country, for many years." He further observes—"The law, so far from being too stringent, would, I apprehend, have been of little use had it been less so, owing to the facilities which exist everywhere, for kidnapping and surreptitious shipment, whenever the temptation to practice it is sufficient to excite the cupidity of crimps and other miscreants who form the agency employed on such occasions" In replying to the objection that the prohibition interfered with spontaneous emigration, Mr. Bird says, "The disgraceful practices to which exporters have been obliged to resort, and of which, it must be supposed, they never would have been guilty, could the labourers have been procured by less exceptionable means, prove anything but that they go of their own free-will; and it may be affirmed, that to travel beyond sea, even for the purpose of bettering their condition, is an undertaking to which the natives of India are but little addicted. Not a single complaint against the prohibition from any individual, except the exporters alluded to, has been made since the law was passed; and as for the Hill Coolies, so little are they disposed to emigrate to places beyond the confines of India, that when we were desirous, not long ago, of procuring a number of them to work in the tea plantations of Assam, the local authorities who were employed to obtain them failed entirely, because of their unwillingness to go to a country of which they knew nothing, and their fears of being sent, as others had been from Calcutta, beyond sea." Mr. Bird then asserts, that the number of Coolies required by the Mauritians, cannot be "obtained by fair means," and that "the question really is, whether by any thing short of prohibition, due protection can be afforded to the bulk of the native population, or to expose, for the sake of a few, the most defenceless portion of the native population, from being involuntarily taken from their homes and their families, to promote European objects in foreign countries." He has no objection whatever to allow "those who possess skill and enterprise," the liberty of emigrating, and this may be done "by merely reserving to the local government the power of granting permission in such cases," but he contends that it is not necessary to allow of free emigration to the bulk of the population, and thus give rise "to a renewal of all the abominations from which, by the law in question, they have so recently been rescued." In conclusion, Mr. Bird observes, "I do not place much reliance on the testimony of the Coolies who have lately returned from Mauritius." . . . "I am not satisfied," he adds, "with the summary manner in which their examinations have been taken by the chief magistrate, who appears throughout in the character of a partizan arguing in favour of the Coolie trade." Finally, he recommends that in the event of such renewed emigration, care should be taken to guard against giving the least countenance to a prescriptive claim to our labourers. The planters, he says, "having once obtained permission to procure them, would doubtless demand compensation for the deterioration of their estates, were the privilege of exporting them at any time to be withdrawn." And, Mr. Bird might have added, that, whilst the planters are allowed to import any amount of adult labourers they please to cultivate their estates, they never will care for rearing a Creole peasantry, nor pay that attention to human happiness, and to the social, moral, and religious well-being of the people, which a wise and humane policy on the part of the home government, and especially which the benign principles of christianity render imperative on all who respect its claims.

The governor-general having also taken this important subject into consideration, gives a very qualified opinion on the expediency of re-opening the question of free-emigration as it is termed. His lordship candidly confesses that he has been led to no very satisfactory general conclusion upon it. However, he states that the law of prohibition "is most objectionable in principle;" but he does not "believe *that this law is yet felt as pressing hardly on the rights and interests of the natives of India.*" "It was," Lord Auckland remarks, "upon no understood practice, and only the busy intervention of an active agency, that the first emigrants were led to seek their fortunes in the Mauritius." To the perfectly voluntary emigration of industrious labourers his lordship has no objection, but in dealing with the particular case in hand, he feels great difficulty. He says, "Under ordinary circumstances, and if the slave-trade and slavery had never been, we might, perhaps, approach the question of an open emigration with some hope of devising checks which might be relied on as generally effectual against abuse. But there is at present, in the sugar islands, a dearth of labour, which has so raised prices as to put in action every feeling of cupidity, with all the instruments by which labourers can be obtained. The number of labourers required is so great, that it could not be supplied by those only who could calculate the advantage of the change. Even for the well-understood contracts of the soldier or the sailor, it is known into what tricks and acts of violence the low, sometimes the higher agents, is led; and when for the supply of thousands and thousands of labourers to various remote settlements, the iniquitous craft of this great city (Calcutta,) finds its account in acting the crimp upon those who are simple and unguarded, I greatly fear that though amendment and caution, would no doubt come with time, *no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the frequent infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons helpless from their poverty, and from their utter ignorance and inexperience.*" This passage contrasts very remarkably with the complimentary statement of Sir Lionel Smith, before referred to. Lord Auckland must have smiled when he read it. And as for the protection which the natives enjoy from the police regulations of India, what must the condition of the lower class of the population be, when his lordship states in reference to the police itself, "*It is but too true that this branch of our service is most defective and ineffective, and the different experiments which have been tried for its reform, have ended in disappointment.* The police may form an admirable body of agents for the Mauritian planters, but this confession, wrung from his lordship, proves that they cannot be trusted with the liberties of the people, and that justice, at all events, is not to be expected at their hands. Lord Auckland is willing, however, to try the experiment once more with Mauritius, and he states that "By the appointment of a distinct 'protector' of emigrants, by the inspection and limitation of contracts, by the prohibition of money advances, and by the regulation of shipping, and the other rules proposed, we might, I think do much;" he says, "in the few ports from which emigration to the Mauritius might be limited, and for some stated number of emigrants, towards the entire suppression of the practices, of which three or four years ago there was too much reason to complain;" and he adds, "we could at the same time always satisfy ourselves that the measures adopted in the Mauritius for the protection of the labourers when on the island, are operative and sufficient." In further elucidation of his sentiments, his lordship observes, "We must remember, however, that in permitting emigration to Mauritius, it would be necessary to guard against the possibility of labourers shipped nominally for that island being carried elsewhere, or their being inveigled while on the island into contracts of service in other settlements, where we could have no security for their treatment." His lordship is suspicious of Bourbon. He says, "We cannot expect that we shall be permitted to stock Mauritius with labourers without immediate facilities being again given by the French authorities for emigration to Bourbon," through the settlement at Pondicherry. Without guarantees for the "steady enforcement of measures of effectual precaution and protection within their settlements, Lord Auckland says, "I fear we should not be justified in re-opening emigration even to Mauritius." Whatever difficulty his lordship may have felt in speaking out upon this subject, we have no hesitation in saying, that it is our assured belief, that the Coolies who have been exported to Bourbon, are to all intents and purposes slaves, whatever they may be nominally, and that to allow of their farther export, to that island, would be neither less nor more than permission to carry on the slave-trade, of which British subjects would be the victims.

As a practical measure, Lord Auckland would so far relax the prohibition, as to permit the "skilful artizan, or the man of calculating enterprize," to emigrate. He would therefore adopt a regulation which should permit "ten or twenty such passengers, perhaps not more than one to twenty-five tons "to embark in vessels." "A provision of this kind, would be open to none of the objections by which the adoption of a larger measure may be impeded, and it would take off its character of excessive and impolitic, if not unjust restraint, from the enactment as it at present stands."

With this concluding extract from Lord Auckland's minute, we bring our analysis of the parliamentary papers referred to in the opening paragraphs of this article to a close. We have taken pains to examine them minutely, and we have felt the importance of presenting their substance in a compact form to our readers, because after all the battle respecting Coolie emigration must be fought in England. Already the planters, and their agents in this country, have taken the field. Major Archer is home from the Mauritius, and has already advocated the scheme in a pamphlet, and in an insidious letter which has appeared in the columns of the *Times*. Mr. Grant is home. He is by far the most able and talented of their advocates, and on his exertions and influence with the government, the Mauritians greatly rely. Besides these gentlemen, there is the influential house of Barclay, Irving & Co., ever watchful, ever active to forward the interests of Mauritians, because their own is so completely bound up with them. We must counteract them. With us it must be a question not of emigration to Mauritius, or elsewhere, but of PROTECTION TO THE NATIVES OF INDIA. We must prevent their being sacrificed, nay, of their sacrificing themselves, to the all-devouring spirit of cupidity.

The following are extracts from the East India papers on the subject referred to in the preceding article:—

COOLIE EMIGRATION.

The *Eastern Star* holds forth an argument in favour of the Coolie trade, which we cannot suffer to pass without observation. The Mauritius planters have opened what our contemporary thinks "*must inevitably be a slave trade,*" and, therefore, he would permit (the so called) *voluntary* emigra-

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tion of Indian labourers. We know that some heterodox moralists have urged that houses of ill fame ought to be tolerated in cities as a safety-valve for the licentious passions of the multitude, and consequently as a protection to the virtuous part of the female community. But we never yet heard it contended that because such houses are evils, the wives and daughters of the citizens should be given up to infamy, to prevent the necessity of permitting such establishments. But this is precisely the argument of the *Eastern Star*. The Mauritius planters will have labour at all events; they care not for the laws of God or man; felony and piracy are disregarded by them in the attainment of their object. Therefore, to prevent the renewal of these horrors, give up the inoffensive Indian labourer to the tender mercies of the kidnapped! We should have drawn an opposite conclusion from such premises. We do not accuse the planters of any wrong intention in their present attempt to procure labour; we have not facts before us to warrant an unfavourable conclusion. But had we grounds to believe with our contemporary that this is the commencement of a new slave trade, we should have felt ourselves furnished with the strongest possible argument in favour of existing restrictions. We should have said at once, these people cannot be trusted with the control of an ignorant and uncivilized race: they are themselves but half reclaimed. Like Robinson Crusoe's man, Friday, they have still the old hankering after human flesh, and every new attempt to obtain it ought to be a fresh caution to the legislature not to yield to their importunities.

One word as to *voluntary* emigration. Will any British journalist deliberately assert that these poor people understand the nature of the contract into which they enter, or of the service into which they are going? Those who have returned, are the few who have saved money; who are of course tolerably satisfied with the result, whatever they may have been with the course of their labours. Yet even these few assert that flogging is the usual practice to compel labour on the estates. We maintain, that whenever an employer has power to compel work by corporeal punishment, the labourer is a slave. It is useless to allege military service, for there the officer is in the place of the civil power of the state. Its authority is delegated to him for a special purpose, and by that purpose it is limited. But there is no more reason (except a slave code) why a planter should be permitted to flog his labourers than a householder in Calcutta should be permitted to flog the same labourers before their embarkation. Mr. M'Farlan, who cannot now see any great objection to the trade, would fine a master in Calcutta one hundred rupees for a few slight blows given in anger and under provocation. Yet he cannot see the objection to the cat of nine tails, when in the hands of the planter, where no means of redress can be obtained for the unfortunate labourer;—we were going to say—slave.—*Calcutta Englishman*, April 5th.

THE COOLIE TRADE.—It is with deep—nay the deepest regret, that we have learnt that Lord Auckland has by the last dispatch forwarded a minute to the Home authorities recommendatory of the Coolie trade. His lordship's career has been hitherto one marked by a succession of successful events, if not for the exchequer of the company, at least for the honour of Britain. We regret, therefore, that he should have recommended one single measure which strikes so effectually at the root of the liberty of our poor deluded fellow-subjects in India. We know not how far his lordship's opinion may have been formed on Mr. Grant's minute, with which the public have just been favoured. This minute is the most able document which has yet appeared on the subject, and had it been penned to recommend the emigration of the destitute at home, we should have said it is admirably calculated to convince gainsayers. It is this very feature in it however that we have to lament in the present instance. The conclusions and reasonings are admirable, but the premises are wrong. Mr. G. sets out by begging the whole question in debate, viz., by assuming that the Coolie does understand the nature of the engagement into which he is entering, and that the advocates for the suppression of the trade, with the best intentions, strike at the root of the principle they profess to defend—the liberty of the subject; nay, that they in effect say to the Coolie, you shall not go where you please. That the Coolie does not understand the nature of his engagement is admitted by *all*. We have never heard a dissenting voice on this point—he cannot; it is an impossibility in the nature of things. We may as well talk of Mr. Grant comprehending an engagement to have and hold lands in some particular districts of the moon. The Coolie knows as much—nay less of this world than Mr. G. or any other intelligent man does of the moon. That the friends of the Coolies have ever had the least wish to prevent their bettering their condition by removal to spots even more prophetic of good to them, we defy all the Coolie agents in the world to prove; but they have not been and cannot be convinced that to commit men helpless and ignorant into the hands of cunning and arbitrary men, the old slave proprietors of the Mauritius, is neither the way to improve their moral and physical good, or to secure their liberty. Did the Coolie know, was he aware of the true character of his future employers and employment, we know enough of him to say without the fear of contradiction that he would not go. The whole force of Mr. Grant's minute rests upon these two fallacies; therefore if they be disproved the whole of its reasoning and recommendations must fall to the ground. The writer has proceeded to Britain, and will doubtless recommend in person this new slave trade. This, together with the minute of the governor general, and the influence of the slavery party we fear will be but too likely to succeed. Our fears are great—our hopes small. Should the trade be sanctioned we shall see the British Parliament placed in one of the most extraordinary positions in which any legislature can be placed. With the one hand she has given twenty millions to remunerate the sugar planters from any prospective losses arising out of the emancipation measure; while with the other she is, in answer to the demands of these very so remunerated planters, about to allow them to carry off a race of people, who will labour for them under the name of free men for slave wages, to the great injury of the emancipated negro s and the new slaves;—with the one hand she is sending out an expedition at a cost of £20,000 to civilize Africa with a view to the suppression of slavery all over the world; while with the other, she is peopling her colonies under legal sanction with a new order of slavery. The battle must now be fought in Britain.—*Christian Advocate*, April 24th.

TEXAS is rapidly advancing in the cultivation of cotton. Last year she made 50,000 bales. This year her crop is estimated at from 100,000 to 200,000 bales. This country will in a few years produce very large crops of cotton, as both the soil and climate are well fitted for the purpose of growing the article.

CUBA.

OUR valued correspondent in this island has sent us some highly important information, in the following letter to the Secretary of the Anti-slavery Committee.

Havana, September 1st, 1841.

Sir,—To speak of public opinion in a country where the iron hand of censorship restrains every form of expression to which the press can give utterance, will seem to an English reader to savour of absurdity. It is nevertheless an undoubted fact, that within the last few months, under the administration of a captain-general who is far from being distinguished for the lenity with which he administers his all but absolute authority, opinions and sentiments which have long been slumbering in the bosoms of our native population have gradually assumed a palpable form; and, thanks to your kind assistance in giving publicity to my former letters, and to the important documents which some of them contained, a great many of those who distrusted their neighbours and hesitated to avow their sentiments have gradually acquired that degree of confidence, or courage, which makes a man ashamed to dissemble his convictions.

It was just about the time when our memorials came back from London in a printed form, that intelligence arrived also from Madrid, which has since leaked out through some friends to the cause in the public offices, that a demand had been made by the British government on that of Spain, for the immediate emancipation of all such slaves as had been introduced into this island since the date of the first of the existing treaties between the two crowns. The government of Madrid have so far evinced a disposition to yield to this new demand of the British government, as to have required the captain-general to procure and transmit to Madrid the necessary statistical information from the various corporations of the island, from the magistrates and local functionaries, and even, it appears, from private individuals. This concession has been made at a moment peculiarly favourable for leading to important results. In the meantime it serves to strike the leading slave-dealers with dread, and to encourage the hearts of the friends of humanity. I do not mean to say that all those who hail the approach of the suppression of the African slave-trade are animated exclusively by sentiments of humanity. A large proportion of them, on the contrary, would be glad to maintain the practice of simple slavery, as they call it, for at least another generation. But there are very few of the leading Creole proprietors of slaves who would not willingly, and even gladly, accede to a compromise, which a few months ago would in London have excited a smile of incredulity. This compromise would embrace the instant and effectual suppression of all future importations of slaves, and certainly would not ask for more than a lifehold possession of what they now call their property.

A new feature has recently presented itself in the practice of the slave-trade in this part of the world. There being no longer any consul or agent of Portugal in the Spanish West Indies, the traders to the coast of Africa are unable to clear out their vessels under the Portuguese flag, and, as the assumption of that of Spain is attended with several inconveniences, a considerable number of these vessels, not less than seven or eight, have left this harbour within the last three months completely equipped for their criminal destination without assuming any nationality, or being provided with a certificate of registry, or other papers to prove it.

For several years the slave-traders had been accustomed to rely more on the superior sailing qualities of their ships than on the means of forcible resistance to the attempts of our cruisers to capture them. Of late, however, they appear to be returning to their old system of numerous crews and powerful armaments. Before this letter reaches you, the English public will, doubtless, have heard of the destruction of the boats of one of our cruisers, in the attempt to cut out the brig *Irene*, a notorious slaver belonging to this port—near the mouth of the river Gallinas, on the coast of Africa; and it is not improbable that this instance of successful resistance will encourage these desperados in returning to the pugnacious system which they formerly pursued.

One thing appears to be clear, however, that whether we are to persevere in our fruitless endeavours to put down the slave-trade by force of arms, or to trust for its extinction to mere moral means, the system at present pursued is eminently unworthy of the power of our nation on the one hand, and of the philanthropy of the age on the other. If the plan of physical force is to be persevered in, it ought surely to be made more effective than it now is. In the course of the present year, the visits of her Majesty's ships to this coast have, indeed, been few, and far between. If they do occasionally touch at the Havana, it is merely in passing from one British settlement to another to obtain supplies of water and other necessaries. In fact, the responsibility which is thrown on a naval commander in the event of the ultimate acquittal of his prize, has a strong tendency to damp his zeal in the discharge of this branch of his duties.

If the courts of mixed commission are to be maintained at the various stations where they now exist, and are even to be extended, as appears to be the intention of government, judging from the recent treaty with Buenos Ayres, you must pardon me for suggesting, that it is peculiarly your duty to watch over the selection of the individuals of which these tribunals are to consist.

The parliamentary papers make it clear, that one at least of the British judges at Rio de Janeiro has been selected without any reference to his opinions or his practice on the subject of slave-holding; and in some of my former letters, which I rejoice to find

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have met your approbation, it has become my painful duty to call your attention to the pro-slavery habits of more than one of the members or dependents of the court at Havana.

But it is not enough that a man appointed to such a station should simply abstain from the commission of the crime he has been appointed to suppress. The true ground of his selection ought to be his eminent fitness for the post to which he has been named, for it certainly does not require any great powers of mind to perform the duties of a commissary judge, or a commissioner of arbitration. If the person appointed is firmly resolved to devote himself to the suppression of the traffic, that resolution should go far to supply the want of other qualifications.

Unhappily for the cause of humanity, these nominations have hitherto been the mere result of political convenience. The present crisis, however, appears to present an opportunity peculiarly favourable for the abatement of such abuses. Two great parties in the state are bidding against each other for the favour of the people of England. It is no part of my business to question the sincerity of either, in their professions of zeal for the suppression of the slave-trade. Had the whigs remained in power, they would have been compelled, in defence of the position in which they had placed themselves with reference to the sugar duties, to have made some great effort for the effectual suppression of the slave-trade, which the introduction of slave grown sugar was so directly calculated to promote. On the other hand, as the advent of the conservatives to power appears to be the immediate result of the defeat of the late whig government on this branch of the free-trade question, the times appear to the Cuba abolitionists to be singularly favourable for spurring the existing administration, whether Whig or Tory, to promote by all possible means, the accomplishment of the object we have all so nearly at heart. Give us, they say, at least good men and true in the court of mixed commission, if for no other reason, at least to prove that the English people, and the English government, are heartily sincere in their desire to carry out the avowed principles of the existing treaties. A fat sinecure like that of commissary judge in one of the most luxurious capitals in the world, may prove as convenient a sop for some conservative seat holder in the new parliament, as it was a few years ago to the radical member for Tiverton. The political opinions of the judges, are in my mind, of no importance at all, but it is of the very last importance that they should not even be suspected of apathy or indifference on the very subject as to which they are naturally supposed, by the people among whom they reside, to represent, not merely the views of the British government, but the opinions and sentiments of British abolitionists. If the judges are suspected of indifference, you may rest assured that the people and the government who sent them will share in the same opinion, and that is a state of things which is exceedingly unfavourable to the promotion of that movement in favour of freedom which, in former letters, I have had the satisfaction to be able to announce to you.

Among our naval men, I find it currently reported, that the *Romney* receiving ship is about to be removed to Jamaica; but I sincerely hope that this will prove to be a mistake, arising from the known anxiety repeatedly expressed by the commissioners in the parliamentary papers to bring about an object in which, if they were successful, they would, without being aware of it, be going far to efface that sort of prestige which attaches, not only to the *Romney*, but to the court itself, of which they are members.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

London, 10th Month 17th, 1841.

SIR,—I herewith send a continuation of the series of questions commenced in my last, with the answers of the highly respectable individuals therein mentioned, who had more than ordinary means of acquiring the necessary information. The queries already sent related to the treatment of slaves; those which I now transcribe, to the slave-trade.

Does the government of Brazil derive, directly or indirectly, any benefit from the slave-trade?—"No direct revenue. Indirectly it derives a certain return from the duty of fifteen per cent., levied on all goods re-exported to the coast of Africa from Brazil. This duty was first imposed in 1837, as a check on the slave-trader. Of late clearance has been refused to vessels for the coast of Africa; hence the resort to Hamburgheze, Swedish, Oriental, and other flags."

Thus far only my informant dwells on this question. I, however, am enabled to state, that the refusal of clearance, which evidently extends to Brazilian vessels only, is but a specious deception; for the merchants residing in Brazil principally use the Portuguese flag to cover their iniquitous proceedings. The following sample of a list which I collected of two hundred and forty voyages of slavers from the city of Rio de Janeiro alone, from 1836 to 1840 inclusive, will clearly prove that the government are fully aware, that refusing clearances to their vessels (an occasional act) neither impedes the trade, nor hinders their merchants from engaging in it; it will further show that, the fifteen per cent. on the exports to Africa, as a prohibitory duty, is, in point of fact, but a sinister method of deriving a revenue from the slave-trade, and that that duty is merely transferred from the imported slave to the exported property by which they are to be purchased.

Description of Slaver.		Sailed from Rio.			Return Voyage.			Conduct of Government.		
Name of Slaver.	Flag.	To what place.	Month.	Year.	Actual Cargo.	Ostensible Cargo.	Put Vessel in Quarantine.	Seized Vessel.	Released Vessel.
Duas Irmaas.	Portuguese	Angola.	9 mo. 16,	1836					
Do.		Do.	6 mo. 9,	1837	580 slaves at Dois Rios, Ilha Grande.	Wax, oil, and mats.	4 mo. 22.	4 mo. 25.	5 mo. 2.
Do.		Cabinda.	8 mo. 28,	1838		Wax, oil, and ballast	3 mo. 14.	3 mo. 19.	3 mo. 21.
Do.		Quilimane.	7 mo. 21,	1839	580 slaves at Campos.	Ballast.	2 mo. 1.	2 mo. 6.	2 mo. 11.
Doze d'Outobro.		Do.	6 mo. 12,	1836		Do.	4 mo. 5.	10 mo. 19.	Date not traced.
Do.		Do.	11 mo. 26,	1836		Do.			
Do.		Do.	7 mo. 8,	1837		Do.		1 mo. 9.	2 mo. 8.
Do.		Angola.	4 mo. 18,	1838		Do.		10 mo. 1.	10 mo. 3.
Do.		Mozambique.	10 mo. 1,	1838		Do.	3 mo. 28.	4 mo. 2.	4 mo. 4.
Do.		Angola.	11 mo. 3,	1838	403 slaves at Colonel Vasco's, Fort St. Ioao.	Do.		12 mo. 28.	1 mo. 1, 1840
Do.		Angola.	5 mo. 8,	1839	These slaves were landed in broad day-light.	Do.	12 mo. 22.		
Dous d'Avril.		Do.	3 mo. 28,	1839	263 slaves at Dois Rios, Ilha Grande.	Do.		12 mo. 26.	12 mo. 28.
Do.		Do.	12 mo. 22,	1839		Do.	12 mo. 16.	9 mo. 21.	9 mo. 24.
Do.		Zaire.	1 mo. 13,	1837	263 slaves at Copa Cabana.	Do.	9 mo. 17.	7 mo. 25.	7 mo. 27.
Do.		Do.	12 mo. 16,	1837		Do.	7 mo. 20.		
Do.		Angola.	9 mo. 17,	1838	339 slaves at Dois Rios, Ilha Grande.				
Do.		Do.	7 mo. 20,	1839	Captured by British cruizers on the coast of Africa.				
Do.		Angola.	12 mo. 4,	1839					

The number of slaves landed, and the place of debarkation, I have copied from the official letters of the British charge d'affaires to our secretary of state, as contained in the parliamentary papers; and the other particulars from the returns of the Brazilian custom-house, and the reports of the courts of justice in that empire. The concentration of these documents in the form above shewn, exposes the lamentable fact, that the government of Brazil connives at the slave-trade, by which it gains 15 per cent. But this would not be a sure revenue to that government, if it did not also wink at

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the peculation of the public officers concerned, who, from the prime minister to the lowest policeman, are proportionately interested in it. Indeed I was informed by the Portuguese minister, that "a regular tariff of fees is kept, according to the tonnage of the slave vessel, for the different public officers."

From other quarters I ascertained that public officers high in rank were not only in receipt of fees, but engaged in the traffic. For instance, the present chief officer of the custom-house, who was some time previous to his appointment to that office a prominent anti-slavery advocate, is now hand in glove with the slave traders, accepts bribes, and has an estate where he sends the newly imported slaves which he, by such fraudulent practices, receives.

Again, early in 1841, many new negros which were about to be surreptitiously landed in canoes, were seized and lodged in the marine arsenal. The government, on being informed of the circumstance, directed the law officer of the crown to appoint a committee to inspect them, and report whether they were newly imported Africans or ladinos (trained slaves). The actual owners of the cargo were nominated, and the new Africans were, as might be expected, declared to be ladinos, and consequently delivered up to the man-stealers as lawful slaves.

Again, the Marquis of Barbacena, whilst he was negotiating with our ministry in 1837 on the subject of the abolition of slavery, and, with plausible declaration persuading them of his sincere desire to promote it, was at the same time actually purchasing large supplies of newly imported slaves, as was also his eldest son, the viscount. This last individual is opening, by the means of some of these unfortunate beings, a gold mine at Brocoloo, near Gongo Soco, avowedly for the purpose of selling it to some English mining company. He, the son, is a cruel slave owner, and, as he told me, a member of *the London Peace Society!*

The induction from the whole of the above positions is, that the slave-trade, nominally abolished in 1831, is still encouraged by the Brazilian government and their public officers; that the duties of the former are secured on the exports, the fees of the latter on their power to enforce the abolition law, should the slave-trader refuse to pay or endeavour to cheat. Hence the apparent vigilance and nominal seizures in the foregoing list; and, although it is said "there is honour amongst thieves, yet it appears that they sometimes endeavour to defraud each other; but, nevertheless, they settle their differences amongst themselves, and, united by the common cause of self-interest still remain on strictest terms of amity.

Before I close my letter, I desire to refer to the statement in my return, that slaves were landed at Colonel Vasco's depository, some even in the broad day-light; and that a vast portion of the slaves imported into Rico, are landed under the guns at that fort, of which he is the commandant. I visited the fort and the depository, and know that it is impossible, without the connivance of the military, that such occurrences could happen. My visit was noticed in the public papers as follows:—

"Another insult to the national dignity. Some English recently disembarked without ceremony on an estate, and proceeded to interrogate the individual in charge, and some of the slaves, as to whether Africans were commonly disembarked there. Not satisfied with the result of this inquiry, they proceeded to a rigorous search; and after these insults retired. We will not make any observations on this: our indignation carries us much farther than we care to say. Suffice it to narrate the fact; and certainly none who have in their veins one drop of Brazilian blood, or in their heart one sentiment of justice, can fail to feel as we feel, or to unite with us in supplicating the minister of foreign affairs, that at least, this, the greatest of the insults which we have borne with evangelical resignation, shall not remain unpunished.

Happily the treaty of commerce is about to expire which we have made with this piratical nation, execrated by all the nations which her selfishness and insolence have offended. And we desire to see, if there will be found in Brazil a man to put his hand to new contracts with the British government. We have borne enough!" *O Brazil, 1st of May*, 1841.

I have only to add that the editor of this paper is the notorious slave dealer and ex-minister Vasconcelles.—I remain your's very truly, GEORGE PILKINGTON.

TEXAS.

IMPORTANT intelligence has come to hand respecting this would-be republic. We give in the first place an extract from the *Morning Herald*.

The reports which have been current in the United States papers for some time past, of a commencing disposition on the part of Mexico to entertain propositions for the acknowledgment of the independence of Texas and the conclusion of peace, are far from being borne out by the tenor of the advices now received by the Mexican packet. The following copy of a note of the Mexican minister in reply to the formal offer of mediation between the contending parties has been received by this occasion, and is a subject of conversation in the higher diplomatic circles. Although otherwise *exclusively* remitted to this department of the *Herald*, there is no question that the Mexican legation must also be in possession of a copy of the document.

"TO THE MINISTER OF WAR AND MARINE.
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS.

"Excellent Sir,—To-day I have written to his Excellency the plenipotentiary of her Britannic Majesty the letter of which a copy follows. 'The undersigned minister of foreign relations has had the honour to receive the communication of his Excellency Senor Don Ricardo Pakenham, of this day's date, in which he is pleased to advise him of the arrival at Vera Cruz of a Texan commissioner, charged with propositions to the supreme government for the arrangement of the existing differences between Mexico and that department, expressing the ardent desire of the British government that the present opportunity should not be neglected for concluding it on honourable and advantageous terms. Having laid before the president of the republic this communication, so that he should be pleased to decide on what was convenient in a matter apparently so grave, his Excellency, after a mature and lengthened consideration, has signified his desire that I should reply to Senor Pakenham, as I have the honour now to do, that the government of Mexico has had no motives for a change of opinion in appreciating the question of Texas, when it replied to, on this same affair, the note of Senor Pakenham, and gave instructions for the note to the effect, which was addressed to him by the minister on the 11th of December, 1839. Notwithstanding this conviction, his Excellency the president esteems as it merits the friendly solicitude of the British government to bring to a peaceful termination this question, and deeply regrets not to be able to comply with his ardent desires to accomplish it; but his Excellency the president has found it impossible to deviate from the principles of honour and justice which forbid him from consenting to the dismemberment of the republic, and sanction the act of most notorious ingratitude with which it was possible to correspond to a magnanimous and generous nation, by the usurpation of those rich and fertile lands where it bestowed all its hospitality towards those who came to beg it like mendicants. *Besides, Senor Pakenham is not ignorant that, since the department of Texas rose in insurrection, the insurgents have introduced and continue introducing innumerable slaves, whose traffic horrorises humanity, and for which cause alone, even were there no others, the Mexican republic and its government can never lend itself to an act* EQUIVALENT TO THE SANCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SLAVERY. The undersigned has the honour, &c.' And I have the honour to hand you a copy for your government and convenient occasions. God and liberty. Mexico, June 8th, of 1841.

"SEBASTIAN CAMACHO.

"To his Excellency the Minister of War."

Besides this despatch, our correspondent advises, as a well-known fact in Tampico, that General Don Mariano Arista, commander-in-chief of the army of the north destined for the invasion of Texas, had received a strong letter of remonstrance and reproof on the 13th of August, for having received and entertained the Texan envoys provisionally, as it might lead to unfounded expectations that the acknowledgment of Texan independence was at least in debate and a possible event, whilst at the same time it afforded the Texan agents facilities for acquiring information as to the strength and positions of the army, and of the more assailable points of the frontier, as well as for entering into communication with such disaffected parties as in a newly-constituted state like Mexico are always to be found. The words of this despatch, not over agreeable to General Arista, as quoted are—*Prescindiendo de las noticias que el enemigo debe adquirir por medio de tales agentes acerca de las fuerzas conque V. S. cuenta para hacer la guerra, de los recursos que estan á su disposicion, de las diversas posiciones que guardan sus tropas, de las distancias á que se hallan situadas, y de la disposicion de los habitantes de esa frontera en que por desgracia no faltan algunos desnaturalizados Mexicanos*, &c.: the president in view of such grave objections could not approve General Arista's reception of the Texan agents, &c., as before said.

The important documents and information of the most authentic nature now first communicated to the public, establish the fact of the absolute refusal of Mexico to entertain the question of Texan independence, and of the resolution of the government to attempt the reduction of Texas to its dominion. It will not fail to be observed how strong and peculiar is the objection emphatically placed in the foreground, to recognise the new republic. That ground is the *existence of slavery* tolerated by Texan laws and the atrocious traffic in slaves openly connived at by the ruling authorities. Now the abolition of slavery and the prohibition of the slave-trade are among the most stringent and imperative articles of the Mexican constitution, carried out too in practice with the most scrupulous and uncompromising as honourable fidelity. One of the greatest, although for political reasons unmentionable, grievances of the Texan colonists, was the rigour with which the Mexican government enforced the laws against slavery, and sought to extinguish the nefarious traffic and importation of slaves into Texas from and between the bordering states of the American Union. By the recognition of Texas, therefore, the sincerity of Lord Palmerston's apparent hostility to the slave-trade was very much questioned in Mexico, and it must be confessed that the act is certainly justificatory of the suspicion to a great extent. It remains to be seen what Mr. Kennedy, the special champion of Texas in this country, may have to urge further in vindication of his favourite republic. The reasoning by which, in his ably written work on Texas, he has attempted to extenuate the abomination of the toleration and the existence of slavery there, is by no means such as can be accepted as conclusive in a christian country, and above all in a country which, like this, has made such prodigious and unparalleled sacrifices in money, and more than money's worth, for the extinction or erasure of this accursed plague-spot from the fair face of modern civilisation. Eminently faithful to her principles and obligations, Mexico, it will be seen, is resolved honourably to persevere to the end in wiping out the disgrace of slavery in her dominions at whatever cost, and a ruinous cost it must be for a country just emerging from a long continuance of internal dissensions and civil war.

To this account we add the following letter from a Spanish merchant in Tepic, given in the *Morning Chronicle*.

Tepic, 19*th July*, 1841.

"Trade along these coasts is very much depressed on account of the abundance of goods, and the scandalous contrabands which are perpetrated. In a political sense we are in a bad position, but the aurora of a better day brightens upon us, because the idea has become general that our system of finance requires a total reform, carried to the extent of extinguishing all motive for and profit in clandestine introduction of goods, and that the constitution itself requires to be revised, with the view of reconciling the *centralist and federal party*, of satisfying the alterations required by the dissentients of Yucatan and Tobasco, and of establishing a popular, united, and strong government.

"The only thing wanting to carry into effect this *reform* is, that some one of our military chiefs of reputation should proclaim himself the leader

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of the movement, which, from the prepared state of the popular mind, would spread over the whole republic with all the rapidity of the '*three guarantees*' of Iturbide. Supposing the reforms once verified by the unanimous voice of the Mexicans, the new government would be able to execute the fixed and determined will of the nation to reduce the rebellious colonists of Texas, and to expel beyond the Sabine the pirates who have there intruded from the United States. They do not fail to make upon us a silent war ('guerra zorda') along the whole frontier; they endeavour to insurrectionize the states of New Mexico, Chihuahua, and California; they foment disorders everywhere; they interrupt our commerce, and occasion great expenses to the public treasury, to the great prejudice of remittances for the English dividends.

"As much as we ourselves are English merchants, and English holders of Mexican bonds, interested in the pacification of Texas, because in time of peace our seven millions of souls should consume more than 60,000,000 dollars of goods yearly, upon which value, supposing an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent. only, the treasury ought to receive eighteen millions of dollars yearly, which amount suffices to pay all branches of the public service, and, besides, the English dividends in full. But, without the reduction of Texas, nothing of this will be possible; for even though, at the instance of England, we should recognise Texas, our peace with her would never be more than nominal; new adventurers would pour in from the United States, and their robberies, rapines, and contrabands would continue all along our frontier, leaving us no other alternative but either to repel them, or allow ourselves to be exterminated by slow degrees. With a population of the class that occupies Texas, the observance of pacts and treaties is impossible, as you know to your cost by what happened to yourselves in Canada. There is not a Mexican who does not know this, nor one who would refuse to contribute to effect the reduction of Texas. You recommend us peace—but what a peace? With the *pirates* who have introduced themselves into our territory, calling themselves *Texans*! Would you yourselves do as much were the question Canada? Be just, ye friends of Great Britain."

On this letter the writer of the City article in the *Chronicle* remarks—

By the accounts *vid* the United States which we published on the 5th instant, it appears that the writer of the above letter was so far correct in his views, that twenty-four days afterwards, namely, on the 12th of August, the popular movement commenced in Gaudalaxara, and that General Paredes declared in its favour, at the head of the garrison.

The character of all such movements depends mainly upon the character of the leader, and the objects aspired to. As to the first, we are informed that General Paredes y Arillaga is himself of good family, and married into that of Cortez, one of the most respectable in the capital of Xalisco; that he is a man of education and honour—a veteran well known to the army and throughout the republic generally.

G. W. ALEXANDER, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH CENTRAL NEGRO EMANCIPATION COMMITTEE.

FROM 1ST SEPTEMBER, 1838, TO THE 8TH MARCH, 1841.

Dr.	£.	s.	d.
To Donations and Subscriptions	1111	12	0
To Cash received for the Emancipator Newspaper, Tracts, Books, &c.	615	18	0
	£1727	10	0

Cr.	£.	s.	d.
By Balance due to the Treasurer, as per last audit	165	10	6
By Cash paid for Expenses Public Meetings	115	7	0
" " Newspapers	42	18	1
" " Advertisements	22	19	5
" " Stationery, Engrossing, &c.	55	19	11
" " Postage	43	16	8½
" " Carriage and Porterage of Parcels	14	11	1
" " Messengers	2	15	6
" " Agents travelling expenses	26	1	3
" " Rent of Offices	31	5	0
" " Office Expenses	8	10	10
" " Books, Parliamentary Documents, Printing Pamphlets	114	13	5
" " Printing Emancipator newspaper	320	8	7
" " Salaries of Secretaries, Clerks and Assistants	229	1	1½
By Balance	33	17	7
	£1727	10	0

Audited 16th of 10th month, 1841, {HENRY STERRY, JOSEPH COOPER,

The above balance of £33. 17*s.* 7*d.* has been paid to the Treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, presuming that such application will be satisfactory to the Subscribers.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FUNDS OF THE CENTRAL NEGRO EMANCIPATION COMMITTEE.

RECEIVED SINCE THEIR REPORT OF 1ST SEPTEMBER, 1838.

	£.	s.	d.
Angus and Co.	5	0	0
Abdy, E.	1	0	0
Alton Ladies' Society	1	7	6
African Fund.—Society of Friends	400	0	0
Ash, Dr.	10	0	0
Armitage, L.	5	0	0
Bowly, Samuel	5	4	8
Butler, T.	20	0	0
Backhouse, Jonathan	10	0	0
Benson, Robert	25	0	0
Bell, John	10	0	0
Burlingham, Richard	2	0	0
Bignold, Thomas	1	14	4
Bury Association, per J. Rutley	2	5	0
Barnsley Association	14	3	6
Barker, F.	1	15	6
Brewin, Edward	1	0	0
Crewdson, W. D.	18	11	0
Coggeshall, Kelveden, and Colne Association	9	12	0
Chester Committee, per Rev. J. Williams	10	0	0
Cirencester Friends	5	0	0
Cunliffe, J.	50	0	0
Cash, J.	4	0	0
Cropper, John, Jun.	20	0	0
Cropper, Edward	20	0	0
Coalbrook Dale Friends, per Joseph Sturge	8	0	6
Chester Friends, per Joseph Sturge	4	0	0
Cook, Isaac	10	0	0
Cooper, Joseph	10	0	0
Draper, B. H.	3	10	0
Donations from Southampton, per W. M.			
From Individuals	2 15 0		
At Independent Chapel	8 18 3		
At J. Crabb's Chapel	8 16 6		
Dr. Lindoe	20 0 0		
	40	9	9
Exeter, Gentlemen's Committee	7	6	10
Evans, T.	3	8	6
Finlay, J.	24	8	9
Fox, Samuel	5	0	0
Friends at Shaftesbury and vicinity, per J. Rutter	9	5	0
Fadelle, J.	1	0	0
Fox, C.	10	0	0
Friends at Newcastle	10	0	0
" Southwark	5	0	0
Friends at High Wycomb	5	0	0
" Anonymous	40	15	0
" Staines, per Henry Sterry	3	0	0
Gurney, Samuel	30	0	0
Godlee, Burwood	4	0	0
Hanley Association	10	0	0
Hack, Daniel	5	2	3
Harford, Charles	1	0	0
Mr. Johnston and others, Shields, per J. Allison	3	0	0
Lowe, Hagger	5	0	0
Liverpool Anti-slavery Society	10	7	2
Ladies Anti-slavery Society, Sheffield	25	0	0
M. M., per Mr. Munro, Cheltenham	1	0	0
Marsh, Mr., Provident Institution	0	2	6
Marlin, J., Cottenham	1	0	0
Newcastle Friends, per Mr. Beaumont	14	10	0
Nottingham Society	2	3	6
" per Mr. Wilson	8	6	9
Pease, J. B.	3	13	6
Ditto	5	0	5
Peek, Richard	10	10	0
Peek, J.	5	5	0
Parker, G., Penton	1	0	0
Reading, Ladies' Society	3	19	6
Rowntree, M.r. per	6	12	9
Ridley, J.	0	5	0
Stone, Rev. W., Madely	0	12	9
Smith, Rev. James, Ashwood	5	0	0
Southwark Negro Friend Society	5	0	0
Stacey, George	10	0	0
Sturge Joseph per,	17	18	10
Stickney, J.	2	15	8
Sturge, Joseph, per	1	0	0
Trotman, Daniel	15	12	0
Tod, H.	11	0	0
Trotman, Daniel	5	0	0
Townsend, Charles, per Joseph Sturge	1	0	0
Thorpe, J., Halifax	1	15	9
Wright, J. J.	1	12	0
Wedgwood, S.	10	0	0
Wedgwood, Miss	5	5	0
Wedgwood, F.	3	3	10
Worcester Friends, per S. Darke	5	0	0
	£1111	12	0

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XLIX. Vol. II. No. 22.] WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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THE REIGN OF TERROR IN CINCINNATI.

From a number of the *Philanthropist*, which continues to be published by its spirited conductor, we take the following review of the late outrages in this city:—

Kentucky and the South had denounced Cincinnati as rank with abolitionism, and the decision of Judge Lane as a violation of their rights. They had demanded from Cincinnati again and again, through the press and public meetings, a demonstration on her part that she was sound on the subject of slavery, and opposed to her own courts. They had demanded this on pain of withdrawing their trade and travel. Their demand had been enforced by the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, the democratic paper, which has again and again called upon the citizens of Cincinnati to *put down the* abolitionists. Tired of waiting, citizens of Kentucky, in concert with traders on the river and some of our own citizens, had concerted a mob, which was precipitated by the street brawls spoken of in the papers; and now strangers were in our midst, between violence. In craven submission, Cincinnati surrenders at discretion—a conquered province of the slave-holder. A *public meeting*, assuming to represent its real sentiments, adopts resolutions conceding all to the mob; agreeing to reinforce laws which in fact are but Lynch law by authority of the general assembly—assuring "our southern brethren that this is no idle move, but will be carried out in good faith"—holding up abolitionists to public abhorrence, which then could mean nothing else but mob abhorrence—and proscribing "every man who lends them assistance." They go farther. They resolve to disarm the blacks. This of itself is enough to fix the brand *Mob* on this "Citizens' Meeting." The negros had defended themselves successfully. The mob had no hope of vengeance, while they were permitted to retain their arms. The meeting resolves to disarm them; the very last resort of tyranny—an unconstitutional, a most abominable resolution.

The slave-holder has triumphed. All he required is granted. The *evening* of that day consummates his triumph. The "move," sure enough, is no "idle" one, but is "carried out in good faith" towards "our southern brethren." Two presses are thrown into the river; property to the amount of thousands of dollars is destroyed; and, as if to make the infamy of the city beyond all parallel, after having disarmed the blacks, marched the men to gaol, and pledged the faith of the city to protect their wives, and children, and property, the mob is suffered to demolish their houses, break open their trunks and bureaus, and violate their women! Hell itself must tremble at such an atrocity; and, if this city does not humble itself in dust and ashes, heaven's curse will yet sink it lower than Sodom.

A few items more. We have it from good authority, that the mob on Saturday night would have taken place, whether the previous outrages had been perpetrated or not—that it had *been for some time concerted by citizens* of Kentucky, in connexion with persons on this side of the river—and that the object was to put down the *Philanthropist* and abolitionism. This is corroborated by the deep interest taken in the affair by citizens across the river—by their raising a bonfire and shout of triumph in Covington, when the work was accomplished—by their carrying fragments of the presses to the same place, and openly rejoicing over them as trophies—and by the well known fact that Kentuckians were busy in heading or meeting the mob. On Sunday morning, M. F. Glasgow, a respectable mechanic of this place, was about to cross the river at Walnut-street ferry, when the *Ben Franklin*, appearing to have come from the other side of the river, hauled in shore, and landed twenty-five armed men, some doubly armed. Two or three were left on the boat, which immediately put off. While in the act, the men *on shore cried out to* those aboard, to be sure and be back by evening, with additional force. They swore they would, and then exclaimed to those on shore, "and be sure you kill every d—d abolitionist." To a person who leaped from the boat, and was formerly a captain of a steam-boat, they said, "if we chance to get in gaol, you will bail us out?" "Oh, yes!" was the reply.

Mr. Glasgow is willing to testify to these facts. Who were *these men*?—*what* was their purpose? Some may conjecture they were a portion of the Warsaw guards, sent from an obscure town in Kentucky to protect the Queen city!

We have been advised by many to suspend the publication of our paper. We cannot do it. It would be a sacrifice of free discussion we should blush to make. Many prudent ones say that they cannot think of risking their lives to protect us in *our imprudence*. If it be imprudent to maintain our rights without flinching, may God help us always to be imprudent! And if it be generous to abandon us for planting ourselves upon rights given by heaven, and guaranteed to us by the constitution of the state, God save us from such generosity! No, friends, the *Philanthropist* must be published. The war has now become openly a war against free discussion, and shall we give back? We are not *ambitious to be* a martyr—*life to us* is precious—but we are willing, heaven helping us, to suffer all things, rather than turn traitor to a cause we have so long advocated—a cause identified with the highest interests of man—a cause which God approves, and will conduct to a glorious issue, whatever the fate of its advocates.

Dr. Baily (the editor of the *Philanthropist*) will have the sympathy and admiration of all the friends of humanity and human rights in this noble attitude of unflinching perseverance.

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SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

London, 11th Month 1st, 1841.

SIR,—In continuation of the questions and the replies thereto contained in my letter in the last number of your *Reporter*, I now beg permission to add the following :—

Are the public authorities of Brazil implicated in the slave-trade?—"Many of the inferior, and some even of the superior, are directly engaged in it, or connive at it. There are, however, some honourable exceptions, viz., the two brothers Andrade—Hollande Cavalcanti—Leopoldi; the chief custom house inspector.

"The justices of the peace take so much a head regularly, for allowing the imported Africans to land and pass: from 25*s.* to £3. 10*s.* each."

What number of vessels are employed in the slave-trade?—"About eighty to one hundred belong to Rio de Janeiro, but varying according to circumstances."

I should suppose, from all the inquiry I have made in other provinces, that the number of slavers in all these put together are about equal to those which sail from Rio. Therefore I conclude that, from the whole line of the coast of that empire, not less than 200 slavers are actively engaged in the traffic in human beings.

Under what flag do they sail?—"Chiefly under the Portuguese, some few under Brazilian and United States colours, Oriental, Hamburghese, &c. All these, however, are engaged by Brazilian speculators."

I should explain that the speculators referred to are not all *native* Brazilians; the greater portion is composed of Portuguese residents. There are also a very few Americans; and I am persuaded that Englishmen, who are rather more covert in these proceedings, may be discovered so engaged. It is well known that one English house applied for the remission of the export duty on goods shipped to Africa, and that the vessel which was consigned to them for this purpose was afterwards taken as a slaver.

How are the slaves disposed of after landing? "They are generally taken to depôts along the coast, until recruited after their voyage; if not sold at the depôt, which often happens, they are marched openly in gangs into the interior. They are often put into panniers on mules, and taken off with banana leaves to conceal them. Sometimes in close carriages, when near Rio."

To explain the above answer, I would say, that the slave-trader works openly, except he desire to cheat the public officers of their share of their booty. But near the capital there is always a fear of too many claims on their bribery fund; hence a sort of precautionary method of moving the slaves is adopted in that vicinage. This covert line of procedure seems to be limited to the act of removal from place to place only, for I heard of two houses in the city of Rio de Janeiro, wherein they were generally known to be on sale. I might have visited either of these, if I would have done so under pretence of being a purchaser. This, however desirable, I could not undertake, as it would be doing evil that good might come.

In the capital city of the province of Pernambuco, I saw a few of the new negros which were there for sale, as some of them occasionally walked out into the balcony of the upper story of a house in which they were kept. My attention was directed to them by several persons as a matter of general notoriety.

On my journey to the gold mines, I saw several new slaves openly carried through the country. I asked the man in charge if they were for sale, he said no; that he had purchased them in Rio de Janeiro, and was conveying them to the estate of his employer.

I also heard, whilst in the province of Minas Geraes, that about fifty new negros were purchased by the St. Joao del Rey English gold mine, and, although some of them were known to be recently landed (*meia caras*), they were marched through two of the provinces about eighteen months previous to my visit. The Viscount Barbacena, *member of the London Peace Society*, also took about fifty new negros openly to his gold mine at Brocoto. All these, I understood from the medical attendant and others, underwent dreadful sufferings by acclimatization.

The following anecdote of the mode of disposing of some slaves after landing was related at a dinner-party by one of the individuals concerned, and was heard with the utmost indifference. My informant was present on the occasion.

In the first month of 1841, the slaves of a cargo who were landed on the beach not many miles distant from the harbour of Rio de Janeiro, resisted the attempt to enslave them. The sailors fired on them, and many were disabled. On subduing them it was discovered that some were so severely wounded as to be rendered unsaleable, and these they determined to hang upon the spot, as an example to the remainder. They executed their bloody purpose by lashing the feet of each of the sufferers to the stem of a tree, then, putting a rope round his neck, they passed it over one of the branches. This done, several sailors seized the end of the rope and hauled away: thus they stretched and strangled their victims.

Do purchasers prefer the male or female slaves?—"The males. These are imported in much larger numbers than females. Sometimes 80 to 100 men, and but 3 or 4 women on an estate."

Has the importation of children increased?—"It has never existed as a system. Boys of fifteen or sixteen are those most in demand. Latterly children have been preferred as being more easily stowed, fed, and, after arrival, trained."

What articles are used in the slave-trade?—"Cotton goods, blue baize, fire-arms, farinha, spirits, knives, daggers, powder, shot; all of bad quality, and made for the African trade."

I find that the above are technically called "coast goods." Lately silk umbrellas and silk stockings have been shipped.

In the manifest of the cargo of the slaver *Andorinha*, as per custom-house reports now in my possession, I traced "*an image of the holy Christ!*"—also, "*a case of images of Jesus Christ!*" She sailed for Angola 6th month 2nd, 1840.

In the manifest of the slaver *Felix Animoso*, which I also have in my possession, I find "*three bottles of holy water!*" This vessel sailed for Benguella 8th month 1st, 1840.

These articles were, no doubt, intended for their brokers on the coast.

What is the general condition of slaves when landed?—"Emaciated in the extreme. Often nothing but skin and bone. Diseased to an awful extent; suffering from ophthalmia and small pox; numbers suffering from nostalgia, in other words, dying broken hearted from separation from kindred and country."

What is the mortality in seasoning new slaves?—"Very great in some instances, but impossible to calculate with great accuracy, as it depends on the state in which the Africans arrive from the coast, which varies exceedingly."

What is the average life of these slaves?—"On hardly worked estates, three or four years."

Do Creole slaves increase or decrease?—"On the whole they certainly decrease. I believe that new negros are so readily procured, that it is by many considered cheaper and more advantageous to work their slaves out; that is, to get the utmost they can out of them, giving them the bare necessaries of life, rather than take good care of them, and work them moderately, so that they should live long, become aged and useless, and thus be a burden to their owners."

What are the proportions of sexes imported?—"Two-thirds males, often more."

What is the average age of the newly imported negro?—"Under thirty. The chief demand is for boys about fifteen, sixteen, and young girls."

What is the market price of slaves in Africa?—"Thirty to forty milreis, (£3. 15*s.* to £7. 10*s.*), latterly much less, while a proportionately higher price is given for them here."

What is the market price in Brazil?—"At the present date 1841, the market price in Rio de Janeiro of a fine young male negro newly arrived is 500 milreis cash, or 800 milreis if credit be required."

What is the profit of the trade?—"At least 300 per cent. when all expenses are paid. Yet much variety in this respect, from risks, losses, and bribes."

Is the demand greater than the supply?—"Yes, considerably so. Were 10,000 brought in monthly to this province (Rio de Janeiro), they would all be bought. Yet the population would be slightly increased, and the mortality greater."

How do the slave-traders procure their ships' papers?—"There is no particular course for obtaining such papers pursued. Up to the middle of 1839, they used to be furnished on the payment of certain fixed sums by the Portuguese consul-general."

The consul-general above alluded to is mentioned by name in a pamphlet written by the ex-Portuguese minister, Joaquim Cæsar de Feganiere e Morao, who, in writing to his government, says, "in case her Majesty's government think proper to insist on Jono Baptista Morecra's re-instalment into office I beg they will at the same time, relieve me from the charge which I have the honour to occupy."—p. 16.

In the same pamphlet he says, "the straightforward fulfilment of my duty drew upon me the rage and persecution of a colossal party, who had covered, and still desired to cover, with our flag their illicit and criminal negotiations."—p. 1.

The slave-traders were not able to obtain Portuguese papers during the short period of time in which this noble minded man remained in office, and were obliged to resort to all kinds of schemes and contrivances: sometimes even to sail without any in proper form. Hence, during Feganiere's stay, they seldom entered the ports in Brazil after landing their cargoes, as had been their general practice; but remained in some obscure anchorage where small coasters brought them their cargoes and necessaries for another voyage to the coast of Africa. When circumstances compelled them to enter the port of Rio de Janeiro, they found means, by bribery, to induce the custom-house officers to shut their eyes to the indications of the illegality of their voyage.

Thus it is clear that the integrity of this Portuguese minister merely embarrassed, without diminishing the trade. He was removed at his own request, about twelve months ago.

What are the wages of the captains and sailors who navigate the slave-ships?—This I ascertained from different individuals. The captain receives two to three hundred milreis per month, with a percentage on profits. The sailors are hired for as much as fifty milreis each per month, and a ratio of the venture, which may be three slaves each per voyage. Thus each sailor, if there be no losses on the voyage, might realise in six months three hundred milreis wages and fifteen hundred milreis in slaves, or two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling per trip, two of which might be easily performed in one year. I remain, yours very truly,

GEORGE PILKINGTON.

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THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

FROM AN EYE-WITNESS.

A YOUNG man named Francisco de los Santos, who made a voyage *malgré lui* in the notorious slaver *Aguila* (an account of the loss of which vessel was given in the *Reporter* of August 11th), lately presented himself at the office of the Society, and gave the following account of his involuntary connexion with the nefarious operations of the slave-trader, and of the incidents of the voyage. As he brought with him an introduction from an esteemed correspondent at Havana, and various other testimonials, his narrative may be fully relied on.

Don Fernando Carrera, captain of the brig *Diligente*, alias *Aguila*, engaged Francisco de los Santos as a seaman of that vessel (under Portuguese colours), ostensibly bound to Monte Video. With this object they left the Havana; but, when on the high sea, Francisco discovered with great concern that the brig was bound to the coast of Africa, for the purpose of embarking a cargo of slaves for the island of Cuba, upon which he complained to Don Fernando of the deceit which had been practised upon him, telling him that, if he had known the real object of the voyage, he would not have embarked. This produced no effect; but, after they had been forty days from port, the said Santos was attacked one night, about eight o'clock, by four seamen armed with knives; he defended himself desperately, and escaped with his life, but not without receiving some wounds, when they were interrupted by the voice of the boatswain. This last, by the order of Carrera, conducted Santos to the poop, and, without attempting to discover the origin of the affair, or who were the delinquents, and without even questioning Santos on the subject, caused him to be severely beaten, and afterwards obliged him to go on the main-topsail-yard, where he remained till eight o'clock the following morning, when he was permitted to descend, but only to suffer more atrocities. Carrera, armed with a cutlass, wished him to fight with him, since he had made such complaints of the deception; and, seeing that he absolutely refused to do this, he ordered him to be tied to a gun, and beat him himself until he was exhausted; the boatswain then continued to punish him by order of Carrera, and lastly a seaman, until he was almost dead: when, in order to save his life, he promised to keep the secret, to conform himself to all that was required of him, and to make an attack or rob if necessary to obtain or defend the cargo.

On their arrival on the coast of Africa, seventeen days elapsed before they could effect the embarkation of the negros, in consequence of the vigilance of the British cruisers, by two or three of which they were chased, but escaped by superior sailing. A vessel of war was lying at anchor at Oonis (or Ooniah, probably, as he described it as near Papoe), five leagues from which anchorage and almost in sight of this cruiser, they embarked their living cargo, consisting of 480 persons: they anchored one night between seven and eight, and by two o'clock on the following afternoon they were again under sail for Cuba. After the embarkation they encountered no hinderance from our vessels of war. Of the 480 negros embarked, between 100 and 110 were women, about 125 children, and the remainder men, chiefly youths. The adults of both sexes as well as the children were entirely *naked*; the former were confined below in separate holds, but the children were kept on deck throughout the voyage. The men were brought up in small parties once a week to be bathed, and immediately returned to their den of death; the women were allowed more liberty, and bathed more frequently. All these poor people presented an air of the utmost dejection on leaving the coast of Africa; many of the adults both men and women wept bitterly; and several of the men during the voyage obstinately refused their food, when the horrible practice was resorted to of forcing their mouths open and thrusting the food into them, in doing which he states that several of their teeth were broken; notwithstanding, however, the use of these violent means, many of the men determinedly chose rather to die than continue in the endurance of such aggravated sufferings. He states that the sailors were constantly in the habit of ill-using the slaves; from mere caprice, or because their wishes were not immediately attended to when feeding or moving them, kicking and striking them in a brutal manner, and using the whip frequently. Twenty-six out of this wretched cargo fell victims to the accumulated hardships and privations of the middle passage, chiefly from dysentery and nostalgia; and on their arrival at Cabanas, on the coast of Cuba, the vessel was wrecked, and thirty-three of the men, being confined in the hold, found a release from perhaps a protracted life of unrequited toil and misery, in a watery grave.

The remainder of the slaves were seized by the authorities at Cabanas, and the captain-general offered to hand them over for the adjudication of the Mixed Commission Court, according to the regulations of the treaty; but the English commissary judge, Mr. Kennedy, most unaccountably refused to admit this offer, declaring that the Mixed Court had no power whatever over them, in consequence of their having been seized on shore by the authorities of the island. The consequence of this extraordinary decision was, that the captain-general emancipated them *in his own way*; viz. he sold them to owners of sugar estates for a term of five years, for nine ounces * of gold for a male, and seven ounces for a female.—Vide *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. XLIII. pp. 170, 171.

Santos, having arrived at Havana, presented various memorials to the captain-general, praying for the redress of the wrongs which had been inflicted on him by Don Fernando Carrera, but without effect; at length, however, the captain-general placed the matter in the hands of the third assessor-general, Senor Villaverde, but in the meantime Carrera had fitted out another vessel, the *Invincible*, and, though twice cited to appear to answer the charge of Santos, contrived to evade it, and sailed away, once more to make merchandise of human flesh. Santos further procured an attested copy of his memorial, which was presented to Senor Oidon Decano, the president of the Real Audiencia, but which was fated to receive no more attention than the previous ones; and ultimately, in answer to his repeated solicitations, he was informed that both original and copy had been lost. Thus the authorities in Havana, by their utter disregard of his complaints, sanctioned the atrocities of Don Fernando Carrera, and thereby gave a premium to the slave-traders to commit new crimes.

In confirmation of the letter from Cuba which appeared in our last *Reporter*, he states that the numerous vessels which have lately left Havana for the coast of Africa have been well manned and well armed; the *Invincible*, commanded by Carrera, had five guns and fifty men. The late repulse of the boats of one of our cruisers by the *Irene*, a notorious slaver, had emboldened these hardened men to attempt the violent defence of their cargoes. Francisco states that he heard from the crew of the *Irene*, which returned to the Havana after this affair without effecting an embarkation of slaves, that they sank three of the cruiser's boats with forty men in them; but we may hope that those desperadoes had much exaggerated their dreadful exploit.

* An ounce of gold, or doubloon more frequently called in this country, is worth from £3 4s. to £3 8s.

THE MOVEMENT IN CUBA.

[To the Editor of the *Times*.]

SIR,—The letter from the Havana which appeared in your paper of yesterday is extremely important, as indicating the state of public feeling there, in consequence of the bold and very proper course which Her Majesty's late government—and they will be ably seconded by those who have succeeded them in power—felt it their duty to pursue to put down the slave-trade, which has so long desolated Africa, and afflicted and disgraced mankind. The Cuban traders in "the persons of men," and those who have sustained them in their guilty traffic—the Cuban slave-holders, are quaking with fear, because they well know that the blow which has now been struck by Great Britain, if it be vigorously followed up—and who can doubt it?—by the present government, will break up the system of slavery as well as destroy the slave-trade, and thus accomplish an object dear to humanity and religion, lay the foundation broad and deep of freedom and civilization throughout the whole of the American continent, and put joy and gladness into millions of hearts now pining in abject wretchedness in the mines, or lashed to their daily toil on the plantations of North and South America.

Your correspondent predicts a gloomy issue to the present movement of Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade. "Cuba," he says, "if it be persisted in, and especially if the effort be seconded by the government at Madrid, will declare herself independent of the mother-country, and throw herself into the arms of the United States." She cannot, she dare not, do this. Three things will prevent it. First, she will arm the mother-country against her; Spain will not easily part with so splendid an appendage to her dominions in the western world. Secondly, she will excite a servile war among her slave population, and with them will be associated the free people of colour generally, who will combat for equal rights. Nothing is dreaded so much as the rising of this oppressed class in Cuba. It is well known that the whites consider them their natural enemies, and admit, in their recent memorials to the regency of Spain, that they have just cause to fear their long smothered but just resentment. And, thirdly, the power of Great Britain would be exerted to prevent Cuba from ever forming a part of the great North American republic. Independently of the claims which this country has on Cuba, should it ever change hands, it has too much, politically and commercially speaking, at stake in the Gulf of Mexico, to allow its annexation to the territories of her great maritime rival. So wild and visionary a scheme as that set forth in your correspondent's letter can only be realized in the heated imaginations of the American slave-holders in Cuba, who have been strengthening their interests and their numbers, and increasing their wealth in that island, for years past, as is well known, for the express purpose of bringing about what they fondly but foolishly hope will be the case—the separation of Cuba from Spain, and its incorporation as an integral part of the states of North America. There is more chance, however, of its becoming an independent republic or sovereignty, or of its being annexed to Great Britain, than this.

Your correspondent, however, conceives the scheme now proposed by the government for the suppression of the slave-trade is absurd, on the ground that it is impossible to identify the negros that have been illicitly imported into Cuba since the year 1821, and who are, to all intents and purposes, both by the laws of Spain and under the treaties of that country with Great Britain, manifestly entitled to their freedom; and because the government of the island will never admit its cognizance of the fact of their importation. The latter is not necessary. Successive captains-general may have made splendid fortunes by their

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guilty connivance in this inhuman traffic;* they will not compromise themselves by admitting the fact. But the governments of Spain and Great Britain, between whom the case rests, have too much evidence to require the assistance of these tainted and dishonoured men, to aid them in carrying the great measure at present under consideration into complete effect. And with respect to the difficulty of identification, it is wonderful that any resident in the Havana, not interested in the slave-trade, or at least not a slave-holder, should have raised it. Nothing can be more easy than to distinguish the imported African from the Creole negro—the "bozal" from the "ladino." Appearance, language, country, marks, are never-failing criteria, and, where doubts may exist, let but the onus of proof be thrown on the assumed proprietor, and the thing will be done. All that is required to the complete success of the just and humane project of the government is the *bonâ fide* concurrence of Spain in the measure: and that is demanded, not less by the faith of treaties, than by a regard to national honour, and the vast obligations she owes to this country.

But not only have the traders in human flesh and the oppressors of their species in Cuba taken alarm; their confederates in crime in the United States are beginning to quake also. In a recent letter from Key West, Florida, is the following reference to this important matter: "According to our advices it appears that an order reached Havana last August from Madrid, for the governor to collect the opinions of the several planters relative to the emancipation of all slaves imported into the island since the year 1820, and send the same to Madrid. This order was sent in consequence of a call from the British government upon that of Spain, for the fulfilment of the treaty made between those nations in that year for the suppression of the slave-trade. Since its ratification the traffic has been more or less carried on, and winked at by both governments. Now Great Britain, full of its philanthropy, calls for the emancipation of the slaves which have been permitted to land in Cuba for the last twenty-one years.

"It is a fact known to all statists, that the average loss of slaves by death has been at least ten per cent. per annum; and therefore, if all imported since 1820 are emancipated, there will scarcely be a slave left on the island. All will be as free, and as fat, and as impudent, and as lazy, as those throughout the British West Indies.

"All who have any knowledge of Cuba and Spain, and the intention of the British, cannot but foresee the result of this measure, if it should be carried out. It may be pure philanthropy on the part of the latter, but we doubt it very much; and in the movement it is easily to be seen that England aims at the heart of our southern states, and is determined to possess herself of Cuba. Time, however, showeth all things."

In this communication it will be seen that your correspondent's remark on the difficulty of identification is completely done away by the statement of an important fact—namely, that legally speaking, there are *no* slaves in Cuba, the old slave population having been destroyed by the horrible severities of the system under which they were placed.

It is of no small importance to remember, that the principle about to be applied to the Spanish colonies is equally applicable to Brazil. Every negro introduced into that empire since its treaty with this country for the suppression of the slave-trade is free, and our government has acquired the right under the treaty to demand his freedom. As far back as the year 1837, the slave-holders of Brazil, feeling that they were holding multitudes of slaves unlawfully obtained, through one of their party, the Marquis de Barbacena, introduced a bill for the purpose of legalising their assumed rights over these persons. The project was then defeated, on the ground that to pass such a law would be contrary to the faith of treaties with this country. The scheme, however, has again and again been forced on the attention of the Brazilian legislature; but last year the British representative at Rio, Mr. Ouseley, entered a solemn and energetic protest against its adoption, in the name of the British government, and it is hoped with success.

Great Britain is now in a position to secure the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in Brazil and the Spanish colonies. She is the guardian of the rights and liberties of the oppressed in these countries, and it is satisfactory to know that, in every step she may take to secure these great objects, she will not only be upheld by the law of nations, but will act in strict accordance with the laws of these countries themselves. They have declared the slave-trade to be felonious or piratical; they have decreed the freedom of all slaves illicitly introduced into their respective territories; and have given to Great Britain, under treaty, the right to demand the fulfilment of these laws to the very letter. It is also satisfactory to know, that this country, in the noble exertions she is making to uproot and destroy the abominations of slavery and the slave trade, has the sympathies and will have the assistance, of the most enlightened and honourable men, both of Brazil and Cuba, who are as much opposed to these atrocious evils as the philanthropists of this country themselves, and who wait with intense anxiety the moment when the "rod of the oppressor shall be broken," and the spirit of liberty be unbound.

To you, Sir, as one of the most able, and eloquent, and influential leaders of the public mind of this and other lands, your countrymen look to urge forward and sustain this grand movement of the government. Happily, it is free from the taint of party; it is linked with the noblest instincts, the most generous sensibilities, and the loftiest principles of our nature, and has alike the sanction of reason and religion on its side. It is politic also, but I will not appeal to what may be deemed selfish in its advocacy; and, in the hope that the *Times* may place itself at the head of the press in this godlike work, I have the honour to be, Sir, yours respectfully,

PHILANTHROPOS.

* General Tacon, a former captain-general, was charged openly at Madrid with having realized 700,000 dollars whilst in Cuba, by fees on imported slaves: and a further sum of from 200,000 to 300,000 dollars by sale of Africans liberated by the mixed commission courts.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

ACCOUNTS OF THE CENTRAL EMANCIPATION COMMITTEE.

We are requested to make the following corrections, viz.:—

Donations, &c., ... £1161 12*s.* 0*d.*
instead of £1111. 12*s.* 0*d.*

Expended for Books, &c. ....£164 13*s.* 5*d.*
instead of £114. 13*s* 5*d.*

In the List of Subscriptions, *instead of* Sturge, Joseph, per £1, *read*,

Sturge, Joseph, profit on first edition of the West Indies in 1837, £51.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 3RD.

WE are gratified in inserting the following acknowledgment of the important service recently rendered to the anti-slavery cause by Lord Brougham.

At a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held on Friday, October 29th, 1841, at 27, New Broad Street,

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq. in the Chair;

It was resolved unanimously—

"That the thanks of this committee be respectfully tendered to the right honorable Lord Brougham, for his able speech delivered in the House of Lords on the 5th ult., on the liabilities of British subjects to the penalties of the law for holding and trafficking in slaves in foreign countries, on the abolition of slavery in British India," &c.

WE have the pleasure of informing our readers that our friends, Messrs. Alexander and Scoble, are on the continent on anti-slavery business. They have visited Rotterdam, where a meeting of influential gentlemen from different parts of Holland assembled on the 29th October, for the purpose of forming an Anti-slavery Society for the Netherlands. Another meeting is shortly to be held at the Hague; and we hope the foundation will thus be laid for an effective advance towards the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies.

THE Hibernian Anti-slavery Society held its annual meeting in the Music Hall, Dublin, on the 11th ult. Dr. Madden was called to the chair; and (the subject having been alluded to by Mr. Haughton) made, in his opening address, the following statement respecting his late mission to the coast of Africa. He had not intended, he said, to say anything on the subject of his visit to the coast of Africa, but, as Mr. Haughton had mentioned the fact, he would state, for their information, some few particulars relative to the visit he made to that country; at the same time he would not go into details, more particularly as the subject was now before government. He was sent to the coast of Africa by the government. In reaching that country, he discovered that the infamy of the traffic in slaves was mainly attributable to the Spaniards and Portuguese: yet it was a fact, and he mentioned it with regret, that the profits derivable from this species of trade went into the pockets of English merchants. (Hear, hear.) It was a lamentable fact that this was so, for the whole profits went into three or four English houses (hear, hear), and without the assistance of these houses it would be impossible for the trade to be carried on. (Hear.) In 1834 an act was passed abolishing slavery in all English settlements, with the exception of Ceylon, the East Indies, and St. Helena; these places were exempt from the provisions of the act. However, he still found that the trade existed on the coast of Africa, and the Gambia settlement. (Hear, hear.) He thought it right to say this, that the public should know those matters, and that it was not altogether to the Spaniards and Portuguese the infamy attached, but more to the three or four British houses which he had mentioned. (Cheers.) He knew of only one way to deal with those parties; and, as they did not come within the arm of the law, it was right to drag them

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before the tribunal of public opinion, and hold them up to the scorn and indignation of the public generally. (Cheers.)

The meeting was addressed by several gentlemen—at great length, and in a very interesting speech, by Mr. C. L. Remond—and it closed with a cordial vote of thanks to the chairman, "not only for his conduct in the chair, but for his unwearied exertions in the cause of human freedom."

WE are enabled to give the following extract of a letter from an American abolitionist to Mr. Sturge, dated 9th month 27th, 1841:—

"The ex-governor, Everett, is confirmed by the senate as minister to England. I hope you will put his abolition to the trial in some way.

"Do keep an eye on Cuba. It is all-important. Our slave-owners tremble at the very mention of emancipation there.

"Our abolitionists are more consistent this year in voting than they have been heretofore. In Vermont they gave 3000 liberty votes at the election just past, and prevented a choice of either of the two pro-slavery candidates. There is much less of bitterness and contention among abolitionists now than there has been for the last three years. Our anti-slavery campaign will open when Congress meets on the first of twelfth month. What will be done or said it is now impossible to conjecture; but it is believed on all sides, that abolition is then and there to be met openly for the first time."

WE are happy to see that the movement against the slave-trade in Cuba is attracting public attention. A correspondent of the *Times* at Havana has written an interesting letter on the subject, albeit not on our side; and he has been well replied to by a writer signing himself PHILANTHROPOS. We have transferred the latter communication to our columns. Some interesting extracts from an American paper on the same subject will likewise be found elsewhere.

WE direct attention to the narrative of an eye-witness of the African slave-trade, and to the letter of Mr. Pilkington on slavery in Brazil. There is something remarkably quiet in the way in which this latter gentleman brings out his facts, but the real import of them is most appalling.

HOLDING OF SLAVES BY BRITISH FUNCTIONARIES.

THE parliamentary papers just published, contain the following note from Lord Palmerston to Her Majesty's commissioners at Havana. A similar note appears to have been addressed to every quarter in which it might be applicable:—

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS.

Foreign Office, August 24th, 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—I herewith transmit to you a copy of a memorial from the General Anti-slavery Convention. I have to acquaint you, that Her Majesty's government concurs in the sentiments expressed in that memorial, and especially in the opinion, that it would be unfitting that any officer holding an appointment under the British crown, should either directly or indirectly, hold or be interested in slave property. I am, &c.

To Her Majesty's Commissioners. (Signed) PALMERSTON.

General Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held in London on the 12th of June, 1840, and continued by adjournments to the 23rd of the same month.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The memorial of the undersigned, the chairman, on behalf of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London, on the 20th of June, 1840.

Respectfully sheweth,

That this convention has learnt with feelings of surprise and regret, that British functionaries in the Brazils and Cuba, and other slave-holding countries, hold slaves—that they purchase them in the public slave-market and elsewhere—work them in mines and on sugar plantations—employ them as domestic slaves, and sell them, or dispose of them, as necessity or caprice may dictate.

This convention, under a strong impression of the utter injustice of slavery in all its forms, and of the evil it inflicts upon its miserable victims, and of the necessity of employing every means, moral, religious, and pacific, for its complete abolition, feels it to be no less than an imperative duty to submit to the principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, that—the British parliament having declared it "just and expedient that all persons held in slavery in the colonies of Great Britain should be manumitted and set free, and that slavery should be utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British possessions abroad"—functionaries of the British government holding, hiring, buying, or selling slaves in foreign countries, is not only an open violation of these just and equitable principles, but is an example which gives countenance to the perpetuation of slavery, and to the continuance of the clandestine importation of slaves, and that it does materially contribute to prevent the extinction of slavery in those countries and throughout the world at large—an object most dear to the members of this convention, and for the consummation of which they are especially assembled.

This convention, therefore, earnestly solicits the early attention of Viscount Palmerston to the subject, and that he will be pleased to issue a declaration, that the holding or hiring of slaves, directly or indirectly, is incompatible with the functions of any individual officially engaged in the service of the British government.

On behalf of the convention.

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

SLAVERY IN TURKEY.

[From the Parliamentary Papers.]

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO VISCOUNT PONSONBY.

Foreign Office, August 22, 1840.

MY LORD,—I herewith transmit to your Excellency a copy of a letter, which I have received from the president of the General Anti-slavery Convention.

Her Majesty's government concur entirely in the benevolent sentiments expressed in that letter; and I have to desire that your Excellency will endeavour to forward the objects pointed at in this letter, as far as any endeavours on your part may appear to be likely in any degree to mitigate the evils of slavery in the Turkish dominions, or to be effectual in diminishing the extent to which the practice of making slaves is carried.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

General Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held in London, on the 12th June, and continued by adjournments to the 23rd of the same month.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to communicate an appeal to your lordship, unanimously agreed on at a meeting of the General Anti-slavery Convention held at Freemasons' Hall, on the 17th of the present month.

Associates for the great object of abolishing slavery by means solely of a moral, religious, and pacific character, they have not been inattentive to the course of events in the oriental world; and, while they breathe an earnest prayer that the crimes and calamities of war may be prevented by the friendly intervention of the powers of Europe, they would humbly and earnestly implore your lordship to use your high authority for connecting the overthrow of slavery with the consolidation of peace.

In considering the situation filled by the Grand Seignior as the representative of the Caliphat, the Convention feel a strong conviction, that, if a declaration could be obtained from his imperial highness condemnatory of slavery in any or all of its forms, encouraging the manumission of slaves, and calling the attention of the Mussulman world to the state of opinion among civilized nations and governments, such a declaration could not but produce a happy influence throughout the Ottoman empire; and the Convention respectfully suggest to your lordship that the friendly interposition of Great Britain could be employed for no nobler purpose, and that its success would reflect high honour on the head of Islamism, and be eminently instrumental in strengthening the foundations of the Turkish government, and in diminishing the fearful amount of degradation, wickedness, and misery which everywhere accompany slavery. I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON, *President.*

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO LORD PONSONBY.

Foreign Office, November 9, 1840.

MY LORD,—With reference to the several despatches which I have addressed to your Excellency upon the subject of slavery and the slave-trade in the Ottoman dominions, I have to acquaint you, that it has been suggested to her Majesty's government, that the present moment would be a favourable opportunity for an endeavour to obtain from the sultan some engagement for the suppression of the slave-trade.

Her Majesty's government are well aware of the deep root which the system of slavery has taken in the social organization of all Mohammedan countries, and that the object in view must therefore be most difficult of attainment: but her Majesty's government feel such intense anxiety to see the slave-trade extinguished in every part of the world, that they are unwilling to let pass any occasion which might afford them the slightest hope of being able even to mitigate this evil, in any country in which it prevails.

I have therefore to desire, that you will take an opportunity of sounding the Turkish government upon this subject, and of endeavouring to ascertain, whether some arrangement might not be made between Great Britain and Turkey for restricting, if not for entirely abolishing the Turkish slave-trade.

Your Excellency might represent to the Turkish government, that the continued support of Great Britain will, for some years to come, be an object of importance to the Porte; that this support cannot be given effectually, unless the sentiments and opinions of the majority of the British nation shall be favourable to the Turkish government; and that, as the whole of the British nation unanimously desire, beyond almost anything else, to put an end to the cruel practice of making slaves, nothing would tend more certainly to inspire the British nation with favourable sentiments towards Turkey, than the concurrence of the Porte in some measure calculated to put an end to the slave-trade, as far as the Ottoman dominions are concerned; while, on the other hand, the continuance of that trade will be calculated to weaken the interest which, upon other grounds, the British nation feels in the welfare and prosperity of Turkey.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

MAURITIUS.

[Extracts from the Correspondence of a Resident in that island.]

The apprentices are not such as they have been represented. If they had refused to work, the colony would not have made so much sugar in 1839. Some, indeed, and especially the women, do not desire to engage themselves in agriculture, but they employ themselves in other ways. And those who have been all their lives slaves, and who have suffered so much in that condition, although the contrary is affirmed, can well enjoy the liberty which they have obtained, from the moment of which public tranquillity has not been disturbed; none therefore have any grounds of complaint. The poor Indians, how are they treated? I am a near neighbour of one of the civil commissaries and of a special magistrate, where I see them go daily in bands to make their complaints, some of having been maltreated, others of not having been paid their wages for three months, six months, and even a year; and many of them, and of the ex-apprentices, have been so deceived in their engagements, either from not comprehending the terms or otherwise, that the greater part will no longer accept them. The ex-apprentices are not so ill-disposed as they have been described: had they been wicked and vindictive, they would long since have revolted from the cruelties which the caprice of the masters has laid upon them. Although this has not been universal, yet these poor

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people ought always to be protected, in consideration of their past sufferings.

The tribunals, the organs of the law, do not always adhere to it. Unjust decisions are frequent, the poor and those of the lower classes rarely obtain redress against the powerful, they are more frequently condemned in spite of a good cause. I will cite one or two examples. A man of colour, accused of having offered an ex-apprentice higher wages than those which he received from his employer, has been condemned to a month's imprisonment, one hundred dollars fine, and costs. Another man of colour, accused of having in the night discharged a musket at a thief and wounding him, has been condemned to six months' imprisonment, two hundred dollars fine, costs, &c. The day following a white is accused of a similar crime, committed in the day-time, and the complaint is dismissed.

Although the laws place the coloured people on an equality with the whites, with respect to civil privileges, eligibility for office, &c., yet the prejudice of caste and colour is as predominant as ever, and to the great disadvantage of the former class, who, with the exception of one who is an officer of the police, and two or three others who are particularly remarkable, and hold insignificant places, are not advanced to any post but that of door-keepers. Not a single one is to be found holding the situation of advocate, notary, civil commissary, &c., and this from no want of capacity, probity, or wealth on their part; for, although the aristocracy did all in their power to ravish from them these advantages, the men of colour will, in none of these particulars, be found to suffer anything by a comparison with the whites. The latter, however, retain all their original pride, which shuts out, and will continue to shut out, the people of colour, until the government take them by the hand, and maintain that equality of rights which ought to exist without distinction, since all are subjects of the same monarch, all are submitted to the same laws, and all pay the same imposts. * * * This prejudice extends so far, that, in the churches and cemeteries, where all ought to be equal, there are places reserved for the whites, places for the people of colour, and places yet further for the blacks, to prevent all possibility of mixture: this even occasions law processes. A young man of colour at the college of Mahebourge obtained in 1839 all the first prizes, as well as that of superiority; the colonel of the 12th caused him to be conducted by the band of his regiment; but the *Gazette*, in publishing the names of those who obtained second prizes, suppressed the name of the conqueror because he was un *enfant de couleur*.

LIBERIA.

THE differences between Governor Buchanan and the Methodist missionaries continue to cause much excitement—growing out of the refusal of the latter to pay duty on goods, and to comply with the political arrangements. Mr. Seyes, who is at the head of the Methodist missions, is now in this country, and the Board of Directors of the Colonization Society have the subject under consideration at Washington.—*Newark Daily Advertiser*.

We do not believe the readers of the *Advertiser* are at all apprised what these "difficulties" are. If we have correct information of the case, the laws of that magnificent commonwealth purport to allow the goods or effects of missionaries to enter free of duty. The superintendent of the Methodist mission took advantage of this law, and had the remittances for that mission sent in form of goods, which he entered duty free, and therefore could sell at a great profit. Governor Buchanan saw that this not only cut short the revenues of the government, but curtailed the profits which the Colonization Society was wont to derive from trade, and he determined to break it up. Numerous trials and other proceedings were had, and finally, if we are not misinformed, Mr. Seyes and a number of his adherents were as good as banished from the colony—from this missionary colony, that was to be, as Mr. Gurley used to say, a "light of grace" to benighted Africa!

The *Liberia Herald* for January, 1841, be-rates the missionaries at a high rate, calls them vipers, says they had to gulp their own venom, declares the colony never was in such a torn disordered state, and never was the interest of religion at so low an ebb. The colonial legislature took up the matter, and at their session in January passed a new election law, which, among other provisions, excludes from all offices in the colony, all persons in the employment of foreign bodies—political ecclesiastical, or moral. The debates ran very high, but the bill passed. The president of the council doubted its constitutionality, but said it was indispensable to the existence of the government—so terribly has it been convulsed by the machinations of the ecclesiastics. In the midst of this state of things, we see by the *Advocate* and *Journal* of this city, that Bishop Waugh, of the Methodist episcopal church, has announced his intention of going to Africa, and a great parade of resolutions is made on the occasion, as if it was a wonderful act of moral heroism for Dr. Waugh to go for a few weeks to a country where he has so long been trying to send three millions of his countrymen to spend their lives. He must be truly a very apostle in self-denial. The true object, doubtless, is to bring the force of his episcopate to bear upon Governor Buchanan, and upon the Colonization Society here, so as to place the government of the colony at the feet of the ecclesiastics. We shall see.

We observe by the same *Herald*, that the legislature have repealed their former restrictions on trade, which were boasted of in their day as giving a new impulse to agriculture; so that now "every mechanic and farmer may trade to the extent of the avails of his industry."—*Emancipator*.

CUBA.

From the *Emancipator*.

Mr. Walsh, the Paris correspondent of the *National Intelligencer*, in his letter of July 17th, has the following allusion, which cannot but arrest the attention of our slavocratic executive.

"I am struck by the able and unanimous address which I read in the *Journal des Debats* of the 12th instant, from the *Ayuntamiento* of Havana to the regency of Spain, against the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba. It threatens resistance and separation. Though long, it would command insertion in your columns as an important document, if you had it in an English version. The authorities have, no doubt, learned that the British are at work with Espartero for emancipation. The suppression of the slave-trade with the island is a duty, and would prove a benefit to all parties. This Espartero cannot fail to understand."

Our government has received, from the consul at Havana, official information of the issuing of a decree by the governor-general of Cuba, prohibiting the enrolment of foreign built vessels square rigged or fitted for voyages across the ocean, from and after the 24th of June, 1842.—The Baltimore clippers will thus lose their market, and the consulate at Havana will lose its "fees."

These movements have a more portentous aspect, when viewed in connexion with the character of the present governor-in-chief, General Valdez. A gentleman who is well acquainted at Havana represents him as a very honourable, soldier-like man; and as an instance of his integrity, it is said, he utterly refuses to receive what is called the "head money," i.e., the bribes of the slave-holders for winking at the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa. It is supposed that former governors have received an income of at least a hundred thousand dollars per annum. We fear there are some American functionaries who would hardly withstand such a temptation.

The British government have issued an order, prohibiting all British subjects holding official situations in slave-holding countries from becoming the owners of slaves. This has produced a great sensation at Havana, and a very salutary reform.

This order has produced no little squirming among the British officials at Havana, many of whom appear to have entered much more into the spirit of the government they were sent to watch than of that by which they were commissioned. But we think the home government, backed up and watched by the London abolitionists, will carry out the rule.

On the whole, our readers will not fail to conclude, that slave-holders and slave-traders of Cuba have sundry very good reasons for feeling uneasy, and that Americans like Mr. Walsh, who sympathise with them, have cause to be very vigilant. As sure as light, the days of slavery in Cuba are numbered, and then "the United States *must move*."

The latest intelligence from the island shows that the alarm respecting the designs of Great Britain is increasing rather than diminishing. The *Philadelphia National Gazette* brings us a letter of its Havana correspondent, dated August 25th, which says:—

"It is rumoured that England has demanded from the Spanish government a fulfilment of the treaty of 1828 in relation to the slave-trade, and required this government to give up all slaves imported since that time. What the result will be time will show. I have been informed by an officer in the navy, that six thousand troops of the line are at Cadiz, to embark for Cuba immediately, and that the principal fortifications are to be put in a complete state of defence. Three regiments will leave this for the south side of the island immediately."

GLIMPSES OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

(From the United States Papers).

INTENDED REVOLT OF SLAVES IN LOUISIANA.—We learn from the New Orleans papers that intelligence was received in that city on the 22d ult., from Bayou Sara, of a systematic plan on the part of the negros to rise upon and murder the whites. The news, greatly exaggerated in its repetition, created quite a sensation in New Orleans. The plain truth is certainly sufficient to occasion serious apprehensions.

The particulars received are these:—The overseer of the plantation of Robert J. Barrow, of West Feliciana, having occasion to rise from his bed late in one of the recent hot nights, heard what he believed to be negros conversing in one of the quarters. On silently approaching the vicinity and listening, he overheard two of the slaves discussing the subject of a rise against the whites. This led to the examination the next morning of the two fellows, when they confessed the fact, and gave information that led to the arrest of several others. The alarm immediately spread abroad, arrests were made in various plantations, and it was found by the confessions that they all agreed in the main facts, that there was to be a general rise, and that the 1st day of August was the day agreed upon. A white man, a carpenter, who had lately done a job of work for Mr. Barrow, was also arrested on suspicion, and examined. He said he had nothing to do with the plot—that he had never said anything to the negros on the subject, but acknowledged that they had frequently spoke to him, and informed him all about it. This white man, with about forty negros, all of whom had confessed their knowledge of the intended rising, were in the jail at St. Francisville, guarded by a company of volunteers. Their examination by a competent tribunal was to have commenced on the 22nd.

At Woodville numerous slaves were confined in the jail, having confessed to the same facts as those arrested at Feliciana. Captain Laurent states that, on stopping at Point Coupee to communicate information of the situation of the affairs above, several gentlemen recollected occurrences of recent date which tend to confirm the suspicions that the slaves of their section were parties to the wicked plot. One gentleman said he had been asked what day of the month it was by more negros within the last ten days than in seven years before—and there had been unusual assemblies of the slaves, in rather by-places for several Sundays past. Some of the negros have confessed that the combination was from Bayou Sara to Natchez, and the *Picayune* says:—"From all that can be learned, the conspiracy extended throughout the greater part of this state and the state of Mississippi, and the watchword of the wretches to be, "No quarter." It is said that some white men were the leaders in the diabolical scheme, and that two of them have been taken."

ANOTHER OUTRAGE IN THE WEST.—At Kaskaskia, in Illinois, a free state, Mr. Whitehead, a lawyer from St. Louis, a citizen of a slave state, was most grossly abused, and the life of himself and family endangered, because he dared to attend court in his character as attorney on a suit brought for a coloured man who had a legal right to be free. And, note, the outrage is committed in the very presence of Judge Breese, a second Gallio, "caring for none of these things." The newspaper account says:—"On the night of the 12th ult., the house of a Mr. Whitehead, a lawyer from St. Louis, was attacked by a disguised party, who assaulted the place with stones which broke the windows, and some struck Mrs. W., and came near killing an infant on the bed. They burst in, and were on the point of seizing Mr. W., when some neighbours came to his assistance, and

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the party fled. Some of the lawless band were recognized, and six bills of indictment found for burglary, with intent to kill. The party, however were not intimidated, but went to court, and when it adjourned, as Mr. W. was coming out with Judge Breese, they seized upon him, and under the eyes of the Judge himself, they beat, knocked down, kicked, and trampled upon their victim, until some citizens interfered and rescued him. The cause of this outrage and violence proceeded from the fact that Mr. W. was attending court in his character of an attorney, in a suit brought for a coloured man who claims to have a legal right to be free; and some persons of Kaskaskia apprehended that if the suit progressed, some of their coloured people held as slaves since the expiration of the term and against legal right, might also sue for and recover their freedom. These outrages in the west are becoming alarmingly frequent.

SEVERE SENTENCE.—A negro named Lyttleton has been sentenced, at New Orleans, to receive seventy-five lashes upon his bare back, and to wear an *iron collar with* THREE PRONGS, around his neck for three months, for striking a white man! Since the late rumour of an attempt at insurrection, the people of New Orleans have been very much incensed against the blacks, and seem determined to proceed with needless severity against those who offend.—*Atlas.*

A SOUTHERN SCENE.—At the celebration of the last 4th of July at Plymouth, King and Queen's county, Va., an altercation arose at the dinner table between two nabobs, by the name of Hart and Lumpkin. They arose from the table, each with the knife in his hand with which he had been eating, and met each other in conflict. Lumpkin soon succeeded in drawing his knife across the jugular vein of Hart, and laid him a weltering corpse at his feet. He is now in jail awaiting his trial. This is southern *civilization!* Utter what a southern *gentleman* chooses to regard as an insult, and the same knife which a moment before helped you to a slice of beef may cut your throat from ear to ear!

We did not see the above facts noticed in the northern prints at the time, and presume it has just *leaked out* through the southern.—*Free American.*

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

[From the Parliamentary Papers.]

MR. STEVENSON TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

32, Upper Grosvenor Street, Nov. 10, 1840.

MY LORD,—The President of the United States, solicitous to contribute, as far as in his power, to promote the wishes of her Majesty's government for the suppression of the slave-trade, has authorised me to communicate to your lordship, in such manner as I might deem most suitable, extracts from two communications, which have been received by the American government from their consul at Tripoli, and one of their naval officers who has recently returned to the United States from the coast of Africa.

As many of the facts and suggestions contained in these papers may be regarded as of an interesting and important character (and of which your lordship may not be fully apprised) I have deemed it best to communicate them *in extenso*, and with that view have now the honour of doing so. Your lordship will permit me to add my earnest hope that they may prove serviceable, in the efforts which her Majesty's government are making for the extinction of this inhuman and intolerable scourge.

I deem it proper also to state to your lordship, that the characters of the individuals by whom these communications have been made, for integrity and good sense, entitle their statements to implicit confidence. With sentiments of high respect and esteem, I have, &c.

(Signed) A. STEVENSON.

First Enclosure.

Extract of a letter from D. S. M'Cauley, Esq., Consul of the United States at Tripoli, to the Secretary of State of the United States, dated October 3rd, 1839.

Being aware of the great interest the government, in common with an immense majority of the American people, take in the suppression of the slave-trade, I beg leave to suggest to the department, the possibility of ameliorating, if not exterminating that branch of the odious traffic which flourishes in the Barbary States, and which apparently escapes the searching observation and attention of European philanthropists.

For some of my former despatches I have noted the arrival of negro slaves by the rasilas, or caravans, from the interior and I have endeavoured to ascertain the exact number they annually imported but the ill success that has attended all my endeavours to obtain correct statistical information from the Turkish authorities has also attended me in this instance, yet I am disposed to believe, that the number at 2000 to 2500 slaves arriving at this port and Bengasi, is an approximation within the truth; and though the trade to this regency, the most convenient maritime mart of the interior for a number of years past, has, owing to the civil war and unsettled state of the country, been greatly diminished, still it is probable that the numbers carried to Egypt and Tunis have proportionably increased, and, perhaps, very nearly average in each of those states the number imported into this.

Of these slaves but very few are required for the supply of Tripoli; the great proportion is exported principally in Turkish and Greek vessels to the Levant, where they find a ready sale.

Second Enclosure.

United States' brig, Dolphin, New York, July 28th, 1840.

SIR,—Since my arrival in the United States, I have seen, through the papers, accounts of public meetings in England, in which a contrast is drawn between the United States and Great Britain on the subject of slavery, in which our country has been most shamefully denounced, and great praise given to the British for their philanthropy and humanity in their exertions to extinguish slavery and the slave-trade.

Under these circumstances I feel it my duty as an American and public servant, to state what came under my own observation, and the reports of others in whom I have confidence, the British officers themselves, during my late cruize on the coast of Africa.

On my arrival at Sierra Leone, I was informed by Governor Doherty, the British governor of that colony, that during the last year sixty-two slavers had been sent into that place; that not more than one vessel in six was captured by the British cruizers; and that upwards of 300,000 slaves were sent from Africa yearly. There are twenty cruizers employed on the coast between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Verd, who usually cruize out of sight of land.

Between Cape St. Anne and Cape Palmas there are two slave stations, one at the mouth of the river Gallinas, and the other at New Cess. There were collected and confined in the barracoons, or slave-prisons, of the former 5000 slaves, and the latter 1500, waiting for an opportunity to ship them across the Atlantic.

It is customary for the slavers to run into one of these stations in the evening, take on board 300 or 400 negros during the night, and run off with the land breeze the next morning. If they do not meet with a cruizer after running thirty miles, they are safe until they get to the West Indies, where there is again some slight chance of capture before they have an opportunity of landing their negros. I therefore proposed to three of the British commanders I fell in with to blockade these two stations, instead of cruizing so far off the coast; the anchorage is good and safe, and one vessel at each station could lay in such a position as to intercept any slavers coming in. The invariable reply to this proposition was, "This is an unhealthy climate; we come out here to make prize-money; if a slaver is captured without her cargo she is sent to Sierra Leone, where the expense of condemnation amounts to nearly the whole value of the vessel, which is the perquisite of those in the employ of the government at that place; and we who have all the labour and exposure get nothing; whereas, if we capture a vessel with slaves on board, we receive £5. sterling a head for each of them, without any deduction, therefore it is not our interest to capture these vessels without their cargoes."

Most of the slavers sent into Sierra Leone have such articles on board as are used in trafficking for slaves; when the vessels are condemned, these articles are sold at public auction, are purchased by an Englishman there, who is said to be the agent of Pedro Blanco, the great slave-dealer at Gallinas; whether this is the case or not is of little consequence; they are put on board of an English cutter belonging to this man, who carries them to Gallinas, and lands them at his pleasure. This is well known to every person at Sierra Leone; and in conversation with the governor, when he made some remarks on the shameful use of our flag in this trade, I spoke to him on the subject: stated to him that the slave-trade was encouraged and abetted by such proceedings under the very eye of his government. He said he was sensible of it; but as this was a legal traffic he could not prevent it. British, as well as American and French merchant-vessels are also engaged in supplying these slave stations with provisions, and even luxuries, for which they are well paid, and for want of which they could not exist.

Pedro Blanco and others engaged in this business say, if they can save one vessel out of three from capture they find the trade profitable. This can easily be believed, when slaves can be purchased at Gallinas for less than twenty dollars in trade, and sold for cash in Cuba for 350. A few months before I came on the coast the ship *Venus* took away from there a cargo of slaves, and landed in Cuba upwards of 800, by which she cleared 200,000 dollars, after paying for the vessel and her whole expenses during the voyage.

The question now naturally arises, "How is this trade to be stopped?" With regard to Gallinas and New Cess, I think the course to be pursued is very simple and effectual.

A short distance above the mouth of the Gallinas are a number of small islands, on which are situated the barracoons; these are badly fortified with a few pieces of cannon, and worse manned. One hundred men sent in a frigate's boats would be more than ample force to break it up, and capture or disperse all the slaves and burn the town in the course of a few hours; one-third of this force would be sufficient to destroy New Cess. As it takes some time to collect slaves on the coast for transportation, other stations would have to be established which could be again destroyed; and to prevent those men who are now in this business from again engaging in it, they should be either sent away from the coast, or, as they are outlaws (and to make a dreadful example), put to the sword.

I trust, sir, the motive which induced me to make this communication will be a sufficient excuse for troubling the department at the present time.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO MR. STEVENSON.

Foreign Office, December 8th, 1840.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, together with its enclosures, on the subject of the African Slave-Trade, and I beg to express my thanks to you for that communication, and for the information which it contains.

With reference to the suggestion contained in the papers enclosed by you, that a blockade should be instituted at the Gallinas and at New Cess, as an effectual means of putting down the slave-trade, I have much pleasure in acquainting you, that a blockade has for some time past been regularly maintained at the Gallinas by her Majesty's ship *Wanderer*, and by other vessels under the direction of its commander, and at New Cess by her Majesty's ship *Forester*.

With reference to the supposition of the writer of the paper which you have sent me, that British cruizers abstain from taking vessels before they have slaves on board, in order that by capturing such vessels after they have taken their slaves on board the captors may get more prize money, I have to explain to you, that it is only since the passing of the act of 1839 that there has existed any legal authority to condemn Portuguese ships detained for being equipped for slave-trade, and not having slaves actually on board; and therefore, until that act came into operation on the coast of Africa, her Majesty's cruizers could not detain Portuguese slave-vessels until they had actually taken their slaves on board; but, with regard to Spanish vessels, the treaty of 1835 between Great Britain and Spain, gave to the mixed British and Spanish commission a power to condemn slave-vessels under the Spanish flag if found equipped for slave-trade, even though they might have no slaves actually on board; and, during the period which has elapsed since that treaty has been in operation, her Majesty's cruizers have taken and sent in for adjudication eighty-five Spanish slavers without slaves on board, and only eighteen with slaves on board; and since the year 1835, her Majesty's cruizers on the coast of Africa have detained and sent in for adjudication fourteen Brazilian vessels without slaves on board, and only two with slaves on board.

You will see, therefore, from these facts, that the writer of the paper in question is entirely mistaken, in supposing that the British cruizers on the coast of Africa look to profit, instead of to the performance of their duty; and I have further to state, in proof of the zealous activity of the British

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cruizers, that all the slave-vessels sent in for adjudication before any of the mixed commissions, whether in Africa, or in the West Indies, or in Brazil, have been detained and sent in British cruizers; not one of those vessels having been detained by the cruizers of any of the other contracting parties to the treaties, under the stipulations of which those slave-vessels were condemned. I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

A. Stevenson, Esq.

Review.

(From the *Christian Examiner.*)

Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London June, 1840. London: Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street. Pp. 600.

IN the year 1839 was organised in London the "British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society." The fundamental principles of the association are embodied in the following general declaration:—"That, so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles." Such were the sublime objects to be accomplished by the agency of this philanthropic organization, and such the well defined principles on which all its practical operations must be based. And what has been the result? It is our honest and deliberate opinion, that there is *not* a court or cabinet in Europe whose deliberations and decisions on the question of slavery and the slave-trade are not moulded or modified by the salutary influence of the Anti-slavery Society! This is strong language, but not too strong. We have not formed our opinion without evidence. We write advisedly. And even if we had no direct evidence, we should conclude from our knowledge of the men and of their measures that they must exert an influence powerfully and extensively beneficial. The executive committee has some of the most enlightened and zealous philanthropists of the age to manage its affairs. They have no personal interests to promote, no party purposes to serve, in their untiring efforts. They are too high-minded too single-hearted to sanction that system of pitiful jobbing—of place-hunting—of self seeking, which has made many of our (so called charitable, and some, alas! even of our religious) organizations a bye-word and reproach with honourable minds. They have adhered to their great object, and pursued the work with which they were charged, unawed by the frowns, and unseduced by the smiles of the powerful and great. In more than one instance they have nobly pursued their career, as little affected by the studied calumnies of the selfish and ignorant as they were by the unintentional mistakes of the virtuous and wise. For this unbending attachment to great principles we honour this committee; and for this we should not cease to honour them even if compelled to question the soundness of the policy they pursue. We know of no executive committee in this great metropolis which surpasses this committee in the moral power it beneficially wields, because we know of not one which surpasses it in its steady adherence to principles, and its laborious efforts to carry them out to all the length of their fair and legitimate consequences. * * * * * * *

But we are reviewing the actions of men, and not the contents of this book. Be it so—the friends of mental freedom must kindly "forgive us this wrong." We need only assure our readers that this volume contains a very full and faithful record of the proceedings of the truly great Anti-slavery Convention held in this metropolis in June, 1840; and that we regard it as a volume which will possess increasing interest for centuries to come. That Convention was one of the noblest demonstrations of the moral power of principle which this nation ever witnessed. The proceedings were calm, serious, dignified; the results have been powerfully and permanently beneficial. It was an honour to the country—it will be a blessing to the world.

BRAZIL.—A Rio correspondent informs us that the desire among the Brazilians to outvie each other in splendour of dress and equipage during the coronation was the "cause of many a poor slave changing masters." There were instances of families who were entirely supported by the labours of a single slave, selling that one for the shortlived pleasure of making a display on that occasion.

In the *Diario do Rio de Janeiro* of 3rd June, we have an account of the formation of a society for the promotion of the "gradual emancipation of the slaves in this country, and the amelioration of their condition, without peril in any degree, to civil society;" and, furthermore, to promote the increase of the arts and of the free population. To this end they invite the co-operation of all those possessing similar sentiments of patriotism and philanthropy with themselves. Seventy persons have already joined the association, and they publish in this paper a code of laws for carrying out its objects.

The first article is sufficiently explanatory of these, and of the mode of attaining them. Article 1.—The society is instituted to promote and protect, to the utmost of their power, the liberty of slaves born in Brazil, by the employment of means which are exclusively persuasive, friendly, and respectful of the right of property guaranteed by the constitution of the empire, procuring for them an education in the mechanical arts, one of the fountains of public felicity.

FRENCH COLONIES.—The governor of the colony of Bourbon opened the annual session of the colonial council on the 31st of May. In his speech on this occasion, he informed the members that the metropolitan government wished to have the aid of their explanation and experience in solving the emancipation question; but that there were several faults in the colonial system adopted towards slaves and labourers in general which required decided amelioration before any improvement of the moral state of the slave population could be effected. He urged them to take this question into consideration with the calmness and impartiality which the importance of it demanded.—*Morning Herald.*

DENMARK.—A gentleman just returned from Copenhagen informs us, that last year another day in each week was added by the Danish government to the one already given to the negros to free themselves. Although it may be feared that the orders of the government have not been universally adopted, all persons are convinced that the Danish islands must soon be entirely free.

ESCAPE OF SLAVES FROM THE DANISH ISLANDS.—Although the press in St. Thomas is under the surveyance of a Spanish Inquisition, and the *St. Thomas Tidende (Times)* publishes only what Judge Berg permits, which amounts to nothing—nevertheless we are informed in private correspondence, that, in the months of April and May last, there ran away from the three Danish islands to Tortola more than one hundred Danish slaves. That is the best way to put an end to the emancipation question.—*Jamaica Royal Gazette.*

ANTIGUA.—Mr. Athill, a gentleman of African descent, has been appointed chief baron of the exchequer in this island. On occasion of this appointment, the *Antigua Herald* expresses itself as follows:—"We are too well pleased with the appointment announced in last Tuesday's *Register* to allow it to pass without giving it our unqualified assent. Whether we view it as a valuable precedent, or as the means of admission to one of the highest colonial titles of a highly respected member of the class to which we belong, we unhesitatingly pronounce it to be the most important appointment that has yet been made by the Lieutenant-governor during his administration of the general government, and it serves to remind us of the straightforward conduct of his Excellency during his sojourn at Dominica. That Mr. Athill will discharge the duties of chief baron of the exchequer with becoming dignity and independence there does not exist the shadow of a doubt, and that his elevation to that dignified office—unsolicited as it has been—will afford general satisfaction we have every reason to believe. Indeed the spontaneous manner in which the favour has been bestowed, at a time when Mr. Athill's arrival is daily looked for, renders the act the more gracious on the part of his Excellency."

BERBICE.—We copy the following paragraph from the *Berbice Gazette.* "Our Demerara neighbours will no doubt be somewhat surprised to learn, that two abandoned plantations, viz., Kilkoy and Chester, and Belvidere, were sold on Tuesday last at public vendue, the former for 9300 dollars—and the latter for 7000 dollars. The cheering prospects of an abundance of emigrants (obtained at individual expense, and by individual exertion) increases the value of property in this county to a vast amount. It is worthy of remark, that the labourers on Plantation, Albion, were strong competitors for the purchase of both estates."

THE BRITISH GUIANA BANK.—The Demerara papers contain an account of the half-yearly general meeting of the proprietors of the British Guiana Bank. In the report, which was read by the secretary, and contained the half-yearly statement of their affairs to the 30th of June last, it appears that the paid up capital had within six months been augmented by the sum of 119,933 dollars, 33 cents, and that it now amounts in the whole to 1,159,293 dollars, 33 cents, exclusive of the surplus reserved fund of 80 061 dollars, 84 cents. The establishment of Savings Banks in the rural districts was contemplated by the executive, as a means of bringing into active circulation the monies known to be hoarded up extensively by the agricultural population. *Morning Chronicle, Sep.* 14.

THE GUIANA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY held its first anniversary yesterday at the neat little chapel erected on plantation Free and Easy, West Bank, Demerara river. The friends of the institution residing in town were conveyed thither by the excellent schooner *Elizabeth Christopher*, hired for the occasion. The speeches delivered were highly characteristic for good humour and a deep sense of the obligations conferred on this country by the friends of the slave in Great Britain, under the blessing of the great Ruler of mankind.—*Guiana Paper.*

A PORTUGUESE SLAVER.—The following is an extract of a letter from an officer on board her Majesty's ship *Acorn*:—

"*St. Helena, 4th September*, 1841.

"On our passage here from Rio Janeiro, when about half away across, a sail was reported one morning at daylight, and chase was immediately given, the stranger also making sail, and putting before the wind, which looked very suspicious. At about eight o'clock we had neared him considerably, fired a blank gun, and hoisted our colours—no answer! At ten o'clock we were closing her fast, and, observing that it was a slaver, with slaves on board, we fired several shots over her, which at last made her hoist Portuguese colours, and round to. On getting alongside of her, and when in the act of hoisting out and lowering our boats, the villain of a captain put his helm up, and ran right on board of us. Luckily, we were too quick for him in making sail again, so we sustained no damage. I was the first on board, and such a sight I never saw before, and hope never to see again. First, one of their crew lying shot through the shoulder and nobody caring for him in the least; secondly, the captain two-third's drunk, and very abusive and insolent; and last, though not least, about 530 poor creatures crowded in a-tween-decks, where they could but just sit upright. The smell and sight of their poor emaciated bodies was dreadful, and, although only fourteen days out, twenty-two had died of small-pox, and twenty others had it—indeed so reduced were they, that it was difficult to decide at a glance the sex of the poor women and girls, not a vestige of breast or feature remaining by which to distinguish them. Two or three of them were lifted with one hand with the greatest ease. Such a horrible sight I never saw. We sent the slaver (the *Anna* by name) the same evening to Rio for condemnation."—*Morning Herald.*

FRAUDS AND LOSSES IN THE SLAVE-TRADE.—Some time back we alluded to the suspicious circumstances under which certain vessels were fitted out with goods at Hamburg, by a Portuguese firm there, and, as was suspected, with the view of engaging in the slave-trade. Private letters received by the Hamburg mail to-day notice the sudden flight of the head of the firm, leaving liabilities behind him to a large amount. The losses will fall partly here, as one particular house, we hear, loses £10,000 by the affair.—*Morning Advertiser.*

Judge Calhoun, of *Georgia*, has been appointed American Consul for the port of Havana. It was not considered *expedient* to appoint a *northern mercantile* man to this office. The Consul at Havana, often has occasion to interfere in subjects connected with slavery and the slave trade.—*United States Mercantile Journal.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

L. Vol. II. No. 23.] WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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CELEBRATION OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION AT HAYTI.

[From the *Manifeste.*]

Port-au-Prince, August 29th, 1841.—The following is an account of a philanthropic festival held at Jeremie, to celebrate the seventh anniversary of slave emancipation in the English colonies.

In consequence of a subscription opened at Jeremie (St. Domingo) the 17th of July last, a considerable number of the principal citizens of that city held a meeting on the premises of citizen Margron, and arranged a banquet in celebration of the great act of emancipation passed by generous England. The English naval flag, with the Haytian colours, were displayed on the 31st of July, and in the evening of that day a brilliant illumination announced the fete.

When each had taken the place assigned to him, M. F. Brière, president of the banquet, made the speech following :—

" C'est en fesant du bien aux hommes, qu'on
S'approche le plus de la divinite."—Cic.

Fellow citizens,—Selected by you to preside at this honourable meeting, I am really grateful; and I promise to do my best to maintain that order and harmony which should be scrupulously observed. The feeling—I may almost call it religious—with which every one here is impressed, assures me that the meeting will pass in pleasing tranquillity. The object of this fête is most praiseworthy. To rejoice in the happiness of our fellow-men seems to me the purest of all joys. Ah! brothers in the colonies, with what effusions of the heart do we unite to celebrate the anniversary of a day, which has been for you the most beautiful of all days! Be ever grateful for the benefit. Let your conduct prove to the whole world, that man has not been created in the image of God to be classed and assimilated with brute animals. You may prove it by the exercise of all those social virtues, which rarely accompany the unfortunate in a state of abjection, condemned by the avarice and cruelty of his equals. England, magnanimous and generous nation! What delight you must feel in seeing the transports of joy which break forth in your numerous colonies. I believe I hear the grateful thanks of thousands offered to the Creator! These concerts of gladness reach the throne of the Eternal; and the Master of masters bestows upon your happy country his holy benediction. Not satisfied with proclaiming the emancipation of the Africans, you are still occupied, with the greatest zeal, in promoting their moral and religious instruction. Is not this doubling the benefit? What had liberty been without education, which alone leads to a just appreciation of its value! Virtuous philanthropists, who by your solicitude have contributed so much to this great work, enjoy the admiration of all ages; partake of the joy of those you have restored to humanity. May the remembrance of this virtuous action be ever present in your hearts! It is the sweetest recompence virtue can desire. Honour and glory to Great Britain!

The speech of M. Brière was hailed with reiterated applause.

Immediately after M. Féry, the vice-president, addressed the meeting—(Universal acclamations marked the sympathies of the assembly). After they had recovered from their emotions produced by the object of the meeting, and the liberal ideas expressed by the two presidents, they partook of the pleasures of the table. Joy was universal, and, according to the programme of the day, the following toasts were given :—

M. Jacques Villedrouin—" Glory and honour to great and magnanimous Albion! May her example put to the blush those nations which, in the 19th century—the era of light, philanthropy, and civilization—still permit the dreadful slavery and degradation of their equals. Honour to England! May it be reiterated in ages to come and for ever! England is the first nation which, moved by the holy impulse of humanity, wished not that her glorious flag should wave over human beings suffering under abjection, in the chains of slavery. Honour—a thousand times honour to England!"

M. Ane Laforest—" Glory to the very noble and magnanimous English nation."

J. B. Hugon—" To the philanthropists of the universe."

Rocher—" To the philanthropists. May they by perseverance make the last of slaves feel the want of liberty!"

Phipps—" May the generous English people, who have endeavoured to propagate liberty throughout the world, never see with an indifferent eye an attempt to extinguish its light in Hayti! May the Haytian open his eyes to the causes of his misery, and employ means most efficacious for a remedy!"

Baptiste Midre—" May the Haytian youth, by perseverance and study, find the means to draw his country from the state of stagnation in which we are placed, and establish all the benefits of our Republican institution!"

J. B. Smith—" May the emancipated be enlightened by national education, based upon the immutable commands of God and the precepts of our Saviour! It is a cruel mockery to say you are a freeman and a good citizen, whilst ignorance and vice are inseparable, and prevent the man from being one or the other. These faults render some inferior, dependent on other men, and accomplices in the frauds of tyranny."

Alcide—" The English Bill of 1814. That generous Act which history should record in letters of gold, as the greatest benefit rendered in modern times to humanity."

Chassagne—" To Philanthropy. May its effects, which call to liberty those who remain in chains, at the same time purify and refine those persons who, whatever may be said, are only half free!"

T. A. Blanchet—" To the English people, who exercise with so much wisdom and energy their political rights, in the face of that government which takes its guidance from public opinion, wisely encouraged by the liberty of the press: with the right of petitioning in front of the movement. It is to this happy influence exercised over power by a humane and enlightened people, that civilization owes the abolition of slavery. The era, solid and glorious, which honours that great and generous nation, will rest in remembrance of succeeding generations."

Magron, Sen—" To England and her enlightened cabinet we owe the first emancipation of our brothers. May that nation preserve for ever the rank she now holds amongst civilized nations."

A. C. Fouchard drank to the health of his fellow-citizen Féry, who had so ably supported the object of their civic and patriotic banquet.

Castaing—" To the Marquis of Sligo, ex-governor of Jamaica, the advocate of freedom, for his persevering philanthropy."

Moreau—" May the liberty, honour, and glory of the English nation live for ever."

René Isaac—" To the memory of William the Fourth, and her Majesty Queen Victoria, who has so generously continued the execution of the work of her predecessor. This memorable act belongs to powerful men, but liberty is the work of the Creator—it will exist whilst the Thames shall ebb and flow."

Francois Dubois—" May the progress of light destroy the prejudices which flow from ignorance!"

S. Mege—" To O'Connell! the eloquent apostle of emancipation and liberty."

Durin Mege—" To the eternal memory of the martyrs of liberty, who have faced glorious death to sustain and propagate the noble principles of humanity in beautiful England. The glory of the officers and sailors of the English navy who have destroyed the slave-trade."

F. Hyppolyte—" To our citizens who work with the philanthropic English in the happy cause of African emancipation."

Magron, Fils—" Love, veneration, and eternal gratitude to the champions of our race, hatred and execration to their enemies."

Charles Arlet (de Bordeaux)—" To the memory of Mirabeau, who first proclaimed the rights of man in the face of all the tyrants of the earth."

A. Féry—" To the English ladies and their exemplary piety; they have done much in the emancipation which we celebrate this day."

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Elie Lartigne—"To the great act of the emancipation of the African race, the triumph of christianity and philanthropy. May we Haytians preserve the liberty gained by our fathers, and not furnish our enemies with arms opposed to the progressive march of the emancipation of our unfortunate brothers!"

Here M. Fouchard spoke to the effect following:—Gentlemen, slavery exists in every part of the earth—it lays its iron hand upon the human race. The rights which the Supreme Being gave to a portion of mankind for the general good, became, in the hands of tyrants, the criminal instruments for placing the yoke of servitude on the weak and ignorant mass. What a frightful picture for humanity! What a sad and affecting spectacle for the philosopher doth man bring to view! He is found sacrificing all feeling, and every sentiment of justice, to the insatiable thirst for riches. Extended upon the bed of opulence, he enjoys his pleasures at the expense of the toil and wretchedness of the unfortunate slave, covered with rags, bowed down by misfortunes, and sinking under excessive labour enforced by the whip. At last the slave expires under the weight of torments, tinging the earth with his blood—that earth from which he gathers fruits for the profit of his destroyers. It belongs to the energy of Hayti to break these chains, and shake the mind by a great and terrible example; frightful to all those who think that the privileged classes are born to keep the rest of men perpetually enclosed within the circle of ignorance, in order to promote their own oppression, and reap the fruits of the labour of the unfortunate. Toussaint, Dessalines, Geffrard, Petion, and other heroes arose. The warlike blood of the children of Africa refused to dishonour the soil. They sought the fields of honour and liberty. With the sword and fire they have fought and regained our rights. The result of their triumph was the proclamation of our liberty! To glorious and powerful England it was reserved to give to men a second example—an example great, generous, and liberal. Object of eternal admiration, this happy event brings before us the sublime sentiment of a nation for the glory of men in general. Having arrived at the memorable epocha of emancipation, which we celebrate this day, England will still endeavour to rescue men from the snares of the oppressor, by imparting a knowledge of their rights, and the advantages procured by liberty, without which life is no more than moral death. O God! lend this great nation thy assistance, and grant thy blessing to the men of all nations, who have opposed our audacious calumniators, and co-operated in the work which constitutes the great philanthropic epocha, distinguished in the annals of the world.

The speeches and toasts which followed were received by the assembly with loud and continued applause.

M. Paret sang Dupré's "Hymn to Liberty." A hymn to England upon the Emancipation of the slaves, written for this occasion, was also sung by M. Alcide. Want of space will not permit us to report the hymns.

The object of the meeting being entirely accomplished, the President gave the last toast, "The memory of Petion," after which, the assembly retired from the banquet-hall, and accompanied to their residence the President and Vice-President of the fête.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

(From the *Siecle*.)

THE question of the abolition of slavery has given much matter of discussion theoretically, thanks to the subtleties and eccentric systems of those sophists who are not afraid to advance the worst arguments for the purpose of retarding the fall of a degrading and shameful practice. But all incertitude vanishes from the moment when facts are touched upon. Monsieur Victor Schœlcher already known by many important and celebrated works, is now about to publish some useful investigations which he has made on the actual state of our colonies. He has observed personally the situation of the slaves; the exact picture of that situation is the most conclusive reply to the adversaries of emancipation. The work that M. Schœlcher has prepared will furnish documents highly important to the cause of which he has always been one of the most persevering defenders. We publish a fragment of this work, full of interest. The details are equally sad and curious. They show that it is necessary to plead in the most eloquent manner in favour of the emancipation of the blacks. The following is the extract:—

The law does not recognise any civil state in a slave: a circular of the 27th December, 1805, renews this declaration of the edict of 1685, at the time of the promulgation of the civil code in the colonies. The slave exists, in the eyes of the law, only by the census of the master. In defiance of the ordonnances of 1827 and 1828, which make it one of the duties of the civil authority to keep registers of the births and deaths of the negros, the births and deaths of this degraded species are only kept perhaps on a bit of paper, or perhaps on the back of an old account book of the proprietor, as if it were merely a memorandum to aid his private memory. The slave may possess property, but it is only by the tolerance of his master; legally he has nothing—all that he possesses belongs to his proprietor; he can neither buy nor sell; it is not even allowable for him to purchase his freedom, if the master will not consent to sell it him. The state of slavery is an annihilation of all rights and of all faculties, an eternal civil and moral mutilation; a slave has almost nothing in common with his fellow-men but mere animal organisation. Always rigorously kept in ignorance, for fear his brain should be susceptible of a development dangerous to his proprietor, he is destined never to know the sublime feelings and inspirations which education would procure for him. Whatever may be his genius, he cannot quit his position; and, in this respect, modern slavery is more horrible than ancient slavery; for, in the ancient slavery, the free slave could pretend to public employment, to employment of all kinds; the modern slave can aspire to nothing; he is not a man, he is a thing, and he lives in submission to every misery, to all the chances and accidents of a mere material thing."

At the time of our visit to the prison of Fort Royal a black attached to the great chain approached Monsieur Lemaire, inspector of prisons, who did us the honour to accompany us, and addressed him in the following manner:—

"I have not been condemned—I have done no harm; I was taken one evening for not having a ticket. My master had then to defend himself against another proprietor, who pretends that I belong to him. They have left me here 'en depôt,' and during seven months that their process has lasted I have been in prison and in chains. The masters dispute as to who shall have me; neither one nor the other will clothe me; detained for their account, the prison authorities will not burden themselves with my support, and you see that I am naked. I demand clothing—I demand to be released from chains—I ask to be no longer sent to labour on the public works—I ask to be discharged from prison;" and he finished as he had commenced—"I have done no evil; I have not been condemned."

The slave spoke tranquilly, and appeared but little to feel the frightful iniquity of which he was the victim. Monsieur Lemaire has a generous heart, but he has inhabited the colonies for fifteen years; he received the declaration tranquilly. We each gave the poor fellow something, and all was finished; he is perhaps yet in gaol.

Behold to what a slave is exposed! Open the first colonial journal that comes to your hand, and you will read announcements like the following:

"In the name of the king, law and justice—

"Information is given to all whom it may concern, that, on Sunday the 26th instant, in the market-place of the borough of St. Esprit, after mass, the public sale will be proceeded with, of

"The slave Susanne, negress, about 40 years of age, with her six children, of 13, 11, 8, 7, 6, and 3 years old.

Being a seizure under execution—cash payment.

"J. CHATENEY, Overseer of the estate."

Many similar advertisements follow in Monsieur Schœlcher's work.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*.

London, 11th Month 14th, 1841.

SIR,—In my last I concluded all questions relative to the slave-trade. I now forward some concerning the legal measures for securing at least a portion of the rights of the slave.

Are manumissions frequent?—"Yes." Here it may be in place to remark that there is a foundling hospital in Rio, where, by ringing a bell, a semicircular box is turned till it can receive the child in its cavity; when, without further ceremony, its rotatory motion is continued, till it covers the child from the view of the depositor, and delivers it into the possession of the Orphan society. By a law of 1st mo. 31st, 1775, all young slaves so exposed were to be brought up free; but as some owners claimed and received them, on paying the expense of their education, it was declared on 2nd mo. 22nd, 1823, that they must be considered as orphans, and brought up to enjoy all the privileges of freemen, without any impediment whatsoever. Dr. Walsh on this remarks, "such is the operation of slavery, that the bastard becomes free, and the legitimate child continues a bondman."

Can the slave purchase his own freedom?—"Yes. I have often been applied to by negros to contribute towards their obtaining their freedom, they showing a certificate from their owner, or parish priest, that it was permitted. I know one negro woman who bought her own freedom for 560 milreis."

Has the state ever manumitted any for services rendered?—"Yes, a few."

Is marriage sanctioned, and, if so, is it respected by the non-separation of the parties and families?—"This is generally left entirely to themselves. But, among slaves, I should say there are very few instances of legal marriage being entered into by them. And these would never be respected, if the owner's interest prompted the separation of the parties."

What number of slaves have been liberated by the Mixed Commission Court? The following answer was kindly afforded me by a person of importance in that very court:—"4121." He also gave me the list of males and females taken in each ship, by which I found that, of 3437 of the above number, 2409 were males, and only 1028 were females!

What has become of the above-mentioned Africans freed by the Mixed Commission Court in Brazil? "A very few have attained their full freedom, from having concluded the term of their apprenticeship. The greater part have not yet finished that term, and probably will never obtain their liberty, as the persons they have been confided to, *with connivance of the authorities*, find means of substituting them for such of their own slaves as may die, by obtaining certificates to this effect, and in other ways. The distribution of Africans from condemned slave vessels is a great source of patronage to the Brazilian minister. The director of the house of correction sold many of them, some have been sold to people in Minas Geraes, and friends of ministers in distant places."

I was credibly informed that the party who receives an apprentice, pays the executive officer of government a fee of one hundred milreis for the favour.

There was a certain individual who boasted on change, that, without application, he had received five of these apprentices;

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and, in a very few days afterwards, his name appeared as the patriotic contributor of £500 towards the expense of the war against the rebels of Rio Grande do Sul. His conduct was highly extolled, and the public were strongly appealed to that his noble example might be followed by others.

So much for the result of the labours of the Mixed Commission Court of Brazil, which, during the period of twenty-one years, from 7th month 31st, 1821, to 1841, condemned 22 slavers, and manumitted 4121 slaves.

But it would be an injustice to the cause of abolition were I here to refrain from remarking, that the naval officers are so harassed by the proceedings of this court that they have lately sent vessels elsewhere for trial and adjudication. On more carefully inquiring into the cause of this, I find that the Brazilian judge and secretary are in the pay of the slave-dealers, so that the British judge, if he would, has not the power to act up to the letter of his instructions.

The parties alluded to can always put leading questions to the British judge, as to the procedure to be adopted from time to time against any particular slaver, *and thus the slave-traders ascertain exactly what provision to make for the several occasions on which their cause comes before this Mixed Court.* Indeed the Brazilian judge, whilst sitting as such, on the trial of the *Nova Aurora*, captured by a British cruiser on 3rd month 16th, 1841, most unjustifiably undertook the defence of that vessel. His speech on the occasion is published in the journal of Rio, now in my possession. The decision was that although there was cause of detention, yet the vessel was discharged, and heavy damages awarded against the captors!!

This inconsistency did not escape the vigilance of the British chargé d'affaires, William G. Ouseley, who, in reporting the case to the Brazilian government, especially noticed the extraordinary conduct of their judge. This just and reasonable remonstrance obtained, as usual, an acquiescent reply, but procured no practical result; for the judge, in his two-fold character, still remains in office.

The inefficiency of this court arising, to say the least of it, from its own inconsistency, is easily to be traced in the parliamentary and other official documents relative to its proceedings; especially in the letters of the British Consul of Rio de Janeiro, whose remarks therein contained say much for his experience, and do credit to his head and heart.

But this result, however deplorable, might, by some national remonstrance, be avoided in future, were not the court itself so corrupted by the *friendly intercourse* of its judges and secretary with the slave-dealers, as to be inflexible in its purpose of frustrating the end for which it was ordained; and this, with such unblushing affrontery, as to continue in its systematic course of indolence in good and industry in evil measures, notwithstanding the reports in the public documents above referred to, wherein we see a remarkable record of the lamentable fact, that the best intended legislation must fail, where honourable, conscientious, and disinterested public officers are wanting to carry its purpose into effect.

Let the naval commanders on the Brazilian station be asked their opinion of this court. Their answer, I say it without fear of differing, will be—we send our prizes elsewhere, whenever we possibly can, because of the misconduct of this mixed commission court.

It requires no small measure of moral energy and courage to resist the slave-dealers, whilst they liberally bribe those who can be bought, and recklessly assassinate those who will not receive the price of blood. As an evidence of the latter, I transcribe the following copy from the original letter which was seized on the person of the captain of the *Maria Carlotta*, a slaver captured by the *Grecian*, 5th month, 29th, 1839, and afterwards condemned by the mixed commission court for having slave fittings, &c. on board.

To SENHOR GASPAR.

"I forward you half-pound of Sal Amargo,* to be sent to Senhor Simplicio, so that he may be furnished with it in case he should be captured! (which God forbid), that he may put a dose of it into a barrel of wine, and another into a barrel of brandy; as they immediately commence drinking: thus they will be done for, and you rid of them. This is the method which I recommend for settling them, as they are very determined and rash, and treat their prisoners worse and worse.

"There was a great disturbance to-day in the Palace square, caused by our trying to rescue the Captain of the *Ganges;* and we did rescue him, and there was plenty of pelting of stones, brickbats, &c. The chief of police was obliged to send a force to protect them, and to take the necessary precautions. The English are prevented from coming on shore, and their provisions are sent off in boats; otherwise many deaths would certainly take place and I think it likely that much blood will yet be spilt. This is the reason why I thought of this dose [remedio], as I was once denounced by the Grande Leopoldo, &c. The dose is sent herewith, and I strongly recommend the same remedy to Senhor Simplicio.

(Signed) "ANTONIO JOSE DE MESQUITAS."

* Sal Amargo, by which such a murderous purpose was to be effected, means nothing more than common salts; but is the covering name for some deadly poison. Like our London thieves, these man-stealers have a cant language peculiar to themselves: for instance, they call gunpowder "onion seed" ("semente de cebolla").

With this specimen of slave-dealers' cunning I must close my letter, having nothing farther to communicate at present on the subject of the laws regarding slaves in Brazil. I remain, thine very truly,

GEORGE PILKINGTON.

GERRIT SMITH'S SLAVES.

[Extracted from a letter addressed by James Cannings Fuller to Joseph Sturge, and published in the *Emancipator and National Anti-Slavery Standard.*]

New York, September, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—Doubtless thou hast often thought of our visit to Gerrit Smith. As thou requested me to furnish thee with the result of the case then brought under our notice by a letter received while we were there, I cheerfully comply; and, believing it may be interesting to thee, and productive of benefit to others, will give a somewhat detailed account of my journey, and will endeavour to develope this case from its commencement till its present happy consummation. * * * Ann Carrol Fitzhugh is the daughter of Colonel William Fitzhugh, a slave-holder, formerly resident in Maryland. Ann and her brother James, when infants, were presented with two slaves—the former had a girl named Harriett, the latter a boy called Sam. These negros grew up together, and, being strongly attached, when Ann was about eighteen (soon after her marriage) her brother requested her to give him Harriett, that she might become Sam's wife. Ann was then young, and had been educated to consider slavery right; and, the idea of bestowing a wife on her brother's slave being naturally pleasing, it is no marvel that she cheerfully granted the request.

James Fitzhugh removed from Maryland to Kentucky. His pecuniary affairs became embarrassed, and creditors were clamorous. Under these circumstances he was prevailed on to transfer Sam, Harriet, and their first-born son, to one of his creditors. This man afterwards sold them to Samuel Worthington, a cotton planter of Mississippi. * * * *

[In the mean time Ann's views of slavery had changed, as well as those of her husband, Gerrit Smith, who had become one of the most devoted and influential of the American abolitionists; and they were earnestly desirous to release Harriett and her family from bondage. G. Smith, therefore, wrote to S. Worthington on the subject.] In his reply S. Worthington did not notice the number of the children, but stated that he might be induced to take 4000 dollars for the whole family. This circumstance, added to the following remark, gave us but a poor opinion of his sincerity. —"I am to some extent opposed to slavery; but, when I reflect that the great mass of the white people are very poor, that thousands of white children are congregated in factories, &c., that most of them work hard and die in poverty, and that, as I believe it may safely be said, there is not a nation of black people enlightened and capable of enjoying liberty, I must reconcile myself as I best can, trusting that God will in his own time adjust the matter."

It appeared that this letter was copied by another who accidentally omitted the word "five" before children; a circumstance trivial in itself, but it led to several wrong conclusions, and somewhat interrupted the harmony of our subsequent transactions. * * * *

[From the above circumstances, James Fuller was induced to offer to go to Mississippi, and treat with S. Worthington personally. He started the 20th of 7th month (July), viâ Lake Erie, through the state of Ohio, to Maysville, Kentucky. At this place he writes:—]

I here fell in with a Louisianian, who remarked he had been offered several Kentucky plantations at a low price, the owners being prostrated. Thinking to obtain information, I asked him some questions respecting the south. He said land there had much depreciated, but slaves kept up their price—a man of thirty would sell for 1000 dollars—that the southern planters desired to change the complexion of their field hands, and proposed the following method:—If northern men would consent to marry their negroes, the masters would emancipate the women, and give a dowry equal to the sum the white man, if of good character, might possess. He said the Irish, English, &c., would much improve their condition by cultivating cotton and sugar on this continent, while the planter would grow these articles cheaper by the labour of European 'serfs,' than by black slaves. These remarks made me feel like a barrel ready to burst from fermentation within, but I could not give vent by means of my tongue. The driver of the mail from Maysville to Lexington (65 miles) being a Pennsylvanian, I asked him if he could not earn as much in a free as in a slave state. He replied, eighteen dollars a month was the most he received in a free state, now he received thirty. This paved the way for some anti-slavery talk. "Last Monday night," said he, "I saw a big black man making his way for Canada. I might have stopped him, and had 200 dollars." I asked him if it was not better to have God's blessing with the fruits of honest industry, than His curse and 200 dollars blood-money. He said, with moistened eyes, "I wish all the slaves were free." This poor negro, thinking to escape from slavery expeditiously, took a horse, but from this the turnpike gates increased the risk of apprehension. To avoid this, before reaching one he let down a fence, put it up again, and passed round the back of the house. He was remounting on such an occasion, when the driver met him and wished him good night, but discovered by his voice he was a black man. On reaching Paynes-

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town, he heard some talk about a runaway, and concluded this to have been the man. * * * Stage coaches offer no help to the poor fugitives. By the laws of government no coloured man can drive a mail stage, neither may a coloured man ride on one, unless known to be free, or a slave with his master: a high penalty is inflicted for the infringement of these laws. At Washington the stage was stopped to know if a coloured boy could be put on. "Yes; where is he?" "At the jail yonder." The querist took a seat inside, and I soon saw a coloured man outside, with keepers; he was a captured runaway, for whom 200 dollars had been offered if taken out of the state, or 100 if taken within it. To ride on a stage with a man bound in chains and padlocks, made one feel the force of the exclamation, "Give me liberty or death."

At Lexington we encountered the man who claimed the poor fugitive. The driver began to plead with him in behalf of the slave. I heard of another case, where an angry master threatened to flog a recovered runaway, but the driver of the stage remonstrated so effectually that he wept, and promised forgiveness to his slave. O may we get the common people aroused! I would rather see stage drivers as a body abolitionists, than all the clergy in the land. I have no wish to disparage them; but, with a few noble exceptions, they are not found in the van of unpopular reforms.

Desiring to see the improved cattle on H. Clay's plantation, I went thither. Henry Clay was not at home. I saw a coloured man, and said to him, "Where wert thou raised!" "In Washington." "Did Henry Clay buy thee there!" "Yes." "Wilt thou show me his improved cattle!" Following his directions, I met an intelligent looking boy, about 9 or 10. I said to him, "Canst thou read!" "No." "How old art thou!" "Don't know." "Is there a school for coloured people on this plantation!" "No." In the orchard I found a woman at work with her needle. I asked her, "how old art thou!" "Near sixty." "How many children hast thou!" "Fifteen or sixteen." "Where are they!" "Coloured folk don't know where their children is, they are sent all over the country." "Where wast thou raised!" "At Washington." "Did H. Clay buy thee there!" "Yes. I had four children then; they tell me they are dead." Her hut was neither so good nor so well floored as my stable. Several slaves were picking fruit. I asked one, if they were taught to read: he said, "No." The overseer had a short-handled stout whip. He said it answered for a riding whip, or to "wipe off" the slaves! * * * I found Samuel Worthington quite a different person than his letters led me to expect. He was a Kentuckian by birth; went to Mississippi as an overseer, and now owns a cotton plantation of 120 slaves. I believe he is a kind master in the common acceptation of the term; and far be it from me to say anything disrespectful of him, except that he is a slave-holder, a word in my view comprising the "sum of all villainy." He said, when G. Smith's letter came he supposed the writer was not in earnest, and was surprised to hear my intention of coming to Haroldsburgh. He regretted this, as it might break up his family arrangements; his wife had three small children, one a babe; and this step would leave her without assistance. He then said he did not feel bound to sell the family, as he had only written to Mr. Smith that he *might be induced* to take 4000 dollars for them. At length he proposed my seeing Sam, as he did not think he would leave him; but I said I would do no such thing till he and I had concluded our bargain. "I do not believe," said I, "there is a man on these grounds but would go with me from slavery. If Sam has objections, let me see his wife." "No," said he, "she would go." After some pros and cons we concluded a bargain, subject to the parties being willing to leave; 3500 dollars were to be paid, and we went together to converse with Sam and his wife. The master probably felt so confident his slave would not leave him, he had not patience to wait, and asked the question of him alone. Sam answered him promptly, he would go. The bills of sale were drawn out accordingly, and Sam and his family were regularly conveyed over to me. The large price paid for this family may surprise thee; but it is justice to say, his description of the family is correct, "they are all sprightly, of good character, and, of course, valuable house servants." He said he had repeatedly been offered 2000 dollars for Sam—spoke highly of his worth, and yet talked as if certain that Sam and his family would be reduced to beggary, if left to themselves in the north. Samuel Worthington said that many, on hearing of my business, advised him to have nothing to do with me; but, said he, "were I to send you home without this family, I should have a troubled mind." One of his greatest difficulties was that his wife was left destitute of servants. I pitied her, and told her I believed there was a struggle in her own breast between duty and interest; and appealed to her if this were not so. My remarks enabled her to relieve herself of a weight; she brightened up, and appeared willing I should take them away. She shewed great kindness to Harriett and her children, and felt much on parting with one who had so long been her nurse.

Those who know me will not suspect I sought to conceal my abolition principles; but I did not desire to make them a topic of conversation, except as a way opened, and had not expected to say as much as I did; but it was a curiosity for a Quaker to be seen in such company, and it was soon known why I had come, and what I had done. This gave rise to many conversations with slave-holders, which I trust did good. Thou wilt be surprised to hear thy old friend was complimented by them for his discretion. As they professed to believe abolitionists wished to incite the slaves by every means in their power against their masters, my refusing to talk with Sam till I had settled the matter with Samuel Worthington naturally seemed to them remarkable. * * * On paying the money, I felt constrained to testify that I could in no degree sanction the principle that man could hold property in man—that the slaves are our equals by creation, and for their salvation, equally with ours, did Christ suffer on the cross. I told them he who was now paying this money for slaves deemed it his duty to abstain from all slave produce, and that the number of those who agreed with me in this scruple was increasing in the North. All this seemed wondrous strange!

On our way home, I took care the coachmen and passengers should know the history of Sam and his wife; some one was sure to make this a subject of conversation. At Lawrenceburgh the landlord (a slave-holder) tried to make me believe his slaves were better off than himself. I merely asked in reply, if he would be willing that he and his family should exchange places with a slave family: this was too severe a test, and he walked off. My host inquired if I sat at table with coloured people, and was much surprised when I answered, "I do not judge persons by complexion. At my own table I sit with coloured people, and shall sit with these." At Louisville we took the steam-boat for Cincinatti. The captain asked me whether the negros were my property. I answered, "yes;" but explained the circumstances. With an apology, he said they usually asked for a reference. I shewed him my bill of sale, and asked him whether, if I had brought a barrel of lard on board, he would have troubled me to prove property. He apologized by saying, they had been imposed on by white men, who put slaves on board pretending they were free, and the owners of the boats had been obliged to pay 6000 dollars for fugitive slaves. At the Mansion house at Buffalo an advertisement caught my eye, headed, LIBERTY in Missouri, offering 3000 dollars reward for three fugitive slaves. No stage-riding for coloured people here; and it was with difficulty I could obtain breakfast for my companions, though I had paid for it!

After an absence of twenty-six days I arrived safely at my own house, and, after two days, proceeded to Gerrit Smith's, where, as thou mayest well believe, we received a friendly welcome. I had travelled 1805 miles. The whole cost of redemption, including our travelling expenses, was 3583 dollars 81 cents (£807 sterling).

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA: THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S MINUTE.

THIS minute commences with adverting to the generally mild character of what is termed slavery in India, the connexion between agrestic slavery and the distinctions of caste, and the little value which some of the slaves who have been emancipated place upon their freedom. It then declares that, "in effect, that which constitutes the essence of slavery may be said to have been already abolished nearly everywhere throughout India;" meaning by "the essence of slavery" the aid of the criminal courts in enforcing the claims of the masters over their slaves. In several districts, it is further observed, the means of escape are easy for the slave, while the rights of the master are so difficult of enforcement as not to be worth the attempt. It has even been declared upon high authority, that according to Mohammedan law there is no punishment for a slave absconding, and that, "if they go away from the houses of their masters without their permission, they are at liberty to live wherever they please, and they are not liable to any trial under the law in question." Also that no Mohammedan master could prove a legal title to the possession of a slave at this day, and that it is nearly the same with regard to Hindoo masters.

Such are the principal facts adduced by his lordship as descriptive of that state which is termed slavery in India, and, admitting them to be well founded, admitting that the essence of slavery has already been abolished, and that under the Mohammedan law no master can enforce a claim to the possession of a slave, the natural inference is that slavery does not legally exist in India. Now, if this is the case, and if there are persons held in slavery contrary to law, it is surely the bounden duty of the government to protect them, by enforcing the law which it professes to administer impartially to all; it would be monstrous inconsistency to tell us that slavery is contrary to law, and at the same time to refuse the protection of the law to those who are held in slavery. If these facts are the real facts of the case, let them be proclaimed and universally acted upon, and the question of slavery in India would be at once and for ever settled.

But what does the Governor-general propose to do in this case! He says, that he is prepared to pass a law declaring that any act which would be an offence if done to a freeman, shall be equally an offence if done to a slave, and also that no magistrate shall be allowed to decide on claims to slaves. This is the full extent of the measures proposed by the Governor-general, yet this is doing nothing more than what he says in the minute has already been done, nearly everywhere throughout India! Though professing to believe that no man can be legally held in slavery, the Governor-general is prepared to pass a law which, on his own showing, is unnecessary, and which will have the effect of sanctioning slavery! He is informed that "slavery, its laws and local usages, are in Bengal one strange mass of anomaly and contradiction," yet he is willing to leave it in that state, and that at a time when the law of India is undergoing revision, and acquiring some de-

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gree of consistency. He is moreover assured by the Indian Law Commissioners that slavery is attended with evils and abuses of such magnitude, that, if they "cannot be prevented otherwise than by its abolition, then slavery ought to be abolished;" yet even this statement is disregarded: the Governor-general makes out a case for himself, extenuating the evils of slavery, and almost denying its legal existence, all which are good reasons for abolishing the name of slavery, and yet he stops short of his own conclusions, and will only agree to do what has already been done nearly every where throughout India.

With the evidence before us regarding slavery in India, its extent, its evils and abuses, the various and contradictory laws and usages in operation, it is surely neither wise nor prudent to leave it in its present unsettled and unsatisfactory state, to be dealt with at the will, or misapprehension, or caprice of every local officer. Circumstances are at present all favourable for effecting the abolition of slavery. The lawfulness of slavery is doubtful, the rules and customs are various and contradictory, the proprietors of slaves are accustomed to changes and innovations, their power has been gradually reduced, and in some places totally suppressed; according to the Governor-general's minute "the essence of slavery may be said to have been already abolished nearly every where throughout India;" and, what is perhaps of more consequence than all, slave labour is of little or no value. But, should it happen that, from any alterations in the course of trade (such as an increased production of sugar for exportation), or by any general improvement in agricultural concerns, slave labour should become more valuable than it has hitherto been, the difficulties in abolishing slavery will then be incomparably greater than at present. Hitherto there has been no difficulty in abating slavery wherever measures of amelioration have been adopted, and slavery has been expressly abolished in Arracan almost without a murmur, and certainly without any demonstration or attempt at resistance; but, whenever the time arrives that there is a great demand for slave-labour, when it becomes more valuable than it is at present, there will be powerful interests opposed to the abolition of slavery, and the question will be surrounded with difficulties from which it is now free.

The reluctance of the Governor-general to take any decisive step can be ascribed only to that *vis inertiæ* which is said to be inherent in all our Indian governments. He seems to be convinced that slavery ought to be abolished, but, instead of accomplishing this end by a direct and open course of action, he would leave it to time and the operation of indirect means, or, as it has been said elsewhere, "he would leave slavery to wear out in this country under the influence of British rule, without immediate intervention to suppress it." This temporizing policy, though necessary at times, is generally a proof of weakness, and in the present case there is no substantial reason for adopting it, while it is certain that the difficulties will be increased by delay.

Another circumstance which may throw some light upon the Governor-general's minute is, that the Indian law commissioners, in the course of their investigations into East India slavery, had reduced the question to this point, "that, if the abuses which slavery gives rise to in this country cannot be prevented otherwise than by its abolition, then slavery ought to be abolished." The commissioners thought that the abuses could be otherwise prevented, with such a degree of certainty as to justify them in not advising the emancipation of the slaves, and they accordingly drew out a string of regulations, which they recommended the government to enact for that purpose; but the Governor-general saw at once that these regulations would be impracticable, and he gives it as his decided impression, "that the adoption of all the minute and detailed provisions recommended by the law commissioners, would much rather impede than advance the object we all have in view. That object is the earliest possible extinction, first practically, and in the end even avowedly, of slavery, in so far as such results can be attained by acts of the government." In this instance, the Governor-general has acted with sound discretion, for it would be a hopeless task to endeavour to correct the abuses of slavery except by its abolition; he should then have accepted the alternative of the commissioners, and decided that "slavery ought to be abolished:" but, instead of doing this, he endeavours to show that the evils of slavery in India are not so great as had been represented by the commissioners. By the above-mentioned declaration of the commissioners the Governor-general was reduced to this dilemma, either to accept the last alternative of the commissioners, or to invalidate the facts from which they drew their conclusions; and in making his own escape, he has left the commissioners in another dilemma; they must now either eat their own words, or fall back on their last alternative, and pronounce their final verdict, that, *as the abuses which slavery gives rise to in India, cannot be otherwise prevented, "it ought to be abolished."*

This minute of the Governor-general has placed both himself and the commissioners in a most whimsical position. They are both opposed to immediate abolition, and still more opposed to each other; but, granting that his lordship is correct in only one of the points in dispute (the impracticability of eradicating the abuses of slavery by means of regulations), and granting that the commissioners are correct in one other point (the enormous evils and abuses of slavery), the two parties when brought to admit these positions will not only become reconciled, but each will convince the other that slavery ought to be abolished. In the meantime, his lordship's minute has forced the commissioners to appear as the advocates of abolition, for we have it now on the highest authority that the abuses cannot be corrected by the proposed regulations, and it follows, according to the commissioners, that "slavery ought to be abolished."

Thus has this long protracted inquiry into slavery in India proved a miserable failure. And not only is the Governor-general directly opposed to the commissioners, but the commissioners also differ amongst themselves on a very essential point, that of allowing the masters to inflict punishment upon their slaves. When we call to mind that the abolition of slavery, which was to have taken place in 1837, was postponed in order to fortify the measure by the experience of the Indian government, and the superior information of a local commission, the contrast between the promise and the performance is beyond all previous calculation or conception. These proceedings are, however, fraught with instruction for those who still contend for the expediency of regulating slavery, instead of abolishing it; for what hope is there that any measures can be devised for extirpating the abuses of slavery, when so great a diversity of opinion prevails amongst all who have been appointed to devise those measures, and who have devoted much time and attention to the subject? To such persons the result of this inquiry must be far from satisfactory, as it leaves the question in more uncertainty and confusion than before; while it strongly confirms the opinion held by others, that the abolition of slavery is in every point of view the most expedient course.

The Governor-general has said that the subject of slavery is a most difficult and extensive one, but the difficulty is not to be surmounted by disguising it under a softer name, nor by confounding it with the distinctions of caste. It is true that slavery in India may be described as generally of a mild character, when compared with the coercion exercised over colonial slaves; yet slavery does exist in India, and even in its least repulsive form slavery is no slight evil; disguise it as you may, compare it as you will with any other degree of human suffering, slavery is slavery still, a violation of natural right and justice, and as great a curse to society, greater perhaps, than it is to the individual. It has often been urged as a palliation for slavery in India, that the slaves are as well off, and in many cases better off than the free labourers; but is this an excuse for slavery? Or is it not rather a bitter sarcasm on the effects of British government in India, where the honest labourer is reduced below the level of the slave, and forced at last to barter his personal liberty for the barest pittance that can support life? In a country abounding in population like India, the existence of a class of unremunerated labourers tends to reduce the price of labour below its natural value, and gradually brings down the free labourer to an equality with the slave. In this respect slavery in India resembles pauperism in England before the late change, when the system of employing paupers at reduced wages gradually brought the entire mass of labourers, in some localities, to the condition of paupers. It is thus that slavery is injurious to the free labourer, and compels him often to become a slave in order to better his condition; and, while slavery exists in India, it would be as great a hardship on the unfortunate labourer to prevent him from obtaining relief in this way, as it would have been to have prevented the English labourers from becoming paupers, when the old poor laws were in operation.

But, not only has the Governor-general underrated the evils of slavery, he has also endeavoured to connect slavery with the distinctions of caste. It is unnecessary to enter upon this point here, further than to disclaim the implied connexion between slavery and the Hindoo religion. It is not expected that the abolition of slavery will effect any alteration in the distinctions of caste, nor can it reasonably be expected, that the slaves of an English proprietor should be exempt from those local usages and religious obligations to which free men of their own caste are subject. In abolishing slavery, no one expects to abolish the distinctions of caste; the one is physical and the other moral degradation, and it is no argument against abolishing one to say that we shall not by that means abolish the other also.

The question has here been treated as one of merely Indian policy, and even in that point of view we are led to conclude that the abolition of slavery is not only safe and practicable, but that it is the only way to put a stop to the abuses of slavery. But this is not merely an Indian question, it is one in which the character and the honour of Great Britain are deeply involved. We are pledged as a nation to abolish and utterly to root out slavery from every part of the British dominions; and it is the glory of our country, a monument which will live for ever in the hearts of mankind, that such efforts have been made, such treasures freely poured forth to benefit the most degraded of the human race, as have never before been witnessed. Struck with admiration at these labours in the cause of suffering humanity, even rival nations have extolled our clemency; but, when they turn their eyes to the east, and reflect upon the millions yet held in slavery there, they doubt the uprightness of our intentions, they suspect that they have been betrayed into undeserved commendation, and they taunt us for the supposed imposture. And what reply can we make? What argument can we use to convince them of the purity of our motives? Shall we present to them the Governor-general's minute? That document, instead of convincing them of the insuperable obstacles to the abolition of slavery in India, is more calculated to lead them to the opposite conclusion. They would consider it a mockery, a crafty attempt to deny the existence of slavery in India by disingenuous and equivocating phrases; they will tell

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us of an unnecessary delay to inquire into a subject which needed no further inquiry; that it was committed to persons who had more pressing engagements to occupy their attention; that it was taken up at distant intervals; that it was stopped before any material progress had been made; that it is an inquiry which has produced nothing but delay; that it is repudiated by those who made it; that it has been a mere subterfuge to gain time, and that emboldened by the success of this experiment, and being unable to offer any substantial reasons for maintaining slavery, we are now endeavouring to delude the world into the belief that slavery does not exist in India.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of Captain STUART respecting persons of colour in Canada, is under consideration.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 17TH.

MR. G. W. Alexander has returned from Holland, having, in company with Mr. Scoble, visited Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, and Amsterdam.

Mr. Scoble intended, when Mr. Alexander parted with him, to proceed to Utrecht, Zeist, and Groningen, and may visit a few other towns in Holland, should it appear desirable. We think our readers will be glad to receive a brief account of the proceedings of our friends, and the progress of the anti-slavery cause in a country possessing considerable colonies, and in one of which particularly, Surinam, the crime of slavery prevails to a considerable extent.

It is an interesting fact, that, at the preliminary meeting which took place at Rotterdam, with the view of taking effectual measures for promoting the abolition of slavery in the dominions of Holland, a gentleman possessing considerable property in British Guiana, and an influential citizen of Amsterdam, presided. We adverted in our last number to the fact of influential individuals from various towns in Holland having been present on this interesting occasion. It is highly probable that a future meeting will be still more largely attended, and we cherish the fervent hope that its proceedings may in no small degree promote the speedy abolition of slavery in the dependencies of Holland.

A public meeting was held at Rotterdam on the second day (Monday) after the arrival of our friends, and three days after that to which we have just referred. Mr. Scoble spoke at considerable length, and was listened to with the deepest interest. We have every reason to believe that the generous feelings of our warm friends at Rotterdam were strengthened on this occasion, and their determination to prosecute with unabating earnestness the great work in which they are engaged.

At the Hague interviews were had with a few decided friends of the slave; and it is cheering to us to know that the sentiments of these, as well as of our friends generally in Holland, are decidedly in favour of immediate and entire abolition. In proportion as the system of slavery and its results are better understood in Holland is the irreconcileable objection which is felt to its continuance, while the accumulating evidence of the blessings which have accompanied the introduction of freedom into the English colonies, affords an incontrovertible argument in favour of universal freedom.

Our friends found that persons of different, and even of opposite political and religious opinions in Holland, are decidedly opposed to the system of slavery, some on account of the shameful violation of human rights which it involves, and others on account of the cruelty which is its inseparable companion; while some are principally influenced by the vast and insuperable difficulties which it places in the way of the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of its degraded and wretched victims. The force of all these considerations is more than ever felt by many of our Dutch friends.

At Leyden, through the kind interest of Professor Tiedemann Bodel Niewhuis, and William Fleming, more than twenty persons, including several professors and other influential persons, came to the hotel, who were addressed by Mr. Scoble in a very impressive manner.

At Amsterdam our friends did not see a large number of persons, but some of those to whom they were introduced, or who visited them at their hotel, were gentlemen of considerable influence. Among these was a member of the States-general of Holland, who stated his entire accordance with the sentiments which were expressed in his hearing, and his intention to give his support to the cause of emancipation, if it should be introduced in the States. We learn with much satisfaction that a motion for the abolition of slavery is at present likely to have a number of supporters by no means inconsiderable, in the second chamber of the States. This is not the less likely to be the case on account of the mortality and languishing state of commerce in the colony of Surinam, from whence many of the slaves are escaping to British Guiana. In Curaçoa, also, not a few of the wretched bondsmen are finding their way to Hayti or Venezuela, in the latter of which countries the slave-population, upwards of 40,000 in number, have lately been set at liberty, with the exception of those who are under eighteen years of age.

A letter addressed to Mr. Alexander, which appears in our present number, shews the progress which is taking place in the advocacy of abolition through the medium of the press. It is hardly needful to say that we feel much indebted to J. de Neufville and I. van Ouverkerk de Vries, for their able exposure of the system of slavery, and their advocacy of the righteous claims of their oppressed fellow-subjects.

We hope in our next number to be able to announce the return of Mr. Scoble to England, and to give some further information on subjects connected with the abolition cause in Holland.

Two West India mails have arrived since our last. The prospects of the crop in Jamaica are highly encouraging, as appears by the following extract from the papers:—

We are happy to learn that the seasons this year have been favourable, particularly in the eastern districts of this island; and, what is still more gratifying, is the information that the plantations, generally speaking, are in good order, and no want of labour experienced.

A confirmation of this statement comes to our hand in a private letter, dated September the 27th.

You will rejoice to learn that we have the prospect of a very large crop of sugar this year. One gentleman called upon me to-day from Vere, and mentioned that his estate would make 350 hogsheads this year, which last year made only ONE.

The state of this island is satisfactorily exhibited also in the following extract of a letter from the rev. J. M. Philippo to Mr. Sturge:—

My silence of late on colonial matters, arises from the comparative absence of causes of complaint, the white emigration scheme excepted. As far as the black people are concerned, all is industry, happiness, and peace. They know their rights, and the planters are at last compelled to recognise them, at least, it is so to a considerable degree throughout the district. I have about seven new townships rising up under my superintendence, and the people are doing admirably, their former masters themselves being judges.

I was much grieved at the conduct displayed on the part of those members of the anti-slavery body who advocated the reduction of the sugar duties. I most decidedly and unequivocally unite in the opinions expressed on the subject by the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and so I believe does every missionary on the island.

The condition of Barbados is very distressing. Long drought has almost annihilated the crop, and the entire population is in a state of severe suffering, which, of course, presses most heavily on the labouring class.

The good people of Guiana are rejoicing, not only over a second cargo of immigrants from Sierra Leone, but also over the arrival of between two and three hundred liberated Africans from Rio de Janeiro. This is the first arrival of this description, and is regarded there (we know not with how much justice) as the commencement of a new system. It is certainly an improvement on the old system of consigning the liberated Africans to slavery in Brazil, under the flimsy disguise of an apprenticeship for five years.

The *Guiana Royal Gazette* animadverts very innocently on Mr. Scoble's strictures on the new tax ordinance. How severely this ordinance is adapted to press on the labourers is apparent, from the fact that they have forwarded to her Majesty (through the governor) a petition against its allowance. We cannot conceive that such a petition will be disregarded.

A private letter from Antigua, from which we have given an extract, shows that, under the influence of natural causes, the condition of the labourers there is making healthy improvement.

Gerrit Smith's slaves is an article which all our readers will peruse with interest. The noble and costly act of emancipation by which this American abolitionist has distinguished himself will be fully appreciated in this country, and certainly must exercise an important influence in the United States. We must also express our gratification at the spirited and *prudent* conduct of our old friend and valued coadjutor, James Cannings Fuller. We may here notice, likewise, that Colonel Miller, whose ardent bearing was conspicuous in the General Anti-slavery Convention, is turning his courage to good account, by going as an anti-slavery agent into the southern states, at his own expense.

WE have received a pamphlet entitled *Four Letters to the Rev. James Caughey, Methodist Episcopal Minister, on the participation of the American Episcopal church in the sin of Slavery.* It appears that the reverend gentleman thus introduced to the notice of the British public, has recently arrived in Dublin from the United States on a religious mission, and that some staunch abolitionists in that city have promptly tested his views on the anti-slavery question. Of the four letters before us three are from Mr. Robert Johnston, who states himself to be a member of the Methodist body, and who thus commences the correspondence:—

REVEREND SIR,—As a member of the Methodist society in this city, allow me to call your attention to some expressions which you made in course of your sermon in Whitefriar-street Chapel, on Sunday evening, the 5th instant. You stated that man was a being so formed, and composed of such valuable materials, that the whole material universe beside could not equal him in value. You asked the question, 'why is it we do not estimate a man's value by his height, or his weight of flesh, and blood,

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and bones;' and you answered, 'the reason is, because he is possessed of an immortal soul, that stamps dignity upon his character, and gives to him an infinite value.' When you used these expressions, were you not aware that you are the minister of a church that recognises the right of its members to carry on a traffic in human flesh, and blood, and bones; and to hold property *in*, and sell that noble being, MAN, whom you stated to have been created in the image of God, and whom the whole material universe itself cannot equal in value, for the paltry sum of a few pounds or a few dollars, to satisfy the avariciousness of some slave-holder who has the audacity to call himself by the Christian name? Are you not, sir, the minister of a church in America that recognises the right of its members *to sell one another—to sell slaves who are members of the same church with themselves?*

Mr. Richard Allen, the secretary of the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society, and a member of the Society of Friends (a letter from whom to Mr. Caughey concludes the series), pursued a different but equally appropriate and effective course, which he thus describes:—

"RESPECTED FRIEND,—Soon after thy arrival in Dublin my attention was drawn towards thee, by understanding that thou wast thoroughly sound in the abolition cause, and wast preaching the doctrine of restitution here with much power—viz., that if we wronged any one, it was our duty not only to repent, but to make restitution, even to the last farthing of what we possessed. It at once struck me, that if this doctrine were preached faithfully in America, as applied to the slave-holders and their victims, it would force them to sit down and count the days, and months, and years, in which they had robbed them of their unrequited toil, for the purpose of making them restitution for their many and grievous wrongs.

"Full of this idea, I sought an interview with thee, in the belief that, if thou hadst not been hitherto fully faithful, it was through thy attention not having been turned to the subject."

The reverend gentleman seems to have been taken by surprise by these movements, and complains of them as developing a scheme of the devil to prevent the success of his preaching. He says that he is a native Irishman, that he is still a British subject, and, moreover, that he thinks slavery is a sin against God, and that he is himself an abolitionist; but, with all this wriggling, it comes out that he is one of a very equivocal sort. Mr. Johnston, in his second letter, thus addresses him:—

"REV. SIR,—The conversation which we had at our friend Mr. Shortt's has more than ever convinced me that you are deeply imbued with the pro-slavery prejudices of your church and country; and, in again addressing you, I cannot allow any feeling of respect which I may have for you as a minister of the gospel, nor my attachment to methodism, to prevent me from expressing freely and fully my views upon the subject of American slavery, and how far I believe the society in America to be implicated in the guilt, by sanctioning and supporting it. The attempt which you have made to justify the conduct of the American Methodist church, and the whole tenor of your conduct here as regards the slavery question, warrants me in stating that you are spreading and strengthening the pro-slavery spirit among us. The mere fact of your saying that you believe as much as I do that slavery is a sin, is no proof that you are anti-slavery at heart. There is scarcely a slave-holder in the southern states who would not make use of that expression as well as you; but would he on that account be less pro-slavery, or less guilty of the sin of slave-holding, so long as he holds his fellow-man in bondage? The slavery of your country is so abominable, that few, even of its most open and avowed advocates, would dare to call it anything else than a sin.

"Abolitionists can soon discover the true friend of the slave from the false. It is well known in America, that many who say to abolitionists 'I am as much anti-slavery as you are,' at the same time are as much opposed to abolition and the immediate emancipation of the slave as the slave-holder himself. They know that all who are not for abolition are against it, and that he that gathereth not with them scattereth abroad. Your church, sir, and the gradualists of your country, have been trying to evade the real question involved in slavery—that it is one of Christian principle and not of expediency. They have been trying to stifle their own convictions and those of the slave-holder, and to conceal the deformity of their principles, and the strong pro-slavery spirit by which they are actuated, behind the political and social aspect of the question. They try by the mere expression of sympathy and feeling for the slave, to persuade the world that they are the friends of freedom, at the very time they are rivetting more closely the chains of the slave.

"Your commendation of the wisdom and prudence of your church in not joining the turbulent outcry of the abolitionists, and not interfering in the civil and political institutions of their country, and the domestic relation between master and slave, proves to a demonstration, that, no matter how strong your professions are for anti-slavery, you have still to adopt the principle of immediate abolition, before you can be a true abolitionist at heart."

We would gladly make further extracts from these letters would our limits allow; but we must content ourselves with expressing our warm approbation of the course which Messrs. Johnston and Allen have pursued. The reverend Mr. Caughey will learn something of the spirit of British abolitionists; and we hope his reception by the Methodists at large, will afford him evidence that it is widely diffused through that numerous and influential body. We heartily concur in the appeal thus made to them in the pamphlet before us.

"Methodists of Great Britain and Ireland! Raise a solemn voice of warning to your American brethren, and suffer no one carrying the gospel message to appear amongst you, till he proves that he has, in his own country, done all in his power to remove from his highly professing church and people their sins of omission as well as of commission in this respect."

WE direct the attention of our readers to an examination of the Governor-general's minute respecting British India, in another column. It is by an able hand.

WE learn by a copy of the *Glasgow Argus*, which has been forwarded to us, that Mr. George Thompson delivered, in the Relief church in Glasgow, on the 1st inst., a lecture on American slavery, and the present position and prospects of the abolitionists of the United States. We have read the lecture with much pleasure, and regret that our crowded columns will not permit us to do more than take this passing notice of it.

WE find the following in the *Protectionist* of *October 16th*.

It is said that a large portion of the most respectable and intelligent members of the Society of Friends in America do honestly believe, that, Friends in England have suffered a serious loss in their religious character and usefulness, by their connexion with anti-slavery societies; and that the cause which they have thus sought to advance has been in fact retarded by such connexion. How far this belief has influenced the yearly meeting of Indiana in its recent decisions upon this subject I am not informed; but it is said that said meeting has issued an epistle of advice, that Friends' meeting houses in future be entirely closed against the advocacy of the cause of the slave by anti-slavery lecturers, and that Friends abstain from connecting themselves with anti-slavery societies. It is also said, that the meeting passed a censure upon the publication of Joseph Sturge's "Address to the members of the Society of Friends in America," and issued its declaimer of responsibility for publications which are dated in the style usually practised by Friends. The reasons for this disclaimer do not appear.

WE have inserted a highly interesting article, narrating the proceedings of a festival by which the seventh anniversary of the British act of emancipation was celebrated in Hayti. There are exhibited in it an ardent love of liberty, and a cordial admiration of England. The sentiments expressed must find their response in the heart of many a black man not resident in Hayti, and we shall hope to hear the echo of them from Cuba and the Carolinas.

WE have inserted the communication sent us by Dr. Paul, of Jamaica. He is not the only party whom Mr. Oughton's letter has made sore, as the extract we shall give below will evince. Many a man has been punished, however, for telling the truth; and, for aught that Dr. Paul has proved to the contrary, nothing but the truth has been told. The following is the extract: it is from a private letter:—

Oughton's letter in the *Reporter* has created quite a sensation here among all parties. The House will meet shortly, and, if they can do any thing to punish him, depend upon it they will.

WE have been informed on good authority, that the *Britannia*, a fine vessel of 1400 tons burden, sailed from Rotterdam about the 29th of October, for the coast of Africa. She was to purchase of the king of Ashantee one thousand blacks, to reinforce the Dutch troops in the island of Java, and was to take in fifty soldiers at Helvoetsluys as a guard. We mention this fact with great pain; but we shall probably find another opportunity of expressing our sentiments on it.

The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee has to regret the loss of one of its members, GEORGE BENET, esq., who fell down on Saturday last, in Bird-cage Walk, Hackney Road, and instantly expired.

SWEDISH SLAVERY: SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S.

The following information has been received from a correspondent at Stockholm:—

The population of the island of St. Bartholomew has for many years steadily decreased, and the number of free persons *pari passu* with that of the slave inhabitants. It now amounts scarcely to 3000, of which the slaves form about a fifth part. The price of a slave varies according to quality, from 25 to 200 piastres. The slaves are employed in salt works and agriculture in the country, and as artisans and domestic servants in town. Those who provide their own food work from six to five, with two hours intervening leisure per day, and have Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, free. Those who have their food found them work from six to four, with one hour's rest, and Saturday and Sunday free. The condition of the slave is one of physical comfort, with which they themselves are not dissatisfied, as appears from the fact that communication with the British islands is easy and constant, yet no desertions occur. Transfer of slaves from the island by the master is virtually disallowed by the present governor, who is described as a kind and just man, and a friend to emancipation. The Swedish law on this subject is somewhat ambiguous. Those who possess slaves possess for the most part little else, and, when unable to employ them, let them out on hire to others. The most striking and objectionable feature in the relation of the slave to his master, is the necessity of the master's consent to the marriage of the slave; and, as the value of the slave when married diminishes, according to existing institutions, the master almost always refuses his consent, and the consequence is that the slave lives in the habit of concubinage.

The motion of the brothers Geijer at the Diet was adopted by the states, and the inquiry then suggested has been set on foot. Those best acquainted with the state of things in the island confirm our hopes as to the practicability of a speedy emancipation, upon the principle of purchase by the nation; which event, however, cannot take place before, though there is much reason to believe it will be accomplished at, the next meeting of the Diet.

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THE THUGS OF INDIA.

[From the *Athenæum*.]

Ellichpoor, 10*th July*, 1841.

I HAVE just gone through with great care the report made by Major Sleeman, on the depredations of the Thug gangs of the Dooab, Bundelkhund, &c., and I think that the tables I send you may prove acceptable—the more so, as nothing of the kind, to my knowledge, has ever reached England, and the report had only just been circulated to official persons when I arrived in this country. Perhaps too, there may be curiosity enough in England upon this subject to make some knowledge of the official proceedings of government in a condensed form desirable; and, as these tables have been compiled from actual documents of the department, and the recorded confessions of the approvers, they admit of no doubt of accuracy. That of the result of the trials is given in Major Sleeman's compilation, to which I have been enabled to add the convictions of Thugs in some districts of India up to the end of the last season of trials, though not of all, for the Bengal Thugs are tried by the local courts, and do not come under the cognizance of the general superintendent, who was obliging enough to supply me with the latter information. The tables of the number of murders and the property plundered I have compiled myself from the work, which consists, for the most part, of the confessions of the approvers, and those minute accounts of their various enterprises which have been made the groundwork of the evidence against those who have been tried and have suffered punishment. I think the numbers will astound you, who in England can have no idea of crime such as this dreadful one, perpetrated so long and with such complete impunity—nor any conception that, in a country for the most part under English rule, the police should have been so utterly corrupt and infamous as not only to have winked at the commission of these murders, but to have in many instances afforded the Thugs their positive countenance and protection. And not the police alone, but the native chiefs, land-holders, Patails of villages and other authorities, besides bankers, merchants, and traders of all sorts. In the districts in which this crime prevailed—and where did it not prevail!—few appear to have been free from the pollution of sharing in its horrible gains—few to have rendered that active and zealous assistance to the government, which it might be thought would so readily have been afforded. The gangs, to the expeditions of which this report principally relates, resided in the districts east and north of Mahir, and in those of Farrukhabad and Cawnpoor. They were divided into two classes of Hindoo Thugs, and one of Mohammedan, but which all united on various occasions in the palmy days of Thuggee, and swept through the countries around them to the amount of two and three hundred in a body, murdering hundreds by the way. A line of operation having been marked out, the main body moved directly upon it, sending out parties in various directions who met their comrades at points before determined, where the booty was shared, and the gangs again separated in quest of further adventures. There are many favourite roads which, except in the height of the rainy season, could hardly ever be said to be free of Thugs. Setting out from the Gualin territories for instance, the gangs under the celebrated leaders Feringhea, Bakhshee, Dhowkul, Inayut and others, would march by different roads southwards to Boorhanpoor, on the Tuptee, and thence watch the roads to Malwah and Rajpootana, where, after the settlement of the wild tract between the Tuptee and Nerbudda rivers, and to the foot of the table land of Malwah, large amounts of treasure were annually sent by bankers of Bombay, Poona, Oomraotee, and other places of commerce. Many of these remittances fell into the hands of the Thugs, and it will be seen by the second table, that, in the season of 1827, 124,202 rupees were seized by these gangs, who numbered upwards of three hundred men—as many as two hundred and sixty of whom at one time acted in concert with each other. Sometimes the route determined on lay westward into Guzerat, where large booties were often gained, thence north and north-eastward to the great mart of Paleein Murwar, thence perhaps as far as the Sutlege and Lodheana, returning by Hurdwar, through Sudhana, the Begum-Sumroos, Jaghar, to Delhi, Agra, Muttra, and generally through the Dooab. These Thugs, in particular Feringhea, were fond of the Nizam's territories, and came by the north road through Oomraotee in Berar to Hyderabad, and returned thence by the Aurungabad road as far as Gungakhair, on the Godavery, and thence into Candeish by the western part of the Berar valley. These gangs are undoubtedly the boldest and most successful of the Thugs, and their leaders, by their own narratives, appear to have been men of great sagacity, foresight, and courage. Major Sleeman unfortunately gives no information beyond a few cursory remarks upon the Thugs of the southern peninsula of India, who are supposed to have ranked next to those of Bundelkhund in daring, nor have the public any means of estimating the depredations of the Thugs of Bengal proper, who were also very numerous; but of the Dooab Thugs (the tract between the Ganges and Jumna) Captain Reynolds, the general superintendent for the department of Central and Southern India, has given such minute tables, with the confessions of the Thugs embodied as remarks, that their track can be followed most clearly, while with every murder is given the value of the booty obtained, and the direction and destination of the unfortunate travellers. The depredations of these gangs are confined to small spaces; they acted only in the Dooab and the Bundelkhund, rarely venturing into Bengal, or south as far as Saugor, in the central provinces; they would seem however, to have found ample booty in their own lines of operation; and, if the tracks of the gangs for a season are followed minutely upon a map, it will be seen how completely the whole country was crossed at various periods by the gangs—how regularly they followed at discreet intervals each other's footsteps, and how almost impossible it was for travellers in small bodies, especially strangers, to avoid their snares. The kingdom of Oude, long since and still celebrated for its utter want of police, and for the lawless character of much of its population, was, as may be supposed, a favourite spot for the operations, not only of the Dooab gangs, but of its own, and those of Bundelkhund. A map of that territory is given in Major Sleeman's work, on which are marked the Béles, or places of murder, used by the Thugs, and with which all the gangs are familiar. The distances of roads between the principal towns amount to 1406 miles, and the places of murder to 274; giving an average of one place of murder for every 5¼ miles of the whole country, and Major Sleeman gives it as his decided opinion, as also Captain Paton, assistant to the Resident at Lucknow, an officer of the department, that, if the same research had been instituted all over India, it would have differed very little anywhere. A few of these distances and Béles, taken at random, are as follows:—Lucknow to Cawnpoor, 52 miles, 13 Béles; Lucknow to Allhabad, 137 miles, 22 Béles; Lucknow to the frontier towards Jownpoor, 120 miles, 38 Béles. In few instances can I discover that of late years the Thugs have been particular in burying their dead—to hide the bodies of the murdered under stones or in the sand of a rivulet, to cover them with leaves and grass, throw them into the wahtis by the roadside that they might be devoured by jackals, or into wells in the fields, have been thought sufficient. How many, therefore, must have been known to the local authorities of whom no report whatever was made—what profound silence must have been kept regarding them, and concealment from the European functionaries! In Oude and other native states, perhaps, nothing better could have been expected: but, in the whole of the districts of Cawnpoor, Farrukhabad, Delhi, Agra, Muttra, &c., murders were as common, if not more frequent, than in Oude, and these have been British provinces since the first Mahratta war, or forty years. How many victims have fallen to Thugs during that time it is fearful to contemplate, with the records of these seven years before us as a fair guide to an estimation of their destruction of life; and, if we estimate the destruction of life in India up to 1834 at 2000 persons per annum (of course for the whole continent), and the value of property plundered from the dead at £20,000, it is surely not too much. In the history of crime, fearful as the pages are, there is no equal to this. Engendered as it has been, by the worst superstition, aided by the most debasing fatalism, it has taken advantage of the habits of the people, and preyed upon them to an extent which, had we not official documents in proof, would be deemed idle invention or gross exaggeration. Deep and lasting should the gratitude of the people be to the government, which, regardless of cost, (at one time, upwards of three lakhs per annum for the establishment), has freed the whole population of India, alike in its own provinces, and as far as was permitted in those of native princes, its allies. To their everlasting shame be it said, there is not one native independent government which has given its hearty support to the beneficent measures of the supreme government; most have at best yielded a cold acquiescence in them, while in the territories of H. H. the Nizam, the seizure of notorious Thugs has in many instances been opposed by open violence, causing bloodshed of the village and district authorities, for which the government itself has no remedy. It is a happy thing to contemplate, however, the great reduction that has taken place in the number of Thugs, and the blow which has been struck at their system; bands of hundreds no longer roam through the country, with the almost openly professed intention of murder and plunder. Even this is discountenanced in the territories of native princes—but by Major Sleeman's work, nineteen hundred known Thugs are still at large, and the experience of years is but too sure proof that they cannot be idle, and that life and property are still often sacrificed by them. On the rivers of Bengal, where the waters tell no tales, and where detection, from the means of rapidly evading pursuit, is next to impossible, Thuggee is yet practised; also, in Captain Reynolds's opinion, to the south; and in the provinces of Oude, Hyderabad, and Behar, few cases of murder come to the knowledge of the officers of the department, and the Thugs that are known have rewards set on their heads. Year after year sees additional commitments, and we fervently hope that the system is rapidly progressing to extinction, and in a few years more will be remembered only as a dreadful evil, from which the wisdom and energy of the Indian government has delivered its people; and, if it may be questioned which of the two great measures that emanated from the same nobleman, the suppression of Suttee and that of Thuggee (the latter will perhaps be ceded to his memory, as having emanated from him alone), deserves the highest place of fame and of real utility, still it must be remembered, that so long as nineteen hundred Thugs are at large, the least relaxation of the vigour of suppression will enable them to raise new gangs, and once more to prey upon the people as they have done.

Yours, &c. MEADOWS TAYLOR.

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TABULAR STATEMENT of the result of the Trials which have taken place at different stations since the operations for the suppression of the system of Thuggee commenced, up to the 1st July, 1838.

Years.	STATIONS.	Number of Persons committed.	SENTENCES. Death.	Transportation	Imprisonment for Life.	Ditto on a requisition of security.	Limited Imprisonment.	Total.	Acquitted.	Escaped before Sentence.	Died before Sentence.	Made approvers after committal.	Grand Total.	REMARKS.
1826	Jubbulpoor	32	2	24	0	3	3	32	0	0	0	0	32	
1828	Dhoolea in Candeish ..	6	4	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	6	The magistrate of Mynpooree seized and sent them to Dhoolea in Candeish.
1829	Judoor	78	39	21	0	0	11	71	2	0	0	5	78	
..	Dhoolea in Candeish ..	13	2	6	1	0	0	9	4	0	0	0	13	
1830	Jubbulpoor	100	38	26	0	0	32	96	1	0	0	3	100	
1832	Indoor	40	21	12	0	0	3	36	0	0	0	4	40	
..	Saugor	370	105	167	38	0	10	320	2	0	21	27	370	
1833	Ditto	230	40	156	3	2	0	201	0	0	29	0	230	
..	Hyderabad.....	86	21	45	17	1	0	84	0	0	2	0	86	
..	Poonah	23	19	0	0	4	0	23	0	0	0	0	23	
1833—4	Cawnpoor	11	9	2	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	11	
1833	Gazepoor	8	6	2	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	8	
1834	Benares	5	0	4	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	5	
1835	Indoor	19	5	12	0	0	2	19	0	0	0	0	19	
1834	Saugor	397	40	265	5	7	7	329	6	11	48	8	397	
1835	Jubbulpoor	235	0	235	0	0	0	235	0	0	0	0	235	Approvers from different parts of India.
..	Ditto	236	36	165	3	4	3	206	5	0	23	2	256	
..	Barrielly	3	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	
1836	Sholapoor	7	0	1	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	7	
..	Jubbulpoor	250	37	172	18	0	0	227	6	0	12	3	248	Sentence suspended on 2.
..	Furidpoor	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	12	
1837	Chuprah.....	55	2	0	44	0	0	46	0	0	6	0	53	Including 23 approvers, 3 remanded for evidence.
..	Jubbulpoor	121	13	70	25	2	0	110	3	0	2	0	115	Committed for 6 cancelled.
..	Belahree.....	5	2	0	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	5	
..	Lucknow	74	0	0	58	0	0	59	6	1	8	0	74	
..	Belahree.....	7	3	0	2	0	0	5	2	0	0	3	7	The 2 are acquitted on account of tender age.
..	Chuprah.....	22	0	0	22	0	0	22	0	0	0	0	22	Approvers.
1838	Mysore	156	11	44	88	6	6	149	0	0	7	0	156	Including 17 approvers.
..	Sholapoor	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	
..	Vizagapatam.....	6	2	0	0	3	3	5	0	0	0	0	5	One under trial.
..	Ditto	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	Final orders not yet received.
..	Berhampoor	153	0	31	74	13	6	124	14	0	12	0	150	Including 40 approvers, 3 remanded for investigation.
..	Dharwar.....	12	3	0	7	0	1	11	0	0	1	0	12	
..	Meerut	12	0	0	10	0	2	12	0	0	0	0	12	
..	Jubbulpoor	285	0	25	230	11	0	266	9	0	10	0	285	Including 74 approvers.
1838	Meerut	8	0	0	7	0	0	7	1	0	0	0	8	
1839	Bangalore	11	0	0	8	1	0	9	2	0	0	0	11	
..	Chuprah.....	100	0	16	60	0	0	76	2	0	10	0	88	
..	Meerut	93	0	0	87	0	0	87	5	0	1	0	93	
..	Moorshadabad	99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	99	
..	Dana	115	0	0	0	12	0	0	9	0	10	1	115	
..	Jubbulpoor	136	0	1	97	17	0	115	8	0	6	0	129	
1840	Ganjam	6	6	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	6	
..	Ditto	5	3	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	5	
..	Meerut	11	0	0	11	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	11	
		3689	466	1504	933	86	81	3058	97	12	208	56	3655	

Total.....	3689
Committed in 1840, continued.	
Jubbulpoor	15
Vizagapatam	29
Bangalore	4
For committal at Jubbulpoor, 1841.....	102
Grand Total.....	3839

TABLE showing the Number of Persons Murdered by Thug Gangs in Bundelkhund, Guzerat, the Dooab, &c., from the year 1826-27 to the year 1834;

Also, in some part, the Amount of Property plundered from them.

Years.		Men.	Women.	Total. Men.	Total. Women.	Valued Amount of Booty obtained.	Rupees.
1822	Kanthal Thugs	..	..	25	1	.....	8800
1823-24	Ditto Ditto	..	..	12	..	.....	7440
1826-27	Bundelkhund Thugs	..	..	205	6	Treasure in Candeish.....	11,000
1827-28	Ditto —	364	21	..	..	Chotu's gang 76,202	
..	Dooab —*	238	..	..	..	Oomrowsing do. 25,000	1,24,202
..	Kanthal —	38	3	..	..	Feringhea's do. ..... 23,000 * 238	16,957
				635	24	Average *	3348
1828-29	Bundelkhund —	237	6	..	..	Bheegoo's gang..... 93,049	
..	Kanthal —	104	4	..	..	Burkul's do. 45,000	1,38,049
..	Dooab —	99	..	..	..	.....	25,000
				440	10	.....	11,848
1829-30	Bundelkhund —	94	5	..	..	Average of ordinary expeditions.....	9,207
..	Dooab —	187	..	..	..	.....	17,421
				281	5	.....	
1830-31	Bundelkhund —	57	1	..	..	Budaloo's gang 3200	
..	Dooab —	249	..	..	..	Average of the rest..... 3069	6,269
				306	1	.....	22,734
1831-32	Bundelkhund —	176	4	..	..	Average of ordinary expeditions.....	16,740
..	Dooab —	210	..	..	..	.....	18,779
				386	4	.....	
1832-33	Bundelkhund —	41	..	..	..	.....	3,313
..	Dooab —	156	..	..	..	.....	14,845
				197	..	.....	18,342
1833-34	Ditto —			158	..	.....	50,000
..	Arcot Thugs			170	..	.....	17,100
1833-37	Gualla Thugs in South Cuttack			84	..	All that is known	9,486
	Confessions of approvers to Captain Paton			102	..	Average	5,51,380
	Net Total			3001	51	.....	5,00,154
	If to this be added the amount of the actual murders confessed by the approvers			5378	..	Average of ordinary expeditions.....	
	We shall gain a Total of Men and Women.....			8379	51	Gross Total Rupees.....	10,51,534

Provinces and Districts accounted for above:—1. Bundelkhund—2. Central India—3. Dooab—4. Part of Malwah—5. Part of Rajpootana—6. Part of Cuttack—7. Part of Arcott.

Provinces and Districts not accounted for:—1. Bengal—2. Behar and Orissa—3. Mysore—4. Borah Mahal—5. Southern Dooab—6. South of India—7. Guzerat—8. Malabar and Canara—9. Assam—10. Northern Circars—11. Ceded Districts—12. Dekham—13. Nizam's Dominions—14. Nagpoor Dominions—15. Kutch.

* The average is taken from the Dooab gangs, which afford a fair criterion of ordinary success—it gives about 93 rupees from each individual murdered.

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HOLLAND.

We are enabled to present to our readers the following extract of a letter from a gentleman in Holland to Mr. G. W. Alexander, dated

Amsterdam, 25th of 10th mo., 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I had the pleasure of addressing thee in the beginning of this month, and of informing thee of the publication of a small work written by J. de Neufville A. Z., recommending the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the colony of Surinam, and proposing a plan for the accomplishment of that measure, which seems to have great affinity with the plan proposed to the French government by Jules le Chevalier. This plan, as I well presumed, is generally looked upon as inexecutable. Some of our periodicals have already expressed their opinion on the subject but one of them, (De Tydgenoot) the *Contemporary*, has pretended that the measure of emancipation was, perhaps, not so much wanted as the author seemed to suppose, the slaves were well treated, and enjoyed a welfare far superior to the situation of many classes of people in this country. A few days ago, however, a well written pamphlet, the author of which is I. Van Ouverkerk de Vries, a true philanthropist, who lives at Zeist, where the Moravians have an establishment, and who is well acquainted with them, has been published in this city. It bears the following title :—"The religious instruction of the negro slaves and the prosperity of the colony of Surinam in great danger. An *important event* considered in its possible consequences." This event is no less than the desertion to the colonies of Berbice and Demerara through the woods, first of eleven and later of twenty of the best slaves of the colony of *Nickérie*, where the Moravians had established a flourishing school ; the consequence of this desertion has been, that the directors of the plantations have, from that time, forbidden both adults and children to attend the school : yet on first days the slaves are allowed to attend the public worship, but they are no longer permitted to learn to read and write. The consequence which the writer draws from this event is, that emancipation is the only remedy to this evil, and that, since the system of freedom has succeeded so well in the English colonies, as is evident to every one who has read the parliamentary reports, but more by the whole contents of *J. J. Gurney's Winter in the West Indies*, it is obvious that the same system of freedom is to be introduced in the colony. After this, the writer examines the work of my young friend, J. de Neufville, with whom he agrees as to what relates to the first part, viz., the five first chapters, but he differs from him on many points of the second part. There is a passage, page 16, which I deem worth while quoting here, as it clearly expresses the way of thinking of many people in this country. He speaks of de Neufville's work :—

"We wish, with the writer, that in our colonies also the emancipation of the slaves may be brought about. The love to our neighbours, who all, black or white, shall once appear on the same rank before the highest judge, requires that sacrifice on the altar of christianity and of moral civilization, which can be raised to a much higher degree in the free man than in the groaning and deep fallen slave. The writer believes, and we believe it with him, that the material interests of the land owners of the colonies require, in a pressing manner, their accession to this resolution. The introduction of new slaves has ceased. The number of the old and infirm, who must be maintained without any use, increases daily in proportion with those who are as yet active, and the generation forthcoming is on the decrease. The dreadful desertion of the ablest men to the free colonies is a warning which it would be inconsiderate to pass by. How baneful must not work here the force of example ? Are the negros once set at liberty, they will attach themselves to the ground on which they are established, where their parents are taken care of, and where their children are born, and the grounds now cultivated with a new force will remarkably rise in worth. Are they kept in the bondage and under the yoke of slavery, the best and most useful of them will run away. Natural love will be extinguished in them. Nothing will be left on the plantations but infirmaries filled with the old and the cripple, and, for want of cultivation, the ground will lose all its worth.

"We agree on all these points with the author; but besides, we dare believe that the great proprietors in West India, reflecting on this threatening danger, will soon acknowledge with us the reality of the danger, and how desirable it is to provide against it by adopting powerful measures, and, amongst others, the emancipation of the slaves. But how is this to be effected ?'

After a refutation of the plan of J. de Neufville, the writer proposes his own plan, which I transcribe here, as it appears to me more likely to be approved than any other I have hitherto heard of.

"There shall be chosen in this country two or three commissaries who shall solicit of the government the necessary authorization to execute the following plan.

Every proprietor of one or more plantations in the colonies, or on the islands, shall deliver to those commissaries a declaration of the number and classification of his slaves.

"A certain quantity of sworn taxators shall take a survey of all the plantations, and confront those declarations, and lay down an estimation of the physical and intellectual capacity of the slaves, in presence and with the concurrence of the directors of the plantations. As soon as these taxators shall have terminated their operation, they shall send their work to the commissaries in the mother country. As soon as these taxations shall have been acknowledged and arrested, the negros shall be set at liberty in a solemn manner.

"As soon as the whole amount of the value of the slaves in all our West Indian colonies shall be known, (we reckon that it will amount to about 15,000,000 fs.), the whole capital shall be negociated (that is taken on loan) at 5 per cent. interest per year, and 2 to 3 per cent. yearly amortization.

"As soon as this sum shall have been negociated, each proprietor shall receive in ready money the amount of the estimation of his slaves, on a mortgage on his grounds, and he shall be bound to pay 5 per cent. yearly interest on the same thus received, and 2 to 3 per cent. yearly amortization, till the whole be paid off, when he shall be considered as having received his full indemnity by a diminution of expenses, and by the increase of produce of his land, richly enough."

The slave population, J. O. de Vries supposes to be, in Surinam, from 30,000 to 40,000, and I think he guesses pretty right, though some people bring it to 60,000. He imagines that the wood or free negros will return to the colony as soon as freedom shall have been granted.

These two works have occasioned a great fermentation in the minds of the persons concerned with the colonies, and I hope ere long something will be done to come to a conclusion.

THE DEMERARA AUXILIARY.

We insert with much pleasure the following letter from the Rev. JOSEPH KETLEY, of Demerara.

George Town, Demerara, 17th Sept. 1841.

Dear and esteemed friend.—I had wished to remit to you the sum I have in hand, which is about £70, for the anti-slavery society, by this mail ; but I find I must defer it till the next opportunity. The greater part has been contributed by the lately emancipated of my own church and congregation, consequent on the formation of our auxiliary to your society, which took place on the evening of the 1st of August last, which was the first anniversary of my meeting with them since that glorious event. No notice had been previously given that such an auxiliary society was intended—but, when proposed in the afternoon of the day to a few of our brethren who took tea with us, and subsequently at the chapel, it was responded to with much delight—a few rules were proposed, and, though altogether unprepared, our dear friends expressed their feelings and sentiments in the happiest manner. They were surprised to hear of the continued cruelty of slavery in North America, and especially to find that the slave trade was carried forward with such a fearful impetus. They contrasted their own freedom as a reason for holy gratitude, and felt it their duty to assist that great society whose efforts had contributed so much to obtain their liberty, and to encourage those who are still labouring to liberate their suffering brethren. I will not attempt to write their fervent addresses—it would be quite impossible to convey to you their impressive manner. Though the meeting did not break up till near 10 o'clock at night, all was life and animated pleasure. Though reference was frequently had by them to their own afflictions formerly, nothing like an unkind reflection or a word indicative of hostility to the authors of their sorrrow escaped them. All was the expression of gratitude to God, and sympathy for their suffering brethren. I have no doubt that this new society will yield an annual contribution to your society of at least £50, so long as you have need for your existence as such. As the mail bag is to be closed in a few minutes I hasten to conclude, but feel unwilling it should leave without sending you a line, and remain, dear and esteemed friend, faithfully your's

JOSEPH KETLEY.

DR. PAUL AND THE REV. S. OUGHTON.

(To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*.)

Kingston, Jamaica, 29th September, 1841.

Sir,—I acknowledge that I was not surprised at seeing a communication signed by the Reverend Mr. Oughton in your paper of the 11th August, 1841.

The conduct of that reverend gentleman, has been, I regret to say, any thing but correct, in propagating the most egregious falsehoods, and calumniating and vilifying my character and reputation, on the authority of one of the most abandoned of men ; whilst he refuses every opportunity offered to him to make himself conversant with the facts, and be able to judge for himself.

It would be impossible for me, in a single letter, to enter into a refutation of the various calumnies and falsehoods contained in Mr. Oughton's letter already published, but I enclose for your information copies of correspondence which took place betwixt that gentleman and myself—hoping, that as you can have no interest but to disseminate the truth, you will do me the justice of inserting that correspondence, as well as my letter which appears in the *Morning Journal* of this date, in your paper. I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES PAUL, M.D.
Sub-agent of Immigrants at the Port of Kingston.

(Copy.)

To the Editor of the *Morning Journal*.

Sir,—It is with considerable reluctance I again address you, in elucidation of subjects which must have, long ere this, palled the public taste. But, when we see a minister of the gospel stepping out of the path laid down for him—when, instead of preaching and teaching peace and good will, he takes every means which malice can invent to blast the reputation of a fellow mortal, and, sheltering himself under the mask of philanthropy and sympathy, he not only propagates the most egregious falsehoods, but calumniates and vilifies those to whom he is opposed, I trust I shall be pardoned for saying a few words to the Rev. Samuel Oughton, who, not content to await the result of the investigation promised him by his Excellency the governor, has chosen to address a letter which appears in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of August 11th, 1841.

As to the abuse heaped upon me, I freely forgive the Rev. clergyman, for such language is no doubt common to him; and that he has been deceived I know, not only by his friend James Swallow (the grandson of the Reverend W. Uppadine), but by others, no doubt equally veracious, although moving in a more respectable sphere of life. But what apology can be made for the Rev. Mr. Oughton, in not accepting the invitation freely offered to him to examine and judge for himself, to meet at a friend's house, where, in the presence of a third party, I would not only give him "the fullest information on every subject regarding the Immigrants which have been under my care," but "reference to documents now in my possession, which for obvious reasons (he was aware) I could not make public ?"

But this open and candid proposal did not suit the Rev. Mr. Oughton, nor his worthy co-adjutors ; and what was the reason assigned for not accepting this offer, freely and voluntarily made?

That "as he (Mr. Oughton) has been informed, that the facts detailed in the public papers have been forwarded to the King's house, and a public examination of them is about to take place, he thinks the cause of truth and justice will be much better promoted, and (if the charges be unfounded) the character of Dr. Paul much more fully vindicated, by a public, than it can be by any private investigation."

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Here we have an acknowledgment that the character of Dr. Paul has been publicly assailed, calumniated, and traduced. The investigation here alluded to, was that called for by Mr. Richard Daly, stipendiary justice, from whom Mr. Oughton could only have derived his information. It will however appear strange (after all the hue and cry that has been made), not only to the Rev. Mr. Oughton, but to that portion of the community which has been led away by the misrepresentations from time to time so industriously circulated, that, when Mr. Daly was required to state his charges against me, and the grounds for desiring a public investigation, after some evasion, he actually declared that his object in tendering information was not for the purpose of bringing charges against the sub-agent; and the investigation sought was for his (Mr. Daly's) own protection. Such subterfuge and jesuitical hypocrisy are even what the Rev. Samuel Oughton, I am sure, is not prepared for.

With regard to the case of James Swallow I need not say one word—the whole matter having already engaged the attention of his Excellency the Governor; but as the Rev. Mr. Oughton, in his letter, states that he sent it to the governor, but that he does not yet know the result, I trust I shall be exonerated in making use of the following extract of a letter on the subject from Captain Higginson to the Honorable J. Ewart, agent-general, dated "King's House, July 23rd, 1841."

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th, submitting Dr. Paul's explanation in reply to the complaint of the man Swallow, and I am to request that you will inform the sub-agent, that the explanation of his proceedings in the case, appears to the Governor to be entirely satisfactory."

So much for the Rev. Samuel Oughton and his friend Swallow, and the liberal and benevolent special magistrate, Mr. Daly, as the latter gentleman is designated in Mr. Oughton's letter. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) JAMES PAUL.

(Copy.)

Kingston, 5th August, 1841.

REVEREND SIR,—Understanding that you are the writer of the letter signed *Philanthropist*, which appeared in the *Baptist Herald* of the 21st July, I cannot but regret that you should have allowed yourself to be so deceived, as to pen so gross a calumny as is set forth to the world in the following paragraph, viz., "The admiral's pen (appropriated as the chief depôt of the immigrants) is a complete 'Golgotha,'" disease, privation, misery, and death, having for some time past reigned there in their most awful forms. The man (if man he can be called) who exercises authority over those victims of colonial duplicity, is revelling in the profits of his short lived commission, regardless of the destruction and woe which his guilty neglect and abuse of power are spreading everywhere around him, while those who prompted, by compassion, would administer comfort or relief to the sick and dying, only expose themselves to the vulgar abuse and unfeeling insolence of this petty despot."

You may have seen in the papers of this city of Saturday last, by the abstracts of my weekly returns put in juxta-position with an extract from the letter of Philanthropist, how utterly at variance with truth was the information given you on that point; and you may judge from that how misinformed you may have been upon others. It is no wish of mine to return evil for evil, or to take advantage of any one who has been deceived and misinformed; and I therefore invite you to a free conference at the house of a common friend, and there, in the presence of a third person, also a common friend to both, to give you the fullest information on every subject regarding the immigrants which have been under my care, and reference to documents now in my possession, which for obvious reasons you must be aware I cannot make public.

I beg to observe that this communication is not made, either to induce you to commit yourself or others. Putting aside the writer, publisher, &c., of the libel against me (proof of all which is ready, in case I shall hereafter consider it necessary to proceed to trial), I invite you to this examination, knowing that truth is ever triumphant, and will force itself, however strong the attempt may be to crush it: and I do this, in the true feeling of christian charity, seeing and knowing that you have been wickedly deceived, feeling confident that when you become acquainted with the circumstances, you will acknowledge (whatever your feelings may be regarding immigration to this island) that every attention and care has been bestowed on the sick immigrants at the depôt. I am, reverend sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) JAMES PAUL.

To the rev. S. Oughton.

(Copy.)

Baptist Mission House, Kingston, August 6th, 1841.

Samuel Oughton presents his compliments to Dr. Paul, and begs leave most respectfully to decline the honour of a *private interview* on the subject of the recently imported immigrants.

In coming to this determination, S. O. trusts that Dr. Paul will acquit him of any indifference as to an acquaintance with the real state of the immigrants, or disregard to the reputation of Dr. Paul: but, as he has been informed that the facts detailed in the public papers, have been forwarded to the King's house, and a public examination of them is about to take place, he thinks the cause of truth and justice will be much better promoted, and (if the charges be unfounded) the character of Dr. Paul much more fully vindicated by a *public*, than it can be by any *private* investigation. At the same time S. O. begs Dr. Paul distinctly to understand, that he by no means admits the correctness of Dr. Paul's information as to his being the author of the letter signed Philanthropist.

S. Oughton would have replied to Dr. Paul's favour much earlier, but important duties detained him at the Court-House until evening.

Dr. James Paul.

(Copy.)

Kingston, 7th August, 1841.

Reverend Sir,—Had I not had his Excellency's approval of my conduct on *every* case submitted to him against me, I should not have invited you to a full examination of every circumstance regarding the immigrants which have been under my care.

I disavow most distinctly any wish for a *private interview*, for my letter particularly stated, that that interview was to be in the presence of a third party.

What I did, Sir, was to save you from the merited disgrace which must attend the malicious libeller of a fellow-being—and I regret, deeply regret, that any one assuming the sacred functions of a minister of the gospel should so far lend himself, as to be made the tool of designing men. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) JAMES PAUL.

Rev. Samuel Oughton.

WEST INDIES.

BARBADOS.—A very trying time indeed have our planters had of it since 1838. Heavy rain in a partial way—some parishes having it abundantly, others parched with drought to a most awful extent, especially in the large and important parishes of St. Philip and Christ Church, the former being, we are grieved to hear, in a deplorably distressing state, no heavy rain, we understand, having fallen since October, 1840; and, where some late showers, giving the promise of more, afforded the planters an opportunity of planting corn and potatoes, their labour, alas, has been lost by succeeding drought, fiercely hot sun, and the destructive progress of the worm, which is destroying the food before it comes near maturity. As to the sugar crop in the windward part of the island, we apprehend it will be little or none; some estates we are told will not make a single cask of sugar. No one, as we are informed, can conceive the awful state of the parish of St. Philip, unless he has ocular demonstration of it. In this parish, St. Michael's, we see almost all the Indian corn, planted after the rains in June and July, utterly destroyed by the worm; and we fear that the potatoes, vast abundance of which had been planted, and are at present looking healthy and vigorous, will also not escape the ravages of the insect.

The year 1842 will, in all human probability, shew a third short crop of sugar—a lamentable prospect for many proprietors, and a severe blow to all persons engaged in the various pursuits of trade and commerce. Under such distressing circumstances, when the earth ceases to yield her increase, how are the numerous poor to be assisted? The most benevolently disposed are, from their own pressing necessities and pecuniary difficulties, prevented from indulging their charitable feelings.—*Barbadian*.

On this subject we find the following painful statement made during a discussion in the House of Assembly.

Mr. Applewhaite—I beg leave, Mr. Speaker, to offer a few remarks on the question before the house, and more especially on the observations of the honourable member for St. Thomas's (Dr. Bascom.) I cannot coincide with the honourable member in any way on this subject, because I know that the poor in the land are suffering actual privations. It is impossible, sir, that the lower—the poorer—class, can purchase the clothing. I could to-day have presented a petition signed by numerous inhabitants, and I assure you, sir, that I cannot recur to the subject without laying before you some strong and impressive observations, which I am sure will cause you something like pity for the poor! Sir, they are not able to carry their dead to the church to be interred! They are forced to inter them at home! not having the means to give them decent interment—not being able to give them a coffin! They are in a state of nudity. They are in a state of *starvation!!* Unless something be done, it will be impossible, I say, to enforce this act. It is true—and my worthy colleague, Mr. Briggs, well knows that the present state of the inhabitants of St. Philip surpasses the conception of any man except those who are witnesses to it—we ought to endeavour to relieve the distresses of those families which are perishing for want. There are many of these persons, sir, in the greatest misery, and scarcely able to keep themselves alive. With regard to the assertion that sufficient time has been allowed the inhabitants for providing themselves, look, sir, at the ten months drought—the barren condition of the island. Many are not able to pay their dues! and, I have known their covering to have been taken from under their bodies, to liquidate the small sums which they are owing! The distress, I repeat, sir, is unknown. Applications have been made to the pastors and the vestry, for some who have not clothes to cover their nakedness! I trust, therefore, sir, that the house will pause before it plunges these children of misfortune into ruin—if it can be greater than at present.

ANTIGUA.—Extract of a letter to Mr. Sturge, dated Antigua, September 16th, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of writing, to inform you of the progress of liberty, and the state of things here. When you left us, it was considered very impolitic to sell land to the emancipated slaves to domicile, lest they should be detached from the cultivation of the estates. They were therefore obliged to continue in the wretched huts they occupied when slaves, which are anything but calculated to raise them to decent habits; and by the contract and vagrant laws they were compelled to work only on the property on which they lived, on very small wages, or be subject to molestation, fines and penalties. This state of things occasioned great annoyance and vexation. Rather than submit to this, many hundreds have emigrated to Trinidad, which would not have taken place if independent villages had been generally established. It is true, they might leave the estate on giving a month's notice, but they could only be removed to another estate, where they would be similarly situated. This in some measure resembled the old system. After some time, by various means many became detached from the plantations, particularly the young, and those who were so happy as to gain a residence in a village (for two persons had been induced to sell land for the purpose) or elsewhere. These hired themselves to the estates at double the wages of the negros residing on the property. These have increased, so that there is no estate without a gang of this description, who readily obtain employment, and, so far from not working as was supposed, they are the best labourers.

One evil arises from this, the children and young people are sent to the estates to work, and not where their parents and relations live, which exposes them to evil company and temptation, especially young females, and, on the contrary, other young people work on *their* estates. They do this to avoid the contract law and obtain higher wages. But those who live in the free villages are subject to no fines, penalties, &c., have built themselves comfortable dwellings, and, having more pay, they live in comfort, and generally in domestic happiness, attached to some church, and concerned to bring up their children in the fear of God. I am happy to say that the planters are now selling land in small lots, and, though at the enormous rate of 500 to 700 dollars per acre, they are eagerly bought, and several villages are springing up in various parts of the island, and, with God's blessing, we hope much good will arise in consequence.

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ST. CHRISTOPHER.—We have sincere gratification in giving publicity to a circumstance, which as it affects the general good of the island, and redounds to the credit of an exceedingly humane and sensible proprietor, is doubly gratifying. The peasantry on the *Golden Rock*, *Evan Baillies'*, *Mornes*, and *Willett's Estates*, and his honor Mr Solicitor-General Claxton, have entered into terms, for renting for various terms, the cottages and provision grounds on these properties. His Honor is the proprietor of *Golden Rock*, and represents the owners of the other two properties. We would be understood as mentioning the foregoing example, as much for the imitation of the peasantry of the island as for that of their employers, for we are aware that some few other *proprietors* have offered the rent system to their dependants, in some instances with only partial success, and in others without any success at all. Possibly the failure may be attributable to the absence of full explanations on the one hand, or an imperfect understanding of the advantages of renting on the other—or to the fact that no proportionate increase to the labourer's present rate of wages has accompanied the offer. Wherever rent in money is demanded, it seems but natural and just that the labourer should look for a rise in the money price of his labour.—*St. George's Gazette.*

MONTSERRAT.—In his address to the Council and House of Assembly on his assuming the government of this island, the hon. E. D. Baynes uses the following language:—

"The good understanding which I find generally subsisting between the resident proprietors and managers of estates and the labouring population employed by them, is a source of unmixed gratification to me. You have sagely forborne from that harassing system of special and superfluous legislation, which, since the extinction of slavery in these colonies, has in many other islands unhappily set the landlord and labourer at variance. You have wisely 'left well alone,' and, providing fewer legislative means to meet the presumed necessities of the great change, have for that reason, in my opinion, been more successful than your neighbours. Your agricultural population have in consequence their freedom guaranteed to them, a sufficient safeguard, by the same laws which protect the liberties of the peasantry of Great Britain; and I have every reason to believe that they are as orderly and industrious, and at the same time as free and independent, as any rural population on the face of the globe. You have also, with equal discretion, avoided the pernicious scheme of combining together the naturally distinct questions of rent and labour, so as to leave the former without any basis, to fluctuate according to the arbitrarily presumed quantity of the latter afforded by the tenant. A serious evil; and one which has been productive of much evil in the important colony of Jamaica, the shores of which I have so recently left."

We make from a private letter from this island the following extract:—"*Emigration is going on here to a great extent*, and I greatly fear that much deceit is practised to allure the population to the pestilential shores of Trinidad, where the climate soon carries them off. What speaks volumes for the orderly and peaceable conduct of the population lately emancipated, is, that, with a population of 8000 souls, we have, as stated in the speech, neither King's troops nor militia on the island, and *not more than a dozen* constables—yet even a disturbance in the street is a thing unknown. This fact deserves publicity."

IMPORTS INTO TRINIDAD.—By the official returns it appears that the imports of 1840 exceeded those of 1839 by the enormous sum of £111,420 sterling, being an increase of rather more than 25 per cent. in one year; the amount for 1839 being £397,020, and for 1840 £508,440 sterling. The government are said to ascribe this large increase altogether to the immigrants, and the *Standard* agrees with them. It is no doubt partly so.

TRANSFER OF LIBERATED AFRICANS FROM BRAZIL TO GUIANA.—The colony steamer, the *Venezuela*, returned yesterday from her voyage to Rio Janeiro, after an absence of eighty-five days. On arriving at Rio, the commander was very well received by Mr. Ousley, the British minister in Brazil, and by the officers of the squadron there, and every readiness was exhibited to aid and promote the object of her visit. She had the captured Africans on board ready to depart in eight days after her arrival, but she was detained some sixteen days longer waiting for convoy, as the minister did not think it safe to let her depart except under the protection of a ship of war. She sailed at length under convoy of the *Rose*, and the necessity of this protection was the more evident, as the Brazilians did not suffer her to leave the harbour, escorted as she was, without firing one or two shots at her. The court of mixed commission at Rio has been in the habit of binding out the Africans liberated by that court, as apprentices to the people of Rio and the neighbourhood, and, practically, apprenticeship has been only another name for slavery. Of course, the Brazilians are in no very good humour at the prospect of this absurd system being broken up by sending the captured Africans to a British colony.—*Guiana Gazette.*

IMMIGRATION.—The arrival of the *Superior*, with 224 Africans on board, has once more attracted general notice to our prospects of Immigration from Sierra Leone. When this vessel, which is admirably fitted up, left the African coast, there were, the commander says, a thousand people who would have come in her had there been room for them. Many thousands more expressed a wish to follow, a very decided preference being given to Guiana over Jamaica and Trinidad. This preference we think we are entitled to ascribe to the judicious and manly expedient which was had recourse to, of sending back to Africa some persons among the first batch of immigrants, to communicate the observations which they had made during a free and pretty extensive perambulation through the country. We cannot say that immigration from the islands is proceeding so rapidly as could be wished. The quarantine at Barbados has impeded it. Up to to-day, the number introduced in September from all quarters has not equalled the half of what we are already fairly entitled to regard as the proper monthly average, 1500.—*Ibid.*

TAX ORDINANCE.—We give in another column part of a letter of Mr. Scoble to the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, relating to the late tax ordinance of this colony. Mr. Scoble is very much of a partisan, and is so anxious to make out a case that he does not always confine himself to literal facts, but gives his imagination rather a free indulgence. Nevertheless we are decidedly of opinion, that many of the provisions of the late tax ordinance might better have been omitted. They have too much the air of pressing hard upon the labouring classes; and many of them, we are persuaded, will add very little to the revenue. Indeed, we have no idea they will produce enough to pay the salaries of the commissaries appointed to look after their enforcement.—*Ibid.*

UNITED STATES.

THE IMPRISONED ABOLITIONISTS.—The three young men arrested at Palmyra, Mo., for an alleged attempt to entice away slaves, were recently brought up for trial. On bringing the case before the graud jury, it was found that there was no law for the punishment of any such offence as they had been charged with. They had only attempted to entice away slaves, against which there is no law. The general understanding was, that they would not be indicted. But such was the excitement at the place, that it was feared that, if liberated, the young men would fall victims to the brutal and lawless vengeance of the slave-holders, without trial. Yet this is called a free country! It could not be worse in Algiers.—*Friend of Man.*

James Burr, A. Work, and George Thompson, the three abolitionists, who were arrested some time ago in attempting to run off Mr. Brown's negros, have been tried in Marion. We learn from one of the council engaged that the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and the prisoners were sentenced to twelve years service in the penitentiary.—*St. Louis Republican.*

COLONEL MILLER.—The agent who has offered to go to the south under the auspices of the Vermont Anti-slavery Society, defraying his own expenses, is H. W. W. Miller. He is, as we suppose, the same Colonel Miller who distinguished himself by his persevering efforts in behalf of the Greeks, in their late struggle for independence.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

THEY ARE A STUPID RACE.—Of the many cunning contrivances to escape from slavery, we think the following is about the most shrewd we have heard yet. Two slaves in a certain county of Virginia ran away with one of their master's horses. They started very early in the morning, in the following fashion. One of the slaves fastened a strong rope round the other's body, tied him to the saddle and drove off. When met and questioned, the rider answered, "That black rascal undertook to run away from massa. I've caught him, and am taking him home, quick step. I guess he won't be for running away again in a hurry, after massa's had the cooking of him." This failed not to elicit warm approbation, accompanied with hospitable offers of refreshment for himself and his horse. When arrived at a convenient place, the slaves exchanged places; the rider submitting to the rope in his turn, while the other performed his part to admiration; and like, him, received assistance and praise for his honest zeal in his master's service. Thus they journeyed "in tye," till they reached Pennsylvania, when the rope was no longer necessary. Thence they passed over into Canada.—*A. S. Standard.*

CAPTURED SLAVERS.—From letters just received from her Majesty's ship *Fantome*, it appears that she has just taken another prize, being the thirteenth, which shows the horrors of the slave trade in another light. The prize was a schooner 30 feet in length by 9 feet beam, and had on board 105 slaves, with two exceptions under seven years of age, besides the crew. The vessel was barely twenty tons burden, and the deck on which the slaves were stowed was only eighteen inches clear, from the mat they lay on to the deck between the beams. It is a curious circumstance that all the prizes taken by Captain Butterfield have been captured on a Sunday.—*Morning Chronicle.*

The following is from a letter of an officer on board H. M. B. *Water-Witch*, dated off Benguela, 4th August, 1841,—"We have just taken another prize, the Portuguese brigantine *Corsico*, with 392 slaves. She was taken by our boats last night, after a hard pull of six hours. Willcox had charge of the boats. The slaves are in a shocking state, very much crowded, and the small-pox had already broken out. 5th Aug.—I certainly never beheld such a scene of complicated misery as our prize presents this morning 392 wretched creatures crammed into a small vessel of 80 tons, nearly all children; 12 cases of small-pox, and about 50 cases of itch; it will prove a blessing if it spread rapidly, for it will save them from taking the small-pox. Most of them are living skeletons, mere skin and bone; 10 or 12 of the women have children at the breast, a few months old. It is scarcely possible that the latter should survive the passage, even to St. Helena. I dread sending away an officer and men in such a floating pest house!"—*Ibid.*

BRAZIL.—IMPORTATION OF SLAVES.—The latest accounts from this country state, that the number of negros imported has very much decreased, and whilst it amounted in previous years to 30,000, may be stated now to be about 6000 per annum. The reason is, that the English cruizers, instead of detaining and examining ships on the coast of Africa, are performing this duty now on the very coast of the Brazils, and if any vessel is suspected from its internal arrangement to be a slaver, it is brought back and condemned as such. The present ministry seems not to be favourable to this sort of traffic, and prefer encouraging the immigration of European colonists. Five hundred French emigrants who, under the leadership of Dr. Mure, are about to establish a colony at St. Catarina, according to the system Fourrier, have received a government grant of 135,000 francs towards their passage, besides a tract of land, given to them by a private gentleman.—*Morning Chronicle.*

COMMUNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS.—At a meeting of the Particular Baptist Church in Sutton, Yorkshire, held Nov. 6th, 1841, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—That we hold modern slavery to be opposed to the principles of justice and the precepts of the gospel; and, learning that there are many professing christians in different parts of the world, and especially in the United States of America, who are guilty of holding their fellow creatures, and even their fellow christians, in bondage, we feel it to be our solemn duty to refuse communion at the Lord's Table to all persons known to be slave-holders, as those who are not entitled to the privileges of christian fellowship, until they repent of this their sin against God. Signed on behalf of the Church, John Parkinson, Charles Asquitt, Samuel Bairstone.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LI. Vol. II. No. 24.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1st, 1841. [Price Threepence.

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SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA: TRAVANCORE.

Extract from the manuscript Memoir of the Geographical and Statistical Survey of Travancore, under the superintendence of, Lieutenants Ward and Connor. Par. Pap. on East India Slavery 1841. pp 516, 517.

Prædial slavery is common to a considerable portion of the western coast; but its extent throughout this principality is comparatively greater, and the prejudices of the people render the degradation it entails more complete. Those subject to prædial bondage are known under the general term of "Shurramukhul" (children of slavery). Their name is connected with everything revolting. Shunned as if infected with the plague, the higher classes view their presence with a mixture of alarm and indignation; and even towns and markets would be considered as defiled by their approach. The Shurramukhul are attached to the glebe, but are real property; in absolute market value they are not much above the cattle united with them in the same bondage, and greatly below them in estimation. But, though a slavery deserving commiseration, it is by no means the most rigid form of that wretched state. They are treated with a capricious indifference, and rather rigorously. Much of this arises from the prejudice of the Nairs. The christians have no such excuse; but, though divided in caste, they agree in oppression. Personal chastisement is not often inflicted, but they experience little sympathy. In sickness they are wholly left to nature, perhaps dismissed; in poverty and in age often abandoned. Manumission is rarely practised, or even desired. Indeed, as the Polayen never possesses property of any kind, his freedom could only be productive of starvation, or a change of servitude, which occurs when he is presented to a temple, in compliance with some superstitious vow. The Shurramukhul are held by various tenures, and the reluctance of their masters finally to dispose of them is so great, that the most pressing necessity can alone induce them to it. They are most frequently mortgaged, and held in punniem; that is, the owner receives the full value, but retains the power of recalling the purchase—tenures but little adapted to improve the situation of the slave, whose service being received as equivalent to the interest of the debt, holds out an inducement to urge his labours and diminish his comforts. They are not sold out of the country.

A very considerable number of prædial slaves belong to government, to whom they escheat as other property on the failure of heirs. They are partly employed on sirear lands, partly rented out to the ryots; a male being rated at about eight purras of paddy annually (not quite two rupees), the females less than this amount. If, however, hired from a junmee (owner), the demand would be much greater. The value of a male Polayen varies from six to ten pagodas; that of a female may reach perhaps to twelve, but (amongst some of the caste of Shurramukhul) they are very rarely subject to sale.

In early times the murder of a slave was scarcely considered as a crime. The deed of transfer goes to say, "you may sell or kill him or her;" the latter privilege has now, of course, ceased. The Shurramukhul are only employed in agriculture. They live in hovels situated on the banks of the fields, or nestle on the trees along their borders to watch the crop after the toils of the day, and are discouraged from erecting better accommodation, under the idea that, if more comfortable, they would be less disposed to move as the culture required. Their labours are repaid (if such can be called a compensation) in grain. Three measures of paddy to a man, two to a woman, and one to a child, is their daily pittance. This is not regularly given, being reduced to half on days on which they do not work, and withheld entirely on symptoms of refractoriness. Harvest is a period of comparative plenty; but their meagre, squalid appearance betrays the insufficiency of their diet, and the extreme hardships to which both sexes are equally doomed.

They have no idea beyond their occupations, are never guilty of violence to their masters, are said to be obedient, perhaps from the sluggish apathy of their character, which renders them unmindful of their lot. The external distinctions of the prædial slaves are subject to great varieties. They are sometimes remarkable for an extreme darkness of complexion, whose jetty hue (which cannot be the effect of exposure) approaches that of the African; but they are invariably stamped with the Hindoo features, nor bear any traces of a distinct race. The bark (spatha) of the areca often furnishes their whole clothing, which at best never exceeds a bit of cloth sufficient for the purpose of decency. The hair, allowed to grow wild, forms in time an immense mass, whose impurities cannot be imagined without shrinking. They are divided into several distinct classes, marked by some peculiarities. The Vaituwans (literally, hunters), or Konakens, are ranked high, and prized for their superior fidelity and tractability. They are expert boatmen, and often employed in the manufacture of salt. Their women, as an article of sale, are not much valued; the children of this class being the property of the father's master.

The Polayens constitute much the largest number of the prædial servants. They are split into three classes; Vullava, Kunnaka, Moomy Polayen; each baser than the other. Husband and wife sometimes serve different persons, but more frequently the same. The females of this class are given in usufruct, scarcely ever in complete possession. The eldest male child belongs to the master of the father, the rest of the family remain with the mother while young; but, being the property of her owner, revert to him when of an age to be useful, and she follows in the event of her becoming a widow.

The Parriars also form a very considerable number of the slaves. The caste is divided into Perroam Parriar, north of Kodungaloor, and Moonay Parriar, south of that place. They are inferior to those of the other caste, and reckoned so very vile that their contact would entail the most alarming contamination. Their taste for carrion has doubtless caused this prejudice which goes so far as to suppose they inhale [? exhale] a fetid odour. The death of a cow, or bullock, is with the Parriars the season of jubilee; never stopping to inquire its cause, they excite the horror of the higher classes in the feast it affords. Unlike some of the other caste of Shurramukhul, they do not connect themselves with their kindred, but, as with the Vaituwans, the children are the property of the father's master. They are ingenious in wicker-work, and are capable of great labour, but in point of value and character are greatly below the Polayens. They pretend to be great necromancers, and their masters respect their powers, or fear their spells; nor shall we regret the credulity that puts at least one check on the caprice of their owners.

The Vaiduns and Ooladurs are the least domesticated of the prædial slaves. They are employed in cutting timber, making fences, guarding crops, declining, or being prohibited from, giving any aid in the other rural labours. The former claims a superiority; but the existence and subsistence of both is indescribably miserable. They are not insensible to the vanity of ornaments, the neck being hung round with shells, but they use no cloth, a verdant fringe of leaves strung round their loins being their only covering. A dark complexion, restless glance, and exuberance of hair give them a wild appearance; but they are extremely gentle, and so timid that, on the least sound of approach, the shock-headed savage flies into the woods. Though reduced to a low state of debasement, they are yet superior to the Naiades, who, in the opinion of all, are at the very last step of vileness. This wretched race is only found in the northern parts of Cochin; they are banished the villages, and live on the low hills near the cultivated lands, a bush or rock being their only shelter. The Naiades present a state of society not seen in any part of India. Wild amidst civilized inhabitants, starving amongst cultivation, nearly naked, they wander about in search of a few roots, but depend more on charity, which the traveller is surprised at their clamorous impetuosity in soliciting. Ascending the little slopes that overlook the village or road, they vociferate their supplications. Whatever charity they receive is placed on the ground, near where they stand; but, on observing their petitions are heard, they retire from the spot, that they may not defile by their presence those coming to their relief.

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RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION IN BRITISH GUIANA.

AN interesting and gratifying testimony to the results of emancipation in the important and often complaining colony of British Guiana has just been supplied, in the form of a despatch from the governor, dated so late as the 16th of July, and laid on the table of the House of Commons by command of her Majesty, during the last session of parliament. It appears that his Excellency had requested Mr. Wolseley, who holds the appointment of circuit stipendiary magistrate, to make a tour through the counties of Demerara and Berbice, in order to ascertain and report on their condition. This tour was accomplished by Mr. Wolseley, between the 22nd of June and the 1st of July last; so that the report of it presents us, not only with official, but with very recent information. We should with great pleasure print the whole of this valuable document, would our limits allow; but, as we cannot do this, we shall present first an extract from the governor's despatch, giving a general view of the matters reported on, and then such parts of the report itself as possess the greatest interest. Sir Henry Light thus writes:—

Mr. Wolseley's report exhibits a very satisfactory picture of the general state of the counties, and is especially gratifying, as showing the highly creditable and useful manner in which those labourers who have become independent agricultural freeholders are conducting themselves in the new station which their industry has achieved.

The very numerous offers for sale to the labourers of small allotments of land by the old proprietary body of the colony, indicate a decided and rapid change of opinion in the upper classes of colonial society as to the policy of converting the day labourer into a freeholder.

These offers, and a general readiness to profit by them, are inducing other persons possessed of estates, not having spare land to dispose of in freehold, to consider the expediency of retaining their labourers as tenants of their present houses and gardens.

This desirable change in the relation of employer and employed, I predicted to your lordship would take place at no remote period: and subsequent observation has tended to confirm me in my early impression, that the operation effected in a gradual manner, at the voluntary motion of the individuals respectively interested, has been, in the case of British Guiana, far more advantageous to the country than if the executive or the legislature, had sought, by any means in their power to bring about the same change at any earlier period of the emancipation of the people.

Your lordship cannot fail to remark with satisfaction the instances which Mr. Wolseley's report contains of the strong attachment of the labourers to particular localities; of their desire for, and the sacrifices made to obtain, religious and general instruction for themselves and their families; and it is also to be noticed that their properties have been purchased at prices which indicate past industry, and almost a certain guarantee for their future industry.

I cannot refrain from drawing your lordship's attention to the fact, that the small freeholders not only employ themselves occasionally on the neighbouring estates, but that, in the case of estate No. 17, in Berbice, a new sugar property has been very recently established near a new settlement of freeholders, thus showing a confident expectation on the part of Mr. Blair, or his resident agent, that such will continue to be the case to an extent sufficient for the maintenance of his new and extensive plantation.

In making a few extracts from the report which led Sir Henry Light to speak in such gratifying terms, and which, in truth, amply sustains them, we shall commence with an account of the estates which have been purchased by persons who were formerly slaves. Mr. Wolseley gives the following table of the estates of this class which he visited:—

Purchases of Landed Property made by persons formerly Slaves and Apprenticed Labourers, alluded to in the Journal.

	Name or Designation of Property.	Sterling. £.	s.	d.
East sea coast, Demerara...	Better ver Wayting, bought for	4,714	5	8½
	New Orange Nassau "	10,416	13	4
	Victoria..... "	2,142	17	1½
	The Grove, 6 plots .. "	137	10	0
Abary	Recess ..... "	145	0	0
East sea coast, Berbice....	Belladrum ..... "	285	14	3
	Lichfield..... "	642	17	1
	Trafalgar..... "	285	14	3
	No. 28..... "	785	14	3
	No. 25..... "	357	2	10
	No. 21 (½) St. John's "	416	13	4
	No. 21 (½)..... "	642	17	1
	No. 19, price not ascertained.			
	No. 12, offer transmitted to England for acceptance.....			
West Bank Berbice river, Zorg and Hoop, 10 acres		458	6	8
East ditto ditto The Sisters. Plots at £12. 19s. 8d. per half acre				
Canje, East Bank, Cumberland. Plots at £15. per acre.				
		21,531	6	0

Here we have the surprising fact, that, in a portion only of the colony, the labourers have expended more than twenty thousand pounds sterling in the purchase of landed property. Let us now see what they have done with it. Mr. Wolseley says:—

"After leaving Resouvenir I made the best of my way to plantation Better-ver-Wayting, the property of an association of labourers, sixty-one in number, formerly slaves belonging to different plantations in the neighbourhood, who had purchased the estate about fourteen months ago, for the sum of 22,000 dollars (say £4,714 5s. 8½d. sterling). This property was formerly a coffee estate, but, at the time it was bought by the present proprietors, not a vestige of its former cultivation remained; the land was entirely overrun with bush, the drainage choked in every direction, and both front and back dams threatening an inundation of the property; on one side from the sea, on the other from the bush water. These, in particular, were formidable jobs to commence with, where it might reasonably be supposed that all they were possessed of had been sunk in the purchase; nevertheless the work has been done, and no debt incurred in accomplishing it; they have, moreover, planted about seventy acres of plantains to form the joint-stock estate, which, according to the ordinary estimate that an acre of plantains should give ten bunches per week, would give a return of 36,400 bunches per annum, or £2500 money value. The buildings on the estate at the time of purchase consisted of a large coffee logis much out of repair, a former manager's house in a very indifferent condition, and a few dilapidated negro's houses. These, however, have been a source of some revenue. The logis was partitioned off, and several rooms let out at five dollars (one guinea) per month; a tenant was obtained for the former manager's house, at a rent of five joes, or £7 13s. per month, and the front lands were rented by a grazier for a similar sum; thus about £20 per month has been the only available resource for carrying on the work of the estate up to the present time. It has not hitherto been the practice for the proprietors to work continuously on the estate themselves, but to give occasional assistance, and to hire other labourers for the ordinary daily work. There are at present ten men and five women employed, of whom only three have any stake in the estate. The management of the property is entrusted to one of their own body, an intelligent black man, formerly the foreman of a neighbouring estate, to whom a salary of twelve dollars (say £2 10s.) per month is allowed, and is to be paid when the estate can afford it. The purchasers of this property have not as yet made much progress in putting up houses for themselves, indeed one only appears in any state of forwardness; a portion of the centre of the estate has, however, been divided among them for this purpose in plots of about an acre to each person; these allotments, which are to be considered independent of the general estate, are at present being drained and planted with all sorts of vegetable provisions, and I was informed by the foreman, with whom I rode from one extremity of the estate to the other, that the building of houses would now rapidly advance. A proof of the manifest eagerness for instruction came under my notice at this estate, where the first step after purchase was to give a gratuitous lodging to a person in the capacity of a school-master; he has now twenty-five children under his tuition, and is paid for those whose parents are owners of the land at the rate of half a dollar (2s. 1d.) each per month, and for other children two guilders (2s. 9½d.).

Next Mr. Wolseley proceeded to

"New Orange Nassau, another purchase made by an association of plantation labourers, and an estate of a much superior description to Better-ver-Wayting. The property was purchased by 128 persons formerly slaves, and subsequently apprenticed labourers, for the sum of 50,000 dollars (£10,416 13s. 4d. sterling), of which 28,000 were paid down, and the remainder made payable in three instalments, at three, six, and nine months. The estate was taken over on the 11th of May, 1840, and in seven months and a half from that time, the third instalment was paid."

* * * * * *

"The smallest of the principal dwelling-houses is occupied by Mr. Mackenzie, one of the proprietors, an intelligent black man, to whom the management of the estate is entrusted, and for which he receives a salary of four joes (£6 3s.) per month; the other is divided into apartments for an overseer and book-keeper, who each receive three joes per month, and for a schoolmaster, who, with the privilege of keeping a general school (so easy is it to obtain scholars and to make a living in that way) can afford to pay five dollars per month for his room.

* * * * * *

"I ascertained that forty labourers were employed at from six to seven dollars per month, and two bunches of plantains gratis at the end of the week; in the course of my ride I found that sixteen men were employed in trenching and making up 'the middle walk;' that twenty-four women were weeding, five men watching, and two employed as foremen. It is by no means the general practice for the labourers who purchased this property to work upon it themselves, except in the building of their houses when any of them happen to be carpenters or bricklayers, or are capable of rendering assistance in such work.

"As far as I could learn, no labourer-proprietor of this estate has been judicially convicted of any crime since the purchase was made; they either attend the Enmore chapel, or the London Missionary Society's chapel lately built on the front lands of Lusignan. I heard nothing of their general conduct but what is much to their credit, and I was happy to hear the foreman of the estate say that he had good neighbours on both sides and was never at a loss for advice."

The plantation Victoria was the first estate purchased by labourers after the abolition of the apprenticeship, having been bought in the month of November, 1839, by 83 persons formerly apprenticed labourers; and in reference to the condition of those interested in this property, we have the following gratifying information. Mr. Wolseley says:—

"Considering that but a little more than a year and a half have elapsed since these persons bought the estate, and that they have, generally speaking, continued to earn their living on the plantations in the neighbourhood, thus rendering but partially their services to their own property, the progress already made in house-building and cultivation is as great as could reasonably be expected. The land immediately adjoining the public road, and for that reason considered the most eligible for building, was apportioned out in small plots of 5 roods by 11, upon which from 20 to 30 houses have been built, some of them to be sure rather rustic in their appearance, but others that have cost upwards of £100; among the number is a capital shop which in colonial phraseology, from its general contents, I should even call a store; there is also a druggist's shop, and, by adding the chapel and schoolmaster's residence to the picture, the village of Victoria is beginning to assume a very respectable appearance. In the

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centre of the estate each proprietor has had apportioned to him a further allotment of land to the extent of two acres and a half; and here again I counted no less than 89 houses, the greater number finished and already occupied. The land surrounding these houses is as thickly planted with plantains, yams, eddoes, corn, cassava, arrow-root, ginger, and the ordinary table vegetables of the country, as it is possible to be; indeed, so great was my surprise at the quantity, that I at once asked what was to become of the surplus, and it occurred to me, as it did to the two foremen with whom I had ridden over the estate, that when they have more poultry and other stock than they appear to have at present, Victoria will be deserving of a market. The chapel on this estate, to which I have already alluded, is under the superintendence of the former rector of the parish of St. Matthew, now at the head of the 'Plymouth Brethren' in this colony. So predisposed to religious worship are the generality of negros, that I consider a chapel and minister on an estate a far greater check against crime than even a police station; and, from what I hear of the conduct of these people as a body, I venture to predict that they will eventually become a creditable example to their neighbours. I cannot, however, pass over a charge against these proprietors which came to my knowledge in a casual way, but which I sifted to the very bottom, without saving that I verily believe the report to be both malicious and unfounded. It was nothing more or less than that they were so lawless a set as to be guilty of killing and removing their neighbour's cattle on the back lands of their estate. To any one disposed to believe an absurdity of this kind, I can only say, go to the estate, converse with the people, ascertain in what way they spend the Sabbath, find a card or a symptom of gambling among them if you can; the result must be a conviction to the mind, that, as a community, there is much to admire, and but little to censure in their conduct."

Mr. Wolseley fell in with several parties of recent emigrants from Sierra Leone, and speaks in favourable terms of their condition. As our space is small, however, we shall select as our last extract the description which Mr. Wolseley gives of his mode of partitioning one hundred and forty-five Africans who had been liberated from a condemned slaver.

At ten accompanied his honour the sheriff and the emigration agent to Plantation Overwinning, for the purpose of carrying into effect his Excellency the governor's instructions respecting the captured Africans who had recently been condemned by the court of Vice-Admiralty. At this date they had been two months on shore, and, though in a deplorable plight when they arrived from Rio de Janeiro, were now in a fit state to be placed in a position to earn their own livelihood.

In addition to the locations recommended in the governor's instructions, we were guided in our choice of estates by the following considerations: —

1st. We were restricted by our orders to as near an approximation to the town and to a stipendiary magistrate as circumstances would admit, without militating against other equally important advantages.

2ndly. Proximity to a place of worship.

3rdly. That there should be a school either on or immediately adjoining the estate; and,

4thly. That they should be located on estates where the proprietors were able, and the attornies were willing, to grant them indulgences, to humour them for a time, and to care less about their immediate services than their future prosperity. The estates, therefore, that we added to his Excellency's list were "Rose Hall" and "The Friends."

Upon reaching Overwinning we found 145 of these people assembled together in a large room of about forty feet in length by twenty-five in width, well looking in health, cheerful in appearance, and anxiously watching for our arrival.

The people were all standing up around the room, leaving the centre vacant for spectators, of whom there was no inconsiderable number. Having agreed, in the first instance, upon trying the effect of a division of five men, five women, five boys, and five girls, by way of ascertaining what difficulties in point of relationship or clanship we were likely to meet with, a corner of the room was cleared, and the emigrant agent and myself placed therein to the number of twenty, in the manner agreed upon, such as we found perfectly disposed to be of this party.

We then proceeded in like manner to make a second party in another corner of the room, and by the time we had made a third our intentions seemed to be fully understood, and an interchange between the parties took place, in which we anxiously and patiently assisted; and my conviction is, that no man, woman, boy, or girl, went with one party, desiring at the same time to have accompanied another. The plan appearing to work so satisfactory, we proceeded in like manner till we had made a sixth party, when we found there to remain fifteen little boys between six and fourteen years of age, and six men; these we allotted to Plantation Canefields, satisfied that we could make choice of no estate where they were more likely to be treated kindly, or more fully combining the advantages we were desirous they should have.

We shall be happy if our notice of this important document should commend it to the attention of persons in various parts of the world who are looking on, with either a sympathizing or an incredulous interest, upon the great experiment of emancipation.

DREAMING IN BRAZIL.

THE *Despertador*, a newspaper of Rio de Janeiro, of the 24th July, contains a singular communication, which could have been entitled to no notice were it not said to proceed from "a leading man in the empire." If this be really the case, the absurdity may appear in some other form, and we therefore briefly refer to it. The writer begins by justifying slavery, but he admits that Brazil must conciliate England. He therefore proposes the following plan for *hoaxing* this formidable country:—

"Article 1st. A company for colonization to be formed in every province in Brazil as branches of one to be established at Rio de Janeiro, under the direction of the treasury there; whose object shall be to engage as many European emigrants as possible, and also, by authority of a legislative act, and under the regulations therein stipulated, to import from Africa black emigrants (free negros) on the following conditions, viz.—

"1st. The emigrants from Africa to be treated in the same manner as those from Europe, on the passage; otherwise the proprietors of the vessels to be subject to such fines as the act shall impose.

"2nd. There shall be an agent of the respective companies on board each vessel, to see that the regulations are strictly enforced.

"3rd. So soon as these emigrants arrive on the coast of Brazil, they shall be delivered over to an administration appointed for that purpose, and placed in an appropriate hospital, in order to be under the care of able surgeons and those of the hospital: none shall go out without a certificate of their being in a good state of health.

"4th. On their importation they shall be duly domiciled and christened.

"5th. The administrations on the coast shall send a portion of those emigrants to administrations in the interior, who shall distribute them according to the wants of the agriculturists: and these shall reimburse the companies for the expenses incurred with their living, &c.

"6th. The administrations shall deliver those emigrants solely for agricultural or domestic employment, and never to serve in offices.

"Article 2nd. No person employing such emigrants shall turn them over to any other person; but, if not satisfied with them, shall send them back to the administration, which shall return the amount paid, less 320 reis per day for the time such immigrants have been employed by the person returning them.

"Article 3rd. No corporal or other punishment shall be inflicted on such immigrants, but those established by the penal laws.

"Article 4th. Immigrants from twenty to twenty-five years of age shall not serve longer than when they attain the age of thirty-eight, and those from eight to twenty shall only be employed till they are twenty to thirty-five years old. On completing their respective terms of service, the administrations shall recall them, and send them back to the coast of Africa by the same vessels that fetch others, in order that those who return may conduce to the civilization of their countrymen, and prove to them that they have been treated with humanity by the white men. But, if any of such immigrants may be desirous of remaining in Brazil, and have conducted themselves with propriety, the administrations may consent thereto, and enter into another engagement with them for one or more years, paying them so much per month.

"Article 5th. The children of African immigrants born in Brazil shall be allowed to remain there, if well behaved; but, if otherwise, shall be sent back with their parents, and at their expense.

"Article 6th. The funds received by the administrations shall be verified by auditors duly appointed; and the minister of finance (chancellor of the exchequer) shall apply the same to the transporting European immigrants; who on arrival shall be located according to an arrangement to be formed on the basis of the patent granted by the Spanish government to the colony of Ferdinandina d'Agua, in Havana, or island of Cuba. This patent is worthy of adoption by reason of the flourishing condition of that colony, where twenty years ago there was not a single inhabitant on the south-east side of the island.

"Article 7th. Previously to this plan being put in execution, the present negro population to be registered or domiciled, *marking them on the arm with their number on the register and the initials of the province.*

"Article 8th. The African immigrants to wear a collar or bracelet, with their number on the register and initial of the province; those collars and bracelets to be found by the person who employs them.

"Article 9th. Such slaves now existing as conduct themselves improperly, to be turned over to the administrations; who shall send them back to Africa, and furnish immigrants who shall be treated as 'free' in their stead.

"Article 10th. Those immigrants or slaves who may be sent back to Africa, shall receive from their employers a suit of clothes complete, according to the regulations; and the Brazilian authorities on the coast of Africa shall provide such immigrants or slaves with the means of regaining their native places."

After gravely proposing this plan of slave-trading under the name of free-emigration, the writer naïvely says—

"Such, Mr. Editor, is WHAT I HAVE DREAMT OF, and publish, that some pen more ready than mine, but stimulated by this rough sketch, may present some better project or plan by which to avoid slavery in Brazil, and at the same time increase our population. And should the philanthropic government of England not consent to our employment of Africans or negros as immigrants, every man, however blind, will perceive that the intentions of that government are to reduce us to the most deplorable misery. In that case, what are we to do?—Let those more enlightened on the subject point out."

Nothing has this gentleman more truly said, than that, in concocting this plan, he had been DREAMING. We only wish to intimate to him that the people and government of Great Britain are *not* dreaming; but, on the anti-slavery question at least, are wide awake. We want no change of *names*, but of *things*. But, if Brazil would have an increase of her population without the slave-trade, *let her abolish slavery*, and it will follow of course.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

From *L'Esperance*.

WE have already communicated to our readers some extracts from the work which M. Victor Schœlcher is about to publish, on the slaves of our colonies. A new fragment of this work furnishes us with some further interesting facts.

There exists in the islands a peculiar plague, poison: that is to say, the organised poisoning of the cattle by the slaves. They say there, the poison, just as we say, the plague, the cholera. Poison in the hands of the slaves is a weapon terrible and unpitying, and affords a new proof of the degradation to which servitude reduces human nature.

The poison is for the slave what the whip is for the master—a power of which he serves himself to attain his object; the former labours under the fear of the whip—the latter arrests himself in his transports of passion under fear of the poison. "Behold," said a traveller to a planter, "the immense latitude which the law allows you; see, *all that* you can do!" "And

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the poison!" replied the planter. "The poison is, in some sort, the counterpoise to the tyranny of the colonist."

It does not always attack the cattle; at times the slaves, and, in certain circumstances, it dares to ascend to the children of the house; it fears not to kill the master himself. It has diverse modes of action; at times it operates slowly, at others with fury. Some negros have been taken with whom the rage of poisoning had arrived almost to monomania. One of them explained that he killed oxen as the whites kill quails, through whim or caprice, without having anything to complain of, or to revenge himself for.

M. Schœlcher relates some facts which appear almost incredible. A master announces his departure for Europe; immediately the poison appears in his stable: three horses for personal service expire one after another. By dint of research and surveillance he discovers the culprit. Who was it? His negro domestic, with whom he had been brought up, and on whom he reposed the most perfect confidence.——How, wretch! is it thou who betrayest me! Yes, master, you wished to go away without me; that overwhelmed me with grief, I have done this to retain you.

Generally speaking, the poisoners are not isolated; the slaves, if one may say it, do not poison on their particular account. Every one agrees in thinking that there exists a secret and superior organization, to which the malcontent negros of the plantations attach themselves. This association appears to exercise a supernatural power, and to strike with terror the minds of the agents whom it employs; it issues and imposes orders which they implicitly follow. It appears, also, that it possesses the secret of certain venomous plants or preparations, which is transmitted by tradition.

Everything has been tried to discover these secrets, but they have never been able to succeed. Culprits on being taken have acknowledged their personal guilt, but have invariably refused to divulge the hidden power which actuated them.

"In 1822," says M. Schœlcher, "this hydra had exercised immense ravages in Martinique; and on the 12th of August of that year, a provost-marshal's court was instituted, with the object of exterminating it. A man named Davoust, but surnamed "Coupe-Fêtes" by the negros, of violent passions, resolute, sanguinary, and well fitted to be the executioner of bold and savage actions, set out with an armed band to traverse the country. He carried with him absolute powers, moved wherever he pleased, pounced upon the habitations of the negros indicated by the informers, condemned them in a summary manner, without allowing them either a defence or an appeal, and caused their heads to be struck off, obliging the planters to send a deputation of their slaves to assist at the execution, hoping, by these formidable examples of the justice of the king, to strike the slaves with terror. Davoust, before setting out, had caused a large axe to be made for the head, and a small one for the hands; he grew wearied, however, of these too expeditious instruments, and one day caused sixteen negros to be burnt, one after another, in the public place of the Lamentin, in the presence of more than twenty thousand slaves, called together from all sides. The *auto-da-fé* lasted the entire day, with a little fine rain, which appeared to fall in furtherance of the designs of the inflexible provost-judge: during the whole time not a word was uttered either by the sixteen victims, or by the twenty thousand spectators, who retired from the place in calmness and silence. But the following day there was not a plantation in which there was not found some cattle struck with death! The provost court let loose their vengeful fury during two years, but the evil diminished not. The poison was stronger than even this fearful tribunal, which was at length suppressed by an order of the department of marine, in 1827. Such a plague as this can never be eradicated by fire or sword, but only by the moral improvement of the people. There is but one remedy for the venom which desolates our islands; and this remedy is liberty. History guarantees us this. Poison will disappear from the colonies with slavery, as it has disappeared from Europe with the feudal system, as it has disappeared from St. Domingo, where it prevailed to a great extent in the time of servitude, but from which it has altogether vanished, even in the midst of an independence without restraint and without morality, in which a power without love and without virtue leaves her to be corrupted."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 1ST.

NOTICE TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS.

WITH a view to the diffusion of information on anti-slavery subjects generally, the Committee have resolved to supply AUXILIARY SOCIETIES, *for gratuitous distribution only*, with all pamphlets and small publications published by them at one-half the usual price; and the larger publications, TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS GENERALLY, at a reduction of *twenty-five per cent.*, for immediate payment.

To all subscribers to the Anti-slavery Society or to any of its auxiliaries, the price of the volume entitled *Proceedings of the Convention* is 10*s.* 6*d.*

TO LADIES AND OTHER FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE. COLLECTING-BOOKS AND CARDS *are now ready*, which the Committee will be happy to forward to their friends in the country, *free of expense*, on application being made to the Secretary, at 27, New Broad Street. The Collecting-Book contains sixteen pages of letter press, giving a condensed view of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, together with other useful information, designed for the use of those friends of the cause who may aid the society in collecting funds for carrying on its various, extensive, and important operations. The Collecting-Book is elegantly printed in royal 32mo, and is very portable, containing, in addition to the letter press, sixteen pages for donations and subscriptions.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society are under the necessity of calling the attention of their friends throughout the country to the low state of their funds. The list of contributions which they have the pleasure of presenting to-day, shews that their kind and valued co-operators do not forget them; but the supplies at present, and for a considerable time past afforded, are not equal to their necessities. So very far, indeed, is this from being the case, that arrears have accumulated to the very serious and embarrassing amount of fifteen hundred pounds, and the evil is increasing every week. The attention of the Committee has been closely directed to an examination of the expenditure, and to measures of economy, of which latter we may have something more to say in our next. But no idea can be entertained of carrying on the highly important operations of the society on any scale of efficiency, without larger supplies. They trust the FRIENDS OF THE CAUSE—not *their* friends—will feel it their duty to see that it does not suffer injury through the want of a few pounds sterling. Such of our readers as are disposed to be active in this matter, will see announced in our present paper some attractive facilities for their benevolent operations.

IN our last number we called attention to the progress of our friends, Messrs. G. W. Alexander and Scoble, in their anti-slavery tour through Holland. Mr. Scoble has now returned, and has furnished us with the following notes of his movements subsequently to the departure of his friend and companion for England.

After a series of private interviews with gentlemen residing in Amsterdam, who were likely to be of service in prosecuting the anti-slavery cause, Mr. Scoble proceeded to Utrecht, and had the advantage of meeting, at the house of Madame la Baronne Tuyll, on the evening of Wednesday the 10th of November, a party of ladies, who were deeply interested and affected by the details laid before them of the degraded and wretched condition of the female slave population of different countries, and expressed their earnest desires for their deliverance. On the following evening (Thursday), Mr. Scoble held a meeting, at which were present, among others, Messrs. Swellengrebel, member of the second chamber of the Dutch legislature, Van den Velde, Van Goltstein, Both Hendrickson, Holtius, jun., Vreede, and Akersdyk. The last two gentlemen are professors in the University of that city. Attention was directed to those points of the anti-slavery question which were deemed of most importance, particularly the results of emancipation in the British colonies, and the evening was concluded by an interesting conversation, in which the great principles of British abolitionists were further illustrated and enforced. In this, as well as in other cities of Holland, the deputation found a warm response to the appeals made in behalf of suffering humanity. Previous to leaving Utrecht, Mr. Scoble had a lengthened interview with M. Aske Van Wyk, a member of the first chamber of the states-general, and was happy to find this gentleman much interested in the anti-slavery cause. Zeist, the Moravian settlement, in the neighbourhood of Utrecht, was visited by him. There he had the pleasure of meeting M. Owerkerk De Vries and one of the Moravian teachers, from whom he learnt many interesting particulars of the efforts made by the brethren for the education and religious instruction of the negros, and the impediments thrown in the way of the prosecution of their labours. To this point we trust Mr. Scoble will return. In the meantime, we may just observe, that, in consequence of the escape of about twenty negros from Surinam to British Guiana, few, if any, of the slaves, whether children or adults are now allowed to receive instruction from them.

From Utrecht our friend proceeded to Groningen, which he reached late on Saturday night, and on the following Monday, made arrangements for holding a meeting the next evening. Through the kindness of M. Hayunga, formerly chief justice of Surinam, and one of the judges of the Mixed Commission Court of that colony for the suppression of the slave-trade, he had the pleasure of meeting at his house Drs. Hofstede, de Groot, and Pareau, professors of theology, and Dr. Star Numan, professor of natural law, in the university of that city. The conversation was directed to the various difficulties which were supposed to beset the question of immediate and entire emancipation. Next morn-

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ing Mr. Scoble met several friends of the slave at Dr. Numan's and was much encouraged to find that the ladies present felt deeply interested in it. In the evening, one of the most interesting meetings held in the Netherlands took place at the Hotel du Doelen. His Excellency, Baron Rengers, governor of the province, presided on the occasion. There were present also at this meeting, Dr. H. R. Hayunga, formerly president of the High Court of Justice, &c. of Surinam, Dr. H. O. Feith, member of the court of appeal of the province of Groningen, Dr. H. L. Wickers, king's attorney, Dr. C. Star Numan, professor of natural law, Dr. De Ranits, advocate and member of the city council, M. Jappé, surveyor of the province, Dr. Schneiter, gymnasii rector, Dr. Meyer, professor of history, Dr. H. Neinhuis, professor of civil law, M. Hencke, teacher of languages, Captain Cool, royal navy, and M. M. Van Panhuys, Hurrelbrink, A. Hayunga, and Albarda. Had not previous engagements rendered it impossible, other gentlemen connected with the university would have been present. As accounts of this meeting were published in the papers of the city, one of which, the briefest, will be found translated below, we do not feel it to be necessary to dwell on the impression made by the address of our friend. We cannot, however, withhold an extract or two from a letter forwarded to Mr. Scoble at Rotterdam, by one of the distinguished gentlemen present at the same. It is dated Groningen, the 19th November :—"The diligence was just gone, when I arrived at the Hotel Doelen to take a last leave of you, and greatly disappointed I returned to my house, from not having seen you. My friends, professor C. Star Numan and Captain Cool, of the royal navy, were happier than I was. I hasten, however, hoping this letter will reach you at Rotterdam, before your departure for England, to send you enclosed two newspapers of this city, wherein the feelings of all those who were present at the meeting held on the evening of the 17th inst. are feebly expressed. You have attained your aim. The gentlemen present at the meeting, and those who were not, feel greatly interested in the matter so ably explained by you, and you may be persuaded that the indifference which formerly existed about it, has been succeeded by a kind of public spirit amongst the respectable inhabitants of this place, who express the wish that every person in Holland should join to accelerate the period when none but freemen shall live under the sceptre of our noble-minded king.

"Be so kind to forward three or four more *Anti-Slavery Reporters* than you are accustomed to send to the members of the Committee at Groningen, in order that I may dispose of them to private and public reading societies.

"My son, who assisted at your meeting, told me yesterday evening that he intends to defend against other opponents, students in their literary circles, the principles you are advocating, which, of course, I encouraged him to do; and so, by different means, under the blessing of the Almighty, every thing will come to a good issue. *Gutta-cavat lapidem, non vi, sed saepe cadendo.*"

Instead of proceeding direct from Groningen to Rotterdam, as he originally intended, Mr. Scoble took the route through Zwolle, Amsterdam, and the Hague, in the hope that, by further personal interviews with the friends of the slave in these places, he might yet more advance the cause of freedom. He regrets that, during his limited stay at Zwolle, he was unable to see Baron Sloet Van Olthuis and M. Sonsbeek, to both of whom he had letters of introduction. At Amsterdam and the Hague he was more successful, and had the opportunity of privately laying before several warm and influential friends the information he had collected in his tour of the state of public feeling on the anti-slavery question and of the course it would be desirable for them to pursue. His labours in Holland were finally closed by a large and animated public meeting at Rotterdam, held in the English church on the evening previous to his departure, at which existing impressions appeared to be deepened, and a renewed impulse given to the cause.

In concluding this summary of the proceedings of the deputation we may state, that, whilst they found the same general objections to emancipation in the Dutch colonies urged in various directions which were formerly advanced, but are now utterly exploded, in this country, they ascertained that sound principles are rapidly gaining ground, and that the cause of the poor slave is manifestly attracting public attention. Men of distinguished ability, of literary eminence, of official influence, of high character, and sincere piety, are devoting themselves to this good work, with an earnestness which at once indicates their sense of its importance, and their determination to achieve it. Moreover it is felt, even by the most inveterate of the pro-slavery party in Holland, that, when the public gaze shall be fixed on the system of slavery in the Dutch possessions and dependencies abroad, and the public voice shall be heard pronouncing its condemnation, it will no longer be permitted to exist to dishonour the nation, or to demoralise and destroy its victims. The example of our friends in the Netherlands, in forming Anti-slavery Committees and Associations in their various cities and towns, we venture to recommend to the serious attention of the abolitionists in France, as one of the most efficient modes of conveying information to the public mind, and of concentrating public abhorrence on the enormous evil they hope to destroy.

The following is translated from a Groningen paper of November the 17th :—

Mr. John Scoble, one of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, has visited our town, as he has likewise done Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, and Utrecht. The object of his journey is to nduce the Dutch to share in the efforts of emancipation, which have been attended with such happy results in the British West Indies, whereby the slaves in our West Indies should be declared free, in a legal way, by our government. Yesterday evening, by invitation of one of our townsmen, a few respectable and esteemed inhabitants, who understood English, and who could attend on such a short notice, assembled in the Hotel the Doelen, in order that they might learn from the mouth of the most esteemed Mr. John Scoble, the object of his visit to our town.

In a lengthened discourse, which lasted one hour and three-quarters, the eloquent speaker developed the origin of the British Anti-slavery Society, its efforts, and its results, which have been manifested from time to time. After the abolition of the abominable slave-trade (also done away with by our government) has followed the liberation of all the slaves in the West Indies. In a clear and simple way he brought forward the subject of his discourse. We hope to be able to give our readers, by another opportunity, a more full account of the contents of the worthy speaker's discourse; but we express by this the wish that Mr. John Scoble would publish his important speech, in order to make known to our interested countrymen the feelings it breathes, and the facts brought forward as favourable omens of the result of emancipation in the British West Indies. Of this we are at all events convinced, that the impressions Mr. John Scoble has made on his hearers on the subject, have excited much anxiety as to the welfare of our West India colonies, and in particular the precious Dutch Guiana. Our best wishes accompany the noble, independent philanthropist.

We draw particular attention to the following communication, on the subject of the Brazilian slave-trade.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR—Allow me to correct a false impression, likely to be produced on the minds of your readers, as to the extent of the Brazilian slave-trade, by a paragraph extracted from the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*, and inserted in your last number. The paragraph states "that the number of negros imported has very much decreased, and, whilst it amounted in previous years to 30,000, may be stated now to be about 6000 per annum." Now the fact is, that upwards of 100,000 negros have been annually imported into Brazil for many years past, and that into the immediate neighbourhood of the city of Rio de Janeiro *alone* there were imported (as the official returns show) in 1837, 41,600 slaves; in 1838, 36,074, and in 1839, 30,360. Although the infamous traffic has been checked in the vicinity of the city of Rio, yet there is no reason to believe that it has been much diminished in the entire province of Rio, nor is there any evidence whatever to show that it has been checked in the slightest degree in the provinces of Pernambuco, Bahia, Maranham, or Para. The truth is, to use the language of the British consul at Pernambuco, "the utmost diligence and vigilance of research" to find out the facts connected with the slave-trade were useless, because they were "impenetrably veiled and disguised by the artful combinations of all those who are either directly or indirectly interested in the traffic of African slaves."

I am, Sir, your's respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 30th November, 1841.

No papers from the West Indies have arrived since our last.

By the *Nenagh Guardian* we see with pleasure, that the subject of slavery in British India is giving rise to energetic operations in the sister isle. We give the following extract :—

We are glad to learn that this wide-spread evil—this deep blot on our national character, and on the profession we are making of the Christian name—is likely to receive that attention from the leading anti-slavery societies of England and Ireland which it so well deserves. We long to impress on our readers the pressing necessity which exists for immediate and vigorous exertions. British India was, until it was discovered she was so deeply involved in the accursed system herself, looked to as the grand engine for breaking down American slavery, by bringing the cheap free labour of her millions to bear upon the dear slave labour of the Columbian slave-holders; and this glorious result may yet be attained, if now, while slave labour is comparatively valueless in India, an energetic attempt is made to get rid of the whole system—which is unquestionably within the power of a united people to achieve.

We therefore announce with satisfaction, that the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society intend calling for simultaneous petitions from every part of Ireland, urging on the imperial parliament to pass a law declaring every slave on British soil, or who sets foot upon it, really and substantially free: and surely this will be responded to. There is sufficient hatred of slavery amongst us to make a determined and vigorous effort, particularly when there is a hopeful promise of success.

We understand too that the following important resolution was passed at a public anti-slavery meeting, held on Wednesday evening last at the Royal Exchange, Dublin,

Proposed by Mr. R. Allen, seconded by James Haughton, and agreed to by acclamation :—

"That, while we hold all slavery to be sinful, and urgently call on the British parliament, immediately on its re-assembling, to pass a law declaring every subject of Britain free, and thus relieve the country from a vast weight of national guilt, we nevertheless are of opinion that the great extent to which slavery prevails in British India—an extent which is as yet but imperfectly known—calls for further measures to bring it fully to light; and, with this impression, we earnestly urge on the government to commission Dr. Madden, whose services in the anti-slavery cause have already been so highly effective, immediately to proceed to the East Indies, for the purpose of ascertaining and determining the limits, to the farthest extent, to which such a law would necessarily be applicable."

Our readers will perceive that the proposed commission is not intended in the least to prevent the passing at the earliest period possible of effective laws, but merely to secure their more full and prompt realization.

We have received a copy of a letter addressed by the Committee of the Dublin Anti-slavery Society to the new Governor General of India. We had marked it for insertion; but, through press of matter, can only express our gratification at the ability and excellent spirit which characterize it.

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We have much pleasure in presenting the following extract from a letter received from John Dunlop, Esq., the secretary of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society.

"At a full meeting of the Edinburgh Emancipation Committee, held on the 10th instant, the sum of £20. was voted in aid of the funds of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and will be duly transmitted through the Treasurer, Mr. W. Oliphant, junior. At the same time the following resolution was unanimously agreed to:—

"The subject of East India Slavery having been again brought under the attention of the Committee, it was resolved,—That the committee view with much approbation, the efforts now making by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society on the subject of slavery in British India, and pledge themselves to co-operate to the extent of their ability, to diffuse information, and to awaken public interest, prior to the intended movement in parliament, for the entire extinction of slavery in India, and throughout every part of the British empire."

The announcement we made in our last of a vessel having sailed from Rotterdam, to purchase a thousand blacks at Ashantee for the king of the Netherlands, is fully confirmed by more recent accounts. The name of the vessel, however, is not the *Britannia*, but the *Europa*.

On the emigration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies which is now going on so rapidly, and more especially to British Guiana, we copy the following excellent remarks from a recent city article in the *Times*:—

The necessity for an increased supply of labour in the colony of Demerara, where the capabilities of production may be said to be almost without limit, is a fact well known to all who have any acquaintance with the state of our colonies in that part of the world; but the mode in which that supply is proposed to be obtained is a subject on which too much watchfulness cannot be exercised by the legislature, and the public generally. Objections of great force and validity have constantly been urged against any recourse to the Hill Coolies, or other labouring and indigent class in India for that purpose, but the danger of creating thereby a new description of slave-trade would appear to be much greater when the coast of Africa, and that part of it which was the chief mart of the old and detestable traffic in human beings, are resorted to for such an object. It is difficult to imagine any guarantee sufficient to protect the ignorant and naturally helpless negro, so as to make him a free agent in any engagement that may be formed for his future services. By degrees, in the course of time, and by adroit management there might be but little difference in the state of the colonies from that from which they have recently, and at immense cost, been emancipated. That the present ministry, upon whom the Demerara colonists appear to reckon, should lend themselves to any such views is next to impossible.

We find in the *Mining Journal* an account of the half-yearly meeting of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, held on the 16th instant. From the report of the directors it appeared that the force employed showed a total of 767 persons—viz., 13 officers, 101 miners, 142 free natives, 243 negro men, 129 negro women, 72 negro boys, and 67 negro girls. On the entreaty of the mining captain, the force of blacks had been increased by 24 men, and 8 women. Mr. Gray (erroneously reported as Mr. Goldsmid) inquired if, as £5000, had been expended for the hire of slaves, it would not be better to purchase a sufficient number for the use of the mine? The chairman replied that the present plan was preferable. A shareholder expressed his regret that a fresh hiring should have taken place—it was encouraging the horrid traffic in slaves. The chairman explained that there had been no fresh hiring since the last meeting, but the amount necessarily fell into the present half-year.

We shall return to this subject in our next.

DUTCH SLAVE-TRADE ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

The fact we mentioned in our last, that a vessel sailed recently from Rotterdam, to purchase from the King of Ashantee one thousand blacks to recruit the Dutch troops in Java, will give additional interest to the following correspondence, which we extract from the parliamentary papers.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO M. DEDEL.

Foreign Office, September 7th, 1840.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from commander Tucker, of her Majesty's ship *Wolverine*, reporting that Netherland transports are in the habit of taking on board at St. George d'Elmina, every three or four months, a number of negros, said to be intended as recruits for Batavia.

I have to request, that you will have the goodness to draw the attention of the Netherlands government to this practice, which is in fact slave-trade carried on by officers of the *Dutch* government, and which must necessarily be productive of the evils attendant upon slave-trade.

Her Majesty's government had hoped that the earnest appeal which was made on this subject, in the year 1836, to the humane and generous sentiments of the king of the Netherlands, would have induced his Netherland Majesty to direct his colonial authorities to desist from the practice of purchasing negros in Africa as recruits for the Dutch army; for her Majesty's government is well convinced, that the government of the Netherlands is animated by a sincere desire to put down the slave-trade. But the measures still pursued by the Netherland authorities on this matter do not merely encourage the slave-trade, but give to that trade the sanction of the example of the Netherland government. I request, therefore, that your Excellency, in communicating the accompanying paper to the Netherland government, will once more entreat the attention of that government to this subject, and express a hope that on re-consideration they will no longer persevere in this course of proceeding. For the slave-trading example thus set by the Netherland government will encourage private adventurers to do the same, and the Netherland government will in this way, by their own practice, perpetuate a traffic which they have denounced as criminal, and which his Netherland Majesty has by treaty bound himself to put down.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

The following is the letter transmitted:—

Her Majesty's ship Wolverine.

West Bay, Princes, 9th May, 1840.

SIR,—In the absence of the commander-in-chief, rear-admiral the honorable George Elliot, appointed to the command in India, and as senior officer of this station, I request you will move the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that they will be pleased to apply to her Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs for instructions relating to the Netherland transports, which embark at St. George d'Elmina every three or four months, a number of negros said to be recruits for Batavia: with respect to which I have to inform you, that in February last I received information that the *Batavia*, Netherland transport, embarked about seventy-five negros, many of whom I had received information, and was prepared to prove, were British subjects, and for whom a sum equal to the value of a slave was either paid to the parent, owner, or himself, and had, in consequence, intended to detain her and send her to Sierra Leone for adjudication, under the impression that it was contrary to the treaties existing between the Netherlands and Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade, but was prevented detaining her by the advice of the commander-in-chief, who arrived at Cape Coast Castle on the morning the transport sailed from St. George d'Elmina; and now another transport is daily expected from the Netherlands, to embark some more negros under the same circumstances; but in this instance for Surinam, instead of Batavia. The embarkation of negros under the name of recruits may probably be claimed by and permitted to every government; but, if so, it will lead to great abuse and to a great extension of the slave-trade (now nearly suppressed on this part of the coast). If the recruiting system be permitted, the old Portuguese, Spanish, and Brazilian slave-traders will probably resort to the same method of carrying on their inhuman traffic, under the plea of recruiting, as the French and Dutch have already done to a great extent.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) WILLIAM TUCKER, Commander and Senior Officer.

On the 10th of September, Lord Palmerston writes to Sir E. C. Disbrowe, communicating copies of the above, and adding further matter, as follows:—

Since this note was written, I have received from her Majesty's commissary judge at Surinam the despatch of which I enclose a copy, in which it is stated that his Netherland Majesty's steam-vessel *Curaçoa* has arrived at Surinam, where she has landed fifty young negros, who are to be prepared for service in the Dutch regiments.

I have now to instruct you to communicate to the Netherland government a copy of Mr. Samo's despatch by a note, stating that her Majesty's government cannot but consider these proceedings to be an infraction of the stipulation of the treaty of May 4th, 1818, by which his Netherland Majesty engaged "to prohibit all his subjects, in the most effectual manner, and especially by penal laws the most formal, to take any part whatever in the trade of slaves," for it appears that agents of the Netherland government have gone into the slave market, and bought slaves just as any other purchasers of slaves would do.

Her Majesty's government feel convinced, that the Netherland government will see, upon reflection, that this transaction is a pure and simple act of slave-trading, committed by the orders of a government which has by treaty bound itself to put a stop to slave-trade.

For, to constitute slave-trade, it is not necessary that the party who buys the slaves should intend to sell them again; because, if the criminality of the transaction depended only upon this subsequent sale, then it is clear that landed proprietors in America and the West Indies might carry on slave-trade with impunity, if, instead of purchasing slaves from adventurers who bring them from Africa, they were themselves to hire and send vessels to Africa on their own account, and were, by means of their own agents in Africa, to purchase slaves, as the Dutch government has done for their own use.

But the Dutch government must see, that in this transaction it stands, in a moral point of view, exactly in the same situation as a West India planter, who, for the cultivation of his estate, buys negros brought to him by dealers in slaves.

The only difference is, that the slaves bought by the Dutch government do not pass through so many hands as those bought by the West India planter; but the Dutch government contracts with a slave-dealer for the purchase of slaves; that dealer employs his under agents to procure those slaves; and those slaves are men who are torn by violence from their houses and families, and are carried off by force from their native country, in order to be delivered over against their will to the agents of the Dutch government, to be by them sent off across the sea to a distant region, and to be there compelled by force to employ themselves in occupations not of their own choice.

It is no answer to this to say, that, when the slaves are thus purchased by the Dutch agents, they receive certificates of emancipation. Such certificates are evidently valueless pieces of paper, unless they confer upon the slaves, which of course they do not, the power of returning to their own country, or of refusing to enter into the Dutch service, and of continuing in a state of freedom.

In conclusion, you will state that her Majesty's government cannot but hope that the Netherland government, when it comes to reflect upon the true nature of the transaction in question, will give the necessary orders for entirely discontinuing a practice so inconsistent with the principles which have been solemnly declared by the Dutch government, and so incompatible with the treaty engagements which have been entered into by his Netherland Majesty.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

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BARON VERSTOLK TO SIR E. C. DISBROWE.

(*Translation.*)

The undersigned, &c., had the honour to receive, on the 19th September last, the note which Sir E. C. Disbrowe, &c., addressed to him for the purpose of transmitting to him a copy of a letter from Mr. John Samo, British commissary judge in the mixed court for repression of slave-trade at Surinam, touching the importation into that colony of 50 young negros from the Netherland possessions on the coast of Guinea, on board the royal Netherland steam-boat *Curaçoa*, destined to make good the complement of the corps des guides of the colony.

In reply to the demands of the British government on the subject of this transport, the undersigned is authorised to present to Sir E. C. Disbrowe the following explanation and observations.

The preamble of the note contains, according to the letter of Mr. Samo, a correct statement of the arrival at Surinam of 50 men of the black troops; but the court of the Hague cannot admit the consequences which have been deduced therefrom.

"The British government," says the note, "thus sees confirmed a fact, which can only be considered as a deviation from the treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the example of this recruiting will encourage the slave-traders of all nations to revive the horrors of the slave-trade under another name." Nothing is known which justifies this supposition, which can only be considered as an exaggeration of Mr. Samo's opinion. The explanation about to be given in this answer will, it is hoped, suffice to place the facts in their true light.

"The crime of slave-trade," according to the note, "is not only committed when the slaves are bought from adventurers who bring them from Africa, but also when planters send vessels direct for that purpose."

This observation is perfectly just, but it is inconceivable how either of these two cases can be brought to bear upon the system of recruiting now under consideration. The reinforcement of the corps des guides in the West Indies, and the transport of the men enrolled on board a king's ship, has nothing to do with adventurers, or planters, or their agents. Thus the difficulty of the explanation appears to have been felt in the mention made by the note "of the need felt by the government of the Netherlands, of workmen or soldiers (it little matters what) for the cultivation or the defence of its possessions in another part of the world."

The government of the Netherlands has, it is true, need of soldiers, but not of workmen up to the present time, a circumstance by no means so indifferent in the examination of the subject as it appears to be supposed. The military class, particularly at Surinam, is very much distinguished from the labouring class; this distinction comprehends all the difference between the freeman and the slave. The military negros are free, and generally considered so, not only by the whites, but also by the other negros, who also respect them as such; and if it ever happens that the other blacks forget this respect, the black soldiers do not fail to remind them of it in a sensible manner.

It is in this respect the same in the Netherland colonies as in those of Great Britain, in the service of which there were negro soldiers. The late General Verveer, has demonstrated this very plainly in a memoir, in which, apropos of a black regiment in garrison at Belize, in the Bay of Honduras, he says, in speaking of the feelings of honour of these troops—

"The black soldier will not permit any negro slave to pass near him in the streets, unless the latter fronts and uncovers himself before him, an honour which the African receives with a proud indifference, copied from what he has seen among his former Moorish neighbours, or among his conquerors."

It is, therefore, incorrect to place the soldier and the labourer on an equality, and to compare the possible doings of a planter with the system of recruiting, as it actually exists, carried into effect by the Netherland government. The question is, whether the negro is employed in an occupation which is agreeable or disagreeable to him; and it can be fearlessly stated that a military life pleases him. "In both cases," adds the note, "these men are slaves, torn from their habitation and their families, forcibly taken from their country, and transported across the seas, to be delivered over against their will to agents, and afterwards employed against their will in occupations which are not of their own choosing."

The enlistments in Africa are even more free from violence and constraint than those which the European regulations as to military discipline would sanction: not only do the men come voluntarily to present themselves for admission into the Netherlands service, but they are interrogated a second time before their embarkation, being left at liberty to persist or not in their desire to serve the Netherlands government in its possessions over sea. Surely, it was neither constraint nor violence which obtained the eulogiums given in all circumstances by the English authorities at Cape Coast to the late General Verveer, for the gentleness of his regulations regarding enlistment.

The note calls in doubt the validity of the certificates of manumission delivered to the black troops. This is, perhaps, because it is not known that the negros enlisted are not always Netherland subjects, and that English negros are also received, who naturally ought, before their incorporation, to be furnished with their certificates of manumission delivered by the authorities of Cape Coast Castle. Now when this circumstance is known, it will assuredly never be maintained that the English president and his officers come to an understanding with the Netherland authorities, and deliver these letters of manumission only for form's sake.

This observation of itself refutes the allegation that the negro soldier, after his term of service, can never return to his country. However, over and above this, an extract from the rules for the African recruits destined for the Netherland military service in the West Indies is added. It indicates the men already returned from the island of Java with a pension, and again dwelling on the coast of Guinea; and it will not be useless to add, that one of the Africans enlisted is at the present time already promoted to the rank of officer.

The unexpected death of Major-General Verveer, is the reason why the government is deprived of a detailed account of his operation whilst on his second mission to the coast of Africa; but the Netherland officers will not in consequence of this event revive upon this coast, as is intimated in the note, the abuses which were formerly committed there; on the contrary, the greatest respect will be shown to the regulations of that gallant officer, and the British government may depend with certainty upon the co-operation of the Netherland government in all that concerns the strict suppression of the slave-trade, and everything connected with it: but it cannot be admitted that the recruiting can be compared to this illicit traffic. For a long time the open manner in which the enlistment of recruits in Africa is carried on, has convinced the English authorities on the coast, that the system not only has nothing in common with the slave-trade, but serves, on the contrary, to make slaves, if they are so prior to their being engaged, pass into the state of freemen.

As to the report of Mr. Samo, the precipitation and prevarication which mark his letter do not say much in favour of his communications. Without giving himself time for reflection, examination, or inquiry, he writes at the moment the troops are disembarked all that first comes to his pen. Surely little justice can be expected in opinions so little ripened.

If the British government should think fit to demand, some time after the arrival of these troops, further correct and impartial information as to the manner in which they are treated, and as to their being satisfied with their lot, these new reports will assuredly so completely overthrow those to which an answer has just been given, that it will be matter for congratulation that there is a British functionary at Surinam, owing to whose presence, both the state of things of which he is a witness, and the charges brought forward, will disappear for ever.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) VERSTOLK DE SOELEN.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES: SOUTHERN SENTIMENT.

THE following passage, extracted from the *New Orleans Advertiser*, will do its work without any remarks of ours. The atrocity of such sentiments will do more to quicken the abolition movement than the most eloquent appeals of its friends.

[From the *New Orleans Advertiser.*]

The events of every day, of every hour, teach us in the most forcible manner that our institution of slavery is in imminent danger from the attack of northern abolitionists and home emancipationists. They teach us too, that the enmity between the white and black race is rapidly maturing, and that it would require only the hand of some daring and master spirit to pluck the fruit, bitter as it is, and plunge our state into servile troubles.

This is plain language, and we mean it to be so. We could even make it plainer, but as our object is to rouse the white population from their lethargy, a hint, perhaps, is as good as a kick.

What is to be done? We all see the evils before us and the tendency of things. Action is necessary—prompt action. What is to be done?

The laws relative to free blacks from other states should be rigorously enforced. Let every negro now in the city and the state in contravention of the law, be driven from our borders as a pest, as a plague; and every citizen who has any regard for his own safety should inform the authorities, if he knows, where they may find these enemies of our peace and that of our slaves. It is now well known that free blacks are employed by the abolitionists of the north as active agents to spread the poison of their doctrines among our slaves, and to run off all who will listen to their syren song. Read the stupendous operations of the St. Louis murderers in this particular, and you will see that this system is no longer the notion of a disturbed imagination. It is reality, as our planters know from sad experience.

The vessels and steam-boats which trade to this place have free negro cooks, barbers, waiters, stewards, and firemen upon them. Is this allowable by our laws, will some one informed in the matter tell us? If it be not permitted, a stop can soon be put to the system. If it be lawful, the legislature should at its next session pass a law similar to that prevailing in South Carolina, viz., to imprison every free black who comes into the ports of the state until the vessel shall sail, and to put the master under bonds to carry him beyond the bounds of the state.

Strong, strong measures are required to erect a barrier of safety between the two races. The legislature has hitherto adopted a false policy respecting emancipation. It should be altered. Emancipation at home should be prevented by statute, unless the free black is sent out of the state. Again no free negro, sprung from those freed under the old laws should, after a certain period, be allowed to hold fast property. Every discouragement to their staying in the state should be adopted. Drive them from us. It is our only means of salvation. If we do not take away their present privileges, as sure as we live a race will spring up between the slave and the white man, and their sympathies will be roused for their brethren in bondage, and the issue it does not require a prophet to foretell.

We are singularly inconsistent on this subject in Louisiana. The moment any one in the other states speaks against our system of slavery, we fly into a rage and curse him for an intermeddler: This is all very natural. But, among ourselves, we daily and hourly do deeds that strike deeper at our slave institution than all the machinations of northern and English abolitionists combined. We manumit our slaves, and elevate them to privileges almost equal to those enjoyed by ourselves. Do we suppose that the negro in bondage can look quietly upon this disparity between himself and his fellow, without feeling the promptings of liberty seize his soul? Do we suppose that the emancipated negro, who feels in the gift of his new privileges more bitterly than ever the inferiority of his race, will rest contented with his lot? If we do, we are blind to the operations of human nature.

The evil, the wrong of slavery, is admitted by every enlightened man in the union but in the states where the institution prevails, it is the bounden duty of every good citizen, if he would preserve society from the inroads of a domestic enemy—if he does not look to the abolition of negro bondage, to see that no false philanthropy shall strike a single rivet from the chains of the slaves. As the *Bulletin* lately exclaimed—"Let the institution of slavery be preserved sacred."

The late repeated attacks of the negro upon the white man in our city, should excite our suspicions whether they be not the picquet guard of some stupendous conspiracy among the blacks to fall upon us unawares. It seems almost improbable that so many acts of violence should follow each other so rapidly, without concert and design. At all events we should be on our guard.

Connected with this subject is an evil which every citizen should endeavour to repress at once. It is the practice of certain men who busy

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themselves in defence of the free blacks. They appear to have, on all occasions, the papers of any free negro who may be arrested without them in his possession. The gentlemen, if they cannot see the mischief they are committing should be made to see it, and to abstain from interfering in the execution of our laws by their pretended philanthropy for the negro.

Our duties are plain. Till the legislature meets, when our whole free negro policy will be changed we hope—let every citizen assist the authorities to expel the free blacks who are obnoxious to our laws. Let us not permit the least insolence of a slave or free black towards us, but punish him on the spot, or bring him before the tribunals of justice. Let us put the mark of Cain on all intermeddling lawyers who shall attempt to obstruct the administration of the laws about free blacks. Let us always be on our guard, and grant no indulgence to the negro, but keep him strictly and rigorously within his sphere. Let the authorities be on the look out for all free blacks who come here from up the river, and remain till their boat returns. There are hundreds such, and they are the plotters of mischief. Let the assemblage of negros at their meeting-houses for religious purposes be broken up by the authorities. To this last point we cannot too strongly invite their attention, and that of our vigilant attorney-general, who, we are sure, will see that the republic shall receive no detriment.

MAKING SUGAR FROM CORN.

WE find in an American paper a letter from Mr. W. Webb of Wilmington, Delaware, detailing a method of manufacturing sugar from corn. The letter was read at a recent meeting of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Newcastle county, and was illustrated by specimens of sugar and molasses, which, both in appearance and taste, were much admired. The plan is detailed in the following extract:—

The manner of raising the corn and making the sugar is as follows:—The corn is planted in rows of 2½ feet apart, and the stalks are left to stand in the row three inches one from another, it is then cultivated in the usual manner. Sometime in August, or as soon as the stalk shows a disposition to form grain, the ears must be taken off; this operation must be carefully attended to, as upon it entirely depends success. After this there is nothing more to do until the crop is ready to be taken up, which will generally happen in September; the stalks are then cut up at the root, stript of their leaves, and taken to the mill, where the juice is pressed out between iron rollers, in the same way usually employed with the sugar cane. Lime water, about the consistency of thin cream, is then mixed with the juice, one spoonful to the gallon: it is left to settle one hour, and then poured into boilers, which are covered until the liquid approaches nearly to the boiling point, when the scum must be taken off. It is then boiled down as rapidly as possible, taking off the scum as it rises. As the juice approaches the state of syrup, it is necessary to slacken the fire to avoid burning. The boiling is generally completed when six quarts are reduced to one; it is then poured into coolers, or moulds, and set aside to crystallize. When this process is gone through, the sugar is to be separated from the molasses, and the whole operation is finished. If required, it can be afterwards refined as other sugar. The use of animal charcoal and the employment of steam in the process of evaporation, as is common in the manufacture of beet sugar, would, I am confident, produce white sugar at one operation.

From what is known on the subject, I fully believe that an acre of good ground, treated as above described, will yield at least 1000 pounds of sugar—probably more. The value of the fodder taken from the stalks, and of the stalks themselves, after passing through the mill, will be more than an equivalent for the whole expense of cultivation and keeping the ground up. The fodder produced in this way is much superior to that usually made, from its containing a greater quantity of saccharine matter.

THE PLOUGH in the WEST INDIES.—A correspondent of the *Jamaica Gazette and Despatch* thus writes:—I now proceed to give you a comparative view of the two systems, namely, digging cane-holes in the old way with hoes, and making them with the plough. Two cane pieces of the same size, level land and in grass, were put in without manure at the same time: one was dug in the common way, at the rate of 70 holes for 2s.; the other was the first piece upon which the plough was tried. I had not only to teach the people and break in the cattle, but in a great measure to teach myself the use of the plough, having had very litte previous experience. Ten cattle were used, and of course an extra number of hands to drive them.

The cost of the dug cane-holes and digging off was	27	9	1	The cost of ploughing entirely over, harrowing, and ploughing cane-holes	13	1	6
Picking plant tops, and planting in the usual way tolerably thick along the row	18	8	3	Picking plant tops, and planting one top about every three feet along the row	4	12	0
Weeding and supplying, and picking tops to supply, the weather having been very dry, and a great failure having taken place	20	4	6	Weeding and supplying, and picking tops to supply, very few having failed, owing to the soil being well pulverised	4	4	0
Cleaning till the time of cutting	57	16	0	Cleaning till the time of cutting	20	19	0
Total cost	£123	17	10	Total cost	£42	16	6

From the above it will appear, that, notwithstanding the difficulties to be encountered in first commencing with the plough, the ploughed holes did not cost the half of the dug holes. With regard to the ploughing, the ploughed land cost just one-fourth as much as the old fashioned cane-holes. It was foreseen that, from the fine state of the soil, every top would grow in the ploughed part, the tops were therefore planted thin; the result justified the expectation, as is seen by the comparative cost of weeding and supplying, the ploughed part being about one-fifth of the expense of the other. And here is shown one of the greatest advantages of the plough; the tops will all grow, though planted in dry weather! The land being ploughed in dry weather, the soil was completely pulverised, and the grass got rid of so completely that there was not a blade to be seen for weeks afterwards: and when, seedlings did begin to grow, the least touch of a hoe destroyed them. On the other hand, the cane-holes being dug through the grass, the grass roots were safely buried in the banks, and, although the dry weather would not let the canes grow, the grass being already established grew fast enough. The advantage gained in this experiment is nearly two-thirds, as seen above.

Having now, I hope, fully explained the above statement of the cost of each method, it only remains to state the comparative produce. The dug cane-holes made seven hogsheads; the ploughed ones ten! After this, surely I may ask the proprietors will you not give the plough a fair trial?

TRINIDAD.

RETURN OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVED.

	Labourers.	Children.
January	287	0
February	282	0
March	270	0
April	214	0
May	397	0
June	287	0
July	329	0
August	276	13
Total from 1st January to 31st August	2342	13

RETURN OF PRODUCE SHIPPED

From 1st January to 31st August, from 1835 to 1841.

	Sugar.			Molasses.		Rum.
	Hhds.	Trs.	Bbls.	Puns.	Trs.	Puns.
August 31, 1835	21329	999	4208	9213	761	115
,, 1836	23719	1343	4739	9498	783	58
,, 1837	22297	1047	3353	8789	666	11
,, 1838	19837	1214	2337	7579	595	130
,, 1839	17490	1124	3144	7217	409	85
,, 1840	15658	1087	3301	6375	417	187
,, 1841	18746	1220	2648	6707	871	18

	Cocoa.	Coffee.	Cotton.		Indigo.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	ser.	seroons.
August 31, 1835	1,888,038	82,013	2	213	59
,, 1836	2,501,134	195,989	29	187	—
,, 1837	2,171,210	140,845	37	1102	—
,, 1838	2,294,956	395,089	35	1791	4
,, 1839	2,382,108	211,212	—	1145	—
,, 1840	2,752,976	506,190	100	317	4
,, 1841	2,286,439	103,135	1	1001	1

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last list was published, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Dons. £.	s.	d.	Subs. £.	s.	d.
G. Groen Van Prinsterer, the Hague (25 florins)	2	1	8			
William Allen, Stoke Newington				2	0	0
Stafford Allen, Cowper Street				2	2	0
William Ball, Tottenham				2	2	0
John Bell, Wandsworth				2	2	0
J. Burchett, Doctors' Commons				1	1	0
J. Burchett, Jun.				0	10	0
William Cash, Peckham				1	1	0
William Grimshaw Jun., Goswell Street				0	10	0
Rev. J. H. Hinton, Finsbury Terrace				1	0	0
L. C. Lecesne, Fenchurch Buildings				2	2	0
John Latchmore, Layton's Buildings, Borough				1	1	0
William Norton, Bermondsey				1	1	0
Thomas Norton, Jun., Bermondsey				1	1	0
Joseph Neatby, Kennington				2	2	0
Dr. Thomas Price, Islington				1	1	0
Joseph T. Price, Neath Abbey, Swansea				5	5	0
Joseph P. Robinson, Leadenhall Street				1	1	0
Richard Sterry, Borough				1	1	0
George Stacey, Tottenham				2	2	0
Henry Tuckett, South Street				1	1	0
John Warner, Jewin Street				2	2	0
Thomas Livesey, Triangle, Hackney				0	10	0
Joseph Hinton, Stoke Newington				0	10	0
Ladies' Association, Stoke Newington	15	0	0			
Chief Justice Sanderson, Grenada				1	0	0
Misses Hatton and Raban, Buckingham	1	0	0			
Doncaster Auxiliary, by R. Torr, Treasurer	5	0	0			
W. E. Forster, Bradford, York				1	1	0
Nathaniel Robarts, Barnet	10	10	0			
Rochester and Chatham Auxiliary	30	0	0			
Anonymous, per E. Foster, Cambridge	10	0	0			
John Green, Sutton in Craven, York				0	10	0
E. S. Abdy, Margaret Street, Cavendish Square	5	0	0			
Edinburgh Emancipation Society	20	0	0			
Mrs. Clark, Lymington, Hants	1	0	0			
A few friends about Renmuck, per John Glenny	2	0	0			

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER:

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LII. Vol. II. No. 25.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 15TH, 1841. [PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by Mr. WILD, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by Mr. EVERETT, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should never be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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TIDINGS FROM CUBA.

Havana, November, 1841.

SIR,—It is in the highest degree satisfactory to me, and not to me only, but to every friend of humanity in this great island, to find that the communications I have been enabled to make to you, in the course of the present year, have met with the approbation of your benevolent and enlightened institution.

In my last letter, by the *Express* packet, I made you acquainted with the fact, that the Spanish government had required from the Captain-general an official return of the number of slaves imported from Africa since the English treaty of 1817 came into operation. The corporations and the distinguished individuals to whom the Captain-general addressed himself, for the purpose of enabling him to communicate to the regent the information required, have since, for the most part, given in their reports; and I am happy to be able to assure you, that, without any exception, they are decidedly favourable to the suppression of the slave-trade; although, in regard to the direct emancipation of the slaves already in the island, or even to the fate of that unfortunate class to whom the name of *emancipados* has been so strangely applied, these reports display the most remarkable diversity of opinion.

In general it is not difficult, in conversing with the more influential inhabitants of the country, to form a pretty accurate judgment as to the course of public opinion; and, as you formerly saw, with regard to the memorials in favour of the suppression of the slave-trade, which were, undoubtedly, the spontaneous result of that opinion, I found the means of seizing it after it had assumed a formal and official character. On the present occasion, however, I find that the Captain-general, in addressing himself to the parties from whom he desired information, has made it an absolute condition that the reports returned to him should be under the seal of secrecy, and that their contents should not be allowed to transpire, except through the single channel of his Excellency's communication to the regency of Spain. In this way I am not yet enabled to send you copies of these reports; but I feel myself on safe ground in assuring you, that, in what I have said as to their general spirit and tendency, I am not in any danger of leading you into error.

Of the public bodies which have reported on the subject referred to them by the local government, the Royal Patriotic Society has distinguished itself by the boldness and liberality with which it has declared itself in favour of the suppression of the slave-trade, and the preparation of the public mind for the cessation of slavery itself. This society consists of some hundreds of the most intelligent and influential of the inhabitants, but they have never, on any previous occasion, been brought together in such numbers, nor have their discussions—although always devoted to subjects of public interest, such as education and rural economy—been ever attended with such an intensity of feeling as has been manifested in the course of these recent debates. It is something new, in fact, in this island, where the press is fettered by a censorship, and where public discussion is regarded by the authorities as in the highest degree dangerous, for so numerous a body to be thus officially invited to consider a question of such vital importance as that of the future fate of the *emancipados*. It was not to be expected that, when such a subject was opened to them, the assigned limits of discussion would be rigidly adhered to: accordingly, we find, from what has transpired of the debate, that the whole subject, not of the *emancipados* only, nor even of the slave-trade, but of liberty and slavery in the widest acceptation of the terms, has been freely treated of; and thus the means have been afforded of defining public opinion, and of giving it a degree of expression and publicity little short of that which the press itself would afford.

On the pro-slavery side of the question, a certain Don José Maria Calvo has distinguished himself, by the extreme exaggeration with which he has defended the necessity of continuing the traffic with the coast of Africa. He goes so far as to declare that the existing treaties on the subject with England are intrinsically void; because the Spanish nation had never conferred on their sovereigns the power of binding them by such conventions. He took occasion to expatiate also on the selfish policy of Great Britain, whose whole object was to benefit her eastern empire at the expense of the sugar growing countries in the western world; and it is hardly necessary to say, that, not merely in his speeches, but even in the draft of the report, with the preparation of which he was entrusted by the committee of the society, her Majesty's consul was assailed, not merely as the impersonation of this egotistical system, but as the representative of the self-styled philanthropists of the London Anti-Slavery Society. M. Calvo went so far as to propose that the name of the consul, who has long been a member of the society, should be expunged from its records, and that means should be taken to induce the government of Madrid to bring about his recall. The extreme violence of M. Calvo's language found no echo, however, in the bosom of the society, and the first night's discussion, which lasted from an early hour in the evening till daylight next morning, a thing entirely unprecedented in the history of public discussions in this part of the world, was terminated by a vote, by which the draft of M. Calvo was rejected almost unanimously, only two having supported it out of a meeting which consisted of 123 persons.

In this particular case of the Patriotic Society, it will not be possible for the authorities to prevent the report as adopted, the rejected draft of M. Calvo, and even a summary of the proceedings, from transpiring and circulating in a manuscript form, and I think I may therefore promise you a further communication on the subject by the next packet.

The reports of individuals it will not be so easy to procure, but I have been promised that of the Junta de Fomento, a corporate body of great influence, which continues to signalize itself in the assertion of the principles of the memorial which has already appeared in your *Reporter*.

* * *

J. H. Tredgold, esq.

REDUCTION OF THE SUGAR DUTIES: THE BIRMINGHAM RESOLUTIONS.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

IT is known to most of those who are interested in our cause, that the course pursued by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in resisting the measure of the late government for reducing the duty on foreign sugar, was not approved by some of their country friends.

Amongst others, the Birmingham Anti-slavery Committee passed and published resolutions expressive of their dissent. As I entirely approved the proceeding of the London committee in reference to this subject, and considered the question at issue involved a fundamental principle, I believed it right to bring the matter before the annual general meeting of the subscribers of the Birmingham Society, on the 24th of last month; the following statement, together with a copy of the resolutions referred to, having been previously sent to them.

"As it has hitherto been my privilege to act with perfect cordiality and unanimity with the members of the Birmingham Anti-slavery Committee, it is to me matter of no small regret that I feel it my duty to express my dissent from a series of resolutions passed by that body, dated 2nd of June, 1841, during my absence in America.

"These resolutions refer to the proposed measure of the late government for introducing into the British markets the sugars of Brazil and

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Cuba, and are opposed to the course pursued by the London Committee, which was based upon one of the measures unanimously recognised at the formation of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and of the Birmingham society, for the attainment of its object, viz.—'To recommend the use of free grown produce as far as practicable, in preference to slave grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of the former;' and also upon the following resolution of the general convention of 1840, of which the delegates from Birmingham formed a part:—'That, impressed with the importance of avoiding all means of strengthening slavery and the foreign slave-trade, this convention is of the judgment that the British government ought on no account to allow of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market; and that the friends of the abolition of slavery ought, in their individual character, to uphold this view.'

"The Birmingham committee state, that they are not prepared to uphold the judgment pronounced by the convention; and, by passing and publishing the resolutions referred to, they took an active part in opposing the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society on this fundamental principle of action; and that after the question had been decided by the House of Commons, and in a case which peculiarly entitled the London committee to the support of their country friends.

"England has expended not less than twenty millions sterling in subsidies, armed cruisers, &c., to suppress the slave-trade. Spain, Portugal, and Brazil have entered into the most solemn compacts to abolish it; and yet, at the present hour, these countries are pursuing the horrid traffic to an extent that daily sacrifices to death or slavery one thousand victims. At the very time that our government were proposing to raise an annual revenue of more than half a million sterling by the introduction of Brazilian and Cuban sugars, for the cultivation of which there would have been required an additional import from Africa of many thousand slaves annually, they were sending armed cruisers to seize as pirates the slavers engaged in supplying these victims. It has been asserted, that to promote fiscal regulations to prevent the introduction of slave-grown produce is inconsistent with the conviction that it is more costly than that of free-labour; but, in the luminous discussion in the convention in London on the subject, it was conceded on all hands that the slave-holder, by seizing upon the richest virgin soil's, might for a time secure large profits by their cultivation, though with dreadful mortality to his human stock. To exclude from the country slave-grown sugar is no more a denial of the undoubted superiority of free over slave-labour, than the refusal of any other stolen goods that may be offered at a reduced price; for, as slavery is robbery of the worst description, it is our duty to abstain from its fruits, both individually and nationally, irrespective of the cost of production. Our inconsistency in receiving cotton and some other articles is no reason why laws already existing should be relaxed in favour of slave-grown sugar, and that at a period when the arduous labours of half a century have resulted in the emancipation of our own colonies, and enabled us to obtain the unstained produce of freedom.

"Were this a mere question of commercial competition, I should feel perfectly satisfied to await the period when free labour would, under every disadvantage, assert its natural ascendancy; but, when the immolation of thousands of human beings must inevitably take place in the contest, I feel bound to protest against the course it has been proposed to adopt. A pro-slavery writer has recently admitted that slaves in Cuba are worked to death at the rate of ten per cent. per annum, a destruction of life, which, if extended to the whole human race, would soon depopulate the world.

"*In conclusion*, I affirm, that, to abstain as far as possible from the use of slave-grown produce, and to urge the government to exclude it from the country, is the *duty of all, and more* especially of those who make slave-holding a bar to religious fellowship."

The annual report of the society having been read, after a friendly discussion, the following resolution was moved and carried:—

Resolved,—"That the report now read be adopted but that this meeting, having taken into its deliberate consideration the resolutions of the committee of the 2nd of June last, as well as the general subject of the admission of slave-grown sugar into the British market, feels bound to record its approval of the course taken by the London committee in reference to this question. At the same time, in reviewing the perplexing position and conflicting considerations in which the subject was at that time involved, this meeting can fully appreciate the weight of those reasons which led their committee to a different conclusion."

In publishing the foregoing, I would respectfully, but very earnestly, recommend the candid re-consideration of the subject to that part of the christian public who supported the measure for a reduction of the duty on *any* sugars which are cultivated by slave-labour. I am, very respectfully,

JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, 12th Month 13th, 1841.

JAMAICA: THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

THE last mail has brought the speech of the Governor on opening the legislative session. In the following extract will be found all that is pertinent to our object:—

"The relations between employers and labourers appear to have arranged themselves on the natural basis of mutual interests. The want of continuous labour is still complained of in some districts, but not so generally as before. This want is not surprising in a country where the population is scanty, and where the labouring class support themselves in a great measure by the cultivation of their own grounds. The establishment of small freeholds among this class, and the clearance and cultivation of land hitherto or for long time waste, are making continual and rapid strides, and, without removing the holders entirely from the labour market, must tend to secure the comfort of a large portion of the people. The ease, independence, and other advantages enjoyed by the labouring population, are not, I believe, surpassed by those of the same class in any country on the face of the earth; and, although to those causes must be partly ascribed the want of continuous labour, we cannot but rejoice at so much good, and are bound to bear cheerfully its attendant difficulties. The general good conduct and orderly habits of the people, and their improved feeling towards their employers, are just grounds for unqualified congratulation.

"The views of all who take an interest in the general prosperity of the island are still eagerly directed towards immigration, as the only apparent mode of obtaining such an addition to the labouring population as is requisite for the adequate cultivation of the land, and indispensable for the development of its dormant resources. It is a happy reflection that immigration may take place to any probable extent, without interfering with the benefits possessed by the present inhabitants. You have made most liberal provision to promote this important object. The success of the measure adopted has hitherto been limited, but in some respects valuable. There has been no deficiency of zeal on the part of the officers employed in the carrying of your intentions into effect. The agent-general in the island has exerted himself indefatigably. His report will be laid before you. I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the sub-agents, as far as it has come under my observation. The commissioners deputed to North America and Great Britain, after making such arrangement in these countries as seemed calculated to advance the intended purpose, proceeded to the coast of Africa, and laid the foundation of an emigration of free Africans, from Sierra Leone, which promises to be highly beneficial; for there seems to be no doubt that Africans are the most suitable labourers for field cultivation in this climate. Mr. Barclay's reports will be communicated to you, and furnish ample evidence of the energy, ability, and judgment with which he has performed the duties of his mission. Several importations of immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland have taken place with various results. In some instances, I understand they are doing well; in others, I am sorry to remark disappointment and discontent, whether reasonable or otherwise, have embittered their arrival among us; while in many cases sickness and death, although not perhaps excessive with reference to the great unhealthiness of the year, have cast a gloom over the commencement of this important experiment. There is unquestionably abundance of fertile and uncultivated land in the island, on which a large European population might be located with perfect security to their health and comfort, and with great benefit to the public interest; but this can only be the work of time. As an immediate addition to the labouring population, the introduction of Europeans can be but partially beneficial, and the result of the experiment of this year has not been generally encouraging. I have therefore thought it right, as far as depends on me, to restrain the indiscriminate importation of European emigrants, and to limit the future supply to such numbers as can be accommodated immediately after their arrival, according to previous arrangements, in suitable localities, in a healthy climate, either on the properties of individuals, or in the public villages which it is proposed to establish. Unfortunately European immigrants are apt to prefer the vicinity of the large towns, for the most part situated in the lowlands, where the climate is least favourable to European constitutions, and are therefore too likely to suffer, unless they can be taught to appreciate the value of a more healthy location, and to accommodate themselves to the mode of life which the interior of the island offers, and which, in food as well as in other respects, is different from that which they have been accustomed to prize. An opinion too, appears to gain ground, that the ordinary rate of wages for labour is not adequate to meet all the wants of an European, considering the cost of the things which he and his family need or desire. On the whole, although I do not despair of the ultimate success of European emigration, I am of opinion that, under existing circumstances, it will be liable to disappointment to all parties, except under peculiar advantages or superior management, and that indiscriminate importation is unadvisable."

THE NEW AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND.

[From the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.*]

On the eve of the adjournment of the late session of Congress, at eleven o'clock at night, the nomination of Edward Everett as minister to England was confirmed by the senate. As the name of this gentleman has been of late in all the newspapers, as well as upon all lips, in connexion with the subject of emancipation, it is probable that a brief sketch of his political career, so far as it has any bearing on the question of slavery, may not be uninteresting to our readers.

Commencing his public life as a Unitarian clergyman, he soon abandoned the pulpit for a professor's chair in Harvard University, and from thence he was translated to a seat in congress in 1826. He here signalized himself by volunteering a defence of southern slavery, in which, not forgetting his late clerical profession, he undertook to show that slave-holding and christianity were entirely consistent with each other! He was rebuked on the spot, in severe terms, by Cambreleng of New York, and Mitchell of Tennessee, the latter of whom declared that, slave-holder as he was, he could not go so far as the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Since that period up to within three or four years, he has seldom omitted an opportunity to defend or apologise for the "peculiar institution" of the south through the columns of the *North American Review*, of which he was, for a considerable period, the editor. In 1836, he was elected governor of Massachusetts. In his address at the opening of the legislative session, he advised abolitionists to "abstain from a discussion of slavery," and distinctly intimated that a disregard of his advice on their part would subject them to the liability of "prosecution at common law." This indication of his continued hostility to free principles induced the writer of this article to exert himself to oppose his re-election, especially as the democratic candidate, Judge Morton, had avowed anti-slavery views; and, at the election of 1836, from 1500 to 2000 votes were thrown against him by the more decided portion of the abolitionists. During the session of 1836-7, the legislature, after the eloquent and almost unequalled effort of Henry B. Stanton before a committee of both its branches, passed, nearly unanimously, resolutions against the gag-rule of congress, and affirming the right of congress to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia. These resolutions, contrary to the expectations of those acquainted with the views and feelings of Edward Everett, received his official sanction as governor of the State. In the

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spring of 1838 he received from Edmund Quincy, of Boston, a copy of Thome and Kimball's excellent work on the West Indies. In a letter to that gentleman, which was published by his friend and relation of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, "with his Excellency's permission," he stated that he had looked with great solicitude to the result of the emancipation act in the British islands, believing that, if it proved satisfactory, it "would seal the fate of slavery throughout the world;" that, as far as he could see, the experiment of immediate emancipation had fully succeeded in the island of Antigua, and the system of apprenticeship in the other portions of the West Indies quite as well as could have been expected from the inherent vices of that measure. "*It has*," he said, "*given me new views of emancipation.*" He concluded the letter by asking for the loan of Joseph Sturge's volume, *The West Indies in* 1837.

In the session of 1837-8, a series of excellent resolutions, preceded by two long and thoroughly anti-slavery reports, from the pen of the lamented J. C. Alvord, were adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts, and signed by Governor Everett.

Previous to the election of 1839, the Hon. William Jackson, of Newton, addressed a letter of inquiry to the governor, in the reply to which the latter distinctly and unequivocally avowed himself in favour of the great leading measures of the abolitionists. A similar letter was also addressed to the Hon. N. B. Borden, member of congress from Bristol district, in which the governor declared himself in favour—

1st. OF THE IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

2nd. OF THE IMMEDIATE PROHIBITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE BETWEEN THE STATES; and against the introduction of any new state into the Union with the privilege of holding slaves.

Under these circumstances, the editor of the *Liberator* gave Governor Everett the decided support of his paper on abolition grounds, as even more worthy of anti-slavery votes than his competitor, Marcus Morton.

It will thus be seen that Governor Everett distinctly and unequivocally avowed an entire change of opinion on the subject of emancipation, and professed a thorough conversion to the doctrines of the abolitionists.

Governor Everett failed of a re-election in 1839, owing to the dissensions in the whig ranks on the subject of the license law. Previous to the next election he left the United States on a foreign tour, for the benefit of the health of a member of his family.

Considering the complete ascendancy of slavery in the councils of the present administration, it was to us a matter of some surprise to hear of the nomination of Governor Everett as minister to the court of St. James; and we were by no means disappointed to learn that his nomination was resisted in the senate, and laid on the table of that body by a majority of two votes.

The whig presses at the north were loud in their complaints. They had seen the right of petition cloven down—the freedom of debate annihilated; they had looked on approvingly while their orators and statesmen had sworn allegiance to slavery in the Alexandria slave-market, and under the "October sun" of Virginia—they had seen the image of slavery set up at Washington, and heard the command for all expectants of office to fall down and worship it—they had heard it announced in both houses of congress, that all practical faith in the doctrine that "*all men are created equal*" was a disqualification for office—a sin not to be forgiven—a stain which no political Abana and Pharpar could wash out: they had seen, without remonstrance, the nomination of a northern postmaster-general opposed in the senate, until the nominee had assured the president that he "was no abolitionist, and, if he should ever become one, he should expect to be dismissed;"—they had seen six out of seven diplomatic appointments under the new administration from slave states; and in all this had found no cause for alarm, but, from Maine to Ohio, these sagacious and vigilant sentinels on the national watch-towers passed from one to the other an encouraging "ALL'S WELL!"

But Edward Everett's nomination laid on the table of the senate! Here was an outrage not to be silently endured. Editors in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, bristled like porcupines—indignant, not that anti-abolition should be made an indispensable condition of office under the administration, but that Edward Everett should be *suspected and rejected* upon such slight evidence as the fact, that, under his own sign manual, he had subscribed to the hated doctrines of abolitionism. All seemed to agree that the TEST itself was a proper one, and that whoever could not pronounce the pro-slavery Shibboleth should be cut off at the fords of Jordan; but it was not to be borne patiently that Governor Everett should be taken at his word, and looked upon as in earnest in his letters to the abolitionists! There were too many, in and out of congress, expectants of office, precisely in the same condition with Governor Everett, whose letters to abolitionists on *the eve of election* might be used against them, provided this species of correspondence were allowed to mean anything. The *National Intelligencer*, under date of the 30th ultimo, introduced Governor Everett's slavery speech in congress in 1826, as expressing the *present real opinions* of its author, and scouted the idea of attaching any importance to a letter into which he "was entrapped on the eve of an election." "We could hardly," says the *Intelligencer*, "believe our own senses, when we heard of this objection being raised in the senate, and by whig senators—well knowing, as we do, that *Mr. Everett has ever been conspicuous for his zeal in the* MAINTENANCE *of the very* INTERESTS *to which he is now alleged to be opposed.*" In their paper of the 6th instant, the same editors, in reply to a correspondent who adduced Everett's letters as an evidence of his abolitionism, remarked—"We cannot listen to the charge of hostility to any constitutional *institution of the south*, or of any other section of the land, urged against Mr. Everett, upon SUCH FEEBLE TESTIMONY as that which is produced." Thus distinctly assuming and basing Governor Everett's claims wholly upon that assumption—that in his correspondence with the abolitionists he was a HYPOCRITE and a LIAR!

The debates in the senate on this nomination were with closed doors. In ordinary cases of this nature—as, for instance, that of Van Buren as minister to St. James's—the debates have been published. But we are told that the ayes and noes only, on this occasion are to be given to the public. The people are not to be trusted with the developments made on the occasion. The nomination at last was only confirmed by the absence from the city of two southern senators, and the absence from the senate chamber of Walker and Henderson—an absence which the Washington correspondent of the *Boston Atlas* says was "probably designed." The same writer intimates that "Senator Preston would have voted in the affirmative, had it been necessary." The correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* states that Mangum and Preston only acquiesced in Everett's confirmation, with the understanding, that, at the coming regular session, measures should be taken permanently to exclude abolition petitions from congress.

Governor Everett is now in Europe. We will do him the justice to believe that the pitiful disclaimers of his political friends, in and out of congress, have been made without his consent, or even knowledge; and that, in his letters to Quincy, Borden, and Jackson, he really *meant what he said*. It must, we conceive, somewhat abate his satisfaction in view of his appointment, to learn that it was only obtained by strenuous efforts on the part of his professed friends to show that his anti-slavery professions were purely hypocritical, and that he had been mean and wicked enough to obtain abolition votes in Massachusetts UNDER FALSE PRETENCES.

J. G. W.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN CUBA AND BRAZIL.

[From the *Morning Herald.*]

THE importation of slaves into Cuba or Brazil ought to be effectually prevented by the internal authorities themselves; such prevention ought to constitute a subject of internal police. That which could be and was wholly prevented in the British colonies, can also be done in Cuba and Brazil. When the British parliament abolished the slave-trade so far as this country was concerned, the British government provided against the surreptitious importations of Africans into their sugar colonies; and the increase of the black population of those colonies through the medium of the slave trade, is a crime from which Great Britain stands exonerated since 1812. Now the obligations of the governments of Spain and Brazil to follow this example are far more imperative than was the duty of Great Britain at that time; because, not only are the importations of Africans into the dominions of those states contrary to their own laws, but they are in direct violation of their treaties with other powers, and form, in fact, continually recurring causes of war. We shall doubtless be told, that Brazil has not the pecuniary means to establish such an effective police as would preclude the possibility of these importations taking place; but we can discover no disposition in the Brazilian government to prevent them, beyond mere declarations. If that government had not the means to establish an anti-slave trade cordon along its coast, it surely had the ability to protect the liberated negros taken into Brazilian ports by British prize-masters since 1831, and placed in apprenticeship in their territories under the protection and guarantee of this country. What, we inquire, has become of these unhappy beings so liberated and apprenticed in Brazil, exceeding in number twenty thousand! Has the Brazilian government protected them during their seven years' apprenticeship? Have their wages been regularly paid? Have they whose terms of service have expired been treated as freemen? In England it is believed that these Africans, liberated by the exertions of our cruisers, have in Brazil been sold to the planters, and in their service receive no wages, are worked with greater recklessness than ordinary slaves, and should they not be killed before their seven years' service expires, that they are then made to assume the place and the name of some deceased slave, and for the remainder of their natural lives remain in slavery. The British government has lately demanded of the Cuban authorities an account of the twenty-five thousand Africans thus apprenticed during the last ten years in that island; but that demand must also be extended to Brazil.

How can any faith be placed in the government of that empire as to its disposition to prohibit further importations of slaves, when it would appear from the papers before us (Class A. p. 353) that a Brazilian deputy, who had long been remarkable in that character for his opposition to the slave-trade, no sooner became minister of the empire than he publicly declared in the chambers, that his individual differences on this subject with his colleagues, "was not a motive for him to separate himself from them!" Thus, in effect, making the question of the slave-trade an open question in the Brazilian cabinet. Besides, it would also appear that one of the chief supporters of the project of law which has already received the sanction of the senate, and is known as the Barbacena project, for the repeal of the law of the 7th of Novem-

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ber, 1831, which enacted that all Africans imported into Brazil after its promulgation were to be considered free, is no other than the present minister of War, Senhor Clemente Pereira! Now, in despite of the law of 1831, four hundred thousand Africans, imported since that time into the empire, are slaves; and these men, thus illegally deprived of their liberty, constitute, from their age and their physical strength, considerably above one-third of the productive labour of Brazil. So that the Barbacena proposition—originally made as a miserable retaliation for the unsavoury reception that personage met with in this country, in consequence of his ingratitude to his former patron Don Pedro—thus supported by a Brazilian minister (see page 301, Class A.) actually has for its objects the removal of the illegality of the condition of slavery in which four hundred thousand Africans now stand in Brazil, in gross violation of the laws of that empire, and to give an additional stimulus to the slave-trade, by affixing a state of legal slavery to all Africans hereafter introduced into Brazil.

Are we then chargeable with exaggeration in describing the continually-recurring declarations of the Brazilian government of its desire to put an end to the slave-trade, and even to devise some scheme for the gradual extinction of slavery, as hollow and insincere! These declarations are mere sops, thrown to suppress and quiet the denunciations of the British people, and the remonstrances of the British government. The British nation is the sponsor of the Africans carried by British prize-masters into Brazilian ports, and there liberated for apprenticeship; where then are its adopted children! The British navy rescued them in vain from the grasp of the slaver, if they are, in spite of that release, slaves to the Brazilian planters. A knowledge of the actual condition of these twenty thousand human beings is an overwhelming and irresistible duty of our government. If we cannot compel Brazil to restore to freedom the four hundred thousand Africans which she holds in slavery in opposition to her own laws, we can at least insist on exercising our bounden rights to protect these twenty thousand negros, whose ultimate freedom we guaranteed. No general declarations, no verbal information can or ought to satisfy the Earl of Aberdeen. The British Foreign minister, or his subordinate officials, must be made acquainted with the exact position in which each of these unhappy beings stands, and not another slave taken by a British prize-master into a Brazilian port ought to be there liberated. To continue our present practice is only to add to the slave population of the empire, and to swell out the fearful mortality of Brazilian slaves, by offering to the masters of these apprenticed liberated Africans an inducement to work them to death before the time of their apprenticeship expires.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The "Salutary Regulations," forwarded to us by the rev. J. Peggs, are scarcely suited to our columns.

The correspondence of the Dublin Anti-slavery Society with Lord Aberdeen on the recognition of Texas, we would have inserted if we could have found room.

"Lynch-Law in Texas" in our next.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 15TH.

NOTICE TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS.

WITH a view to the diffusion of information on anti-slavery subjects generally, the Committee have resolved to supply AUXILIARY SOCIETIES, *for gratuitous distribution only*, with all pamphlets and small publications published by them at one-half the usual price; and the larger publications, TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS GENERALLY, at a reduction of *twenty-five per cent.*, for immediate payment.

To all subscribers to the Anti-slavery Society or to any of its auxiliaries, the price of the volume entitled *Proceedings of the Convention* is 10*s.* 6*d.*

TO LADIES AND OTHER FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE. COLLECTING-BOOKS AND CARDS *are now ready*, which the Committee will be happy to forward to their friends in the country, *free of expense*, on application being made to the Secretary, at 27, New Broad Street. The Collecting-Book contains sixteen pages of letter press, giving a condensed view of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, together with other useful information, designed for the use of those friends of the cause who may aid the society in collecting funds for carrying on its various, extensive, and important operations. The Collecting-Book is elegantly printed in royal 32mo, and is very portable, containing, in addition to the letter press, sixteen pages for donations and subscriptions.

OUR reference in the last *Reporter* to the financial difficulties of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, was accompanied with an intimation that measures of economy had been entertained and matured. Some of these we proceed to explain.

The *Anti-slavery Reporter* itself has been a source of heavy expenditure. The great importance of circulating information on anti-slavery subjects, especially among influential persons, has led to an extensive gratuitous circulation of this paper, amounting in pecuniary elements to nearly £300 a-year. In addition to this, the sale of the *Reporter* has yielded no profit, but, on the contrary, has been productive of loss; its price having been fixed so low that there is an actual loss upon every copy sold. Our readers who are acquainted with business, will not be surprised at this, when they note the following points. The price of each paper is threepence. Of this sum one penny goes to the government for the stamp; another penny goes to the vendor for profit; and one penny only is left for all expenses of production, and these are not covered by it. Besides, newspapers generally derive large resources from advertisements, which make them profitable as a whole, although they are sold freely at less than the cost of production. The *Anti-slavery Reporter* has no aid from this source. Now, among the measures of economy entertained, some have had respect to this matter. And it has been determined first, that, from the commencement of 1842, the price of the *Reporter* shall be fourpence instead of threepence. No part of the penny thus added will go either to the government or the vendor; the whole will be applied to the cost of production, the means of defraying which will thus be doubled. We are sure that our considerate friends will approve of this measure, and will readily bear the small addition it will make to the annual cost of the *Reporter*.

It has further been deemed necessary, as a measure of economy, to restrict within somewhat narrower bounds the gratuitous circulation of this paper. This determination has been taken with great regret, because so large a number of the friends to whom the *Reporter* has been hitherto sent are esteemed and valuable coadjutors, from whom the Committee are sorry to withdraw this token of their respect. But necessity has no law. They can only hope that such of their friends as may not find the *Reporter* continued to them beyond the close of the present year will appreciate the motive of the change; and that, if they cannot take it in themselves, they will look out for some friend through whose kindness the same end may be secured. The Committee know that many of those to whom the *Reporter* has been sent have rendered important service to the cause, and they hope that all have done what they could; nor can they suffer themselves to entertain a suspicion that they will henceforward do less.

This paper has been largely supplied without charge to Mechanics' and other public Institutions, where it has been thought the information contained in it might meet the eye of many. This branch of their gratuitous distribution the Committee do not mean to diminish; but they cannot refrain from expressing their hope that it makes them a valuable return. They beg to engage the attention of gentlemen connected with such institutions to the fact that the cause needs help, and to express a hope that they will not content themselves with being interested as spectators in a struggle to which they should be parties.

That portion of the gratuitous distribution of the *Reporter* which carries it to foreign countries is far too important to admit of diminution. With the widening operations of the society, indeed, it must continually be on the increase. The growing interest with which we know this paper is perused abroad, and the invaluable results to the anti-slavery cause which are in progress of effectuation by it, demand the ample support of this branch of the Society's operations.

IN referring again to the proceedings at the late meeting of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, we cannot suppress our astonishment that no notice was taken, either by the directors or any other party, of the opinion recently expressed by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, and concurred in by her Majesty's government, of the illegality of the purchase, and therefore of the tenure, of the slaves held by that and other companies. To suppose the parties ignorant of this opinion is impossible; and it is all but impossible to suppose the existence of a company of English gentlemen, who, when informed that they have committed a felony, take no notice of the communication, and adopt no measures for repairing, as far as they may, their violation of the law. Is there any one of these gentlemen who, if he were duly informed that he had come feloniously by his watch, would not take measures for the immediate restoration of the property to its owner!

ON the day on which our last number was published, a second meeting of persons in Holland friendly to the abolition of slavery took place at the Hague, and was, as we anticipated, more numerously attended than on the first occasion. We have not yet received so full an account of the proceedings as we desire, but, from the information we have had, suppose that one sentiment prevailed as to the importance of emancipation, while there may have been some difference of opinion as to the mode in which this act of justice is to be sought. Our acquaintance with many friends of the slave in Holland leads us to entertain feelings of much respect towards individuals who, while entertaining opinions in some respects differing from each other, and in some instances from our own, are nevertheless desirous to fulfil the apostolic in-

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junction to "remember those who are in bonds as bound with them, and those who suffer adversity as being also in the body."

Instances have occurred in our own land where the subject of slavery has been long canvassed and reflected upon, in which the sincere friends of abolition have for a longer or shorter period differed in opinion, and such circumstances have for a while appeared to cast a cloud over the prospects of freedom for the negro. There has, however, existed with us a depth of feeling on this subject in some degree worthy of the great object sought after, which has not allowed the abolitionist ranks to be long inactive. Even persons entertaining different opinions on some points while seeking the same end, have sometimes provoked one another to exertion in their separate spheres of action, whether as individuals or societies; and, in two instances, at a moment of the greatest importance and interest, have united to strike the blow by which slavery and the apprenticeship were to be destroyed. Our knowledge of the friends of the slave in Holland encourages us to believe that a conduct not very dissimilar, and results equally cheering, will there take place. We would only, in taking leave of this subject for the present, remind our Dutch friends, that, every hour in which the system of slavery is allowed to exist, there is also to be found in connexion with it a fearful amount of suffering, demoralization, and premature death. We recommend our friends in Holland to peruse the notice of the *Voyage à Surinam* contained in the present number.

THE speech of Sir Charles Metcalfe on the opening of the legislative session in Jamaica (of which we have given a lengthened extract elsewhere) adverts to two topics of immediate interest to us. The one of these is the conduct of the peasantry, the other immigration.

On the former of these subjects the language of his Excellency is highly satisfactory. He states that "the general good conduct and orderly habits of the people, and their improved feelings towards their employers, are just grounds for unqualified congratulation;" that the want of continuous labour is not complained of "so generally as before;" that "the establishment of small freeholds among this class (the labourers), and the clearance and cultivation of land hitherto or for so long a time waste, are making continual and rapid strides, without removing the holders entirely from the labour market;" and that "we cannot but rejoice at so much good, and are bound to bear cheerfully its attendant difficulties." The value of these statements does not lie in their novelty—for they are not new—but in the high quarter from which they come. They will now carry weight with other nations.

On the subject of immigration his Excellency is very frank and communicative. We shall not now renew our quarrel with what we still deem to be the fallacious principle, that "an addition to the labouring population is requisite for the adequate cultivation of the land;" we shall rather direct attention to the views which are expressed respecting emigration from Europe. His Excellency admits the existence among European immigrants, of much disappointment and discontent on the one hand, and of much sickness and death on the other. He tells us too, that "an opinion appears to gain ground, that the ordinary rate of wages for labour is not adequate to meet all the wants of a European, considering the cost of the things which he and his family need or desire." He states further, that "the mode of life which the interior of the island offers" is so "different from that which they [Europeans] have been accustomed to prize," that they "are apt to prefer the vicinity of the large towns, for the most part situated in the lowlands, where the climate is least favourable to European constitutions." The plain English of all this courtly phraseology is—first, that European immigrants will not encounter the privations of the only places in Jamaica where they can *live*, but that, requiring the comforts afforded by the neighbourhood of a town, they are almost sure to place themselves where they speedily die:—and secondly, that the wages of labour, of which we have heard such loud and wicked vauntings, are not sufficient any where to supply the wants of an European family. These things being officially told us by the governor of Jamaica, they will now, we suppose, be beyond dispute. His Excellency, in fine, pronounces his opinion, "that indiscriminate importation [from Europe,] is unadvisable;" and that, "under existing circumstances, emigration [from Europe,] will be liable to disappointment to all parties." And he declares his intention of "limiting it to such numbers as can be accommodated *immediately after their* arrival," "on the properties of individuals, or in the public villages which it is proposed to establish." Here is an admission of all the alleged horrors of the Admiral's Pen—the depôt for immigrants. This, it seems, is so crying a mischief that the governor means to do away with it. We hope the good sense of our fellow-countrymen, and the bitter experience which has already been had, will prevent his Excellency from having any further trouble on this score. But, "the public villages which it is intended to establish"—what be they! We should like a little amplification of this hint vastly.

To say one word more on the subject of immigration. We should think Sir Charles Metcalfe had much more completely discharged his duty, if he had recommended the house of assembly to institute an inquiry into the results of the immigration scheme, and the present condition of the immigrants. Why not, if the truth can bear to be told!

We have received a gratifying account from the Rev. T. E. Ward of the formation of an auxiliary Anti-slavery society for the parish of Portland, Jamaica. We would gladly have published the proceedings, and an extract from Mr. Ward's letter, would the press of matter have permitted us.

It appears that the friends of humanity must exercise a jealous watchfulness, not only over the mode of obtaining emigrants from Africa to the West Indies, but also over the ships in which they are conveyed. We learn from the Barbados *Liberal* that the brig *Gipsey*, from Sierra Leone to Jamaica, with 132 emigrants on board, put into Bridgetown in that island in a leaky state, for repairs; upon which she underwent an examination, and was condemned as *not sea-worthy!* These poor creatures, therefore, had a narrow escape from a watery grave. On this startling fact our contemporary makes the following just and important observations:—

> The particulars have not yet come to our knowledge, but there seems to have been grossly criminal neglect of duty somewhere. Her Majesty's government, having permitted emigration from Sierra Leone to these colonies, should surely for their own credit sake, to say nothing of humanity, provide for the careful superintendence, by responsible officers, of the measure in all its details, and the comfort and safety especially of the emigrants; and not leave these to the tender mercy of avaricious dealers, who engage in this, as in any other money making speculation, with a view only to the greatest amount of profit on the least outlay, and who would charter a cracked calabash for the purpose of conveyance, if it were feasible and productive of a few pounds more of profit. Let it be remembered too, that the negro is yet by many considered too insignificant a being for any scruples of conscience to be awakened in his behalf, and that no greater solicitude will be expended for him than is absolutely necessary to any given amount of gain from the undertaking. In the case before us, here are 132 of these insignificant beings crammed, upon speculation, into a crazy, leaking vessel, altogether un-seaworthy, for a voyage of four or five weeks—as likely to have been a voyage to eternity as to Jamaica! Our friends in Great Britain must look to this, and government must be brought to look to it.

SOME facts of a very grave nature of which we have been put in possession, but of which we are not at liberty to speak more implicitly at present, give rise to a belief that very artful and suspicious measures are in course of adoption by the West India interest, in order to obtain the sanction of Her Majesty's government to an extended system of emigration from Africa. Free emigration, no doubt, it will be called; but it will be substantially a renewal of the slave-trade. The object of this movement is as objectionable as the movement itself. It is, we understand, to frighten or to coerce the present labourers into a reduction of wages. We shall probably return to this subject.

A PRIVATE letter from Mr. Lewis Tappan to Mr. Sturge supplies some interesting intelligence respecting the Amistad captives.

New York, November 21st, 1841.

On the 3rd instant I went to Boston, Haverhill, Lowell, Nashua, Andover, Springfield, Northampton, and Hartford, with ten of the Mendians, and during twelve days, held fifteen public meetings. The principal object was to raise funds for their outfit and passage to Sierra Leone, and the support of religious teachers in Mendi. The collateral objects were to show the acquisitions in civilization and knowledge made by the Mendians—to excite sympathy—and to encourage friendly and peaceful feelings on behalf of the contemplated mission in Mendi. Great interest was manifested wherever we went. At Farminston they all attended a farewell meeting last Wednesday. Twenty ministers and a large concourse of persons attended. The Rev. Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, preached on prejudice against colour, and 1300 dollars were contributed. Yesterday the Mendians all arrived here. We expect they will embark this week (on Wednesday) for Sierra Leone, with three religious teachers.

Literary Notice.

Voyage à Surinam, par P. J. Benoit, avec cent dessins, pris sus nature par l'auteur.

Voyage to Surinam by J. P. Benoit, with one hundred engravings taken from nature by the author.

WE confess that we feel a deep interest, not only in those unhappy beings who are held in slavery, but in those regions which have witnessed, or are still witnessing, their unjust sufferings. We feel a desire to become acquainted with the locality of those countries which the cupidity of man has converted into prison houses to be opened only by death, unless, in the over-ruling providence of Him who is not unmindful of the meanest of his creatures, an act of emancipation, hitherto the heritage only of the British slave, shall strike off the intolerable fetters of the slave in other lands.

It is an interesting and affecting consideration, that many of those regions to which we are alluding are possessed of uncommon natural beauties—that, in the words of the poet applied to the lovely island of Ceylon, "and only man is vile." With these sentiments, and hoping to find some information which might throw light on the system and effects of slavery in Surinam, we took up the *Voyage à Surinam*, and turned over its interesting pages and beautiful illustrations. We have not been altogether disappointed in our expectations, although it has evidently formed no part of the intention of the writer to paint slavery in too dark colours, as the character of the first extract we shall make to which others might have been added will sufficiently prove.

With these few observations we proceed to make a few extracts on some topics of importance, on which information is given, and which will, we think, be read with interest, in most instances of a painful character.

MILD CHARACTER OF SLAVERY IN SURINAM, p. 65.

We ourselves have seen the negro population treated with the greatest

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mildness. Besides, and this is an act of justice that cannot be refused to the Dutch, few nations have understood how to establish their colonial authority by means more consistent with the duties owing to society or more consistent with humanity.

CLANDESTINE SLAVE-TRADE.

Notwithstanding the severity exercised by the government in attempting to suppress the slave-trade, and in despite of the laws, new negros are continually introduced in a fraudulent manner, of whom the greater number are taken to the upper part of the country, where the want of labour renders them almost indispensable, and where the prosperity of the plantations depends principally on the labour of slaves.

COMPARISON OF JAVA AND SURINAM. ANTICIPATIONS OF THE FUTURE PROSPERITY OF SURINAM, AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE ENORMOUS BURDEN WHICH IT HAS HITHERTO BEEN TO THE DUTCH PEOPLE, p. 64.

It is known to what a high degree of splendour the colony of Java has attained. That of Surinam is at present far, it must be acknowledged, from having reached the same prosperity. Surinam has however had greater difficulties to experience than Java.

We believe, however, that Surinam is called to a better destiny. Under the wise and skilful administration to which this establishment is confided, there is no doubt that it will soon be able to furnish, like that of the East Indies, an abundant source of riches to the mother country, and compensate by its produce the enormous and continual sacrifices which it has not ceased to require, in order to maintain and improve it during so long a period, and under the weight of such unhappy circumstances.

DEGRADATION OF THE FEMALE CHARACTER, p. 21.

The women in the lower class of society are immoral, and use a licence in conversation which far exceeds the bounds of decorum. Discourses and language which would revolt every respectable woman in Europe do not in the least provoke their indignation. Their want of modesty proceeds so far, that they appear to be flattered by that which is justly regarded by us as an odious outrage; they see in an infamous proposition a kind of preference with which they feel honoured.

TREATMENT OF A SLAVE MOTHER, p. 54.

The negresses frequently continue an attention to their labour up to the day in which they are confined. The period being arrived to resume their daily occupation, which is generally seven or eight days after that of their confinement, the mother wraps her infant in a piece of linen leaving its limbs free; places it upon her back, and proceeds to her work.

SALE OF SLAVES, p. 55.

Although the slave-trade is abolished, the sales of creole slaves is seen almost daily, in consequence of the decease of those who have possessed them, or from dissatisfaction on the part of masters, who consequently wish to get rid of them.

AFFECTING INSTANCE OF THE SALE OF A FEMALE SLAVE ABOUT TO HAVE BEEN MARRIED TO HER MASTER, AND HER TWO CHILDREN, p. 55.

I saw one day a young and very beautiful creole, who lived with one of my friends, and whom (she having borne him two children) he intended to have freed. He died the same day on which he had arranged to have gone to town for the purpose of performing the act of enfranchisement. By this unexpected misfortune, this unfortunate woman, who was already considered as the mistress of the house, and who was about to become the wife of her master, found herself all at once, by his death, plunged again with her children into the condition of a slave. The three were sold together as such. This sale was a truly painful and heart-rending spectacle. It was a scene of misery difficult to describe The poor mother drew tears from the eyes of all those who had known her, and who already regarded her as a legitimate wife and a free person.

NOTICE OF THE EMPLOYMENTS AND HARDSHIPS OF THE SLAVE, p. 56.

Thus commences, if we may so speak, from the cradle, that exercise which gives the slave population in so astonishing a manner the fullest use of their limbs, and prepares them for those hard and severe labours which they are afterwards destined to perform during the whole period of their existence. They acquire, at the same time, a vigour of body which prepares them for fatigue of every kind, and a robust health which resists easily the privations to which they are sometimes exposed, and the food, generally bad and containing little nutriment, which is usually given to them.

PROPRIETY OF GIVING WAGES, AND PROBABLE GOOD EFFECTS, p. 19.

The greater part of the workmen or artizans are obliged to bring all that they earn to their masters, who hire them out frequently to persons of different trades, who require their services. Would it not be just, and even useful, that these wretched beings should have a part of that which they gain by the sweat of their brow? For almost all are naturally very much inclined to theft, and it would, no doubt, be seen, in showing more justice with respect to them, that those small house thefts which so frequently take place in the town would lessen in number, and perhaps altogether cease.

UNITED STATES.

EXTRACT of a letter from Samuel Webb to Joseph Sturge, dated Philadelphia, 11th Month 6th, 1841.

The state of New York has done well. Our whole abolition vote throughout the Union will be *nearly twenty-one thousand*, about three times the number which we polled at the late presidential election.

Great Britain could abolish slavery in the United States of America in less time, and with less money, than was expended in abolishing slavery in her own islands, *if you would concentrate your efforts upon raising cotton in India*. By ameliorating the condition of the natives of that land (favoured by heaven but abased by man), which wants nothing but that its inhabitants should be treated, as British subjects ought to be, upon terms of perfect equality *with other British subjects*, what a market would open for your goods! Give the people of India a fee-simple title to the lands (a small quantity to each—just as much as he could keep under profitable cultivation, and no more), make the produce which they might raise thereon secure to the cultivators, with only a small tax upon the profits—and it would yield a greater revenue than the present tyrannical mode of *seizing upon all*. You now take away all inducement to raise large crops. Besides, keeping people so poorly fed prevents them from doing much work. Let them have a fair renumeration, and let them be secured in the enjoyment of their earnings, and it would open a market for your goods better than you ever found in this country. Thus,

"Where Britain's power is felt, mankind would feel her mercy too."

Extract of a letter from James C. Fuller to Joseph Surge, dated Shaneateles, 11th Month 12th, 1841.

To-day I have remitted 800 dollars to pay for 200 acres of land, whereon to commence the Canada Manual-Labour School. Slaves are pouring into Canada. Hiram Wilson tells me (in a letter received from him yesterday) that, as he crossed the Lake (Ontario), on board the steamer were three men and three women (a mother and her two daughters), all from Virginia, and that they were anxious to go to Hiram Wilson's. He informed them that he was the man, and took them to his house. Within one hour another woman came to his door, who had come up from Darien, in *Georgia*. God protects them in their flight, and his Providence throws them on the abolitionists of this and thy land, demanding of us some care, and a good deal of mental culture. Shall they ask for it in vain?—I hope and believe not.

JAMAICA NEWS.

EXTRACT of a private letter, dated Kingston, November 1st.—I am sorry to say that political opinion is now running very high here, and very desperate attempts have been, and are now being made to bring back as much as possible the old state of things Many of the laws passed last session have been most partial and oppressive in their operation. Our legally appointed and educated judges have proved themselves no less actuated by party bias and prejudice than their uneducated and *planting* predecessors. Three magistrates are now confined in Kingston jail, for no other offence than interfering with a mob and preventing a serious riot, occasioned by the overbearing and imprudent orders of Hector Mitchell, the mayor; to stop the people's usual Christmas amusements, such orders *not having been published, or even communicated to the city magistrates*, but given *privately* to the police—yet, for infringing on an order they knew nothing of Mr. Daniel Hart has been fined £200 sterling and suffers three months imprisonment, and the other two £100 each, and two months imprisonment while a stipendiary magistrate, also "found guilty," and who (if there were any guilt at all which I do not believe) was the most guilty of the whole, being a legally educated gentleman, and the adviser of the whole proceeding, *was only fined* £50. Such gross partiality has awakened universal indignation, even in Jamaica; and several numerously signed petitions have been sent to the governor for their release.

Immigration has also been a fruitful source of misery and death. I would require a volume to record the cruelty which they have been exposed to. I should imagine full 50 per cent. of those who have arrived are not in their graves, and numbers of others are wandering in our streets and roads in the utmost misery and destitution.

We find the following recent exhibition of Dr. Paul:—

Kingston, September 22nd, 1841.

[Before Justices MORESBY AND PRICE.]

Dr. Paul sub-agent, of the Immigration Society, appeared to answer a complaint of Maria Parraway, for an assault on her son, a child about 13 years of age, and to claim restitution of her child.

She stated that she was a native of America, and arrived here last November as an immigrant, with her husband, seven children, and an aged father. That her husband dying eight days after their arrival, she then engaged herself to Dr. Ewart as a servant at the "immigration depôt," Admiral's Pen. There were goats there, and her son used to carry the milk every morning to Dr. Paul's house; he used very frequently to be kept there to do things, and ultimately, at Christmas, Dr. Paul kept the boy altogether.

She then went and told Dr. Paul that as she had promised to place the boy with Mr. Duper on the 1st of January 1841, to learn the business of a shoemaker, she wished to know what Dr. Paul intended to do with him. He said that he would take him into his service. She said that as Dr. Paul had paid something (about twenty dollars), John should remain and work out that sum. The twenty dollars were for the freight of her furniture from America in the immigration vessel.

Mr. Daly asked plaintiff what things she had brought and was thus charged for, whether they were only her own furniture necessary for domestic use and comfort, or goods for merchandize.

Plaintiff said that they consisted wholly of such furniture as they had used before in America, and as was absolutely necessary for their use here.

Mr. Daly said, that he considered it unreasonable to charge this family with the expenses of freight for furniture which they had been using in their native country, and which was intended for their domestic use here. Was it ever to be supposed that they could ever be happy or contented, if they had not at least as many comforts in their *new country*, as they had been accustomed to in the land of their nativity? He apprehended that the agents should have paid the amount for the freight of furniture.

Dr. Paul, you have nothing to do with that, sir.

Mr. Daly, I beg to differ with you. This is a poor foreigner, and I wish to see her protected by means of this charge which has been insidiously fixed on her husband, I find her son detained in your service for nearly twelve months without any consideration, than the liquidation of a debt owing by his deceased father, and which in my opinion should have been paid out of the Immigration fund.

Maria Parraway continued. On Tuesday last, the little boy came home crying, and said that he had been sent on an errand and had overstaid his time, that on his return *Dr. Paul made his butler whip him while he* HIMSELF *held him.* I then went to Dr. Paul, and said, that I had heard John's story about the matter, and had come to inquire into the particulars. The doctor said," he wished to hear nothing from me, and would not allow me to interfere with his domestics." I said, I merely wished to know what the boy had done and thought that he was the properest person to give me information. He would not listen to me, but said *the boy was flogged by his orders, and he would repeat it to-morrow if necessary*, I then came away, *and left my boy as though I had left him in his* GRAVE.

Next day I went to Mr. Justice Daly, and applied for protection, and that I might get my boy restored to me. Mr. Daly said that he did not wish to interfere with Dr. Paul, as he appeared to form strange notions respecting his former interference on behalf of the immigrants, but he would put me in the way to obtain redress, and told me to come down to the magistrates in Kingston, and I did so yesterday.

Dr. Paul admitted that he punished the boy in the manner stated, and observed that he would do so again.

The magistrates asked Dr. Paul if he would restore the boy to his mother. He said that *he would not*, as were he to do so, it would be an admission of the charge brought against him.

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Mr. Moresby observed, that the mother did not dwell so much on the case of assault, which did not appear to be attended with any *particular* circumstances of cruelty, but rather the mode of punishment, and the refusal of the doctor to listen to her inquiries respecting the cause of punishment. Dr. Paul, however, persisted in refusing to deliver up the boy.

The magistrates, in giving judgment, observed:

That the boy had been employed by Dr. Paul as an immigrant, in consideration of the sum of eighteen dollars paid by Dr. Paul to the captain of the ship *for the freight of furniture. That detaining the boy for the debts of a deceased father was illegal.* Dr. Paul was therefore ordered to deliver the boy up to his mother, and to pay all the expenses of the court.

Dr. Paul (making a most sarcastic and insolent bow to the bench), "Most equitable decision!"

Justice Moresby warned him to behave with propriety, or he should feel it his duty to protect the court from insolence.

He then asked how he was to recover the eighteen dollars paid for freight (for which it appears he had already received nine months services from the boy). Justice Moresby said, "he was open to his remedy at law."

Dr. Paul. "I want to know how I am to get back the clothes from the boy."

Mr. Moresby thought that, as the boy had received so little advantages for his nine months' labour, Dr. Paul could scarcely wish to deprive him of his little apparel.

FRENCH SLAVE-TRADE.

[From the Parliamentary Papers.]

THE Slave-trade correspondence contains numerous papers relating to the purchase of slaves on the coast of Africa for the French government. The following will give a general idea of the transactions, and of the course adopted by the British government.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO M. GUIZOT.

Foreign Office, August 5th, 1840.

SIR,—With reference to the correspondence which has taken place between her Majesty's government and the government of the King of the French, respecting a contract entered into by the colonial authorities of Goree for the supply of 600 slaves for service in the French settlements, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency extracts from some letters containing information on the subject in question, which have been received from a person of respectability well known and resident in that part of Africa whence the slaves were to be procured.

In transmitting to your Excellency these papers, I cannot avoid requesting you to draw the attention of your government to the circumstance, that, if the plan of contracting for the purchase of slaves for the military service of France were to be continued, the inevitable consequence would be the revival of all the evils attendant upon the slave-trade, the renewal of wars among the native tribes, and the destruction of legitimate commerce between them and the nations of Europe.

For the example thus set by the French government would encourage private adventurers, who would be emboldened by the sanction given by France to the practice of purchasing slaves; and thus the French government would be the means of perpetuating the existence of a traffic which they denounce as criminal, and which the King of the French has by treaty bound himself to put down. I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

Sierra Leone, December 31st, 1839.

MY LORD,—We have the honour to transmit to your lordship, enclosed, a copy of some extracts from letters written during the present month to her Majesty's commissary judge, on the subject of a contract entered into by the French government of Goree for the supply of 600 slaves for the service of the French settlements on the Senegal.

In submitting these papers for your lordship's consideration, it will hardly be necessary to allude to those unhappy effects which must obviously result from this infraction of law and treaty on the part of the French government. The revival of the slave-trade, with all its attendant horrors, in our immediate neighbourhood—wars and dissensions amongst the native tribes—the destruction of a legitimate commerce carried on by our own subjects in the Rio Nunez and adjacent rivers, which is yearly increasing in value and importance—are some of the immediate consequences to be apprehended. But, if France now contract for the supply of 600 slaves for the service of her colonies on the river Senegal, what is to prevent her keeping up that supply by similar means? What is to prevent her contracting for the purchase and transport of 6000, and eventually even of 60,000 African slaves, for the use of her colonies in the West Indies and elsewhere; and thus perpetuating on this coast the existence of a traffic, which she is all the while denouncing as odious and inhuman?

The extraordinary plea urged by France to justify this disregard of her solemn engagements with Great Britain and numerous other powers, is the desire to raise a black force for the defence of her settlements on this coast; and she may perhaps point to our black troops in the Royal African corps and the different West India regiments. The negros, however, who compose the recruits in our service are not reduced into slavery, and purchased and paid for by the government, but belong almost exclusively to the body of liberated Africans located at Sierra Leone. Having been rescued from the holds of slave-ships by the exertions of our squadron, and emancipated by the decree of a competent court, they voluntarily enlist in a service where they are entitled to the pay, the food, the clothing, the pension, and every other privilege of a British soldier; and all undue persuasion to enlist is equally opposed to the articles of war, and to the practice of the recruiting officers at this station. No parallel indeed can be drawn between our mode of enlisting black troops, which differs in no respect from the method pursued in England of increasing our military force, and the system of kidnapping, driving, chaining, barracooning, and shipping the slaves, whom Kyetan and other notorious slave-dealers on this coast have contracted to supply to the French government, at from 60 dollars to 80 dollars per head; the very highest price given for prime slaves for the Cuba market.

We may perhaps be likewise referred to the system of recruiting followed by the Dutch General Verveer in the kingdom of Ashantee, which occasioned so much correspondence between the British and Netherlands governments in the years 1836, 1837, and 1838. But, dangerous and objectionable as that system was, it differed in many important particulars from the downright buying and selling of slaves to which the French government looks, as the means of obtaining negro troops for the service of their colonies. We have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. MACAULAY.
R. DOHERTY.

Extract from a Letter to H. W. MACAULAY, Esq., dated Rio Nunez, December 1st, 1839.

Knowing how readily the natives catch at a bait such as the re-opening of the slave-trade would be, the French purpose applying to the Naloos for a spot of ground whereon to establish a factory for the purchase of 600 slaves, to be made soldiers of for the use of the government. They have gone so far as to receive tenders from the merchants of St. Louis for the supply of these 600 slaves, and the tenders have varied from fifty dollars to eighty dollars per head. The Frenchmen here are daily expecting two or three vessels from Senegal, under convoy of *La Fine*, to carry this project into execution. Of course it is to be under the auspices and protection of the French government.

As you will doubtless wish to communicate this circumstance to the government at home, you have permission to make use of this letter, and it is but right you should have my authority for the statement. Mr. ———, on his late visit to Goree, was informed of these intentions by the commandant of Goree, and also by the commandant of the French man-of-war, *La Fine*, as well as by the party who had tendered for the supply at eighty dollars per head, who was very eager for information as to the extent of the slave-trade to be carried on here.

To suppose that French subjects, having once revived the slave-trade under the auspices of government and for government purposes, will halt after purchasing 600 or even 6000 slaves, would betray a total ignorance of human nature when engaged in these transactions.

The government will, of course, have the option of rejecting such as are not suitable for soldiers. What is to be done with the rejected, and the numbers of women and children, who must be bought along with the able-bodied men, if offered for sale? Why, they will suit the Spanish and other slave-traders in the Rio Pongas, and means will probably be found to ship them direct from hence to Cuba.

I need hardly allude to the mass of evil consequences which will follow the revival of the slave-trade under these circumstances; the nuisance and injury it will be to the pursuits of legitimate commerce; the disturbances that must follow; the insecurity of property that it will give rise to; and the protection we shall necessarily require from the naval authorities. I know you will do all in your power to thwart the iniquitous views of the French, but I fear the information comes too late to blight the evil project in the bud.

Another consideration of importance is, that, when the French have succeeded in obtaining this supply of 600 able-bodied men for the service of their settlements on the banks of the Senegal, they will find out that they require 800 or 1000 for the use of Martinique and Guadaloupe, 300 or 400 for Cayenne, 1500 or 2000 for their new settlements on the Amazon, and more again for some of their recent conquests. Thus the slave-trade will be perpetuated by France, when Great Britain is using every exertion to suppress it.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO EARL GRANVILLE.

Foreign Office, June 11th, 1840.

MY LORD,—Since I addressed to your Excellency my despatch of the 4th instant, upon the subject of the purchase of negros in Africa by order of the French government, a communication has been received at this office from the colonial department, stating that the *Sénégambie*, one of the vessels employed in transporting from Africa the negros in question, has been condemned in the Vice Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, on the ground that she was found in British waters equipped for slave-trade, contrary to the provisions of British laws.

I transmit herewith to your lordship a copy of that communication and of its enclosures, together with a memorandum containing an abstract of the contents of those papers.

I have to instruct your Excellency to transmit to the French government a copy of that abstract, together with a note, in which you will state that her Majesty's government, being well convinced that the government of France is animated by a sincere desire to put down the slave-trade, is anxious to draw the attention of that government to the direct and inevitable tendency which this purchase of negros by the French government must have, not merely to encourage the slave-trade but to give to that trade the apparent sanction of the example of the French government.

The objections which have been urged against the slave-trade are two-fold:—

First, that it is an unjustifiable cruelty to seize the natives of Africa, and to carry them away by force from their own country to other parts of the world, in order there to make them perform labour and to engage in occupations not of their own choice.

And, secondly, that the demand for human beings as articles of traffic on the coast of Africa keeps up among the Africans the practice of war for man stealing, and occasions an infinite variety of crimes and atrocities, which are committed in the course of this traffic. Now, although the French authorities at Senegal contend that the negros which they are employed in purchasing, in order to send them to Cayenne to be made pioneers, that is to say, military labourers, are bought out of slavery, and are to be immediately made free, yet it is obvious that this is only a nominal and not a real distinction, and the purchase is in truth slave-trade, and is open to all the objections to which that traffic is liable.

For these negros do not enlist of their own accord into the French service, but are handed over to the French authorities by force; are carried away from their own to a foreign country by force; are to be kept down by force during the voyage, and, instead of being free agents when they arrive at the end of their voyage, are then to be compelled by force to labour.

Their condition, therefore, notwithstanding the pretended certificate of emancipation, is in all respects that of slavery.

But, even if this were not so, and if these negros were really made free by the French government, still a contract made by the French authorities

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with notorious slave-dealers to procure and sell to the French government a given number of negros, is, in the strictest sense of the term, an act of slave-trade, and must produce in Africa just the same effect as would a similar contract made by any sugar-planter in the West Indies or in the Brazils.

The slave-dealer who contracts to furnish these negros must capture them, or employ other persons to do so; and all those crimes which slave-dealing occasions in Africa are thereby directly occasioned by an act of the French authorities.

If the object of the French government had really been to emancipate a given number of slaves, it would seem that this object might better have been accomplished by purchasing so many slaves in one of the French colonies, and by freeing those slaves on condition of their enlisting a limited time as soldiers in the French service. I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

GOVERNOR DOHERTY TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Government House, Sierra Leone, March 28th, 1840.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acquaint your lordship with the recent condemnation as prize, in the court of Vice Admiralty of this colony, for being equipped for the slave-trade in the waters of Bathurst, on the Gambia, of a French schooner, called the *Sénégambie*, Senegal, master, detained while sailing under the colours of France by her Majesty's brig *Saracen*, Lieutenant H. W. Hill, commanding.

The circumstances under which this vessel had engaged in the illicit object of her voyage, and which have accompanied and followed her condemnation, are so unusual, that I deem it necessary to report them to your lordship for the information of her Majesty's government.

During the month of October last an agreement was concluded at St. Louis, in the French settlement of Senegal, between the administration of that colony and Messrs. Pellen and Marbeau, a mercantile house belonging to it, for the supply to the Senegal government of 100 young negros, to be delivered within a prescribed period at the island of Goree. The negros presented at Goree in pursuance of this agreement, were to be received or rejected on the decision of what was termed a recruiting commission, and to be embarked within the space of three months for the settlement of Cayenne, there to serve with the troops of that colony as a company of pioneers.

Those slaves were to be purchased in the usual manner on the coast of Africa, and it was provided that an escort of a schooner of war should accompany the vessel employed to transport them from the place of their purchase to Goree.

This contract has been partly executed by means of one successful voyage undertaken by the *Sénégambie* to the Rio Nunez and the islands of Bissao and Cacheo; from which places that schooner returned to Goree with a cargo of 60 negros, chiefly purchased from the notorious Kyetan, and of these 30 were rejected. Seventy, therefore, remained to be procured in order to complete the engagements of the contract, and the vessel was proceeding a second time to the Nunez and Bissao for another cargo, when, calling at St. Mary's to land there the brother of one of her owners, she was there detained.

On these voyages the escort consisted, and was to consist, of two schooners of war, and not of one only, as promised in the agreement. Under their convoy and command the *Sénégambie* was formally placed; receiving written orders to sail at a distance of not more than two cable-lengths a-head or astern of them; and being furnished with a scheme of signals for communicating with the officer in command of the principal vessel. But being, as I have stated, on the outward voyage when her detention by the *Saracen* took place, this escort was not then in attendance upon her.

Having effected the detention in British waters, Lieutenant Hill despatched his capture for adjudication to this colony. She arrived here on the 19th of February, and her condemnation in the court of Vice-Admiralty took place on the 4th instant.

The several persons found on board at the time of seizure, and brought hither with the vessel, and who, on their arrival, had been arrested on the charge of slave dealing, and on that charge detained in custody, were then fully examined, and committed for trial at the quarter sessions; two passengers among the number, the brother namely of the owner Pellen, and a seaman belonging to the escort, declining to avail themselves of an offer made to release them on bail. Those two persons, with three carpenters who had been employed at the Gambia to caulk the vessel, were finally discharged at the sessions on the finding of the grand jury. But a true bill being returned against the master, supercargo, and crew, they were tried by the court of the royal commission on the 20th inst., and were sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

In the mean time the schooner of his Majesty the King of the French, *La Rachel*, Lieutenant A. Cournes, commanding, had arrived in the harbour on the 11th, having on board Monsieur Marbeau, the principal contractor, who was already bound over to take his trial at the Gambia, and bearing a letter from the governor of Senegal, in which that functionary avowed the enterprise of the *Sénégambie* as the act of his government, and affected to treat the detention by Lieutenant Hill as an act of aggression upon a friendly flag, declaring at the same time the innocence of the vessel in respect of the illicit traffic, and expressing his reliance on the courts and on my support for her release. To such a letter it was, of course, impossible for me to give any reply that could be satisfactory to the French governor.

On examining the enclosures, your lordship will not fail to observe, that the defence or excuse provided for the whole of this transaction, is to be found in that clause of the contract which declares that the negros furnished by the contractors are to be bought *out* of slavery, and shall previously to their transport to Goree receive their freedom by a formal deed of emancipation, to be executed by a government agent appointed for the purpose, who, as he informed me, was the same Lieutenant Cournes at that time in command of the French schooner of war *La Cigale*, who has now been the bearer of the governor of Senegal's remonstrance. Those freemen, however, were not thereafter to exercise the ordinary privilege of liberty in disposing at will of their own persons; but were, in terms of the agreement, to be delivered over at a stipulated price to the authorities at Goree, unless by them refused, when they were to be left in the possession or for the account, as it is expressed, of the contractors; and I would crave your lordship's particular attention to this circumstance.

It is, indeed, stated that the entire numbers—both the rejected and the received—were to be placed with their respective masters in the character, not of absolute property, but of persons engaged or hired for a certain period of time. But allowing this to have been the real design, I believe it will scarcely be alleged that the buying of negros on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of using their labour for any term is anything other than the offence of dealing in slaves, whether this labour is to be employed in military service, or in that of a private master; and, if we suppose the French colonial government to have been so far sincere in their use of an expression which implies a temporary engagement, as to have intended to grant their discharge at some remote period to such of those people as they accepted for soldiers, I would request your lordship to judge how far it is probable that Messrs. Pellen and Marbeau, the purchasers of these men, having equally given their money and time, and the labour and risk of their own voyage, for the individuals rejected as for those received, would, in a slave colony, release them from their servitude, incurred with the approbation of the government, upon any conditions save that of having their value in the slave market paid or otherwise satisfied to them from some new quarter, or would treat and regard them otherwise than as slaves.

It will be seen at the same time by the affidavit of seizure, that, after being presented with their freedom, those persons were to be confined on board of ship under hatches secured with iron bars, according to the invariable practice of slave vessels; and, in fine, that both parties to the transaction did themselves feel how gross was the pretext of emancipation and hire, and were themselves fully conscious of the indefensible nature of the act they were committing, and the liability to which it exposed them, is sufficiently evinced by the circumstance of the escort provided to attend the vessel, and by such a precaution as that of preparing a signal for a suspicious sail in sight.

Nor will the argument against the adjudication, which is used, not indeed by the governer of Senegal himself, but in the letter of his officer, and which was much insisted on by that gentleman in a personal interview—the argument, namely, that the slave-trade treaty with France removed French vessels accused of being engaged in the slave-trade in British waters from the jurisdiction of English courts, provided those waters lie within the latitudes which it specifies, appear to your lordship more tenable. The treaty with France could in no respect abrogate or affect the national laws of either power on the subject, even if it were not stated, as it is in the preamble of that treaty, that the object of it was to render more effectual the means of suppression which were previously in force. Upon the contrary supposition, it would obviously be in the power, both of French vessels and of vessels of other nations with which Great Britain has treaties on the model of that of France, to ship slaves with impunity from the colony itself, and even during the presence in the harbour of her Majesty's cruizers, provided those cruizers should happen to be unfurnished with instructions under the treaty or treaties with the particular nation of the slave; while, supposing them to be so furnished, a French vessel would still be able to attempt the same outrage, under no other penalty in case of failure than that of being sent to Goree for trial.

To what extent undertakings similar to the one which has now come to light have been meditated by the Senegal government, or how far they may have already been attempted with success, does not appear with any certainty. But the present transaction is believed to form only a part of a greater scheme. Intelligence to this effect, both written and verbal, has been received from the Rio Nunez, the former by the mixed commission and the latter by myself. Her Majesty's commissioners have recently reported their information to Viscount Palmerston; and it appears from it, not only that the *Sénégambie* and her escort in their search for slaves had penetrated into the Nunez, as I have stated, but that it was in contemplation to establish a French factory on that river for the purchase, in the first instance, of 600.

It is another important question, to what degree those proceedings may affect the honour and good faith of the government of France itself. It will be noticed that the contract is declared to be passed agreeably to an instruction contained in a despatch of the French minister, dated the 31st May, 1839, No. 108. But the terms of that instruction are not given.

The *Sénégambie*, which is incorrectly stated in the deed admitting her to the privileges of a French vessel to have been built in Sierra Leone, was a condemned Portuguese slaver, named the *Prova*, which was sold here at a mixed commission sale, in the month of November, 1838. As, on this new condemnation she has been again disposed of to her former purchaser, sometime a merchant at the Gambia, and intimately connected in trade with Senegal and Goree, she may and probably will return into the possession of her late owners, and may by them be once more employed in the same guilty enterprise in which she has now failed of success.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. DOHERTY, Governor.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The following should have appeared in our last number, but were by mistake omitted:—

	£.	s.	d.
Alexander, G. W., Lombard Street	50	0	0
Zachary Thomas, Bewdley, Worcestershire	5	0	0
A few Friends of Abolition in Denmark	4	19	6
Wilmot, Sir J. E., Bart. (omitted at the time it was paid through the oversight of one of our friends)	10	0	0
Birmingham—The Female Anti-slavery Society at Bond Street Baptist Chapel	10	0	0
M. C., per Joseph Sturge	10	0	0
The following have been received since our last was published:—			
Forster, Joseph T., Springfield, Clapton	10	0	0
Forster, Robert, Tottenham	5	0	0
A Friend, per ditto	50	0	0

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER:

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LIII. Vol. II. No. 26.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29th, 1841. [Price Threepence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by Mr. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by Mr. Everett, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should never be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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EUROPEAN TREATY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

[From the *Globe*.]

The agreement of the five great European powers—Great Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia—in a definitive treaty, by which each power binds itself to the other high contracting parties to aid and assist in effectually discouraging and suppressing that scourge of and scandal to humanity, the slave-trade, is an event in which good men in this country, and in all other countries, will rejoice.

This long-desired event, to which the attention of the late government was directed with undeviating earnestness of desire, and to accomplish which the efforts of negociation were employed for a considerable period, was nearly accomplished, when the misunderstanding between the British and French cabinets on the Eastern question caused an interruption of that and other pending negociations, and thus postponed their accomplishment. The present ministry has the credit of completing a work which was perfected, except the merely formal ratification, by their predecessors.

The signatures of the representatives of the five powers, parties to this truly gratifying confederation, were affixed yesterday at the Foreign Office. The slave-trade is at length denounced by the entire moral and physical force of Europe, as a crime against the law of nations—rendering the ships and crews of their respective flags, and all their subjects engaged in the inhuman traffic, liable to the severe and summary treatment which the laws of civilised states agree to inflict on pirates; and giving extended powers to the "right of search," in order to give the fuller effect to the other provisions of the treaty.

We shall now see whether the flags of Spain and Portugal will continue to be employed to give a dishonest protection, purchased by a regularly graduated system of per centage bribery, to the inhuman monsters of any and every nation who, to the disgrace of the Christian name; and to the degradation of the human form, perpetrate wholesale murders of the worst kind, diversified and heightened by every other species of crime against the human species, while prosecuting this most foul and deeply degrading traffic.

Patriotism, elevated by philanthropy, has at length triumphed. The seal is, after long delays, affixed to the death-warrant of slavery; for, with the now solemnly pledged concentrated energies of Europe to extinguish the slave-trade, slavery itself will speedily be abolished from every civilized state.

Nor will it be possible for the United States of America to resist the moral influence of this truly sublime spectacle of united Europe, which, by a solemn confederation, engages to vindicate the rights of our common nature, against those who have insolently violated the sacred ties which bind man to man. The fact, by the mild but powerful benevolence of its aspect, will melt the bonds of slavery in America, or the nation which refuses to "let the oppressed go free" will lose her national character, and sink in the scale of nations. Nor will she suffer merely in the estimation of other powers. Her own security will be endangered by her obstinacy. The slaves will first pollute the streams of social life throughout their several ramifications—this, indeed, they are doing with fearful effect—they may then, having enfeebled their tyrants, break the yoke from off their necks, and become in their turn the oppressors, if not the executioners, of those to whom they were bondsmen.

[The particulars of the treaty are thus supplied by the *Morning Herald*. Our remarks upon it will be found in a leader.]

"The right of search, in respect to all vessels liable to the suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade, is mutually granted by each of the Five Powers, parties to this beneficent treaty, to all vessels of war bearing the flag of any of the five. Thus, the constant existence and unremitted activity of the most effective naval police that any or all of the Five Powers can establish for the suppression of the slave-trade, is made part of the public law of Europe.

"It is agreed, moreover, between the Five Powers, that the legal character and denomination of the crime of trading in slaves upon the sea, and that of co-operating in the traffic by the supply of capital or talent in its aid, shall, by the law of each of them, be made to assimilate as speedily as possible to those which the legislature of Great Britain has imparted to these crimes.

"The British law in respect to the slave-trade, embodied in the 3rd and 4th of William the Fourth, c. 73, is to the effect that any subject of her Majesty, or any individual residing in any part of her Majesty's dominions, who shall engage in the slave-trade, or in the conveyance of slaves upon the sea, shall be held to be guilty of the crime of piracy; and that any one who shall knowingly embark capital, or lend other aid of any kind to the traffic; although not personally engaged in it, shall be held to be guilty of felony, and punished accordingly: the former crime involving the punishment of death on the adjudication of a competent tribunal of any civilized state; the latter that of transportation on the adjudication of any competent British tribunal.

"Such as we have described will henceforth, in virtue of this treaty, be the public law of Europe. That this law will be rigorously carried into execution by a naval police, which Great Britain and France have the power and the disposition to establish, there can be no reasonable doubt."

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA.

The rumours (which we are happy to learn were exaggerated) of sickness on board the vessels constituting the Niger expedition, have been made use of by some of our contemporaries as an opportunity of bespeaking favour for their cherished scheme of an extended emigration from Africa in order to supply labourers to the West Indies. The *Liverpool Courier*, for example, presents us with the following lucubrations.

We yield to none in admitting the expediency and the desirableness of civilizing Africa: but we contend that we have the means at our own doors, within our own colonies, of improving the habits, and stimulating the ambition, and advancing the education of the native Africans, without any European setting his foot upon that dark, and to him pestilential, portion of the globe. We have the West Indies, but especially on the shores of South America, in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice, many millions of acres of fertile land, capable of growing everything deemed valuable as a tropical production, but which land is lying waste, and is utterly valueless, because labourers cannot be procured to cultivate it. It is admitted that Africa abounds with an idle, and, of course, an ignorant population, totally unfit to improve their condition, however willing, from not having the benefit of teaching and example. If, from two or three thousand African labourers could be introduced annually into these extensive colonies, not as slaves, God forbid, but as free labourers, apprenticed for a term of three or four years, and, after having become acquainted with the arts of cultivation, the mode of growing and manufacturing sugar, coffee, cotton, spices, fruits, and other tropical productions, were reconveyed to their native land, in numbers proportioned to the incoming labourers, they could not fail to turn to advantage *at home* the lessons and the instruction they received in the British settlements.

It is impossible to conceive the amount of good which would arise from this mode of improving the habits, and increasing the knowledge, and subduing the superstitious fears of the poor Africans. After a brief period, there would be poured into the country annually some thousands of instructed and skilful, as well as industrious labourers. They would bring with them to their native land minds improved, a knowledge of the arts of peace and civilization, with children perhaps able to read, and themselves

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in some degree made conversant with the great and leading truths of Christianity. Could anything be more desirable than this? Does not this appear to be the easiest, and most practicable, and most effectual plan of introducing the arts of civilisation, and Christianity itself into the dark abodes of the darkest portion of the earth, where *no* white man can exist, which no white man has ever penetrated—to regions where the sun which shines, and the breezes that blow, and the vapours that float, are death to an European? We sincerely wish that those men, and generous men we admit them to be, who take so much interest in the improvement of Africa, would turn their attention to this subject.

In briefly noticing this passage, we may begin by observing the very distinct and marked combination it exhibits of a desire professedly strong to confer moral benefits on Africa, with a desire no doubt equally strong to secure pecuniary benefits for the West Indians. There is something very suspicious in this combination. When moral benefits are proposed to be communicated at a cost and sacrifice, there is an obvious guarantee for the sincerity of the party making the proposition; but it is far otherwise when that which is proposed for the moral good of others is to yield a direct profit to ourselves. It becomes in this case but too probable that doing good is a pretext rather than a motive, a mere disguise to cover the real purpose of getting money. The proposal of civilizing Africa by a systematic emigration to the West Indies is, without controversy, put forth by an organ of the West India interest, and on their behalf; and we really must be excused for doubting whether, in a scheme by which they are to make such large gains, they are materially actuated by humanity and benevolence. It is possible that they only *talk* of humanity in order to *make* money. No one who knows how they have treated the children of Africa hitherto will find it easy to think otherwise of them, or to regard this specious proposition in any other light than an endeavour to beguile the British public into an acquiescence in some new mercenary design.

But, passing by the suspiciousness of the motive, let us look at the proposition itself. And, to give it the utmost possible benefit, let us admit the realization of the advantages to Africa so persuasively exhibited. We say then, that the whole process is poisoned from its commencement, because (generally speaking) the Africans have not a freedom of choice. The emigration proposed must be a forced emigration. We say it must be so, for two reasons. In the first place, the Africans (with exceptions far too trivial to relieve a systematic emigration from the consequences we are tracing) are not at present freemen; but, on the contrary, are already in servile subjection to their respective chiefs, without whose consent they could not immigrate, and by whose compulsion they must. In the second place, no idea can be entertained that the chiefs would allow an emigration of their people without a compensation. In other words, they would not part with them but by sale, and whoever wants them must buy them. This, if it went no further, is essentially slave-trading, and is as unjust and wicked in principle as any other part of that atrocious and desolating traffic. The enlightened and religious public of Great Britain, therefore, are, by this writer and his party, gravely solicited to civilize and christianize Africa by a systematic encouragement of the slave-trade!

The mischief is, however, not merely one of principle. The practice would be as fearful as the principle is iniquitous. It would be bad enough if, to the agents on the African coast for immigration to the West Indies, the chiefs were habitually selling their unhappy subjects; but this is not the ordinary or the possible course of the slave-trade. African chiefs do not sell their subjects, but those whom they take in war; and it is notorious that wars are incessantly undertaken and carried on for the mere purpose of supplying the slave-market. Thus then a demand on the coast for emigrants for the West Indies would set the tribes in the interior in arms one against another, and afford a fresh stimulus to those marauding and murderous excursions by which the continent has been so long desolated. The emigration agent, of course, would not ask how those who were brought to him for sale were obtained; nor, if he were to ask the question, could it in any way avail to wash his hands of the crime.

Nor is this all. The African slave-markets are not supplied only by the maraunding excursions of the chiefs. They draw many victims from domestic treachery. Household relations sell one another to the slave-merchant, and would do the same to the emigration-agent. So long as there is any one there who will give a shawl, a pound of gunpowder, or a few beads, for a human being, so long is there neither a neighbourhood nor a habitation secure for a moment from the ruthless hand of the man-seller.

To all this it is to be added, that this new slave-trade on the part of Great Britain, would give a direct sanction to the same traffic as now carried on by other powers, and would not only paralyze, but expose to utter derision the costly efforts which we have long been making for its extinction. Loud would the world laugh—and its laugh would be instinct with bitter scorn—if, after all that Great Britain has done to put down the slave-trade, she herself, at the call of avarice, should become a slave-trader.

We cannot conceive it necessary to say another word on the subject before us. It is enough to denounce the proposition under review, as a scheme to civilize and christianize the world by slave-trading. If we are wrong, we challenge contradiction. If we are right, we are sure the British nation will sympathize with us in indignant abhorrence of the design. The subject, however, is by no means exhausted; and the *Trinidad Standard*, moreover, has made it necessary for us to return to it in our next.

DUTCH SLAVE-TRADE.

[From a Correspondent of the *Morning Herald*.]

THE title of these lines will startle many. Is it possible, the majority of your readers will ask whether the Dutch, who are a subscribing party to a treaty for the suppression of the unchristian traffic, can sully their flag by reviving *it*? Let the following statement be accepted as an answer to the question:—

For several years past, thousands of unfortunate Africans have been carried off from St. George d'Elmina (a Dutch settlement on the Gold Coast) to Sumatra, under the pretence of having been enlisted as "volunteer recruits" for their Indian army, but in reality to undergo live-long bondage. Mr. Van der B——, the late colonial minister, was the originator of these iniquitous proceedings, and the scheme found a ready participator in Mr. H——, the wealthy ship-owner, whose vessels are exclusively (and with all possible secrecy) employed in this trade. The following facts will show with what remorseless cruelty and concomitant horrors it is carried on.

When one of H——'s slave-ships (they fall under the denomination, being equipped for the purpose) is expected at St. George d'Elmina, the Dutch resident there makes application to the tributary Ashantee princes for a supply of Africans. The native princes accordingly kidnap from the neighbouring tribes of the interior from three to four times the number which may be required, with the view of affording their infamous employers a choice of victims. On their arrival at the Dutch settlement the strongest and healthiest are selected, and shipped for Sumatra. But what becomes of the two-thirds or three-fourths rejected? We shudder in proclaiming the awful truth, that they are exterminated—murdered in cold blood—or, to adopt the phraseology of the heartless European monsters, who not only countenance but share in these savage enormities, "they are knocked on the head!" Mr. Joseph Gurney has proved these appalling truths. We ourselves can vouch for their accuracy from the testimony of eye-witnesses.

Such is the fate of the rejected—a fate, however, often preferable to that which awaits the kidnapped "volunteers," not one-half of whom are destined to reach their land of captivity. The mortality during the voyage is frightful. Out of upwards of 100 of these poor wretches, shipped towards the close of last year, but 17 reached the Dutch East India colonies alive. The water tank having proved leaky, and the remaining contents being insufficient for the wants of so many souls, numbers died from thirst, whilst others expired from the wounds and injuries dealt them by their raving comrades, expiring in the most excruciating agonies. Callous must be the heart which bleeds not at the recital of such misery.

BRITISH GUIANA: PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS.

THE *Guiana* papers bring melancholy accounts of the state of the Portuguese immigrants, who have lately arrived there in large numbers. The mortality among them has been so great as to excite fears, even there, that immigration may be checked by it, and to exercise the ingenuity of all parties in accounting for it. Let the patrons of West India immigration ponder the following extract from the *Guiana Royal Gazette*:—

We are led to make these observations, because we have reason to believe that, unless the attention of attornies and managers be particularly drawn to this subject, and unless more care and attention be bestowed upon it, the mortality among the Portuguese immigrants will be so great as not only to put an effectual stop to further immigration from that island, but even to operate as a serious impediment to the introduction of immigrants from any other quarter.

We are much inclined to believe that the discontinuance, which has so extensively taken place, of the estates' hospitals, because the native labourers preferred to be sick in their own houses, has operated very unfavourably upon the condition of the sick immigrant; and, indeed, unless we suppose the climate of this colony to be much more fatal and malignant than most colonists will be willing to admit, it is impossible to account for the great mortality which has taken place in several instances, except by supposing that the sufferers were exposed to great destitution and neglect.

Indeed, we have been informed upon authority which we cannot doubt, that, previous to the late changes introduced in consequence of the governor's interference on the Arabian coast, many of the immigrants, both sick and well, slept upon the bare ground, their huts being unprovided with any article of furniture, or even with floors; and it is even stated, though in this we cannot but hope there must be some mistake, that the stock of quinine was exhausted, and that many of the patients were wholly unprovided with this essential remedy.

The colonists at large, notwithstanding the heavy taxation under which they groan, might still find some consolation in the thought that such taxation contributed to increase the population, and so to advance the prosperity of the colony; but, if the immigrants are brought here only to sicken and to die, for want of beds, medicine, attendance, and proper care and oversight upon the part of those who employ them, what advantage—unless a bad name for health and humanity is to be considered an advantage—is the colony to derive from their introduction?

From another number of the same journal, we learn that several of these sick immigrants, brought from an estate in the interior, were landed on the stelling, and left (perfect strangers to the place) to find their way to the colony hospital! His Excellency had appointed a commission to inquire into this case.

An authorized report on the general condition of these people is published in the papers. On this report the *Gazette* observes:—

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It is very evident that the proper treatment of immigrants during the first six months of their arrival is a subject as yet very little understood, but which deserves the assiduous study of all connected with estates. As respects the treatment of these people, humanity and the interests of taxpayers and proprietors indicate the same course. Persons who employ them must be made to understand that they are narrowly watched, and that they will be held accountable for any excessive mortality. We do not yet see any reason to believe but that, with proper care and attention, the mortality may be reduced within very moderate limits. But, certainly, if the immigrants are to continue to die in the same proportion as heretofore, it will become a serious question whether any more public money ought to be expended on immigration from Madeira.

POLICY OF THE FRENCH CABINET, RELATIVE TO THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY.

[From the *Constitutionnel*.]

THE Government has just added M. Jubelin, ex-governor of Guadeloupe, to the commission instituted by the ministry of the 1st of March to prepare a project of law for the abolition of slavery in the colonies.

This addition may be regarded as nothing less than an indication of the wishes of the present cabinet to arrive at a solution of the question. M. Jubelin is a creole by birth; he has during many years administered a colony that is believed to be the most advanced, and which, during his administration, has furnished the most remarkable examples of resistance.

For the last three years criminal proceedings on acts the most afflicting to humanity have been of frequent recurrence, and the termination of them appears still to be far distant. The magistrates, who have been accused of a want of vigilance, have thrown upon the governor the responsibility of the incarceration of one of the victims. In his official correspondence, this officer has defended, in a colonial point of view, all the abuses of this regime, and particularly that of the *cachôts* (dungeons). He has given his approbation to an abuse of power exercised upon some of the militia whom he had removed from the legal jurisdiction of the councils of discipline, and arbitrarily condemned to a month's imprisonment in the dungeon of a fortress; it was under his administration that the choice of a delegate took place which excited general surprise, and which had the effect of dissolving the colonial council.

Will M. Jubelin be converted, as those pretend who desire that he should be called to the administration of the colonies, to the cause of abolition? Will he have a better plan to propose than those which, up to the present day, have been laid before the colonial commission? One may be permitted to doubt it. Every thing tends to the belief that the object of this appointment is to reinforce the resisting party in the commission, and to draw into it M. the Admiral Duperré himself.

However, M. Guizot has done something on this subject in the last session. He had himself previously reproached the cabinet of M. Molè with not having taken a single step. M. Passy also reproached the last cabinet with not having acted with openness on this question; and yet it was that very cabinet which instituted the commission, and appointed for its president the Duc de Broglie, a sincere advocate of emancipation.

M. Dufaure, in his programme, gives a solution of the question —What has the cabinet of M. Guizot done since the last session? Has it only re-assembled the commission? No, it has adjourned its sittings: it is not even yet convoked. The documents which ought to be submitted to it remain entombed in the portfolio of the minister—in short, an adjournment of the question is openly spoken of.

Is this what M. Guizot promised on the platform of Exeter Hall, in the midst of the great society presided over by the Duke of Sussex, scarcely two years since? Is this his response to the acclamations of which he was the object, and to the hopes to which he then gave birth, an account of which we gave at the time to our readers?

THE MENDIANS.

To the Right Honorable the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c.

British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street, Dec. 20th, 1841.

MY LORD—Since my last communication respecting the Mendian negros, the Committee have been favoured with information from New York respecting their embarkation for Sierra Leone, the substance of which they have the honour to convey to your Lordship.

"Last Saturday" (the 27th November), writes their correspondent, Mr. Tappan, "all the Mendian Africans, thirty-five in number, sailed from this port for Sierra Leone, on board the barque *Gentleman*, together with five missionaries and teachers, viz., the Rev. James Steele, the Rev. William Raymond, Mrs. Elizabeth Raymond and infant, Mr. Henry R. Wilson, and Mr. James Wilson, the two latter coloured teachers—Mr. Wilson a native of Barbados. They have had a fine breeze, and are now, we hope, well on their way. The anti-slavery public have generously responded to our appeal, and sent the means to enable us to fit them out well, to pay their passage, supply them with many useful articles, and to give the missionaries money to sustain themselves for a while.

"The British consul here, and Mr. Fox the British minister, kindly furnished the missionaries with letters to the authorities of Sierra Leone. We hope that, on their arrival there, they will find that instructions have been sent out from London by the British ministry to aid the Mendians to reach Mendi, or Kossa, their home.

"Mr. Haensel" (a reverend gentleman who formerly resided at Sierra Leone, and with whom Mr. Tappan had been in correspondence) "says, he thinks, there will be no physical difficulty in their making their way to their native land, when once arrived at Sierra Leone, provided the country be not distracted by war, and security be obtained for their passage through the territory of a hostile tribe. On this subject he says there is some reason to apprehend, as the latest printed intelligence hehas had from Sierra Leone mentions, under date of September last year, the existence of a war between the Queah tribe of Timmanees or Timnehs, adjoining the British territory on its eastern junction to the main land, and the Kossas.

"Mr. H. says further, that the road of the Amistad Africans would be, he thinks, east by south, through the territories of the Queah chief Mohammed, and that consequently it would be a hazardous undertaking for them to attempt it, until such a state of peace shall have been restored as shall admit of a guarantee being given by the native chiefs to the colonial government of Sierra Leone, for the undisturbed transit of these expatriated Kossas to their native land.

"We hope the friends in England will do all they can to insure to these Mendians and their teachers, on their arrival at Sierra Leone, or soon after, all the protection, aid, convoy, &c., they will need. If not already done, despatch will be important."

In submitting the foregoing extracts to your Lordship's attention, I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

JOHN SCOBLE.

REPLY.

Foreign Office, December 23rd, 1841.

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 10th and of the 20th inst., respecting the Mendian Africans now on their return to Mendi by way of Sierra Leone; and I am to request that you will inform the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that his lordship has taken measures for procuring for the individuals in question every aid which can with propriety be given to them by the British Admiral on the African station, the senior officer on the west coast of Africa, the Lieutenant-Governor of Sierra Leone, and her Majesty's Consul at the Cape Verd islands.

With regard, however, to the suggestion contained in your letter, that these negros should be naturalized during their stay at Sierra Leone, I am to inform you that the question is under consideration, but that Lord Aberdeen is not at present prepared to state whether or not the wishes of the society in this respect can properly be complied with. I am, sir, &c. &c.

J. SCOBLE, ESQ. CANNING.

TEXAS: LYNCH-LAW.

WE have been favoured with the following extract from the letter of a German traveller to the *Ausland* (a German paper), depicting a scene painfully instructive as to the social condition of Texas:—

On the morning of the fourth day we saw a crowd collected in the neighbourhood of a small town through which we were passing, and, as the place of meeting was not far, we directed our course towards it. We soon found that the mob, which consisted of about sixty fellows, with some women and children, were assembled for the purpose of executing a *lynch-law*. In the midst stood a negro, bound, and already "tarred and feathered." He was a strong muscular man, and his demeanour indicated energy of character, a feeling of self-respect, rarely to be met with among slaves. His manner and looks expressed the utmost contempt for the worthless crowd about him. From the latter stept forward a young fellow, who was evidently, from his suspicious appearance, a well qualified candidate for the gallows; with a noble absence of shame he took upon himself the comprehensive functions of a judge, and in a few words laid before the assembly the offence which the negro was accused of having committed against his mistress, and which, if fairly proved against him, certainly deserved the severe punishment of the law. He had run away, and was now brought back. As the prisoner was asked what he had to say in his defence, he answered with stoical equanimity, that he was wholly innocent of the crime imputed to him, that the bad treatment he had received from his owners had compelled him to run away, and that, as for the rest, he did not acknowledge such a set of banditti as he saw before him to be his judges: they might do what they pleased with him—it was a matter of perfect indifference to him. The aforesaid white varlet communicated this declaration to the meeting, and asked what was to be done with the "black fellow?" They all cried out, with one voice, "Hang him." At the conclusion, the fellow of whom we have spoken so often made a short speech to the mob; whom he honoured with the title of "gentlemen," and pronounced, to the satisfaction of all, sentence against the culprit in words to the following effect:—"Since the black fellow, Tom Niles, has attempted to violate the person of his mistress, Mrs. Randale, we, the sovereign people of Texas, decree that the aforesaid black fellow shall be hanged by the neck till he is dead." A few minutes afterwards the poor black was swinging on a tree! Never did I wish so ferrently to have had eight or ten well-armed men at my command, that I might disperse this set of ruffians, and prevent such an act of cruelty; but, situated as we were, we were forced to remain silent spectators of the scene, for, if any one had ventured to interfere in behalf of the negro without a sufficient force to give full effect to his interposition, he would have been exposed to the grossest ill-treatment from these infamous rascals. The least he could have expected would have been to be tarred and feathered. My companion's bosom, though, as a Brazilian, he must, as well as myself, have witnessed many a murder under the name of

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justice, could not but have been agitated by feelings similar to mine, since he vented his indignation by the expression, "It is a shame!" We put spurs to our horses, and fled from this scene of horror and crime as fast as we could.

An extract which we shall add to this from a recent number of the *New York Herald*, shews that such outrages in Texas are far from infrequent.

The pestilent influence of the recent horrible murders on the Arkansas and other United States' rivers, has caused the practice of lynching to break forth with renewed fury in Texas, where it had apparently slept for the previous year. And we find recorded in the Texas papers nearly a dozen of these murders that have occurred, and undoubtedly there have been more than as many more. In Shelby county two citizens have been shot down, and several houses burned by a party of outlaws. In Red river two men have been hanged as horse-thieves, without judge or jury. In Washington county one man has been shot down, under the pretence that he was a murderer. In Austin county two men were killed, and two hostile parties were in arms for several days, taking the law into their own hands. In Jefferson county two men have been killed, and the house of one of them burnt to the ground by a party self-styled regulators. And all this in the space of a year.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 29TH.

NOTICE TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS.

WITH a view to the diffusion of information on anti-slavery subjects generally, the Committee have resolved to supply AUXILIARY SOCIETIES, *for gratuitous distribution only*, with all pamphlets and small publications published by them at one-half the usual price; and the larger publications, TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS GENERALLY, at a reduction of *twenty-five per cent.*, for immediate payment.

To all subscribers to the Anti-Slavery Society or to any of its auxiliaries, the price of the volume entitled *Proceedings of the Convention* is *10s. 6d.*

TO LADIES AND OTHER FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE. COLLECTING-BOOKS AND CARDS *are now ready*, which the Committee will be happy to forward to their friends in the country, *free of expense*, on application being made to the Secretary, at 27, New Broad Street. The Collecting-Book contains sixteen pages of letter press, giving a condensed view of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, together with other useful information, designed for the use of those friends of the cause who may aid the society in collecting funds for carrying on its various, extensive, and important operations. The Collecting-Book is elegantly printed in royal 32mo, and is very portable, containing, in addition to the letter press, sixteen pages for donations and subscriptions.

THE present number completes the second volume of the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*. With our next we shall give a title-page and index, so arranged on a half-sheet as to be easily detached.

WE have received a copy of a resolution passed at a recent meeting of the committee of the Bristol Auxiliary Anti-slavery Society, which links itself in so gratifying and so useful a manner with the suggestions contained in our last respecting the circulation of the *Reporter*, that we venture to give it publicity. It is as follows:—"That the secretary be directed to address a note to each of the members of this committee, recommending them to take in the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*, and, after having read it, to have it introduced into the public reading rooms of this city."

We cordially thank our Bristol friends for being thus mindful of us; and with no less cordiality recommend their example to imitation.

WE have to acknowledge the sum of £30, transmitted to the treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society by the rev. Joseph Merrick, being the amount of subscriptions received this year from the Baptist churches worshipping at Jericho, Mount Hermon, and Springfield, in the island of Jamaica. The following extracts from the letter of Mr. Merrick will be gratifying to our readers:—

It affords me much pleasure to see the cause of liberty making such rapid progress throughout the world, and I am happy to be able to say that the success of the emancipation scheme in this island has surpassed the expectations of the best friends of liberty.

The estates in this parish are in a prosperous condition, and are for the most part extending their operations. Last year's crop was far superior to the preceding year's; this year's will be much better than the last, and, should the seasons be favourable, it is expected that next year's crop will be an excellent one.

Disagreements between masters and servants have not yet ceased, nor are they likely to cease till both parties learn to do unto others as they would be done by. The planters are loud in their cry for an increase of labourers, and seem to think that they will never get on till every encouragement is given by the government to immigration from Africa; but, while they are so anxious to obtain more labourers, many of them will not pay those that are working for them. I need hardly tell you that the principal reason why the planters are so favourable to immigration is, because they expect by means of it to obtain labour for a trifling consideration. Whether their expectations will be realized remains to be seen. Hoping that abundant success may attend your labours in the righteous cause in which you are engaged, I remain, dear sir, your's truly,

JOSEPH MERRICK.

WE direct attention to an important article from the *Constitutionnel* on the policy of the French government in relation to the question of slavery.

Among the extracts we have made from the West India papers, our readers should notice particularly those on slave-trade in the British West Indies, on the condition of the Portuguese Immigrants into British Guiana, and on the working of the Vagrant Law in Antigua. The notice taken of us in the *Trinidad Standard* we shall duly return in our next.

The article on Dutch slave-trade adds a melancholy interest to what we have already stated concerning the voyage of the *Europa*.

We scarcely need point out the interesting character of the correspondence with Lord Aberdeen, in relation to the Mendians, or of the Narrative of Madison Jefferson, as illustrative of that hyperbole of atrocities, American slavery.

WE have inserted elsewhere, from the *Globe*, an account of the treaty for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade which has just been entered into by the five great European powers; a diplomatic transaction certainly of unusual brilliancy and promise. We give credit to the high contracting parties, and more especially to the government of our own country, for being actuated by the most honourable motives; and we can freely express our gratification that nations, and more especially such influential nations, are at length directing their combined energies to the extermination of so atrocious a crime as the slave-trade. We are restrained, however, from further commendation. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, according to its fundamental principle, contemplates the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade only by moral, religious, and other pacific means; while the new treaty, like all other instruments of the same class, calls into action the cannon and the sword. We can derive no pleasure from the extended application of such methods; but must rather request the friends of abolition to observe that the course of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society stands out in marked distinction from them. They promote the use of none but moral, religious, and other pacific means. As to the probable results of the new treaty, which we are willing to allow may be as productive as any other instrument of its class has been, we shall avail ourselves of the admission of one of our contemporaries—the *Morning Herald*—that it will by no means put an end to the slave-trade. His words are:—

Much, however, as may be accomplished by efficiently-executed treaties, such as that which has been lately concluded—and much, doubtless, can be accomplished—the slave-trade, we *admit*, cannot be destroyed by *them*, even so far as European and American participators in it are concerned. Were every nation under heaven to accept the treaty just signed, and to send cruisers off the coast of Africa, the accursed traffic would still be carried on, though at greater risk and on a smaller scale. The irresistible provocative to the slave-trade is the existence of slavery; and, just as long as slavery is permitted to insult Almighty God, and to degrade humanity, will the slave-trade be among the catalogue of human crimes. The abolition of slavery in Cuba, Brazil, the United States, Texas, and the eastern quarters of the world, is the condition precedent to the destruction of the slave-trade, for so long as unprincipled men have any temptation to buy and sell their fellow-creatures, will they carry off captives to dispose of for slaves, in spite of treaties, cruisers, and courts of mixed commission.

By advices from Malta we find that the steps taken by his Highness the Bashaw Bey of Tunis to effect the extinction of the slave-trade in his dominions have produced a strong sensation along the shores of the Mediterranean. Many persons at Malta and other places being desirous to convey to his Highness an expression of their warm approbation, and to encourage him in that which it remains for him to do, an address has been prepared, which, at the date of our letters, had received numerous influential signatures, and which, it was anticipated, would be presented to him early in January. The address is as follows:—

A testimonial of gratitude to his highness the Bashaw Bey of Tunis, for his philanthropic and most noble resolution to abolish the inhuman and horrible traffic in slaves throughout his extensive and very important African dominions.

We, the undersigned British residents, officers, and merchants of Great Britain and Ireland having heard of your highness's philanthropic and noble intention and resolution to abolish the inhuman traffic in black slaves throughout your territories, and that your highness has, in completion of so solemn and humane a design, actually taken the preliminary steps, by suppressing all the public places or markets for the sale of

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negros;—foreseeing the vast consequences of good to humanity in the regions of northern and central Africa which must inevitably follow from this your highness' conduct, so full of enlightened and princely philanthropy;—recognising, in this spontaneous determination of your highness, a manifest and all-impressive example to the Mohummedan and Christian sovereigns of neighbouring states, inciting them to imitate such an effective effort for the amelioration of the blacks of Africa, a large but most degraded and suffering portion of the human race;—and, remembering the immense sacrifices which our own country has made, and continues to make in blood and treasure, to extinguish the foul crime of trafficking in the souls and bodies of men in every part of the world;—feeling, likewise, that, as in our breasts, your highness' noble philanthropy will excite joy and thankfulness in the minds of our countrymen;—we come forward most anxiously to express our ardent admiration of your highness' anti-slavery measures, and to offer you our most cordial thanks and acknowledgments, wishing you, at the same time, all prosperity in your administration of the important regency of Tunis, as also every happiness in your personal and domestic privacy in this world, and in the life to come a full reward for this great act of mercy to the forlorn and desolate children of Africa.

WE are happy to learn that her Majesty's government have dismissed Mr. Gaspary from the British consulate at Tunis, on account of his having engaged in the slave-trade.

WE have received gratifying information of the recent anti-slavery movements at Aberdeen. On the 1st instant, a public lecture on the present state of the abolition cause throughout the world was delivered at Machray's Hall, by the Rev. J. Kennedy, the room being crowded to excess. On the 16th was held, at Meston's Hall, the annual meeting of the Aberdeen Emancipation Society, the Rev. Dr. Dewar, principal of the University, in the chair. The tone and temper of the proceedings are stated to have been of a most impressive and encouraging character. Want of space alone prevents us from noticing them more at large.

THE slave-factories at Gallinas were destroyed. Immediately on this occurrence, we expressed our conviction that the slave-trade at Gallinas would be renewed. Let our readers now mark the following extract of a letter from Captain Richard Lawrence to the rev. Thomas Dove, dated Sierra Leone, June 4th, 1841, and published in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* for December.

"The Gallinas have been destroyed; but still there have been two cargoes of six hundred and fifty unfortunate slaves shipped from thence since the destruction of that place."

SLAVE-TRADE IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

AN article which startles the West Indian journals from their propriety, and will produce a sensation at home, has appeared in the *Berbice Gazette*, headed *The Slave-trade—its existence in Spain, Portugal, England,* AND THE WEST INDIES. The passages relating to the last are as follows:—

To prove the existence of such an abomination in the British West Indies is, however, a task more onerous and difficult. And the trouble is augmented by a necessary suppression of names, dates, and a minute detail of circumstances, which may appear actually indispensable to the establishment of any given fact. Our readers, consequently, must content themselves with an obscure, if not inexplicable detail of events, positive testimony of the truth of which we are not now at liberty to furnish them.

The events to which we refer occurred in a British colony some few months a-gone; and the party engaged in the transaction then held, and still holds, a rank in society which would lead us to hope for better things from him. The facts are briefly these:—

Some few months since a vessel was fitted up, with the purpose, as was then avowed, of being employed in a lucrative, and, as we supposed, an honourable trade. When all the necessary preparations were completed, she spread her canvass and left the port. To disclose her name—how she rated—what was her former occupation—who was her owner—the name and character of her commander, or her port of destination, would perhaps involve us in difficulties, the consequences of which might prove annoying, if not disastrous. Suffice it then to say, she left the port, and her commander, after an unusual absence, returned without her. The tale he told we will not here repeat; nor need we state the unsolicited pains he took to corroborate its truth.

That the foregoing circumstances are no evidence of the vessel having been designed or fitted for unlawful trade, we readily admit. Previous to her departure, however, a fact was noted tending in some degree to rouse suspicion. In the course of preparation nothing unusual was observed, and it was not until a short time prior to her leaving the harbour that a person visited the vessel, and, to his surprise, discovered that she contained a cargo as singular as it was suspicious. This cargo consisted of a great number of iron machines, and some half dozen brass cannon. These, with the exception of one gun, which was mounted and on deck, were in the hold. Thus laden she left the port. What has become of her is still a question. Whether, thus equipped, she was sold to a foreign slave-dealer, or whether she was wrecked, time perhaps will prove.

Here we must stop; not that evidence is wanting to substantiate what we have said, but that we rather choose to screen ourselves from the onus of now producing it.

Before dismissing the subject, and in order to prevent any misconstruction, we beg to say, that nothing is farther from our intention than to convey the idea that vessels are fitted out for the purpose of transporting slaves into British colonies. Such an assertion would be libellous and false. But that there is a "partial implication in the offence," by affording foreign slave-merchants facilities for carrying on the traffic, we fear is too true.

And we must also take this occasion to disclaim any intention of casting a slur upon the character of our planters or merchants. The contrary: no one will more readily and cheerfully bear witness to their superior intelligence, their indefatigable industry and enterprise, or to their unimpeachable honour and integrity. Our only wish is, if possible, to elicit something from other parties who are cognizant of the affair to which we have alluded, and who, we doubt not, are in possession of facts which as yet we have but an imperfect knowledge of.

To this extract we add the comments of two other papers; the *Guiana Chronicle*, and the *Trinidad Standard*.

With regard to slavery in the West Indies, the author of this article appears to allude, in the most studied and mysterious manner, to some transaction which lies so near his footsteps as to induce him to tread as cautiously as if he feared to raise the coiled snake. What can this be? There is evidently more than meets the eye. Is there a subject in the British colonies occupying a decent position, who would afford foreign slave merchants facilities for carrying on the traffic in the flesh and blood of their fellow-creatures? Although we do remember, some time ago, to have heard of a vessel with manacles on board lying in the harbour of a British colony, it did not particularly arrest our attention at the time: maybe we considered the tale as false, and thought no more of it. This article has, however, recalled the matter to our memory, and we will not lose sight of it, but endeavour to follow the shadow to the grave where the dirt has been thrown over the corruption: if we fail the public shall hear nothing more of it; but, should we succeed, boldly will we stand forward, and, pointing to the avaricious wretch, exclaim—"*thou art the man!*"—*Guiana Chronicle.*

The article in question evidently alludes to facts, or supposed facts which have occurred in British Guiana; but we trust that the editor has been deceived. At all events, the matter must not be allowed to stand as it does; for, with all its uncertainty, the article referred to is poisonous enough to ruin the whole West Indies, should the facts not be inquired into, or the surmises be cleared up. No more mortal wound could be inflicted upon these colonies than to allow the article in question to circulate without heed or comment, and we now demand in the name of this colony that the mystery be cleared up in one way or another. We presume the matter must have come to the knowledge of Mr. Light, and we can scarcely doubt that his Excellency will endeavour to trace the facts to which the *Berbice Gazette* so pointedly, but mysteriously, refers. But, as the subject may have escaped his notice, or have been derided as referring to matters altogether visionary, we shall take the liberty of sending his Excellency our opinion of the matter.—*Trinidad Standard.*

NARRATIVE OF MADISON JEFFERSON, TWENTY-TWO YEARS A SLAVE IN NEW VIRGINIA, U. S.

THE subject of the following narrative, called at the office of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society on Tuesday, the 30th ult., and stated that he was an escaped slave from the United States, and had come over from Canada with a gentleman now residing at Petersfield, from whom he brought a reference, and by whom this statement has been subsequently confirmed. He gives the following touching account of his individual sufferings in slavery, as well as many collateral facts exhibiting the atrocious character of the system in general.

Madison Jefferson was *raised* in New Virginia, on the Ohio, about seven miles from Parkersburgh, on the estate of a man named George Neale a planter, cultivating tobacco, Indian corn, and hemp, and possessing two other farms, on which there were about 250 slaves. He was one of sixteen children, twelve of whom are still in slavery, viz., nine sisters and three brothers, one brother and two sisters having deceased some years. The account he gives of the death of his brother is simple and affecting. He was employed as a swine-herd, and one day during a heavy thunder storm, he took shelter under a tree, a branch of which, riven by the lightning, struck his head; from that day "he took sick," but no one cared for his complaints. Driven forth daily to his appointed tasks at length he died—another victim offered up to the insatiable Moloch of avarice, whose blood crieth out even from the ground against his oppressors.

How pleasing in general are the reminiscences of the days of our youth! How wont are we who have been brought up under the kind and watchful eye of a parent, to exclaim, with reference to that sunny period, "they were the happiest hours of my existence!" It is not so, however, with the little slave. Madison's earliest recollections are embittered by the harsh treatment he received from his mistress when a house-boy, in which occupation he continued from the time he was four years old until about sixteen—at first, he was employed in taking care of the young children, of the women engaged in the field, or otherwise; afterwards in cleaning shoes, knives, carrying wood, and various household duties. The systematic discipline of the children is commenced before they can walk: "they are whipped for crying," says Madison, "to make them subdue." He has frequently been beaten by his mistress because the shoes or knives were not cleaned to her satisfaction, been struck with the tongs and shovel, had his hair pulled out by the roots, his ears pinched till they bled, and been made to sit in a corner and to eat dry bread till almost choked, with various other petty tortures—amongst others he mentions that the children were sometimes obliged to get a basin of water, and scrub each others faces with a corn cob (the cone of the Indian corn after the grain has been removed, which is very rough), till they bled under the infliction. His mother, from Madison's account, appears to have been a pious woman; she attended a Baptist chapel whenever she could get permission, and taught her children to pray to Him who is a "strength to the needy in his distress." Several of the slaves on the estate were in the habit of attending places of worship, and were members of churches; they had a place appropriated for them behind the door, not being allowed to sit with the whites. *Both Madison's master and his son were members of the Methodist church!* Indeed, he adds, that "all the Methodists, even the preachers, are slave-holders, and think no harm of it."

When he was about sixteen years of age, still being employed about the house, he attempted to escape to Canada, and had travelled between three and four days, having reached Zaanesville in Ohio, when, arriving at a creek, he was unable to proceed; some persons coming down in a boat offered to convey him over, but, instead of doing so, they carried him to Parkersburgh, lodged him in gaol, and obtained a reward for his capture. On this occasion he received thirty-nine lashes, and was put in chains for a

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week, being employed in working in the garden and chopping wood during the day, and at night chained to a block in a room by himself. About this time, one of his sisters was sold off to the south: many tears were shed by the mother and by the whole family, but they were obliged to conceal their grief from their oppressors, who, to use Madison's own words, "if they caught them crying, would tell them that they would give them something to cry for." This fear of separation was constantly hanging over families, "we have a dread constantly on our minds," says M. J., "for we don't know how long master may keep us, nor into whose hands we may fall." The dearest ties of kindred are totally disregarded. He has frequently known men sold in one direction, and their wives in another; their social affections and sympathies forming no part in the cold and mercenary calculations of the slave-holder; indeed, these separations, by a refinement of cruelty, are frequently made for punishment.

About twelve months, he thinks, after this event, he made a second attempt to escape, being encouraged to do this by the success which some slaves in a neighbouring estate had met with in getting clear off. This time he had travelled four days, when he was re-captured at a town in Ohio by a number of men in the street, who, suspecting him of being a slave, demanded his pass; not having one, he was put in gaol, and brought back to the estate by his master's son. On his arrival there, the father told him that "it was no use his running away, and that he would make the blood run from his shoulders to his heels." He received fifty lashes, was chained and placed in the dark dungeon nightly for some time, being let out to work during the day. After this he was sent to the field. The hours of labour were from daylight till dark regularly, and, during busy times, they were frequently at work two hours before day. Sunday was generally considered a day of rest, but they were frequently employed during the whole of that day in binding wheat, taking up hemp, stemming obacco, &c. They breakfasted generally at nine o'clock, from half an hour to an hour being allowed, according to the pressure of work—in ordinary times they had a dinner hour and a meal in the evening, but when busy were only allowed two meals, getting an ear of corn or something of that kind in the middle of the day, whilst pursuing their tasks. The provisions consisted of from two to three herrings, with corn bread and milk at times, and during the long summer days they would sometimes get about a quarter of a pound of bacon—on the whole, the allowance was very scanty; frequently, Madison says, "have I cried for hunger after coming from work, and I have seen my brothers and sisters crying round mother for food, and she having none to give them." Not daring to remonstrate against this cruel neglect, he has often been obliged, as opportunity offered, to pilfer to supply his cravings. In the field the slaves worked by tasks under the inspection of black drivers, who were obliged to exact them, under fear of punishment themselves by the white overseer. These tasks bore some proportion to the strength of the party who had to perform them, but the utmost amount of labour was extorted; he states that the strong men could generally perform their portion, but not so the weak men and women, in which case the drivers would whip them, "just as they would a horse in a cart that flinched from his work," with a cow hide or a whip called a "silk cracker." The drivers were allowed to inflict from twenty-five to thirty lashes on the clothes, but, when the latter complained to the overseer that they could not get any slave to do the required work, the latter would have him staked, viz., thrown down on his face with his arms and legs extended to stakes, and in that position he would receive a flogging on the bare back; he has known from 60 to 100 lashes given in the field in this way; or the culprit's hands have been tied together with a rope, which was then thrown over the limb of a tree or over a beam, and he has been pulled up till the toes only just reached the ground, the feet tied together, and a rail or fence thrust between the legs with a weight on it to keep the body at full stretch, and prevent the slightest shrinking of the flesh under the descending blows. Women are frequently staked in the field in the manner above described, or their hands and feet are held by four persons: he has seen pregnant women flogged in this manner, the earth being dug out to prevent their foreparts from receiving injury. Indeed, the women are treated proportionally to their strength with as much severity as the men, and in many respects their sufferings are infinitely greater; on his estate they would receive when punished in the barn, where the severer floggings were given, generally after working-hours, from fifty to sixty lashes, the men from one hundred and fifty to two hundred. At Beaconove Saltwicks, where he was hired out for some time, a man received five hundred lashes, this was for striking his master, whom he fought till he was overpowered—the master and two sons punished this poor wretch successively with the cow hide, which is a strip of raw hide cut the whole length of the ox, and twisted while moist until it tapers to a point; when it has become dry and hard, it has somewhat the appearance of a drayman's whip, but the sharp edges projecting at every turn cut the flesh at every stroke; it is indeed a dreadful instrument of punishment. Another case of severe punishment occurred during the period of his stay at this last named estate—a slave was caught in the act of running away, and on being brought back was whipped severely: he threatened to revenge himself by killing his master, and this having been told the latter, he had him seized whilst in the very act of lying in wait; he was again most severely whipped, and then chained in the coal bank to dig coal, being fed on a small allowance of bread and water; in a week afterwards he was found dead. Another method of punishment is called "bucking:"* the hands are tied together and passed over the knees, and a stick is then passed between the arms and knees, and the poor victim is thus left helplessly to roll about while under the infliction of punishment. On a neighbouring estate, belonging to a person named Lewis, he has seen a man staked with a cat tied on his back, which they whipped to make it bite and scratch the quivering flesh—and sometimes the cat is drawn from the shoulder to the hips. Surely an ingenuity more than human is exhibited here; well may it be said, that, "if the influence of slavery on the minds of the slaves is brutalising, on the minds of the master it is infernalising."

Slavery, as has been before remarked, falls with a peculiar severity on the women. He has known women who were enceinte, employed in plantation labour till within a few hours of their delivery; and in some cases the children have been actually brought forth in the field. Placed too within the grasp of their brutal masters, neither the innocence of youth nor the virtue of womanhood is respected. Madison confirms this by details which will barely bear laying before the public. Marriage never takes place among the slaves—on his estate there was not one married couple—but the connections that were formed were generally faithfully adhered to, except that (as has been before said) they were liable to be broken in upon by the unbridled licentiousness of the masters, overseers, &c.; the proof of which is offered in the fact, that a very considerable portion of the slaves are of the mixed race—the offspring of this illicit intercourse being treated in all respects as the pure blacks. Women who refuse to submit themselves to the brutal desires of their owners, are repeatedly whipt to subdue their virtuous repugnance, and in most instances this hellish practice is but too successful—when it fails, the women are frequently sold off to the south. Madison's young master, albeit a member of the Methodist church, punished a young woman on the estate repeatedly on this account, and at length accomplished his purpose, while she was in a state of insensibility from the effects of a felon blow inflicted by this monster.

It will readily be supposed that, under the infliction of these varied tortures, insurrections sometimes take place, though they are less frequent than might at first be expected; for the slaves, being unarmed and greatly dispirited by the treatment they receive, and having no opportunity of organising any combined effort, are invariably overpowered. Madison relates a rising which took place at some distance from them, in Lowdon County, O. Virginia. The mother of six adult sons was about to be flogged; they with filial feelings resisted this outrage, and were joined by the whole body of the slaves, who, however, were overpowered without bloodshed, which does not indeed appear to have been their object. The six sons were sold off to the south, one of whom, on being told to accompany the soul-driver,* took an axe and cut off his right hand.

About three years elapsed before the subject of our narrative again attempted his escape, and he had now learnt a little more of the direction he was to take; he knew the pole-star well, by keeping which straight before him, he was assured that he would at length reach the British territory. He also was instructed to examine the trees, on the north or weather beaten side of which no moss would be found growing, and by attending to this mark, even when the heavens were overcast with clouds, and his bright cynosure was hid from view, he could still advance towards the land of liberty and hope.

He reached Cleveland, Ohio, when he was betrayed by a mulatto man and woman, lodged in the gaol, and carried back by his young master to the scene of his stripes and toil. On arriving with him at the estate, this latter told him that "he might start again as soon as liked, for he would follow him into hell itself, and bring him back." This young man had obtained the honourable epithet of the "Nigger-hunter, from his success in tracking the poor runaways, and was often requested to undertake the re-capture by neighbouring planters, for which purpose he frequently employed blood-hounds. It may be supposed that Madison's punishment on this occasion was a severe one, he received one hundred and fifty lashes with the cow-hide, and had brine poured upon his back, which was in a very lacerated state; in relating this part of his narrative, he made a touching allusion to the kind offices of an affectionate sister, in ministering to his sufferings. After this infliction, he was placed in the dark dungeon for two days, and then made to walk up and down before the house in chains, with a bell upon his head, which is fixed in the following manner:—a band of iron goes round the waist with upright bands connecting it with the collar, from whence two other upright pieces terminate in a cross bar, to the centre of which, beyond the reach of the wearer, a bell is suspended; this degrading instrument he wore for several days, and was then sent to the field, being locked up and chained nightly for five or, six months, by which time he was supposed to be cured of running away, and had promised on his knees not to repeat the attempt. The love of liberty, however, was not to be subdued by all the harsh treatment he had received; not above twelve months had elapsed from the termination of his punishment, before he once more set out. On a Sunday night, with nothing but the piece of bread which was supplied him for his supper, he took a last look at the scene of all his sufferings, and, praying to God for help, he walked on at a brisk rate till the dawn of the morning warned him to seek the friendly cover of the woods. In this way he travelled between a fortnight and three weeks—hungry and thirsty, he was at times ready to faint—he journeyed in fear and trembling, the sound of a "cracking stick" (to use his own expression) "making him afraid;" he was frequently two and even three days without food, not daring to approach any but the meanest houses, when, with a bridle on his shoulder, which he brought from the estate, he would inquire "if they had seen a horse go that way?" and then beg a morsel of bread and a cup of water, which was rarely refused. "Hope," thus from time to time strengthened, "sustained the head of perseverance till success crowned it." After travelling between a fortnight and three weeks, he began to fall in with abolitionists and Quakers, and now his way by their help and directions was made more easy. A kind friend on one occasion wrote the direction of the road in large roman characters on a piece of paper, telling him when he came to a finger post, to see if the writing on it corresponded therewith, and if so, to follow that route. In five weeks from leaving the estate he reached the boundary, and, not being able to cross, he lay concealed in the woods for two days, when by the kindness of Providence, he met a gentleman who, without asking many questions, suspecting probably how the case stood, offered to pay his fare, and took him to the ferry boat. The ferryman began closely to interrogate him as to his business, &c., but was silenced by Madison's benefactor remarking that, as long as the fare was paid, he had no right to ask any questions. In a few minutes the toilsome pilgrimage of the subject of our narrative was happily consummated, and he stood erect—a freeman upon his broken fetters!

Not long after this joyful event, being in the employ of a Canadian farmer, he met this ferryman, who charged him with being a runaway slave, to which the latter boldly but imprudently replied—"It is true, but I am now a freeman, and you cannot touch me." The other surlily rejoined with an oath—"If I had known it, I would not have brought you over; but we may get you across the lines yet, as many of you have been before." Madison thinks that this man gave information of his being there. An advertisement offering 1500 dollars reward had preceded him to Buffalo—

* This practice obtains also in Brazil.

* The soul-driver is the name given by the negros to the inter-state slave-trader, and is most expressive of his revolting and de-humanising occupation.

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and many, instigated by the sordid love of gain, would have gladly secured him, but he was, mercifully delivered out of their hands.

For two years he was employed by different farmers, from whom he brings testimonials of good conduct; and during this period, by the kindness of a little English boy of twelve years of age, who used to sit up teaching him after work-hours till twelve and one o'clock, and by attending an evening school, he learnt to read tolerably well in the New Testament; and he appears most desirous of improving himself in every way. For a long time after arriving in Canada, he used frequently to dream that he was again in the hands of his master; on awaking in sudden alarm, he has found his pillow wet with tears from the anguish of his mind, and, when returning consciousness convinced him of his safety, his mind would be filled with thankfulness and praise to his great Deliverer—"I don't know what to do, I feel so thankful," is his own simple but expressive language. It is most interesting to hear him speak of these feelings, as well as of the deep and painful anxiety with which he contemplates the sad condition of his mother and family, who still "sigh by reason of the bondage," and whose sufferings will probably be aggravated in revenge for his escape.

The fear of being kidnapped and carried back into slavery, as many of the refugees have been by a set of degraded outcasts who prowl about for that purpose, induced him at length to come to England with the gentleman already alluded to, who treated him with great kindness, and from whom he has excellent testimonials.

He is evidently a young man of considerable intelligence, and ten minutes conversation with him would convince every unprejudiced person of the falsehood of the aspersions thrown upon the African character for intelligence, asif in justification of the foul wrongs that have been heaped upon them. There is a tone, too, about him of simple unaffected piety. "I always thought," he said, "that we slaves should pay more regard to religion than any, because we were bad off in this world, and therefore ought to take care of the world to come." While speaking of some of the ill-treatment which he had received from his master, he was reminded that it was his duty to forgive him. "I do," he replied, "else how could I hope to be forgiven," and added, "I would be glad to see him here; and I would work for him for wages, as well as for any body else." What a paradise would this world be, if all its inhabitants possessed the spirit of this poor negro!

R. J. R.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION WICKEDNESS AGAIN.

THE latest development of the American colonization spirit is also the most perfect. It appears from the *Maryland Colonization Journal*, edited by James Hall, general agent of the state society, that the resolution to which we adverted some months since—a resolution intended to give all people of colour "notice to quit," has produced the irritation requisite for giving a pretext to republican tyrants to resort to forcible expulsion. The following is an extract:—

"We publish to-day an account taken from the Cincinnati papers of the recent riot there, in which the whites and the coloured people were the antagonists. We do this in kindness, and because we think it criminal to conceal those facts which, as they occur, go to prove the vanity and utter futility of the hope that the white and coloured people of the United States can live together in peace and comfort under existing circumstances. Most deeply do we deplore the occurrences in Cincinnati. They are disgraceful to that city. They are a stigma upon our free institutions. Most willingly would we have closed our eyes to them, or drawn a veil over them that would have concealed them for ever. But, unjustifiable and disgraceful as they were, they were warnings too solemn to be disregarded. The outrage was the result of a feeling which exists, to control which the law was in this instance powerless, and which, though producing acts of violence and oppression, is nevertheless an agent whose presence must be recognized and considered in looking upon the situation of the country, and the two classes of population by which it is occupied. We have seen how the third resolution of the June convention has been abused by the abolitionists. And for what? For saying to the free people of colour, 'That, in the opinion of this convention, the day must arrive, when circumstances that cannot then be controlled, and which are now maturing, will deprive them of the freedom of choice, and leave them no alternative but removal.' And did not the convention, in the warning which they then gave, speak the words of the purest prophecy, as illustrated by the events in Cincinnati? And did they not do their duty in speaking them?

"We know that our paper finds its way into the hands of the free people of colour, and we therefore, in the most emphatic manner, urge upon them to take the warning of the third resolution to heart—to watch events as they occur so as to test its truth, and to act accordingly. If they do so, they will become as well assured as we are that this country is but the temporary home of their race."

It seems thet the truly christian advice of the *Maryland Journal*, aided by more violent means, is telling upon the minds of the coloured people of Cincinnati: for the *New York Sun*, a daily paper widely circulated and much patronized in the United States, places before its readers the following gratifying information:—

"A GOOD RESULT.—It is stated in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, that, in consequence of the recent terrible riots in that city, a number of the oldest and most respectable of the coloured people—those who have property and are of good and peaceable habits—are making arrangements to dispose of their effects, and remove to Liberia. That is the best thing they can do. We have long been satisfied that the free blacks should seek a residence in Africa. That is misdirected philanthropy which would induce their stay in this country."

The policy of goading people into insubordination, and then shipping them off to distant settlements, is a very common trick of tyranny. Nothing like smoking the hive to get rid of the bees, especially if we do so under the pretence that they will enjoy themselves much more in some other locality. This is the height of benevolence—to make people very miserable in order that they may consent to be made more happy. In America this species of loving-kindness displays itself in savage resolutions, meant to prick on free people of colour to riot, and then in newspaper articles founded upon the events which follow, urging the impossiblity of an amalgamation of the two classes.—*Non-conformist.*

WEST INDIES.

BRITISH EMIGRANTS IN JAMAICA.—A correspondent of the *Baptist Herald* thus writes:—On Tuesday no less than twenty-four poor emigrants came to Kingston from Hermitage Estate, St. Georges, the property of Dr. Spalding. They were in the most wretched state of destitution, almost all barefoot, and without a farthing to obtain food. The sitting magistrates kindly gave them an order on the city funds for £12., to support themselves until the magistrates had inquired into their case, such examination having been ordered by his honour the attorney-general. This order however was refused payment by the treasurer, and the poor wretches would have been without food, had not Daniel Hart, Esq., with his wonted humanity and kindness, offered to cash the order. The tale of their sufferings is heart-reading, they appear to have been nearly starved, and the poor woman had lost her toe from the chigres which infested the coffee-house in which they had been obliged to dwell, not having cottages to live in. Their object is to obtain a cancelling of their indentures.

THE STATE OF CRIME in this island may be judged of by the table printed below. The population of the parish of St. Elizabeth exceeds 20,000.

Convictions at the courts of quarter sessions for the parish of St. Elizabeth, from the 1st of September, 1838, to the same date in 1839, 1840, 1841, respectively:—

OFFENCES COMMITTED.	1838–39	1839–40	1840–41
Larceny	16	19	22
Embezzlement	none	none	1
Obtaining goods under false pretences	none	none	none
Assaults with intent	none	none	none
Ditto aggravated	none	1	none
Ditto on magistrates	none	none	none
Ditto common	8	6	6
Ditto and riot	none	none	none
Contempt of magistrate	1	none	none
Escape from prison	none	none	4
Total in each year	25	26	33

DOMINICA.—ESCAPE OF SLAVES FROM MARTINIQUE.—Eleven men arrived here on Tuesday morning last from Martinique, in an open canoe. This will be another accession to the number delivered from the yoke of our *man-enslaving* neighbours. May all similar attempts on the part of the enslaved population of that island be successful, until the glorious sun of unconditional freedom to the sons and daughters of Africa, there held in bondage, shall have arisen, and burst forth with bright effulgence upon their now morally polluted land!—*Dominican, October 6.*

SIXTEEN MORE FUGITIVE SLAVES from Martinique have arrived in Dominica; being the second batch in one week, and the two amounting to twenty-seven.—*Dominican*

ANTIGUA:—THE VAGRANT LAW. In the house of assembly on the 7th ultimo, Dr. Ferguson made the following exposé of the working of the Vagrant Law:—

"It had frequently struck him, that many persons are sent to the House of Correction improperly, and without deserving such punishment—he alluded to those who are labouring under severe sickness, and incapacitated by the bad state of their health from work—these individuals are taken up as vagrants, sent to the House of Correction, where in a short time after they die. He did not think that any blame can be attached to the magistrates; they are compelled by the law, as it now exists, to commit all such as are proved vagrants (that is, all those without the visible means of support), and it is out of their power to set aside the law in such cases; the law ought therefore to be amended, and these improprieties regulated. He was led to make these observations from a circumstance of very recent occurrence—a poor woman without means, emaciated by disease, and so broken in constitution as to be prevented from working, was taken up at English Harbour, and, under the Vagrant Act, sent to the House of Correction, where she died soon after; he had been at some pains and trouble to procure all possible information respecting this case; and he laid before the house a copy of a note from the superintendent of police, which had been the result of a communication on the subject. By this note it appears, that the poor woman was entirely unable to work, she was almost in a state of starvation, and her only subsistence arose out of the charity of some few individuals. In such circumstances, and so situated, she fell under the restrictions of the Vagrant Act, and the justices before whom she was brought were compelled to commit her (in spite of her disease) to the House of Correction: thus her only crime was sickness; nevertheless her punishment was similar to that of a confirmed vagrant. The law ought to be amended—had such an occurrence taken place in town, he is assured that a proper place and suitable accommodation, would have been procured for the poor creature by the excellent rector (whose indefatigable zeal deserves admiration); but is it in town only that help can be had? Are there not authorities in the other parishes placed there to afford assistance? Again, when the woman was sent to the House of Correction, the medical practitioner there ought at once to have seen the impropriety of admitting an individual in her situation: and yet the magistrates are blameless: but, nevertheless, the laws should be so framed as to remove the shadow of blame or responsibility from their shoulders." In order that accurate information should be procured, he would therefore move that his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be requested to order, for their inspection, the warrant of commitment, under which the woman was committed, together with the copies of the evidence on the case, and the result of the inquestorial examination of her body."

TRINIDAD.—The plan of discontinuing allowances has now extended to every district in the colony in which shops for supplying the labourers have been opened. The want of the latter in one or two neighbourhoods has, however, compelled the planters to continue the old system for the moment. A good moral effect has already been produced among the labourers by the change, in their care and preparation for each ensuing week. On some estates the labourers have had the option of continuing or not upon the old system, and part of them only have chosen the money-

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wages without allowances; but in all these cases the number of the latter have increased daily. At a meeting of the Agricultural and Immigration Society, held on the second Monday in September, the following resolution was passed—"That this Society views with entire approbation the general adoption of the principle of paying for all descriptions of agricultural labour exclusively in money; and they are of opinion that it is likewise desirable to introduce, as early as possible, the custom of renting at a fair and reasonable monthly charge, and recommend the measure to favourable consideration and adoption by the owners, lessees, and managers of plantations in this colony."—*Trinidad Standard.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—VALUE OF THE IMMIGRANTS.—The *Guiana Reformer* says, that, from the immigrants into that colony there has been "reaped not the slightest public benefit, but, on the contrary, much disease, misery, and oppression," and that, "out of 1352 immigrants (arrived in one month), 819 are *useless* Madeira immigrants, and 242 island wanderers." It adds, "truth compels us to confess, that, excepting the few from Sierra Leone and Brazil, the rest of the immigrants are not agricultural labourers; or will not, at all events remain any length of time at agricultural labour: but, after amassing a few dollars, devote their attention exclusively to peddling to the manifest injury of the poorer classes of our native creoles. In attestation of this fact, the mercantile advertisements in the newspapers omit not to call the attention of these pedlars to articles suitable to the wandering profession of petty hucksters.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

"The voice of thy brother's blood crieth from the ground."

Attend, ye planters in the southern states of the American Union! Out of your own mouths ye shall have your condemnation. By your own confession you stand convicted of that which has the "primal, eldest curse upon it—*a brother's murder!*" The proof is that which you dare not contravene.

By the official report, just published by the American government, of the census of the people of the United States of America for the year 1840, it appears that of the free persons, white and coloured, one in thirteen attains the age of fifty-five years and upwards, whereas not one in twenty-four of the slave population attains that age; clearly showing that, in a country of which the climate is more favourable to the black than to the white man, slavery cuts off prematurely one-half of those who would, according to the course of nature, reach anything approaching to a lengthened period in human life. Go to the graves of thy victims, thou Lynch Law, thou Bowie Knife-man! thou AMERICAN PLANTER! and there meditate on the blessings of American Liberty.—SPARTACUS.

"THE ROBBERY OF THE WICKED SHALL DESTROY THEM."—[From a pamphlet entitled *Slavery of the United States to sinful and foolish customs* By Charles Simmons.]—There are at least 2,488,000 slaves in the United States, half of whom I will suppose to be saleable as labourers, and would cost purchasers upon an average 600 dollars each. If the whole are worth 300 dollars each (the usual estimate), leaving out half will bring the others to 600 dollars each. In some employments slaves are said to be so driven as to be "used up" in six or seven years. But I will suppose their working age averages twenty years. In the purchase of 62,200 annual recruits to keep the number the same, is therefore expended 37,320,000 dollars. I will suppose there is an average of one overseer to sixty slaves, making the number of 41,466 overseers, for 2,488,000 slaves. If the salary and board of these should average no more than 400 dollars a year, it would cost 16,586,000 dollars. The cost of the under drivers I will offset against the cost of overseeing free labourers. I will suppose the other expenses of slave watching, catching, and holding the loss on runaways, on those who die by violence, and for recruiting and sustaining the paraphernalia of slavery, not included in the above estimate, to be equal to the expense for overseeing—16,586,400 dollars.

If no more than one in ten of the 1,244,000 slaves who are supposed to be "merchantable" should be crushed annually under the horrid system, and be cut off from no more than ten years upon an average, and if we suppose this time to be worth no more than 25 cents each working day, or 78 dollars a year, it amounts to a pecuniary loss of over 97,000,000 dollars annually. But it is quite possible that this estimate of one in ten is too low by half; for we can scarcely conceive any thing more crushing to both body and mind than slavery, with its shocking cruelties.

62,200 recruits at 600 dollars each.	37,320,000	dollars
41,466 overseers, cost 400 dollars each	16,586,400	,,
By 124,400 premature deaths	97,032,000	,,
Other expenses	16,586,400	,,
	167,524,800	dollars

Massachusetts has 300,000,000 dollars in taxable estate, which I will multiply by 21, and suppose the product (six thousand and three hundred million dollars) to be equal to the taxable capital of the United States. If we suppose that four thousand million of this is real estate, and that only one-third of this is under the curse of slavery, we have 1,333,333,333 dollars of real estate, either owned by slave-holders or intimately connected with slavery. If emancipation should take place on right principles, there can be no reason to doubt that there would be a great rise on this real estate. If it should rise on an average only 15 per cent., we have the gain of about 200,000,000 dollars. According to these estimates, we have the annual loss of over 167,524,800 dollars by slavery, and might gain 200,000,000 more in the rise of real estate. If this 200,000,000 dollars should be awarded the slaves towards compensation, it would be over 80 dollars each for man, woman, and child.

The impoverishing, evil tendency and effects of slavery are to be seen in the wide-spread bankruptcy, the diminished value of estates, the worn out plantations, the prostration of the currencies, the miserable state of society, and other evils which are now severely experienced in slave States, and others, according to the nature and extent of their governmental and commercial connexions with them. It is said the slave states of this nation are now indebted to the people of the state of New York alone about 100,000,000 dollars—a large majority of which will probably remain for ever unpaid. Verily, "the robbery of the wicked shall destroy them."

CRUELTY OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.—The following is from the *New Orleans Bee*, of October 7th, 1841.

Cruel treatment of an infant slave.—Josephine Bonne, f. w. c., was brought yesterday before Recorder Bertus, charged with having cruelly treated her slave, Mary. His honour went into a minute investigation of the circumstances attending this complaint, and, assisted by Dr. Valetti, made a personal examination of the child. Her body was most shamefully abused, being covered with severe stripes and boils of clotted blood from head to foot, evidently showing a most outrageous mal-treatment on the part of her mistress. The case being thus clearly proved, his honour remanded the prisoner for trial before the criminal court, and fixed the amount of bail at 500 dollars.

[Will she be punished? We doubt it, when we see in the respectable papers of New Orleans, such advertisements as the following:—

From the *New Orleans Picayune*, September 30.

FIVE DOLLARS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, on Thursday last, the 14th inst., the coloured boy, George, aged about 26 years; had on when he left a pair of blue cottonade pantaloons, and white shirt; very dark complexion, a *yoke round his neck, with no horns, and a scar on his forehead.* Any person that will lodge him in any of the city gnols, or deliver him at my residence at the corner of Prytanea and Uranin-streets, will receive the above reward. Captains of vessels and steam-boats are cautioned against harbouring the said slave, under the severest penalty of the law.

BRIDGE PHILLIPS, corner of Prytanea and Uranin-streets.

From the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, September 30.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscribers, on the 15th of last month, the negro man, Charles, about 45 years of age, five feet six inches high; red complexion, has had the *upper lid of his right eye torn, and a scar on his forehead*; speaks English only, and stutters when spoken to; had on when he left *an iron collar, the prongs of which he broke off before absconding.* The above reward will be paid for the arrest of said slave.

W. E. and R. MURPHY, 132, Old Raisin.

From the *New Orleans Bee*, October 5.

Ran away from the residence of Messrs. F. Duncom and Co., the negro, Francois, aged from 25 to 30 years, about five feet one inch in height: the *upper front teeth are missing*; he had *chains on both of his legs*; dressed with a kind of blouse made of sack-cloth. A proportionate reward will be given to whoever will bring him back to the bakery, No. 74, Bourbon-street.

INDIA.—SALE OF FEMALE CHILDREN FOR PROSTITUTION.—(From the *Calcutta Courier.*)—We have more than once adverted to a custom indulged in to an extent but little imagined in this city, at which humanity shudders. The custom to which we refer is the sale of female children for the vilest purposes. This practice is, we learn, not a whit abated; nay, we fear, on the contrary, that it is rather on the increase. It is a well known fact, that female children are disposed of for pecuniary considerations to the procuress of the public stews of Calcutta; and that these poor wretches, after having served the purposes of their depraved purchasers, are cast helpless and discarded to seek, either a mere existence or a premature grave, in the lowest haunts of vice. Nor, from what has recently come to our notice, is this practice wholly confined to strictly native children; but even some who have a still stronger claim on our sympathy have been and are made the subjects of shameful barter in this city. Christian youth have been so disposed of.

A SECOND AMISTAD.—Captain J. R. Crosbie, brig *Elizabeth Wood*, from Nassau, New Providence, sailed 26th November, reports that the brig *Creole*, of Richmond, Virginia, bound to New Orleans, arrived at Nassau on the 9th November, with about 150 negro slaves on board, in a mutinous state. They had taken possession of the vessel, and demanded that they should be landed at a British colony, having wounded and disabled the captain (Orkin) and mate of the *Creole*, and abused and disabled several of the crew. They murdered a Mr. Howell, part owner of the slaves, who was a passenger on board, by severing his head from his body, and afterwards throwing his remains overboard. They compelled a shipmaster who was on board as passenger, to steer the brig to Nassau, where he made the above report. Several of the ringleaders were put in prison, and the rest suffered to go at liberty. It was reported that the American consul protested against their being allowed to land, but without effect. The *Creole* had sailed again for New Orleans, in charge of the mate.—*Morning Chronicle.*

SLAVE-TRADE.—It is stated in the *Constitutionnel*, that a firman has been obtained from the Sultan by the British ambassador at Constantinople, forbidding the exportation of slaves from Tripoli to the Levant.

ARABIAN SLAVE-TRADE.—The *Bombay Times* has received intelligence, that 3000 African slaves had been lately imported into Arabia from Zanzibar, and that 600 Abyssinian christian slaves had also been brought to the slave-market.

ESCAPE OF FRENCH SLAVES.—A correspondent of the *Antigua Herald* states that, "French slaves from Guadeloupe are arriving almost every day in open boats:" and that "the same thing happens with the slaves from the Danish islands, and St. Bartholomew," a Swedish island. He adds that a French schooner of war had arrived, the officer of which had instituted proceedings in the tribunal of police, to effect the reduction to slavery of one of these new freemen. The decision had not transpired.

A CONVENTION FOR THE TOTAL SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE has been agreed upon by Captain Tucker, of her Majesty's ship *Iris*, and king Pepple and the chiefs of the Bonny dominions. The terms are that Great Britain shall pay to king Pepple 10,000 dollars per annum for five years; that a certificate from the merchants frequenting the Bonny, to the fact of non-slave-trading, shall be furnished annually; that in default the slave-trade shall be put down by force; that king Pepple shall issue a prohibiting proclamation; and that, if Great Britain should carry on slave-trade again, king Pepple and his chiefs may do the same.

VERY UNKIND!—The 131 emigrants from Sierra Leone for Jamaica, who put into Bridgetown, Barbados, in the leaky brig *Gipsey*, will not go on to Jamaica, having been persuaded by some sharp practitioners to prefer Demerara.

P.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY

REPORTER.

VOL III. 1842.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

LONDON:

KRAUS REPRINT
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1969

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Reprinted by permission of
The Anti-Slavery Society, London

KRAUS REPRINT

A Division of
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1969

Printed in Germany
Lessing-Druckerei, Wiesbaden

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER:

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LIV. Vol. III. No. 1.] WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12 th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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OUR PROCEEDINGS AND PROSPECTS.

The commencement of another year (and, with it, of another volume of this journal) affords us a suitable opportunity of reviewing the course of anti-slavery exertion, and of exhibiting in a few words, both an epitome of what has been done, and an indication of the progress which has been made. We are the rather induced to do this, because it is desirable that our friends should know how far the organization and machinery which they are called upon, at some cost to sustain, are worthy of their support, and conducive to their end.

We proceed, then, to notice the principal matters to which the efforts of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee have been directed during the past year. And first, of those which relate more directly to Great Britain.

At the commencement of the year, the attention of the Committee had been already fixed on those mining associations in Cuba and Brazil (consisting almost exclusively of a British proprietary) which hold extensive property in slaves. Much consideration was given to the question whether, under the consolidated slave-trade act of 1824, the parties thus implicated in illegal transactions could be successfully prosecuted; but it was ultimately deemed more advisable to draw the attention of the imperial legislature to the subject. Lord Brougham, accordingly, at the request of the Committee, brought the subject forward in the upper house on the 5th of October, in a speech of great clearness and power, setting forth his decided opinion of the illegality of the transactions in question. The speech of the noble and learned lord is known to have produced a powerful impression, not only on the house generally, but on several of her majesty's ministers in particular; and, although the government have as yet expressed no opinion on the subject, there is reason to believe that, if the present law shall be found inadequate to prevent the purchase and holding of slaves by British subjects, an extension of it may be obtained.

As closely connected with this topic, we may next mention that, in the course of the past year, the Committee have taken an important and influential step in relation to the numerous other ways in which British subjects and British capital are, more or less directly, engaged in the slave-trade. Evidence of this fact having largely accumulated on them, on the 20th September, they presented a petition to both houses of parliament, containing allegations which were admitted on all hands to be of the gravest nature and to deserve, if indeed they could be substantiated, the parliamentary inquiry which the petitioners prayed for. The Committee have only to wish—and they will persevere in entreating—that they may be taken at their word.

Much of the attention of the Committee has been directed during the past year to the condition of British India, and the extensive prevalence of slavery there. In order to ascertain the truth on a matter so tenaciously disputed, and to diffuse authentic information on a matter so little understood, a pamphlet,* was prepared under their direction, from a full investigation of the parliamentary papers; and they are happy to know that the wide circulation of this well-digested tract, has gone far towards preparing the public for practical and decisive exertion. In the course of the year they presented on this subject likewise a petition to both houses of parliament, and they concerted measures with their friend and fellow-worker, Dr. Lushington, for the introduction by him of a legislative measure. Disappointed in this design however, by the tardy production of necessary papers, and the abrupt dissolution of parliament, they have been doing every thing, as they hope, to prepare for an effective movement in the ensuing session. The Committee have, by deputation, pressed the subject on the attention of both the premier and the present governor-general of India. In this connexion it may be stated also, that the continuance of slavery in Ceylon, Malacca, Penang, and Wellesley, dependencies of the British crown in the east, was brought by the Committee, both by memorial and by deputation, under the notice of Lord John Russell and Sir J. C. Hobhouse, during the existence of the late administration, with much probability of a beneficial result.

In the West Indies, while the Committee have had to rejoice over the immense and continually multiplying benefits of freedom to the emancipated classes, and the unequivocal evidence that the agricultural prosperity of these colonies, by whatever other causes it may have been temporarily affected, has not been injured by the measure of emancipation, they have also found work to do. The course pursued by the legislative bodies in the British West Indies has been anything but satisfactory. Attention has been perpetually required to the partial and oppressive character of the enactments adopted; and the recent legislation in the island of Jamaica, in particular, has been so extremely faulty, that the Committee have directed a special memorial upon it to be prepared, which is now in readiness to be submitted to Lord Stanley.

More particularly, however, has the watchfulness of the Committee been exercised by the restless and reckless eagerness with which the West Indians have been pushing their schemes of immigration. They took an active part in endeavours to warn their fellow-countrymen against the delusive representations by which too many, after all, were reduced to misery and death in Jamaica; and they have some satisfaction in knowing that the emigration of Europeans to the West Indies is now condemned, even by those who have most zealously promoted it. They have watched with much anxiety the progress of the experiment which has been commenced within the past year, of encouraging the emigration of Africans from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, and they presented to Lord John Russell, then colonial minister, a memorial on the abuses to which it is liable. Their eye is also steadily fixed on the project, which is pursued with unwearying assiduity, of establishing a system of emigration to the same quarter from the coast of Africa generally—a measure which, although called emigration, they cannot but consider identical with the slave-trade.

In turning to foreign countries, the Committee first advert to the United States, in which, without any agency of theirs (for the visit of Mr. Sturge, which, it is gratifying to say, was an eminently successful one, was private, and not official), but with their hearty good wishes, they are happy to know that the cause of abolition is making rapid progress. The only matter in which they have found opportunity to adopt any proceedings connecting them with the republic relates to the Mendians captured in the *Amistad*, whose return to their native land they have had the pleasure of facilitating by communications with her Majesty's secretary for foreign affairs. The Committee are bound gratefully to acknowledge the handsome manner in which Lord Aberdeen has received and acted on their communications.

Next to the United States, the eyes of the Committee rest anxiously on France. They have in various ways rendered what encouragement they might to their estimable fellow-labourers in

* Slavery and the Slave-trade in British India.

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that kingdom; and, although the progress of the question there may be momentarily obstructed, it is satisfactory to be assured that, by circumstances which cannot be controlled, the measure of emancipation must press itself irresistibly forward.

In Holland the Committee have continued to sow their seed, and they are cheered with the prospect of a speedy harvest. During a recent journey undertaken in that country by Messrs. Alexander and Scoble, public opinion on the general question of immediate and unconditional emancipation was found to have made very satisfactory progress; and there is no reason to think that the more difficult points involved in the choice of a practical measure will not shortly be overcome.

At the commencement of the year Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen were in Spain, for the awakening of anti-slavery sentiment in that ancient monarchy. The immediate and subsequent effects of their journey are of considerable promise, and highly adapted to combine with the proceedings of the British government, which has demanded the release of all slaves introduced into the Spanish colonies in violation of the treaty of 1817. It may be expected that the abolition of slavery will be introduced into the Cortes by an influential member of that body. To this it is gratifying to add, that the sensation which has been produced in Spain has extended itself to Cuba, where movements of the highest importance have originated. To save slavery, a strong demonstration has been made in that island in favour of the actual suppression of the slave-trade; and an impression exists that slavery itself cannot long be preserved. One of our French opponents has epigrammatically, but justly said, that "Cuba is not an island, but a system;" and movements there cannot but exert an extensive influence.

Scarcely less important than Cuba is Brazil. On the slavery and slave-trade of this empire, of which so little has been hitherto known, important light has been thrown by Mr. Pilkington, who spent several months as a traveller in it, and whose letters in the *Reporter* are of the deepest interest. Many thousands of anti-slavery tracts were prepared by him at Rio de Janeiro, and put into circulation. Here also active elements are permanently at work, and a few enlightened and patriotic individuals are becoming the parents of an enlightened and influential public opinion.

We close this review with referring to the Levant, where the efforts directed against the Greek, the Turkish, and the Moorish slave-trade, have not been fruitless. In particular a most praiseworthy example has been set by the Bey of Tunis, in taking measures for the immediate suppression of the slave-trade—it may be hoped, for the ultimate abolition of slavery—within his dominions.

On the whole it may safely be said, that the Committee have not been either inactive or unsuccessful. How full of work their hands are made by the proper execution of such proceedings as these we have briefly referred to can be known only to themselves; but they trust enough has been made apparent to satisfy their friends that they are at all events a working body, and not undeserving of the support they ask for. As to their success, if, in relation to the vastness of their object, it were to be reckoned much smaller than they consider it, it would be enough to show that they have not laboured in vain. It is therefore enough to encourage them to persevere. It is the more encouraging, because whatever success they have is solid and permanent. It is progress in a way in which the only movement is onward, and in which there can be no retrogression. It is progress tending always to an acceleration of its own pace, and furnishing a constant exemplification of the familiar phrase—*vires acquirit eundo*. It is progress in the diffusion of knowledge which will never be forgotten, and in the kindling of just and benevolent sentiment which will never be extinguished. It is progress in engaging willing coadjutors, not reluctant ones; and towards an end which is sure to arrive. The world cannot be going *backwards* in such a cause; nor in such a cause can the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee be deserted by its friends.

HOLLAND: ANTI-SLAVERY DISCUSSION.

WE regard the insertion of three articles on the liberation of the slaves in America in the *Handelsblad*, a newspaper published at Amsterdam, as a circumstance in no small degree favourable to the great cause of emancipation. We write this advisedly, notwithstanding the object of the remarks contained in these papers is to paint in dark colours the conduct of our countrymen or countrywomen who are seeking the abolition of slavery, and the actual results of freedom in the British colonies.

Truth does not fear investigation, but injustice and wickedness cannot bear this test. We therefore rejoice in the opportunity afforded us of advocating the one, and endeavouring to expose the deformity of that hideous system which is only endured by civilized people, because it has hitherto been too much hidden from their view.

Before making any observations of our own on the various topics noticed in the *Handelsblad*, we shall insert remarks contained in a letter from Holland, and written by one "who feels a very lively interest in every thing which concerns those multitudes of human beings, who are still held in ignorance and bondage."

"The *Handlesblad*, in which the three articles on slavery alluded to have appeared, has a great circulation, and exercises a good deal of influence, especially on the mercantile classes. You will, however, observe, that, although some ability has been shown in writing these articles, which (though from another hand) being placed at the head of the paper, are evidently in unison with the sentiments of the Editor, they have many very weak points, of which a triumphant refutation will be no very difficult matter. In the first place, the writer complains of the efforts making by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the emancipation of the slaves in the Dutch West India colonies, and boldly asserts, that neither this nor any other society, had any effect in procuring the emancipation in the British colonies, but that this result was solely owing to the £20,000,000 sterling paid to the planters by the government, to which the whole nation was obliged to contribute. Here are already remarkable discrepancies. It was just exactly such societies as that alluded to which fixed the attention of the British people, first upon the horrors of the slave-trade, and after procuring its abolition, directed all their energies to convince their countrymen of the great sin of keeping such multitudes of their fellow-creatures in a state of ignominious bondage, with all its attendant evils. When the opinion became universally prevalent throughout Great Britain that slave-holding was a crime, and that it led to consequences shocking to contemplate; when nearly the whole press became unanimous in the cause of emancipation, then it was a comparatively easy task for the government to obtain from the representatives of the people in parliament a grant of twenty million pounds sterling to indemnify the planters, as it was plain that the people of England were perfectly satisfied to make a sacrifice in order to obtain the liberation of their injured fellow-creatures in the colonies. Thus the supposed distinction between the British government and people is proved in this case to be totally without foundation, as the government only complied with the wishes of the people in emancipating the slaves.

"From the circumstance of the sum paid by the nation to the planters as the price of their slaves, the writer of the articles in question immediately concludes that the slaves were looked upon by the British government and people as the rightful property of their owners, and draws his deductions accordingly. Now I should think the thing will be to prove, that in emancipating the slaves, the opinion was prevalent in Great Britain that no man ought to be held in bondage by another against his will, and that the planters were, therefore, bound to release their slaves under any circumstances; but that as it was impossible to foresee exactly what effect emancipation would have upon the colonies, and if the experiment failed, nearly the whole damage would have to be borne by the planters, it was fair that these should be indemnified in some degree for the loss that might accrue to them from the proposed change.

"As slave-holding is now felony in the British West Indies, of course every slave who arrives on British ground is free; and if the English authorities restored such persons, they would be guilty of what is now declared a crime by the British government, viz., of assisting in maintaining the system of holding property in slaves. But of course this reasoning applies only to slaves when they reach the British territory, and not to any other kind of property. If the British authorities were to act upon the advice of the writer of the articles alluded to, and to pay the value to the masters of those slaves who sought an asylum on British territory, what would prevent the planters of Surinam from emancipating in this manner all their slaves, if they liked, at the expense of the British government! And besides, would there not be a risk, that some of the planters would get free negros of Surinam to personate runaway slaves in the British possessions, and then divide with them the sum obtained for their supposed emancipation!

"Another very erroneous idea of the writer of the articles alluded to, is his confounding the Anti-slavery Society with the British government. Now the fact is, that these societies at present stand very nearly in the same relation to the Dutch people as they did to the British before emancipation. The end of these societies is the same in Holland now as it was in England then, viz., to procure the emancipation of the slaves in the Dutch colonies, on the plea that holding our fellow-creatures in slavery, which, besides the other horrors inseparable from it, almost entirely prevents their enjoying religious instruction, is contrary to the principles of justice and humanity. The societies alluded to never interfered with the compensation allowed by England for the slaves, but left this as a question to be settled between the government and the planters, and as such these societies would likewise desire to leave it in the Netherlands. Nothing can be therefore more unreasonable than the remark of the writer of the articles in question, that, in order to prove themselves sincere, the Anti-slavery Society should pay to the Dutch planters, out of their own funds, the value of the runaway slaves, a thing with which the said society has never had anything to do.

"To reply to the third article, of course, a good deal of statistical information is necessary; but surely nothing can be more ridiculous than the notion expressed by the writer, that the negros are not fit for christianity, because as slaves it makes them wish for their freedom from an oppressive yoke. Must not the first principles of christianity teach them that slavery and its horrors are totally incompatible with the mild spirit of the gospel! When they hear or read of 'loosing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free,' must they not feel that they are unjustly held in bondage, and that they have a right to obtain their liberty if they can! For what have they done to forfeit their freedom! Or did they ever consent to be enslaved! But

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the writer of these articles is right in saying that *slaves* are not fit for having the gospel preached to them. And why! Not because they are naturally worse than other men, nor because they are negros—but because they are in an artificially degraded state—because they are *slaves*. And this is exactly one of the strongest reasons for emancipating them. The idea of the slaves acting dishonestly to their masters in running away from the yoke laid upon them, because they thereby *steal themselves*, being their own value, from the planters, and that this, therefore, amounts to a positive theft on the part of the poor slaves, is exceedingly foolish, and may be an excellent weapon in an able hand like your own, to cover the author of these articles with ridicule."

We proceed to copy the introductory remarks in the *Handelsblad*, in which we perceive much ground for satisfaction, but regret that the expectation to which the last paragraph might give rise has not been fulfilled with greater fidelity and impartiality.

"The question of emancipating of the slaves in our West Indian possessions appears to revive in the Netherlands. Mr. J. de Neufville Az, advocate, has published a pamphlet, entitled, *The Emancipation of the Slaves examined in its results, and applied to the Netherland Colonies*, has treated the subject with zeal, and has taken Mr. J. J. Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies* as the foundation of his examination. Mr. Van Ouwerkerk de Fries, the estimable veteran in whatever relates to sound views of our commercial principles, has since published a small work in which he treats of the religious instruction of our negro slaves, and views the prosperity of our colony, Surinam, as in great danger. The periodical review, *De Friend des Faderlands*, has also, in the 10th and 11th numbers of this year, a pretty long article on this subject. We approve of all this, and we also feel ourselves roused to publish a few words on this not unimportant subject, in order that the matter in question may be viewed in its different points, accompanied with more complete information."

The writer proceeds to say, that he cannot contemplate with equal satisfaction the conduct of "Mrs. Fry, and some of her countrymen who, we are informed, travel through our large cities to deliver lectures, whereof the object is, the abolition of slavery in our colonies we approve still less a certain British and Foreign Society distributing with a lavish hand a small blue book in our fatherland." We shall do no injustice to this subject in saying but few words upon it. As men and christians we believe ourselves bound, so far as our influence may extend, to seek the abolition of a system which is a disgrace to our common humanity, and the sacred religion we profess. We feel this conduct to be peculiarly incumbent upon us, because, in the long struggle for the abolition of slavery in our West Indian colonies, we have become better acquainted with its essential character than the people of other lands in which the subject has not had equal attention, and justice to the slave demands that we should proclaim to the world that which we know of the unutterable horrors of the prison-house. We regard this the more as an imperative duty, because, notwithstanding any false charges which may have been brought against emancipation, we are able to prove that it has been an immense blessing for those who have been its especial objects, and that, in the performance of a great act of justice, the safety and prosperity of our colonies has been essentially promoted. Some evidence will be given on these points before we conclude.

Another cause of complaint is, that "the Netherlands slaveholders of Eustatius, St. Martin, Curaçao, and Surinam, have already lost many a slave who has taken refuge in the neighbouring British possessions." For what do they run away! Because they are cruelly and unjustly treated, and we confess that we cannot regret that they have escaped such treatment. We sincerely hope that very shortly the Dutch government will take the only effectual way of preventing this loss of labourers to the Netherlands' West India colonies, by placing the negros in those regions in as favourable a situation as those in our own colonies.

In the second article in the *Handelsblad*, a charge is made that highly coloured statements have been put forth by persons who visited some parts of the West Indies within a few weeks after the abolition of slavery, and these, it is contended, afford very insufficient evidence of the general or present results of emancipation. To this it may be replied, that in an island in which slavery has been abolished four years longer than in the generality of our colonies, the results have been such as will not furnish an objection to the most inveterate opposer. We refer to Antigua, where, besides those common advantages every where found of an increase of trade and the value of land, decrease in crime, and improvement in civilization, morals, and religion, the exportation of sugar has very considerably increased. It could not, indeed, be reasonably supposed that this last result would everywhere take place, and reasons could easily be given why it is undesirable that this should be the case. At what expense is the production of sugar forced in all slave countries without exception! By toil, especially during the season of crop, which human nature cannot endure without materially abridging the period of human existence; by denying to the bondsman, wearied with the toil of the day, that indispensable refreshment afforded by sleep during the night, which a gracious Creator intended for the whole human family; by the employment of females generally in the field, often under circumstances which render it fatal alike to themselves and to their offspring. These are the means, in addition to the infliction of the merciless whip alike on both sexes, without the slightest regard to decency, by which large cargoes of sugar are obtained, notwithstanding a continually diminished population. Hence the necessity for slave importations, and the tenacity with which slave-holding countries cling to the accursed traffic in human beings.

We cannot follow the writer in all his remarks which require rectification. Among these must, however, be mentioned the following. "It is also very remarkable, that all the proofs advanced of the increased value of estates, of which such a boast is made, were limited to the year 1838, and therefore to the first few months immediately following emancipation." The facts relative to British Guiana, to which the remarks in the *Handelsblad* especially refer, we will now give.

The number of estates sold in British Guiana since the 1st August, 1838, up to the latest period the official returns were printed, is twenty-three, viz., in the province of Demerara, fourteen; Essequibo, six; Berbice, three; of these one was sold in 1838, six in 1839, and sixteen in 1840. The sum paid for these twenty-three estates was five hundred and ninety-two thousand five hundred pounds.

These estates were not purchased of their former owners by speculators in lands, but by residents in the colony intimately acquainted with their real value, and able to form a correct idea of the future prospects of the colonies; and it is not a little remarkable that the two individuals, Captain Warren, of Demerara, and Mr. Laing, of Berbice, who have done more to depreciate the value of property in British Guiana than perhaps any other men, have become purchasers of estates at advanced prices; and the latter has actually doubled his stake in the colony. The proprietors are now generally holding on to the estates, so that few, if any, are now in the market.

We hope at a future time to have an opportunity of adverting particularly to the number and value of estates, or small parcels of land, purchased by the negros in Guiana, and to other circumstances indicative of their industry and good conduct, founded on official statements of the highest authorities in our colonies.

It would have been only an act of justice, in speaking of the commercial results of emancipation, to have alluded to the great increase in the exports to our West Indian colonies since the period of emancipation, amounting to some millions of pounds sterling. The disbanding of a large number of soldiers on account of the superior safety of freedom over slavery, might have been suitably introduced; and lastly, but not as the least important, the immense increase in the happiness of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and their rapid advancement in all which renders human existence most desirable.

We entirely agree with the writer in the *Handelsblad* in the views taken by him of the introduction of Hill Coolies into Guiana, and have not been wanting, we hope, in those endeavours which have stayed these disgraceful and inhuman proceedings.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES: M. DUCLARY AND THE TROIS PIQUETS.

"*The whip is indispensable to the negro.*" This is a fixed idea of M. Lepelletier Duclary, councillor in the royal court of Martinique, recently dismissed from the functions of alternate president of that court, for having said in a pamphlet which he published, that the royal ordinance of June, 1839, which prescribes the registration of the slaves, and the ordinance directing visits to the plantations for the purpose of ascertaining the treatment of the slaves, "*were encroachments on the rights of the master, a monstrous usurpation, and a political conspiracy against the colonial constitution.*" This M. Duclary, who is a flogger of negros, pretends that "*the symbol of corporeal chastisement in the colonies is only the symbol of labour.*" We are about to explain what the punishment of the whip is in the colonies, vulgarly called *trois piquets*.

The victim is stretched upon the ground, the feet tied to a stake of iron, the two hands tied separately to two other stakes, representing the crucifixion, and in this position the victim is flogged. The executioner is armed with a long whip, with which he strikes the victim at measured intervals twenty-nine blows. Each stroke brings away a piece of flesh from which the blood streams.

Listen now to the opinion of a man who cannot be suspected by the floggers of negros, on the subject of slave-treatment.

A colonist of Martinique, in a pamphlet published some years since, thus expresses himself with respect to the punishment of the *trois piquets*, inflicted on the slaves.

"Nothing can equal the severity of the police regulations with respect to the slaves of the towns. Those in the country are subject to the arbitrary will of their masters, who can inflict the most severe punishments without the control of any administrative authority. *Twenty-nine blows with the whip*—such is the conclusion of all the local arrests by the police or the administration concerning slaves. This chastisement, the maximum of correctional punishment, is inflicted in the gaol or in the public place, and, notwithstanding its severity, it is the punishment adjudged to the most trifling faults, the colonial system not admitting that a negro should obtain justice against a white. Neither women nor old men are sheltered from this brutal infliction. A sexagenarian having inadvertently insulted colonel de Sanois, a creole, by walking abreast of this militia chief, was for this trifling offence publicly flogged in the Place Bertin. This example, cited from among a thousand [it is always the colonist who speaks] will

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prove to what a pitch the rigour with which the slaves are treated is pushed in our colonies. The yoke there is too heavy; it must be lightened, or it will be broken off by violence." This COLONIST has told the truth, but he has not told the whole truth.

The punishment of the *trois piquets*, is executed in Martinique by the master of the gaol, a slave attached to the prison in the capacity of turnkey; in Guadeloupe, it is the hangman who flogs, so that the chastisement, which is generally a simple police correction, is aggravated by the intervention of the executioner; thus adding to the degradation of the flogging, a mark of infamy on the person of the slave.

These punishments, which for three or four years were inflicted in the public place, are now only executed in the interior of the gaols; but the persons of both men and women are always naked. Flog a naked woman! and a man the flogger! It is thus that they work out the moral education of the slave.

When the execution of the punishment of the *trois piquets* is commanded by the commissary of police, or by the "procureur du roi," the number of blows is fixed at a *minimum* of six, and at a *maximum* of twenty-nine, this latter number not being allowed to be exceeded. But it frequently happens, when the punishment takes place without the intervention of the authority, and the masters inflict it themselves by the hand of their overseers, that the number of blows is extended to many hundreds, and perhaps continued for several successive days.

For the slightest offence, for a want of courtesy or respect towards a free person, for returning after the curfew in the evening (when the slave is arrested by a patrol of the police), for negligence in performing the work of the master, for an act of laziness according to the interpretation of the latter, or, if he complain, of insolence in the slave, the *trois piquets* is administered. In 1831, the slave Nérou, a newly-imported African, was brought before the juge d'instruction at St. Pierre, Martinique, to bear witness in a criminal process. The negro explained himself with difficulty which was attributed to design on his part; and he was condemned to receive twenty-nine blows with the whip in the gaol. At the same time they inflicted a similar punishment in the public place on another slave, because he saluted the governor, M. Dupotet, on his landing at St. Pierre, with cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive le charte!* "How many slaves have perished in the dungeons of the plantations," says the aforesaid colonist of Martinique, "or under the lash of the overseers, without any inquiry on the part of the authorities, without any proceedings being instituted by the public minister against the perpetrators of such cruelties! Happy, indeed, are those who have not fallen under tortures of which the horrors cannot be conceived!"

And M. Duclary, who is aware of all this, tells us that, "if the negro is consulted when he merits punishment, he will invariably prefer the whip to sequestration, an increase of task, or any other punishment which would be less repugnant to the European." Since, then, the negro loves the whip, he must not be deprived of it. M. Duclary is so anxious to please the negros, that he draws up a petition in their favour for the retention of the *trois piquets!*

This appears to us, however, to be an additional reason for abolishing the use of the lash, in order to improve the moral sensibilities of the slave. If he prefers to be flogged rather than be put in prison, the simple reason is that you have brutalised him; you have rendered him almost insensible to bad treatment; and this makes him aspire the more after the liberty of which he is deprived. The slave has an additional number of hours of rest on Sundays and saints'-days this is the only relaxation he enjoys; and the being deprived of it is, therefore, the more painful. If the task is a more severe punishment than the lash, it is because he is always forced to work for others, and because labour is held in contempt in the colonies. Abolish the lash, and you will thereby raise the slave to the dignity of a man, instead of debasing him, as he now is, to the scale of the beast."

"Let us open the code Français," says M. Duclary; "we there see that theft under aggravated circumstances is visited with hard labour; a punishment both severe and infamous, and which closes up the future prospect of the citizen. Well! In the code of the possessor of slaves a similar crime calls down upon its author nothing more than some blows with the whip, or a few days' sequestration."

Yes; but, in the code of the *possessor of slaves*, the slave is punished with death if he strikes his master. So that the slave has less horror of theft than of a want of respect. This is the way that you possessors of slaves instruct and bring them up. For the crime of theft the slave is flogged; but if he commits the offence of striking you, he is lost! Mark the morality of the *code of the possessor of slaves*, which M. Duclary compares to the code Français, and prefers to it.

The possessors of slaves, moreover, have written in their code, that the punishment of the galleys is not a punishment for the slave; and this is true, since slavery and the galleys are one and the same thing.

We shall conclude this article by the recital of a circumstance in which M. Duclary took a part, at least as spectator. His love for the *trois piquets* probably dates from the agreeable emotion which he then experienced. It was in 1821. M. Duclary was then a gay young man of twenty-nine. Some of his colonial friends, at a meeting one Sunday at Martinique, arrested a negro slave, guilty of we know not what insolence towards these gentlemen—M. Duclary, who is at Paris at this moment, will probably be able to tell us. After having invested this poor wretch with a three-cornered hat and an old militia uniform, including the epaulettes, these friends of M. Duclary, parodying the military degradation, tore off these insignia, then bound the unfortunate slave with cords, and inflicted on him the punishment of the *trois piquets*. We particularly mention this episode in the history of slavery, because it was related to us on the very day by a person whose memory is held by us in dear and honourable remembrance, who saw with his own eyes M. Lepellitier Duclary, the councillor of the royal court, assisting at this beautiful execution. Perhaps this may now explain the fixed idea which M. Duclary pursues, to wit, "*that the whip is indispensable to the negro.—Revue des Colonies.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 12TH.

IF with the commencement of a new year, we advert to the necessity of the funds of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society being well supported, we trust we have shewn in another article sufficient reason why the liberality of our friends should be exercised. Their money is not spent inconsiderately, nor spent in vain. We have the pleasure of presenting to-day a valuable list of contributions; and with especial pleasure and gratitude we have to state that, by a late grant of their standing committee, the Society of Friends have placed at the disposal of the Anti-slavery Committee the sum of £800. Not only the extreme interest of the objects they pursue—the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world—but the great importance of the exertions of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for the attainment of these objects, call for the cheerful and steady help of all the friends of freedom and humanity.

WE cannot disguise from our friends in France that we look on their present situation as one of much responsibility. So far as the cause of abolition in the French colonies lies in the hands of official persons, it seems to be obstructed by impediments much to be deplored. But it does not lie wholly in the hands of official persons. There are organized friends of the cause in Paris, whose action need not be restrained by official difficulties, and whose energies should be more especially called into action when such difficulties exist to an unusual amount. It is, in truth, by a perpetual and effective agency in the community that the government is to be—we will not say impelled—but sustained in its wise and humane intentions, and kept alive to objects on which otherwise it might sleep. And the main hope of success in cases of difficulty lies here. We trust the French abolitionists are neither discouraged by the tardiness of the government commission, nor inactive in the prosecution of their great object. Not the French nation only, but the world has been led to expect a proposition for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies to be laid before the legislature in the session of 1842. So far as the commission on whom it has been devolved to prepare such a proposition are concerned, we fear there may be a disappointment; but surely there are some means at the disposal of the abolitionists for bringing the matter forward in an influential way, both within and without the walls of the legislative chambers. Such measures must have a beneficial result; concurrent as they will be, not only with the present tendencies of the public mind, but with that course of circumstances also which, in the colonies themselves, is urging onwards, "like one that travelleth," the indispensable necessity of emancipation.

Since the preceding observations were in type, we have had the gratification of learning that it is intended by the French Anti-slavery Committee to hold, within a few weeks, a public meeting in Paris, a measure which, if conducted with wisdom and energy, cannot fail to give a powerful impulse to the cause of abolition.

WE are enabled to state that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, have adopted an address to the Bey of Tunis, expressive of their high sense of the proceedings he has adopted towards the extermination of the slave-trade, and of their ardent hope that he will extend his views to the abolition of slavery itself. The address will be signed by Thomas Clarkson and be immediately forwarded to Malta for presentation.

WE have been favoured with a copy of the *Emigration Gazette*, a new weekly journal, devoted, we presume, as its title imports, to the interests of emigration. We are truly happy to observe the ground which our contemporary has so promptly and distinctly

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taken in reference to the emigration of Europeans to the West Indies, and the scheme of "free (!) emigration" from Africa. On these important subjects we make with pleasure the following extracts :—

If the hand of the prince of darkness was ever visible in the base and venal transactions of man, it will be plainly seen in the past results of this diabolical scheme. Disappointment, sickness, and death have been the portion of all the emigrants; and the same fate awaits those who may yet be victimized to the cupidity of the late merciless slave-masters, and, at present, the no less venal emigration-mongers of Jamaica.

But the scheme for obtaining *emigrants from Africa* is both absurd and iniquitous. Such a scheme would not only lead to an attempted revival of all the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade ; but to the removal of a body of poor benighted Africans, who are totally ignorant of the arts of civilized life, and who rely in their native land on the roots and fruits of the earth, and the chace, for subsistence, to a country where no one would be not found to instruct them in the former, and where the latter are to be found. This would indeed fill to the brim England's cruelty and injustice to the African race, and Divine retribution would unavoidably manifest itself in the intolerable burthen the base delusion would necessarily bring on the white population. And while we are told that a British operative is not worth the cost of his importation to one of our Australian colonies, surely no one will contend that a helpless African in his primitive state, is worth the cost of his transit to one of the West India colonies, where he can neither apply himself to the pursuits of civilized life, nor find in the spontaneous offerings of the soil, the means of subsistence.

We have extracted from the *New York Evangelist* an interesting account of the departure of the Mendians for their native land. A letter from Mr. Whittier to Mr. Sturge brings us the following morsel of recent intelligence :—

"*Boston, Twelfth Month 15th*, 1841.

"The news from Washington is, that, by a mean trick and subterfuge, worthy of a slave-holder, W. C. Johnson, of Maryland, and the slave-holders and their abettors have succeeded in shutting out anti-slavery petitions from the house of representatives. But the question cannot be put to rest in this way—it will meet them at every turn. The church question (*i. e.* fellowship with slave-holders) is attracting much attention."

No West India mail has arrived since our last. The article in the present *Reporter* relating to Cuba, and more especially that relating to Holland, will be read with interest.

DISCUSSION IN SPAIN ON EMANCIPATION.

The demand of the British government for the release of all Africans introduced into the Spanish colonies in violation of the treaty of 1817, has set the various parties so deeply interested in the question earnestly to work to prevent it. We insert below, from the Spanish paper *El Popular*, a translation of a declaration which has just been set forth by the junta of commerce of Catalonia. It appears from this document that the tribunal of commerce at Havana have memorialised the regency on the subject, and have sent a copy of their memorial to the junta of Catalonia, who have forwarded one in support of it, which we hope to give in our next. For to-day we give the declaration to which we have referred. The stirring of this discussion in Spain cannot but have important results.

[From *El Popular*, translated.]

Declaration of the junta of commerce on Catalonia, to the proposal of the English government for the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish colonies.

The tribunal of commerce of Havana remitted to that of Barcelona a copy of the memorial of the 30th of March last, which they directed to the regency of the kingdom, drawing its attention to the evil consequences which would result from the realization of the project for the emancipation of the slaves.

Although the tribunal of this capital performed an act worthy of its enlightened zeal, in uniting its voice to that of Havana, it also transmitted a copy to this junta. This junta referred the subject to a committee of its own members ; which committee, desirous of accuracy, obtained the opinions of various persons who, by a long residence in Cuba, had acquired both a theoretical and practical acquaintance with a question of so much delicacy.

The following is the result of their inquiries and deliberations.

Honoured with the confidence of the committee of the tribunal of commerce, for the purpose of expressing our opinion upon the memorial which the tribunal of commerce at Havana directed to the regency of the kingdom on the 30th of March last, we shall make such observations as may be necessary, to give effective support to the very just memorial of that tribunal.

The document to which we refer takes as the basis of its arguments the fear that our cortes should inconsiderately engage itself in the question of slavery ; and, in truth, if this should take place, the *discussion* alone would be a signal for terrific alarm to our ultra-marine possessions, because their inhabitants, fearful of the inexperience and ardent declamation which generally accompany similar debates, would see in them the beginning of a rash struggle. It would destroy confidence, and paralyse the spirit of enterprise, to such an extent, as to induce the whites to emigrate with all their capital. We, however, who are ocular witnesses of the tactics of our assemblies with respect to colonial policy, have not the same fear, because there has always prevailed in them a profound judgment and foresight upon this point, lest the prosperity and happiness of our Antilles should be compromised.

Worthy of remark, notwithstanding, is the reference which is made in the representation of the tribunal, to the conduct of the English consul in Cuba, who had arrived a short time before in the character of superintendent of Africans liberated by the Mixed Commission. We invoke with all the energy which the gravity of the subject demands, the support of the Junta of Commerce, in making such representations to the government as may lead to the suppression of a foreign interference, replete with danger to the sovereignty of the mother-country. This is the pretext with which powerful Albion seeks to insinuate herself, so to speak, into all the future questions that may arise with regard to the liberation of the slaves ; and, unless this abuse is destroyed on the instant, we shall sow from this day a seed of discord and danger in our colonies. Such is our firm conviction on this head, that, for the purpose of closing for ever all diplomatic correspondence with England on the subject, and of dissolving the mixed commission which exists at Havana (with two English members), we should desire to see the commerce in Africans at once extinguished by decisive measures, because as long as this traffic prevails, together with the existing treaty, the same pretexts will remain for exciting continual disquietude and alarm in our Antilles. If this measure were adopted, we should hope that it (the mixed commission) would become entirely Spanish, and by this means, perhaps, the fault which an absolute government committed in the treaty of 1817 might be remedied.

Be the economical or political views of the English government with respect to the liberation of the slaves what they may, we must not forget that they find themselves at times harassed by the expression of public opinion, and the efforts of the philanthropic societies of their country ; which (as may be collected from official information) had prepared a revolution in Jamaica, in the event of the government not announcing the emancipation of the slaves in that island.

We desire, therefore, to save in time the independence of our colonial administration, and the incontestable right *of washing our clothes in our own houses*, without the risk and danger which accrues to us from presumptuous foreigners, ignorant of our habits and customs, and, above all, of the generous disposition of the Spanish race in both hemispheres.

Let not the junta imagine that, in giving this opinion, it is intended in any way to close the door against any plan which enlightened humanity may elaborate in future time for ameliorating the condition of our slaves. Without in the slightest degree wishing to offend or depreciate the sentiments of another people, we may still say, that, in ages of less civilization and of less liberty, we have given to them examples of humanity in the facility afforded to the manumission of our slaves.

The rancour of the Anglo-Saxon race against the African has never been exhibited by Spaniards. The free negros and mulatto, of the United States are never permitted to exercise the franchises without exposing themselves to the greatest insults, although possessing the same political rights as the whites. The prejudices of the English race against these unhappy people are deep-rooted, and are transmitted from generation to generation in a manner that astonishes the Spanish American, accustomed to see the white class of his country augmented by the continual ingress of persons of African descent, who *become white*—the term popularly used in our Antilles, to designate the generous and gradual fusion of the races. Let strangers leave us to ourselves, and we will, without the necessity for their counsels, do what the future exigencies of civilization in those parts may require.

England and France, after having provided for the future in Europe, have been able with less inconvenience to resolve the very delicate question of slavery, although not till half a century of information and infinite preparation had passed over ; but, to cover present and future liabilities, each of them calculates on an annual income into the public treasury of more than two hundred millions of dollars : whilst we are but just recovering from a civil war, which has left many deep wounds to be cicatrized in the mother-country, with an empty exchequer, and with institutions in our Antilles which represent the decrepid dynasty of the Austrians, whilst the mother country struggles to consolidate an opposite system, and, finally, with a government yet without weight, in consequence of all the political passions which in various ways revolution has bequeathed to us. Would this be the right moment for agitating a subject as delicate as it is irritating! Would it be just to submit ourselves blindly to the requisitions of strangers, when we have a basis in our legislation for attaining the same object with more prudence and security than any other nation! No. Let us see the French ministry offering in the chambers a prudent measure for avoiding the practical result which the emancipation of the English slaves exhibits, before promulgating a similar decree for our own. We shall not do our cabinet the injustice of believing it capable of entering into a system of gross blunders, and much less our legislative body. The intimate connexion which subsists between the Peninsula and her colonies is of such extent and importance, that to do this would be to renounce all the principles of good government, in order to throw ourselves headlong down a precipice. But this should not prevent the junta of commerce of this principality from energetically memorialising the government to assert the national independence in the government of the Antilles, in order to avoid the dangers with which the treaty with England of 1817 threatens us. We also recommend that it may petition the government to declare explicitly if it agrees with these principles, in order to tranquillize by its explanations the inhabitants of the Antilles, and

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the vast number of persons resident in the Peninsula who have their fortune in them. We submit these brief considerations to the greater intelligence of the junta, in discharge of the confidence with which it has honoured the subscribers, and for which we offer our sincere thanks.

Barcelona, 16th June, 1841.

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.

IN noticing some former observations of this journal on the subject placed at the head of this article, the *Trinidad Standard* affirms that the editor of it has "proved against his wish, that the demerits of such immigration lie more in sound than in substance, and that his horror of it springs only from antithesis, and the repugnance of a mind filled with notions of a diametrically opposite character to admit even the truth under a form so disagreeable."

Let us then—not to be too tenacious of our own wisdom—suppose this to be true; and let us contemplate the subject in the light in which it appears to the less prejudiced eyes of our contemporary. He gives the following "*resumé* of the facts elicited by the late inquiry and discussion" of the Trinidad agricultural committee.

1st. It is evident that the African at home is a slave, and is no more free to remain than he is to emigrate.

2nd. That he is sure to be sold *into* a cruel and irredeemable slavery, if the consent of his chief be not purchased for an actual freedom.

3rd. That in the former case he will suffer all the bodily agony of the middle passage, whilst in the latter he will, during the voyage, enjoy all the comfort which government and the abolitionist can secure to him.

4th. That in the latter he will be free to return home when he likes, and will have the opportunity afforded him of doing so.

And lastly.—*That, whilst Emigration* CANNOT INJURE *the African, it will afford him the opportunity for improving his condition, by bringing him within the pale of* FREEDOM, CIVILIZATION, RELIGION, AND BRITISH PROTECTION.

Passing over for the present many remarks which these admirably arranged and convincing propositions suggest, we make this general observation—that the object of the whole series is to induce us TO BUY MEN. The African is already a slave—so says our authority; we cannot have him as an emigrant without purchasing the consent of his chief—so says our authority again; therefore, since we want him, let us go and purchase him—this is the conclusion. Here therefore is a direct persuasive to the slave-trade; for what less than slave-trade can the purchasing of slaves be? But we must beg pardon of our contemporary for so much "antithesis."

We perceive, however—for, with all our repugnance to admit truth under disagreeable forms, we are not stone blind—that our contemporary lays stress on the assertion that they are to be purchased, not for slavery, but "for an actual freedom." Now taking this assertion in the first instance to represent the fact, what is the force of it? Is it benevolent to establish a slave-trade on the coast of Africa, in order that the slaves you purchase may be actually free? No one who knows the horrors of the African slave-trade can hesitate for a moment to answer this question in the negative. The happiness and the misery resulting from such a process being compared, the misery must be admitted incalculably to preponderate.

But we do not admit the assertion of our contemporary to represent the fact. The patrons of this emigration scheme do not mean to purchase even a single African "for an actual freedom." Our authority states that the bought men are to be brought "within the pale of freedom, civilization, religion, and BRITISH PROTECTION." That is to say, they are to be *taken to the West Indies*, whether they will or not. We are quite open to correction on this point, and very desirous not to misunderstand the promoters of African emigration. We therefore ask for information, whether it is intended that the Africans, "purchased (as is alleged) for an actual freedom," shall be at liberty *to remain at home*? If—as we presume—they will not, but are *nolens volens* to emigrate, then it is plain that they will be as truly slaves after they have been "purchased for an actual freedom" as they were before, and that the purchase is to be made for the purpose of transferring the power of coercion formerly held by the African chief to the hands of the white man. This is slave-trade without qualification. And this, let it be observed, A RENEWED BRITISH SLAVE-TRADE, is palpably the atrocity pleaded for under the name of free emigration from Africa to the West Indies!

Within these few days, we have received Mr. Burnley's pamphlet, by which we perceive this subject is to be still further pressed on the attention of the British public. Our notice of it must be deferred till our next number.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

To the Editor of *the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

1. SIR,—Cordially loving the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, because I find it eminently acting the part of the good Samaritan towards my poor brother in bondage, the slave, throughout the world; and purposing shortly to make a tour for the purpose of advocating the formation of Societies Auxiliary to it, I cannot feel at liberty to do so, without first publishing my views as follow, on the subject of Slavery in British India.

2. The population of Hindostan consists mainly of four distinct races, viz.:—the Aborigines—the Hindoos—the Mohammedans—and the British.

3. The Hindoo power appears to have arisen we know not when, upon the overthrow of the aboriginal. The Mohammedan we know to have overturned the Hindoo, generally, within the last few centuries; and it is not yet one hundred years since the British arose upon the ruins of both.

4. Of these, the aborigines are found in mingled vestiges alone among the mountains. The Hindoos are by far the most numerous. The Mohammedans, perhaps one-fourth of the whole population, immediately preceded us, generally speaking, *in* dominion; and *we* now rule over all, to the direct amount of 80,000,000 or 100,000,000.

5. Hindoo law, *as legislative or statutary*, had ceased under the Mohammedan away before our time, *wherever* the Mohammedan power had been established: but, in *custom* and *in practice*, it continued, not only in the states which continued Hindoo, but extensively even under the Mohammedan government itself, largely moulding that government by Hindoo principles and usages.

6. In this state we found Hindostan; and under these circumstances it is that our system has arisen.

7. By that system, the British government *recognises* Hindoo and Mohammedan *civil law*, and *enforces* Mohammedan *criminal* law; reserving to itself the right of modifying both these systems by humanity and justice.

8.—1. The Hindoo law *permits* the moderate correction of the slave by his master; but declares the abuse of that power punishable.

9.—2. No part of the Hindoo *criminal* law is recognised either by regulation or practice.

10.—3. The *criminal* courts are guided by the Mohammedan law, as modified by the British regulations, and administered by British magistrates; and the British regulations make no distinction between Hindoo and Mohammedan masters.*

11. The Mohammedan law also permits the moderate correction of the slave by his master, but declares the abuse of that power punishable.

12. Thus much by way of preface.

13. The dark side is as follows:—

1. That *some features* of slavery exist, variously and extensively, in British Hindostan.

2. That unspeakable atrocities are sometimes perpetrated under shelter of those feaures.

3. That the least of these features and atrocities is highly criminal.

4. That these facts are disgraceful to our government, implicate us all in guilt, and ought to be attacked and extirpated immediately, by every right means in our power.

14. But on the *other hand*, I believe and affirm, with equal distinctness—

15. That, with *local* exceptions as to *agrestic* bondage, especially excepting Malabar, and with *occasional* exceptions, as to *domestic* servitude, especially in the Mohammedan Zenannahs, the *actual condition* of those under bondage in our territories, generally speaking, *is so free* from *suffering* by their bond-condition, that, properly speaking, it cannot be *fairly* called *slavery* at all, when we mean by slavery a thing which involves not only the grossest legal wrong, but, generally speaking, severe actual oppression, and I am persuaded, that the extreme views which have been promulgated; must weaken our power in seeking the peaceful extirpation of the *wrong* which *does* exist, because facts alone can permanently sustain assertions.

16. My evidence respecting the *actual* condition of the slaves (as they are called) in British India, in addition to the views above given of their *legal* state, is as follows:—

1. In general they hold any property which they acquire, as securely as other men.

2. They are very rarely sold against their will.

3. A large proportion of them are actually free.

4. Very extensively, their bondage is not inherited by their children.

5. They are often raised to authority and honour; Dowlut Raw Seindiah, one of the most powerful of the Mahratta *chiefs*, at the beginning of this century was a Kurmi.

6. They are generally upon a par with the other subordinate members of the family, including wives and children, as to domestic chastisement; and are commonly treated as members of the family, when employed in domestic services.

7. Their labour is not unfrequently lighter than that of hired servants.

8. They are a very small proportion of the whole population, perhaps one-twentieth, including all their classes; but, judging as fairly as I can, from all the evidence before me, less than one-twentieth of these, that is less than one-four hundreth of the whole population, are suffering any actual infringement of their wills.

9. When employed in agriculture, they are very rarely driven; and much of their time is their own.

10. British law gives slavery no *direct* support.

11. British administration mitigates it.

12. Mohammedan law is softened both in law and practice.

13. Hindoo *criminal* law is abolished, and its civil law is mitigated in practice.

14. None but the natives can *legally* have anything to do with it.

15. Runaways cannot be *compelled* to return to their masters.

16. Marriages are solemnly performed, and are in general as sacredly regarded as any others.

17. Marriage with them is not considered dishonourable by their masters, when *caste*, apart from slavery, does not make it so.

18. They are generally as effectually protected, both by law and practice, from hurtful violence, as any other members of the family, or of the community.

19. If abused, they can generally leave their masters with ease, if they please, and, after doing so, no violence is allowed to effect their return.

20. A very large proportion of them were sold into bondage in their youth, by their parents during famines or seasons of extreme distress, in order to save their lives.

17. The causes of these characteristics of their *actual* condition are,

1. The comparative mildness, in some respects, of the Hindoo and Mohammedan slave systems.

2. All the ruling authorities, making and administering the laws are British; and all these, in various degrees, are in their favour.

3. None of these can legally hold slaves.

4. They are under no *religious* restrictions, except in Malabar, where slavery is mingled with *caste*.

* These three paragraphs are quoted from Parliamentary Paper, No. 262, page 71, printed 26th April, 1841.

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5. A large proportion of them have reduced themselves to bondage for their own benefit.

6. No inducements exist, generally speaking, to goad them to extreme toil.

7. The habits, wants, interests, customs, and opinions of the people, all generally concur to render *all* labour *light*.

8. Everywhere excessively cheap free labour abounds.

9. With little exception, there is no such thing in Hindostan as intense and concentrated agricultural speculation.

18. My general grounds for the above statements are,

1. My personal knowledge of India, from a residence of thirteen years.

2. Personal information from persons well acquainted with India.

3. The following parliamentary papers, viz.

Slavery in India, 1828; a large vol. of nearly 1000 pages.

East India sugar papers.

No. 262, of 26th of April, 1841, and

Lord Auckland's minute of 6th of May, 1841.

19. My reasons for not quoting my authorities more minutely are,

1. My desire simply to be fairly understood for myself, without impugning others.

2. The fact that *no extracts* can do justice to evidence, where the evidence itself is contradictory; and because this is remarkably the case with the evidence in question, as far as it is derived from parliamentary papers.

20. I would merely add, that I have carefully, prayerfully, and independently explored it for myself, with as honest, as earnest, and as impartial a desire to get at the real truth as my character permits; andthat t he above is the result of my remarks.

21. Having thus discharged the duty which I owe to my own conscience, it is not my intention to notice any communications that may be made in opposition or reply; except a further examination of the question should lead me to a modification of my present views.

22. In conclusion, I wish emphatically to observe, that, however widely the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and I differ, our hearts are one; that I entirely concur with it in the solemn duty laid upon us of diligently seeking, by every lawful means, the immediate and thorough extirpation of every vestige of slavery from the whole dominions which God has given us; and that the last words of the resolution adopted by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at a special meeting, on 15th of January, 1841, suggesting, that "a declaratory statute which shall relieve from bondage (however modified or sanctioned) every class of men within the limits of this great empire; and which shall provide, that every person who shall hereafter touch any portion of the British territory, without exception or limitation, shall be *ipso facto* free," fairly expresses the desire and the duty dear to my soul; and that I feel the more earnest in advocating this course, because the large investments of capital already made, or apparently about to be made, in East India cotton and sugar speculations, must in the very nature of things, involve the most bitter and ruinous aggravations of the bondage yet existing in Hindostan, unless every root of slavery be extirpated before these speculations come into active operation.

C. STUART.

Stoke Newington, 7th of January, 1842.

THE MENDIANS.

THE Mendians are again on the sea. They embarked on the 2nd of December, on board the barque *Gentleman*, chartered for the purpose of conveying them to Sierra Leone. The *New York Evangelist* of December 4 contains an account of the farewell meetings held before their departure, which appears to have excited a very general and thrilling interest. The whole is far too long for our columns, but we shall make with pleasure such extracts as our space will permit.

At the meeting at Broadway Tabernacle, Mr. F. Williams spoke as follows:—

"I wish to call your attention to one particular, for the purpose of correcting a mis-statement, widely circulating in the community—that these men were restive, turbulent, and unmanageable. According to their own statement they yielded quietly to their condition, and, had it not been for the cook, would never have risen upon their oppressors—but he tormented them by making them believe that Ruiz and Montez bought them for the purpose of killing and eating them; and told them that the next day, or on their arrival at Principe, they would be butchered and packed down like beef. To illustrate the manner in which they were to be put to death, he took a chicken by the neck, and, holding it with one hand, took a knife and cut off its head with the other—representing the manner how they were to be disposed of. Thus tortured, they felt that with them it was liberty or death, and, after being driven below, to use their own language, "they took counsel." By means of a nail which Cinque had found on deck and hid under his arm, he extricated himself and his companions. They then determined to make an attempt to regain their freedom. They had discovered in the hold of the vessel a box of cane knives, which was open, and the knives loose in the box. Cinque armed himself as well as each man with a knife, and then they sprang upon deck, and (as you know) triumphed over their oppressors."

Several of the Mendians were then called upon, by reading from the Bible, by spelling, and by answering questions put to them by spectators, to show their improvement under the instructions they had received. The audience were surprised and delighted with their accurate spelling, correct pronunciation, fluency in reading, and quickness of perception. In some cases an elevated tone of religious feeling was manifested in the answers which they gave.

Kin-na [a young man about eighteen] was then requested to give a brief statement of his capture, &c. &c.—which he did in English. He spoke deliberately, and so as to be generally understood. After he had finished his remarks, he said, "If any person in the audience wishes to ask me questions, I will answer them. I thank those who have been kind to us, and will pray for them when I get to Mendi." A gentleman then asked, "What will you do for your enemies?" Kin-na replied, "I will pray for them too, for I read in Bible, love your enemies." Another gentleman asked him, what he would say to his people in Africa, when he got home? He replied, "I will tell them what I learn in it [the Bible], will tell them about God, and about Jesus Christ coming into the world to die for sinners. I tell them part, I only read Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John—I no read Acts, Romans," &c. &c.—They then sang a native song in an animated manner, It commenced with a solo, then a duet, then a full chorus, and in melody, wildness, and energy, was altogether peculiar and unique. Mr. Thomas Hastings afterwards attempted to reduce it to writing, both the words and music, but found it impracticable.

After these proceedings Cinque rose and addressed the assembly in his native tongue, with power and effect. His rapid enunciation, the expression of his countenance, the flashing of his eye, and the significancy of his gestures and movements in certain passages of his address, were remarkable. He showed himself able also to touch with a master's hand the finer chords of the human heart; for when, in the conclusion of his remarks, he expressed a sense of his obligations to the Americans for their kindness to him and his people, and bade them farewell for ever, his manner—so subdued and touching—affected those who are well acquainted with him to tears.

At a meeting at a "coloured Methodist (!) church" the following correspondence was read:—

To the Honorable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MOST RESPECTED SIR,—The Mendi people give you thanks for all your kindness to them. They will never forget your defence of their rights before the great court at Washington. They feel that they owe to you, in a large measure, their deliverance from the Spaniards, and from slavery or death. They will pray for you as long as they live, Mr. Adams. May God bless and reward you!

We are about to go home to Africa. We go to Sierra Leone first, and then we reach Mendi very quick. When we get to Mendi we will tell the people of your great kindness. Good missionary will go with us. We shall take the Bible with us. It has been a precious book in prison, and we love to read it now we are free. Mr. Adams, we want to make you a present of a beautiful Bible. Will you please to accept it, and when you look at it, or read it, remember your poor and grateful clients? We read in this holy book, "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth. Our souls are escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and we are escaped. Our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth."

For the Mendi people. CINQUE, KIN-NA, KA-LE.

Boston, November 6th, 1841.

Boston, 19th November, 1841.

LEWIS TAPPAN, Esq., New York.

DEAR SIR,—I received, and accept with thanks, the elegant Bible presented to me by Cinque, Kin-na, Ka-le, and the thirty-two other Mendians, who are indebted to you, and your benevolent associates, probably for their lives, certainly for their deliverance from an unjust prosecution, and finally for the means of returning to their own country.

I enclose herewith my answer to the address of Cinque, Kin-na and Ka-le, in behalf of the whole number inserted before the title-page to the volume. I ask of your kindness to communicate an answer, with my best wishes for their safe return home, to them. I have been unwilling to meet them in any public exhibition, which might have the appearance on my part of an ostentatious display of the service which it has been my good fortune to render them—a service of which I have otherwise but too strong a propensity to be proud, and of which I feel that all pride and self-approbation ought to sink into the sentiment of humble and fervent gratitude to God. The silent gratulations of my own conscience, for the part I have taken in these concerns, are too precious to seek for the praise or to hazard the censure of public assemblies. But I could not cease to take an interest in their welfare, and to hope for the consummation of your kindness to them in the accomplishment of their restoration to freedom and safety in their native land. I am, with great respect, dear sir, faithfully yours,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

To the Mendian Africans CINQUE, KIN-NA, KA-LE, and thirty-two others, about to return to their native land.

Boston, 19th November, 1841.

MY FRIENDS,—I received the elegant Bible which you have presented me through your true and faithful friend, Mr. Lewis Tappan. I accept it, and shall keep it as a kind remembrance from you, to the end of my life. It was from that book I learned to espouse your cause when you were in trouble, and to give thanks to God for your deliverance.

I am glad to learn that you have the prospect of returning safe and free to your own native country; and I hope and pray that you may pass the remainder of your lives in peace and comfort there. Remember with kindness those worthy persons who befriended you in your captivity here, and who now furnish you with the means of returning home, and tell your countrymen of the blessings of the book which you have given to me. May the Almighty Power who has preserved and sustained you hitherto, still go with you, and turn to your good, and to that of your country, all that you have suffered, and all that may hereafter befal you! From your friend,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

On Thursday, at nine o'clock, A.M., the Mendians, the missionaries, and several friends, went on board the barque at the foot of Clinton-street, and were towed down the harbour by the steam-boat. Nothing could exceed the delight which they manifested as soon as they lost sight of their boarding-house, and found themselves fairly started on their way to the vessel that was to take them to their homes. They gave way to no noisy manifestations of joy, but there was a light in their eye, an elasticity in their steps, and an expression in their whole manner, that evinced how exceedingly glad they were. And as they leaped one by one on board the barque, it was not difficult to imagine that their own minds were busy with the contrast between their present situation—FREE, and bound for home—and their condition when last on board a vessel, bound in chains, and threatened with death!

As soon as the steam-boat with the barque were fairly in the stream, the missionaries, the Mendians, the owner and officers of the barque, with several friends, assembled in the cabin of the steam-boat, to spend an hour in a meeting suited to the interesting and solemn occasion.

The Mendians will find at Sierra Leone, that the governor has been instructed by Lord Aberdeen to afford them every facility

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for their return. Most sincerely do we join in the devout aspirations which the American papers contain, that He, by whose mercy they have been so wonderfully rescued from past perils, may still preserve them, and make them an eminent blessing to the country to which, with such genuine filial love, they are wending their way.

ADMISSION OF TEXAS INTO THE AMERICAN UNION.

WE take the following important pre-monition from the *Liberator*:—

Let not the friends of freedom be asleep at their post. This vile republic is as cunning as she is fierce. It was long ago prophesied, even when her attempt was apparently most completely baffled, that she would slily watch an opportunity to slip into the Union unperceived, and that the abolitionists would wake up some morning and find the deed done.

Be assured that every thing is, at this moment, in skilful preparation for such a result. Never was there a more auspicious time for such a purpose. Both of the great political parties are sold to the South; and it is difficult to decide which is most ready to do the foulest deeds at her bidding. Old party lines are broken up, and men's minds are bewildered and demoralized by mutual efforts to cement the scattered parts with bargain and compromise. We have a bitter slave-holder for President, and a worse than slave-holder for his prime minister. The energies of abolition are weakened by division, and much of its activity wasted in political ballotings and nominations.

Texas is aware of all this, and will not let such an opportunity slip. She has procured books and reviews to be written in favour of her character, both in France and England; and has completely succeeded in gulling the popular sentiment in those countries. We have all along supposed this was not done without an object; though rather inclined to think it might be in reference to the loan she wished to negociate.

We now learn, from the *Natchez Free Trader*, that a new proposition relative "to the union of Texas with this country, will be brought forward by a distinguished gentleman at the next session of Congress, under very favourable auspices."

UNITED STATES: THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

WE observe that the proceedings adopted by the British cruizers on the coast of Africa towards suspected vessels bearing the American flag, have given rise to a remonstrance on the part of the late American ambassador (Mr. Stevenson), and that this has elicited from our late foreign minister (Lord Palmerston) a formal assertion of a right—not of search—but of inquiry rather, as to the real character of such vessels. An important correspondence has ensued between Mr. Stevenson and Lord Aberdeen, which, but for its great length, we would have inserted in our columns. The affair is now but too truly called an altercation between the two governments, and threatens not a little mischief. We insert below that part of the President's message which refers to it, and express our earnest hope that the recommendation with which it closes will be sincerely and promptly acted on.

I herewith submit the correspondence which has recently taken place between the American minister at the court of St. James's (Mr. Stevenson) and the minister of foreign affairs of that government, on the right claimed by that government to visit and detain vessels sailing under the American flag, and engaged in prosecuting lawful commerce in the African seas. Our commercial interests in that region have experienced considerable increase, and have become an object of much importance, and it is the duty of this government to protect them against all improper and vexatious interruption. However desirous the United States may be for the suppression of the slave-trade, they cannot consent to interpolations into the maritime code, at the mere will and pleasure of other governments. We deny the right of any such interpolation to any one, or all the nations of the earth, without our consent. We claim to have a voice in all amendments or alterations of that code—and when we are given to understand, as in this instance, by a foreign government, that its treaties with other nations cannot be executed without the establishment and enforcement of new principles of maritime police, to be applied without our consent, we must employ a language neither of equivocal import, nor susceptible of misconstruction. American citizens prosecuting a lawful commerce in the African seas, under the flag of their country, are not responsible for the abuse or unlawful use of that flag by others, nor can they rightfully, on account of any such alleged abuses, be interrupted, molested, or detained, while on the ocean; and if thus molested and detained, while pursuing honest voyages in the usual way, and violating no law themselves, they are unquestionably entitled to indemnity. This government has manifested its repugnance to the slave-trade, in a manner which cannot be misunderstood. By its fundamental law it prescribes limits in point of time to its continuance, and against its own citizens, who might so far forget the rights of humanity as to engage in that wicked traffic, it has long since, by its municipal laws, denounced the most condign punishment. Many of the states composing this Union had made appeals to the civilized world for its suppression, long before the moral sense of other nations had become shocked by the iniquities of the traffic. Whether this government should now enter into treaties containing mutual stipulations upon this subject, is a question for its mature deliberation. Certain it is, that, if the right to detain American ships on the high seas can be justified on the plea of necessity for such detention arising out of the existence of treaties between other nations, the same plea may be extended and enlarged by the new stipulations of new treaties to which the United States may not be a party. This government will not cease to urge upon that of Great Britian full and ample remuneration for all losses, whether arising from detention or otherwise, to which American citizens have heretofore been, or may hereafter be subjected, by the exercise of rights which this government cannot recognize as legitimate and proper. Nor will I indulge a doubt, but that the sense of justice of Great Britain will constrain her to make retribution for any wrong or loss which any American citizen, engaged in the prosecution of lawful commerce, may have experienced at the hands of its cruizers, or other public authorities This government, at the same time, will relax no effort to prevent its citizens, if there be any so disposed, from prosecuting a traffic so revolting to the feelings of humanity. It seeks to do no more than to protect the fair and honest trader from molestation and injury; but while the enterprising mariner, engaged in the pursuit of an honourable trade, is entitled to its protection, it will visit with condign punishment others of an opposite character.

I invite your attention to existing laws for the suppression of the African slave-trade, and recommend all such alterations as may give to them greater force and efficacy. That the American flag is grossly abused by the abandoned and profligate of other nations, is but too probable. Congress has not long since, had this subject under its consideration, and its importance well justifies renewed and anxious attention.

DONATIONS TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIEEY.

The following have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

	Dons. £. s. d.	*Subs.* £. s. d.
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Chelmsford—Christy, Thomas, (Broomfield)	10 10 0	
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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LV. Vol. III. No. 2.] WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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SLAVE-TRADE AND DUTCH SOLDIERS.

We learn from some of our friends in Holland that the article entitled "Dutch Slave-Trade," copied, together with its title, from the *Morning Herald*, and stated so to be, has been the subject of much unpleasant animadversion. This, we are informed, has been the case, both in conversation and on the part of the Dutch newspaper press. The *Staats Courant*, an official or government paper, appears to have made it the occasion of a pointed attack upon the *Reporter* and its promoters, in an article which has been extensively copied into the other Dutch newspapers. We, therefore, feel called upon to notice the subject generally, together with the article referred to, and request the dispassionate perusal by our readers in Holland of the remarks we are about to make. We think it, however, an act of justice towards those who complain of our conduct, to insert in the first place the whole of the article referred to, contained in the *Staats Courant*. It is as follows:—

The *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

An article appears in the number of this periodical of the 29th December last, under the very significant title of *Dutch slave-trade*, which cannot remain unanswered. That article contains a tissue of shameful falsehoods, of which the following are the chief:—

"For some years past thousands of Africans have been carried off from St George d'Elmina to the East Indies, under the name of recruits, but in reality to undergo live-long bondage."

The numbers of Africans conveyed from Elmina to India for the military service amounts, since the commencement of this manner of recruiting, to *about two thousand in all*. *Two* is certainly a number, but when the real fact here stated is compared with the account given, the latter to say no more of it is rather hyperbolical.

The negro soldiers are neither slaves nor "*bondsmen*." They are enlisted for a limited term of years, and several of these military having served out their time have already returned to Elmina, some in the enjoyment of pensions, to which the wounds they had received gave them a right. In the Dutch East Indian settlements they are allowed the same pay, and experience the same treatment as the European soldiers.

Although the wish to be moderate has caused us to give the two first untruths in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* the mild name of hyperbolical misrepresentations, we must be more severe with regard to those that follow.

"The recruits (this publication states) are furnished by the Ashantee princes. The strongest and healthiest are selected at Elmina—the remaining, usually two-thirds or three-fourths of the number, are murdered in cold blood."

We should fear to insult those readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* who exercise their judgment, by a detailed refutation of this statement, in which the calumniator so far misses his aim by exaggeration, that he really makes a very serious matter appear ridiculous. The number of recruits approved of and carried off, amounts according to him to thousands. But the amount of these, stands in proportion to those rejected as one to three; and the latter being all deliberately slaughtered, this carnage must have been to the extent of at least *ten thousand*.

Is it to be thought that such nonsense is believed by him who wrote it? Certainly not, but this furnishes new proof that candour and the love of truth are not the characteristics of the periodical press of the present time, not even of that part which fights under the banner of that Master whose lips were never sullied by falsehood.

That this observation may be fully applied to the periodical which we are now confuting, will appear convincingly from our reply to the last series of remarks of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

"Those thus murdered (says the paper) are, however, the most fortunate; for of those who go on the voyage, not one-half reach the place of destination. The mortality during the voyage is frightful. Out of one hundred of these poor wretches, shipped towards the close of last year, but seventeen arrived. The others had died from thirst, the water casks or tanks having run empty by leakage."

As a convincing refutation of this shameful mis-statement, a list follows, made up from official sources, of all the divisions of negro recruits sent off to India in the years 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840, and of the numbers landed there. The names of the vessels and their measurement in English tons are also mentioned, partly to show that the detachments were very comfortably lodged, and likewise in order to facilitate further investigation on the part of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, should it be considered necessary.

Names of the vessels.	Measurement. Tons Eng.	Year of departure.	Number of negro recruits. Shipped at Elmina.	Discharged at Batavia.
Jonge Adriana	600	1837	80	80
Jacobus	352	ditto	71	71
Vinus Maria	777	ditto	140	139
Anthony	714	ditto	80	79
Hendrika	1400	ditto	151	149
Elizabeth	544	1837-8	80	79
India	1400	ditto	100	99
Maria	451	1838	80	80
Rhoon and Pendrecht	1300	ditto	100	97
Menado	940	ditto	120	117
Princess Marianne	1000	1838-9	150	146
Elizabeth	544	1839	105	105
Jacobus	352	ditto	70	70
Jonge Adriana	600	ditto	67	64
Batavia	1098	1839-40	110	108
Menado	940	1840	119	118
Maria	451	ditto	58	57
Anthony	714	ditto	83	83
Total			1764	1741

Thus it appears that, of 1764 recruits sent off during the course of four years, 1741 had reached their place of destination—that the deaths have been on an average one and a half in the hundred, instead of fifty—that, so far from a detachment sent by the *Anthony* (which vessel sailed towards the end of 1840) having melted down from one hundred men to seventeen, not one on the contrary of the eighty-three men sent by her was lost; and lastly, that, if on board one of these ships which went off in 1840, the water leaked out of the casks, the negros appear to possess the important secret of doing without that first necessary of human life in a remarkable manner.

After the *Anthony*, three more vessels (the *Menado*, *Jacobus*, and *Europa*,) were sent to Elmina for fetching recruits, but it is not yet known how they have discharged their detachments. The last-named will take away the whole negro *depot*, government having given directions to stop the African recruiting, finding by experience that it is impossible to maintain sufficient discipline among the negro troops, compatibly with the mild regulations of our military code.

We object in the first place, to the manner in which these remarks were introduced to the Dutch public, because we regard it as uncandid and unjust. The paragraph is quoted as one originally furnished by the *Reporter*, and published upon its authority. We have, however, already remarked that this is not the case, as will at once appear by a reference to our publication of the date specified. It is indeed remarked in another part of our columns, that "the article on Dutch slave-trade adds a melancholy interest to what we have already stated concerning the voyage of the *Europa*."

It will thus be seen precisely how far the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* is responsible for all the particulars contained in the article which he has borrowed from the *Morning Herald*. This we believe to be just as much as the *Staats Courant* could be considered answerable for extracting a communication respecting foreign affairs from the *Journal de la Haye*, and noticing such a communication in a few lines, from which it might be inferred that the editor of the *Staats Courant* supposed the news which is thus given to be founded on facts.

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It deserves here to be noticed, in reference to the probable value of the information thus given, that the *Morning Herald* is a paper in extensive circulation, holding a respectable station in the newspaper press, and has been honourably distinguished for the advocacy of several important questions of a humane, rather than of a political or party character. The article was originally published in the columns of the *Herald* as a letter from a correspondent, and bears the date of "the Hague."

We confess that it did not occur to us that the general character of the communication was such as should induce us at once to put it aside, and the editor of the *Herald* appears to have taken the same view of the subject. Conscious of our own desire simply to record the truth, as far as we are acquainted with it, on all matters which have relation to the slave-trade and slavery, we did not imagine that the individual who has addressed the *Herald* was actuated by other or opposite feelings. We did not indeed submit the document to the same searching revision to which many of our articles are subjected, because we do not consider ourselves to be equally responsible for statements which are introduced as resting upon other authority than our own, as for those which we ourselves insert from communications furnished directly to us, or upon our own knowledge. Every dispassionate reader who understands the subject, will, we think, admit the reasonableness of this view. It is highly probable that many persons who have read the remarks in the *Staats Courant*, will consider some of the statements which have been made in connexion with the purchase of slaves by the Dutch government as much more fallacious than is really the case. Those who are unacquainted with those frightful scenes which are continually occurring in Africa in connexion with the commerce in human beings, cannot form any just conception of what is likely to take place in transactions which involve the purchase and sale of our fellow-men in that country.

The principal points on which, from the statements made in the *Staats Courant*, erroneous ideas appear to have been given, in connexion with the subject under notice, are—and some of these doubtless are of no small importance—that for thousands said for several years past to have been carried off to the Dutch Indies, within the last four years about two thousand only have been thus sent; and that the mortality during the voyage to the East Indies generally, and on a particular occasion, are very greatly overstated, having really been as (it appears) one and a-half per cent, instead of one half only being destined to reach the place which is described as the land of their captivity. The alleged fact, that "out of one hundred of these poor wretches shipped towards the close of last year, but seventeen reached the Dutch East India colonies alive," appears to be without foundation. These we deem to be the most important statements which the evidence furnished by the *Staats Courant* is calculated to rebut.

We do not find any satisfactory refutation of the charge, that very large numbers of slaves rejected as unfit for the Dutch military service, are put to death by those who had provided them. It is indeed true, that the proportionate number of those who are said to be thus rejected is greater than on consideration we should deem very probable; but, independently of this circumstance, there is nothing in the statement on this point at variance with facts which have frequently occurred at all periods known to us in connexion with the slave-trade, or inconsistent with that awful degree of depravity and wickedness which may be reasonably expected from traffickers in human beings.

We do not attach great importance to the alleged good treatment of the African soldiers, as stated in the *Staats Courant*, and think that it is scarcely consistent with the concluding passage in that journal, which states that government has ordered the enlisting of Africans to be stopped, as experience shows the impossibility of maintaining a proper discipline among the negro soldiers, and of preserving the mild regulations of their military institutions. Has it then we would ask been found needful in years that are past to treat these ignorant and unhappy Africans with much harshness, or has the usual military discipline in their case been neglected! We think there can be little doubt as to the course which has been adopted.

We shall not ask what is the number now living of those who have thus been expatriated; but we may express our sincere satisfaction in the determination at which the Dutch government has arrived, that the encouragement which we cannot conceal from ourselves has been given to the slave-trade, by the purchase on their account of persons held as slaves, is for the future to cease.

It is well known to those conversant with the history of the slave-trade, that not less than double the number of those sold as slaves are computed to be destroyed in procuring them. This loss of life arises from those acts of treachery and violence to which the slave-trade is a continual incentive—including the burning of innumerable villages, and the wars which are continually waged—the number who perish in the journey to the coast, and at the place of exportation—in the latter place, either from the want of necessaries, or the sufferings which they undergo—and the by no means uncommon circumstance of the murder of those who do not meet with purchasers.

Thus it will be seen that, whatever may have been the proportion of those who met their death in the manner last mentioned among those who have been provided for the supply of the Dutch government, it is not improbable that, for every Dutch soldier thus procured, two Africans have been doomed to perish. In confirmation of this view of the subject, we may appeal to Sir T. F. Buxton's recent work on the slave-trade, and to Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade*. We hope that we shall never again have occasion to refer to this painful subject. We cannot but suppose that the Dutch government and people would indignantly disclaim a charge of being in any manner accessory to such acts of barbarity; but melancholy facts prove that there are few indeed among professedly Christian countries, and especially those which have foreign possessions, which must not, if honest to themselves, plead guilty of having done in numerous instances that which assuredly they ought not to have done. Few indeed are there which are even now free from the shame and guilt of countenancing the most frightful injustice towards a considerable portion of those over whom they hold a distant rule. What shall be said of allowing a system to remain, founded upon a crime now so generally abhorred as the African slave-trade! What shall be said of legalizing a property, the title to which is robbery and murder, which, so long as it exists, involves the practice of daily injustice, in denying to the labourer the fair reward of his toil, and which, by its multiplied privations and sufferings, abridges in countless instances the period of human existence!

In conclusion, we may express our entire willingness at any time to correct any mistake which may find an entrance into our journal, having one motive only for our labours, to diffuse as far as possible simple unadulterated truth in reference to those who are the objects of our deep sympathy, believing that we shall thus best promote the early termination of their cruel and unmerited sufferings.

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.

To promote this object Mr. Burnley has put forth a bulky pamphlet of nearly two hundred pages. It is entitled, *Observations on the present condition of the island of Trinidad, and the actual state of the experiment of negro emancipation*. By far the larger part of it, however, consists of the Report of the Trinidad Agricultural Committee, and the evidence taken by them, both of which have already appeared in the island papers. The observations of Mr. Burnley occupy about forty pages only, and these are couched in a phraseology which indicates (very clearly on some occasions) that he wishes to be considered, in making them, as expressing the sentiments of the Committee. In this we have no doubt he is perfectly justified, inasmuch as it has been evident throughout that the Trinidad Agricultural Committee has been merely a device for bringing forward with more of pomp and circumstance the views of Mr. Burnley. Hence it has arisen, we presume, that there is nothing new in the whole pamphlet; but that it is merely a repetition, with a show of documents, of the sentiments which the world has known Mr. Burnley to hold for some years past.

In examining his present *brochure*, we find much reason to complain of unfairness. This highly unsatisfactory quality manifests itself in the very title of his pamphlet. He calls it, "Observations on the present condition of the island of Trinidad, and *the actual state of the experiment of Negro Emancipation*." Now Mr. Burnley knows as well as we do that "the experiment of Negro Emancipation" has been tried in more places than Trinidad. He endeavours to show, indeed, (p. 5) that this island may be taken, not merely as a fair, but as a favourable sample of the entire British West Indies; but in some important respects this is altogether untrue. If the view he gives of the moral degradation of the blacks in Trinidad since emancipation (which, however, the evidence is far from bearing out) is correct, there are islands—we name Jamaica as one—in which the reverse has taken place; and the prevalence of immorality in Trinidad (on which it will be seen by a reader of Mr. Burnley's observations that he lays much stress) is, therefore, not a characteristic result of emancipation as such, but an accidental result, arising from the absence in one case of those salutary moral elements which abounded in others. Mr. Burnley should have professed to tell us the result of emancipation *only in the island of Trinidad*.

There are instances of unfairness still more important. Mr. Burnley makes his whole list of mischiefs end in the proposal of one remedy, namely the importation of more labourers from Africa; and, of course, if there is any justice in such a mode of argument, it must be on the assumption that all the evils mentioned would be relieved by the remedy proposed. We do not for a moment believe that Mr. Burnley imposes on himself by any such imagination. We take again the alleged bad state of morals for an example, and ask whether the extensive importation of Africans can have any tendency to diminish an evil of this sort. And yet, either the case is so put, or else all that relates to the morals of the peasantry in Trinidad is utterly irrelevant to the object of the pamphlet.

It is a further instance of unfairness, that Mr. Burnley should exhibit as emphatically the motive of his plan, the tendency which he ascribes to it of conferring benefits on the exported Africans, and of extinguishing the slave-trade. We do not mean to ascribe, either to Trinidad planters in general, or to Mr. Burnley in particular, insincerity in their professed regard for these objects; but we cannot hesitate to express our belief that it is not on account of its humane results that they are longing to export Africans to the West Indies. We surely do them no wrong in saying that their object is profit. What they want is to cheapen and extend the manufacture of sugar. Had it not been for this, no plan for extinguishing the slave-trade or

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improving the Africans would ever have emanated from them, and least of all this particular plan of a copious emigration to Trinidad. It is unfair, therefore, to frame this argument as though the planters were actuated by benevolent motives, and as though persons not concurring with them must be hostile to their benevolent designs. An egregious example of this unfairness is furnished by Mr. Burnley, at p. 30, where the following passage is printed in italics:—

"The question now to be considered is, whether the plan proposed of liberating African slaves, and conveying them to a British colony, there to enjoy freedom and the benefits of civilization, is calculated in its effects immediately to diminish, and at no distant period entirely to extinguish, the slave-trade; and if so, whether any single step in the proceedings required to accomplish it appears so objectionable as to induce a wise and humane legislator to decline its adoption."

Now we must be permitted to say that this is *not* the question. The question is whether, for the planters' profit, and for furnishing them with the means of extending the cultivation of sugar, the British government shall sanction the exportation of Africans to the West Indies. The manifest endeavour to keep this out of view, and to make opponents feel as if they were resisting the civilization of Africa and the extinction of the slave-trade, is an artifice of which a good cause would scarcely have availed itself.

To these instances of unfairness we must add another, of equal importance. Mr. Burnley represents his proposal as "a plan of *liberating* African slaves." This is too bad. It is a plan for *buying* African slaves. In no sense is it a plan for liberating them, but that—as is alleged—they are to be set free when bought. But as, on the one hand, this allegation, if it were true, could never sanction the institution of an African traffic in slaves, so, on the other, the allegation itself is untrue. Not one so purchased will have the name of freedom till he reaches Trinidad, or the substance of it when he arrives there. The thing intended is a *forcible expatriation*, and a state of compulsory servitude; and this is called conferring liberty!

We have noticed the unfairness by which Mr. Burnley's observations are so extensively characterized, because we think it ought to go far towards neutralizing them. He may be regarded as a special pleader, whose aim is not to do justice to a subject, but to make out a case; and who cares not, so as he can exhibit a plausible case, by how much hood-winking and artifice it is done. We frankly confess that the perusal of this pamphlet has greatly impaired the confidence we had in him.

As to the main question, we may certainly take his putting the stress of it on the tendency of his proposal to benefit Africa and terminate the slave-trade, as an acknowledgment that, on the ground of profit to the planters, his appeal to the public is hopeless. His piece of cajolery for the abolitionists he endeavours to support by an argument, the gist of which is, that, if we buy slaves to work them as freemen, we shall get more profit out of them than our rival man-dealers of Cuba and Brazil. That there is a fearful atrocity in this argument must be obvious at a glance. The systematic purchase of slaves on the coast of Africa, by which alone Mr. Burnley's scheme could be carried out, must generate such enormous crimes and miseries on that unhappy continent, that we are utterly amazed how any one professing a regard for its improvement can have entertained it for an instant. A writer in the *Colonial Gazette*, going a little more honestly into this question than Mr. Burnley, offers a suggestion by which he thinks the *slave-trading* aspect of the scheme may be got over.

"Let us see if the stimulus might not be equally applied without *purchasing* the enslaved. Suppose a depôt were established at any given place on the African coast, and that the European emigration-agent were to make it known among chiefs and slave-dealers, that he would give a bounty at least equal to the current price of a slave, possibly exceeding it, on the embarkation of every voluntary emigrant brought to the depôt. He might make the native agent understand that he would have no prisoners, and would not be a party to their detention or embarkation: it might be a rule, that all emigrants should be brought to the depôt at least a certain number of days before deportation; arrived at the depôt, they would be treated as freemen; its gates would be open, there would be no constraint upon their actions; but the bonus would not be payable till their embarkation. It appears to us that some such modification of the Trinidad plan might have considerable advantages: it would not be a purchasing of slaves, but literally a procuring of free recruits; it would insure the emigrants being to some extent a party to the bargain; and it would put into the mind of the African a totally new idea—that a *free* migration was desirable, practicable, and profitable."

This is certainly almost enough to excite a smile, even on a matter of the deepest melancholy. Which of the "chiefs or slave-dealers," let us ask, would consent to part with his slave, as such, until the "bonus"—only another name for purchase-money—were secured to him! Or what, let us ask further, would be the condition of those "free-men" at the barracoons who should not choose to emigrate; but, by going as "freemen" to their homes, should deprive the "chiefs and slave-dealers" of their anticipated "bonus!" The muskets and spears of "chiefs and slave-dealers" would be as effectual constraints to emigrate as the bland promises of the "emigration agent," and would certainly be as persuasively employed. We take this suggestion of our sagacious contemporary as indicating his conviction that the system proposed is vicious at the core; and we recommend to him his own advice, that "well-meaning men should give over cheating themselves with names."

LAW OF SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

THE following authoritative exposition of the law of slavery among the Mohammedans and Hindoos of British India was given by the officers of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, in consequence of information before that court that frequent irregularities had been practised in the acquisition of slaves, and also that, in some instances, the treatment of them, especially of female slaves, was cruel or otherwise immoral.

MOHAMMEDAN SLAVERY.

All men are by nature free and independent, and no man can be a subject of property, except an infidel inhabiting a country not under the power and control of the faithful. This right of possession which the Moslems have over Hurbees (infidels fighting against the faith), is acquired by Isteela, which means the entire subduement of any subject of property by force of arms. The original right of property which one man may possess over another is to be acquired solely by Isteel, and cannot be obtained in the first instance by purchase, donation, or heritage. When, therefore, an Imaum subdues by force of arms any one of the cities inhabited by infidels, such of them as may be taken prisoners become his rightful property, and he has the power of putting them to death or making them slaves, and distributing them as such among the ghazees (victorious soldiers), particularly when fighting against infidels; or he may set them at liberty in a Mussulman country, and levy the capitation tax; should he make them slaves, they become legal subjects of property, and are transferable by sale, gift, or inheritance. But if, after captivity, they should become converts to Islam (the faith), the power of death over them is thereby barred, though they would continue slaves; for, slavery being the necessary consequence of original infidelity, the conversion to Islam does not affect the prior state of bondage to which the individual has been regularly rendered liable by Isteela, provided this be clearly established. From this it is evident that the same rules are applicable to the slaves of both sexes. If slaves are afterwards sold or given away by the Imaum, or by the ghazees, who shared at the distribution, or if they should become the property of another by inheritance, they then become slaves under the three different classes of purchase, donation, and inheritance.

If a female should bear offspring by any other than by her legal lord and master, whether the father be a freeman or a slave, and whether the slave of the said master or of any other person, in any one of these cases such offspring is subject to slavery, and these are called khanazad (born in the family); but, if the children be the acknowledged offspring of the right owner, they are then free, and the mother of them (being the parent of a child by her master) becomes, at his decease, free also: and this rule is applicable to all their descendants to the latest posterity. The practice among free men and women of selling their own offspring, during the time of famine, is exceedingly improper and unjustifiable, being in direct opposition to the principle above stated, viz., that no man can be a subject of property, except an infidel taken in the act of hostilities against the faith. In no case can a person, legally free, become a subject of property; and children not being the property of their parents, all sales or purchases of them, as any other articles of illegal property, are consequently invalid. It is also illegal for any freeman to sell his own person, either in time of famine, or though he be oppressed by a debt which he is unable to discharge. For in the first of these cases a famished man may feed upon a dead body! or may rob another; and a distressed debtor is not liable to any fine or punishment.

We are not acquainted with the principal or detailed circumstances, which led to the custom prevailing in most Mussulman countries of purchasing and selling the inhabitants of Zanguibar, Ethiopia, Nubia, and other negros: but the ostensible causes are, either tha tthe negros sell their own offspring, or that Mussulman or other tribes of people take them prisoners by fraud, or seize them by stealth from the sea shores. In such cases they are not legally slaves, and the sale and purchase of them are consequently invalid. But if a Mussulman army, by order of an Imaum, should invade their country, and make them prisoners of war by forte of arms, they are then legal slaves; provided that such negros are inhabitants of a country under the government of infidels, and in which a Mussulman is not entitled to receive the full benefit and protection of his own laws. With regard to the custom, prevailing in this country, of hiring children from their parents for a very considerable period, such as for seventy or eighty years, and under this pretext making them slaves, as well as their produce also, under the denomination of khanazad (domestic slaves), the following laws are applicable:—"It is lawful and proper for parents to hire out their children on service, but this contract of hire becomes null and void when the child arrives at the years of discretion, as the right of parentage then ceases. A free man, who has reached the years of discretion, may enter into a contract to serve another, but not for any great length of time, such as for seventy years; as this also is a mere pretext, and has the same object of slavery in view, whereas the said free man has the option of dissolving any contract of hire under either of the following circumstances:—It is the custom, in contracts of this nature, for a person hired on service to receive a compensation in money, clothes, and food, as the price of hire; any day therefore that a servant receives such a compensation, he is in duty bound to serve for that day, but not otherwise. The condition of contract of hire requires that the return of profit be equal to the price of hire, and this cannot be ascertained but by degrees, and in course of time. The contract of hire, therefore, becomes complete, or fulfilled according to the services or benefit actually rendered in return for the price of hire received, and the person hired has consequently the option of dissolving the contract at any moment of the period originally agreed for.

It is unavoidable and necessary in contracts of a different nature, such as in rent of land, &c., that the lessee should not have this power; but, reverting to contracts of hire for service for a long period, the nefarious practices of subjecting free men to a state of bondage under this pretence, it appears expedient to provide against such abuses; and with this view to restrict the period for service in all contracts of hired freemen to a month, or year, or the utmost to three years, as in cases of Ijaraiwurgf, a form of endowment. It is customary also among the Zumeni Towaif, to purchase female free children from their parents, or by engagements directly with the children themselves; exclusively of the illegality of such purchases, there is a further evil resulting from this practice, which is, the children

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are taught dancing and singing for others, and are also made prostitutes, which are extremely improper, and expressly forbidden by the law.

The rightful proprietor of male and female slaves has a claim to the services of such slaves to the extent of their ability. He may employ them in baking, cooking, in making, dyeing, and washing clothes; as agents in mercantile transactions; in attending cattle, in tillage, or cultivation; as carpenters, ironmongers, and goldsmiths; in transcribing; as weavers, and in manufacturing woollen cloths; as shoemakers, boatmen, twisters of silk, water-drawers; in shaving; in performing surgical operations, such as cupping, &c., as farriers, bricklayers, and the like. He may hire them out on service in any of the above capacities; he may employ them himself, or for the use of his family, in other duties of a domestic nature, such as in fetching water for washing on *eratoo* (religious purification), or anointing his body with oil, rubbing his feet, or attending his person while dressing, and in guarding the door of his house, &c. He may also have connexion with his legal female slave, provided she is arrived at the years of maturity, and the master or proprietor has not previously given her in marriage to another.

If a master oppress his slave by employing him on any duty beyond his ability, as insisting upon his carrying a load which he is incapable of bearing, or climbing a tree which he cannot, the Hakim or ruling power may chastise him. It is also improper for a master to order his slave to do that which is forbidden by the law, such as putting an innocent person to death, setting fire to a house, tearing the clothes off another, or prostituting himself by adultery and fornication; to steal or drink spirits, or to slander and abuse the chaste and virtuous; and, if a master be guilty of such like oppressions, the Hakim may inflict exemplary punishment by Fazeer and Ugoobut Hugool Illah (literally the right of God), and meaning on principles of public justice.

It is further unlawful for a master to punish his male or female slave for disrespectful conduct, and such like offences, further than by tadeeb (correction), as the power of passing sentence of tazeer and qisaes is solely vested in the Hakim. If, therefore, the master should exceed the limits of his power of chastisement above stated, he is liable to tazeer. If a master should have connexion with his female-slave before she has arrived at the years of maturity, and, if the female slave should in consequence be seriously injured, or should die, the ruling power may punish him by tazeer and Ugoobut Hugool Illah, as before defined.

If the master of male or female slaves should tyrannize over them by treating them unjustly, stinting them in food, or imposing upon them duties of an oppressive nature; or if a master should have connexion with his slave girl before she has arrived at the years of maturity, or should give her in marriage to another, with permission to cohabit with her in this state, such master sins against the divine laws, and the ruling power may punish him; but the commission of such crimes by the master does not authorize the manumission of the slave, nor has the Hakim any right or authority to grant emancipation. Adverting to the principle upon which the legality of slavery is originally established, viz., that the subject of property must be an infidel, and taken in the act of hostilities against the faith; and also to the several branches of legal slavery arising from this principle, as by purchase, donation, inheritance, and khanzadee; whenever a case of possession of an unlawful male or female slave should be referred to the Hakim for investigation, it is his duty to pass an order, according to the original right of freedom of such individual, to deprive the unjust proprietor of possession, and to grant immediate emancipation to the slave.

HINDOO SLAVERY.

There are fifteen different sorts of male and female slaves, as follows:—1st, Girihgat, that is, born of a female slave: 2nd, Kireet, that is, one bought for a price, either from the parents or from the former owner: 3rd, Lubdhi, that is, one received in donation: 4th, Dayada pagut, that is, one acquired by inheritance: 5th, Unakut Chirt, that is, one maintained or protected in time of famine: 6th, Aheet, that is, a slave pledged by his master: 7th, Bundus, that is, a distressed debtor, voluntarily engaged to serve his creditor for a stipulated period: 8th, Joodh purasput, that is, one taken captive in war: 9th, Punjeet, that is, won in a stake or gambling wager: 10th, Oofigut, that is, one offering himself in servitude, without any compensation or return: 11th, Purbburjeea busit, that is, a Brahmin relinquishing a state of religious mendicancy which he had voluntarily assumed; an apostate mendicant, however, is the slave of the rajah or government only: 12th. Ibrit kal, that is, stipulated, or one offering himself in servitude for a stipulated time: 13th, Bhuegal das, that is, one offering himself in servitude for the sake of food: 14th, Birbar chirt, that is, one becoming a slave on condition of marriage with a slave girl: 15th, Atmu bikrita, that is, self sold, or one who has sold himself for a price. Authorities, Mituchra-uprusk, Rutnakur, Ribad chinta, Nunie kul putro, and others.

The owner of a male or female slave may require of such slave the performance of impure work, such as plastering and sweeping the house, cleaning the door, gateway, and necessary; rubbing his master's naked body, (bunudome nehanu) with oil, and clothing him; removing fragments of victuals left at his master's table, and eating them; removing urine and human ordure; rubbing his master's feet and other limbs, &c. In cases of disobedience or fault committed by the slave, the master has power to beat his slave with a thin stick, or to bind him with a rope: and, if he should consider the slave deserving of severe punishment, he may pull his hair or expose him upon an ass; but, if the master should exceed this extent of his authority, and inflict punishment upon his slave of a severer nature than above stated, he is liable to pay a fine to the Hakim or ruling power, of a thousand puns of eight thousand cowries. This is declared by Menu, according to Patnaker Behbad, Chinta, Munnie, and other authorities.

A master has no right to command his male or female slave to perform any other duties besides those specified in the answer to the second question, or authority to punish his slave further than in the manner before stated; and, if he should exceed this discretionary power, in either case, he is liable to the same penalty, viz. one thousand puns of cowries. This is declared by Menu and Beshie.

The commission of offences of the above nature by the master does not affect the state of the slave; and the ruling power has not the right of granting his manumission. But, if it should be established in evidence before the Hakim, that any person having stolen or inveigled away a child or slave had afterwards sold him to another, or that any person had compelled another into a state of slavery by violence, the ruling power may then order the emancipation of such child or slave; and if a master, or any other person by permission of the master, should cohabit with a slave girl before she has arrived at the years of maturity, and this fact be proved, the ruling power may sentence such offender to pay a fine of fifty puns of cowries, but cannot emancipate the slave girl.

Whenever a slave girl has borne a child by her master, such slave, together with the child, becomes free, and the ruling power should sanction their emancipation.

This is the law declared by Jak Bulk Mannoo and Kutoo bun, according to Mittuchora and other authorities.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the last subscription list, under *Cheltenham*, instead of "the difference is the expense incurred in printing, &c." *read* "the difference is the amount paid for Society's publications, and in helping the agency."

E. S. A., on Anti-slavery Sentiment in Germany, shall be inserted as soon as possible.

We fear the notice of M. L'Instant's Prize Essay is too long for our columns; but we will do our best to find room for it.

Mr. Haughton's letter on Liberia is under consideration; as is also the hint from Belfast.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 26TH.

WE have great satisfaction in informing our readers, that the French Society for the abolition of Slavery have finally determined to hold a public meeting at the Hotel de Ville, Paris, on the 21st February, 1842, for the abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies and throughout all Civilized States. At this meeting it is expected there will be representatives from different parts of the Continent of Europe, and to it a deputation from Great Britain and Ireland will be appointed.

WE regret to find that the British consul in Cuba, Mr. Turnbull, has been placed under arrest by the authorities of Matanzas. The occurrence is mentioned in the *New Orleans Bee* in the following terms:—

A serious affair has just commenced in the neighbourhood of Matanzas. It appears that the English consul went, a few days since, to a plantation situated near that town, and attempted to obtain the emancipation of all the slaves belonging to a planter who had arrived from Jamaica. His seditious counsels might have occasioned a general revolt among the coloured population of that place. As soon as the commander at Matanzas obtained information of this occurrence, he arrested the consul, and sent him back here, escorted by soldiers, under the orders of the government. We do not know what will be the result of this affair.

We add the following extracts from the *Morning Herald*, and shall wait with interest the development of this case, which will probably be highly to the credit of the British functionary.

Our Madrid letter confirms the statement which has already appeared in the London papers of the arrest of Mr. Turnbull, the British consul at Havana, by the authorities of Matanzas, on the alleged charge of having incited some negros to rise against their masters.

The Havana correspondence states that Mr. Turnbull, our consul, had been arrested at Matanzas, where he had gone on business, and brought in custody to the former city on a charge of having attempted to prevail on some slaves to mutiny against their owners. If true, this is a serious business, one which may bring about serious differences between the two governments.

Another disagreeable occurrence is likewise stated, namely, that an English boat laden with contraband goods, being closely pursued by the revenue cruisers, attempted to take shelter under the protection of our receiving ship there, but that she was nevertheless captured.

WE observe in the Netherlands *Staats Courant*, of the 14th inst., an article referring to one in the *Reporter* of the 29th ult. (copied by us from the *Morning Herald*), of which a copy will be found in another part of our columns.

As our object is the spread of truth regarding slavery and the slave-trade, we have taken the earliest opportunity of inserting the reply. We have, however, to remark with regard to ourselves, that the *Staats Courant* has fallen into an error in attributing this article on Dutch slave-trade to our paper, for it was distinctly headed, *from the Morning Herald*. We trust, therefore, that the *Staats Courant*, and other Dutch papers that have inserted the article relative to the former statement in the *Reporter*, will do us the justice to give a place to our present remarks likewise.

Though, according to what is published by the Dutch Government journal, the transporting of African negros to Java certainly assumes a somewhat different aspect, yet we sincerely rejoice that the practice is to be discontinued in future, as all transactions in negros in Africa, of whatever kind, have the inevitable tendency of producing wars among the native princes in order to obtain them, and every one who is in any degree conversant with the horrors of the slave-trade, knows but too well with how much bloodshed and misery such wars are accompanied.

We have made some remarks at greater length in another part of our paper, under the head of *Slave-Trade and Dutch Soldiers*.

THE case of the *Creole*, United States brig, conveying slaves from Richmond, Virginia, to New Orleans, which we briefly mentioned in our last as "a second Amistad," is one of

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great interest and importance. It appears that, out of a cargo of one hundred and thirty-five slaves, nineteen (the leader of whom had the ominous name of Madison Washington) had concerted the rescue of the vessel, and their own liberation, by making an English port. It is, we believe, the first occurrence of the kind in the history of American slavery, and the more important because it is by no means likely to be the last. The slaves knew that a party wrecked on the Bahamas had previously acquired liberty; and this alone is enough to account for their attempt. If, however, they had learned also the particulars of the *Amistad*, it can hardly be doubted that their resolution was strengthened by the success of Cinque and his companions. The rescue of the *Creole* will undoubtedly be known throughout the slave regions of the United States, and may stimulate imitation to a very serious extent. Altogether the occurrence is evidently destined to produce a very powerful effect, both on the slave-holders and the slaves.

A most important element in the progress of the case is the action of the British government. The predominance of the slave-holding party in the United States will, of course, lead to the adoption of the most strenuous measures on the part of their government to obtain indemnity for the liberated slaves, and especially the surrender of the nineteen. Undoubtedly a fearful example would be made of them, with a view to deter others from similar attempts. We do not imagine, however, that Lord Aberdeen can hesitate for a moment as to the course he should pursue. As to indemnity for the liberated slaves, an established and noble precedent is already before him, in the refusal of Lord Palmerston to give indemnity for the slave cargo of the *Enterprise*, driven by stress of weather into Bermuda. This has been as yet the only case of American slaves making British ground *since emancipation*; and it was argued by Lord Palmerston on grounds so constitutional and just, that we conceive it will be recognized as an authoritative precedent in all similar cases. The question respecting the surrender of the active parties in effecting the rescue, may be taken to be already decided by the American courts themselves, in the case of the *Amistad*. If "a narrow margin of law" divides the cases one from the other, it is clear there is no difference in morals. The public interest will be as intense for the preservation of Washington and his companions from a judicial murder in America, as ever it was for the rescue of Cinque and the other Mendians from a similar atrocity in Cuba.

THE West India mail which has arrived since our last, brings further melancholy accounts of the condition of the European and American immigrants, of which some particulars will be found in another part of our paper. It appears that the attorney-general has moved in the house of assembly for an inquiry on the subject. This is satisfactory, and we have only to wish that it may be fully gone into, and honestly reported.

The only other matter of interest brought by this mail, is the "cry for help," as it has been called, from British Guiana, which we have noticed elsewhere.

We direct attention to a gratifying private letter from St. Lucia.

WE copy from the public papers an interesting and important despatch, addressed by Mr. Aston, our ambassador at Madrid, to the Spanish government. We cannot but warmly congratulate the friends of humanity on the position which has thus been taken by the British government; nor need we withhold an expression of our gratification that it accords so nearly with the views set forth by the Anti-slavery Committee, in their memorial to Lord Palmerston of the 20th of March, 1840.

DEMAND OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR THE RELEASE OF SLAVES ILLEGALLY INTRODUCED INTO CUBA AND BRAZIL.

SPAIN and Brazil have been for many years under the most solemn engagements to co-operate with this country in the suppression of the slave-trade. Under treaties with these powers the government of this country has acquired the right to demand what has become of the Africans who, it is notorious, have been illicitly and scandalously introduced by hundreds of thousands since the formation of these treaties, and who still continue to be introduced into the colonies and territories belonging to them, notwithstanding the vigilance of a fleet of British cruizers, kept up at an immense expenditure both of treasure and of life, on the coasts of Africa, Brazil, and Cuba, by Great Britain. Our treaties with Spain for the suppression of the slave-trade date as far back as the year 1817, and were purchased at an expense of £400,000 sterling, which large sum was paid as an indemnity for losses which Spaniards then engaged in the traffic might suffer as a necessary consequence of its abolition. By the treaty of 1817, the king of Spain engaged wholly to abolish the traffic in slaves "throughout the entire dominions of Spain, on the 30th day of May, 1820." And the laws of Spain declare all slaves clandestinely introduced into her colonies from that period to be free.

Our treaty with Brazil for the accomplishment of the same object was made in March, 1827, in which it was stipulated "that it shall not be lawful for the subjects of the emperor of Brazil to be concerned in carrying on of the African slave-trade, under any pretext, or in any manner whatever; and the carrying on such trade after that period, by any subject of his imperial majesty, shall be deemed and treated as piracy." In a decree passed by the legislative assembly of Brazil, and which received the sanction of the regency in 1831, it was declared that "all slaves entering the territory or the ports of Brazil, coming from abroad, are free."

Now it is manifest that, had our treaties with these powers been respected, and their laws, grounded on the treaties, been carried into full effect, not only would the vast multitude of unhappy beings who are now enduring the most terrible fate to which men can be exposed; and the untold numbers who have miserably perished under circumstances the most revolting and horrible, have been preserved from slavery and death, but, the markets for slaves in these countries having been destroyed, the slave-trade, with all its atrocious accompaniments, so far as they were concerned, would have been destroyed also.

The rights acquired under these treaties Great Britain is now exercising. She demands of Spain the complete fulfilment of her obligations. She requires that power, as the test of her sincerity, to emancipate all the slaves who have been introduced into her colonies since the year 1820, in opposition to her laws and her engagements with this country. The present enlightened government of Spain have, we are happy to say, so far acceded to her demands as to call for information on the subject; and it is this call which has filled the slave-traffickers and slave-holders of Cuba with alarm. They well know that the liberation of the first slave feloniously introduced will destroy the slave-trade, by cutting up the system of slavery itself by the roots. The immense profits hitherto realized by the traffickers in human flesh, which has enabled them to bid defiance to all our efforts to put an end to their guilty practices, will be gone, "for no man buyeth their merchandise any more."

As to Brazil the same righteous demand will be made on her. She will be called upon to deliver from the bondage in which they are unlawfully held, an immense portion of her slave population, the victims of a trade which she herself spontaneously and nobly denounced as piracy, and which her greatest men and most valued citizens pronounce to have been, and to be, her greatest curse.

There are two parties in Brazil, as well as in Cuba, who feel the deepest interest in this question. In the Spanish colony, the Creole or native population are almost to a man opposed to the slave-trade, and, in their memorials to the regency, they charge the continuance of the guilty traffic on strangers, fostered and sustained by the home government. The native Brazilians are said to be equally averse to the slave-trade, and to lay the iniquity of its prevalence at the doors of the Portuguese who reside amongst them. However this may be, one thing is quite clear, that hitherto, the demand for slaves has been soexcessive in both countries that the slave-traders have had ample "verge and scope" for their nefarious employment; and that, some how or other, with or without the connivance of the governments of Spain and Brazil, and the subordinates in office, the slave-trade has been carried on with undiminished vigour, and all the checks we have hitherto put on it have only had the effect of increasing its horrors without diminishing its extent. This is the point with which the government has to do; and it is cheering to know that at length it will add to its diplomatic remonstrances, the demand for the fulfilment, to the very letter of its treaties with those powers for the suppression of the giant evil.

On Spain the demand has already been made, and the correspondence with foreign powers contained in the slave-trade papers of 1840, will shew that preliminary steps have been taken to enforce a similar demand on Brazil. Mr. Ouseley, our representative at Rio, in a communication to M. Lopes Gama, minister for foreign affairs, dated 3rd June, 1840, after adverting to the attempts which had been made by the slave-trade party in the Brazilian legislature to repeal the law of the 7th November, 1831, which gave effect to the treaty with this country, and secured, among other objects, the emancipation of all slaves illicitly introduced into Brazil; and after stating that the two governments they represented were bound, "both conjointly and separately, strongly and firmly to evince, by energetic acts, the good faith and efficiency of their united determination to put a stop to the fatal traffic in human beings, by which Brazil is inundated with uncivilized hordes, iniquitously kidnapped from their native country, and by which the prodigious efforts of her Majesty's government, and the expenditure which it has incurred, are sought to be rendered unavailing," observes—"It would be much to be lamented should any proposition pass which would render that law inoperative, or tend in any way to encourage the slave-trade, as the undersigned would have to protest in the strongest manner in the name of his government against its adoption; which, however, with the present enlightened administration, cannot be apprehended, as it is clearly impossible, in law or equity, whatever may unfortunately be *de facto* the practice, to deprive of their rights and liberty, guaranteed by the most positive laws and the stipulations of treaty, a multitude of individuals, unaccused even of crime, and living under the protection of the laws and engagements of the imperial government, for the sake of securing impunity to their criminal oppressors. The undersigned repeats, that the possibility of carrying into effect such a violation of all moral and legal right is not to be expected in a civilized country." Here rested the matter with Senhor Lopes Gama, who shortly after was succeeded in office by M. Aureliano de Souza e Oleveira Continho, to whom Mr. Ouseley addressed himself on the 28th August, 1840, stating that he had "received positive instructions to protest in the strongest manner

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against the revocation of the law of the 7th November, 1831, by which, in fulfilment of philanthropic and just engagements with Great Britain, the unconditional freedom of illegally imported Africans into this empire was in the most solemn manner, guaranteed, and rendered their legal and absolute right." Of the entire concurrence of Lord Palmerston in the steps Mr. Ouseley had taken, we find proof in a despatch of his lordship to that functionary, dated the 2nd and the 25th September, 1840, from the latter of which we make the following extract:—"I have now to desire," says his lordship, "that you will state in writing to the Brazilian minister, that all negros who have been duly found to have been illegally imported into Brazil are, by the treaty between Great Britain and Brazil, entitled to be considered free; and that her Majesty's government could not admit, that any law which the Brazilian legislature may choose to pass, would afford to the Brazilian government the slightest justification whatever for violating a treaty between the two countries." Senhor Aureliano, in his reply to Mr. Ouseley, says, that the administration of which he forms a part "sympathizes with the philanthropic sentiments of the age; that it is in no way in favour of the traffic in slaves; and that it will not belie these sentiments by the manner in which it considers the said project of law." Thus, we perceive, that matters are ripe for decision between the two governments. Brazil must emancipate, if she would maintain the honour of her legislature, her laws, and her engagements with this country. At all events, Great Britain will not allow her treaty to remain a dead letter: she will exact the bond, and that will determine the fate of the slave-trade. Humanity, justice, religion, the faith of treaties, and the integrity of law, are on our side; all that is required to the accomplishment of our righteous object, is firmness, and that we may be well assured will not be wanting on the part of her Majesty's government.

In pursuing a course dictated by a regard to her honour, and to her true and permanent interests, Brazil will gain immensely. Never, whilst she cultivates her soil by slaves, will her mighty resources be developed—never will her native energies be called into play—never will her civilization be advanced. "This trade in human flesh," says Senhor Jose Bonifacio d'Andrada e Silva, in his celebrated memoir to the assembly of the empire of Brazil, "is a cancer that preys on the bowels of Brazil, wasting its capital, demoralizing its population, and destroying its energies. Were slavery abolished," he says, "the inhabitants of this empire, instead of being listless and cruel, as in fact the greatest portion of them now are, would become humane and just: whilst they would in the lapse of time be considerable gainers, by putting into free circulation dead capital at present absorbed by the use of slaves, and they would, moreover, relieve their families from the domestic examples of corruption and tyranny now constantly before their eyes—from enemies of their own as well as of the state—from the sight of men, in short, who now cannot be said to have a country of their own, yet by proper management may be made trusty fellow-citizens and useful members of the community." In concluding an eloquent and energetic address, he says, "Awaken from your slumbers, legislators of this vast empire of Brazil! You know, nay, experience has fully convinced you, that we can never prosper—never enjoy the advantages of a real and secure industry—of an enlarged and flourishing agriculture, as long as we avail ourselves of the aid and assistance derived from raw and depraved slaves. Both reason and experience have proved that substantial riches are only to be found where freedom and justice prevail, and never where captivity and corruption are seen triumphant. And, ye traffickers in human flesh, ye unjust and cruel owners of slaves," listen to the imperative calls of conscience, and "the cries of suffering humanity. . . . . Which of ye, in the age in which we live, is fool-hardy and inconsiderate enough not to know, that the perpetual slavery ye seek to uphold is not only opposed to the precepts of the gospel and the dictates of sound policy, but also at variance with your future interests, if only well understood, as well as the personal security and tranquillity of yourselves and children! Generous citizens of Brazil! keep in mind that, without individual freedom, civilization and solid riches can never exist; without it morality and justice are mere names; and, where morality and justice are not practised, there can be neither gallantry, strength, nor power among nations."

The crime of Brazil is at the present moment its greatest punishment. To say nothing of the internal evils which afflict that empire, there can be no doubt that, but for the system of slavery, its relations with this country would be of the most favoured character.

SLAVERY IN CUBA.—ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

THE following note has been addressed by the British ambassador at Madrid to the Spanish government, relative to the slaves in the island of Cuba:—

"*British Legation in Spain, Madrid, December 17th*, 1840.

"Sir,—Notwithstanding that the traffic in slaves under the flag of Spain has considerably diminished, in virtue of the treaty of June 15th, 1835, between Great Britain and Spain, nevertheless the dealers in slaves have hoisted other colours for the protection of their ships, by which means new importations of blacks from Africa have continued to supply the island of Cuba.

"It has been thought, in spite of this, that these abuses might be put a stop to by conferring on the mixed commission sitting at Havana the power to investigate into the cases of the negros existing at Havana in slavery, and declare whether they have been imported or not into the island subsequent to the 30th of October, 1820, and to decide whether the said negros should be emancipated.

"With this object, her Majesty's government has prepared the draft of a convention, which I have been ordered to propose to the Spanish government.

"I some months since submitted a copy of the said convention to M. Perez de Castre, and his Excellency promised me that the matter should be immediately taken into consideration.

"I have, therefore, the honour of now submitting to your Excellency another copy of the draft of the above-mentioned convention, the object of which I some time since explained to your Excellency.

"Her most Catholic Majesty's government has invariably professed the same lively wishes as those which influence Great Britain in co-operating in all the measures already proposed for the abolition of this abominable traffic; and, notwithstanding, it is an unquestionable fact, that, instead of being lessened, or somewhat modified, in consequence of the restrictive measures heretofore adopted, the evil increases in the Spanish colonies, which position is unanswerably confirmed by the progressive increase of the slave population.

"In order to remedy this great abuse and violation of the existing treaties, it is proposed to confer on the mixed commission the power of enforcing the national law established to that effect, elevating it to a degree of sufficiency and vigour that shall place it in a condition to effectually destroy the evil; because, by preventing the demand for victims, their shipment from Africa will be checked. It is only necessary to convince the purchasers, as well as the owners, of African slaves, that they cannot reckon on possessing their illegal acquisitions with impunity, in order to prevent their continuing to employ their capital in this traffic, because they are no longer a commodity which can be offered for sale in the market. This is the only way of compelling people to abandon a traffic which can no longer yield advantages.

"All these objects will be attained by means of the stipulations in the proposed convention.

"It may, perhaps, be objected, that this convention might produce discontent, and even promote insurrection among those slaves who, in consequence of the place of their birth or the date of their importation, would have no claim to be emancipated; but in respect of said objection, should it be made, I must observe to your Excellency, that, in the plan proposed, it is not intended to interfere with the Creole population, or with such of the slaves as were introduced into the island previous to the 30th of October, 1820. Besides, the proceedings for declaring the emancipation of negros are to be carried into effect individual by individual, and not by whole cargoes, by which means the execution of the convention will in reality be much less alarming in its totality, or in its individual importance, than the proceedings sanctioned by the already existing treaties.

"It is more than twenty years since the mixed commission sat at Havana, during which period frequent discussions have arisen that have affected the liberty of whole cargoes of negros, without there being a solitary instance wherein the captain-general of Cuba found fault with the proceedings, which circumstance leads to the supposition, that the proposal for the extension of powers to the mixed commission may be acceded to without risk or inconvenience.

"Whilst submitting all which to your Excellency, I must add, that her Catholic Majesty will acquire great and lasting glory by consenting to the proposed convention, putting a term, by its means, to a practice that is repugnant as well as contrary to humanity.

"I avail myself of this opportunity for renewing, &c.

"ARTHUR ASTON."

"His Excellency Don Joaquim Maria De Ferrer, &c."

THE MENDIANS.

IT is quite true that Mendi is a country, and in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. The American committee, it appears, addressed (through the governor of Liberia) a letter of inquiry to the late lamented Sir John Jeremie, then governor of Sierra Leone; and the last papers furnish us with the very satisfactory reply of Lieutenant-governor Fergusson. It is as follows:—

Sierra Leone, 23rd October, 1841.

GENTLEMEN,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of a letter addressed by you to the late Sir John Jeremie, governer of this colony, under date New York, 25th March, 1841, relative to thirty-six persons, the survivors of the kidnapped Africans, who some years ago found their way to the United States in the schooner *Amistad*, and whom you are desirous of having returned to their native country.

While I am happy in being able to afford you satisfactory information as to the locality of Mendi (the country to which these persons are said to belong), I can confidently assure you of the cordial co-operation of this government in aid of the endeavour to restore them to it.

Mendi is situated on the banks of the Rokelle, or Sierra Leone river, and may be reached in three or four days from Freetown. Bey Fonti, its chief, is a party to a treaty of alliance existing betwixt this government and the confederated chiefs of the Timmaney country.

Sierra Leone is thus, from vicinity and facility of intercourse with Mendi, preferable to Monrovia or Gallinas (as suggested in your letter), as the place to which these persons should be brought, in order most conveniently to insure their return to their own country.

With respect to their removal from America, and their voyage across the Atlantic, I cannot, for these purposes, promise any aid of a pecuniary nature from this government. I may, however, assure you that, on their arrival here, they and their teachers will be cordially received, adequately maintained and provided for, and safely conducted to their own homes, under the protection of government, and at the public expense. It is not likely that a two years' residence in America will have effected such changes in the constitution of those Africans as to render their arrival here, at any season, hazardous; but, as their teachers are to be Americans not acclimated to this country, certain precautions may in respect to them be necessary. I would therefore recommend their arrival here at any period betwixt the first of December and the first of May; and I think it would be more advisable for them to return all together, than in small companies.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

W. FERGUSSON, Lieutenant Governor.

Messrs. S. S. Jocelyn, J. Leavitt, L. Tappan.

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THE "CRY" FROM BRITISH GUIANA.

GOVERNOR LIGHT'S dispatch and Mr. Wolseley's report (after an extensive circuit through the colony) averring the high prosperity of British Guiana, which afforded so much pleasure in this country, have produced a very opposite effect in Guiana itself. It seems to have filled the plantocracy there with sadness, if we might not rather say that it has excited them to frenzy. They have begun forthwith to vociferate that the colony is in ruins and have applied themselves most sedulously, after their fashion, to prove that it is so.

Now we beg to say in the outset that all this is well understood. It is a mere repetition of a West Indian artifice now so completely seen through, that we almost wonder it should be resorted to afresh. But let us examine this new experiment on English credulity.

We have, then, before us the *Colonial Gazette* of the 12th instant, the first article in which is headed *A cry from Guiana for help*. A "correspondent," it appears, "an intelligent inhabitant of the colony," has collected (and sent to the editor of the *Colonial Gazette*) "some broad facts," which entitle him (and the editor too) to cry aloud for "*immigration in masses from all parts of Africa, and from the East Indies.*" Whether the editor has made us acquainted with all the facts stated by his correspondent, does not appear, but those which he has suffered to transpire are far indeed from sustaining his conclusion. What does the reader think they are? So many bankruptcies! So many estates to be sold! So many acres going out of cultivation! Nothing of the kind. The "broad facts" stated are, that there are so many rivers and creeks, with so many miles of navigable water, so many square miles on the margins of them, and so many acres "available for sugar;" that there are so many miles of drainage, by navigable canals and small trenches, so many miles of sea-dam, so many brick sluices and iron tunnels, so many bridges, and so many sets of sugar works; after which the consummation of misfortune is, that there are one hundred thousand people besides! That our readers may not think we are taking an unwarrantable liberty with our contemporary, we will quote the sentence which immediately follows the table containing the information above specified.

"One hundred thousand persons, placed in the midst of six million acres of available land—among the richest in the world, and most accessible—more water frontage, and amid four millions of fixed capital! The readers of the *Colonial Gazette* scarcely need to be told the consequences."

Alas, for British Guiana! Verily her desolation has come.

When this manifest attempt to hoax the people of England is seriously looked at, it cannot but strike one as a very significant circumstance, that the cry for "immigration in masses should be sustained by an appeal to the large tracts of land yet uncultivated. A producing country is not ruined, surely, because it has not hands enough to bring its waste lands under immediate culture. It clearly prospers if its existing cultivation is carried on at such a profit as to make the cultivation of its waste lands desirable. We shall be told, however, that the Guiana planters complain that they cannot carry on the existing cultivation at a profit, and we admit that they do say so; but this is the very thing we cannot understand. If they do not grow sugar at a profit now, how is it that they want to grow more! Do they want to lose more money, for the very disinterested purpose of supplying the whole British consumption of sugar, and demonstrating the superior cheapness of free labour! It seems to us, that the eagerness to cultivate the waste lands is a proof—and all the more convincing, because it is a proof undesignedly furnished by themselves—that the present culture is profitable, and that it is so to such an extent as to excite the cupidity of the planters to turn more "earth into gold." If we are wrong in this interpretation, will the planters furnish us with one more natural and just!

To turn, however, from the communication of this "well informed inhabitant" of the colony, which, after all, is but a private one, to proceedings more public and weighty. There was, it seems, on the 1st of December, a "meeting of proprietors and representatives of estates and other property," at Georgetown, Demerara, to show that sugar is now being made at a loss, and to devise means for remedying so serious an evil. The Committee who prepared a report for this meeting make a great boast of their assiduity in collecting information, and a great show of accuracy in the tabular exhibition of it. Their statements, however, if correct, are far too vague and general to be satisfactory. We cannot understand even their fundamental position, that "the average price of Demerara sugar *in England* cannot be estimated at more than £18. per hogshead;" that is, at 15 cwt. to the hogshead, twenty-four shillings per cwt. On the 1st of December, the Gazette average price of West India sugar, *ex* duty, was thirty-nine shillings per cwt., being fifteen shillings per cwt. in addition to the twenty-four shillings stated by the Committee. It is possible they may have intended to name the price of sugar *at Demerara*, and not "in England," the fifteen shillings per cwt. being charges of freight, commission, &c.; but even so the error is important, and if otherwise, it is destructive of their whole calculation.

But let us admit (what, nevertheless, there is much to call into suspicion) that the Guiana planters are making sugar at a cost greater than the price it sells for; what does this prove? Perhaps nothing, but that they are a wasteful and extravagant set, clinging to large salaries and expensive processes. The Committee, indeed, have not come to this conclusion. They ascribe it all—*mirable dictu*—to the misconduct of the labourers, and the excessive bounty of the masters! And with this view they make out their table, adapting it to show prominently that too much money is paid in wages. There is a large amount under the general term *expenses*, of which (with great prudence) no details are given. They would not like the public to know how far they are from having yet adopted the most frugal and economical methods, nor how much wastefulness may be indulged at the cost of three hundred and thirty thousand dollars. In one item, however, they have been unguardedly frank and communicative. They have set down the sum paid for *salaries*. This is no less than 162,515 dollars for ten months, on sixty estates; or an average of £650 a year to each estate. Here goes the profit of sugar making, to the attorney and the manager! The labourers on the average get but eighteen pounds a-piece.

But now for the remedy. We must do this meeting of planters the justice to say, that they have not asked for a supply of immigrants. There is not a reference to this topic, either in the report of the committee, or in the remarks of the speakers. We cannot explain this, otherwise than by supposing—what we have no doubt is the truth—that the cry for immigration is rather artful than sincere. The remedies recommended by the committee are altogether of a different kind, and resolve themselves into the simple plan of coercing the labourers. These sapient gentlemen propose to reduce the ordinary wages of labour one-third, to give no task work, to give no bounty on extra work, to charge a dollar a week rent, and to eject tenants who work for other masters! We scarcely know whether the folly or the wickedness of this scheme is the more conspicuous. Less than wicked we cannot call it, to begin a system of economy, however necessary, by stealing one-third of their earnings from the only people in the colony who deserve the remuneration they get, rather than by the retrenchment of extravagant salaries and the correction of wasteful abuses. But the thing is as foolish as it is wicked. It is nothing less than a violent interference with the market for labour, and it can never succeed. Labour, like everything else will have its market price, and those who will not give the price, will find that they cannot get the article. Not even for a short time can this infatuated scheme succeed, without a universal combination of which the very account of this meeting shows us there is no expectation. The conspiracy will be broken up by the power of individual interests. But without this adverse element, and on the supposition that the planters could succeed to their heart's desire, what could follow from their success, but the growing alienation of the peasantry from sugar cultivation, and the direction of a larger number of hands to more eligible employment! Their success will but aggravate their calamity. If the labourers were slaves, their scheme might work; but freedom will beat them.

SPAIN: THE JUNTA OF COMMERCE OF CATALONIA.

The following is the memorial of the Junta of Commerce of Catalonia to the Regent of Spain, conveying to him the document inserted in our last, with the reply of the government.

TO THE REGENT OF SPAIN.

Most serene Sir—This junta of commerce has received notice of the declaration which the tribunal of commerce of Havana transmitted on the 30th March last to the then provisional regency of the kingdom, calling its attention to the evils which would result from the realization of the project for the emancipation of the slaves, which has been for some time conceived by the English East India Company, and which appears to receive the secret support of the government of that nation.

Before coming to any decision with respect to a question as important as delicate, and pregnant with results of transcendent interest, not only to the general commerce of the Peninsula, but even to the internal condition of the few colonies which remain to us; this junta believed it well to obtain the opinions of persons who, by a long residence in that country, had acquired a theoretical and practical acquaintance with the subject. They have presented a detailed and lucid exposition, a copy of which, penetrated and instructed by the depth of the observations it contains, this junta begs to transmit to your highness, praying that this new data may be added to the despatch now being prepared on the representation of the tribunal of the Havana; in order that they may possess every information in making a final provision with reference to the emancipation of the slaves, which is a question of the utmost importance for the nation, and for the retention of her ultramarine possessions.

Barcelona, 22nd June, 1841. (Here follow the signatures.)

TO THE JUNTA OF COMMERCE OF CATALONIA.

Supreme Political Government of Barcelona.

Having transmitted to the government the exposition which the junta forwarded to me on the 22nd June last, in support of the memorial of the tribunal of commerce of Havana, praying that no project may be entertained which directs itself to the emancipation of the slaves in that island, the minister of marine, commerce, and the colonies, acquainted me on the 3rd inst., in answer to your representations, that he had already informed the aforesaid tribunal of commerce, that the supreme government does respect, and will continue to respect, property in every case, however constituted; but, that at the proper time, it desires that the treaty ratified in 1833 for the abolition of the traffic in negro slaves to the coast of Africa, may have full effect, in order to avoid the remonstrances founded on this delicate subject. I forward this for your information, and in fulfilment of the directions I have received from his highness, the Regent, through the aforesaid minister.

DIONISIO VALDES.

Barcelona, 13th July, 1841.

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EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN EMIGRANTS IN JAMAICA.

To the Editor of the *Baptist Herald.*

From the 12th of March to the end of July in this year, there arrived at Hyde Hall estate, in this parish, twenty-one emigrants; six of these were married men, and brought their wives with them, and children amounting, I believe, to sixteen; the others were single. Where are they now? Eleven of the working party are dead, with four of the children; a widow of one has left for America, and this week the only surviving widow, with five children will be sent to America by the benevolence of a few individuals in Falmouth. If I am correct, eight labourers are left, five of whom are now ill; of the orphan children six are in a most deplorable state, and, if something is not done, will soon have followed their unhappy parents to the grave.

On the 19th of April there arrived at Glamorgan, a pen belonging to Hyde Hall, and within two miles of the same, four emigrants and a child, —the man, woman, and child are dead, they died in June. One of the remaining emigrants is sick. On the 18th of October several others arrived half of them are already on the sick list, and in all probability will soon be numbered with the dead.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. KNIBB.

P. S. Since this was written, one of the remaining emigrants, John Payne, is dead, and another now lies beyond the hope of recovery.

W. K.

To the Editor of the *Baptist Herald.*

SIR,—I have just returned from a scene the most painful and soul-harrowing I ever witnessed—a dwelling filled with the sick and the dying, the victims of a system only equalled—scarcely surpassed—by the diabolical slave-trade.

It will be in your recollection, that, about seven weeks since, a vessel arrived at St. Ann's Bay with immigrants from America. Of the whole number not more than half a dozen, I understand, procured employment. Some have set out on foot to Kingston, and others to Falmouth, in search of the means of existence; FOUR *are in the grave*; SEVENTEEN, I beheld, prostrated with fever, one fast hastening to another world, but "looking unto Jesus,"—another, insensible to every thing but his own sufferings, in the agonies of death.* The remainder (ten or twelve in number) are wretched in the extreme: with only one exception, they have all had severe sickness, under the effects of which they are still suffering. Some bear their hard lot with fortitude—others wish the vessel had gone down with them; and others are well nigh heart-broken at being deceived, and ruined.

Who can wonder at their complaints! They were induced to give up their situations and abandon their prospects in America, in consequence of the flattering promises held out to them respecting Jamaica—plenty of employment, superior wages, excellent cottages, land for cultivation, &c. &c. They forsook their homes, left their kindred, and embarked for Jamaica, their hearts beating high with hope and expectation. *What have they found?* Disappointment and despair—sickness and the grave!

Not far distant is the depôt at Hilton Hill, nearly all the 200 immigrants who two months since came out in the *New Phœnix* remain unemployed.

Can we wonder, sir, at God's judgments coming on the inhabitants of this island—who as soon as they have washed their hands of negro blood, are embruing them in the blood of white men? It is high time the promised searching inquiry into the immigration scheme was instituted—it is high time the white "slave-trade" was abolished.

I remain, Sir, your's respectfully,

St. Ann's, Nov. 24th, 1841. JOHN CLARK.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. John Clark, to Mr. Sturge, dated Brown's Town. December 4th, 1841.—The *friends of humanity* in Britain will, I trust, continue to lift up their voice against the immigration, scheme. It is producing the most disastrous results. About two months since the *New Phœnix* brought upwards of 200 immigrants, chiefly Irish, into this parish.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that they are disappointed and dissatisfied, and there is so little need of their services that nearly half of them are remaining at the depôt, living in idleness and wretchedness. Shortly after their arrival came a vessel from America with about fifty men—many of whom, tempted by the flattering prospects held out to them in Jamaica, gave up their situations in Boston, and came thither with high expectations, only to meet with disappointment, sickness, and in many cases a premature grave. I had not an opportunity of visiting them, until last week, and then learned that only about half a dozen of the number had procured employment; some had gone to Kingston, and others to Falmouth, to seek the means of support, and four had fallen victims to the prevailing sickness, about thirty remained, of these seventeen were prostrated with fever, and two were in a dying state. The remainder, with a single exception, had been very ill, but were out of danger. It is but justice to say, that great care and attention have been paid to this unhappy people. All who could bear the journey have been removed to a healthy residence in the mountains, and I believe there is reason to hope that they will recover. But what are they then to do? They were to be provided cottages, acres of land for cultivation, rent, with wages of a dollar and upwards per diem. But, alas! there are neither cottages for them, nor land; and the highest wages offered is one shilling and sixpence, instead of four shillings, for able day labourers. The result will, I fear, be similar to the experiment of 1835 and 1836, the history of which is one of mourning, lamentation and woe.

* Both have since died, and the convalescent have been removed to the mountains.

PRESIDENT TYLER EATEN UP BY SLAVES.—A very respectful memorial, signed by sixty ministers of the Maine Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has been sent to Mr. Tyler, protesting against the president of a christian republic holding slaves, &c. One of the presiding elders remarked, that not many years ago President Tyler inherited from his father a large number of slaves, from whom he selected some fifteen or twenty for his own use, and disposed of the remainder. Those fifteen or twenty have multiplied, till now the president has seventy or eighty slaves. Having nothing for them to do, he proposed to some of them not long since to go to a plantation and work: this they steadily declined doing; and they are literally eating up the president.—*Liberator.*

UNHEARD OF CRUELTIES IN GUADELOUPE.

[From *La Revue des Colonies*, of November, 1841.]

A DEED of great atrocity has just been perpetrated at the fabrique d'engrais of Morue à Savou. This establishment, situated very near Point-a-Pitre on the other side of the road, belongs to M. Boisaubin, a relation of the too celebrated Drouillard-Mahaudiere. A monster known for his ferocity towards the slaves was overseer of the plantation. It was with joy that M. Boisaubin encountered such a man as the miscreant Laffranque to direct the labours of his slaves. Two runaway negros, Sixpouces and Jacob, having been seized, imagine the refinement of barbarity, the frightful punishment which was inflicted on them. These two slaves were tied together face to face, body to body, in such a manner as to appear to be fitted one to the other. In this position they were flogged, whilst Laffranque was causing an iron to be made red-hot. The instrument of torture being ready, this monster *thrust it into the bowels of the uppermost slave.* The excruciating pain of this internal burning caused the victim to make such a movement as to place his wretched companion uppermost, who in his turn was subjected to the ordeal of the red-hot iron. The barbarity did not stop here. Having made the two slaves dress themselves, Laffranque, by the aid of a funnel, poured into their mouths a mixture of fœces and urine. He has been arrested. What did he say to justify himself? That the burning was administered as an excellent cure for vermin! The trial will reveal other crimes of Laffranque.

ST. LUCIA.—[Extract of a letter from a special magistrate to Mr. Sturge, dated November 10th, 1841.]—In this part of the world you will be rejoiced to learn that the results of emancipation are in the highest degree cheering. A more well-disposed, industrious, religious, and generally moral people than our black population does not exist on the face of the earth: and in how short a time have all their good qualities been developed! When I contrast their condition and habits now with what they were a few years ago, during slavery, and even in apprenticeship, the change seems almost magical; and yet liberty (by the blessing of God) has alone done all this. The people are the same, but they are no longer callous and heart-broken under the cruelties and wretchedness of slavery. Instead of being trampled on and treated worse than the very beasts of burden, they now feel themselves on a level with their fellow-creatures, and by word and deed show that they are so; whilst their steady and indefatigable industry, respectable deportment, and anxiety for education, falsify most triumphantly the predictions of those advocates for slavery, who foretold that the negros, if freed, would relapse into a state of barbarism. I have never heard or read of any labouring population who have raised themselves from the depths of degradation to such respectability in so short a period as our negros have done; and I rejoice to say, that their improvement in every respect is progressing.

In my last communication I mentioned to you that I anticipated that the sugar crop for this year would exceed by 40 per cent. that of the previous one, and I am happy now to say that my expectations have been fulfilled. I believe, indeed, the results would have been still greater, but for the defective system of plantership which prevails in this colony.

The machinery for manufacturing sugar has also hitherto been of a very inferior description; but the proprietors and lessees of estates, finding that they can depend on the continuous industry of their labourers, are now beginning to arouse themselves, and many great improvements are in progress. The appearances for next crop are most flattering. Should no blight or hurricane intervene, I do not hesitate to affirm, that the crop of 1842 will exceed that of 1841 by upwards of 40 per cent. This is indeed cheering.

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.—The brig *Gabriel*, a slaver, was captured when fifteen days from Havana, by her Majesty's brig *Acorn*; she had a crew of sixty-three Spaniards, and exchanged several shots with the *Acorn*. Her cargo consisted of dry goods, lumber, and rice. In one of the bags of rice were found papers, which stated that there were twenty-eight slave-vessels fitting out at Havana. The brig's crew were put on board the *Acorn*, which sailed for the coast of Africa to land them on a desolate and uninhabited part of the coast. Seven other vessels previously captured were breaking up at Saint Helena, and 1600 slaves were on that island.

RIGHT.—The captain of a British steamer was recently fined twenty-five dollars at Kingston, Canada, for removing a coloured man from the table on account of his colour, to gratify the spleen of some Yankees.—*Free American.*

Advertisements.

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ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LVI. Vol. III. No. 3.] WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

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THE CASE OF THE CREOLE.

In his speech on the address in the House of Lords on Thursday, Lord Brougham noticed the case of the *Creole* in the following terms:—

With respect to another topic which was touched upon in the royal speech, the paragraph, namely, which referred to treaties now negotiating, and diplomatic missions now pending upon questions of deep importance, he begged the attention of his noble and learned friend on the woolsack to what he was about to say—(a royal duke was at that time speaking to the Lord Chancellor.) An occurrence had recently taken place, which he understood was to form the subject of negotiation with the United States of America. He would purposely abstain from entering at present on the general questions of American controversy, and should also leave untouched the right of search as to which some persons appeared to feel more doubt than he conceived could by any means belong to it. He thought it clear that its importance was far greater than its difficulty. But he must take the present, which was the earliest opportunity that had been afforded him, for alluding to an incident which had occurred affecting our relations with the United States, and which, if not thoroughly explained, and put upon a right footing, might prevent a right understanding being come to by the persons appointed on both sides to arrange the points in dispute. He alluded to the affair of the *Creole*, which, if placed in its true light, and if both countries were made generally acquainted with the law applicable to the case, could not be rendered a subject of doubt or dispute; for he should show how utterly impossible it was that the government of this country could, even if it had the disposition to do so, accede to the demand which either had been made by the United States, or was in contemplation to be made, for the delivery of certain individuals. Do such a thing the government could not—for the law of England prevented all possibility of such a thing being done. The case to which he referred was, that a cargo of slaves being placed on board an American ship for the purpose of conveyance from one part of America to another, a portion of them rose on the crew, overpowered them, a man being slain in the scuffle, and thus this voyage, which was perfectly legal according to existing American law,—slavery being still unhappily sanctioned by the law of that country,—was suddenly put an end to, and the vessel steered into an English port under the orders of the negros who had thus obtained the mastery over their possessors. There was no ground for complaint on the part of England that a voyage for the purpose of conveying slaves as cargo should be considered legal, for it was not more than eight or nine years ago that the same transaction would have been equally legal according to the law of England, in the English colonies; and, therefore, it little became the people of this country to turn round on the Americans and express their horror and disgust at conduct which eight or nine years ago was equally prevalent in the colonies of England. Execrable as the thing was and is, we too dealt with human beings as with cargoes of cattle and lumber, only a few short years ago. But this stain happily no longer now existed as a reproach to the people of this country, and he would no longer dwell upon it, but proceed to state that this cargo of slaves did, as every human being held in slavery against the law of nature, the rights of man, and the will of heaven, in his opinion had a right to do, rise on the captain and crew, overpower them, and compel them to carry the vessel containing them into the next British port—a life being lost in the scuffle, during which they achieved their freedom. On their arrival, 120 of these negros immediately, and by the operation of the law of the land, when they arrived became free, and were suffered to go where they pleased. Eighteen of them who were implicated in the act of liberating their fellows, were seized and placed in custody, where they still remained, on a charge partly of murder and partly of piracy. Now, if it should come to pass that the American government were to demand that these slaves so in custody should be given up to the authorities of the United States for trial and punishment if guilty of murder and piracy, the only answer which could be made to such a demand by the British government would be that it was altogether unlawful for them to do so, for that no slave could exist within the British dominions, and, consequently, if demanded upon that ground, they must be refused. The authorities of New Providence had no power whatever to detain or deliver over the 120 negro slaves who were on board the *Creole*, and who were not implicated in the crime imputed to the remaining eighteen; they were by law free, the instant they arrived in a British port, in whatever way they might have come or been brought thither. This had been declared to be the law seventy years ago, in a case solemnly argued and decided (that of Somerset,) by the highest tribunal in the country. It was always the law of England, but it was then fully declared, has ever since been recognised as such, and on the act of 1833, it became the law of the West Indian colonies also; because that act declared slavery to be utterly unlawful from and after the 1st of August, 1834. To deliver up any of those 120 slaves then was wholly impossible by law. But as to the charge of felony brought against those eighteen who were in custody, he would venture to state that it was equally certain that, by the law of this country, no person, whether he were a British subject coming from abroad, or whether he were a foreigner,—in neither case could a person seeking shelter in this country from the consequences of a crime committed abroad be legally given up to any foreign power which claimed him on account of the commission of such offence. There was no power to seize or to give up such an offender vested in any of the authorities of this country, and consequently if an English subject even committed a murder in France, and fled to this country, or if a French subject did the same thing, the French government might in vain demand of the British authorities the seizure or delivery of such criminal. There had been treaties for the mutual exchange of offenders charged with certain kinds of felony between England and the United States and England and France, the former comprising the crimes of forgery and murder, and the latter adding to those offences that of fraudulent bankruptcy. These treaties, however, had been suffered to expire, and had not since been renewed. But treaties of themselves were quite ineffectual. It was impossible for the government to deliver up these persons, as the common law of England knew no such power, and however treaties might bind nations to deliver up such persons, still it was necessary to pass specific acts of parliament to give the government the power to enable it to fulfil the obligations contracted by the treaty. Accordingly the act 37th Geo. III., was passed to give the government the power to fulfil their obligation under the treaty of 1795, and the Alien Act, 42nd Geo. III., passed immediately after the peace of Amiens, had a similar clause introduced, because the government were not satisfied with the power given to them in the Alien Act. A clause was expressly added in both these cases, referring to those clauses of the treaty, and arming the government with power to arrest, detain, and surrender the parties. He (Lord Brougham) hoped their lordships would excuse his entering into these particulars on this important subject, and referring to these acts of parliament. (Hear, hear.) The subject was of great importance, but the law which had been in some quarters misunderstood was quite clear, and his noble and learned friend he knew would agree with him. No person informed upon the subject could entertain the slightest doubt that the surrender either of slaves or of persons charged with felony in other countries, even though it were murder, if it were committed beyond the territory of the British crown, was utterly without warrant of law, and could not be done, were the government ever so much disposed to do it. (The Lord Chancellor assented.) A doubt might arise supposing piracy were committed; but if this were thought a debateable point, or his propositions were controverted, then he apprehended the proper course would be to put the matter in a course of judicial investigation, and to let a judicial inquiry ascertain the facts and the law. Of the law he (Lord Brougham) had no doubt, suppose the facts to be as they were stated. It did not appear that piracy had been committed: but it might be necessary to ascertain whether the facts were such as they had been stated, and if not, if they amounted to piracy, then—though we might try the offence in our courts—he could not see how we could deliver up the persons charged with it. If any doubt in point of law could linger in his mind, it was as to this power of surrender, supposing the facts amounted to a charge of piracy. This was perhaps not quite so clear as the other parts of the case, inasmuch as our jurisdiction over aliens committing piracy beyond our territory was very different from our jurisdiction over aliens in other cases, in which indeed we could have no jurisdiction at all. He (Lord Brougham) would fain hope that the accidental occurrence connected with the seizure of the vessel and bringing her into port, when clearly understood, would have no effect in impeding, or even deferring, the successful accomplishment of the important mission with which his noble friend (Lord Ashburton) had been entrusted, and on which he was about to proceed, in his (Lord Brougham's) opinion, greatly to the advantage of the negotiation, greatly to the benefit of the two countries, which had so high and so equal interest in the perpetuation of friendly relations essential to the prosperity of both, and greatly to his own honour in having undertaken, in the circumstances of the case, this most important mission.

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THE SLAVE-TRADE.

FROM the last parliamentary papers we derive the following view of the state of the African slave-trade up to the latest dates.

SIERRA LEONE.

The British commissioners at this place give the following account for the year 1839, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston :—

Sierra Leone, December 31*st*, 1839.

MY LORD,—We have the honour herewith to enclose to your lordship a list of all the cases adjudicated in the mixed courts established at Sierra Leone, between the 1st of January and the 31st of December, 1839.

In that period, no vessel was brought before the British and Netherlands mixed court of justice; thirteen cases were tried in the Portuguese court, thirty-eight in the Spanish court, and eleven in the Brazilian court. One Portuguese vessel, the *Aurelia Feliz*, and one Spanish vessel, the *Merced*, were restored, and all the others were condemned. Two cases remain over for adjudication in the ensuing year.

Although thirty-eight cases are comprised in the Spanish list, only thirty-seven vessels, strictly speaking, were before the Spanish court; the schooner *Merced* having been twice before us, once on the occasion of her being restored, and again at a subsequent period, when she was prosecuted to condemnation. Whilst, therefore, the number of *cases* adjudicated was sixty-two, the number of *vessels* upon which sentences were passed was only sixty-one.

Three thousand two hundred and thirty-three slaves were emancipated during the same time, of whom 2795 were registered here: twenty-five slaves died after emancipation, but before their descriptions could be taken to be registered; and 413, though emancipated at Sierra Leone, had been previously landed at Nassau in New Providence and at Honduras, and therefore could not be registered by us.

The total number of slaves emancipated by the mixed commission courts at this place since their establishment, is 58,811, and the total number registered 51,154.

Of the sixty-one vessels which have passed through the courts during the past year, three were captured in the West Indies and the remainder on this coast; eight were captured to the southward of the line, but none below the latitude of 48° 58' south; and of the fifty vessels captured north of the line, thirty were met with to the eastward and twenty to the westward, of Cape Palmas.

Eighteen of the whole number of vessels had slaves on board at the moment of detention; eleven of the cargoes having been shipped in ports to the eastward of Cape Palmas, and seven to the westward of the same point, viz., one cargo at Bissao, one in the river Pongas, three in the river Sherbro, one at Gallinas, one at New Cestos, two at Lagos, one in the river Bras, one in the river Nun, three in the river Culabar, two at Cape Lopez, one in the river Camma, and one at Cabinda.

Only two out of the thirty-seven vessels which came before the Spanish court were supplied with Spanish papers: thirty of them sailed with Portuguese passports, one with Danish, one with Tuscan, one (which was captured in British waters) with American papers, and two, whose national character was fixed by other circumstances, were altogether unprovided with documents of any description.

Five of the eleven vessels condemned in the Brazilian court sailed with Portuguese papers, and the other six vessels were acknowledged to possess a Brazilian character. All the thirteen vessels adjudicated in the Portuguese court were of course under the protection of the flag and pass of Portugal.

The forty-eight sets of Portuguese papers above-mentioned were obtained as follows:—six at Lisbon, eighteen at the Cape Verd islands, five at Bissao, ten at Prince's Island, two at the island of St. Thomas', four at St. Paul de Loando, one from the Portuguese consul-general at Rio de Janeiro, one from the Portuguese consul-general at Baltimore, and one at some place unknown, the captain of the flag in this particular instance being on shore with the Portuguese papers at the time when his vessel was captured.

The ports to which the same vessels severally belonged, as proved by ownership and course of trade, were as follows:—Havana, twenty-six; Matanzas, two; St. Jago de Cuba, two; Porto Rico, four; Havana and Matanzas, three; Havana and Porto Rico, one; Havana and Corunna, one; Havana and Barcelona, one; Havana and Cadiz, 1; Rio de Janeiro, one; Bahia, ten; Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa north of the line (trading between the islands and the mainland, generally very small vessels), seven; and two vessels whose course of trade was both Brazilian and Spanish, carrying their cargoes sometimes to Bahia, and at other times to Havana.

In addition to the cases already described, twelve other vessels (as per margin *) came before us. They were not, however, admitted to prosecution in the Mixed Courts, because in our opinion they were exempt from capture, by the fact, that they were sailing under the flag and pass of a power which has not conceded to our cruizers the right of visiting, searching, and detaining her vessels for any purpose whatever.

Every one of these vessels was engaged in Spanish slave-trade, or in that mixed slave-trade which is carried on to a great extent, partly with Bahia and partly with Havana. The *Iago* was owned at Matanzas, and all the rest apparently at Havana. Six of the same vessels were detained east, and six west, of Cape Palmas; and they received their registers severally as follows:—six at Baltimore; three at New Orleans; one at Mobile; one at Philadelphia; and one was sailing under Russian papers obtained at Odessa.

The following is an account of the disposal of that portion of the slave-vessels mentioned above, the fate of which has become known to us.

In the Spanish court—	
Cut up, and sold in separate parts . . .	37
In the Portuguese court—	
Sold, but not cut up	11
Burnt at Princes' island by the captor, as not sea worthy (*Passos*)	1
	12

* *Russian*—Goloubtschick. *American*—Florida, Hazard, Eagle, Iago, Mary Cushing, Traveller, Perry Spencer, Euphrates, Mary, Catherine, Butterfly.

In the Brazilian court—	
Sold, but not cut up	11
Condemned in the Vice-admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, after having been withdrawn from the Spanish Mixed Court (*Carolina*)	1
Destroyed by Captain Tucker in the river Congo, *Tres Emanuel*	1
Destroyed and sold at Sierra Leone by the American captains of the flag, *Florida* and *Perry Spencer* . . .	2
Sent to England, *Goloubtschick*	1
Sent to the United States, *Eagle, Catherine, Butterfly* . .	3
	68

Three of the vessels condemned during the past year (*Violante, Ontario* and *Sete de Avril*) continued under the protection of the American papers, with which they cleared out from the island of Cuba, until the very moment when they took on board the cargo of slaves which formed the ground of their condemnation; and two of these vessels, the *Violante* and *Sete de Avril*, whilst still professing to be the American schooners *Mary Ann Cassard* and *Mary Cushing*, were amongst those whose admission to prosecution in the Spanish court had been refused. Numerous other instances have been pointed out by us, in which the flag and pass of the United States, so readily granted by the American consuls at Havana, Matanzas, and Bahia, have availed to protect the slave-trade of foreigners. And if America should still decline to apply a remedy to this extensive evil, she must consent henceforth to be classed with those unhappy powers, who can only escape from the charge of wilfully violating their engagements and promises for the suppression of the slave-trade, by confessing the total absence of authority and control in the supreme government.

(Signed) H. W. MACAULEY.
H. DOHERTY.

In the half-year ending June, 1840, the business of the commissioners was much less considerable. As before, no vessel was before the court in the Netherlands department; and only eight in the Spanish, one in the Portuguese, and four in the Brazilian. The only vessel in which slaves were found was the Portuguese, from which 372 Africans were liberated.

HAVANA.

Of the slave-trade carried on at this port the parliamentary papers furnish the following notices. The commissioners write to Lord Palmerston as follows :—

Havana, June 13*th*, 1840.

MY LORD,—We have great satisfaction in having it in our power this month to transmit to your lordship a list of the vessels that have been despatched from this port to the coast of Africa during the last four months. From this your lordship will perceive that they are twenty-one in number, including one, the *Importador*, which, though ostensibly sailing for Goa, is no doubt intended for Mosambique.

Among these there are 10 under the Portuguese flag,
8 under the American,
and 3 under the Spanish.
—
21

Your lordship will regret to observe that there still continues the abuse of the flag of the United States, to the same increasing degree as last year, notwithstanding the attention of the United States' government has been so strongly directed to the correction of the evil. Of the eight American vessels, no fewer than five were cleared out by a Mr. Charles Tyng, an American resident here as a merchant, who was the agent, if not the owner, of the slave vessel *Catherine*, taken last year by one of her Majesty's cruisers, and sent to the United States, where she was condemned.

No. 16 on the list we should point out as the celebrated *Socorro*.

Depatched—

1.	Feb.	15.	—For San Tomé, Portuguese schooner *Olympia*.
2.	,,	22.	,, San Pablo de Loanda, American schooner *Hudson*, by Charles Tyng.
3.	March	6.	,, Gold Coast, American schooner *Audubon*.
4.	,,	20.	,, San Pablo de Loanda, Spanish schooner *Numantino*.
5.	,,	23.	,, Gallinas, American brig *Theophilus Chase*.
6.	,,	24.	,, Santiago de Praya, Portuguese schooner *Jozefina*.
7.	,,	26.	,, Goa, Portuguese brig *Importador*.
8.	,,	27.	,, Cabo Verde, Spanish schooner 2do. *Rosario*.
9.	,,	28.	,, Bonny, Portuguese schooner *Paz*.
10.	April	1.	,, (Sailed in May) Mozambique, Portuguese ship *Gloria*.
11.	,,	14.	,, Gallinas, Portuguese schooner *San Pablo de Loanda*.
12.	,,	28.	,, Lagos, Portuguese brig *Trovao*.
13.	,,	29.	,, Cabo Verde, Portuguese schooner *Bacus Union*.
14.	May	2.	,, Lagos, American brig *Plant*, by Charles Tyng.
15.	,,	—	,, San Pablo de Loanda, American schooner *Lone*, by Charles Tyng.
16.	,,	4.	,, (Sailed 11th) Mozambique, Portuguese ship *Maria*.
17.	,,	6.	,, Bonny, Spanish brig *Marinero*.
18.	,,	11.	,, Gallinas, Portuguese schooner *Pombinha*.
19.	,,	11.	,, Gallinas, American schooner *Seminole*, by Charles Tyng.
20.	,,	12.	,, Gallinas, American brig *Alexander*.
21.	,,	27.	,, San Pablo de Loanda, American schooner *Kite*, by Charles Tyng.

The list is thus continued in various subsequent dispatches.

22.	June	2.	,, Manilla, Spanish brig *Secundo Vigilante*.
23.	,,	6.	,, Gallinas, Portuguese brig *Escorpion*.
24.	,,	6.	,, Lagos, Portuguese brig *Tres de Agosto*.
25.	,,	17.	,, Goa, Portuguese ship *Duquesa de Braganza* (formerly the *Venus*).
26.	,,	24.	,, San Pablo de Loanda, Portuguese schooner *Astrea*.
27.	July	14.	,, Madagascar, Portuguese ship *Amelia*.
28.	,,	21.	,, Cape Verds, Portuguese schooner, ——.
29.	,,	29.	,, San Pablo de Loanda, Portuguese schooner, ——.

Concerning the month of August, the Commissioners write as follows :—

Notwithstanding the most diligent search we have been able to ensure, we cannot find any trace, in the usual records, of vessels despatched to

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the coast of Africa during the last month, August. We know, however, from the observation of officers of her Majesty's navy, that several vessels did leave the port during the month, whose character could not be mistaken; and in the usual monthly summary of shipping frequenting the port, published by authority, it is stated that two schooners entered, and two sailed, under the Portuguese flag, of whose destination there can be no doubt. * * * *

Havana, October 24th, 1840.

My Lord,—In the usual record of vessels despatched from this port, we learn that the two following are the only ones to be found noticed as for the coast of Africa during the last month:—

30. September 15th.—For Lagos, Portuguese brig *Felicidad*.
31. " 25th.— " San Pablo de Loanda, Spanish schooner *Numantina*.

Yet in the usual summary of vessels published from authority in the government paper, the *Diario*, it is stated that in September two brigs and one schooner sailed under the Portuguese flag, of whose destination there can be no doubt. From those also who have the opportunity of observing the movements of the shipping, we learn that at least seven or eight vessels sailed during the month, of whose character as slavers they were well able to judge. From these circumstances, we fear that the apprehension we formerly expressed to your lordship, that some hint would be conveyed to the custom-house to be careful of the entries of such vessels in their usual books, has been actually realized.

* * * * * * * *

32. October 8th—For San Pablo de Loanda, American brig *A. E.*
33. " 8th. " Cape de Verds, Spanish brig *Reglano*.
34. " 17th. " Rio Brazo, Portuguese schooner *Pax*.
35. " 20th. " Loanda, " " *Salazar*.
36. " 22nd. " Lagos, " brig *Treside Febreiro*.
37. " 22nd. " Goree, French brig *Alleyon*.
38. " 24th. " Loanda, Spanish brig *Octavia*.

Besides which, on the 13th, cleared for Montevideo the Portuguese brigantine *Escorpion*, which we have no doubt is destined for slave-trade.

Arrivals of slavers at Havana in 1840, collected from various dispatches.

March 6.—Portuguese brig, formerly the *Jacinto*, landed at Mariel 480 negros.

8.—Portuguese schooner *Pombinha*, Captain Spencer, fifty-three tons, landed a cargo near Matanzas.

17.—Portuguese schooner, name unknown.

18—Ditto ditto, name unknown.

95.—Ditto brig, *Tres de Febreiro*, formerly *La Union*, from the Gold Coast, consigned to D. Jose Mazorra, with 454 negros.

April 8th.—Three hundred negros were landed at Canasi, near Matanzas, from a Portuguese schooner belonging to D. Pedro Blanco. This schooner had been chased by her Majesty's brig *Snake*, but escaped in the night.

17.—Four hundred and seventeen negros were landed in the Isle of Pines from a Portuguese brig, consigned here to Messrs. Boch, Mayner, and Co.

26.—Two hundred and twenty-four negros were landed on the coast from a Portuguese schooner, consigned to the well-known slave-dealer, D. Fernando Abarzuza.

May 14. Portuguese brigantine ———, landed 450 negros at Canasi, near Matanzas, consigned to Don Pedro Martines and Co.

May 24. Portuguese brigantine *Aquila*, landed 620 negros at the Chorrera (about one league from this port) the day before; consigned to Don José Mazorra.

June 2nd. Spanish schooner *Constancia*, in thirteen days from Puerto Rico, master's name Penasco, consigned to Messrs. Menzanedo and Abrisqueta, notorious slave-dealers.

10th. Spanish schooner *Feliza*, likewise last from Puerto Rico, master's name Sanches.

12th. American brig *Caballero*, in thirty-three days from Corisco, in ballast, —— Huffington, master.

13th. American brig *Hudson*, in thirty-seven days from Cabinda, in ballast; master's name Clift.

17th. Portuguese schooner, name unknown.

24th. American ship *Crawford*, in thirty-four days from Gallinas, in ballast, consigned to the great slave-dealer Don Pedro Blanco; master's name Brown.

July 22nd. Portuguese brig *Trueno*, master's name unknown, landed 450 negros at the Chorrera, a short distance from this port.

August. We have not heard of any vessel having arrived during the month from the coast of Africa, and we believe none did arrive.

September 12th.—About 160 negros were seen landed at the Chorrera, by a respectable merchant of this place. The Chorrera is a small creek not more than three miles from the city—vessel's name *Marinero*—and we have learned that there had been great mortality on board, and that the voyage had proved of great loss to the speculators.

22nd.—From the Isla de Principe, in fifty-four days, the American brig *Dido*, —— Strand, master (we believe a German), in ballast, consigned to Mazorra. This has been the *Dido's* third voyage, and she reports she was boarded by three different British cruisers.

24th.—Portuguese brig *Union*, brought 500 negros to the same Mazorra from the Gold Coast. They were reported to have been a fine cargo, and to have realised a considerable profit.

25th.—Entered a small vessel from Africa, under the Portuguese flag.

26th.—Portuguese brig *Volador*.

Besides these, a notorious slaver, named the *Felix*, arrived on the 22nd at Matanzas, to which port she belongs, with 300 negros, having been her *nineteenth* successful voyage. Total 24, landing 4355 slaves.

LIBERIA IN 1841.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Sir,—I have lately been favoured with a file of *Africa's Luminary*, a paper published at Monrovia, Liberia, under the superintendence of the Rev. John Seys and Dr. Goheen, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from which I make the following extracts. They will exhibit the present state of the colony as drawn by the pen of its most devoted friends.

I am, Sir, your's respectfully,

***London*, 18*th January*, 1842.** **John Scoble.**

EXPORTATION OF SLAVES.

A small sharp built schooner, having all the appearance of a Baltimore pilot boat, and being no larger, ran into New Cess about twelve days since, and in six hours she had two hundred African lads on board, and was on her way, standing out to sea!!! Captain Lawlin, who was lying off Bassa Cove, saw her passing down under easy sail, and at first supposed her to be the schooner *Regulus*. He also saw her after she had gotten her cargo on board, and under a full press of canvass. One of her B. M. vessels of war had been at New Cess the day before this craft came in. Lieutenant Seagram, of H. B. M. brig *Saracen*, is now lying at New Cess, and we hope to inform our readers in our next, that he has succeeded in serving an *ouster* upon a Spanish slaver, who has lately located himself some way up the New Cess river.—(15*th October*, 1841).

STATE OF THE COLONY:—MORTALITY.

Thomas Buchanan, Esq., governor of Liberia, died at Bassa Cove, on the 3rd September, 1841, in the 32nd year of his age, of African bilious fever, after an illness of a few days.—(17*th September*, 1841).

Mr. and Mrs. Perkins arrived here in the ship *Emperor*, in January, 1839, accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Savage and lady, of the same mission, the Rev. Mr. Seys and five others of the Methodist Episcopal Mission. Of the whole number four have died, viz.—Mrs. Savage, Mr. Barker, Mr. Stocker, and Mr. Burton; and all the others have returned to the United States, except Dr. Savage.—(5*th November*, 1841).

We are personally acquainted with a large majority of all the emigrants who have been sent to this country during the last five years. They number four-hundred, all told, *of whom one hundred and fifty at least have died*. Should their number be a fraction more or less than the above estimate, the relative proportion of deaths, as stated, will agree with their increase or diminution.—(19*th November*, 1841.)

The total number of persons sent from the United States to Liberia by the Colonization Society, is estimated at about 6000, of whom there now remain, according to the editor of the *Luminary*, "2000, all told."

CHARACTER AND CONDITION OF THE EMIGRANTS SENT TO LIBERIA.

Of the four hundred (emigrants sent to the colony during the last four or five years) we presume, 350, may be set down as manumitted slaves, rather more than less; three hundred and seventy-five, who were destitute of trades; and the same number at the expiration of six months, when thrown on their own resources for a livelihood, not possessed of a dollar or dollar's worth, in any thing except a few old garments! This is the true condition of the people, who in an enfeebled, emeciated, and sickly condition, in a strange and new country, are to commence, for the first time in their lives, to shift for themselves. How can they be expected to live, improve the land, and be a blessing to this country? Enervated by disease; deprived of a master's care; destitute of the comforts of life; of a physician's attendance; of a tolerable hospital to seek refuge in, when worn down with African diseases; without trades, or sense; with no large establishment to apply to, and get daily labour; so that, instead of being a *back bone* and main-stay to the colony, they become inactive, and worse than an incubus upon the body social and politic. If this class of immigrants only are sent to Liberia at this early stage of its existence, its consummation is expressed by this one word—TEKEL.

We pray you, gentlemen, (says the Editor to the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society), as one *having a right to be heard*, that you send no more persons here, "because they have been manumitted for Liberia," unless they possess intelligence, *and know where they are going, and for what purpose;* or until those who are few, and have borne the heat and burden of the day, be reinforced by immigrants who can assist in protecting, governing, and sustaining the state.—(19*th November*, 1841).

CONDITION OF THE NATIVES.

We called (say the missionaries) into several native towns (between little Bassa and Edina) as we passed on, and found them the most dirty and miserable human beings I have ever seen—far inferior to any of the tribes I have heretofore become acquainted with.—(16*th July*, 1841).

FAILURE OF THE CROPS.

From some cause, we scarcely know what, there is at present a general scarcity of the usual market products. Stock, poultry, potatoe, cassave, all, seem to have failed. There is usually a falling off at the end of the dry season; but this year the decrease is beyond anything which we have known since 1837. The rainy season is now more than one-third advanced, and still the market is empty. Potatoes and cassava (the staff of life here) can be procured only in small quantities: rice there is none in the colony; and those who cannot purchase foreign provisions are obliged to do the best they can, and "live horse," &c.

We suspect that agriculture has been considerably neglected for a year past. There is no other plausible reason for the present lack, because the seasons have been as heretofore, if not even more favourable.—(2*nd July*, 1841).

GENERAL STATE OF THE COLONY.

We know what this colony was upwards of four years ago, and it is the same now; except that perhaps it now possesses a *decreased* population, and a few other negative additions. Monrovia then had a large receptacle for immigrants, and a public school-house; now there is neither receptacle, school-house, jail, court-house, market-house, nor lighthouse. Agriculture is less attended to now, and there is less land in cultivation in this country, than there was better than two years ago. And if the maxim be true, that, "when the state is most corrupt, then are laws most multiplied," we have a correct index to the present condition of Liberia; for within two years laws have been multiplied here to an alarming extent. On agriculture, internal improvements, post-offices, county asylums, prohibiting the importation of ardent spirits, and for regulating *public* schools throughout the commonwealth—all of which, though re-echoed "in honest ignorance" through colonisation reports in the United States, are nevertheless, at this early period, dead letters in Liberia. Wars have been declared and decided—thrice they slew the slain—the whole army having twice marched up a hill, and twice—marched down again. The thousands brought into the colony by capturing a slave establishment and by other means, by imposts, anchorage dues, taxes, and colonisation imports, have not been sufficient to maintain the colony at a—stand: it has retrograded; and the only redeeming feature is an improved and well-disciplined military corps—(17*th September*, 1841).

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several articles which are in type, and one which we had promised for this number, are unavoidably postponed.

Mr. Haughton will see that the object of his letter will be answered by an article on Liberia to-day.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 9TH.

ONE O'CLOCK.—We have just received a communication from France, informing us that the Public Meeting is postponed till the 7th March next, in order to give more time to receive the replies of the various friends that have been invited to attend it.

WE have already had the great satisfaction of announcing the proposal of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery to hold a public meeting in Paris, on Monday the 21st instant. We have now the additional pleasure of stating, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have appointed several influential members of their body to attend the meeting, to represent the views and objects of the society, and to offer to the friends in France their cordial co-operation in every practicable effort to abolish, by moral and pacific means, slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. We are glad to find that the associations in Edinburgh, Dublin, and other important places, have appointed some of their members to attend on their behalf; and we would strongly urge the auxiliary societies throughout the provinces to imitate their example. We can confidently assure any gentlemen who may be deputed, that a kind and cordial welcome awaits them on their arrival in the metropolis of France. The venerable CLARKSON is unable, from the growing infirmities of age, to gratify the wishes so earnestly expressed that he should attend; but he has transmitted, we understand, an impressive address to the president of the assembly. The occasion will be one of more than ordinary interest. The subject to be discussed is of vital importance, and the influence of this demonstration is likely to be extensively beneficial. It will tend to unite the friends of this great cause in both nations, in peaceful and energetic efforts for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, and throughout the world. This manifestation of union and harmony will tend to convince the public in France and elsewhere, that, in seeking the emancipation of all who are held in unrighteous bondage, the friends of the cause in Britain are not actuated by the sordid motive of a desire to secure commercial advantages, or to promote national aggrandisement. The meeting will pursue its object by a new exposure in the capital of the French empire, of the dreadful evils of slavery; by the manifestation of an abhorrence of that atrocious system on the part of the great and good of that land, and a determination to use every practicable effort for its abolition; and, finally, by the presence of citizens of various lands on this important occasion, anxious by every means in their power to strengthen the hands of each other in a work more than ever dear, as its importance is more understood, to every friend to humanity, civilisation, and religion.

THE treaty for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade has given rise to a long and interesting debate in the French chamber of deputies. It commenced on the 22nd of January, and continued three days. A strong feeling was manifested against the ratification of the treaty, arising evidently out of a fretful irritation against England, and sustained by the imputation of selfish and political motives to the English cabinet. On this point M. Guizot made the following very proper and gratifying answer:—

> The aim of the treaty, said the minister, was to destroy the slave-trade. Some alleged that England had more selfish views. He would not deny that temporal and personal interests did mingle with the noblest and most generous ones, but selfish and interested motives alone had never given rise to a movement so great as that which pursued the abolition of the slave-trade. That movement which had led to important sacrifices, had originated in moral and religious feelings, or a wish to put an end to an infamous traffic, and to emancipate a great portion of the human race.
>
> Here M. ISAMBERT exclaimed: It is the truth.
>
> Since 1789, added M. Guizot, France has done many great and generous things, blindly and passionately, without calculation. Is England incapable of the same? Did you attend those great meetings in England, where so many great and good men devote themselves to the holiest of causes—those meetings which M. Isambert and I have seen—you would be convinced that disinterested and generous sentiments, and a love of humanity, are more influential than any national selfish prompting to the pursuit of this great work.

Such was the language of M. Guizot; but the extensive prevalence of the feeling he combated among French politicians will probably induce some futher notice of it on this side the channel It is reported in the meanwhile that the French government will not ratify the treaty.

We have inserted to-day the detailed account of the proceedings on board the *Creole*, as given by the crew at New Orleans. It is we think, one of the most interesting documents which ever issued from the press. While, on the one hand, it affords a fearful illustration of the perils every moment impending over the slave-holders of the United States, on the other, it exhibits many striking traits in the character of the negros. Especially worthy of admiration is their magnanimous forbearance. The whole narrative shows how truly they declared, "All that we have done is for our liberty." Beyond the securing of this they used no violence; but, on the contrary, they showed to their subdued and wounded oppressors every practicable kindness. They exhibited neither retaliation nor resentment of past wrongs; nor did they endeavour to make their liberty more sure by the wholesale murder of those who must be their only accusers. "There is not one of the slave-holders," says Judge Jay, in a letter to Mr. Sturge, "who are now thirsting for the blood of these negros, who would, in similar circumstances, have scrupled to take human life."

The eminent person we have just named says in the same communication, "Our slave-holders are in great wrath, and mean, if possible, to terrify your government into a surrender of the nineteen 'murderers,' that they may be suspended from southern gibbets *in terrorem*." *If possible!* This is well said: as though there were, even in the South, some little doubt whether the vapouring of southern slave-holders can "terrify" the British government into an act, which we concur with Judge Jay in thinking would be "most disgraceful to Great Britain, most cruel, wicked, and pusillanimous." No such course, let our American friends be assured, will be adopted. What sentiments are entertained on the case of the *Creole* by eminent men in this country, may be gathered from the notice taken of it by Lord Brougham, in the House of Peers, on Thursday last—we have inserted the remarks of the noble and learned lord in another column—and with these the course of ministers will no doubt correspond. In the meantime, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are not inactive. A memorial on the subject has been prepared by them with great care, and will be presented to Lord Aberdeen on the earliest opportunity.

WE see with regret the order in council, preparing the way for the renewed exportation of Coolies from India to Mauritius. We shall not do more at the present moment, than insert the following conversation on the subject, which took place in the House of Commons on the 4th instant.

> Mr. V. SMITH asked if the order in council, which appeared in a recent *Gazette*, relative to the emigration of the Hill Coolies to the Mauritius, was founded on any information beyond what was before the house last session; and if so, whether that information would be laid before the house.
>
> Lord STANLEY. With respect to the order in council, it was quite true that it was found inexpedient to continue the prohibition to sending East India labourers to the Mauritius, and it became requisite in doing away with the prohibition to provide against the abuses which formerly prevailed. To allow such emigration to take place, the concurrent action of three bodies would be necessary;—first, that of her Majesty, by an order in council, then the vote of money by the colony of Mauritius, and lastly the intervention of the Governor-General of India in council.

THE *Friend of India* courteously avails itself of our abstract of the report of the law commissioners on slavery in British India, which, it says, has cost the country "five lakhs of rupees." We altogether sympathize in its concluding paragraph.

> But what is to be the result of the report of the law commission? It is the labour of two years, and has cost India somewhere about five lakhs of rupees. Unfortunately, the act of parliament, while it is peculiarly careful of the allowances of the commissioners, directing that they shall receive the highest salary under that of a member of council, has made no provision for turning their labours to any practical account. It has simply ordered that they shall be laid before parliament, but, as parliament has little leisure and less inclination to attend to the reports of our commission, to lay them on its table is to consign them to perpetual neglect. It is to be hoped that the Anti-Slavery Society will apply its powerful flapper to the dull ears of parliament; and, by its agitation of the subject, secure that something shall be done on the report. Such an effort would entitle that association to the gratitude of India; for, not only might we then expect that the stain as well as the evils of slavery would be removed, but that the turning of the labours of this commission to some practical account in this department would suggest the advantage of following up the example in other departments of their labour. Without some such movement, we may possibly reach the year 1854 without the code; without, in fact, anything but reports, and statements, and propositions duly laid upon, and then duly thrust under, the table of the House of Commons; and, when the charter expires, India will be found minus half a million sterling, without any adequate equivalent.

WE have the pleasure of stating that the address of the Anti-slavery Committee to the Bey of Tunis has been forwarded through the British government to Sir Thomas Reade, British consul at that regency, for presentation to his highness by that functionary.

It is stated in the *Constitutionnel* that a firman has been obtained from the Sultan, by the British Ambassador at Constantinople, forbidding the exportation of slaves from Tripoli to the Levant.

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By a letter from Tripoli, however, dated the 30th of December last, we learn that a Turkish schooner was then in the port, destined for Smyrna, with a large cargo of slaves; and that the price of slaves had risen considerably, in consequence of the briskness of the demand.

A WRITER who subscribes himself *A Friend to the Negro*, has sent to the *Morning Herald* a letter to the right honourable Lord Brougham, in reference to his denunciation of the illegality of the purchase of slaves by the British mining companies in Brazil. Evading altogether the main question, he goes only into the state of the negros, which he pronounces to be very happy—into the influence exercised by the example of their treatment, which he pronounces to be very beneficial—and into the effects of their emancipation, which he pronounces to be very mischievous. No doubt there is as little truth in all this as there is honesty. But, were it all true, it would be nothing to the point. It is merely attempting an apology for an act which is robbery in morals, and felony in law. Is there any other act of felony or robbery for which this gentleman would make a similar apology! Would he defend the stealing of horses on the same grounds! This has been the current excuse of slave-trading under every form; and, if it can vindicate that of the Brazilian Mining Companies, it can vindicate every other.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

HAVING given in our last the decisions of the Mohammedan and Hindoo law officers on this important subject, we propose in the next place to inquire how slavery is regarded by British functionaries, and, as far as possible, to ascertain what is the practice of the civil and criminal courts relative thereto.

SLAVERY RECOGNISED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

In 1793, under the government of Lord Cornwallis, the rule was passed, that, "in suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, caste, and all religious usages and institutions, the Mohammedan laws with respect to Mohammedans, and the Hindoo laws with regard to Hindoos, are to be considered the general rules by which the judges are to form their decision." In 1798, the court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, the supreme court of civil judicature on all questions of native law, decided that this rule was applicable to cases of slavery, and, on reference to the government, their decision was fully confirmed. Thus was slavery recognised.

Difference of opinion and practice on the subject of slavery having obtained among the functionaries in the presidency of Bengal, a series of questions were addressed, in 1835, to the courts of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta and Allahabad, by the government. These were transmitted to their subordinate judicial officers, and the reports furnished in reply amounted to 136. After giving the substance of these reports, the law commissioners of India observe—"From the foregoing analysis of the returns of the judicial officers, it will be seen how great a variety of practice and opinion exists in regard to the adjudication of cases, whether in the civil or criminal courts of the interior, in which the question of slavery is involved, and the laws and principles by which the decisions in such cases should be regulated; and this variety is observable, not only as respects different and distant parts of the country, but neighbouring districts, and even at different times in the same court. Whilst some officers admit the legality of the status of slavery, and the rights and obligations arising out of it, others altogether reject it. (These, however, are few in number.) Of those who recognise it, some would confine its existence within the bounds proscribed by the Mohammedan and Hindoo laws; others would extend it over the wider field of custom and usage; as magistrates, some would render assistance to the master to recover his fugitive slave, others would abstain from any interference; some would permit the master the right of moderate correction, others would not countenance the exercise of such authority. There are also gradations of opinion between these extreme points. It is not surprising that, in the more ambiguous cases of claims to the person and service of slaves, wherein both parties are not Hindoos or Mussulmans, the same diversity and contrariety of sentiments should be found to prevail."

The reports furnished to the commissioners were extremely unsatisfactory. They say, "with few exceptions, these returns supply little or no information of the nature required, a result which is attributable to the fact, that, in most parts of the country, cases involving the relation of master and slave are seldom or never made the subject of judicial cognizance;" and they add, "it does not appear from the returns, that the records of the moonsiff's courts of any district have been searched, for the purpose of ascertaining whether suits respecting slavery are instituted before these officers."

Upon an inspection of the abstract of the reports referred to, we find that the civil courts in Sylhet, South Behar, Behar, Tirhoot, Mymensingh, Sohurduzza, Shahabad, and the northern division of the Doab, recognise the right of the master over the person of the slave, whilst in Allahabad and Meerut such right is not acknowledged. In the civil courts of Tipperah, Goruckpore, Mednapore, Nuddea, and Dinagepore, it has been the practice, when both parties are Hindoos or both parties Mohammedans, to decide according to Hindoo and Mohammedan laws respectively. In Backergunge the courts are guided by custom and usage. Among the judges and magistrates opinions are extremely various: some would administer the law stringently, whilst others would give the slave the benefit of every doubt. Some think there are very few legal slaves according to Mohammedan law; others that there are very few slaves, strictly speaking, legally held, either by Hindoos or Mohammedans; whilst others would not only admit the claims of Hindoos and Mohammedans, but of the members of any other religious community, to hold slaves. Some would recognise the masters' right to property acquired by the slaves, others would not acknowledge such right; and whilst some would decree emancipation on proof of gross ill-treatment, others would consider emancipation under any circumstances as an infringement of Mohammedan and Hindoo laws guaranteed by government.

This diversity of opinion and practice appears to arise from the one party holding the doctrine that the Mohammedan law, strictly applied, is fatal to the existence of slavery in British India among the professors of that creed, inasmuch as they could not prove, or at least in but few instances, that the persons they hold as slaves have either been captured in war, or are the descendants of such captives; and that a strict interpretation of the Hindoo law would, go far to destroy the system of slavery which obtains among them. Such parties, in cases brought before them, require legal proof that the persons claimed as slaves are really so; the *onus* of proof being thrown on the claimant. The other party hold, that, as the government of India has recognised the *status* of slavery; as the sale of slaves, either with or without the land, has been recognised by the courts of law; as the sale of children in seasons of dearth or necessity has been allowed; as the free importation of slaves into the territories belonging to government has been permitted, except for purposes of traffic; as slaves entering the territories do not become free, and no slave can lawfully emancipate himself by such act, but must be restored to his master when claimed; and as no acts, how cruel or abominable soever they may be, can entitle slaves to emancipation, without the consent of their owners, under the Hindoo and Mohammedan laws; they are bound, in cases that come before them, to sustain fully the master's right over the person and property (if he have any) of the slave, to allow of the punishments sanctioned by those laws to coerce labour and enforce obedience; and simply to prevent the abuses which arise out of slavery, such as kidnapping, thuggee, and the sale of young children for prostitution. There is a third party, who are governed in their decisions by the *lex loci*, by custom and usage; and these functionaries will sustain the assumed rights of Christians and Jews, Parsees and Armenians, as well as Mohammedans and Hindoos, over the persons of slaves. Such are the anomalies we find in the interpretation of the law, and in the practice of British functionaries, in respect to slavery in British India. In the meantime the evil is unabated; and it is assumed by some authorities, that it is strengthened by the proceedings of the British legislature in 1833, inasmuch as, in the Charter Act, it is fully recognised as a legally existing institution; whereas there were strong doubts entertained before, whether the rule of 1793 had not been strained beyond its true intention and meaning in the support of slavery. Under existing laws, the master of a slave cannot take his life without subjecting himself to capital punishment; and provision is made that the testimony of a slave is good legal evidence in a court of justice. The former regulation may operate as a safe-guard against the ultimate effect of tyranny and oppression; the latter must remain a dead-letter, so long as the power of emancipation is legally withheld from the courts of justice in cases of wanton injury and cruelty short of death.

Let our friends remember that it is against slavery, however modified or sanctioned by law, custom, or practice, that we wage war; and that we ought not to rest satisfied until the last vestige of it cease to exist throughout every portion of the British empire—until every slave, come from where he may, shall feel his fetters drop from his limbs the moment he touches British territory, in any part of the world; and know that there he is secure from the horrors and degradation of his former bondage.

THE CASE OF THE CREOLE.

THE fullest particulars of this very interesting and important case are furnished in the protest of the mate and crew who conducted the brig to New Orleans. For the sake of brevity we have made some omissions, but we give all the material parts of this document below. It will be borne in mind that it is an *ex parte* statement. The number of slaves on board was 135.

The men and women slaves were divided. The men were all placed in the forward hold of the brig, except old Lewis and servant of Mr. Thomas M'Cargo, who stayed in the cabin as assistant servant; and the women in the hold aft, except six female servants, who were taken in the cabin. Between them was the cargo of the brig, consisting of boxes of tobacco.

The slaves were permitted to go on deck, but the men were not allowed at night to go in the hold aft, where the women were.

On the 30th of October, the brig left Hampton Roads for New Orleans. The slaves were all under the superintendence of William Henry Merritt, passenger. John R. Hewell had the particular charge of the slaves of Thomas M'Cargo (Theophilus M'Cargo being considered too young and inexperienced). the general charge of the other slaves all being under the master of the vessel. The slaves were all carefully watched. They were perfectly obedient and quiet, and showed no signs of mutiny and disturbance, until Sunday, the 7th of November, about nine P. M., in lat. 27 46 N., long. 75 20 W.

The captain, supposing that they were nearer Abaco than they were, had ordered the brig to be laid to, which was done. A good breeze was

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blowing at the time, and the sky was a little hazy, with trade clouds flying.

Mr. Gifford was on watch. He was told by Elijah Morris, one of the slaves of Thomas M'Cargo, that one of the men had gone aft among the women. Mr. Gifford then called Mr. Merritt, who was in the cabin, and informed him of the fact. Mr. Merritt came up and went to the main hatch, which was the entrance to the after hold, and asked two or three of the slaves, which were near, if any of the men were down in that hold, and he was informed that they were. Mr. Merritt then waited until Mr. Gifford procured a match, and then Mr. Merritt went down in the hold and lighted it. Mr. Gifford stood over the hatchway. On striking a light Merritt found Madison Washington, a very large and strong slave of Thomas M'Cargo, standing at his back. Merritt said to Madison, "Is it possible that you are down here? You are the last man on board the brig I expected to find here." Madison replied, "Yes, sir, it is me;" and instantly jumped to the hatchway, and got on deck, saying, "I am going up, I cannot stay here." He did this in spite of the resistance of Gifford and Merritt, who both tried to keep him back, and laid hold of him for that purpose.

Madison ran forward, and Elijah Morris fired a pistol, the ball of which grazed the back part of Gifford's head. Madison then shouted, "We have begun, and must go through. Rush, boys, rush aft, and we have them!" And calling to the slaves below, he said, "Come up, every one of you. If you don't lend a hand, I will kill you all, and throw you overboard."

Gifford now ran to the cabin, and aroused the captain and others who were asleep, and the passengers, viz., Theophilus M'Cargo, Jacob Miller, John R. Hewell, the second mate, Lucius Stevens, the steward, William Devereux, a free-coloured man, and the slave Lewis, belonging to Mr. T. M'Cargo, acting as assistant steward. The slaves rushed aft and surrounded the cabin. Merritt, hearing the report of the pistol, blew out his light, and came from the hold. In doing this he was caught by one of the negros, who cried out, "Kill him; he is one of them;" and the other slaves immediately rushed upon him. One of them attempted to strike Merritt with a handspike, but missed him, and knocked down the negro who was holding Merritt. Merritt then escaped to the cabin.

Hewell at this moment jumped out of his berth in his drawers, seized a musket, ran to the companion-way of the cabin, and after some struggling fired. The negros instantly wrenched the musket from Hewell's hands. Hewell then seized a handspike, and defended himself from the slaves who pursued him. They thought he had another musket, and retreated a little. He advanced, and they fell upon him with clubs, handspikes, and knives. He was knocked down and stabbed in not less than twenty places, but he rose, got away from them, and staggered back to the cabin, exclaiming—"I am dead—the negros have killed me!"

It is believed that no more than four or five of the negros had knives. Ben Blacksmith had the Bowie knife he wrested from the captain, and stabbed Hewell with it. Madison had a jacket knife, which appeared to have been taken from Hewell. Morris had a sheath-knife, which he had taken from the forecastle, and which belonged to Henry Speck.

Gifford, after arousing the persons in the cabin, ran on deck and up the main-rigging to the main-top. Merritt tried to get through the skylight of the cabin, but could not without being discovered. The negros crowded around the sky-light outside, and the door of the cabin. Merritt then hid himself in one of the berths, and three of the female house-servants covered him with blankets, and sat on the edge of the berth crying and praying. Theophilus M'Cargo dressed himself on the alarm being given. Hewell, after being wounded, staggered into said M'Cargo's state-room, where he fell, and expired in about half an hour. His body was thrown overboard by order of Madison, Ben Blacksmith, and Elijah Morris. M'Cargo got his two pistols out, and fired one of them at the negros then in the cabin; the other missed fire, and M'Cargo, having no ammunition, put his pistols away. After the affray, the sheath-knife of Henry Speck was found in Elijah's Morris's possession, and that of Foxwell in the possession of another negro, both covered with blood to the handles.

Jacob Miller, William Devereux, and the slave Lewis, on the alarm being given, concealed themselves in one of the state rooms. Elijah Morris called all who were concealed in the cabin to come forward, or they should have instant death. Miller came out first and said—"Here I am, do what you please." Devereux and Lewis next came out, and begged for their lives. Madison stood at the door, and ordered them to be sent to the hold. Stevens got up on the alarm being given, and ran out. Saw Hewell in the affray, and waited in the cabin till Hewell died, and then secreted himself in one of the state rooms, and when they commenced the search for Merritt, made his escape through the cabin. They fired the musket they had re-loaded, struck at him with knives and handspikes, and chased him into the rigging. He escaped to the fore yard.

On the alarm being given, the captain called all hands to get up and fight. Henry Speck, one of the crew, was knocked down with a handspike. The helmsman was a Frenchman. Elijah Morris and Pompey Garrison were going to kill him, when Madison told them they should not kill him, because he was a Frenchman and could not speak English; so they spared his life. Blair Curtiss, one of the crew, came aft into the cabin, and concealed himself in the state room with Stevens, and escaped with him to the fore royal yard.

The captain fought with his bowie knife alongside of Hewell. The captain was engaged in the fight from eight to ten minutes, until the negros got him down in the starboard scuppers. He then made his escape to the maintop, being stabbed in several places, and much bruised with blows from sticks of wood found about the brig. After the captain got into the maintop he fainted from the loss of blood, and Gifford fastened him with the rigging to prevent him from falling, as the vessel was then rolling heavily.

The captain's wife, her child, and niece, then came and begged for their lives, and Ben Blacksmith sent them to the hold. Ben then called out for Merritt, and exclaimed that all who had secreted him should be killed. The two female servants then left the berth where Merritt was concealed, and were sent down to the hold by Ben. Jim and Lewis, negros belonging to Thomas M'Cargo, then ran to Theophilus M'Cargo, who asked Jim if the others were going to kill him. Jim and Lewis exclaimed, that "Master, us should not be killed," and clung round him, begging Morris and Ben, who were then close with their knives in their hands, not to kill him. They consented, and ordered him to be taken to the hold. Jim and Lewis went voluntarily with Theophilus M'Cargo to the hold.

After a great deal of search Merritt was found, and Ben Blacksmith and Elijah dragged him from his berth. They and several others surrounded him with knives, half-handspikes, muskets, and pistols, raised their weapons to kill him, and made room for him to fall.

On his representing that he had been the mate of a vessel, that he was the only person who could navigate for them, and on Mary, a woman servant belonging to M'Cargo, urging said Madison Washington to interfere, Madison ordered them to stop, and allow Merritt to have a conversation with him. This took place in a state room.

Madison said he wanted to go to Liberia. Merritt represented that they had not water and provisions for that voyage. Ben Blacksmith, D. Ruffin, and several of the slaves then said that they wanted to go to the British islands. They did not want to go anywhere else but where Mr. Lumpkin's negros went last year, alluding to the shipwreck of schooner *Formosa on Abaco*, and the taking of the slaves on board that vessel, by the English wreckers, to Nassau, in the island of New Providence.

Merritt then got his chart, and explained to them the route, and read to them the *Coast Pilot*; and they agreed that, if he would navigate them, they would save his life—otherwise death would be his portion. Pompey Garrison had been to New Orleans, and knew the route. D. Ruffin and George Portlock knew the letters of the compass. They then set Merritt free, and demanded the time of night, which was half-past one o'clock, A.M., by Merritt's watch. The vessel was then put in Merritt's charge.

The nineteen slaves confined at Nassau are the only slaves who took any part in the affray. All the women appeared to be perfectly ignorant of the plan, and, from their conduct, could not have known anything about it. They were crying and praying during the night. None of the male slaves apparently under twenty years took any part in the affray.

At the beginning of this affray, Andrew Jackson, one of the slaves belonging to Thomas M'Cargo, jumped into the fore-rigging, and called to Francis Foxwell, one of the crew, to know where he should go to save his life, saying that he was fearful they would kill him. Foxwell told him to go to the foretop. He said he was afraid he would fall off, and climbed to the top, and remained there during the night.

There were five sailors belonging to said vessel. Two were wounded, Henry Speck and B. Curtis. They were kept in the cabin. Two of the others, Francis Foxwell and John Silvy, escaped to the maintop, and the remaining sailor, Francis Lecompte, remained at the wheel during the whole of the affray. The wounds of the sailors were dressed by the negros, and the sailors were left to do as they pleased. During the affray, two of the negros were severely wounded by handspikes.

Elijah Morris, when asked after the fight if they intended to kill the sailors, said—"No; I expect we shall rise again among ourselves, but the white people shall not be hurt."

About five o'clock, A.M., one of the negros informed Merritt that Gifford was in the rigging. Madison ordered him to come down. Ben Blacksmith put a musket to his breast, and Madison threatened to kill him if he would not take them to a British island. He promised to do so. Elijah Morris and Madison ordered Stevens to come down, and released him on making the same promise Gifford had made. The captain was then brought down by them, and he and Stevens put into the forehold, and the wounds of the captain dressed.

Madison, Ben, Morris, and Ruffin, assumed the sole control of the brig and all on board. About daybreak, by order of Merritt and Gifford, they made sail for Abaco. Ruffin was all the time either at the compass or watching Merritt. Ben, Madison, and Morris, would also watch the compass by turns.

Ruffin, when he saw Merritt mark on the slate the altitude which he was taking, compelled him to rub out the words in writing, and make only figures and marks on the slate, for fear that Gifford and Merritt might communicate secretly by that means. Gifford spoke to Merritt about the reckoning, when Morris told them if they talked any more to each other, one or both would be thrown overboard. Morris, Madison, Ruffin, and Ben, kept their knives out all the time. A number of the others of the nineteen who were in the affray had knives, but none of the other negros had knives, or took any part with the mutineers.

The other negros all remained at their regular stations where they had been placed at the beginning of the voyage, except that the male slaves were not in the fore-hold, the captain, his family, and the second mate being confined there. None but the nineteen went into the cabin. They ate in the cabin, and the others ate on the deck, as they had done the whole voyage. The nineteen were frequently closely engaged in secret conversation, but the others took no part in it, and appeared not to share in their confidence. The others were quiet, and did not associate with the mutineers. The only words that passed between the others and the nineteen, were when the others went for water, or food, or something of the kind. The others were kept under as much as the whites were. The nineteen drank liquor in the cabin, and invited the whites to join them, but not the other negros. Madison gave orders that the cooking for all but the nineteen should be as it was before, and appointed the same cook for them.

The nineteen said that all they had done was for their freedom. The others said nothing about it. They were much afraid of the nineteen. They remained forward of the mainmast. The nineteen took possession of the after part of the brig, and stayed there the whole time, or were on the watch. Some of the nineteen were hugging the female servants in the cabin, and one of them said he had picked out one of them for his wife, but none of the other nineteen meddled at all with the women slaves.

The only knives found after the affray were two sheath knives belonging to the sailors, the captain's bowie knife, and the jack knife. None of the negros had any other knives. Madison sometimes had the bowie knife, and sometimes Ben had it. No other negro was seen to have that knife. On Monday afternoon Madison got the pistol from one of the nineteen, and said he did not wish them to have any arms when they reached Nassau. The nineteen paraded the deck armed, while the other negros behaved precisely as they had done before the mutiny.

About 10 o'clock, P.M., of the 8th day of November, 1841, they made the light of Abaco. Ben had the gun. About 10 o'clock, P.M., he fired at Stevens, who came on deck as already stated. Merritt and Gifford

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alternately kept watch. Ben, Madison, Ruffin, and Morris kept watch by turns the whole time up to their arrival at Nassau, with knives drawn. So close was the watch, that it was impossible to rescue the brig. Neither passengers, officers, nor sailors were allowed to communicate with each other. The sailors performed their usual duties.

The pilot who came on board as the brig approached Nassau, and all his men in the pilot boat, were negros. The pilot was acting under the legal authority of the island. He and his men on coming on board mingled with the slaves, and told them they were freemen; that they could go on shore and never be carried away from there. One of the pilot's men told one of the female slaves that he should claim her for his wife.

The regular quarantine officer came alongside, and Gifford went ashore in his boat. He conducted Gifford to the American consul, who accompanied him to the governor of New Providence and all the other Bahama islands. Gifford then related to the governor all the facts relating to the voyage from Richmond to that port. The American consul, in behalf of said vessel and all interested, requested of the governor that he should send a guard on board to protect the vessel and cargo, and keep the slaves on board till such time as they could know what they could do. The governor did so, and sent a guard of twenty-four negro soldiers, with loaded muskets and bayonets, in British uniform, commanded by a white officer, who took possession of the vessel and all the slaves.

From Tuesday the 10th till Friday the 13th day of November, they tied Ben Blacksmith, Maddison, Ruffin, and Morris, put them in the long boat, placed a sentinel over them, and fed them there. They mingled with the negros, and told the women they were free, and persuaded them to remain in the island. Captain Fitzgerald, commanding the company, told many of the slaves owned by Thomas M'Cargo, in presence of many other of the slaves, how foolish they were that they had not, when they rose, killed all the whites on board, and run the vessel ashore, and then they would have been free, and there would have been no more trouble about it. This was on Wednesday.

Every day the officers and soldiers were changed at nine o'clock, A.M. There are 500 regular soldiers on the island, divided into four equal companies, commanded by officers called captains. There was a regular sentry stationed every night, and they placed all the men slaves, except the four whom they tied, and placed a guard over the hatchway. They put them in the hold at sunset, and let them out at sunrise.

On Wednesday, the 10th of November, about nine o'clock, A.M., three civil magistrates of the island came on board, and commenced examining all the white persons. They completed the examination on the Friday following, when the attorney-general came on board with the three magistrates, and the depositions were signed. The American consul was present the first two days. The magistrates were accompanied by a clerk. The attorney-general on Friday placed the nineteen mutineers in the custody of the captain and his guard, and ordered them upon the quarter-deck.

There were about fifty boats lying round the brig, all filled with men from the shore, armed with clubs, and subject to the orders of the attorney-general, and awaiting a signal from one of the civil magistrates; a sloop was towed from the shore by some oar-boats, and anchored near the brig; this sloop was also filled with men armed with clubs; all the men in the boats were negros. The fleet of boats was under the immediate command of the pilot who piloted the brig into the harbour. This pilot, partly before the signal was given by one of the magistrates, said that he wished they would get through the business; that they had their time, and he wanted his.

The attorney-general here stepped on the quarter-deck, and, addressing himself to all the persons, excepting the nineteen who were in custody, said,—"My friends, you have been detained a short time on board the *Creole*, for the purpose of ascertaining the individuals who were concerned in this mutiny and murder. They have been identified, and will be detained; the rest of you are free, and at liberty to go on shore, and wherever you please." Then, addressing the prisoners, he said—"Men, there are nineteen of you who have been identified as having been engaged in the murder of Mr. Hewell, and in an attempt to kill the captain and others; you will be detained and lodged in prison for a time, in order that we may communicate with the English government, and ascertain whether your trial shall take place here or elsewhere." At this time Mr. Gifford, the mate of the vessel, then in command, the captain being on shore under the care of a physician, addressed the attorney-general in the presence of the magistrates, protested against the boats being permitted to come alongside of the vessel, or that the negros, other than the nineteen mutineers, should be put on shore. The attorney-general replied that Mr. Gifford had better make no objection, but let them go quietly on shore, for if he did there might be bloodshed. At this moment one of the magistrates ordered Mr. Merritt, Mr. M'Cargo, and the other passengers, to look to their money and effects, as he apprehended that the cabin of the *Creole* would be sacked and robbed.

The attorney-general, with one of the magistrates, stepped into his boat, and withdrew into the stream a short distance from the brig, when they stopped. A magistrate on the deck of the *Creole* gave the signal for the boats to approach instantly. With a hurrah and a shout, a fleet of boats came alongside of the brig, and the magistrates directed the men to remain on board of their own boats, and commanded the slaves to leave the brig and go on board the boats. They obeyed his orders, and, passing from the *Creole* into the boats, were assisted, many of them, by the magistrates. During this proceeding, the soldiers and officers were on the quarter-deck of the *Creole*, armed with loaded muskets, and bayonets fixed, and the attorney-general, with one of the magistrates in his boat, lay at a convenient distance, looking on. After the negros had embarked in the boats, the attorney-general and magistrates pushed out their boat, and mingled with the fleet, congratulating the slaves on their escape, and shaking hands with them. Three cheers were then given, and the boats went to the shore, where thousands were waiting to receive them.

When this proceeding was over, and all the slaves except the nineteen landed, a barge was sent from the barracks to the *Creole*, to take on shore the nineteen prisoners and the guard which had been left over them. They were taken on shore to the barracks, and the nineteen carried thence to prison. One of them died the day after he had been put in prison, in consequence of wounds received in the affray.

During the investigation carried on by the magistrates on board the *Creole*, and on the evening of the same day on which the slaves and prisoners were landed, the mutineers were arraigned and identified by the witnesses.

Many of the negros who were emancipated expressed a desire to go to New Orleans in the *Creole*, but were deterred from it by means of threats which were made to sink the vessel if she attempted to carry them away. Three women, one girl, and a boy, concealed themselves on board the *Creole*, and were brought to New Orleans. Many of the male and nearly all of the female slaves would have remained on board and come to New Orleans, had it not been for the command of the magistrates and interference as before stated.

On Monday following these events, being the 15th day of November, the attorney-general wrote a letter to Captain Ensor, informing him that the passengers of the *Creole*, as he called the slaves, had applied to him for assistance in obtaining their baggage, which was still on board the brig, and that he should assist them in getting it on shore. To this letter, Gifford, the officer in command of the vessel, replied that there was no baggage on board belonging to the slaves that he was aware of, as he considered them cargo, and the property of their owners, and that, if they had left anything in the brig, it was the property of their masters; and, besides, he could not land anything without a permit from the custom-house, and an order from the American consul.

The attorney-general immediately got a permit from the custom-house, but no order from the American consul, and put an officer of the customs on board the brig, and demanded the delivery of the baggage of the slaves aforesaid, to be landed in the brig's boat. The master of the *Creole*, not feeling himself at liberty to refuse, permitted the officer, with his men, to come on board, and take such baggage and property as they considered as belonging to the slaves. They went into the hold of the vessel, and took all the wearing apparel, and blankets belonging to Mr. Lockett, which had not been opened. These things were put on board of the boat of the officer of the customs, and carried on shore.

On the next day (Tuesday) Captain Ensor proposed to sell a portion of the provisions, in order to pay his expenses while lying at Nassau, having more than enough for the remainder of the voyage to New Orleans. The collector of the customs refused to allow the provisions, consisting of several barrels of meat and navy bread, to be entered, unless the slaves which had been emancipated should likewise be entered as passengers. The master of the brig refused to accede to this condition.

On the same day on which the slaves were liberated, and before the attorney-general and the magistrates came on board, the American consul and the captain had another interview with the governor. The consul stated that they wanted time to write to Indian Key, on the Florida shore, to get a vessel of war of the United States to come and protect the brig and cargo on her voyage, and a guard was wanted to protect the said brig and cargo in the mean time. The governor refused to grant one for that purpose. The consul then proposed to get the crews of the American vessels then in the port of Nassau, and place them on the brig to carry her to New Orleans, and asked the governor to station a guard on board till the American sailors could be collected, but he refused.

A proposition was then finally made to the governor, that the American seamen then in port and in American vessels, should go on board the *Creole*, and be furnished with arms by the governor to defend the vessel and cargo (except the nineteen slaves who were to be left behind) on her voyage to New Orleans. This also the governor refused.

On the 15th the consul, on behalf of the master of the brig *Creole* and all interested, proposed to the governor to permit the nineteen mutineers to be sent to the United States on board the *Creole* for trial, and this too was refused.

BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—Perceiving through the medium of your valuable journal, the great importance which the society of which it is the organ so justly attaches to the state of slavery and the slave-trade in the vast empire of Brazil, I am induced to forward some information which I have obtained from a correspondent in that country, and from the Rio papers.

These accounts show that the slave-trade has dreadfully increased under the protection of the present ministry, who favour it in every possible way. In proof of this, I find from the *Jornal do Commerçio*, that the chief officer of the custom-house, Leopoldo Augusto da Camara Lima, has been dismissed from his situation, for having, by the conscientious discharge of his official duties, rendered himself obnoxious to the slave-traders. They had been for many years endeavouring to effect this object, but, on account of the valuable services of Senhor Leopoldo, hitherto unsuccessfully. A reference to this gentleman, under the ironical epithet of the 'grande Leopoldo,' is made in the infamous letter of Antonio Jose de Mesquitas, published in the *Reporter* of November 17th, 1841.

Early in November, fifteen hundred new negros from the coast of Africa were seen in one house, and five hundred were lodged *in the same house with the chief officer of police* at Ponto de Caju, about a quarter of a mile from the emperor's palace at St. Christopher's. The landings on the coast are of frequent occurrence, but it is very difficult to ascertain even the proximate number of victims: they have probably nearly doubled, however, since the pro-slavery government came into office, a period of about twelve months.

Whilst on the subject of the slave-trade, I beg to call your attention to the fact, that three English houses have been great losers by trusting their goods to a slaver, with the understanding that they should be paid for them on the landing of the slaves. The vessel being captured by one of the cruisers, of course all was lost.

The Portuguese at Rio, who are the principal slave-traders, use every possible means to poison the public mind with the idea that England is politically interested in every effort which she has made for the suppression of the traffic, and that considerations of philanthropy have nothing to do with her conduct.

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The *Diario* of the 25th September, contains a translation of a letter published in the *Reporter* of June 14th, 1841—with copious comments by a correspondent of that journal. These contain no solid refutation of anything advanced in the letter, but are chiefly confined to scurrilous attacks on its supposed author, whom the writer declares to be George Pilkington, from the fact of there having been no other publisher of anti-slavery tracts in Brazil at the period at which it was written. If I thought that the remarks in question were likely to have any great degree of influence, I would with much pleasure put you in possession of a translation of them; but, as I suspect, from the familiarity with English phraseology which they discover, and from their general tone, that they are from the pen of a certain Irish priest, the doing so would only unnecessarily clog your columns. It will however be satisfactory to you to know that the circulation of the *Reporter*, even in that distant part of the world, is not altogether ineffectual, and, if it arouses the spleen of those whose consciences are callous to a sense of the enormities of the system it exposes, we may hope that it will also awaken those, who, through educational habit and custom, have hitherto given it their sanction.

So great has been the opposition to the efforts of the young anti-slavery society, lately formed at Rio Janeiro (vide *Reporter* of November 3rd, 1841), that it has been entirely given up; and this, although the objects of the society were only for the promotion of "the gradual emancipation of the slaves in this country, without peril in any degree to civil society"—viz. by the purchase of the master's interest in such slaves at the period of their birth.

I am, &c., FULANO.

London, February 5th, 1842.

DOMINICA.—[Extract of a letter to Mr. Sturge, dated Dominica, 11th November, 1841.]—A vast improvement has taken place in the industry of the labourers of this island within the last twenty months. This is owing to three causes:—first, the better understanding between employer and labourer produced by longer acquaintance with the incidents of the new state of things; secondly, increase in the rate of wages (from 5½d. to 9d. sterling per day), arising from the late high price of sugar; and thirdly, the stimulating example of many who have obtained small independent settlements, the situation most favourable to the amplest development of the industry of these people. Unfortunately, at the commencement of the free system, our planters would not trust the labourers to the extent of fixing a rent upon the house and grounds, and settling upon a rate of wages independent of those. The two points here, as in all the islands, were mixed up together. This led to a thousand evils, in the first instance prejudicial to both parties, but at the present moment, although existing to a great extent, no longer shared by the labourers, who, pending the heart-burning consequent upon the arrangement of "house and grounds with so much a day," gained a knowledge of their strength, derivable from abundance of waste land and paucity of population. The planters, it is but justice to say, would now willingly disconnect the two points, but the labourers, who find themselves gainers by the first arrangement, will not consent to any alteration. They occupy the house and grounds without paying any rent, and stick out for any increase in wages that takes place. The planter dares not eject, because there is no surplus labour in the market.

You will immediately perceive that, abstractedly considered, this is an unsatisfactory state of things—the owner of the soil and capitalist being completely controlled by the cultivator (perhaps an act of retributive justice for the *first great crime*); but practically, owing to the docile character and arranging spirit of our peasantry, the planters in general experience very little difficulty in obtaining *sufficient* labour for the cultivation, upon the usual scale, of their estates. Upon the whole, although in my opinion the existing system of hiring is bad for both parties, the best feeling between employer and labourer now prevails throughout the island.

Great improvements have taken place in this island since the establishment of freedom. Many coffee estates on the verge of ruin (this culture having been given up here) have been converted into thriving sugar ones—expensive roads have been cut through stupendous rocks and along precipitous mountains—roads that were never dreamt of before freedom. A set of sugar works of steam power has for the first time been introduced in this island, under the beneficent reign of freedom. I must no forget our town, which has also been much improved, and upon which large sums have been spent both publicly and privately.

JUDGE JAY ON THE CASE OF THE CREOLE.—Our slave-holders are in great wrath, and mean, if possible, to terrify your government into a surrender of the nineteen murderers, that they may be suspended from southern gibbets *in terrorem*. They will no doubt be demanded in peremptory terms by our minister in London. In my opinion their surrender would be most disgraceful to Great Britain, most cruel, wicked, and pusillanimous. Admitting them to be murderers, by what law is your government authorized to send to the United States nineteen human beings to be put to death? The law of nations does not require it. We made a *treaty* with you in 1794, by which each party agreed to surrender murderers; but that treaty has expired, and since then *we have refused to surrender murderers at the request of your government*, as in the case of the two Barnbees, who fled to this country from Ireland, and in the case of one Holmes, who committed a very atrocious murder in Canada. Also in the case of the *Amistad* negros, we refused to surrender the alleged murderers to the Spanish minister. Still, if you cannot surrender them as murderers, can you as *fugitive slaves?* If you surrender these men, on what plea can you afford protection to the 12,000 fugitives in Canada?

Have we a right to claim favours we do not reciprocate? There is no law authorizing the surrender of a foreign fugitive, and so far have we been hitherto from claiming the surrender by you of fugitives as a *right*, that we once offered to agree to surrender fugitives from your West India islands, provided and on condition that you would bind yourselves by treaty to surrender such slaves as might flee to Canada.

I mention these facts, that you may see that the claim we shall prefer for the surrender of the *Creole* negros is as contrary to international law, as it is to the law of Almighty God. There is not one of the slave-holders who are now thirsting for the blood of these negros, who would, in similar circumstances, have scrupled to take human life. Do let your government and people understand the true state of the case. As there is no opium concerned, I do hope your ministry will, in this instance, listen to the dictates of justice, humanity, and national honour.—*Letter to Mr. Sturge.*

LORD MORPETH AND THE CREOLE.—The New York papers, give an account of the Massachusetts Abolition Fair, which Lord Morpeth was present at. He expressed himself highly pleased with the exhibition, attended frequently, made some presents to the fair, and purchased several articles. He conversed very freely on the subject of anti-slavery. In reply to some questions respecting the case of the *Creole*, he said, "There cannot be the slightest probability that Great Britain would be so inconsistent with herself as to restore those slaves to bondage. Even with regard to the nineteen concerned in the mutiny, it is my opinion that England would not be required to surrender them by the law of nations; and certain it is she would have no disposition to do so."—*Times.*

CONGREGATIONAL SLAVE-TRADING IN THE UNITED STATES.—"FIELD NEGROS.—*By Thomas Gadsden.* On Tuesday the *17th instant*, will be sold, at the north of the Exchange, a prime gang of ten negros accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions, belonging to the *Independent Church* in Christchurch parish."—*Evangelical Magazine, December*, 1841, quoted from the *Charleston Courier* of February, 1835.

MEHEMET ALI.—A correspondent of the *Malta Times* writes from *Alexandria, on the 2nd instant*:—"We learn that *Mehemet Ali* purposes procuring negros to fill up the want of Arab sailors in his navy. This does not coincide with the promises made by him to Dr. Bowring and Colonel Campbell, of his purposing to put a stop to the slave-trade in these parts. The excuse, of course is, that the time has not yet come—that the Egyptians are not civilised sufficiently to permit such an act being carried into force—and that he must first ask the divine pleasure of his master, the Sultan."

CAPTURED SLAVERS.—The following is an extract of a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, dated *9th of November*, 1841:—"Her Majesty's ship *Fantome* returned to Simon's Bay on the 24th ult., after a six months' cruise on the coast of Angola, for the suppression of the slave-trade, having had the *Brisk* and the *Waterwitch* under her orders, during which period they have captured thirty-three slave vessels, and liberated 3427 negros—viz., *Fantome*, sixteen vessels, and 1340 negros; *Brisk*, ten vessels, and 1136 negros; and *Waterwitch*, nine vessels, and 957 negros."

This day is published, in One Volume, 8vo., price Seven Shillings,

A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1841. By JOSEPH STURGE.

London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LVII. Vol. III. No. 4.] WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23rd, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

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Literary Notice.

A Visit to the United States in 1841. By Joseph Sturge. London, 1842.

Our readers are familiar with the fact of Mr. Sturge's recent visit to the United States, and are aware that it was mainly intended for the promotion of anti-slavery objects. It is only as connected with these objects that the interesting volume at the head of this article comes under our notice—general criticism on it we must leave to other hands. We may justly say that it constitutes a very pleasing and valuable addition to the anti-slavery literature of this country. It contains a considerable number of brief but effective sketches of the leading abolitionists of America, by which, as English readers, we are introduced to a measure of personal acquaintance with men—and women too—long well known to us in name, but in name only. Besides this, it opens to us a new chapter in the history of American abolitionism, by recording the names and deeds of men who constituted "the old school of abolitionists," or "the old anti-slavery societies, established about the period of the American revolution, of which the late Judge Jay, Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Rush, and other distinguished statesmen, were members, and which were composed mainly of the religious Society of Friends." Some of these were men of noble mould and extraordinary actions, of which, if we can find room, we shall give a specimen before we have done. We would extract, if our limits would allow, the interesting historical notice of abolitionism in the United States, from the pen of Mr. Whittier, pp. 11—13; we can however, only refer to it. Throughout the volume Mr. Sturge gives a simple, but always interesting account of his constant and persevering endeavours to promote the anti-slavery cause, and especially to engage in it the active co-operation of the Friends, an object in which some degree of usefulness evidently attended him. The facts which continually start up in his narrative in relation to slavery in the States, are of a most affecting character, and are the more touching from the unadorned simplicity with which they are told. The author's feelings seem no where to have been more strongly excited than at Washington, at which place he makes the following just and pointed remarks:—

We were now in the district of Columbia, the seat of this powerful federal government, and in the city of Washington, the metropolis of the United States. Here are concentrated, as it were into one focus, the associations of the past, connected with the great struggle for independence, and the memory of those names and events which already belong to history. Whatever may be our political principles, or the opinions of those who, like myself, consider all resort to arms as forbidden under the christian dispensation, it is impossible to recall without emotion, transactions which have exerted, and will continue to exert, so marked an influence on the destinies of mankind. The city was not the scene of those events, but it was erected to be a perpetual monument of them, and in the limited district of ten miles square, in which it stands, the government which was then called into existence reigns sole and supreme. If a stranger were to inquire here for the monuments of the fathers of the revolution, the American would proudly point to the capitol with the national Congress in full session, and to the levee of the President, crowded by free citizens and representatives of foreign nations. The United States were thirteen dependent colonies; they are now twenty-six sovereign states, rich and populous, covering the face of this vast continent, and compacted into one powerful confederacy. But, notwithstanding the glowing emotions which seem naturally called forth by the locality, there is many an American who bitterly feels that the district of Columbia is the shame, rather than the glory of his country. Here is proclaimed to the whole world by the united voice of the American people, "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and here also by a majority of the same people, expressing their deliberate will through their representatives, this declaration is trampled under foot, and turned into derision. The district of Columbia is the chief seat of the American slave-trade; commercial enterprize there has no other object!

Washington is one of the best supplied and most frequented slave-marts in the world. The adjoining, and once fertile and beautiful states of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, are now blasted with sterility, and ever-encroaching desolation. The curse of the first murderer rests upon the planters, and the ground will no longer yield to them her strength. The impoverished proprietors find now their chief source of revenue in what one of themselves expressly termed, their "crop of human flesh." Hence the slave-holding region is now divided into the "slave-breeding," and "slave-consuming" states. From its locality, and from its importance as the centre of public affairs, the district of Columbia has become the focus of this dreadful traffic, which almost vies with the African slave-trade itself in extent and cruelty, besides possessing aggravations peculiarly its own. Its victims are marched to the south in chained coffles, overland in the face of day, and by vessels coastwise. Those who protest against these abominations are the abolitionists, a body whose opinions are so unpopular that no term of reproach is deemed vile enough for their desert, yet if these should hold their peace, the very stones would surely cry out—pp.

In addition to this passage, we have been on the point of marking for quotation, the estimate of the present state and prospects of the abolition cause in the United States, at p. 187, *et seq.*, but we must deny ourselves this gratification, in order to fulfil our promise of exemplifying the character and deeds of the abolitionists of the old school. One of the most remarkable of these was Elisha Tyson, a man of extraordinary sagacity, energy, and benevolence, who devoted himself to procuring the release of persons illegally held in slavery.

"The labours of Mr. Tyson were not confined to a single district—they extended over the whole of Maryland. There is not a county in it which has not felt his influence, or a court of justice whose records do not bear proud testimonials of his triumphs over tyranny. Throwing out of calculation the many liberations indirectly resulting from his efforts, we speak more than barely within bounds, when we say, that he has been the means, under Providence, of rescuing at least two thousand human beings from the galling yoke of a slavery which, but for him, would have been perpetual."

Several very striking anecdotes are given of this man; but we must confine ourselves to one, and we select the following, with which we must conclude.

"On one occasion Mr. Tyson received intelligence that three coloured persons, supposed to have been kidnapped, had been seen under suspicious circumstances, late in the evening, with a notorious slave-trader, in a carriage, which was then moving rapidly towards a quarter of the precincts of Baltimore in which there was a den of man-hunters. It was late in the day when he received the information, which was immediately communicated to the proper authorities. As the testimony offered to these was not, in their opinions, sufficiently strong to induce them to act instantaneously, Mr. Tyson was obliged to seek for aid in other quarters. He accordingly requested certain individuals, who had sometimes lent him their assistance to accompany him to the scene of suspicion, in order to obtain, if possible, additional proof. One after another made excuse—(some telling him that the evidence was too weak to justify any effort—and others saying that it would be better to postpone the business for the next morning)—until Mr. Tyson saw himself without the hope of foreign assistance. But he did not yield or despair—one hope yet remained, and that rested on himself. Alone he determined to search out the den of thieves—to see and judge for himself. If there was no foundation for his suspicions, to dismiss them—if they were true, to call in the aid of the civil power, for the punishment of guilt, and the rescue of innocence.

"So much time had been spent in receiving the excuses of his friends, that it was late at night when he set out, on foot, and without a single

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weapon of defence, in the midst of silence and darkness, he marched along until he arrived at the place of destination. It was situated in the very skirts of the city, a public tavern in appearance, but almost exclusively appropriated to a band of slave-traders. Here they conveyed their prey, whether stolen or purchased; here they held their midnight orgies, and revelled in the midst of misery. The keeper of this place was himself one of the party, and therefore not very scrupulous about the sort of victims his companions chose to place beneath his care. Mr. Tyson ascended the door-sill, and for a moment listened, if perchance he might hear the sounds of woe. Suddenly a loud laugh broke upon his ears, which was soon lost in a chorus of laughter. Indignant at the sound, he reached forth his hand, and rapped with his whole might. No answer was received. He rapped again: all was silence. He then applied himself to the fastening of the door, and finding it unlocked, opened it and entered. Suddenly four men made their appearance. They had been carousing around a table which stood in the centre of a room, when, a little alarmed by the rapping at the door, they had gone in different directions to seize their weapons. Mr. Tyson immediately recognized in the countenance of one of these, who appeared to be their leader, the slave-trader whose conduct had given rise to the suspicions that had brought him thither. Nor was it many moments before the person and character of Mr. Tyson became known.

"'I understand,' said he, 'that there are persons confined in this place entitled to their freedom.'

"'You have been wrongly informed,' said the leader of the quartetto, 'and, besides, what business is it of yours?'

"'Whether I am wrongly informed,' said Mr. Tyson, calmly, 'can be soon made appear; and I hold it my business, as it is the business of every good man in the community, to see that all doubts of this kind are settled!'

"'You shall advance no further,' rejoined the leader, swearing a tremendous oath, and putting himself in a menacing attitude.

"With the rapidity of lightning, and with a strength that seemed to have been lent him for the occasion, Mr. Tyson broke through the arms of his opponent. As he had been repeatedly at this house on similar errands, he knew the course he should steer, and made directly for the door of the dungeon. There he met another of the band, with a candle in one hand, and in the other a pistol, which, having cocked, he presented full against the breast of Mr. Tyson, swearing that he would shoot him if he advanced a step further.

"'Shoot if thee dare,' said Mr. Tyson, in a voice of thunder; 'but thee dare not, coward as thou art, for well does thee know that the gallows would be thy portion.'

"Whether it was the voice and countenance of Mr. Tyson, or the terror of the word gallows that affected the miscreant, his arm suddenly fell, and he stood as if struck dumb with amazement. Mr. Tyson taking advantage of the moment, in the twinkling of an eye snatched the candle from the hand of the kidnapper, entered the dungeon door, which was providentially unlocked, and descended into the vault below.

"There he beheld a dismal sight, six poor creatures chained to each other by links connected with the prison wall! The prisoners shrunk within themselves at the sight of a man, and one of them uttered a shriek of terror, mistaking the character of their visitor. He told them that he was their friend; and his name was Elisha Tyson. That name was enough for them, for their whole race had been long taught to utter it. He inquired, 'if any of them were entitled to their freedom?' 'Yes,' said one, 'these two boys say that they and their mother here are free, but she can't speak to you, for she is gagged.' Mr. Tyson approached this woman, and found that she was really deprived of her utterance. He instantly cut away the band that held in the gag, and thus gave speech to the dumb. She told her tale. She was manumitted by a gentleman on the eastern shore of Maryland, her sons were born after her emancipation, and of course free. She referred to persons and papers. She had come over the Chesapeake in a packet, for the purpose of getting employment; and was, with her children, decoyed away on her arrival by a person who brought her to that house. Mr. Tyson told her to be of good comfort, for he would immediately provide the means of her rescue. He then left the dungeon, and ascended the stair way; when he reached the scene of his preceding contest, he looked around, but saw no one save the keeper of the tavern. Fearing that the others had escaped or were about to escape, he hastened out of the house, and proceeded with rapid strides in pursuit of a constable. He soon found one, and entreated his assistance. But the officer refused, unless Mr. Tyson would give him a bond of indemnity against all loss which he might suffer by his interference. Mr. Tyson complied without hesitation. The officer, after summoning assistance, proceeded with Mr. Tyson to the scene of cruelty. There meeting with the tavern keeper, they compelled him to unlock the fetters of the three individuals claiming their freedom. They then searched the house for the supposed kidnappers, and found two of them in bed, whom, together with the woman and children, they conveyed that night to the gaol of Baltimore county, to await the decision of a court of justice. The final consequence was, the mother and children were adjudged free. One of the two slave-traders taken as aforementioned into custody, was found guilty of having kidnapped them, and was sentenced to the Maryland penitentiary for a term of years."

CUBAN SLAVE-TRADE.

FROM a document furnished to us from an authentic and well informed source, we collect the following view of the extent of the slave-trade as now carried on in Cuba, and of the influences by which it is maintained.

The ablest and strongest portion of the Spanish mercantile marine is engaged in this trade. From the various parts of the island of Cuba, and from some parts of Spain itself, more especially from Cadiz and Barcelona, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty vessels are annually dispatched to the coast of Africa. On the average about forty enter the port of Havana, twenty arrive at Matanzas, and about forty between Trinidad and Santiago-de-Cuba. They measure from seventy to five hundred tons each, and carry from two hundred to eight hundred negros in the confined space (or 'tween-decks) prepared for the purpose. In the course of the middle passage there perish on the average twenty per cent. of the cargo; a loss, however, which is of small pecuniary consideration, since the profit on a shipment of 500 negros landed in the island may be estimated at from 120,000 to 130,000 dollars (£24,000 to £26,000 sterling) at the least. The original cost is not more than 35,000 or 40,000 dollars. In Africa the captains or factors pay from fifty to sixty dollars a-head for the negros, according to the place where the purchase is made, and the state of the market at the time; whereas in Havana they are sold in the barracoons at from 340 to 360 dollars: and although the sale is on a credit of six or twelve months, yet interest on that interval is always charged, at the rate of from nine to twelve per cent. per annum. To the incentive produced by this exorbitant rate of profit there is no counterpoise whatever in the minds of the speculators, except the apprehension of capture by British cruizers; and from this there is the greatest probability of escape, on account of the superior sailing qualities of the slavers, which are built expressly for the purpose, for the most part at Baltimore, in the United States, but sometimes also at Regla and Casablanca, in the bay of Havana. These chances are increased by the skill of the captains, and their practical knowledge of the haunts and hiding places throughout the vast extent of the southern coasts of Africa, and the not less extensive shores of the island of Cuba, by which they are enabled to elude the vigilance of the English. To all this must be added the facilities afforded for the landing of their victims immediately on their arrival, on the part of the subaltern authorities of the island, and the sympathy on which they reckon from the greater part of the population. The actual traffickers, moreover, have nothing to fear, in the nature of punishment, from their infraction of the prohibitory articles of the treaty of 1817, or of the convention of 1835; because the Spanish government, although by the last of these two treaties it promises the enactment of a penal law against those who should engage in the slave-trade, has never even prepared such a law. Under any point of view, it appears that there is no better way of making a fortune rapidly in the island of Cuba at the present moment, than engaging in the slave-trade. This is proved by the fact, that men who were occupied the other day as paltry shopkeepers, selling goods by retail, have suddenly been converted by such speculations into persons of large capital. It may safely be affirmed, that most of the Spanish merchants, and many of the foreigners, are now deeply engaged in these undertakings. The slave-traders give themselves very little trouble about what is passing elsewhere; or, if they chance to hear any thing of the intellectual movement of the age in Europe, they are unable to form an idea of its character and tendency. For the most part they have nothing in the island to lose; or, if they have, they think to secure themselves by sharing their iniquitous gains with the captains-general, and by thus purchasing the sympathies of the Spanish cabinet, by whom they are regarded as the firmest supporters of metropolitan domination.

The captains-general are selected by the Spanish ministers exclusively from the long but insignificant list of generals in the army, who have distinguished themselves more or less in their military career. Always destitute of any patrimony of their own with which to maintain themselves, or of any practical or theoretical administrative knowledge, as well as of fixed or safe principles of morality—a defect which extends to the great majority of Spaniards in both hemispheres—these men arrive in the island of Cuba without any of the qualifications by which they ought to be distinguished. Scarcely has the chief taken possession of his government, when there arrives a cargo of negros from Africa, on which he receives a bag of 200 or 300 ounces of gold, as the amount of the voluntary contribution presented by the slave-dealers. After the first there arrives another, and another; and thus the system becomes a continual and abundant source of wealth. The unexpected accumulation of so much gold is sufficient to dazzle and seduce the loose-principled soldier, who contemplates, perhaps for the first time in his life, such an amount of money. He forgets at once his military honour and the ancient Castilian purity; all is postponed to the villanous lust of gold. And the haughty Spanish general—the knight of Santiago or Calatrava, the grand cross of Isabella the catholic, or Charles III.—is speedily transformed into the wretched creature who has sold himself to a set of smugglers and pirates.

The captains-general not only permit and wink at the slave-trade, which, in the island of Cuba, is any thing but clandestine; but they protect and promote it more zealously than any other branch of legal commerce. It enjoys a thousand privileges and immunities. The observance of the maritime regulations by which the ports of Spain are governed, in regard to the equipment and sailing, the entry and discharge, of all sorts of vessels—even the severe and important laws on the subject of the public health, are, for the purposes of this traffic, evaded with impunity, in spite of the reports of the medical and other officers. It recently happened that the slaver-brig *Tres de Febreiro*, having just entered the harbour, after discharging her cargo at one of the ports close to Havana which are not licensed for foreign commerce, the health-officer on making the usual visit of inspection, found no one on board but the pilot, the captain and seamen having all previously gone on shore. Notice of this infraction of the sanatory laws was given to his Excellency, and to the admiral commanding on the station; but all that was done by General Valdez on this occasion, was to send a verbal message by the secretary to government to the captain of the port, desiring him to hush up the whole affair, as by that course, for high rea-

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sons of state, her Majesty's service would be promoted. If any other person but a slave-trader, however honoured or distinguished, had committed such a fault, he would have been condemned to pay a fine, and would probably have been committed to prison.

Since 1834, the richer class of slave-dealers have strenuously combined with the captains-general, and have exercised a very powerful influence on the minds of the authorities of all classes in Havana.

The supreme government of Spain is perfectly aware of the criminal conduct of the captains-general of Cuba, and, instead of subjecting them, either to punishment or to inquiry, exculpates them and covers them with its protection. The free periodical press is silent, or incidentally touches these excesses with a light and sparing hand—that same press which attacks so furiously, when it thinks fit, the slightest foibles.

DISTURBED STATE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

By a copy of the Guiana *Gazette* of the 6th of January, we learn that the late meeting of planters and attornies at Demerara has produced its natural result, in a very serious and extensive derangement of the system of labour. It will be recollected that district committees were to be formed, to carry into effect the recommendations of the meeting. Our contemporary thus proceeds :—

These district committees were subsequently formed in different parts of the colony; and it would appear that they drew up, and caused to be printed, certain "rules and regulations" to be enforced in their respective districts. Of these rules and regulations there are several different sets; some more stringent upon the labourers than others, but all including an abolition of all allowances, a reduction of wages to the tariff of 1834, and fines upon occupants of cottages who do not perform a regular daily task upon the estates. Some of these rules and regulations included additional provisions: that the labourers should commence work by a certain hour, or otherwise not be entitled to be paid for what they did—that they should be paid for nothing less than a full task—that if they declined to perform any particular species of work which might be ordered, they should be considered as absent without leave, notwithstanding they might have done some other kind of work, and should not only be entitled to no pay for what they did, but should be subject to a fine for absence—that the labourers should be entitled to no provision grounds, and that if they cultivated any provisions upon the estate, upon leaving or being discharged, they should not be entitled either to take away or claim payment for those provisions; and further, that every labourer should be required to contribute the wages of one day's labour monthly to the support of the medical and hospital establishment of the estate, such sum to be deducted at each payment made to him. There were also, we believe, in some cases, rules restricting the right of the labourers to keep hogs and other stock. All the sets of rules and regulations which we have seen wound up with a provision, by which all persons who continued to reside on the estate for forty-eight hours after six, A. M., in the morning of the 1st of January, 1842, and to whom the regulations should be explained, "were declared to be subject to and governed by the same.

We have not been able to learn that any particular pains were taken to sound or consult the labourers or head men as to these proposed serious changes. It would appear from the representations of the labourers made to the governor, that, on many estates at least, the first distinct notice which they had of the new rules and regulations was seeing a printed copy of them stuck up about the plantation buildings, to which was conjoined an intimation that these regulations were "the law" which must be observed. The labourers, not a little alarmed at these sweeping changes, made without any notice to or consultation with them, declined to work upon this new system, and sent deputies from all parts of the colony to inquire of the governor what sort of law these new regulations were—"queen's law," "governor's law," or "planter's law—" and how far they were under a legal obligation to obey?

In the mean time, however, the governor, having received from some of the stipendiary magistrates copies of some of the sets of "rules and regulations," submitted them to the attorney and solicitor-general for their opinions, who both replied, that the clause by which it was attempted to turn a continuance on the estate for forty-eight hours after the first of January into a consent to be bound by the new rules, was wholly nugatory; and who also expressed an opinion that some, if not all the other clauses, being apparently designed to divest the stipendiary magistrates of that jurisdiction over contracts between labourers and their employers entrusted to them by orders in council, were, so far at least as they attempted to create a contract between the employer and labourer, null and unavailing in law, and even with the consent of the labourers could not operate to create any binding contract.

To the numerous deputations of labourers who waited upon him from all parts of the colony, the governor represented that, owing to the fall in the price of sugar, the planters did not feel able to pay such high wages as they had hitherto done; that, however, the labourers were under no legal obligation to submit to the new rules, which were neither "queen's law" nor "governor's law," but that they had a right to exercise their own judgment in making such a bargain with their employers as might be satisfactory to both parties. We are informed that the labourers did not seem to object so much to the reduction of wages, as they did to the way in which it was attempted to be brought about. Some of them said that, if their masters had consulted them about the matter, they might have consented to an alteration in the wages, and, perhaps, to some other of the rules; but they objected with great emphasis to the imposition of these rules upon them by the mere authority of their employers, some of which they complained of as being vexatious and oppressive, particularly those in relation to provision-grounds.

Captain Allen, stipendiary magistrate, in a letter to the governor, states, that at a meeting of planters held at Capoey Barracks, in relation to the new rules and regulations, it was moved by Mr. Bishop, that if any labourer should complain of his employer to any stipendiary magistrate, his name should be sent up to Georgetown to be published in the newspapers, to the end that he might be marked, and might be excluded altogether from employment. This motion was seconded, but the good sense of the meeting prevented it from passing.

The governor received a letter from Messrs. Curtis A. Fleming and Alexander Grant, two justices of the peace, stating that plantation *Blankenburg* was in an alarming state. It appeared from this letter, that the manager, with the design of enforcing the new regulations, had forbidden the people to go upon their provision-grounds, which produced some excitement among them, and caused the manager to send for these two justices, one of whom, it would appear, thought himself in some danger of being roughly handled; but the people notwithstanding, being remonstrated with, remained quiet. The governor replied, that, in a case like this he would have thought it much more judicious that a stipendiary magistrate should have been sent for, instead of two justices who were themselves parties to the obnoxious regulations; that he did not perceive from the statement of the justices that the peace was very greatly in danger; that, however, he would direct a stipendiary magistrate to inquire into the matter, and would himself take all steps that might prove to be necessary for the preservation of the peace.

The labourers had procured to be printed a notice, calling a meeting of labourers at plantation *Better Versagting* (of which some of them are proprietors), to consult upon the present condition of affairs. Some of the labourers brought one of these notices to the governor, and inquired of him whether, as the planters had had their meetings on the subject, they had not a right to meet too. The governor did not deny their right; but he represented that the planters had not called together a large assembly in the open air, but had met quietly in a house; that in a large assembly, though no such thing might be intended, disorder and confusion might be apt to arise; and that, in his opinion, they would do better not to hold the proposed meeting. The people thanked him for his advice, and promised to follow it.

Upon a few scattering plantations, where no attempt had been made to introduce the new rules and regulations, the people are working as usual; but throughout the greater part of Demerara and Essequibo no work has been done since the 1st of January.

In the midst of all this disturbance, Sir Michael M'Turk has had the good sense to keep his estates quiet and full-handed, by coming to an understanding with the labourers as to a fall of wages. The *Gazette* contains some excellent observations in answer to the question, what is to be done; but we cannot extend our quotations from it to-day. The *Guiana Times* raves out, No surrender! The *Gazette* more sagaciously recommends that, "as the first step towards a reconciliation, the obnoxious rules and regulations be committed to the flames without mercy." The infatuation of these planters and attornies is almost incredible. Absentee proprietors should look to the havoc which these gentlemen are making of their interests.

THE CREOLE: MEMORIAL TO LORD ABERDEEN.

THE following memorial was presented to the Right Honorable the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., &c., by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on Saturday, 12th February, 1842.

MY LORD,—However much the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may regret the existence of any causes of irritation between the governments of Great Britain and the United States, arising out of the existence of slavery in the latter country, and of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa: they cannot but rejoice, that in the eyes of enlightened humanity and of christian philanthropy, the cause of human freedom, civilization and happiness, is earnestly sought to be promoted by the former; and that a large body of the citizens of the United States, in common with the people of England, are uniting their best efforts for the removal of those causes of irritation, by the universal extinction of the evils, to which, unhappily, they owe their birth.

The case of the *Creole*, like that of the *Amistad*, is exciting not only the profound attention of public men, but stirring the deep sympathies of the public mind on both sides the Atlantic. In common with the friends of humanity at large, the Committee feel the deepest solicitude as to the ultimate fate of the negros now in the custody of Her Majesty's authorities at the Bahamas for the part they are reported to have taken in the affair of the *Creole*. That solicitude induces them to lay before your lordship, conclusions to which they have arrived after a careful review of this deeply interesting and important case, and which they venture respectfully to submit to the consideration of her Majesty's government.

There are two versions of the *Creole* affair, one derived from the protest of certain persons who formed part of the crew of that vessel, made before a notary at New Orleans; and the other, founded on private information from Bahamas. From the first, it appears that the *Creole* left Hampton Roads in the state of Virginia, on the 30th of October last, "laded with manufactured tobacco in boxes, and slaves,"—for New Orleans; that whilst on the voyage, a part of them, nineteen in number "rose on the officers, crew and passengers, killed one passenger, severely wounded the captain and a part of the crew, and compelled the first mate to navigate said vessel to Nassau, New Providence." It appears also from the same protest, that after they had accomplished their object, they were guilty of no excesses; but treated all the whites on board with great humanity, dressing the wounds of those that were injured, supplying them with their usual food, and only keeping them apart and under such restraints as were necessary to secure their safe arrival at a British port; and to use their own simple but emphatic language, "all that they had done was for their freedom." On their arrival at Nassau, they were charged with mutiny and murder, and placed under the custody of the autho-

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rities of the island, until the government shall decide whether they shall be tried there or elsewhere for the alleged crimes.

From the latter account, it appears, that the negros having discovered their proximity to a British island, demanded to be landed there; that this was resisted by the captain, passengers and crew; that thereupon a struggle for the mastery commenced which terminated in the triumph of the negros, and the loss of two lives, one a passenger on board the *Creole*, who had the care of a portion of the slaves, and one of the negros who died of the injuries he received on his arrival at Nassau, where those implicated in the rising, were given into custody, and the remainder of the slaves allowed to go free.

Which ever of these accounts be the true one, or whatever may have been the means by which the negros achieved their liberty, the Committee presume it cannot alter the decision of Her Majesty's government in the case. They are persuaded that, under the circumstances which took place, neither the charge of mutiny or murder can be sustained in a British court of justice. If these offences have been committed, they have been committed against American citizens, on board an American vessel, and can only be dealt with in American courts. The negros of the *Creole* were forcibly placed on board that vessel as slaves—they were forcibly detained on board as slaves—they were detained for the New Orleans market as slaves. This they knew, and to avoid the horrors and degradation of the condition that awaited them, as well as to relieve themselves from the bondage in which they were held, they rose upon those to whose custody they had been committed, asserted their natural rights, and, after a short but severe struggle, secured their freedom. That homicide was committed during the affray is justly to be deplored and deprecated—but, that homicide is to be traced to the resistance made by those who endeavoured by force of arms to retain them in slavery, not to a spirit of vengeance on the part of the negros. They sought not life, but liberty; and, that obtained, their subsequent conduct, must be regarded as an admirable specimen of forbearance, self-government, and humanity. In confirmation of the views of the Committee, they refer to the decisions of the United States courts, in the case of the Mendians found on board the *Amistad*, in which it was held that the alleged offence of murder, with which they stood charged, having been committed on board a *foreign* ship, was without their jurisdiction, and such they have full confidence will be the decision of the British courts also.

The only question which remains to be noticed, is, whether the United States have a right to claim these negros, either as slaves or as felons. The Committee conceive the first point as finally settled by the British government: they cannot and will not be delivered up as slaves; and with respect to the other point, they conceive it is equally clear, that these negros cannot be delivered up, merely because they have been charged with a capital crime, by some American citizens. They are not felons by the laws of England, nor by the laws of nations; but even if they were so, the United States have no authority, under treaty with Great Britain, to require them to be delivered over to the vengeance of their laws; and the uniform custom of that country runs counter to such a demand. They will not deliver up criminals to the demands of this country, whatever the offence may be with which they stand charged.

The Committee feel themselves, therefore, at liberty to consider the negros, recently taken from on board the *Creole*, and now in the custody of her Majesty's officers in Bahamas, to be safe; and they have respectfully, yet earnestly to request, in their behalf, that Her Majesty's government will be pleased to afford them such protection, as their circumstances may require.

On behalf of the Committee,
JOSEPH STURGE, Chairman.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street,
7th February, 1842.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 23RD.

ON Saturday, the 12th instant, a deputation of the Anti-slavery Committee waited on the Earl of Aberdeen at the Foreign Office. The deputation consisted of the following gentlemen—Messrs. William Allen, Joseph Sturge, John Scoble, rev. J. H. Hinton, Messrs. John Beaumont, Henry Tuckett, Benjamin Wiffen, and John Dunlop of Edinburgh, and was very courteously received. Their object was to present to the Foreign Secretary a memorial in relation to the eighteen persons of colour detained in custody at Nassau, New Providence, in consequence of proceedings on board the *Creole*. After the memorial had been read to his lordship, he freely expressed sentiments on the case, leading to the hope that a measure would be adopted by the British government, such as has since been announced in the House of Lords—an order for their immediate liberation. Before the interview terminated, some other matters of considerable importance were submitted to the noble secretary, who promised his best attention to them.

MADISON WASHINGTON and his companions are safe. The Earl of Aberdeen made the gratifying announcement in the House of Lords on the 14th instant, that orders had been sent by the colonial secretary for their release. By our report of the proceedings on that occasion, it will be seen that all the law-lords were concurrent in their judgment of the case. This unanimity of opinion will give firm support to the prompt and honourable proceeding of the government, and tend to satisfy the American slave-holders that nothing could have been gained by any amount or continuance of clamour on this subject. We do not believe that any hesitation would have been felt by a British minister had the question been one of merely British policy; but, happily, the eighteen are protected by the impregnable bulwark of British LAW. The whole of the proceedings in parliament will be read with interest; but we commend attention particularly to the speech of Lord Denman, which embodies some general principles of great importance.

BEFORE our next number shall issue from the press, the important meeting of abolitionists in Paris of which we have repeatedly spoken, will have been held. We are happy to learn that, in addition to those we mentioned in our last, several of the provincial anti-slavery associations have appointed deputies to attend on their behalf, and we hope the number will be yet further increased. We have received information that the meeting will be under the presidency of that distinguished peer and philanthropist, the duke of Broglie; and we cannot err in anticipating that such a meeting in the metropolis of France must give a powerful impulse to the cause of emancipation.

WE are glad to find that some of the Dutch newspapers, which a short time since contained heavy charges against the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, on account of the article headed *Dutch Slave-Trade* copied from the *Morning Herald*, have done us the justice of inserting a portion or the whole of our reply to these charges. Among the papers which have thus afforded us an opportunity of vindicating ourselves to their readers, we have much pleasure in naming the *Staats Courant*, and the *Journal de la Haye*. We have no wish to prolong a discussion of this subject, because we have already sufficiently explained our sentiments on the purchase of African slaves to be employed as soldiers; and especially, because we have the assurance that this practice, which must inevitably be attended with deplorable consequences, is to be entirely discontinued.

We may however observe, in reply to some observations contained in a late number of the *Staats Courant*, that the small value of slaves in Africa, except for exportation, and the well known ferocious character of the people of Ashantee, irrespective of evidence to the contrary, are too well calculated to induce belief in an allegation that the slaves who were provided for the Dutch authorities at Elmina and rejected, were put to death. The probability of such an event is further greatly increased by the knowledge that such a mode of disposing of slaves for whom a purchaser is not found, is common among the monsters who deal in human flesh in Africa.

We are, however, willing to believe, that the Dutch functionaries, about twenty in number, who have been parties to these transactions between the slave-traders in Ashantee and the Dutch government, know nothing of such atrocities having taken place; and that the wretched bondsmen who may have been made such in the hope of disposing of them at Elmina for soldiers, are simply returned to their owners, to spend the rest of their days in a hopeless servitude. We can truly say that we have reluctantly returned to this painful subject, on which it is a great satisfaction to us to believe that we shall not have occasion again to advert. We must not however omit to remark, that the writer of the letter to the *Herald* which we copied, and of another letter which we have not copied in our pages, is incorrect in quoting the authority of our friends Messrs. Gurney and Alexander, in support of the alleged fact of the putting to death of the slaves rejected by the Dutch government.

In conclusion, we may express our cordial satisfaction in finding that the press and people of Holland feel a lively interest in circumstances which affect the character and honour of the Dutch people. We hope and believe that, if it be thought a serious affront to be now implicated in the guilt and horrors inseparable from the slave-trade, it will not be deemed otherwise than dishonourable to permit the continuance of a system based upon these atrocities, and which cannot exist without leading, in numberless instances, to acts of intolerable oppression and cruelty. It is to us a source of the most lively satisfaction to know, that these are the sentiments of a large number of influential persons in Holland, and that the number of those who thus think is greatly increasing in that country. There is no part of Europe to which we turn with feelings of more lively hope and satisfaction in reference to the abolition of slavery than to Holland, short as has been the period in which an anti-slavery organization has

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there existed. It is indeed cheering to see good men in some of the most enlightened countries in the world—among which France, the United States of America, and Holland occupy a distinguished place contending in the race of abolition. It will be no small honour to that country, among them, which shall first attain the glorious goal at which they aim. We trust that they will, however, reach it very nearly together; and that the period when this blessed event shall occur is much nearer than is supposed by many of those by whom it is ardently desired, or the few by whom it is basely feared.

We see with concern that the Christmas holidays have not passed over without a fatal disturbance at Kingston, Jamaica. It appears that the mayor, Mr. Hector Mitchell, had announced his intention of suppressing on this occasion all *noisy* amusements. Notwithstanding this announcement, a body of blacks, who had assembled on the Parade on the evening of the 27th of December, commenced "drumming and fifing," and, on the interference of the police with this harmless process, they betook themselves to the use of such missiles as were at hand. It is stated further, that the mayor and other magistrates, on resorting to the spot, were assaulted; and that, after the reading of the riot act, the military were called out, and the policemen supplied with ammunition. These deadly preparations were but too soon followed with fatal results. On a single discharge of musketry, no less a number than twenty-two persons fell wounded, in a crowd, gathered together for christmas amusement, victims to the crime of using a drum and a fife on the Parade at Kingston! Two of these persons were killed, and several more very dangerously wounded. The people dispersed about midnight, and the militia were subsequently called out for the protection of the town. On the following evening (Tuesday), the blacks are stated to have made an attack on the police, and to have also assaulted the mayor, who took refuge from the effects of his interference on board a vessel in the harbour. The city was subsequently placed under the command of Sir William Gomm, the highest military officer, and the governor issued a proclamation calling on the well-disposed to assist the magistracy. Partial mobs continued to occur, and two attempts had been made to set Kingston on fire. Business was at a stand, and serious results were still anticipated at the date of the latest papers. Such are substantially the statements of the *Falmouth Post*. By the next arrivals we shall learn the sequel, and have better means of forming an opinion of the affair, into which, of course, there will be an official inquiry. To us, we confess, the use of a drum and a fife on a public holiday appears a venial offence: but, at whatever amount it may be estimated, it has been fearfully expiated by the blood which has been shed at the call of Mr. Hector Mitchell. If it shall turn out that there has been a wanton use of magisterial power, or misconduct on the part of the police, we trust no attempt will be made to screen the guilty parties.

The evidence taken by the council in Jamaica on the subject of the recent *immigration* scheme is of the most melancholy character, and not only bears out the strongest things which have been said against it, but constrains reproof even from the *Despatch* itself. The whole number imported under the late act is stated to have been 1417; and the cost £25,578 17*s*. 2*d*.! The following are the remarks of the *Falmouth Post*:—

> A great deal of excitement seems to *prevail*, in consequence of the publication of that portion of the evidence already taken before their honours of the council, respecting the far-famed immigration scheme; and there are not wanting certain advocates, desirous of lending their talents and influence for the purpose of securing to their immediate friends, the power of sacking the public treasury—of entailing heavy and burthensome taxes on the people, in order that they may reap the only advantages attendant upon the introduction of Europeans *into* Jamaica, as manufacturers of our staple produce. Manufacturers of our staple produce, indeed! Heaven save the mark! Mr. Barclay and Dr. Ewart may declaim as much as they like—let them publish hundreds upon hundreds of pamphlets—they may endeavour by all the means in their power—by all the eloquence at their command—and by all the interest they possess, to bolster up a rotten and infamous fraud upon the public—but that public, whose means have been so wantonly and shamefully squandered, are now wide-awake, and are determined to listen no longer to the 'voices of the charmers, charm they never so wisely.' Experience has taught the sad lesson, that, while thousands and tens of thousands of pounds have been expended,—notwithstanding the arrival on our shores of so many cargoes of human victims—of wretched fellow-creatures, deceived by villanous agents in England—all their fond-fed hopes have been cruelly disappointed: they have had to submit to privations and hardships of no ordinary character, until, at last, nature exhausted with accumulated woes and deep distress has sunk, because it could endure no longer. Let the agent-general, with Mr. Commissioner Barclay, be called upon to declare upon their oaths the benefit that Jamaica has derived from the act in question. Will they venture to swear that it has answered any good purpose? Have the planters found the scheme a profitable one? How many *hogsheads* of sugar have been made by European, American, or African immigrants? What example have they been to the native labourers of the country?
>
> It is true, that, in a few short years, a vast number have come amongst us—and where are they? 'Echo answers—where!' A large proportion of them, who had neither constitution nor strength of mind to bear up against the ills with which they had to contend, have died broken-hearted—far from their homes, their friends, and those endearing ties which bind man to society; others wander about from one end of the country to the other as drunkards and prostitutes; while not a few, with their infant children, beg about the streets of our towns, and are continually appealing to the charity of the wealthy and philanthropic, to assist them in getting to some other land, in the hope that they may eventually be enabled to overcome the inroad which disappointment and the diseases of a foreign clime have made upon the consitutions of themselves and families. And then there is one grand argument which must not be lost sight of. The failure of immigration is a weapon of considerable strength in the hands of those who hate with a deep-rooted hatred every individual who had anything to do with slavery. It is a weapon which strikes with terrific force on the life-springs of West India society, and it is readily believed in England, Ireland, and Scotland, that the former owners of human flesh are ready and willing to perpetrate any *scheme*, that has for its object the tyrannic oppresion of their fellow-creatures, be they white or black.

Our intelligence from British Guiana is highly important, but of painful interest. It is stated in the *Guiana Gazette*, that the reduction of wages in Trinidad has given great dissatisfaction to the recent emigrants from Sierra Leone to that island; and that Lord Stanley has sent out orders to the governor of Trinidad, to require that they shall be paid according to the contract originally made with them. It is added that many had implored the governor to send them back to Sierra Leone.

A slight notice has been taken in the House of Commons of the measures which have been adopted by the present government for re-opening the emigration from India to Mauritius. On the 4th instant,

> Mr. VERNON SMITH said, in the *Gazette* a few days since appeared an order in council respecting the immigration of Hill Coolies into the Mauritius. Hon. members would recollect that, in 1840, his noble friend (Lord J. Russell) proposed for the consideration of the house a measure of a similar nature, which was negatived. What he wished to know from the noble lord was, whether that order in council was issued on any further information than was possessed at the close of the last session; and, if so, whether he was prepared to lay that information, together with the order in council, before the house, and to afford hon. members an opportunity of discussing the question.
>
> Lord STANLEY replied. With respect to the question which had been put to him by the hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. V. Smith) relative to the order in council which had recently appeared in the *Gazette*—after full consideration her Majesty's government did not think it expedient or proper any longer to continue the absolute prohibition to emigration of the Hill Coolies from the East Indies to the Mauritius. That prohibition had been greatly complained of, but it appeared that no step could be taken upon this subject without the concurrent action of three bodies; first, by an order in council—secondly, by a vote of money by the Mauritius—and thirdly, by the intervention of the governor-general of India in council, who was charged with imposing the restrictions. No laws more stringent could be imposed than those which had already been found effectual, and which had been introduced by the noble lord the late secretary of the colonies, with respect to emigration from Sierra Leone to their West India possessions. He (Lord Stanley) would be ready to lay before the house the order in council, and the despatches which had been received from Sir Lionel Smith upon the subject.

The papers referred to by Lord Stanley we have not yet been able fully to examine; but we much fear that his lordship is commencing another experiment of painful and melancholy issue. We must shortly resume the subject.

An interesting conversation has taken place in the same House in relation to the British West Indies, on occasion of some questions put to Lord Stanley by Mr. G. Berkeley. His lordship's reply will be found at length elsewhere. His recommendation to absentee proprietors to make frequent visits to their estates, and to facilitate "the transfer of trade from the hands of agents to those of resident tenants," is worthy of the most serious consideration of the parties to whom it is addressed. As to the statement made by a large body of planters, in Demerara and Berbice of the cost of manufacturing sugar, we hope his lordship will not be too credulous, but that he will subject every such representation to a searching scrutiny. The false registers which, as Mr. G. Berkeley says, so easily defraud non-resident proprietors, may be employed to deceive ministers of state. On the subject of emigration from Africa Lord Stanley speaks with caution; but we are sorry to see that he even hints at the possibility of extending the system which has been adopted at Sierra Leone to the Gambia.

THE American papers present an unusual quantity of interesting topics; but a press of matter prevents us from giving so extended a summary as we could wish. In one form or other the *vexata questio* of slavery is, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, forcing itself continually before the two houses of Congress. In the senate, Mr. Calhoun has brought forward a motion for papers on the case of the *Creole*, which was unanimously carried, but can now lead to no result. In the house of representatives, Mr. Adams has been producing consternation by presenting a petition from some of his constituents in Massachusetts for the repeal of the union. Hereupon Mr. Clark proposed a vote of censure on Mr. Adams; and Mr. Marshall comes forward with amendment overflowing with pro-slavery wrath and bitterness. This is now under discussion, and brings up again the whole question of slavery. Mr. Wise, who seems to be one of the most bilious of these fiery gentry (he calls his fellow-representatives fools and blackguards), has poured a great deal of abuse on the English abolitionists, and has done us the honour of venting some portion of his spleen on the *Anti-slavery Reporter*. More especially he has made an assault on our friend Mr. Sturge, whom he calls "an emissary direct from England." His angry notice of this gentleman's letter to American abolitionists, and of the address of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee to the President of the United States, will do more to advertize them, and to excite attention to them, than southern slave-holders will thank him for. We should have been glad if we could have found room for a portion of this discussion. We

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press in, however, the following extracts from private letters to Mr. Sturge. The rev. J. Leavitt writes from Washington, on the 28th of January.

The spirit of liberty, I am happy to say, is rising. Henry A. Wise has been entertaining the house with your letter—astonished that a *monarchist* should presume to intermeddle with our elections, or other affairs.

Mr. Adams now has the floor for a full vindication of himself, if the house will allow it. He is charged with contempt, and the charge will either be dismissed and thrown out, or he *will* be heard.

Under date of the 31st of January, Mr. Whittier writes from Amesbury as follows :—

By the papers sent by this packet thou wilt see that we have a good deal of discussion in Congress, in spite of all attempts to shut out the dreaded subject. The *Creole* case, mentioned in my last, has caused much excitement throughout the country, and has called forth some debate in both houses of Congress. The general impression in this section is, that the prisoners at Nassau will not be given up to our government, and that *they ought not to be*. The news of the late treaty on the slave-trade has fallen like a thunder-bolt amidst the slavery party: they scarcely know what to say or do, in reference to it. The *New York Herald* and other prints charge the whole of the abolition movement here to the machinations of England. I send thee the *New York Herald* of last week, containing the debate in Congress on the presentation of a petition from some persons, advising a peaceful dissolution of the *union*. This was taking the blustering southerners at their word, as they have all along threatened to dissolve the union. Adams stated, in presenting it, that he wished the committee to report against it. Thou wilt see that thy name is pretty freely used in the debate. Lord Morpeth was present during the discussion. The *Reporter* is not yet out, but we are in good spirits: never was there a time when our principles were so powerfully moving the public mind as at the present. The New York Liberty Convention on the 19th numbered from 800 to 1000 delegates. Stanton writes me that it was a glorious meeting. Charles T. Torrey has been tried as an *incendiary* in Maryland, and acquitted on the ground that he had *not* distributed anti-slavery publications in the state. Thou and I narrowly escaped a ten years' sojourn in the Maryland penitentiary, for distributing books, &c., in Baltimore. I should scarcely risk it again."

The agitation existing among the slave-holders in the United States is manifested by their having resort to the new expedient of holding conventions. The first slave-holders' convention was held at Annapolis, in Maryland, on the 12th of January, and a second is convened for the 9th of February. Of the atrocious doings of the former we have given some account elsewhere. The whole effort is convulsive, and indicates a most gratifying state of desperation and weakness.

WE draw attention to the following measure of the Mexican government respecting Texas. It is highly important to all who may have entertained the idea of emigration to that country :—

NOTICE RESPECTING TEXAS.—It having come to the knowledge of the Mexican government that certain persons are endeavouring to dispose of lands in Texas, this is to give notice that the government of Mexico WILL NOT RECOGNISE ANY CONTRACT, bargain, or engagement, which foreigners may make with the usurping authorities in Texas; and that all grants of land purporting to be made by the said usurping authorities will be null and void, and parties acting upon the same will do so at their own risk and peril. Mexican Consulate, January 12th, 1842.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

CASE OF THE CREOLE.

HOUSE OF LORDS, FEBRUARY 14.

Lord BROUGHAM had now to bring before their lordships a subject to which he had on the first night of the session called their attention; and he would say but a very few words upon the present occasion, in moving for the copy of any correspondence between the home-government and the governor of the Bahama islands relative to the late seizure of the *Creole* at Nassau. His noble friend the secretary of state for foreign affairs would state whether there was any such correspondence or not; and, if there was any, whether he had any objection to its production, for if he thought that the production was objectionable, he (Lord Brougham) would not press for it. In making the present motion he might say that he had further considered the question in all its bearings, and he had had an opportunity of referring to various authorities which he understood had been cited to raise a doubt on the opposite side; the result of that examination had been only to *confirm*, if it were possible, the opinion he had given on the first night of the session. It might be perfectly true that, considered in the point of international law alone, it was not the right of a foreign country to demand of us the surrender of a person taking refuge in our territories on account of an offence alleged to be committed within their territories—it might be necessary to consider the right of one nation to require from another the delivery up of fugitives taking refuge within their territories; that was one question—but there was another question to be considered, which was wholly distinct. What right was there, under the municipal law of this country, which allowed criminals taking refuge in this country to be seized upon by the government and detained, still less to be delivered up? Whatever right one nation had against another nation —even by treaty, which would give the strongest right—there was no right by the common law of the nation which would give power under any treaty. If such a treaty existed between any two countries, say between America and this country, and no act of parliament had passed enabling the powers in either country to perform the conditions of the treaty, that treaty would become utterly unavailable for any useful purpose, because the law of the land prevented the possibility of its being executed. Suppose it was clear, and that no doubt existed, that a treaty were in force binding the two parties, and either party had omitted to take power to carry the treaty into execution, the mere existence of the treaty would not enable that power to carry the treaty into effect. That treaty would be a dead letter if the municipal law of that country did not authorise the carrying out of its provisions. It was necessary to say so much, because he thought those who had argued the question had not kept the two questions of national law and of municipal law sufficiently apart. It was necessary that the municipal law should exist, as well as the law of nations. That municipal law did not exist in this country. There was no power by law to seize, still less to detain or to surrender up, any person having committed an offence, however grave that offence might be, within the jurisdiction or limits of any other country; whether he were an alien or not, there was no power to give him up until the legislature of this country should arm the government with a power to do so. He had on the first night of the session referred to two cases, the acts of 1795 and 1803, in both of which laws were passed arming the government with the power of performing their obligations, without which it would have been impossible to have performed those obligations. He had stated that the only doubt in his mind with regard to the case of the *Creole* was, that it had been suggested that a piratical offence had been committed. No doubt the case of piracy was in two particulars different from the general law, where the charge was against aliens for crimes committed beyond the jurisdiction of the country; for whereas in any other case they had no power to arrest or detain, yet in a case of piracy, although the party was an alien, they had power to seize and detain. That was one particular in which a difference existed; but he had no doubt, even in the case of piracy, we had not, and ought not to have, the power to deliver up, because, where the offence was piracy we had not only the power of seizing and detaining the person, but we could send him to his trial; so that here there was no deficient jurisdiction, and no fear that the criminal would go unpunished, whilst, in the case of a murder alleged to have been committed in a foreign country, there was no power of arresting, or of bringing to trial. It was impossible to deny, and he (Lord Brougham) did not deny, that this was a state of law which ought not to continue. He thought it highly expedient—he thought the rights of justice required, and the rights of good neighbourhood required, that in two countries bordering on one another, as the United States and England—in reference to Canada—and even that in England and in the European countries of France, Holland, and Belgium—there ought to be laws on both sides giving power to each government to secure offenders who have committed offences in the territory of one, and taken refuge in the territory of the other. He could hardly imagine how nations could maintain the relationship which ought to exist between one civilized country and another without some such power; at present, however, such a power did not exist in this country; there was no law in this country to justify such a proceeding as seizing and detaining, still less of delivering up, fugitives. This was a point of law of which there was no doubt. He understood that in the year 1822 a law was passed by one of the border states of America, the state of New York, conferring the power in question on the government. About the same time a law was passed in one of our provinces of Canada conferring the same power, and in consequence of those two laws there was a mutual giving up of persons charged with offence. A similar law had been passed in Belgium, but only under certain restrictions, and operating only in cases where certain proceedings had already taken place with respect to persons charged; and, above all, only in cases where there was a reciprocity of jurisprudence between the two countries. It was on these grounds that he had troubled them with observations on the subject, and on these grounds he adhered with more confidence to the opinion he stated on the first night of the session.

The Earl of ABERDEEN, in answer to the question of his noble and learned friend, begged to inform the house that communications had taken place between the Governor of the Bahamas and her Majesty's government on the subject. Perhaps his noble and learned friend would not press for the production of those communications in the present stage of the transaction, particularly when he informed the house what the course of her Majesty's government had been on this question. As their lordships might well imagine, her Majesty's government had given the question their most serious and anxious attention, and after taking advantage of all the assistance which they thought desirable on the subject, they had satisfied themselves that by the laws of this country there is no machinery or authority for bringing those persons to trial for mutiny and murder, still less for delivering them up or detaining them in custody [cheers]. His noble friend, the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, had therefore sent out instructions for releasing those persons who had hitherto been detained. He was not certain whether under any colonial law these persons might be brought to trial. It was possible, as the noble and learned lord had cited the existence of such a law in the Canadas, it might exist. He was not, however, aware of any such law. If such a law did exist, it was probable it would be acted upon; but should there not be such a law, directions had been sent by the government to release the parties [hear, hear].

Lord DENMAN said, that as his noble and learned friend had brought forward this motion in his absence, he might express his opinion, which indeed he would do with the greatest reluctance if there were the smallest question of the law upon the subject. He believed that all Westminster Hall, including the judicial bench, were of the same opinion as had been expressed by the noble earl; and that, by the law of England, there were no means whatever of delivering up persons accused of crimes committed in foreign countries. As a question of political law, when the Alien Bill had been year by year before the house, the subject had been fully considered by all parties. Sir C. Wetherell, a man not likely to be led away by political considerations, had given the strongest opinion, and had referred to the most convincing examples. He had said, "If aliens are sent out of this country because they are unpopular at foreign courts, the powers of the act were abused. That they should be accused of offence in foreign countries, was no reason for refusing them protection here. The regicides of Louis XVI., if they had sought shelter here, ought not to have been sent away; exiles for crime ought to find an asylum in this country." Nor was this any new doctrine; there was a remarkable passage in the Third Institute of Lord Coke, and one which could not be read without interest :—"It is holden, and so hath been resolved, that kingdoms in league with one another are sanctuaries for servants or subjects flying for safety from one kingdom to another, and upon demand made by them, are not by the laws and liberties of kingdoms to be delivered;" and then, proceeding to quote scripture, he added, "this (some hold) is grounded upon the law in Deuteronomy, 'Non trades servum domino suo qui ad te

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confugerit.' " He then went on to mention two cases which occurred about the same time:—"When Queen Elizabeth's ambassador demanded of the French King Morgan and others of her subjects that had committed treason against her, he answered, that if they acted in France, he would proceed against them, adding, 'Omnia regna profugis esse libera, regum interesse ut sui quisque regni libertate tueatur!' and appealing to Elizabeth's own conduct in affording an asylum to the Prince de Condi and other Huguenots who had been in arms against the French crown." Nor were these opinions confined to the lawyers of Europe; the great lawyers of America, who conferred great benefits by their able decisions and their valuable works, held the same doctrine. His noble and learned friend had referred to Chancellor Kemp's Commentaries on the criminal law. He appeared to incline to the opinions of Grotius and Vattel against that of other eminent jurists, that persons accused of crimes ought to be delivered up to the country where they are accused; and one case appears to have been decided by himself when he held his office in conformity with that doctrine. But the peculiar constitution of federal government, comprehending many states with various laws, renders any decision, however respectable, of less authority, till all the particular premises existing when it was made are fully canvassed. But Justice Story, in his more recent edition of the Conflict of Laws (1841), concludes a discussion on this subject by citing the passage from Lord Coke, adding that one chief justice in America has adhered to the same doctrine in a very elaborate judgment, that the reasoning of another chief justice, in a leading case, leads to the same conclusion, and that it stands indirectly confirmed by a majority of the judges of the supreme court of the United States in a very recent case of the deepest interest. It was perfectly clear that the law of England furnished no machinery or process by which a person flying from another country could be taken and detained, still less delivered over. And he would have been prepared to warn the secretary of state, on the authority of the most eminent lawyers, that he could not so act without being liable to the danger of an action for damages for false imprisonment, and the still more awful danger of putting a person upon his trial in a case where the punishment was death (cheers). It was perfectly clear that an alien, seized in this country for a crime alleged to have been committed in a foreign country, might resist with force the party attempting to make the seizure, and if the resistance ended in the loss of his life, the seizing parties might be tried for murder, and, if convicted, might be executed. It was desirable, as his noble and learned friend had declared, that a power should be established by which one country might be enabled to seize criminals for crimes committed in others; but such a right must be founded on the supposition that the laws of all countries were reasonable and just (loud cheers), for no country was entitled to enforce a law which was believed to be founded in injustice. He believed that the states of America had refused to give up a British subject who had committed forgery, because they disapproved of the punishment of death then inflicted in this country for the crime. Till the laws in each country were such as a christian country ought to adopt, they could not be enforced by one another. He could not help expressing his wish that the distinguished persons who were at the head of the jurisprudence of America might be able to bring the law of America into this state; yet he could not but observe that the existence of slavery itself, and still more the existence of the slave-trade, and above all the encouragement to that trade, formed an insuperable difficulty to our government entering into any such treaty, or persuading the legislature to consent to such a law (hear, hear, hear). Any state of the law in such a country might involve a decision upon a question of slavery, and he was sure that the government of England would never give any encouragement, directly or indirectly, to slavery, still less would they act as policemen or gaolers to enforce the rights of the master over the slave; they would rather rejoice that 200 individuals, who had been reduced to a state of slavery, had restored themselves to liberty (cheers). He would suspend all opinion upon the present case till he saw whether the parties were tried for piracy, and what was the evidence; but he must declare that the existence of this most nefarious traffic alone stood in the way of international jurisdiction for offences committed against the laws in either country (hear).

Lord CAMPBELL referred to an opinion imputed to him, which, he assured the house, he had never expressed; on the contrary, from the earliest moment he had studied the subject, he had come but to one conclusion, and to that conclusion he most firmly adhered. By the law of nations no foreign state had a right to make such a demand, and by the municipal law of England there was no power to comply with it if made. He agreed with the Lord Chief Justice, that it might be very convenient to have treaties under which persons accused of murder and other high crimes should be given up, but such a claim could only be made under the provisions of a treaty. A treaty might render it a perfect obligation to surrender foreign criminals, but without a treaty there was no obligation of any kind, perfect or imperfect. Upon this subject, perhaps, the best treatise had been published by Mr. Malin, of Gottingen, who put the question in the clearest point of view. He laid it down, and upon that there could be no doubt, that a sovereign might punish foreigners for offences committed in his territory; but he added, "There is no case in which a sovereign is obliged to send criminals for punishment to their own country, or to the place where the crime was committed—not even if they had been condemned before they made their escape." This, their lordships would perceive, was a very strong opinion; and the same authority added, "To send criminals to be tried in their own country has never been granted, excepting in virtue of a treaty"—"as to crimes committed out of his territory, the sovereign is not bound to punish criminals, nor to execute a sentence pronounced on an offender." His noble and learned friend (Lord Denman) had paid a deserved compliment to the legal authorities of the United States. Mr. Burke was one of the first to do the Americans justice in this respect, and there was no doubt that their treatises on certain branches of the law were superior to our own. One of the ablest of these writers was the present American minister at Berlin, who, in a work he had produced on international law, had laid it down that "no sovereign state is bound, excepting by special contract, to give up subjects of other states for crimes committed in foreign countries; it has, however, been voluntarily practised as a matter of general convenience, and in consequence of treaty." He (Lord Campbell) agreed with his noble and learned friend (Lord Denman), that treaties for this purpose, excluding of course political offences, might be expedient. In order to show the nicety and difficulty of such questions sometimes, he would refer to a case which occurred while he (Lord Campbell) was attorney-general. There existed a treaty between the state of New York and Canada that criminals should be given up, but not run-away slaves. A slave escaped on his master's horse, and took refuge within the Canadian frontiers, leaving the horse behind him within the territory of the United States. At New York the slave was indicted, and a bill found against him for horse-stealing, and on this ground a demand was made for him, which was resisted by the governor of Canada on the ground that the man was a run-away slave, and not a felon; it was true, he had employed his master's horse, but he had left the animal behind him, and had not taken it *animo furendi*. The question was referred to the mother-country, and it came before him (Lord Campbell) as one of the law officers of the crown. He had decided that the governor of Canada was justified in his refusal, since the man claimed was only a run-away slave, and had committed no felony. As to the other question, supposed to arise out of the facts connected with the *Creole*, he supposed that no more would be heard of the claim of compensation for slaves liberated on their arrival in an English port. While slavery existed in any of the territories of Great Britain, the *lex loci* might perhaps prevail; but there was an end of slavery, and a slave was as much free when he arrived in the Bahamas or at Bermuda, as if he had reached Portsmouth or Plymouth (cheers). No wrong having been committed, there must be an end of the notion of compensation. Such was his decided opinion, and he apprehended that the government of the United States would see that it had no ground of complaint whatever against this country.

Lord COTTENHAM entirely concurred with what had been said by his noble and learned friend. He had yet heard nothing to the contrary, and should wait until some adverse arguments were produced before he thought it necessary to trouble the house.

The LORD CHANCELLOR apprehended that he was the only law-lord in the house who had not yet given his opinion. He had been consulted upon the question, as well as the attorney and solicitor-general; and, without pretending to state the terms in which their opinion had been given, he might say that it fully agreed with what had been advanced by noble and learned lords who had already spoken. He did not think that a second opinion could be entertained.

Lord BROUGHAM added, that two other noble and learned friends, Lords Wynford and Abinger, not now present, had authorised him to say that their opinions entirely coincided with those already expressed. After the statement of the noble earl opposite he should not think it necessary to press his motion.

THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, FEBRUARY 15.

MR. G. BERKELEY, who was nearly inaudible in the gallery, was understood to ask the noble lord, the secretary for the colonies, whether he was aware, that in some of the West India colonies, the cost of making a hogshead of sugar was really greater than its value in the home market? and also whether he was aware that there at present existed great facilities for the agents of proprietors in the colonies to defraud the owners of estates, by means of false registers of the cost of production? and, lastly, he wished to know whether the government had in contemplation any plan for the importation of labour into the West Indian colonies.

Lord STANLEY, in reply, observed that, as the questions put to him were of very great importance, he could not with propriety answer them simply in the negative or affirmative, but would, with the permission of the house, do so as shortly as possible. He believed that the honourable gentleman's first question applied only to the colonies of Demerara and Berbice, and not to all the West Indian colonies. He was aware of the fact of the enormous expense of cultivating certain estates, in consequence of the competition for labour enhancing the cost of producing sugar. A large body of planters had made general complaints on the subject, and had stated that on some estates—he believed six in number—in consequence of the competition for labour and high wages given, the expense of cultivating was found to have been much greater than the value of the produce. Under such a state of things it was obvious that cultivation could not go on for any time. It was therefore clear that some steps must be taken to prevent competition going on in this way, although he doubted whether the planters proposed to take the best mode of effecting this object. The second question related to the opportunities which dishonest agents might have of defrauding the owners of estates in this country. He did not doubt that absentee proprietors in the West Indies, as anywhere else, could not compete successfully with the resident proprietors, as regarded the superintendence of their property; and of course, with reference to the absentees, it must be much more in the power of the agent to make false returns than it could be to persons residing on the spot. If he might be allowed to offer an opinion on this subject, he would say that, in the present very critical situation—which he did not deny, and which was much to be lamented—of the West Indian colonies, and with the much greater facilities of communication between them and this country which had lately been introduced, it would be highly desirable to induce the personal attention of owners of estates in the West Indies to their property there: He believed that much might be effected by a personal visit, as regarded a saving in the management of their estates in various charges, which it would be difficult for him, or for any one in that house, to form an accurate opinion of or to enumerate, and that it would tend to bring about a great moral change, which he believed was inevitable and desirable, namely, a transfer of trade from the hands of agents to those of resident tenants. That change he believed to be now in progress, and he believed it to be most desirable for proprietors themselves, and for the public generally (hear, hear.) He would venture to say this with respect to the expense of cultivation, that there was no single instance in which this natural consequence had not followed as effect and cause—namely, that where they gave to the negro labourer an interest in the amount of work to be performed, and in the amount of produce raised, there they would obtain constant and industrious labourers; but where they did not give that interest there they would not obtain them. The amount of competition, the consequence of the wages which the planters were willing to give, and the ruinous competition between them for a certain time, had resulted in having a certain portion of work unskilfully performed: this necessarily led to those ruinous expenses to which the West India colonies were now subjected. As to the importation of labour into the colonies, there had

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been a very considerable emigration from the colony of Sierra Leone: he believed this had been attended with success, and he believed the whole of the emigration which had taken place, had proved beneficial to all except those from European countries. He was happy in being able to say that her Majesty's ministers had received most satisfactory accounts on the subject; but the honourable gentleman must be aware that great difficulties existed in promoting emigration from the coast of Africa, or from any quarter where her Majesty's government could not clearly see that the act of every person emigrating was voluntary, and that he was entirely free to adopt that course. He would not say whether it might not be advisable and proper to extend the system of emigration to the minor colony on the coast of Africa, he meant the Gambia. He felt, however, that if great caution was not used, great evils would result with regard to the slave trade, and to the labour of a free population. He saw, he repeated, great difficulty in sanctioning emigration from those places, for these settlements might become places of refuge for fugitive slaves, which would create the jealousy of all the powers around; and it would also give rise to an opinion that the emigration was not voluntary but forced, and at all events lead people to imagine that it would encourage the sale of slaves. He believed he gave the best answer in his power to the question of the honourable gentleman on this point, feeling it to be his duty to state distinctly his views, and those of her Majesty's government, on a subject so intimately connected with the office he had the honour to fill.

UNITED STATES.—THE FIRST SLAVE HOLDERS' CONVENTION.

THIS celebrated assemblage closed its labours on Friday, January 14th. Contrary to the indications of the preliminary meeting, the ultimate conclusions were of the most rabid and diabolical character. The design of the Convention, which was highly distinguished for the amount of talent and respectability of many of its members, was to make a last and desperate effort to bully down the legislature to an entire and slavish subserviency to the slave interest. This must be done now or never, for a new apportionment is to take place in the state next year, and the slave-holding sections have been declining, while the free labour sections have been growing; the slave-holders feel that they now hold their last clutch upon political power, and, unless they can overawe *this* legislature to settle the policy of the state in their favour, they have no hope.

One of their measures for taxing the state treasury, (replenished chiefly from the free labour counties) is to pay large rewards for the detection of any person who induces or aids a slave to run away. Another is, to employ bailiffs to watch the arrival and departure of every steamboat and railroad car. A third is, for the state to pay the expenses of contesting all suits in other states, where the state laws conflict with the act of congress respecting fugitives from service.

The second class of propositions is designed to oppress and drive out the free people of colour. One provision is, that a free black convicted of a crime shall be sold out of the State for a given time, instead of being sent to the penitentiary, and after that shall not be allowed to return within the State. No free negro shall have a gun, sword, or other weapon. They are to be obliged to register themselves every year, and the register to be printed. Also to give security at all times for their good behaviour, or be hired out by the year by a constable. At their death, their land is to be sold, and the proceeds distributed among their heirs, and hereafter no free negro is to be allowed to purchase a freehold or a lease of more than one year. Their children are to be taken from them without any exception, at the age of eight years, and bound out to service to white persons until they are of age, and then to receive a sum of money, males seventy-five dollars, and females twenty-five dollars, and leave the state for ever, with a penalty of being sold if they return. A sale or gift of a slave to a free negro is to be void, and the slave is to be sold out of the state, and the master punished.

The last named ought perhaps in strictness to have been arranged in the third class of provisions, those to prevent manumissions, and to aid in degrading the slaves. No future manumission by deed or will is to be allowed. The owner of a runaway slave is to pay a reward for his restoration, graduated by the distance the slave is brought. No manumitted slave with his certificate to remain in the state. No meeting of negros is to be held after sunset. No person to give intoxicating liquor to a slave. A vicious negro who is a slave for years may be sold out of the state.

The fourth class of provisions is against "interference." The having incendiary papers in possession is to be *prima facie* evidence of seditious publication. To persuade, entice, or spirit a slave to run away, or harbour a runaway, is made a penitentiary offence in a white person; a coloured person, slave or free, convicted, is to be sold out of the state, and the finding a slave on the premises of a free negro is *prima facie* evidence of guilt.

Some of these propositions were not carried through without serious opposition. Several gentlemen did themselves honour, in particular by standing up in vindication of the rights and ties of nature against that most fiendish proposition of wresting the guardianship of children from their parents. T. S. Alexander, esq., the gentleman who acted as counsel for Mr. Torrey, expressed sentiments which he will remember with satisfaction in his dying hour. Said he, "There are certain natural feelings and ties *alike* known to the black as the white, and *these we must respect*. Gentlemen have claimed the power to force from our borders the whole free coloured population; but he would warn gentlemen to forego indulging in these principles. He claimed for them the privilege of *choosing for themselves their future homes*. He asked, in behalf of the *better part of this class of people*, those natural rights which we ourselves enjoy. He objected to severing the bonds of natural consanguinity and affinity. The proposition does not, it is true, touch the parent directly, but it wrests from him the dearest object of his affection, and *enslaves* it under the garb of apprenticeship, and then, as though eager for greater inflictions, compels him to quit the state."

These and similar speeches, coming from gentlemen of high social and professional standing in the very heart of the slave-breeding region, show that the spirit of William Pinckney is not quite extinct in the Maryland bar. They will re-assure the wavering representatives from the free labour sections. The arrest and detention of Torrey has gone far to break the charm of imposing greatness and overshadowing power which the convention had assumed to exercise, by showing what a cat-hearted set they were with all their pretensions, when the presence of a little man like Torrey could throw them into such a convulsive panic. The politicians will be slow to press a set of measures which, if successful, will deprive them of one member in the federal congress, now sitting in fact as the representative of the free negros, and, if unsuccessful, will tend only to embitter those whose growing numbers and social importance indicate rather the importance of securing their good will and gratitude. We believe the convention is a failure, and that it will hasten the day of emancipation in Maryland.

UNITED STATES: BABY STEALING.—We mean by this the legal seizure of infants which the statute book of the chivalrous southern sanctions. We mean that dastardly act, which betrays a lack of courage to cross the Atlantic and capture the *man*, and make *him* a slave. That act in which, under legislative sanction, and skulking behind a pile of law-books, the master dares stealthily to enter the bed-room of the mother, and seize upon the helpless infant as his victim. The infant a span long is counted as goods and merchandize by the master—as a chattel personal.

Suppose the slave population to be 2½ millions; the annual deaths under mild treatment would be 1 to 30, or an aggregate of 83,333 in a year. Notwithstanding this number die, there would be an annual increase of 3 per cent., making an aggregate of 75,000.

The number born in a year must of course be equal to these two numbers combined: showing an aggregate of 158,333 free born children, under our republican government, annually plundered of all those rights which were conferred upon them by their Creator, and reduced to the most abject slavery—equal to 433 every 24 hours.

433! Enough to furnish a large ship-load from Africa every day in the year, Sundays not excepted. 433 per day—14 per hour—more than one every five minutes!!

Now fancy yourself upon an elevation where you could view at a glance the whole south. Your eye shall witness an act of baby stealing *once in every two minutes* during the hour of daylight, the year round!—*Friend of Man.*

TURKISH SLAVE-TRADE.—Extract of a private letter, dated TRIPOLI, 30th December, 1841:—"The *price* of slaves has increased very much, owing to the great demand for them, and the facility the Turks have in transporting them in their vessels returning without cargo. In my humble opinion, nothing effectually can be done in the glorious cause till a commercial communication is opened with the interior, and when the natives can traffic with safety both to life and property. Gold-dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, gum, senna, indigo, &c., are the produce of the interior; and surely the great quantity and value of such articles is worth consideration, but without an outlet they become of no value. Probably you are not aware that European produce has a profit in the interior of 300 or 400 per cent., and that arises from the danger, the difficulty, and the great impositions on the coast. I am certain the great sheiks of the interior will not object to the abolition, and to promote commerce and civilization; but, as the Turks are so hostile to any improvement, excepting in the *war mania* against their own subjects, nothing will ever be done, as the *commercial convention* and the *Hatti Sheriff* are thoroughly disregarded. In short, this poor devoted country is the scene of devastation, cruelty, and injustice, which it makes the heart bleed to witness. I shall be happy to give you any information on the state and the mode for bettering the condition of our suffering fellow-creatures. The *public press* cannot be better employed, and by perseverance in the godlike cause will, in the end, work wonders. What can give us more national pride than the noble and disinterested conduct of England towards the poor, the naked, the suffering, the untutored black slave?—*A Turkish schooner is now in the port destined for Smyrna with a large cargo of slaves.*"

CUBA.—"I am sorry to efface the favourable opinion which we in the United States entertained of the present captain-general, Valdez, that he had refused the money of the slave-traders. His virtue remained bribe-proof only two months. He now follows in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor, in filling his coffers with the price of human blood. You are aware that the British consul, Mr. Turnbull, has demanded of the captain-general the liberation of the emancipados of this island, whose condition is more deplorable than that of the slaves. The number is probably about 5000. So vigorously and perseveringly has Mr. Turnbull pursued this object, in spite of shifts, evasions, and denials, that he had the triumphant satisfaction, on the 14th instant, of receiving from the hands of captain-general Valdez the freedom of a woman, Matilda, who has been held in this unrighteous bondage for thirteen years. This is very important, as being the first-fruits of what we hope will soon be a full harvest, the freedom of all the emancipados."—*Correspondent of the New York Emancipator.*

SIR CHARLES METCALFE'S SUCCESSOR IN THE GOVERNMENT OF JAMAICA.—Lord Elgin is only known as a thorough-going partisan, who, having crippled his resources in electioneering contests, has become the possessor of a title, without the funds necessary to maintain his newly-acquired position. His appointment is rather in the nature of a splendid exile, during which he may recruit his exhausted coffers, than as a careful selection of a talented and experienced individual, on whose wisdom the several interests in the colony may rely for a course of policy adapted to its peculiar condition.—*Globe.*

TREATY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.—Lord Aberdeen exchanged yesterday, with the ministers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia the ratifications by their respective courts of the treaty of London of the 20th December, 1841, with a view to the suppression of the African slave-trade. The French Ambassador was present at Downing-street when these ratifications were exchanged, but his Excellency had not received the ratification by his court.—*Morning Post.* It was agreed that it should be left open for the French Ambassador to exchange ratifications with the other powers at a future time.—*Times.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LVIII. Vol. III. No. 5.] WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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IMMIGRATION TO MAURITIUS.

We come to the scheme of Lord Stanley which has for its object the introduction of Indian labourers into Mauritius, and the outline of which he gives in his despatch to Sir Lionel Smith, dated 22nd of January, 1842. Passing over the noble lord's attempt to meet some of the objections urged against the emigration of Coolies to Mauritius, we wish to correct one or two material errors into which he appears to have fallen. His lordship says, that "many of those (the Coolies) who have already fulfilled their contracts in Mauritius have returned to India, and having visited their families, and deposited with them the amount of their accumulations, would gladly enter into fresh engagements, were they not debarred by the existing laws." We find no evidence of this in the documents laid before parliament. With the exception of the three sirdars, to whom reference has been made elsewhere, we can find none who were positively willing, none who were anxious, as the noble lord would make it appear, to return to Mauritius; and if we may believe the Governor-general of India, Mr. Bird, one of the council, Captain Wilkinson, agent of the Governor-general on the south-western frontier, or J. Davidson, Esq., another of the company's servants—so far from there being any desire, there is a manifest reluctance, on the part of the Indian population generally, to emigrate to foreign lands. The proposed repeal of the prohibitory act, therefore, cannot be grounded on the wish of the native population of India to leave their homes,—it must rest entirely on the desire of the Mauritian planters to obtain them.

The noble lord further says, "It is evident from the report of Sir Lionel Smith, that the urgency of the demand is triumphing over the mere legal obstacles which interdict immigration; and that therefore, the existing law must be made more stringent or relaxed." Here again, we say there is no official evidence yet before the public in support of this statement; on the contrary, Sir Lionel Smith states, that, in the case of the emigrants attempted to be introduced in contravention of the prohibitory act, through the French settlement of Pondicherry, he has taken effectual measures to prevent it in future.

Disapproving, as we do, of the whole measure, on grounds which we shall presently state, we may be permitted, nevertheless, to remark on some of its highly objectionable details.

We deeply regret to perceive that Lord Stanley has not thought fit to insist, that, of the Coolies in future to be introduced into Mauritius, there shall be a due proportion of the sexes. All that his lordship says upon this vital point is, that, "among the regulations thus to be established [by the Indian government,] will *probably* be such as may be requisite for maintaining a due proportion of sexes, and for the prevention of the improper separation of families, or the desertion of helpless women and children." Why should that be left to probability which ought to be made peremptory? Sir Lionel Smith states, that the Coolies already introduced, "have given themselves up to a degree of disgraceful licentiousness, which no person acquainted with their character and habits in India, (dissolute as they are known to be,) could possibly believe." Will the government sanction the increase of an evil so revolting as this, by the further introduction of any disproportionate number of males? Will not the house of commons again interpose to prevent this and other enormous evils connected with Coolie emigration?

In the schedule, which accompanies the order in council, we find no provision made for a medical man to accompany the emigrants from India to Mauritius. This for a voyage of from three to five weeks, we judge to be a most material omission. In the regulations for the supply of water and food to the emigrants during their voyage, we find that his lordship requires a supply of water to the amount of five gallons per week, and of rice, bread, biscuit, flour, oatmeal, or bread-stuffs, to the amount of seven pounds weight per week of the computed voyage, for every passenger, or the substitution, by the Governor-general of India, of any other articles of food, being in his judgment equivalent thereto. On this arrangement we have to remark, that the quantity of water should be at least one gallon *per diem* for each passenger, and that the amount of food is wholly inadequate to the proper support of life. If his lordship had consulted the schedule of the Free-labour Association, he would find the following scale of rations as the daily allowance of Indians above ten years of age, viz.:—rice, 1 lb. 10 oz. avoirdupois, dholl or salt fish, 3 oz., ghee, ½ oz., salt, ¼ oz.; and if he compares this with the amount of food provided for the Coolies in Mauritius, he will find it to be little more than half the quantity considered necessary for their subsistence there, the average being 1¾ lbs. of rice *per diem*, with other articles in proportion. We trust his lordship will feel it his duty, should his plan come into operation, greatly to enlage his scale, and to add to the rice or bread-stuffs such condiments as may be necessary to render them at all events palatable. We venture to suggest also to the noble lord, the necessity of providing that the food taken on board, for the use of the emigrants, shall be of good merchantable quality.

Although we have made these remarks on the details of Lord Stanley's plan, we must not be considered as approving it in its general features. Our objections to the entire measure remain in full force.

No one, who is at all informed upon the subject, can pretend that the natives of India have any wish to resort to Mauritius, however deplorable their condition may be in some extensive districts at home. The assertion that they would be generally benefited by the measure, we deny. There is not a superabundant population in British India; and we venture to think, that, were a series of enlightened, humane, and comprehensive laws, substituted for those which now exist, and the present system of misgovernment abandoned, much would be done towards removing the misery which prevails in that country. Neither can any one pretend that the Mauritian planters are persons to whom, the welfare of the Coolies may be safely entrusted. Their history is too well known to the people of this country to permit the expectation that they will treat them with humanity and justice. Even Sir Lionel Smith, who is quoted as an authority by Lord Stanley for his measure, says, in reference to them, "I have seen too much of the sacrifice of human life and human happiness in the production of sugar, to enable me to confide heartily in a class of men, allied so recently to such frightful systems," and "still mourning over the loss of their slaves."

In conclusion, we earnestly call upon the legislature to pause before they give their sanction to Lord Stanley's scheme, or allow themselves to be led away by the idea, that it is required as an act of justice to our Indian population. Let them remember that the destiny, for weal or woe, of multitudes of their fellow-men depends upon their decision. Above all, let them remember that it is their duty to protect the ignorant against the wiles of the crafty, the helpless against the strength of the powerful, the poor against the cupidity of the rich: and by their responsibility to God as well as to man, let them decide justly in this important matter.

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MEMORIAL TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD STANLEY, &c.

My Lord,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have learned with deep regret, that it is the intention of Her Majesty's government to relax the restrictions, at present in force in British India, against the export of Hill Coolies and other Indian labourers, so far as Mauritius is concerned, and to allow free importation of that class of persons into that island.

The Committee are aware that your lordship intends, by certain regulations, to take effect in India, and on the voyage thence to Mauritius, to guard against some of the frightful evils which accompanied the introduction of Indian labourers into that colony previous to the passing of the Prohibitory Act in 1839; but they would respectfully observe to your lordship, that nothing which has transpired since that period has reconciled them to the measure which your lordship proposes should be adopted, and which, if carried into effect, they believe will be accompanied by evils far greater than appears to be contemplated, or against which it will be possible to guard.

Were the object of the measure recommended by your lordship to secure to the labouring population of India a right which had been unwisely or unjustly taken from them, the Committee trust they would be found among its most earnest and zealous supporters; but when they perceive that its necessary consequence is, to withdraw that protection which the supreme government of India judged to be absolutely necessary to guard them from impositions, the most fraudulent, and treatment the most cruel, they feel it to be their duty to take the earliest opportunity of expressing to your lordship their decided objection to the proposed revocation of the existing law.

The Committee would venture to remind your lordship, that what the Indian government conceived to be necessary, the House of Commons, in the session of 1840, affirmed to be so, by a decided vote taken on the proposition of your lordship's predecessor in office, which was similar to that now before the country.

Subsequently to that period, a large amount of official evidence on the subject of Coolie emigration has been laid before parliament, which not only convinces the Committee of the wisdom and humanity of the course pursued both in India and in England on the subject, but which confirms them in the opinion, that, under present circumstances, there ought to be no relaxation in the restrictions which exist, except, perhaps, in the case of skilled labourers or artizans, who, on their own proper account, may desire to emigrate to other countries to better their condition.

Your lordship's measure appears to be grounded on the fact, that in Mauritius "a constant and large demand for labour exists;" on the alleged charge that the emancipated slaves "are addicted to idle, vagrant, and unprofitable habits;" on the assumption that "many of (the Coolies) who have already fulfilled their contracts in Mauritius, have returned to India, and having visited their families, and deposited with them the amount of their accumulations, would gladly enter into fresh engagements, were they not debarred by the existing law;" and on the opinion which your lordship entertains of being able to guard against abuses by certain regulations intended to be enforced in connexion with the emigration of labourers from British India.

On the first point, the question may arise, whether there be not a sufficient supply of labour in Mauritius to keep up, and gradually to extend, the sugar cultivation of the colony. The Committee are not convinced that there is not; but even if they were, they must protest against that being considered a sufficient ground for the introduction of Indian labourers into it. Labour is wanted in other British colonies for the same purpose, but your lordship very properly, as they think, refuses them that which it is intended shall be granted to Mauritius.

In reference to the alleged charge of indolence, brought against the emancipated classes, they have yet to be convinced of its truth; but if it were true, that there is an unwillingness on their part to work for the planters, the Committee think that it may be found to originate in other causes than those laid to their account, namely, the past conduct of their masters, which, by the returns made to parliament, is proved to have been more fraudulent, cruel, and atrocious than that of any other slave colony of the crown; and the supercession of their labour, by that of the Coolies brought into the colony, under contracts for lengthened periods of time, at extremely low wages, under the pretence of the exorbitant demands of the negros, and the attempt thus to coerce them. If, after having been driven from the land they formerly cultivated as slaves, they engage in desultory labour only, the Committee are persuaded that the cause will be found lying at the planters' door, rather than at theirs, and forms no just ground, in their judgment, why Indian labourers should be introduced into that colony.

But it is assumed, that the Indian labourers who have returned home with their earnings, are desirous of renewing their engagements in Mauritius, which they are debarred from doing under existing laws. So far as the papers already laid before parliament refer to this point, it does not appear that many are willing to return to the scene of their former labours, but the contrary. Three only positively state their intention to return, and these are Sirdars, and were evidently sent to Calcutta rather as decoys, than as truthful witnesses of what they knew to be the actual condition of the labourers in that colony. Adverting to this point, Mr. Bird, of the Supreme Council of India, observes:—"I do not place much reliance on the testimony of the Coolies who have lately returned from Mauritius;" and adds, "I am not satisfied with the summary manner in which the examinations have been taken by the chief magistrate, who appears throughout in the character of a partizan arguing in favour of the Coolie trade." As to the general reluctance of the natives of India to leave their homes, the most conclusive testimony is borne to that fact by some of the highest officers of the Indian government; and that the prohibitory law is not felt to trench on their rights or wishes, is clear from the statement of the late Governor-general himself, who distinctly says, "I do not believe that this law is yet felt as pressing hardly on the rights of the natives of India;" and he farther observes, "It was upon no understood practice and only through the busy intervention of an active agency, that the first emigrants were led to seek their fortunes in Mauritius." Thus, then, it appears to the Committee, that with but few exceptions, not only those who have returned to India from the Mauritius, express no desire or intention to return thither, but the population generally have either no wish to leave India, or are opposed to it.

It is, however, believed by your lordship that emigration from India to Mauritius may be so regulated as to prevent fraud, and punish injustice, and to make it advantageous to the Indian labourer to resort thither. The experience of the past would seem to prevent the indulgence of this hope. Lord Auckland in his minute of the 15th April, 1841, gives it as his opinion that "no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons, helpless from their poverty, and from their utter ignorance and inexperience;" and that no dependence can be placed on the police is evident from what his lordship adds; namely, that "it is but too true that this branch of our service is most defective and ineffective, and the different experiments which have been tried for its reform, have ended in disappointment." And as a practical measure, Lord Auckland would so far relax the prohibition, as to permit the "skilful artizan, or the man of calculating enterprise," to emigrate. Beyond this it does not appear that his lordship would feel disposed to go.

They are persuaded that even if your lordship were able to secure the object contemplated by the regulations in British India, which the committee believe to be impracticable, it would be impossible to secure justice to the labourers in the Mauritius. The want of laws to provide proper shelter for them on estates; the want of hospitals under proper regulations and control in the various districts in which they might be located; the want of a due proportion of the sexes, which has led to the most frightful demoralization among those already there; the want of a due sense of moral obligation, so often and so shamefully manifested by the great body of the planters of that colony; but, above all, the want of an intelligent, active, and truly independent magistracy, to administer with impartiality and firmness wholesome and just laws, lead the committee but to one conclusion; namely, that it is their duty respectfully to state to your lordship, that they are entirely opposed to the revocation of the prohibitory law, and earnestly to entreat Her Majesty's government to withdraw the proposed measure.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

27, *New Broad Street, London,*
Feb. 28th, 1842.

PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The humble petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sheweth,—That your petitioners respectfully call the attention of your honourable house, to the proposed relaxation of the law prohibiting the exportation of labourers from British India, so far as the same affects Mauritius, a measure similar to that which your honourable house decidedly negatived in the session of 1840.

Your petitioners would remind your honourable house of the dreadful mortality which up to the period of its prohibition had marked the emigration of Coolies to that island, a mortality which it is stated was equal, in Port Louis, to from eight to nine per cent., and in the country, to from ten to eleven per cent. per annum; and to the disgraceful frauds which had been practised on a multitude of ignorant and helpless people.

Your petitioners would also call your attention to the frightful demoralization which has resulted from the introduction of a vast number of males into that colony, and from the opposition which appears to have been given to their religious instruction.

Your petitioners would further bring under the consideration of your honourable house the recorded opinion of the late Governor-general of India, that no regulations, however stringent, and no watchfulness on the part of the authorities, however vigilant, can prevent oppressions and deceits from being practised on the labourers, who may be induced to emigrate to Mauritius.

Your petitioners would also call your attention to the general state of the laws, and the administration of justice, in the Mauritius, as affording no guarantee of fair and honourable treatment to immigrants on that island.

For these reasons, among others, your petitioners entreat your honourable house not to sanction the revocation of said prohibitory law, which they believe to be both wise and humane,

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and absolutely necessary to protect the Indian labourers from the recurrence of those evils, which the friends of humanity, the government, and the legislature, have had such just cause to deplore and condemn.

And your petitioners, &c.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

J. H. TREDGOLD.

27, New Broad Street, London,
February 28th, 1842.

FATAL RIOTS IN KINGSTON, JAMAICA.

Extracts of letters to JOSEPH STURGE.

Spanish Town, Jamaica, October 30th, 1841.

DURING the last twelve months the island has, with very few exceptions, been in a state of profound tranquillity so far as regards the disputes between planters and labourers, all parties have found their proper level, and a tolerably good understanding subsists between them. The unprecedented drought with which the island had been afflicted, has had no small share in leading to that result; both employers and employed were heavy sufferers by that calamity, and their joint misfortunes induced mutual concessions and forbearance, much of evil, however, still remains to be corrected. Since the month of May last we have been blessed with abundance of rain, and the entire surface is teeming with vegetation, the ensuing crop bids fair to be a very ample one.

The labouring population are in the most striking manner falsifying the planters' loud predictions respecting their conduct. The sloth and idleness which were imputed to them by anticipation, turns out a mere dream of fancy. The mass of the people are truly industrious; and, I am persuaded, there is as much labour performed in the island in the aggregate, as ever there was in slavery; the failure in the last two years' crops is not attributable to want of labour, but solely to the calamitous drought with which the country has been afflicted.

So far as steady industry, sobriety, and honesty of conduct, and mild and peaceable demeanour are concerned, the "grand experiment" has in this island, not only perfectly succeeded, but has proved an universal and unalloyed blessing.

In some parts of the country there is still a cry out for want of labour; the real want, however, is confined to a very limited number of estates in particular localities, and in most instances, originating in the gross mismanagement or tyrannical conduct of the parties themselves: the great bulk of the planters find no difficulty in procuring all the labour they require, if prepared with the means of paying the regular market price for it; great numbers have not the necessary command of cash, and unwilling to confess their own poverty, dishonestly impute their failure to deficiency in the labour market.

The true meaning of the outcry of the planters is not that labour is deficient, but that cheap labour is required; they declare that one shilling, or one shilling and sixpence per day, is more than they can afford; they flatter themselves that by means of transmigration they may reduce the market price to sixpence or nine pence per day—a palpable delusion—if they would even succeed in introducing fifty thousand immigrants, I am persuaded it would not be the means of reducing the price of labour one penny.

January 6th, 1842.

I had written thus far two months ago, intending to have given you a pretty lengthy account of the present state of matters here; but I was prevented by a variety of circumstances from going on, chiefly the incessant and arduous duties (professional) I have to go through; and, subsequently, by the alarming illness of two of my children, whom I nearly lost.

Within the last two weeks events have occurred which render it necessary for me to alter my plan: to lay aside all minor subjects, and confine myself to one which is likely to engross a large share of public attention.

The present packet carries home the particulars of one of the most frightful tragedies that has occurred in this part of the British dominions for many years; several of the peaceable inhabitants have been brutally murdered in cold blood, and a number of others have been more or less dangerously wounded by a ruffian and lawless band of policemen; and will it be believed, that this dreadful outrage originated not in any political outbreak on the part of the people—not in any attempt to molest the persons or property of any parties; but, simply, because the people insisted on enjoying their *usual* drumming and dancing during the Christmas festival, and resisted and resented the attempts of the police to put them down? Yes, such was the offence which led to the atrocious scene I am about to detail. I trust that the earnest attention of every humane man in the kingdom will be directed to this subject; and I warmly hope that the best energies of the anti-slavery party will be roused into activity, to the end that the unprincipled perpetrators may be dragged to justice, and the lives and liberties of the people henceforward be duly protected.

I must premise by observing that the people of England must take up the matter. Justice will not be done here; a mock investigation is about to be instituted; but judging from the unvarying issue of all such proceedings heretofore, the murderers will go scathless, whilst the friends and companions of the victims will be visited with the heaviest penalties of the law. In all such cases there is not a shadow of justice for the black man; our courts and juries are uniformly leagued against him.

But in order that you may clearly comprehend the case in all its bearings, I will briefly allude to some circumstances intimately connected with the history of the transaction.

You are aware that in these islands, even in the iron days of slavery, the Christmas festival has been always marked as a season of license, during which the lower orders were indulged with a degree of liberty amounting to licentiousness; the control of the master was suspended, and every encouragement given to the wildest and most extravagant scenes of mirth and revelry, they were not only permitted but encouraged to go in procession through the streets and lanes, accompanied by drums and fifes, and other noisy instruments, dancing in the most grotesque and ludicrous manner, the leaders being dressed up in masquerade attire of all descriptions. This was called "*John Canoeing*;" the custom has prevailed upwards of 150 years without the slightest interruption, it was always held dangerous to attempt even to abridge its duration in slavery. That the mummery and folly, and sometimes the licentiousness of these scenes were painfully unpleasant and disgusting to the thinking portion of the community may readily be imagined; and so are many of the amusements of the lower classes even in England. But here the custom was rapidly wearing out, and in a year or two more, I am persuaded, it would have altogether ceased; but I now fear that the persecution which has been so ruthlessly carried on, will have the effect of prolonging its existence. The practice is confessedly an evil, but it is an evil which has been sanctioned by the universal consent of every section of the community from time immemorial; and I firmly maintain that this custom so sanctioned, created a prescriptive right in the people, of which they could not legally be deprived, except by a specific and direct legislative enactment. I particularly advert to this point, because it appears to have been assumed by the judges in a late trial that the suppression of these amusements was legal; an opinion which I am pretty certain would be entirely subverted on reference to the twelve judges of England.

I come now to speak of the consequences which have arisen out of the attempt to suppress these street exhibitions.

A few days before the last Christmas holidays, (of 1840-41) Mr. Hector Mitchel, the mayor of Kingston, issued a private order to the police to prevent all drumming and dancing in the streets during the holidays; this order he issued without consulting any of his brother magistrates, or even informing them that he had done so. He quotes as his authority for this arbitrary mandate, one of the loose enactments of a law very significantly termed, the "Omnium Gatherum Act;" an act framed in so slovenly a manner, so full of absurdities and incongruities that the judges have declared it to be altogether unsafe to carry any of its provisions into practice.

This act in specifying divers nuisances, such as throwing rubbish and manure into the streets, rolling barrels through the streets, flying kites, &c. &c.; also declares all drumming and noisy disturbances in the streets to be unlawful, and directs how they are to be dealt with, and this is the contemptible authority on which Mitchel presumed to order the forcible suppression of a clearly defined privilege, which had been recognized and allowed by all the successive authorities without molestation or hindrance for upwards of a century and a half. Another peculiar feature in the case is, that this law had been in existence several years, but was never invoked against these Christmas festivities until last year, although Mitchel had held the office of mayor during that period. In carrying into execution Mitchel's orders, the police seized on the drums, &c., and took several of the drummers into custody, and lodged them in the cage—the people became excited, a large body assembled before the store of Mr. Daniel Hart, a respectable merchant, proprietor of a large estate, and a magistrate of the city, one in whom the people have great confidence—they appealed to him whether the police had any right to interfere with their customary amusements. Hart, after consulting with several of his brother magistrates, declared that there was no law forbidding the usual Christmas festivities, and ordered the police not to interfere with them—the police, however, immediately afterwards again seized the drums and took up the drummers—some of the magistrates again called on the police to desist, but in vain—the populace began to lose temper, and a riot was apprehended. At this juncture a number of magistrates assembled at the court-house, and proposed to call a meeting of magistrates to consider on the means of preventing the peace of the town from being disturbed. Mitchel was invited to preside on the occasion—he refused to attend, but sent word that he had recalled the obnoxious order which had created the disturbance. Hart then called out to the people that they were at liberty to dance and drum as usual. The magistrates compelled the police to release the people they had taken up, and to restore their instruments. In the course of the day several trifling skirmishes occurred between the police and the people, but not the slightest damage was done—it was chiefly confined to abusive language and threats—subsequently the mob assembled before Mitchel's door, and vented their indignation in loud yells and execrations—they were immediately dispersed by Meresby, one of the magistrates, who was afterwards tried for *inciting* the people to *riot*. Such is a plain history of what was afterwards magnified into a serious tumult.

Mitchel, stung to the quick by the opposition of Hart, and the other liberal magistrates, caused a criminal prosecution on his own personal responsibility to be instituted against him, for a conspiracy to create a riot, encouraging tumultuous assemblages, inciting to a breach of the peace, &c. The trial came on in August last, before Mr. Dougal, one of the newly-created *legal judges*, and a nicely packed (special) jury of the *old* school; Mr. Dougal throughout the trial conducted himself as though he were counsel for the prosecutor; he had not even the common sense and discretion to conceal his partiality. Incredible as it may appear, he actually allowed Mitchel, the open and avowed prosecutor in the cause, to sit on the bench beside him during the whole trial, and was constantly holding private conversation with him as the trial proceeded—you may guess the result. Hart and three of his brother magistrates were found guilty, their sentence was postponed till October, when they were brought up before the supreme court. It was generally supposed that the sentence would not extend beyond a small pecuniary fine; but to the amazement of all parties it turned out one of the heaviest that we have on record. Mr. Dougal, who pronounced the judgment of the court, after addressing the prisoner at the side bar, in a speech replete with brutal invective and insult, sentenced Hart to be imprisoned in the common gaol for three months, and to pay a fine of £200. sterling. Messrs. Salom and Quall to two months imprisonment and £100. fine each. But Meresby, in consequence of his producing letters as to general character and conduct, from certain merchants of Kingston, was let off with a simple fine of £50., even in this case betraying their gross partisanship. I will not attempt to describe the intense sensation which this infamous sentence produced in the community; the warmest sympathies even of the enemies of the parties were aroused on their behalf; petitions unanimously signed by persons of every shade of political opinion, were poured in upon the executive. These petitions were referred to the judges, but with the same bad feeling which had marked the commencement of the proceedings, they pointedly refused to give their sanction to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy; and the governor, in consequence I believe against his own strong convictions declined interfering.

I must not however longer dwell on these points, but you will readily

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perceive that we are threatened with a reign of judicial tyranny; which, if not speedily checked by the loud and indignant voice of public opinion, may be the means of crushing some of the most important privileges of our new-born freedom. If such flagrant injustice can be exercised against the friends of the people, what sort of justice can the people themselves expect.

I come now to speak of the particulars of the tragic scenes which were recently enacted in Kingston. Hector Mitchel appears to have made up his mind to carry his point at all hazards, and I pray you to mark the extraordinary measures by which he deliberately sought to accomplish it, without consulting with any of his brother magistrates, he a short time before the commencement of the holidays, issued the following brief notice:—

"The police will prevent all drumming and noisy disturbances. Hector Mitchel, Mayor." The arrogance of this imperial edict needs no comment. He next concerted his plans with the chief inspector of police, M'Leod. To give you an idea of the character of this person, and to show how well fitted he was to become the tool of Mitchel, I need but mention that in October, whilst giving his evidence in the court, respecting a street row between the police and a mob in Spanish Town, in which the police had been routed; he (M'Leod,) told the court it was well that he heard it reported that night, that one of the people had been killed in the skirmish with the police, because but for that report he should have turned the police out again, as they then had their arms, to have another trial with the people. I regret to say that this expression of blood-thirsty feeling passed unreproved by the court.

Mitchel on his own responsibility and at his own expense, purchased thirty or forty saddles and bridles for the use of the police, and hired the like number of horses for their service; thus allowing the legal character of the police, by converting them into the horse-patrol, in defiance of positive enactments. He next hired some unoccupied premises adjoining his own place of business, and converted them into stables and barracks for the police. He next induced M'Leod to commit another breach of law by drawing off a portion of the police from the adjoining parishes to act in Kingston, and the entire body were furnished with an ample supply of ball cartridges; all this was done without any application being made for the governor's sanction, which the law strictly enjoins as indispensable.

These formidable preparations clearly indicate that Mr. Hector Mitchel had firmly resolved that bloodshed should follow the slightest resistance to his arbitrary and illegal manifesto—Christmas day passed off in quietude as a day of religious observance, but the mounted police were to be seen parading all parts of the town; on Monday, the people learned that in Spanish Town, the usual festivities were being carried on without molestation, they determined to make the attempt to claim their privileges. By way of trial, a man with a fiddle (which he could not play) and another with a tambourine appeared in the large square called the parade, followed by a parcel of young people, singing and shouting in their usual manner, a body of police galloped up and seized the fiddler, and conveyed him before a magistrate, by whom I believe he was forthwith sentenced to the House of Correction. This event produced a good deal of excitement. A large crowd quickly assembled on the parade, and loud expressions of discontent were uttered. A parcel of boys and women assembled in the church-yard and commenced pelting the police as they passed, they were compelled to fly down the street; in their flight they were met by the inspector, the sub-inspector, and a re-inforcement of police, M'Leod called out "turn back my boys, and I will head you," they did turn back, and a desperate charge was made on the people, but they were again assailed with stones and broken bottles; I believe it was at this juncture, the police fired among the people, but with blank cartridge, this of course only tended to aggravate the passions of the people. The police were again compelled to retreat within the walls of the military barrack. The crowd on the parade rapidly increased to the amount of some thousands, the greater part, however, being mere spectators. Hector Mitchel and some other magistrates made their appearance, as might be expected the sight of Mitchel increased the commotion, he was attacked and compelled to retreat to the officers' quarters. One of the magistrates, Mr. G. B. Smith, made an attempt to read the riot act, in doing so, he received a slight wound on one of his fingers. I am particular in specifying these minute details, to show the extent to which the people had gone before the tragedy commenced. After the reading of the riot act, which I believe not one in five hundred heard or knew the meaning of, the people remained perfectly quiet, standing in detached groups, talking over the occurrences of the evening; the military were ordered out, and formed in line, they then fired a *feu de joie* with blank cartridge, pointing their guns upwards. The moment the firing ceased, although the riot act had not been read more than ten or fifteen minutes, and the people were standing perfectly quiet. Inspector M'Leod gave orders to the police to charge upon the people, and at the same time he was heard to call out, "by virtue of my commission as a magistrate, in and over this island, I order you to fire!" In an instant they galloped amongst the crowd pistols in hand, and fired right and left amongst an unarmed multitude. Two or three were killed on the spot, and ten or twelve wounded, of whom several I understand have since died! Two who were shot to death were respectable young men who had nothing to do with the affair, but had merely come out to ascertain the cause of the disturbance—one was recently married, another of the victims was a poor woman far advanced in pregnancy, but what cared the brutal and ferocious police for age, sex, or condition! The terrific confusion which ensued, may be more easily conceived than described—the most serious apprehensions were entertained, that in the exasperated state of popular feeling, the entire town would be set on fire by the infuriated people. The drums beat to arms, and the militia were turned out and guards appointed in different parts of the town. By eleven o'clock, P.M., the entire crowd had dispersed, and the town became quiet. The next morning the indignant feelings of the people were again manifested—whenever a policeman was seen in the streets, a hue-and-cry was set up, and he was compelled to fly. Mitchel in passing down one of the principal streets was assailed, and with difficulty escaped, for the remainder of the day he was obliged to remain on board a vessel in the harbour. In one instance the police had taken a man into custody, and by some means he escaped out of their hands—instead of pursuing the fugitive, one of them deliberately raised his gun to his shoulder and fired at the man—he missed his object, but the ball took effect on a poor woman, who was standing in the balcony of a house! I cannot in the compass of a letter detail all the atrocities that were perpetrated on this occasion. But I appeal to every friend of humanity and justice in England, whether these shall be permitted with impunity! Is it right that human beings should be slaughtered like pigs in the street, merely because they persist in amusing themselves in a manner sanctioned by long established custom and universal consent? Is it right that any one man should possess or exercise such tremendous authority, as has been done by the unprincipled despot Mitchel? I trust that the question will be taken up in parliament, that the official papers relating to the subject will be moved for, and government urged to some energetic steps. I repeat it, justice is not to be expected on this side the water—it must come from home. The cold-blooded miscreants who have committed these foul murders, not only remain unpunished, but are stalking about with heads proudly erect, as though they had been engaged in some meritorious service. We are weak and powerless here on behalf of the poor and oppressed, I claim the benevolent exertions of yourself and friends towards securing full protection to the lives and liberties of the helpless and innocent victims of misrule.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received the admirable article on the *Creole* affair, as it appears in a Dublin journal, but too late for insertion. We must not allow so spirited a production to remain unnoticed.

A copy of the important letter of E. S. Abdy, Esq., has been forwarded to one of our friends now in Paris, with a request that he will inquire and report. On the return of our friends, we shall be in a position to do more justice to the important subject to which Mr. Abdy has very properly called attention.

The letter of "HUMANITAS" has reached us, and while we have no reason to doubt the accuracy of his startling statements; yet as these statements seriously affect the character of individuals, we cannot become responsible for the publication of them, unless we are made acquainted with the writer. Will "HUMANITAS" communicate with us, *confidentially*, if he please?

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 9TH.

DEPUTATION TO PARIS.

WE have the gratification to announce the safe arrival in Paris of most of those friends who were deputed to attend the public meeting of the French Society, for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies and throughout the world. The following gentlemen had arrived on the morning of Saturday last:—*Josiah Forster*, G. W. Alexander, J. Scoble, B. Wiffen, and J. H. Hinton, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. Joseph Sturge, deputed from Birmingham; Dr. Madden and Mr. Corkran, from Dublin; T. Harvey, from Glasgow; B. Godwin, from Oxford; Edward Cropper, from Liverpool; Edward Foster, from Cambridge; H. Taylor, from Woodbridge; Thomas Scales, from Leeds; and F. Wheeler, from Rochester. Some other gentlemen were expected to arrive during the course of the day. Our readers will have learned from the ordinary sources of information, that the public meeting intended to have taken place on Monday, the 7th instant, has been either prohibited or adjourned by an official intimation from the French government. Instead of speculating on the causes or the consequences of this unexpected interferenee;—a measure which has drawn public attention through the medium of the French press, to the great purposes which the meeting was intended to subserve,—we deem it more judicious to wait for that full information which the return of the English deputies will place in our hands. In the mean time, we by no means regret, that our friends have gone to Paris on this philanthropic mission. While there, they will have many opportunities of aiding the abolitionists of France with their friendly counsels, and of proposing those salutary courses of action which Divine Providence has so signally blessed in their own nation. We entirely concur, therefore, in the following opinion expressed in the letter of an intelligent correspon lent now in Paris. "You will see that the circumstances under which we assemble, do not exactly correspond with our expectations; but the deputies who have had an opportunity of expressing their sentiments, are far from regretting, that they have undertaken the journey, or from apprehending that no good will result from it."

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EMIGRATION OF HILL COOLIES AND OTHER INDIAN LABOURERS INTO THE MAURITIUS.

WE have devoted a considerable portion of our pages in the present number to the insertion of documents relating to the vitally important question of the proposed immigration of Hill Coolies and other classes of Hindoos into Mauritius. We refer to the review of Lord Stanley's despatches as they were presented to the house of commons,—the memorial presented to his lordship by a deputation from the Committee; and a copy of the petition from the Committee presented to the house of commons some evenings ago, by Sir Eardly Wilmot. These documents will prove, that the Committee are alive to the importance of a measure involving alike the interests of Hindoos and of the emancipated negros in the Mauritius; and that they have resolved to use all constitutional means to arrest this measure in its progress. The more we reflect on the proposal of Lord Stanley, the more deeply are we convinced that if carried into effect, it will be fraught with injury, not only to the Hill Coolies and other natives of India who may thus be induced to leave their father land; but also to the injured and long oppressed, but now happily emancipated negros, whom these emigrants are intended to supplant. It is a singular fact, that when a measure was introduced by Lord John Russell on the subject, Lord Stanley and his present colleagues gave to that measure the most strenuous opposition, and that from this and other causes, that measure was happily withdrawn. Is it said, the measures are not identical—they are different in many of their features! True, in some things they are different; but the two measures are essentially the same in *principle*, they differ only in matters of detail. All the objections which the Committee ever urged against the principle of the measure which Lord John Russell formerly withdrew, they are constrained to urge against the measure which Lord Stanley, now proposes to submit for the sanction of the British government.

Nor can we forget, that even if the former conduct of the planters in any colony entitle them to any boon—a position we hold to be utterly untenable—the former conduct, and we fear we must add, the present conduct of the planters of Mauritius denudes *them* of all claim to any such boon. In no colony was slavery clothed in more fearful horrors, in none did it shed more human blood, in none was it more firmly resolved to maintain its deadly hold, in none did it longer maintain its dying struggle, than in the Mauritius. All this is known, is acknowledged by all, except the ignorant and the prejudiced: and, yet, the abettors of these wrongs, the men who profited by the tears, and toils, and blood of their fellow-men, are the men for whose alleged convenience, for whose *unproved* want of labourers, we are required to make provision, by decoying from their families and homes, the untaught, unskilled, uncivilized mountaineers of Hindostan.

Besides, what will be the necessary effect of the proposed measure on the negro population of Mauritius itself! Why not employ them! they are on the spot—no agent will be required to collect them—no vessels needed to transport them across the seas—no provisions will be requisite for their supply during a long voyage! They are in the colony. Why not employ them, and pay them for their labour! It is said they are unwilling to labour. Have they been tried—we mean *fairly* tried! They were tried with the *whip*—have they been fairly tried by the offer of just wages—the promise of a fair and competent support! If not, try them now. Refuse not to pay for the honest industry of the *freemen*, whose labour you so long coerced while they were slaves. "Do justice," in reference to your own population, and give them employment in your colony. "Love mercy," in reference to the Hindoos, and leave them in their own land. If, ye planters of Mauritius! you are determined to pursue your present course, we must beg to remind you, that the voice of British freemen compelled you to own the Majesty of British law, and to emancipate, very reluctantly on your part, your unhappy slaves; and now the same free nation will place the ægis of its just and impartial laws, over the whole of your emancipated population. Your land has been stained with the blood of captured Africans; we cannot consent that it be further stained with the blood of decoyed Asiatics!

To the tried and trusty friends of the cause throughout the United Kingdom, we now earnestly appeal to do their duty in this important matter. Let them remember, that in a few short days, this obnoxious measure will be tested in the commons house of parliament—let them forward petitions, numerously signed, to that house, and addresses to their representatives; and this done, they will have the happy consciousness of knowing that they have discharged an important obligation.

FATAL OUTRAGE IN KINGSTON, JAMAICA.—We referred in our last number to a fatal attack made by the police on the populace in Kingston: an attack which ended in the loss of several lives. We are now able to give in another column, minute details of this massacre, from the pen of an esteemed correspondent in the island. And we need only add, that the accuracy of our correspondent's statements is fully proved, not only by an able speech delivered by Mr. Russell, in the Jamaica legislature, but also by the admissions of the colonial minister in the British parliament. The case is one of the most outrageous proceedings which has recently come before us; and we are happy to find that Lord Stanley has announced a government investigation of the whole affair. Until we hear something of the results of this investigation, we refrain from any further comment.

PROPOSED REDUCTION OF LABOURER'S WAGES IN JAMAICA AND DEMERARA.—Great excitement has been caused in the colony of Demerara, and also in the parish of St. Mary's, Jamaica, by a combination among the planters and their agents, to reduce the price of wages. We refer to the resolutions inserted in another column, and copied from public journals in these islands. There is one argument employed by the honest labourers in arguing against the reduction of their wages, which it will be no easy matter for the planters to answer. They say, very quietly, and very conclusively:—Gentlemen, you say your expenditure exceeds your income, the cost of producing your sugar crop exceeds the sum for which you can sell it to the purchaser, and of course, you add, we must reduce our expenditure,—granted; but why reduce *our* wages, and our wages only! Why begin with the labourers! Why leave all the managers and all the overseers in the undisturbed possession of their large and liberal incomes; while we, the labourers, are alone doomed to the necessity of submitting to the large reductions you propose! Is it generous, is it honourable, is it fair, is it just to deprive us of the means of procuring the necessaries of life, we who bear the burden and heat of the day; while our managers and overseers are furnished with the means of procuring so many of the luxuries of life! Such is their reasoning, and who can answer it! We shall return to the subject.

ADDRESS TO THE BEY OF TUNIS.

WE recently announced that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had prepared a congratulatory Address to the Bey of Tunis, in consequence of his conduct in suppressing the nefarious traffic in negro slaves within the territories subject to his authority. That Address has been forwarded through the British government to Sir Thomas Reade, British consul at that regency. The Address, we doubt not, has before now reached its destination, and may therefore with propriety be given to our readers. We subjoin a copy.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have heard with unfeigned satisfaction of the measures which your Highness has adopted for the suppression of the detestable and wicked traffic in negro slaves within the territories subject to your authority.

The great truth, that God hath created all men equal, acknowledged by your Highness and by all civilized princes and people is consonant alike with the dictates of reason, the decisions of conscience, and the claims of religion; and is at once the surest foundation and the best guarantee for the liberty and happiness of individuals, and the peace, prosperity, and stability of nations.

To deprive human beings of their liberty, then is both criminal and impolitic. To restore them to freedom is a duty enforced not less by justice and humanity than by an enlightened policy. May your Highness be led to compassionate the condition of all slaves within your territories, and to set them free; and thus to become an example of wisdom and equity to all rulers on the continent of Africa!

Your Highness is probably aware that the government and people of Great Britain have denounced the slave-trade as a crime of the deepest dye, punishable by the privation of liberty and banishment to a distant part of the empire; and that they have for ever terminated the system of slavery in their colonial dependencies, in different parts of the world, with the happiest results. The abhorrence with which they regard these evils leads them to rejoice in the fact that other nations have either followed or are about to follow their example, and especially to learn that your Highness has commenced this great and good work in the country over which you rule.

This important step the Committee venture to hope will be followed by another still more important, without which they are of opinion your Highness's philanthropic and noble designs cannot be fully consummated, namely, the abolition of slavery itself, the root of the odious and wicked traffic which your Highness is so justly anxious to extirpate.

In conclusion, the Committee express their sincere wish that your Highness may be spared both to perfect the important work which has been so well begun, and to enjoy the blessed fruits thereof to a distant day; to be hailed as the deliverer of the oppressed and the benefactor of your people.

On behalf of the Committee,
THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

27, *New Broad Street, London,*
January 7th, 1842.

ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN GERMANY.

THE Germans have no slave-colonies, and yet they are, in numerous cases, proprietors and hirers of slaves. Multitudes of these emigrants, whether permanent settlers or temporary residents, are to be found in the southern states of North America, and in the Brazils. Dr. Julius, in his elaborate and valuable work on the United States, says that the majority of planters in Mississippi consist of his fellow-countrymen. In Nettlebeck's Autobiography (Leipsic, 1821) we are told that Surinam was, in the middle of the last century, rather a German than a Dutch colony. On the plantations as well as in Paramaribo, out of one hundred whites nearly ninety-nine were Germans. Some of these honest and good people, if we may judge from recent events in Hamburg, are equally anxious to engage in the slave-trade. Dr. Follen states in his letters (published in the *Frishafen*, an Altona periodical), that his brother, though expressly warned by him against Arkansas as a slave-holding state, chose that part of North America for

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the place of his abode. Should these men perish during an insurrection of the blacks, what pity would they deserve for a fate to which they have voluntarily exposed themselves! The project for introducing free labour into the Brazils is now under discussion; and, if reports which have appeared in the German papers are to be credited, emissaries from that country, if not already on their way, are about to visit Europe, for the purpose of enlisting recruits in furtherance of this equivocal scheme. Colonization in North or South America on a large scale has been proposed for different parts of Germany, as an outlet for a superabundant population, and a future market for manufactures from the mother country. As certain portions of the Brazilian empire have been recommended by the concoctors of this patriotic enterprise, it would be as well if more information on the subject of slavery, its principles and tendencies, than now prevails, could be communicated to those for whom these plans are intended. An agent from the anti-slavery societies would find ample field for useful exertion in Germany, in correcting public opinion, and checking misrepresentation. Many important facts, too, might be gleaned from the press of that country, correspondents of which are dispersed over every part of the globe. In the *Minerva* (January, 1841), a monthly periodical of Jena, is an article on St. Helena, by A. Hermann. "For cultivating the gardens," he says, "for fishing and housework, the people have blacks, in number about six hundred. They were bought and imported as slaves, contrary to the latest laws. They live in wretched huts, separated from their masters' dwellings." Can this statement be true! In a little work published at Basil in the German language (1841), for the benefit of an institution for the education of missionaries' children, are several passages that refer to the horrors of slavery and the slave-trade, and, as it is addressed to children, the impression it leaves on the mind is likely to be extensive and permanent.

There is too much reason to fear that the new state of Texas is indebted for no small accession to its population, to the falsehoods its friends and emissaries have disseminated over the continent of Europe, in regard to its social and financial situation. The *Leipsic Gazette* has repeatedly warned its readers against these and similar delusions.

The cause of abolition is likely to suffer in no small degree from the calumnies and insinuations of the *Ausland*, a German periodical distinguished by great talent, and replete with various and valuable information. If we are to believe this journal, the sole object of England in emancipating her slaves, has been to embarrass and ruin her maritime enemy. "She is willing," it seems, "to sacrifice her colonies to her jealousies; and the gratification of the one is a full indemnity for the other. We have set an example which must be followed by others, and our commerce on the continent will gain what it has lost in the islands. Freedom to the black man is necessarily ruin to the white; but we can afford to give up our sugar if we can destroy our enemy's cotton." Facts are invented or perverted in support of this ridiculous hypothesis, and a nation for the most part profoundly ignorant, both of colonial matters and of the plainest principles which decide the relation that exists between capital and labour, too readily believes these charges against a people, who, it is gravely told, particularly in the columns of the *Augsburg Gazette*, are the commercial despots of modern times, the destroyers of European industry, and the monopolisers of the world's traffic. Liberty, if left to herself, would have little to fear from her enemies; but, while she is forced into connexion with the scarecrows and bugbears of the day, and brought into an imaginary alliance with those chimeras which the new-born nationality of young Germany has been taught to look upon as a real existence, some effort should be made to separate her cause from the accessories and adjuncts which artful foes and weak-minded friends have thrown round it. Some of the German governments, if I mistake not, have expressed their regret that they could do nothing for the cause of abolition. Their sincerity may easily be tested. Let their representatives at Washington, in conjunction with the ambassadors of other powers, protest in a body against the disgusting traffic in human beings carried on under their eyes, in violation of the courtesies and decencies of civilised society.

E. S. A.

COMBINATION TO REDUCE WAGES IN JAMAICA.

St. Mary, 7th January, 1842.

IN pursuance of a requisition to his honour the custos, a very numerous meeting took place at the court-house Manning's Town, on Monday, the 3rd inst. Arrangements having been entered into for a full attendance of labourers, a large and respectable number of that body were present, when Mr. James C. Jones was unanimously requested to take the chair, and after having explained to all present, the cause of the meeting being called,

Mr. RICHARD LEWIS rose and said, that on the abolition of the apprenticeship, it was found necessary in order to induce the labourers immediately to go to work; that a very high rate of wages should be offered. The rate then fixed was justified, as they were given for the purpose of bringing the labouring population into habits of industry, and the price of produce was such as enabled the proprietors to meet the expenditure. Since that time other sugars had been allowed to compete with ours in the market, from which, and other causes, prices have been so reduced that proprietors are totally unable to pay the rate of wages now given. This being the case, he called upon the labouring population to take the matter into consideration, and urged upon them the necessity of accepting such wages as the present price of produce would afford, and then proposed the following resolutions:—

1st.—That the price of produce having fallen greatly since the present rate of wages were established, proprietors can no longer pay such wages, and have written in the strongest terms to their agents, that an immediate reduction must take place, or that they will be compelled to abandon the cultivation of their properties. It is therefore indispensably necessary that this fact be fully explained to the labourers, and that every possible means be adopted to induce them to accept of such wages as the proprietors can afford to give.

2nd.—That to reduce wages, it is requisite that all parties should be unanimous; and it is the duty of every manager to explain to the labourers the necessity of a reduction in order to secure their willing co-operation.

3rd—That proprietors and managers have ever shewn their willingness to allow the labourers the highest rate of wages that could be afforded; now that necessity compels them to seek a reduction, they look with confidence for the cheerful acceptance on the part of the labourers, of such wages as the reduced price of produce will afford.

4th—That we consider 1s. sterling per day for first class, and 9d. for second class labourers, is a fair and equitable rate, and that 1s. per week is a fair sum for rent for house and garden.

5th—That every exertion be used to promulgate these opinions, and induce all parties to be unanimous.

Mr. JAMES GEDDES seconded the resolutions, and at the same time expressed his approbation of, and concurrence in, what had been said by Mr. Lewis, and assured the meeting that he, Mr. Lewis, not only spoke his own sentiments, but those of all owners of property in that parish. That the proprietors generally, in urging a reduction of wages had been entirely silent with respect to rent; but he considered it was only fair that a liberal reduction be made in it, and that under those circumstances he hoped the labourers would cheerfully co-operate and accept such wages as could be afforded.

Mr. WILLIAM LITHERLAND then addressed the meeting and said, that harsh and improper illusions had been made to this meeting, but were those gentlemen who made them present, they would perceive by the respectable body of labourers that had attended, how very unfair and premature their remarks were; and went on to explain that unless the labourers co-operated with the planters, cultivation must very soon cease, and concluded by earnestly exhorting them to take such wages as could be afforded.

Mr. J. W. WHITEHOUSE in alluding to Mr. Litherland's remarks on what had appeared in the public prints said, that he was himself under the impression, that the meeting was called for very different purposes, and was to have been composed solely of proprietors and attorneys, but he was quite convinced, had they known that the labouring population had been requested to assist at the meeting, and had seen the number of respectable persons of that class present, they would, as he did, approve of it.

Mr. GEDDES also observed, that had he not been aware that labourers were to attend and form part of this meeting, he himself would not have been a party to it.

Several respectable labourers then addressed the meeting, and among others, Thomas Robinson, Thomas Addison, &c., who gave it as their firm opinion, that the general welfare of the country depended entirely on the sugar estates being cultivated, but recommended that time should be given for the due consideration of the resolutions.

Mr. ROBERT NELSON, expressed it as his opinion, that the white people had called them there for the purpose of "taking them in," on which the chairman in a mild manner assured him and all present that no such wish existed, but that on the contrary, they had been called there to take part in the meeting and freely to express their own sentiments and protect their own interest.

The resolutions were then read, and after a vote of thanks to the chairman the meeting separated.

THE COST OF MAKING SUGAR.

WE find in the *Morning Herald* a notice of a pamphlet (as we suppose, although we have not been able to procure it), by Mr. Ross of Grenada, developing a more efficient and economical mode of cultivating the West Indian staples. We make with pleasure the following extract from the columns of our contemporary, and recommend Mr. Ross's suggestion to the consideration of the planters of Guiana and Trinidad, together with their *Magnus Apollo*, Mr. Burnley:—

African immigration is thought by the planters, adds Mr. Ross, to be "their only chance of escaping from certain ruin;" but such immigration, he truly remarks, must be difficult and slow. "In the meanwhile, what shall the planter do to save himself?" he asks.

"How shall he hope, at least with better *chances* of success, at the *present moment, whatever emigration may hereafter effect*, to struggle with the uncertainty of the seasons—the caprice and irregularity of the negro—the annual reduction of his labouring numbers—the contraction of his cultivation, and the altered markets? while, to prop up his fallen fortunes, his wages and expenses are necessarily doubling by the very cause (want of hands) which principally occasions his distress. Assuming African and other emigration to be necessary to his safety—how may he best recommend it to the indulgent consideration of his adversaries, *clothing it with a new character?* If his estate must needs be a speculation—and one of little or any worth—how shall he make the expenses bear some proportion to the product, whatever that product may be—and thus—in his own defence—following the example of agriculturists 'at home,' establish for himself and his returns some '*sliding scale* of protection?"

The reply to these interrogatories developes Mr. Ross's plan.

"The friendly answer and advice which may here be given is this:—pay no more in wages for the cultivation of the land—reform your entire system—reverse the tables—place yourself on the safe side—instead of paying wages to the negro, let the negro pay you, not in money, but kind, a proportion of the staple products of the land, which, be sure, he now knows well, and will hereafter know still better, how to cultivate to best advantage; throw off the master and become his landlord; trust him, by degrees, as your tenant; identify your interest with his in the land and staple products of the estate; let him clearly see and find his own advancement, credit, and profit in that union; the results will then be far different, *experto credite*, and civilisation will gain by that blessed change of system, a surer basis whereon to establish and to elevate both the present and rising generation of labourers, and real freedom for all will then, at

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last, be secured, and a new hope may spring up in our now declining colonies; an animating hope! that of effectually conquering slavery throughout the world, by the fair example of complete success in rearing the staple products of our tropical possessions more efficiently, more abundantly and cheaply with free men, than with slaves or hired labourers."

Mr. Ross's scheme is simply that the system of Eastern cultivation should be transferred to the West Indies, that the labourers should be made the partners by becoming the tenants of their masters. Increase the interest of the negro in sugar and coffee culture, and he will no longer think that occupation degrading, or despise the hoe and the cutlass; give to him that motive for perseverance and industry on his master's land which he now has only in his own provision grounds, and the import of West Indian sugar will no longer yearly decline. As a free tenant the negro will expend all his time and have the assistance of all his friends in raising the most profitable produce; he will have no fits of sham sickness, or laziness; he will shew no airs; he will no longer lounge, when he works on his own account, and on land that he can call his own. But Mr. Ross shall give the results, which he himself witnessed on his own coffee estate in Grenada, of his own plan.

"The men have worked with no less vigour and spirit than freedom, at their own hours, in their several allotments, their neighbours and friends reciprocating assistance, as much for society as mutual aid; the wives and daughters and children, now absolved from the continuous routine of estate labour, have never been wanting to their friends and relations, whatever they might have been heretofore to the estate. The talismanic effect of the change even excited, at first, no little merriment among the people themselves, who would often archly report at head-quarters some 'sickly' old ladies, who had suddenly been restored to youth and strength, or other 'weakly' and always 'feeble' subjects, of whom no superintendent could ever obtain two days' continuous labour, who were now seen working wonders with the hoe and cutlass ('making the bush fly,' in negro phrase) in their husbands' new possessions. Many absentees—men, women, and children—were then recognized in the different allotments, lending a free and helping hand to their friends and relations: these had been lost sight of till now, scared away from the cultivation of the staple land by the rigours of continuous labour. They were now but too glad to return (and with very altered manners) to the spots which they had abandoned. The tables were reversed, and the times wonderfully changed. They came to ask for a portion of that easier system which was in course of distribution to their more steady companions and friends; and, for once since the time of freedom, the master ceased to court the labourer for his service.

"It is scarcely necessary to say that sickness no longer existed in the negro vocabulary. But when they were 'sick,' they were positively 'ill,' and at home, requiring domestic comforts, the doctor, and medicine, and that parental solicitude which is ever necessary in such cases, and for which the master is well repaid by the grateful attachment of the negro.

"From the earliest commencement of this new system to the present moment, nothing has ever occurred to raise for an instant a doubt as to the immense superiority which it justly claims for advancing the negro in comfort and civilization, while it settles him happily with his family, promoting industry generally, and steadily concentrating it, with economy of every kind, upon the staple productions of the land. Moreover, were the negro population to quarrel with their own interests (an improbable idea), so far as to shew themselves incapable or unworthy of these advantages, one resource of great value would remain to a proprietor. Into such a system of tenancy, whatever the species of cultivation—but not into the system of wages—Europeans, or more enlightened and civilised labourers, may be incorporated, with every certain prospect of success. If the negro fail or refuse, the European or other immigrant may take his place. But where and how is the negro tenant to better himself? Placed in a position so comfortable, why should he not be anxious to retain it? The purchase or renting of land, the exercise of a trade, or service in towns, can now offer no temptation to the restlessness or to the ambition of the agricultural negro. He has all he wants upon the easiest terms; and he is bound to his lot by his conviction of its superiority over all others."

To this interesting statement we may add a somewhat similar one from a gentleman in the island of St. Lucia, contained in a recent letter from him to Mr. Sturge. It is as follows:—

"An admirable system prevails in St. Lucia, which is worthy of adoption in all other sugar colonies; I mean the cultivation of canes in halves, between employers and labourers. It is done in this way:—the planter allows the labourer to hole and plant, during his extra hours, a certain quantity of land, which the labourer continues thus to cultivate until it arrives at maturity. The canes are then cut down, carried to the mill, and manufactured into sugar, the expense of such cutting, carriage, and manufacture being equally divided between the proprietor and labourer. The sugar which is made is sold, and the proceeds are divided between the parties in equal portions. The molasses which strains from the sugar is allowed to the planter for the use of his machinery. This is a practice which I cannot too highly praise or recommend. It attaches to proprietors a body of industrious sober labourers, on whose services the planter can always rely, as they themselves have an interest in the welfare of the property on which they reside."

We conclude this article by a very gratifying extract from the report of the sub-committee of the Agricultural Society of Trinidad for October last, shewing how the cost of making sugar may be still further reduced, without having recourse to an African slave-trade. The report includes an account transmitted by a proprietor of the successful use of the plough in his sugar-grounds. He had used it in four quarrees, and was about to do so on four more—

"They [the quarrees ploughed] stand me in little more than one-third of what they would have cost if the hoe had been used. The mode of planting adopted was first to turn up, cross-plough, and harrow the whole of the land. The furrows were next run five feet apart, the plough running up and down the same furrow, and throwing the ridge to the right and left alternately, so making the furrow of double breadth. The plants being next thrown in, were afterwards covered by turning half the double ridge on each side over on to them, the plants being entirely covered. The plants came up well, and did not require much supplying. The common plough was used. I am now preparing four quarrees more in the same manner; and I expect to be able to give the first two weedings also with the plough. One of an improved construction seems to be desirable. The native labourers, by whom almost alone the work is being performed, are becoming both expert at the occupation and very fond of it."

ON EMIGRATION TO JAMAICA.

THE following letter has been forwarded to us by an esteemed minister in this country, who received it recently from a missionary in Jamaica. The statements, though startling, are strictly true.

Kingston, Jamaica, October 27th, 1841.

My very dear Sir.—In my last letter to you, when alluding to the fearful mortality which has recently prevailed among the troops and emigrants in this country, I promised you a letter specifically on the subject of the emigration of Europeans to Jamaica. Accordingly I now send you a statement of facts relative to the operation of this cruel, this soul and body destroying system; for so it must ever be regarded by all the true friends of humanity. Since the arrival of the poor deluded victims from Ireland, in the *Robert Kerr*, in the early part of this year, I have felt a deep sympathy on their behalf, being persuaded that they had come out to meet with almost certain disappointment and death. As soon therefore, as I heard that they had landed in Kingston, I determined to visit them; accordingly, as the emigration depôt is not far from our house, a respected medical friend, now in England, and myself, went that we might offer to those who were willing to receive it, some advice respecting the treatment of themselves in this country, and especially to urge upon them a strict regard to temperance. And what, my dear Sir, do you suppose was the scene we witnessed on our way thither? Several of these wretched beings in a state of intoxication. They had already tasted the new rum, which is like a deadly poison to the system, and thus they had taken the first step to a premature grave. They were seriously remonstrated with on the madness of their conduct, and assured that a continuance in their present course would, sooner or later, issue in fatal consequences; and in regard to one, who particularly struck our attention, as a fine looking man, this prediction has been strikingly fulfilled, for he died at the Kingston hospital only a few weeks ago of malignant fever, brought on by excessive drinking.

Being in the habit of visiting the hospital every week, to preach and to converse with the sick, I have had good opportunities of ascertaining whether or not the climate of Jamaica is suitable to European emigrants, and the deep conviction produced on my mind by the heart-rending scenes which I have witnessed is, that they who are so deluded as to be induced by the *false* promises of emigration agents, to set their feet on the shores of this island, do little beter than throw themselves at once into the very jaws of death and the grave. To say nothing of those that have died in the city, at the emigration depôt, and in other parts of the country, let the numbers, that during the last three or four months, have been carried from the Kingston hospital to their "long home" declare whether it were not better for European labourers and mechanics to suffer almost any thing in their own land rather than come to this country to be hurried by the rum, the sun, and the disappointment they will meet with, into the eternal world. *I have now before me a list of more than 70 emigrants that have been patients in the public hospital during this year, and out of this number 26 are dead, and upwards of 20 were still inmates at the time I received this list.* I can assure you, my dear Sir, that many a time I have returned home from that hospital, sick at heart at the scenes of suffering which I have witnessed. Here I have seen one poor emigrant dying with Black Vomit; there another suffering from a stroke of the sun; here another burning with fever; and there another covered with ulcers, and all with whom I have conversed on the subject, bemoaning their unhappy fate, and deeply lamenting that ever they came to this country. I made a memorandum of one or two facts which I will give you, as shewing their feeling on this subject.

August the 3rd, visited the hospital, several emigrants sick, conversed with two women especially, one a Roman Catholic, and the other from London, a respectable woman in appearance, who said she had been in the habit of attending the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Evans, of John Street. She has two fine children. I shall never forget her language and manner, when, on being asked whether she regretted having come to Jamaica, she replied, "*O, Sir, it has almost broken my heart!*" The husbands of both these women are also sick in the hospital.

September 21st, Preached at the hospital this morning; afterwards visited the sick. My heart has been made to bleed for the poor emigrants. There, in one ward, I saw five women, *four of whom had lost their husbands since their arrival in Jamaica.* One poor woman, who is so sick as to be unable to raise herself in her bed, has not only lost her husband, but two grown up children, and her puny infant that is reduced to a mere skeleton, was nursed by a little girl at the sick woman's bed side. O! it was affecting to see the poor woman cover her face, and weep, as in answer to my inquiries; she expressed to me her great sorrow that ever she had left her native land. I have conversed with several emigrants, but I have *never* met with one who was not greatly disappointed, and who would not be glad to return. One of the young widows told me that she and her husband had come from the country to Kingston, to try to get home, but whilst here the man was hurried off by the fever, and now she did not know what she should do. In another ward, I entered into conversation with a sick Irish woman, whose husband also is sick, who, when I asked her whether she had found things here as she had expected, replied, "Oh, no, would that I could get back again!" she said, "that Mr. White, of Limerick, told them that if they came out they would have a house, two acres of land, the milk of a cow, two goats, and receive eight shillings a day, whereas the rate of wages is only one shilling and sixpence per day, with very few other advantages. Another emigrant has died this morning; and I have been informed, that all who have died at the hospital during the last month, have been emigrants. *Four have been buried in one day.*

Ought not these facts to go to the world? Ought they not to be known throughout Great Britain and the sister country too? O, Ireland, how many of thy sons have, within the last few months, fallen victims to the emigration system! Ask, now, where are many of those who came

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out in the *Robert Kerr*. They have passed that bourne whence no traveller returns. Whose heart that is not steeled by cupidity, or some other base passion, would not do all in their power to prevent their countrymen from coming hither? Were I able to address them, I would endeavour by all possible means to dissuade them from becoming emigrants to the West Indies. I would do this, *because the climate is not suitable to European constitutions; because they cannot bear exposure to the burning sun; because they would not be able, unless they possess more than an ordinary share of moral principle, to resist the numerous temptations and facilities for obtaining ardent spirits; and because their temporal circumstances would not be improved by the change.* Having now fulfilled my promise, I remain, &c.

Literary Notice.

From a Correspondent.

Essai sur les moyens d'extirper les Prejugés des Blancs contre la couleur des Africains et des Sangs-Meles, ouvrage couronné par la Société Francaise pour l'abolition de l'Esclavage. 1 Juillet, 1840. Par S. L'Instant (d'Haiti). Paris, 1842. 8vo.

A Prize Essay on the abolition of the prejudices of white men against negros and other coloured people. By S. L'Instant (of Hayti). Paris, 1842.—170 pp.

THE good Abbé Gregoire founded a prize, which, in 1840, M. L'Instant, an advocate of Hayti, gained by this essay, against five competitors. One of the other essays has reached a second edition; but the superior merit of this production of a coloured man, is an apt reply to those who, against accumulated evidence to the contrary, persist in asserting that the gift of intellect, and the germs of high civilization, are confined to the white race.

We can only glance at the extremely important contents of M. L'Instant's work, and furnish an index to its topics. A copy ought to be in the hands of every one really concerned to understand the whole question which it opens; and by the extensive sale of this pamphlet, which indeed only *opens* many of the topics, the author ought to be urged to persevere in his studies, so that he may hereafter extend an excellent essay into the great work wanted to do the subject and himself justice. Perhaps, in preparing such a work, M. L'Instant may find reason to modify some of his opinions, or at least to supply omissions occasioned by the necessary brevity of this essay:

The preface offers a satisfactory explanation of what is often called the *slow progress of Hayti* since its independence, which we shall insert in a future number.

This special vindication of the honour of his countrymen, forms a fit introduction to the larger defence of the negro race, which constitutes the substance of M. L'Instant's essay. That essay is replete with curious learning, and with elevated views. He sets out with a clear statement of the antiquity of slavery—of *white* as well as of black slavery. Hence he infers, that the condition was not among the ancients, exclusively the lot of negros, as it is now. He then traces the course of the negro slave-trade in Europe to its extinction before the fourteenth century. During the time of its prevalence the most esteemed of the two races were the blacks, being the fewest in number; and the prejudice against them was then unknown.

The revival of negro-slarvery M. L'Instant fixes at 1442. Its extension to its present state is then followed out in a variety of interesting speculations. The origin of the modern prejudice of colour is marked with great precision; and we think that few more conclusive arguments are to be met with in the records of the anti-slavery cause, than this of M. L'Instant on this point, founded on the laws of the French West Indian colonies. It would be difficult to abridge this capital part of the essay, if we had space for even the abridgment; and we can only point it out as especially worth perusal in the original.

Against the opinions of those who hold that the negro race is essentially inferior to the whites, M. L'Instant relies upon powerful general reasoning, and upon some individual cases which will be new to most English readers. *Hannibal*, a general in the Russian service under Peter the Great, was a pure negro. He married a Russian lady, and his son was a distinguished Russian officer, and his grandson a more distinguished writer. *Amo*, a German professor of much merit, was a pure negro. Julien Raymond, L'Islet Geoffroy, G. Lethierre, and the two Dumas, all admitted by the academy and institute of France among her most illustrious philosophers, soldiers, artists, and men of letters, are all recent names to be added to Abbé Gregoire's list of negro famous men (p. 77).

M. L'Instant passes to the means by which he proposes to destroy the prejudice of colour. They are expressed in the following enumeration:—1. Education, religious and civil; religion taught by deeply learned and highly enlightened ministers, and civil instruction extended to all ranks, and over all science. 2. The extension of all rights to people of colour. 3. The election of the deputies sent from the colonies to Paris by the general voice. 4. The appointment of a sufficient number of blacks to civil posts. 5. Marriage to be encouraged by all not married being refused employment. 6. The equal admission of people of colour to all the ranks of the national guard. 7. Mixed juries. 8. The admission of coloured people on the bench as judges. 9. Appointing protectors of slaves. 10. The abolition of the whip and other corporal punishments. 11. The appropriation of the slave's personal property to his own use. 12. Savings' banks. 13. The emigration of white labourers of a superior sort. 14. Moderation of tasks. 15. Amusements, such as music. 16. The encouragement of the marriage of slaves (p. 107—149).

M. L'Instant distinguishes the prejudice of colour from slavery; and, without suspending his zeal against the latter, he maintains that, whilst all his measures would prepare the way for its abolition, they are also good in themselves. He wisely adds, that, even if slavery be abolished, old prejudice will long survive, requiring especial provisions of law to protect its objects against injustice.

M. L'Instant concludes his essay with an observation that deserves to be well weighed by those who meddle with these subjects. Each measure, says he, proposed above for the extinction of prejudices against coloured people, may unquestionably be adopted separately with advantage: but, to produce the good anticipated from them, they must be executed as a whole. It is a *complete system that is wanted*, and it is the government that must take the lead in executing it.

These words should be engraven on the minds of our Anti-slavery committee-men—our Aborigines Protection Society committee-men—our African Civilization Society committee-men—and, above all, the ministers of the crown and the members of the legislature, should adopt these opinions as their rule, in whatever is attempted for the improvement of the coloured race connected with us.

Extract of a letter from J. M. Phillippo, a respected Baptist Missionary, in Jamaica, to Mary Dudley, of Peckham, whilst on a sea voyage for the benefit of his health; he incidently makes the following observations, his letter is dated from Barbados, 22nd of December, 1841.

* * * * * * "On my way hither from Jamaica, I have touched at the following islands, and seen most of their chief towns, viz.: Cuba, Hayti, Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, Tortola, Santa Cruz, Antigua, Montseratt, Nevis, Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Barbados — English, Spanish, Danish, Dutch, and French; in all these, except the English, slavery still reigns and riots; but, accompanied by a fearful feeling of insecurity on the part of the oppressors. Hence, in the Spanish colonies especially, every stranger is most narrowly watched, and should he speak to a negro, such suspicions are awakened as would almost subject him to assassination. Soldiers too, are stationed at almost all parts of the country, and reinforcements are daily expected. In Puerto Rico, I was told, that for no other purpose than to prevent a rising of their slaves, 2000 more troops were daily expected. What a contrast is presented to this state of things in the British islands—here all is cheerfulness, independence, and happiness. On telling the men who brought me on shore this morning in their boat, that I was a Baptist Missionary, and had united with others in endeavouring to get them the liberty they now enjoyed; "God bless you, Sir," they exclaimed with one voice. "We never put a piece of bread into our mouth without blessing God for his goodness in putting it into the hearts of gentlemen like you to get us our liberty." Passing close by all the islands I have named; in every instance, Tortola excepted, I saw as much cultivation going on in the free, as in the slave islands; and I am happy to add, as the results of conversation I had with a gentleman or two, large proprietors on one of the Danish islands, that the spirit of liberty has already begun to dawn there also."

* * * * * * sincerely yours, J. M. PHILLIPO.

PRAYER FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.—The Committee of the Belfast Anti-slavery Society have, during the past year, sent to the clergy in that town the following circular, previously to the last Sabbath in every month:—

"You are particularly requested, in the public services of next Sabbath, to supplicate the Divine blessing on the measures now adopted for the Total Abolition of Slavery throughout the world. Sent by direction of the Committee of the Belfast Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

"J. STANDFIELD, } *Secretaries.*"
"F. A. CALDER. }

SLAVER CONDEMNED.—The following is an extract of a letter from Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, dated Dec. 11:—"On the 1st inst. the case of the Portuguese slaver *Anna*, seized by her Majesty's ship, *Acorn*, and sent in here (Table Bay), came before the Vice-Admiralty Court for adjudication, when their honours immediately ordered her to be condemned."

CUBA.—We have every reason to believe that M. Gonzales has instructed M. Sancho, the minister in London, to apply to Lord Aberdeen for Mr. Turnbull's immediate removal from the Havana consulship; and it is said by people at the offices, that his lordship has recently admitted that our cruizers were in the wrong, when recently endeavouring to make good prizes of some slaves who were being conveyed from one part of Cuba to another on board a vessel that got aground, and was subsequently lost, all lives saved.—*Morning Post.*

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last list was published, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LIX. Vol. III. No. 6.] WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23rd, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS IN FRANCE.

These interesting and important proceedings having now terminated, we present them to the public in consecutive narration.

The deputation from Great Britain and Ireland consisted of the following persons :—

British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society	Josiah Forster.
	Joseph Sturge.
	G. W. Alexander.
	J. Scoble.
	J. H. Hinton.
Bath	W. Blair.
	C. Stuart.
Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society	J. Sturge
Bristol	R. Fry.
Devonshire	J. Scoble.
Dublin	D. O'Connell.
	R. R. Madden, M. D.
	C. Corkran.
East Suffolk	H. Taylor.
Edinburgh	J. Dunlop.
Glasgow	A. Harvey.
Hitchin	J. Forster.
Leeds	T. Scales.
Liverpool	E. Cropper.
Oxford	B. Godwin.
Rochester	F. Wheeler.
Southampton	J. Clarke, Sen.
	J. Clarke, Jun.
	E. Palk.
Woburn	B. Wiffen.

Of these, the only persons absent were Messrs. O'Connell, Blair, and Fry—the last being detained by ill health.

It was not until their arrival in Paris that it became known to any of the deputies that the French Government had interposed. Under these new circumstances it was their unanimous sentiment to place themselves in the hands of their French friends, with a readiness to act precisely in such a manner as might appear to them most conducive to the good of the cause which all had at heart, and not without hope that their visit might yet be productive of equal or greater benefit. In the forenoon of Saturday, the deputies then arrived had a visit from M. Isambert, the Secretary of the French Society, who gave them a most cordial reception, and invited the whole body to dine with him in the evening. On this occasion, the general sentiments of the deputies were freely expressed by Messrs. Forster, Sturge, Scoble, and others, and were cordially responded to by M. Isambert. In turn he gave a full explanation of the circumstances which had arisen, and stated that the French Society were to meet on the following day, to determine on the course which they should pursue.

On Monday morning the deputies met for consultation. At this meeting it was proposed, and ultimately agreed to, that, as there would be no public assembly, an address should be prepared with a view to publication, briefly recording in an official form the sentiments they would have desired to express. A document of this kind has been matured, and left in the hands of the French Society, in order that such use of it may be made as to them may seem most expedient.

At this time it was announced that, at their sitting of the previous day, the French Society had agreed on an answer to the letter of the minister of the interior on the subject of the public meeting; and had resolved, both to receive the deputation officially at a private meeting on Wednesday morning, and to entertain them at dinner on the evening of the same day. The two documents to which we have just referred we shall here present to our readers, as putting them into possession of the whole case. The letter of the minister of the interior is as follows :—

Paris, Office of the Minister of the Interior, March 1st, 1842.

Monsieur le Duc,—I am informed that the society for the abolition of slavery, of which you are the president, proposes to hold a public session on the 7th of this month, to which some foreign deputations will be admitted. The government does full justice to the honourable motives of the society; it appreciates the work of humanity which it seeks to accomplish, and in which it has declared itself disposed to co-operate: but, after the reports which have reached me, I fear that this meeting, under present circumstances, may be attended with some inconvenience, and may lead perhaps to results very different to those which the members of the society desire to obtain. You will I hope, Monsieur le duc, agree with me that it will be expedient to postpone the proposed meeting. I desire also to believe that the society will see in this communication only a measure of prudence. No feeling of mistrust of its intentions enters into the thoughts of the government. Accept the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) Duchatel, *Minister of the Interior*.

Certified copy of the original, deposited in the archives of the society,

Isambert, *Secretary*.

In reply the society addressed to the minister of the interior the following minute :—

Sitting of the 6th of March, 1842.

The society, having received from its president the letter of the minister of the interior, under date of the 1st of March, relative to the postponement of the public meeting announced for the 7th instant, has adopted the following resolution.

The society is assured that the measure of police which has been notified to it, has been dictated, neither by the nature of the object which it proposes to attain—since the minister, in his letter denominates it a work of humanity, and announces that the government is disposed to co-operate in it—nor by the intentions which have suggested the proposed meeting, since the minister renders ample justice to these intentions.

It has remarked that the only motive alleged by the minister for the adjournment, is the fear that, under existing circumstances, the meeting to which the foreign deputations were invited may give rise to inconveniences, and lead to results contrary to those which the society itself desires to obtain.

Under these circumstances, the society declares that it has not either to scrutinise or to discuss the motive of the measure which has been communicated to it. It is no judge of the necessities of police which have dictated it. It can only submit to the injunction which has been laid on it.

It hopes that the foreign deputations which it had invited, and who have not hesitated to respond to the appeal which it made to them in the name of religion and humanity, will readily excuse it for not having been able to foresee such an emergency, and accept its lively expressions of regret.

If, however, from the measure of adjournment to which the society is obliged to submit, it should be concluded that the great and sacred cause of the abolition of slavery has not the warm and general sympathy of the population, the society would feel it its duty loudly to protest against such an inference, equally contrary to truth and to the honour of the country.

The society knows that the sentiments which animated France half a century since, and which inspired the founders of our liberties, have not changed. The profound conviction which the society has of the permanency of these sentiments is the source both of its energy and its hope.

It affirms that the responsibility of the unexpected prohibition which prevents it from rendering a solemn account of its labours and prospects in a public meeting, must be confined to a few interested parties, who think themselves threatened; and that no blame whatever can be justly attached to the population in the midst of whom this demonstration was to have taken place.

Certified copy of the minute,

Isambert, *Secretary of the Society*.

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On Tuesday evening, the deputation had a twofold engagement. A portion of them were entertained at dinner by the duke of Broglie, the president of the French Abolition Society; and had the pleasure of meeting, besides the duke's amiable family, M. de Villemain, minister of public instruction, Baron Rossi, peer of France, and M. Passy. At a later hour, the whole deputation assembled at a soiree at the house of M. Lutteroth, one of the members of the society, where they met many persons of distinction.

The meeting of the society was held, according to appointment, on Wednesday morning at eleven, the duke of Broglie occupying the chair until one (when his attendance was required in the chamber of peers), and afterwards M. Passy. The entire British deputation was present; as were also Count Frolich, a member of the Swedish diet, and M. de Tourguenoff, a former minister of the emperor Alexander, who, with his brother, had come to concert a plan for the emancipation of the Russian serfs, and who has himself offered to emancipate three hundred peasants. The attendance of the society was very numerous.

After the introduction of the British deputies by name, Mr. Forster said that the deputation had cheerfully responded to the invitation of their Paris friends; that no commercial motives influenced them; that the principles of the British and Foreign Society were solely of a moral, pacific, and religious character; that they meddled not with the right of search, which was a question between governments; that they struck at the root of the evil, by aiming at the abolition of slavery, that so the slave-trade might cease. The deputation called upon France to unite with them, desiring that, in this labour of love, they might act as one body, without any national distinction; and under a conviction that, if this were done, it would have a powerful effect upon Spain, Holland, the United States, &c.: and not only so, but that this measure would react upon France, and, by an act of national humanity and justice, elevate the moral character of their own people. He (Mr. F.) went on to say, that God had made of one blood all nations of men; that Christ had died for all men; that these religious principles actuated his countrymen; and that, as soon as men should act upon the divine law, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," slavery must cease for ever.

M. Passy said, no one in France either can, or does, suspect the honourable motives which animate the English delegates. The feeling which animates the abolition societies of the two nations develops itself more and more; the spirit which has produced them will survive them; it will survive the object to which the members of these societies have devoted themselves. The English abolitionists have urged, carried along, subjugated the will of their government; they have made it associate the interests of morality with political interests; but this victory has not satisfied them. The abolition of slavery in the English colonies has been in their eyes only the first step towards the complete emancipation of the human race. They pursue this object; they wish that throughout the entire world man should enjoy the chief good, liberty—that in no part man should be the property of man; and their persevering efforts bear witness to their courage and their hopes. We also shall soon, without doubt, attain the end which has already been attained by others; but the spirit of co-operation which will have produced this happy result, will lead us to new exertions in favour of the classes who toil and suffer. It is thus that the feeling which has generated abolition societies will perpetuate itself, and will be able everywhere to prepare for the human race a better destiny.

The documents borne by the deputies were then presented. From among those presented on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, one—a letter from Thomas Clarkson—was read to the assembly, rendered into French by the duke of Broglie. This venerable man referred in the course of his letter to his friendship with Larochefocauld-Liancourt, Condorcet, Lafayette, and Petion, and to his visit to France in 1789. He added that, having survived Wilberforce, he hoped before he died to see slavery abolished in the colonies of France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. He concerned himself for the liberation of six millions of human beings.

M. Frolich then rose, and read a paper on the subject of the attempts made to procure the abolition of slavery in the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew.

The other British deputies proceeded to hand in their respective documents, in doing which, some remarks were made by Mr. Dunlop, of Edinburgh, the rev. A. Harvey, of Glasgow, and Dr. Madden, of Dublin.

The rev. A. Harvey, deputy from Glasgow, adverted to that city having been, at one time, deeply implicated in the support of slavery by its connexion with the West Indies, and to the difficulties the abolitionists had there to contend with: adding that, when they once saw the sinfulness of slavery in the sight of God, they had not been behind any in efforts to put it down.

Dr. Madden said he was charged with an expression of the regret of Daniel O'Connell at not being able to attend the meeting, as he had intended; which he the more particularly lamented, as he had desired to take some steps towards engaging the French clergy, and especially the archbishop of Paris, to second the cause of emancipation. In the opinion of Mr. O'Connell the influence of the catholic clergy would be all powerful, if they would unite their efforts to those of the political men who did themselves honour by labouring in such a cause. He (Dr. Madden) stated also some facts, which he had ascertained from personal observation, respecting the slave-trade and slavery as existing in the French colonies on the coast of Africa. This address also was rendered into French by the duke of Broglie, who took the opportunity of saying that the slave-trading to which Dr. Madden had referred had been disapproved by the government, and would not be repeated.

Mr. Sturge thought that the example of France would be even more influential with the United States than that of England. From personal observation, he considered that the American people had a jealousy of England, which they did not entertain respecting France. Having also visited the West Indies during the period of the apprenticeship, he could bear a further personal testimony to the fact of its entire failure. He hoped no similar experiment would be made by France.

Mr. Scoble then rose, and spoke particularly of the results of emancipation in the English colonies. These results have equalled the most sanguine expectations of the abolitionists. It had been proved that no planter had suffered from the vengeance of the blacks. Insurrections, formerly so frequent, have ceased. At present a moiety of the troops formerly necessary is sufficient to insure the tranquillity of the colonies, and the security of their inhabitants. The value of property has increased; labour is more easily obtained, and in greater abundance. Where the planters have acted towards the blacks with liberality, and are interested in their well-being, the estates are cultivated 20 or 25 per cent cheaper than in the time of slavery. The proprietors have then gained in every way. With respect to the slaves, they have not merely been liberated. Those who procured them their liberty have occupied themselves with the means of elevating them from the state of physical and moral degradation in which the tyranny of their masters too often retained them. The blacks themselves have seconded to the best of their ability the efforts of their benefactors. During the period of slavery these poor creatures often deserted, and fled amidst a thousand dangers; now they devote themselves to their labour, and attach themselves to their habitations. The negros are daily casting away vices inherent in slavery; they themselves unite in the work of their moral regeneration. They have a desire to possess property, and have bought a large quantity of land. In Demerara they have purchased no less than 500 lots of land, for which they have paid £21,000 sterling. They are frugal, and have for the most part money in the savings' bank. At the same time the commercial prosperity of the colonies is incontestably increased. The greatest part of the estates which had been abandoned for want of labourers are now cultivated. The imports have, generally speaking, augmented one-third: they have increased in the last five years three millions sterling, and thus the commerce of Great Britain has participated in the benefit of emancipation. In a single commodity, sugar, there has been a diminution in the exports: this diminution is temporary; it is owing on the one hand to two years of drought, and on the other to reasons which can occasion no regret. In the time of slavery the women were employed in the painful culture of the cane; with or against their will, they must labour; the whip was ready to give them either courage or cheerfulness. Even their children were forced to dig the earth by their side. At present they are deprived of this resource; there are fewer hands tied to the hoe, and there is less produce. The women, now free, devote themselves to the care of the house, and of the family who have been born to them; they occupy themselves in the education of the children, whom they no longer rear for the market. Those who, even at the age of ten or eleven, were formerly employed in most severe tasks, are now sent to the schools, where lessons of order and morality are inculcated on them. These facts are of a nature to rejoice all the friends of emancipation; they are attested by witnesses the most unexceptionable; the planters themselves, whom Mr. Scoble had visited, have not hesitated to acknowledge the happy results of free labour. There are those even who, without the indemnity which they have received, would still regard as a benefit the change in the condition of their former slaves. The speaker concluded by proposing some questions on the subject of the abolition of slavery in France—on the hopes entertained by its advocates—on the obstacles which it may have to encounter—and on the relation borne to it by the domestic manufacture of sugar from beet-root.

The address of Mr. Scoble evidently excited great attention, and was immediately rendered into French by M. Passy, with great accuracy and felicity. M. Passy then immediately proceeded to answer the questions which had been proposed, a task which no one could have undertaken with more force or authority. In France, said he, the affairs of the colonies engage but little attention; the greater number of persons are unacquainted with what relates to them, and the care of them is left almost entirely to the local administration, under the control of official men. Slavery itself does not hold so prominent a place as it ought in public opinion. Its mischievous and melancholy effects are remote, are but little known, and do not excite that attention which they deserve. It is therefore by the government that the cause of emancipation must be pleaded and defended. Founded only in 1833, the abolition society has already obtained important advantages; composed chiefly of members of the two chambers, it has promptly acquired a considerable influence. Two legislative propositions have emanated from it, the principal object of which was to explain and familiarize its sentiments by discussion. The result answered their expectation; the government has subse-

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quently formed, for inquiry into colonial legislation, a commission, on which it has placed many members of the society, and the superintendence of which it has confided to their president himself. This commission had suspended but has resumed its labours, of which the conclusion will be the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies. We are allowed to hope that, in the next session, the chambers will be engaged by the government itself on this great question, and that human liberty will find in the midst of them numerous and eloquent defenders.

After the speech of M. Passy, Mr. G. W. Alexander, the Treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, addressed the meeting, expressing his earnest hope that the cause of abolition would be pursued with a degree of vigour, animated by the remembrance of the incalculable miseries which were suffered every day during its progress.

The meeting was concluded by a short address from M. Odillon Barrot, a vice-president of the French society; in which he said, that the question of abolition was to be regarded as either theoretical or practical—as one of principle, or as one of means of execution. As a question of principle it had been already decided. Slavery was to be abolished. As a practical question it was now lying in the hands of the government, whose business it was to devise the means of its execution. He added some remarks on the position of the Catholic clergy; and closed by saying, with much animation, that it would be a glorious day for the world when there should no longer be a slave in it.

In the evening there sat down to dinner about eighty gentlemen, M. Passy, vice-president of the society, being in the chair. After dinner, M. Passy, in a few words, expressed to the British deputies the cordiality with which they were received in Paris, as coadjutors in the great cause of human freedom, and then called on Mr. Scoble to address the meeting on behalf of the deputation.

Mr. Scoble spoke at considerable length, and was heard with great interest. He was followed by M M. Lamartine and Odillon Barrot; but we must postpone the report of the eloquent addresses of these gentlemen to our next number.

On Thursday morning, the deputation had the pleasure of breakfasting with nearly thirty gentlemen of colour, resident in Paris, whom they had invited for this purpose to their hotel. In this company were included M M. L'Instant, of Hayti, Schœlcher, from Martinique, Bissette, editor of the *Revue des Colonies*, the abbé Goujon, from Martinique, the abbé Angelique, about to go to that island; together with several young men from various parts of the West Indies, pursuing their studies at the Polytechnic School at Paris with a view to return. Several of these friends expressed their sentiments after breakfast, in a very pleasing manner; and some gave, from personal knowledge, a most melancholy account of slavery in the French colonies, especially in Cayenne. On the whole the deputies were much interested with this interview; and regarded with much gratification the pledges it afforded of the approaching elevation of the whole coloured race.

In the evening the deputies dined with M. Guizot, the minister of foreign affairs, and they cannot but acknowledge the frank and cordial courtesy they received.

On Friday many of the deputies left Paris. Such as remained, however, received two invitations for Saturday evening; one from Dr. Matter, a professor in the Royal University; and another from M. Montrol, editor of *Le Temps*. Both these invitations were accepted.

Such is our narrative; and we trust that, while it affords information to our friends generally, it will secure for the deputation the approbation of those on whose behalf they have acted. At Paris they were placed in delicate circumstances, in which it might have been easy to do mischief; and the caution by which this has been happily avoided can scarcely be without its advantages. Disappointed of the public meeting which they had been invited to attend, they did their utmost to promote, by such means as were left to them, the great cause to which they were devoted. In the acceptance of the personal courtesies which were heaped upon them, they did not forget their grand object. Every where the anti-slavery cause was with them a prominent topic of conversation; and the free intercourse, of which they have had copious opportunities with so many men of distinction in France, must have effectively tended to propagate the views entertained on this side of the channel, and to increase the amount, already very considerable, of moral and generous feeling, by which the great measure of abolition will finally be carried through.

At the same time, the journey of twenty gentlemen to Paris on such an object, from various and distant parts of Great Britain and Ireland, must be a demonstration to France of the deep interest felt in this country on the subject of emancipation; and to French abolitionists in particular, of the great importance which is attached to their proceedings. They will not fail to be convinced by it, how earnest our hopes and expectations are, not merely that slavery in the French colonies shall be abolished, but that it shall be abolished in a manner so speedy, and on principles so just, that an example shall thus be given to the nations, and an impulse to the cause, which neither the love of power, nor the lust of gain, shall be able to resist. No nation can have a nobler calling than France has at this moment. And we have but one desire for her—it is, that she may prove herself worthy of it.

STATE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

(From the *Guiana Gazette*.)

We are very sorry to be obliged to say that the strike still continues, and that, of the hundred and forty sugar estates in the two counties, there are not above forty, at the utmost, upon which any labour is now performed, or has been since the strike commenced. In Berbice, as no attempt was made to alter the relations between labourers and employers, no disagreement took place, and the labourers are working as usual.

That the planters, or most of them, had and have good reason for the reduction of wages to the old amount fixed at the termination of the apprenticeship, is very true. They were driven to the reduction by sheer necessity, and the charge made against them by some of the island papers, of a disposition to spunge the labourers, and to engross the profits of their labour without a fair remuneration, is unjust and untrue.

At the same time it must be confessed that the method they took to bring about this reduction—under any circumstances and with any management a matter of delicacy and difficulty—were the very worst which could possibly have been devised. They began with an open public combination, a hint which the labourers took at once, and acted upon with remarkable unanimity. Instead of confining themselves to a simple reduction of wages, they added to it many rules and regulations highly obnoxious to the labourers, and of very little or no advantage to the estates. Instead of reasoning with the labourers, and endeavouring to convince them of the necessity of a reduction—a plan which appears to have been entirely successful upon every estate upon which it was tried—the proposed changes were digested by a number of self-constituted agricultural committees into a dogmatic code of printed rules and regulations, which, in many cases, and we believe in most, were stuck up on the plantation buildings, or dictatorially read to the labourers as a "new law that had come out"—a proceeding which the labourers interpreted into an attempt to impose upon them, and which they very highly resented as an effort to re-establish the former despotic authority of their masters, which, if not resisted in the beginning, might be constantly repeated, till they were deprived of every shadow of free agency. Indeed, several of the proposed rules and regulations have been declared by the law officers of the crown to be illegal, as interfering with the acts of parliament and orders in council made for the protection of the labourers.

These three great blunders on the part of the proprietors produced that strike among the labourers, which it required but an exceedingly moderate knowledge of human nature to have foreseen. When those who had done the mischief found out the predicament they were in, they intimated—though they have not made any public and general declaration to that effect, similar to the promulgation of the rules and regulations—that they were willing to relinquish all the new rules, except those which related to the reduction of wages. But the labourers have now grown unreasonable in their turn, and, flushed with their easy victory thus far, having, in spite of all the threats of their employers, maintained quiet possession of their cottages, they insist peremptorily that they will not work except for precisely the old wages; and, as both parties to the quarrel are as obstinate specimens of humanity as any portion of the world can furnish, there is no saying where the matter will end.

The reason why the labourers have thus far been left in possession of their cottages is three fold. In the first place, the planters have hesitated about driving off those labourers to whose presence the estates owe almost their entire value, and who, if once driven off, might never return; secondly, the law does not allow them to dispossess the labourers without paying them an indemnity for their growing provisions; and thirdly and lastly, out of their great unwillingness to pass any law accurately defining the right of the labourers to the cottages they occupy, they are left at this unlucky moment without any legal method of effecting their removal, except the same tedious and expensive process which the law has provided for removing the refractory tenant of a plantation, or the not very desirable method of taking off the doors, windows, and roofs, and so rendering the cottages uninhabitable. Some of the planters, we believe, entertain the opinion that they have a right to empty the cottages by force; but, in addition to the other objections to employing this method, the legality of it is by no means clear.

In the mean time, a few great capitalists, or their representatives, are chuckling over the present state of things, consoling themselves with the idea, that within a very short period they will be able to buy up the abandoned plantations for a song, and, by luring back the present labourers and importing others, presently amass splendid fortunes. A few have had the sagacity to disregard the rules and regulations altogether, and are fast filling up their cottages to overflowing with labourers from the neighbouring estates. A few chivalrous attorneys, whose estates were doing very well, and who had never raised their wages, or, if they had, having canes on hand, and their fields in excellent cultivation, might have afforded to pay them at least till the crop was off—have taken the present opportunity to show their friendly feeling for their neighbours at the expense of their principals, by quarrelling with their labourers without the slightest occasion for it; while a very considerable number of estates, which had fallen behind-hand, and of which the proprietors have run short of funds, are only hastening to change hands a little sooner than otherwise they would have done.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 23RD.

WE are happy to find that the measures taken by the government towards renewing the exportation of Indian labourers to Mauritius are exciting a lively interest throughout the country, and that means of a very effective description are in progress in order to defeat them. We trust that the friends of humanity will still more extensively be on the alert, and that they will universally acquit themselves with prompt and vigorous fidelity.

The discussion in the House of Commons it is now arranged shall take place on the 4th of April; and an opportunity is thus given for more extended action, which we hope will not be lost. The friends of humanity every where should read and distribute the important pamphlet which has been published by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, at the very small price of sixpence, by means of which the subject of Coolie exportation will be clearly understood and justly appreciated.

We have placed on record in our columns to-day, the important proceedings in reference to this subject which occurred in the House of Commons on the 1st instant. Much are we pleased with many of the observations of Mr. Vernon Smith; but we call particular attention to the declaration of Mr. Hogg—an authority on such a question of the greatest possible weight—that the proposal to protect emigrants by means of inspectors at the different ports was worse than useless, and that the very security now proposed by Lord Stanley existed at Calcutta at the very time when the greatest enormities were committed. Mr. Hogg's opinion is clearly this, that at present, should the restrictions be relaxed, the Indian government is not in a condition to prevent the commission of enormities equivalent to a revival of the slave-trade. In the face of such an opinion it is marvellous to us that the government can persevere, and the fact that they do so is a painful indication that they are under the spell of some sinister influence. The sound sense and genuine humanity of the British public must come to their rescue; and not to theirs only, but to that of the many thousands of our Indian fellow subjects, who are on the verge of being sacrificed to the cupidity of Mauritian planters.

WE have given to-day a consecutive narration of the proceedings which have taken place in Paris. There is much reason to be grateful that our friends who went from various parts of Great Britain and Ireland have been favoured with safety, both by land and by sea; and we trust they have all been permitted to see their families in peace. Much gratitude is due to them, for the fatigue they have undertaken, and for the fidelity and wisdom with which, under circumstances of delicacy and disappointment, they have pursued the object of their journey. On the other hand, most cordial thanks are due to the members of the French Abolition Society, who certainly could not have foresecn the issue which frustrated their plan, and who have done everything in the way of personal courtesy to compensate its failure. The measure adopted by the French government we have no inclination to discuss. We observe with pleasure, that they declare their concurrence in the object of the intended meeting, namely, the abolition of slavery; nor shall we yield ourselves to any suspicion of their insincerity. We hold them rather, in the sight of Europe and the world, to the avowal which they have thus spontaneously made, and require from them a course which shall harmonize with it. The report of the commission appointed to recommend a measure for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies will soon be in their hands; and their mode of dealing with it will form the most decisive commentary on the language they have employed.

THE letter of Mr. Allen, which we have inserted in another column, makes a most astounding disclosure of the frauds which have been resorted to for the purpose of inducing the unwary to go to Jamaica, and will be read both with amazement and indignation. We are not sure that some of the latter element will not fall upon the magistrates in this case, who, strange to say, have let off the culprits on simply disgorging the money they had received. A pretty specimen is here afforded of the colonial notion of *free emigration*.

THE Africans of the *Amistad* are safe at Sierra Leone. We have the pleasure of inserting the following extract of a letter to Mr. Sturge, from Mr. Steele, one of the party who accompanied them from New York, dated

Sierra Leone, January 27th, 1842.

We left New York on board the barque *Gentleman*, with the liberated Africans, on the 27th October. We reached the Cape de Verds on the 1st of January, and remained four or five days. Arrived at Freetown on the 15th. Our company are all well. The liberated men are from the vicinity of the Gallinas. I purpose to go on an exploring tour in a few days to secure a proper location and a safe return for the company. Although the men were from different places, and even of different tribes, they all purpose to settle together. Some of their countrymen who are in this colony purpose to accompany them. We hope that by the blessing of God, our enterprise will be crowned with success, although there may be many difficulties yet to be surmounted.

(Signed) Your friend,
JAMES STEELE.

WE have inserted elsewhere an article from the *Guiana Gazette*, giving an account of the present state of that colony under the infatuated proceedings of the planters. Here we shall lay before our readers an extract of a letter from a well-known and trustworthy correspondent on the spot, in relation to the same subject.

George Town, Demerara, January, 25th, 1842.

From the foolish—yea, mad proceeding of the planters, it seems as if they were bent on accomplishing their own ruin and that of the province. To talk of immigration, and of encouraging the labourers of other countries to come hither to better their condition, at the very moment that they are contriving to reduce the peasantry below starvation point, is an absurdity which wants a name; and to represent the high advantages of people of other climes venturing their fortunes in a province which they proclaim to be on the verge of ruin seems tragically preposterous. I have enclosed for you a copy of the rules and regulations, which was recently put into my hand; and by this mail have also sent you the *Gazette and Advertiser* of to-day, in which you will find a summary for home readers, containing (as I apprehend) a pretty accurate account of the present position of planters and labourers. I was not aware, however, till I read the said summary, that the planters had offered to do away with the rules and regulations, nor do I think it is so extensively. The governor has acted nobly and kindly towards the people, which has brought on him a volley of abuse. The labourers have confided in him, and would take his advice in any reasonable thing. He has advised them to quiet, patience, and moderation; at the same time that he has made them to understand that the law will afford equal protection to them and to their employers. Whatever may be thought or said of him by friends or foes, he has, in my judgment, under present circumstances, been the true friend of the province. Nor has he shut his ear to the cry of the distressed immigrants. In the case of the Sierra Leone people, he has used means for the fulfilment of the engagement under which they were induced to emigrate hither. Two of them called on me after they had seen the governor, whose attention to them is calculated to inspire confidence that he will do the thing that is right as relates to their circumstances.

IT is, we think, with great justice, that our valued contemporary, the *Barbados Liberal*, directs the attention of British abolitionists to the following short but pithy extract, which he had culled from the *Port of Spain* (Trinidad) *Gazette*.

We may mention in this place, that the captured Africans sent to St. Helena have become so burthensone to the government, that a consent to their removal to these colonies has been obtained. Of these a fair proportion will be allowed to Trinidad. We have understood also, that, by way of reimbursing itself for the expense to which it has been subjected for their support in St. Helena, the government will allow them to be apprenticed for two years, on the payment of £4 sterling per head by their employers. In this case it will be necessary to extend the provisions of the immigration ordinance.

The British government, selling the liberated Africans into a second slavery for £4 a head! It is incredible. But, lest such an enormity should be in the wind, we shall be on the *qui vive*.

EXTRAORDINARY DISCLOSURE: JAMAICA EMIGRATION.

[To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.]

RESPECTED FRIEND,—Although we have used very active exertions in Ireland to endeavour to put a stop to the destructive attempts to allure our poor countrymen to the pestilential climate of Jamaica, and apparently with much success, yet, from seeing in a Jamaica newspaper, a short time since, an announcement of two or three emigrant vessels having arrived there lately, and of *more* being expected, I have since been apprehensive that some underhand system was going on in England and Scotland, as well as in Ireland, by which numbers of the peasantry and artizans were still persuaded to abandon their homes, tempted by false representations.

An evidence of this I observed some time since, in the announcement of, I think, the *Salisbury Journal*, that "thirty labourers had just left Melksham, bound for Jamaica," in consequence of the very flattering accounts received from some who had gone out before.

A full *exposé* has, however, just taken place in Westport, county Mayo,—which, to use the words of the chairman of the bench of magistrates, John D. Browne, ex M.P for Mayo, disclosed "a most atrocious conspiracy against the bodies and souls of the unfortunate people who were foolish enough to be duped by the enticing promises held out."

The actors in this affair were the parish school-master at Ballinrobe, named Armstrong, backed by a certificate of high character, and of being his security for all monies advanced from the society, from the protestant rector of that place, James Anderson, who, though acquitted of criminal connivance in the affair, was considered so culpable by the chairman as to call forth the following expression from him;—"As chairman of this bench, I really feel myself called on to state that, in writing the letter which I read sometime since, you, James Anderson, acted a very

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indiscreet and injudicious part." There was also another actor in the scene—a man named Flanagan, a hatter, who filled the post of sub-agent for Westport, under Armstrong.

Armstrong, it appears, represented himself as an emigration agent for the Jamaica government, and put forth most extraordinary statements of all that the peasantry would realize in emigrating to Jamaica. On his examination, however, the only authority he could shew were two letters from "H. Hendriks, West India Emigration Society, 8, Great Winchester Street, London," one of which letters contained the following—"At present *I cannot say if we shall send any more people*, but you shall soon know, and my plan must be for *you to receive the money from them*, and either remit it to me, or keep it on account of *your commission*." Flanagan, as I said before, acted as deputy for Armstrong, and the principal *exposé* took place in Westport, where he lived; although it is but justice to him to say, that he appears to have received little for his part of the iniquitous work. In consequence of the delay which *fortunately* took place in getting the emigrants off, discontent spread, and the appeal was made to the magistrates by some of the poor people, who had sold their little holdings and were thrown on the world. I can hardly better illustrate the system which was followed, and which I greatly fear is at work both amongst us and you, than by quoting portions of the evidence of one or two of the poor deluded people, who, it is right to say, were additionally gulled by being assured by Flanagan "that he had Lord Sligo's letter, with a big gold seal, authorizing the emigration."

Edward Cannon, a fine strapping young fellow about twenty-one years of age, who bore an excellent character, after describing the inducements held out to him, said Flanagan told him that, *"supposing every thing else to fail, he would be sure to make a great fortune out of the shanks of pipes made of gold, thrown away by the blacks; that each emigrant was to get a house and abundance of land rent free, and to be paid 4s. 6d. a day for doing his own work;* cattle were in abundance, he stated, and we were to have as many of them as we liked, without cost."

Daniel Kelly, who had paid in £6. 15*s.* as emigration money for himself, wife, and family, was told, that "any woman that could wash was sure of getting 4*s.* 6*d.* for washing a shirt—1*s.* 6*d.* for a chemise—1*s.* 6*d.* for a cap, and 7*s.* 6*d.* for making up a lady's gown. If we wanted rum, we would have nothing to do but run an auger *into* one of the trees, and out it would flow, brandy would pop from another, and there was the bread-fruit tree, on which grew the most beautiful white sixpenny loaves! !" These are but small samples of the shameful delusions practised to allure the poor people.

The most extraordinary part appears to be, that the culprits were let off on repaying the money they had received from their intended victims, although Armstrong declared he had previously "sent many out." This was done in the face of the following declaration from the chairman;—"Really I never recollect so diabolical a scheme and conspiracy against the humbler classes of society. The curse of the duped victims cannot but fall on the guilty agents. *Men who carry on such a nefarious and iniquitous scheme, are not a whit less guilty than those who publicly traffic in human flesh, and yet the defendants professed Christian principles, forsooth!*"

I have written the above hasty and imperfect account of this transaction, in the hope it may excite the friends of the anti-slavery cause to vigilance throughout those counties. The *Mayo Telegraph*, from which I have obtained the information, deserves great credit for its exposure of the affair. Respectfully thy friend,

RICHARD ALLEN,
Secretary to the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society.

Dublin, 15th of Third Month, 1842.

THE BEY OF TUNIS.

ANSWER of the Bey of Tunis to the address presented to him, thanking him for the preliminary steps which he had taken to abolish slavery in his dominions, signed by the British residents of Gibraltar, Cadiz, Florence, Naples, Leghorn, Smyrna, Tripoli, Malta, and Cozo.

(Translation.)

"Praise be to God!

"From the servant of God, Musheer Ahmed Bashaw Bey, sovereign prince of the dominions of Tunis, to the perfectly honoured Englishmen united together for the amelioration of the human race, in the city or country of . . . . . May God honour them!

"We have received the letter which you have forwarded to us by the honoured and revered Richardson, congratulating us upon the measures that we have adopted for the glory of mankind, to *distinguish them from the brute creation.*

"Your letter has filled us with joy and satisfaction.

"May God aid us in our efforts—may he enable us to accomplish the objects of our hopes—and may he accept this our work!

"May you live continually under the protection of God Almighty!

"Given at Tunis, 26th dy Elhojah, 1257 (7th Feb. 1842).

To this document, which has been kindly forwarded to us by Mr. Richardson, we have much pleasure in adding the following extract of a letter from him.

Lazaretto of Malta, 2nd March, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—I have only to request you to read the answer of the Bey of Tunis to the address which I presented to him, to prove to you that my mission (I hope with the Divine blessing) has been perfectly successful. The Bey received me with the greatest kindness, and requested my acceptance of a snuff box set with diamonds, as a memorial of his friendship.

I went, whilst in Tunis, to see the demolished slave-market. I felt deeply when I saw the ruin of this crying iniquity. Hundreds of years human beings had been exposed for sale in that place, like cattle! How strange that a Mussalman state should tear down that den of traffic for the bodies and souls of men, while in christian America this foul system still flourishes in such vigour!! How dreadful the responsibility of the Americans!

I made many inquiries as to the feeling of the Moors on this subject. I am most happy to say that the greater part are in favour of the Bey, but all obey. If slaves now are sold in Tunis, it is contraband, and with the greatest secrecy. It is now only exchange, one proprietor giving his slave to another proprietor for his. But all this is done in darkness. No slave can be bought or sold by the laws of the country. The prohibition is complete and absolute. And many of the courtiers of the Bey, following his noble example, are liberating their slaves—*for ever!*

Yours respectfully,

J. Scoble, Esq. JAMES RICHARDSON.*

* I forgot to say, that, when the Bey received the address, he said personally to me among other things—"I began with pleasure the abolition of slavery, and will not cease to prosecute the great work of emancipation, until I have completely extirpated slavery from my dominions."

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE: RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

WE have much pleasure in laying before our readers the following extract of a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, dated in December last.

"On a late visit to the town of Stellenbosch (about twenty-four miles from Cape Town), I was much gratified to perceive the truly pleasing effects of emancipation upon the coloured people of that place. I may mention one fact, which speaks volumes for the moral improvement of the late slaves, namely, that the jail, (which you are aware is the prison of a very extensive district), *has not contained a single prisoner for nearly four months.*

"We visited the free schools under the care of the rev. Mr. Luckoff, a German missionary. The average attendance of children is between 250 and 290; they were in excellent order, and their progress in education was very satisfactory.

"We were afterwards much gratified in seeing a working meeting of adult females of colour, who meet every Wednesday to labour for charitable purposes. Forty-five women were present, and they had a most cheerful and cleanly appearance. An aged lady was presiding, and reading the scriptures to them. When we remembered that these females were, only a short period since, in a state of degrading slavery, their present occupation and appearance rendered the scene one of heartfelt interest; and forcibly reminded us how wonderfully the Divine Being had overruled all their trials, and converted their afflictions into blessings.

"On the evening of the 1st of December, being the anniversary of emancipation in this colony, Mr. Luckoff held a service in the chapel (which had been recently enlarged), and preached to an attentive congregation, from the words, 'The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.' Nearly one thousand persons were present, chiefly coloured people. I observed the excellent civil commissioner, Mr. Van Reyneveld, present; he is ever first and foremost in promoting the real interests of the place.

"The school belonging to the Wesleyan society here averages an attendance of from forty-five to sixty children. The rev. Mr. Edwards delivered an address to a respectable congregation on the morning of the 1st of December, on which day the sounds of riot and revelry were not to be heard, but the voice of joy and thanksgiving for mercies received, and prayers for their continuance were offered in various parts of this interesting town."

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 1.

HILL COOLIES.

Mr. VERNON SMITH, in inviting the attention of the house to the subject upon which he had given notice of motion, said he should have been unwilling to have addressed himself to so great a subject, if the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies had himself taken up the matter, and directed the attention of the house to it. He (Mr. Vernon Smith) could assure the house, however, that he had no intention whatever of retarding the progress of improvement in the Mauritius, or any of the West India islands. In order to make the house aware of the present position of the question, it would, he feared, be necessary for him to recapitulate, however briefly, the principal transactions connected with it. Immediately after the Emancipation Act—that splendid sacrifice made by the people of this country for the relief of their suffering fellow-creatures—some West India proprietors, conceiving that the effect of the measure would probably be to diminish their profits, cast their eyes about the world for the purpose of finding labour to compete with that of the emancipated negros, imagining that the latter would prefer a life of ease and repose to labour. There appeared no more eligible source of supply than the East Indies, and it would be remembered that an importation took place in 1837 from India to the West Indies. He did not wish to say anything that could, by possibility, give offence to parties interested, and he should therefore pass lightly over the facts which gave rise to the question which had originated in the other house of parlia-

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ment. But this much he might say, that he believed it was owing to the mismanagement of certain estates in British Guiana that the question first excited public interest in this country. In 1838, Lord Brougham, whose eyes were ever open to the distresses of the black population in every part of the world, made one of the most magnificent and heart-rending speeches ever heard in the House of Lords, on the subject of the importation of the Hill Coolies into British Guiana. From that moment the importation of the Coolies was stopped, and nothing would satisfy the people but a complete prohibition by the Governor-general of India. Some time afterwards his (Mr. Vernon Smith's) noble friend took occasion, in introducing the Colonial Passengers' Bill, to intimate his intention of taking some steps with respect to the Hill Coolies. The right honourable gentleman opposite, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had then suggested to the noble lord that he had better issue an order in council, and upon that the discussion in that house might be taken. But the noble lord had not considered it necessary to issue an order in council for the purpose of raising the discussion, and a few days afterwards the right hon. baronet, now member for Dorchester, had proposed that a bill should be introduced, and the discussion taken thereupon. That was then the opinion of that right honourable gentleman, that the proper way would be to introduce a bill. The question had proceeded, a division had been had, and the right honourable and learned gentleman, then member for the Tower Hamlets, had taken an active part in the opposition. But it had not been until the third reading of the bill, and upon the question that the bill do pass, the measure had been thrown out, mainly by the agency of the right honourable baronet the member for Dorchester, who had come down to the house with one of those heavy pounding speeches he was in the habit of occasionally making. The right honourable gentleman had been then for delay—he had said he would not be called upon to legislate until a definite plan had been laid before him. Upon that ground, aided by the influence and active exertions of an hon. gentleman opposite, a director of the East India Company, the measure was defeated. He (Mr. V. Smith) would not say that a government was not bound to adopt the acts of its predecessors; but he thought it rather strange that a government should not fulfil pledges which they themselves had forcibly exacted from the preceding ministry. He contended that there was nothing in the papers upon the subject to justify the noble lord opposite (the Secretary for the Colonies) in the course he had adopted; and if the opinions upon which he had acted were not so valuable and weighty as to overbear all opposition, and if they did not show a complete and absolute necessity for the steps the noble lord had taken, then he thought the noble lord ought, in the execution of his duty as Secretary for the Colonies, to have invited the attention of the house to the subject. He (Mr. V. Smith) would now proceed to the examination of evidence. The subject was of the greatest importance, affecting not only the interest of the proprietors in the Mauritius, but affecting also the feelings, happiness, and vital interests of hundreds of thousands of their fellow-creatures. The report that had been presented to parliament had been drawn up by six gentlemen appointed for that purpose by the Governor-general of India. One of those gentlemen, Major Arthur, had returned to this country, and his opinion might be put aside for the present, as it had been fully expressed to his (Mr. V. Smith's) noble friend. But there were five other gentlemen, the majority of whom, namely three, had signed the report, and the conclusion arrived at in that report was adverse to the importation of Hill Coolies from the East Indies to the Mauritius. Another minute had indeed been published by Mr. Dowson, one of the recusant commissioners; but that gentleman happened to be himself largely engaged in the importation of Hill Coolies [hear, hear], and his report was, naturally enough, favourable to the trade in which he was engaged. Mr. J. P. Grant also had delivered another report, which, upon the whole, was favourable to the importation; but there were certain points in his report which seemed to bear another conclusion. That gentleman had divided the abuses, which he admitted existed, under three heads, viz., abuses in India, abuses at sea, and abuses in the Mauritius. One of the abuses which that gentleman had acknowledged existed in India was, that the only persons through whose agency the exportation could be prevented were the police, and they were themselves engaged in the system [hear, hear]. The abuses at sea appeared to him of particular importance. It happened that on every occasion some of the Coolies had thrown themselves overboard, although, as Mr. Grant contended, they were perfectly happy and contented. That gentleman's solution of the problem was not a little extraordinary, for he said these people threw themselves overboard in order that they might be picked up. The abuse in the Mauritius was, that the great slave owners were not fit to be entrusted with the management of these Coolies. Yet in spite of these three points of abuse, which Mr. Grant distinctly admitted and acknowledged, he expressed himself as favourable to the exportation of these Coolies. The next paper, and the most important of all, to which he should direct the attention of the house, was a minute drawn up by Lord Auckland, the Governor-general of India. The whole of the plan had been submitted to the council, but the minute of Lord Auckland was of peculiar importance, because if there was any one to whose humanity and sterling good sense such a question could be safely entrusted, it was that nobleman. If that noble lord had presented to the country and parliament a complete case, and had said he was prepared to act upon orders; if he had expressed his decided opinion that such and such a course would be a great benefit to the people of India and to the planters; then he (Mr. V. Smith) thought the noble lord would have been justified in taking any course, however expeditious. But he (Mr. V. Smith) would read to the house some points from the minute of Lord Auckland. The noble lord, after stating that he had read the report of the commissioners, said—"The attention which I have been able to give to the subject has led me to no very satisfactory general conclusion upon it, embracing as it does the difficult question of opening emigration to many distant and even foreign colonies. I am clearly of opinion that the present law, which, to a great degree, restricts the freedom of labour and of movement to the whole Indian population, is most objectionable in principle; that it will presently become injurious and vexatious in operation; that it should not be regarded as permanent, and that no safe opportunity should be omitted of relaxing it. I do not, however, believe that this law is yet felt as pressing hardly upon the rights and interests of the natives of India. It may do so with some classes, but the system of emigration, for the purpose of obtaining high wages, is too lately established and is too little known to have become a general want. It was upon no understood practice, and only by the busy intervention of an active agency, that the first emigrants were induced to seek their fortunes in the Mauritius; and whether the many who have since done so have done it to their own good or evil, is a proposition which has yet to be solved, and which there have not been time and experience sufficient to determine."

Further on, the noble lord proceeded to say—"The number of labourers required is so great, that it could not be supplied by those only who could calculate the advantages of change. Even for the well understood contracts of the soldier or the sailor, it is known into what tricks and acts of violence the low, and sometimes even the higher agent, is led; and when, for the supply of thousands and thousands of labourers to various remote settlements, the iniquitous craft of this great city find its account in acting the crimp upon those who are simple and unguarded, I greatly fear that, though amendment and caution would no doubt come with time, no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the frequent infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons helpless from their poverty, and from their utter ignorance and inexperience."

Speaking of the police Lord Auckland said:

"The police of the city may, no doubt, be stimulated to a jealous alertness on the subject, and perhaps Mr. Grant has in some degree exaggerated the reproach to which that police has in many instances laid itself open. It is, however, but too true that this branch of our service is most defective and ineffective, and the different experiments which have been tried for its reform, have generally ended in disappointment."

With respect to the importation to the Mauritius, Lord Auckland said, "It will be for her Majesty's government to decide whether distinctions as to the supply of labour can be admitted between the several crown settlements. As respects the interests for which we are more specially responsible, I would say that my objections are assuredly the strongest to dealings of this description with the colonies and settlements which are most distant. The sea passage to them is, from its very length, liable to suffering and to hazard; we could not follow the emigrant with our care and protection, and we do not know to what laws or usage he might be consigned. With the Mauritius, however, the case is different; it is a British settlement, easily accessible from India, and open to our observation; and if the question were that of opening emigration to that island alone, I would willingly attempt to meet the difficulties which might be opposed to us, and I should hope shortly and gradually in a very great measure to overcome them by a plan such as has been suggested by Mr. Grant."

But Lord Auckland did not express his approval of such a course as that taken by the noble lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, as would be seen from the following passage:—

"We must remember, however, that in permitting emigration to the Mauritius, it would be necessary to guard against the possibility of labourers shipped nominally for that island being carried elsewhere, or their being inveigled while on the island into contracts of service in other settlements, where we could have no security for their treatment. The interests of the masters in the colony would be a powerful check against the latter evil; and I should not despair of our being able to provide duly for both of these objects."

The noble lord went on to say,

"But after we shall have been satisfied of the safety of emigration to the Mauritius itself, we shall still have to consider that such emigration could scarcely be allowed without its leading also to a renewed emigration of labourers, chiefly British subjects, from Pondicherry, or other European settlements in India, to foreign colonies."

Again,—

"The home authorities alone will be able to determine how far the cordial co-operation of foreign governments is to be relied on in the steady enforcement of measures of effectual precaution and protection within the limits of their settlements."

He (Mr. Vernon Smith) was yet to learn that the noble lord opposite could depend upon the cordial co-operation of foreign governments. Looking to the tone adopted by another government, on a question akin to the present, namely, the right of search in relation to the slave-trade, it would not appear that an application by the noble lord to them for co-operation on this point would be very successful—considering also the jealousy that country had shown of our colonial prosperity. Lord Auckland, however, concluded his minute by an exposition of his plan, and he (Mr. V. Smith) would be glad to know if that was the experiment which the noble lord opposite intended to make. Lord Auckland said—

"If, therefore, all plans for an extended emigration should be for the present rejected by the home authorities, and if the expediency of some relaxation of the existing law should nevertheless be admitted, I should be disposed to regulate but little, to have for such a restricted purpose no cumbrous machinery of inspectors, and protectors, and examiners, but simply to declare that no ship shall take more than ten or twenty such passengers, perhaps not more than one, for every twenty-five tons of each vessel. A provision of this kind would be open to none of the objections by which the adoption of a larger measure may be impeded, and it would take off the character of excessive and impolitic, if not unjust, restraint, from the enactment as it at present stands."

The whole minute of Lord Auckland was so doubtful in its tone, and the recommendations contained in it were so cautiously worded, that he (Mr. Vernon Smith) contended the noble lord opposite was not justified in taking the step he had done, without appealing to parliament for the purpose of ascertaining what was the sense of the country upon the question. [The hon. member here read a passage from an opinion expressed by Mr. Prinsep, and several extracts from the *British India Magazine*, illustrative of the amount of wages generally earned by the Coolies in the Mauritius, the mortality among them, and their disinclination to return there when they had once quitted the colony.] According to the evidence, there was no desire on the part of these people to return to the state in which they had been stated to be so comfortable and well off. Previous to the introduction of the noble lord's bill, an order in council had appeared in a corner of the *Gazette* relative to the Hill Coolies, and anything more feeble and useless than that order he (Mr. V. Smith) had never seen: it was completely illustrative of that position which was vulgarly called putting the cart before the horse. Now, if his noble friend, the late Secretary for the Colonies, had put forth such an order, it would have been immediately stigmatized as the rash and reckless conduct of a whig government, who scrupled not to overturn any institution in their eager search after popu-

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larity. He (Mr. V. Smith) wished to know if the order had been issued with the knowledge of the East India Company. That body had presented a petition adverse to the principle of the measure, and it might, perhaps, have been convenient to ascertain in the first instance if they approved of the course about to be pursued. But how was it that the noble lord (Lord Stanley) handled the question? Why, in the most awkward manner possible. He presented this order in council; for what purpose? Not to execute anything, but merely, as it would appear, to provoke the council in India. It was an instrument issued as a compliment, he (Mr. V. Smith) supposed, to the planters of the Mauritius, but the only effect of it could be to provoke the council in India. He thought to have seen in the papers presented by the noble lord (Lord Stanley) some of the able correspondence upon this subject which no doubt had been directed to the East India Company, through the medium of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India. It might be that the noble lord had delayed to produce those papers on account of their great weight and importance. But if there were no such papers in existence, then he (Mr. Vernon Smith) must be allowed to say, not only that the East India Company had been very unfairly treated by the noble lord, which was no affair of his (Mr. Vernon Smith's); but that the public in this country, who took a deep interest in the subject, had a right to know what the opinions of that great company were upon the question, which, sooner or later, must be determined by parliament. The noble lord published this order in the *Gazette* two days after parliament assembled—why did not the noble lord wait till parliament had actually met? Was it because he did not wish to raise a discussion upon the subject, or to awaken the clamour of anti-slavery societies? What was the difference in the state of things between the years 1840 and 1842, which justified the noble lord in taking a position now which was refused to his noble friend the Secretary for the Colonies (Lord J. Russell) two years ago? Parliament having assembled, the noble lord (Lord Stanley) introduced the Passengers' Act. What happened in reference to it? The noble lord in his introductory speech said nothing of the subject upon which he (Mr. V. Smith) was then addressing the house; neither did the noble lord state that there was anything regarding it in his bill. But about a fortnight afterwards the bill was produced, and towards the end of it he (Mr. Vernon Smith) found a clause which he would not read through; but the marginal note attached to which would show that it was the intention of the noble lord to legislate in reference to the Hill Coolies. That being the case, he (Mr. Vernon Smith) maintained that the noble lord ought to have referred to the subject in his introductory speech. The words of the marginal note were these, "Power to the Governor-general to adopt this act, with certain exceptions, in India." Hence it was plain that it was the noble lord's intention to renew the emigration from India to the Mauritius; and that being his intention, why did he not mention it? If he did not intend to legislate upon the subject, why did the noble lord issue his order in council two days previous to the meeting of parliament? It could only be from an endeavour to pass a measure by what the noble lord had himself called crown-made law, as contradistinguished from law made by parliament. He (Mr. V. Smith) wished the noble lord to answer these questions. The motion of which he (Mr. V. Smith) had given notice was simply for the production of the instructions upon this subject, from the East India Company to the Governor-general, who was now proceeding to India. It was hardly possible to suppose that the noble lord had allowed his colleague to proceed to India without definite instructions on this subject. The noble lord had, indeed, written a letter to the board of Commissioners, which was to be found amongst the papers laid upon the table; but that letter did not explain the plan to be pursued by the Governor-general when he reached India. That noble lord (Lord Ellenborough) being himself a decided enemy to the exportation of the natives of India, having, in 1838, made a strong speech against their exportation; and having spoken of the Hill Coolies as persons utterly unfit to be allowed any will of their own, describing them as more like monkeys than men, how was it possible that he could now go out to India to sanction the very measure which he had previously so earnestly condemned? And how could it be possible that a noble lord entertaining such opinions could be allowed to leave England for the purpose of undertaking the government of India, without receiving some definite instructions from the Secretary for the Colonies, upon a matter of this importance? Under these circumstances he (Mr. V. Smith) begged to request that the noble lord (Lord Stanley) would state to the house what steps he had taken, if any, preliminary to his issuing the order in council; and also, whether any correspondence had taken place with the East India Company upon the subject, and what the opinion of that powerful body was in reference to it. He hoped, indeed, that they were not fallen so low as to be disregarded or neglected by the noble lord. On all previous occasions the first step of the minister of the Crown would have been to consult the company upon the question, and not to pass them by, as they would appear to have been passed by in this instance. The last question that he (Mr. V. Smith) wished to ask was—what were the instructions which the noble lord (Lord Stanley) gave, either personally or orally, to Lord Ellenborough prior to his leaving England? Whether this question were answered or not, he hoped at all events, that the noble lord would not resist the motion with which he (Mr. V. Smith) now begged to conclude, for the production of the instructions given by the East India Company to the Governor-general, previous to his departure to assume the government of India [hear, hear].

Lord STANLEY said that there were no such instructions as the hon. member had moved for.

Mr. HAWES said that when the clauses came to be considered *in* committee, he would endeavour to show that the noble lord had not taken the proper precautions. He would undertake to say that he would be entitled to draw very different conclusions from those come to by the noble lord, when the whole papers relating to the question had been fairly taken under their consideration. The noble lord had referred to a despatch of Sir Lionel Smith, but he (Mr. Hawes) did not feel inclined to rely on such authority—he looked with extreme jealousy and distrust to the opinion of any person connected with slavery, and, therefore, he did not feel inclined to trust much to the representations of those who still mourned over the loss of their slaves. In committee he would draw the attention of the house to the 41st clause, when he would move that that clause be expunged.

Mr. HOGG thought that the conclusions come to by the noble lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, were not altogether borne out by the documents which had been referred to by him in the course of his speech. The system has been denounced on all hands as one full of cruelty and abuse. A large and influential meeting held at Calcutta had spoken out on the subject. Both houses of parliament had taken up the subject; but owing to the great difficulties in the way, the bill introduced by Lord Ellenborough, and supported by no mean authority, the Duke of Wellington, was abandoned in despair. The subject had also been adverted to in that house, but when the noble lord (the member for London) intimated his intention of relaxing the prohibitory law, up got the now Secretary of State for the Home Department, and said, "Beware, how you proceed," (hear, hear). And the consequence was, that no progress was made in that house. The court of directors had paid due deference to the opinion of parliament on the subject, and had repeatedly written out to the local authorities, refusing to act until they saw what would be done by the legislature. Thus the matter stood then, and thus in fact it stood now, and his right honourable friend (Mr. V. Smith) on a former occasion, had exhorted the house to wait for the arrival of the report. That report had arrived on the very day he (Mr. Hogg) had contemplated, and it confirmed in the strongest manner all the imputed enormities. The minutes of the Governor-general in council were to the same effect, and placed the question in no different point of view. True it was that Sir Lionel Smith had said, that the report deserved no further notice; but surely that was not a fit way of speaking of a document drawn up by six gentlemen especially appointed by the Governor-general, and signed by three of them. But had the report been of a different complexion it would have been right for the noble lord to have submitted to the Board of Control and to the Court of Directors, the provisions, safeguards, and restrictions he recommended. The Court of Directors would then have pronounced its opinion, and would have sent out instructions to the local governments, and those instructions, together with the noble lord's order in council, ought to have been laid before the house, in order that it might see both sides of the question. The dexterity of the noble lord, however, kept half the case out of sight. He (Mr. Hogg) was a member of the court of directors, and he could say that *neither* he nor any of his colleagues knew what laws were about *to* be introduced into India. He admitted that the order in council went far to prevent existing abuses, but he wanted to know what were the provisions in India. He was not sure that the house ought not to go so far as to require the local laws to be laid upon the table. The abuses prevailing in India were admitted, and the main point now to be considered, was how they were to be remedied. Lord Auckland was of opinion that the whole of the cumbersome provisions about agents and protectors would be useless. He would now show the house in the strongest manner, how certain it was that 15,000 or 16,000 out of 17,000 Coolies must have been induced to emigrate by the grossest fraud and deception. A gentleman of the name of Dowson had been anxious to obtain free labourers, and had employed an Armenian agent for the purpose, who was to represent the case truly to the Coolies, and to state to them that they would be engaged for five years; the consequence was, that he was not able to induce a single man to emigrate. At the same moment other agents, who resorted to tricks and misrepresentations, were engaging them by hundreds. The moment these poor people had their eyes opened, and saw what they were really required to do, they, one and all, refused. In the same way when hands were wanted for the purpose of collecting and curing the Assam tea, and offered three rupees per month with house and land, they could obtain no labourers, under the suspicion that they were to be sent beyond sea. A gentleman of the name of Davison had made a similar endeavour, with a similar result; and a third agent, who had also represented the case in its true light, had failed in his endeavours to induce any of the Coolies to join him. This was strong evidence to show that the Coolies who had emigrated had not done so by their own free will. Only make it certain that only those should be taken who were ready to go of their own accord, and he should not have the slightest objection to the measure. The truth, however, was, that without deception not a single Coolie could be obtained. Lord Auckland had stated it as his opinion that the law ought not to be absolutely repealed, but he said that he should be glad to see it relaxed as well as to persons as to places. But, the noble lord (Lord Stanley) had said nothing about the most important part of Lord Auckland's report, where he said, that, if the law were annulled without coming to some understanding with European powers who had possessions in that part of the world, as well as with native princes, the result would be a virtual revival of the slave-trade. "If," added his lordship, "we cannot depend upon that co-operation, I do not think we should be justified in re-opening emigration even to the Mauritius." Much had been said about the returned Coolies, and of their wealth and comfort, but in the whole they were twenty-five, and these had been sent back as decoys and traps for others. He only opposed emigration of the kind from a sense of duty; he admitted the right of freemen to dispose of their own labour in the best market, but, in a case of this kind, policy as well as humanity required that protection should be extended to those who could not protect themselves. Hundreds and thousands had been trepanned and kidnapped, and one of two courses ought to be taken; if the house did not go the whole length of requiring that the proposed enactments of the local government should be laid upon the table, at least it ought not to be satisfied until the despatch of the Court of Directors were *in* the hands of members. With respect to the form in which this subject had been introduced, it was to be regretted that it could have no practical effect, as it would only amount to the expression of an opinion.

Mr. WAKLEY alluded to the prevalent opinion that, if the emigration of Coolies were allowed, it would amount to a revival of the slave-trade. The speech of the honourable member for Beverley (Mr. Hogg), so creditable to his heart and understanding, would much tend to confirm this belief. He (Mr. Wakley) wished to apply to this subject the argument so recently produced against the free importation of corn, viz, that it would interfere with the interests of the landowners. Now, by this measure it was proposed to introduce a vast number of fresh labourers into the Mauritius, who would materially interfere with, and injure the interests of, those already there, and who were earning three, four, and five rupees per month. He submitted that this was most unfair to those who had a property in their labour, and whose existing rights ought to be protected. Nothing could be more unjust than the influx of such labourers, entrapped in the East Indies, merely because it suited the purpose of the wealthy proprietors of Mauritius. On a former occasion the house had been called upon to pause before it proceeded to legislate upon this subject; and all

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the information since received showed that, if there were ground for hesitation then, there was double reason for the same course now. The honourable member took this opportunity of reminding the right honourable baronet (Sir Robert Peel) of the deputation of some of the best men the world could produce, which not very long since waited upon him on the subject of the slave-trade in the East, and expressed his hope that the right honourable baronet would be able to afford those gentlemen some satisfaction on the point. He trusted that the noble Secretary for the Colonies would abandon his intention of encouraging by law the emigration of the Hill Coolies, and that, at all events, before he did so he would put the house in possession of all the information in his office respecting the real state of the unfortunate natives of India at present in the Mauritius.

Mr. C. BULLER said it was to be deeply regretted that the present government had not thought fit to consult upon this important subject with the East India Company; the measure before them would be altogether nugatory, if proper arrangements were not come to with that company.

Mr. LINDSAY: While an advocate for all due protection to the Hill Coolies, many of whom, he was ready to admit, had been sent to work they knew not whither, in a manner that amounted almost to crimping [bear], he thought at the same time that it would be a decided sort of slavery to lay it down that these labourers should not be at liberty to carry their labour to where their common sense dictated to them their labour would be bestowed with most interest to themselves.

Mr. V. Smith said, that, after what had been said by government, he should, of course, withdraw his motion.

Motion withdrawn.

ANTI-SLAVERY DISCUSSION IN SPAIN.

FROM a Madrid periodical, which was formerly *El Huracan*, but which, since the suppression of that paper, is published without a name, we extract the following interesting article:—

On considering the necessary results of the conclusion of the treaty between the five great powers for the suppression of the slave-trade, we at once see that one amongst the most inevitable, important, and immediate, is the loss and complete ruin of our opulent Antilles, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. We have seen that, the whites not being able to acclimate themselves in such a manner as to enable them to labour in that parched land, the cultivation, production, commerce, and population, must cease, if the tillage by slaves is rendered impossible; that, without the introduction of new slaves, the annual number of the negro population cannot be kept up by the birth of slave children; that the prohibition of the traffic is consequently the abolition of slavery by birth-right; that this abolition, on the other hand, is almost impossible, whilst the fathers remain in slavery; and finally, we come to examine if it would not answer immediately to emancipate all the slaves of those colonies.

It may seem absurd to propose such a question on the grounds of justice. Who can doubt that the slavery of the negros is unjust, iniquitous, barbarous, and atrocious? Who will deny them the right of liberty which nature gave them, of which no one can deprive them, nor they themselves alienate irrevocably?

But this is not the question. The blacks and whites in these colonies, and much more in those of other nations who recognise slavery, are found in a state of constant warfare, force; the force, is that alone which binds them together and predominates, and force alone can never give right. The whites, like all conquerors, have fearfully abused their superiority; and the blacks nourish in their hearts a deep and implacable resentment for the degradation and cruelties to which, for such a length of time, they have been obliged to submit. With respect to the slaves, if they are emancipated, the greatest amount of force passes to their side; the thirst for vengeance will inflame them; and this thirst will not be extinguished in their breasts, but by the blood of all the whites. If the negros have a right to be free, much more have the whites, not only to be free, but to exist. In defence it is permitted to use the most extreme measures, provided they are absolutely necessary to preserve our existence. What we wish to say is, then, that, if reasons abound to sustain the emancipation of the slaves, there are more numerous and weighty ones why this measure should not be carried into effect, whilst at the same time a decree exists for the proscription and extermination of the white race.

The masters of the slaves have, moreover, employed a considerable capital in their purchase and maintenance. Ought they, or ought they not, to be indemnified, if they are obliged to emancipate them? And if they are indemnified only for the value of the slaves which they emancipate, it will be niggardly and insufficient, because their properties, from the impossibility of cultivating them by the negros, will decay in value, probably nine-tenths of the whole. If the indemnification is to extend, as its name indicates, to compensation for this depreciation of property, where shall we find in Spain sufficient capital to cover such numerous disbursements, even supposing such indemnification should be rigorously just?

It is not necessary, however, to form to ourselves counterfeit shadows, in order to acquire courage to encounter the truth, however terrible it may be, when the truth is that which at once presents itself. The English not only aspire to abolish the slave-trade, but also to the emancipation of those slaves which exist in our colonies, and this at no distant period, by means as expeditious and infallible as they are monstrous and atrocious. Can we prevent it? Have we a navy able to protect our possessions against the powerful armaments of England? Can we rely in any case on the assistance of other nations? Is it possible for us to transport to the colonies, and maintain there, a sufficient number of troops to repel invasion, to keep the people of colour in subjection, and to protect such an extended coast? We believe that an affirmative answer cannot be given to any of these questions. Would that there might be, with any degree of foundation!

It is useless to propose to break the treaty of 1817, to send away the receiving ship from the Havana, to dissolve the mixed commission court, and to dismiss the foreign protector of slaves. How can these plans be realized without a navy, in possessions 1500 leagues off, and having for an opponent, opulent, powerful, and machiavelian England? It is in her power at this day, thanks to the imbecility that pretends to govern us, to realize in Cuba and Puerto Rico all her plans to the utmost extent of her wishes. On the continent it is very different: here she could not dictate to us the law: but in the Antilles we must do what she tells us, or anticipate her commands by proposing a remedy ourselves.

Neither the traffic in slaves, nor even slavery itself, can exist much longer, either in our Antilles or in any other part of the world. Convinced that it must cease, even possibly by violence, let us not expose ourselves to the horrors which would be occasioned by the up-rooting of the system by force, with the dagger in one hand and the torch in the other. Let not the slaves be emancipated and remain in the same island, where it is impossible that the whites and the men of colour can amalgamate, although they tolerate without destroying one another. St. Domingo is near at hand, where they will receive them. Emancipate the slaves in a confined place, transporting them from it at the moment of giving them their liberty, without permitting them at any future time to enter our colonies to join the people of colour. Let the proprietors be indemnified. The emancipation, the transport of the emancipated, and the indemnification may, however, be matter of a special treaty with England; and, as she is known to negociate with dignity and firmness, we are certain that extremely advantageous conditions will be obtained from the interest of the English, who will doubtless charge themselves with a considerable part of the indemnification, since for their profit results principally the emancipation for which they labour so hard.

SINGULAR CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.—[From the *Guiana Times* of January 31st, 1842.] We were more than gratified, this afternoon, by a visit from Mr. POMPEY FRASER, commanding the *Richmond* Drogher. From his mouth we obtained a statement, which will speak for itself. "Yesterday, about 12 o'clock," says Mr. FRASER, "I was standing under sail, when I saw a vessel quite under my lee, running down before the wind. I came to anchor, and lay there, till she could get near where I was. A boat put off, and a white man came and asked me, in good English, the way to go to Havana. I told him I did not know. He then said he wanted to go to some place on the Spanish Main. I pointed out to him what course he must steer to get into the Spanish Main and the River Oronoco. When we went to the vessel, the man told us, the captain had died ten days after leaving Africa, and they had had forty-two days' passage. While I and the man were talking, one of our people went and peeped into the hatches, and came and told me that he saw persons down below. I peeped also, and saw them too. We then went ashore to the manager's house, and were joined by the overseer, soon after which, the manager rowed after us, and we all went on board of the vessel together. The manager (Mr. PEARSON,) asked the crew what the cargo was. They said, nothing but water. The manager said he understood there were slaves on board. The man who could speak English did not deny it, but confessed there were seventy-seven slaves. We took charge of the vessel, and took her ashore. There were seven hands on board, all Spaniards, and seventy-seven slaves, almost all young people, of both sexes, quite naked, without even laps. Three slaves had died on the passage. At first the slaves were shy of us, but when they saw that we intended them no harm, they were overjoyed. They had been fed on farina as sour as lime, from which their condition was very lean. They are now at Richmond. The crew made no resistance. They are now prisoners by order of the magistrate."

HIBERNIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—At a public meeting of this body, held at the Royal Exchange on Wednesday evening, petitions were agreed to—the one praying "the abolition of all slavery throughout the British dominions;" the other, "that the restrictions on Hill Coolie emigration to the Mauritius might not be repealed, in consequence of the dreadful sufferings inflicted on those who had previously emigrated," particularly on Mr. Gladstone's estates—and were forwarded for presentation to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of Dublin and Dr. Bowring.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LX. Vol. III. No. 7.] WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

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THE LATE MEETING AT PARIS.

The following are the speeches which were delivered by Messrs. Scoble, de Lamartine, and Odillon Barrot, after the dinner on the 9th ult.

Mr. Scoble spoke as follows:—Mr. President, in the name of the English and Irish anti-slavery deputies, now in Paris, allow me to return you our best thanks for the friendly and generous reception you have given us, as the representatives of the great body of abolitionists in our native land. They have sent us hither as the representatives of their principles and feelings—you have received us as such; and we accept the splendid hospitalities of this evening as a pledge of the devotion you feel towards the sacred cause of human freedom, and of your determination to aid us in achieving that freedom for the whole human race. Permit me, Sir, to add, that I trust this meeting—called for no selfish purpose, intended to advance no private ends—will conduce to the maintenance of peace between the great nations we respectively represent, and that the only rivalry of these nations henceforth will be found in deeds of benevolence and mercy—not in those of revenge and blood.

We came hither, Sir, on the invitation of the French society for the abolition of slavery, to attend a great public meeting which that society intended should have been held in Paris on Monday last, but which was interdicted by the government for reasons we shall neither canvass nor condemn: we are permitted, however, to meet you, Sir, and this distinguished company in private, as the friends of a cause dear to our hearts, and this fully compensates us for any disappointment we might have felt that our expectations and your intentions were not realized. To this company, then, convened under these circumstances, we make our appeal in behalf of suffering and oppressed millions, in the fullest confidence that the eminent persons of whom it is composed will cordially respond to that appeal, and not relax in their exertions, until there shall not be found on the face of the earth a slave to water the ground which he cultivates with his tears, or crimson it with his blood.

It is not, however, gentlemen, as an Englishman I meet you on the present occasion—it is not as Frenchmen I address you. Proud as we may be of these appellations, there is one more sacred and tender—one that links us with the whole human race—that of man! It is as a man sympathising with his oppressed fellow-man—feeling the pressure of his chain, and earnestly desiring his deliverance from bondage, that I address you, and conjure you by all that is inviolable in human rights—by all that is immutable in justice—and by all that is sacred in religion, to urge forward the cause of abolition in this country, as a great debt you owe to mankind; and, above all, to him who is the great Father of all, and who commands us to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

Gentlemen, this morning I had the honour of laying before some of you the results of emancipation in the British colonies in the West Indies, South America, Southern Africa, and the Indian Ocean. By that act of justice nearly a million of human beings were raised to the dignity and the privileges of freemen. The liberty they never forfeited by crime they have shown themselves worthy to possess by their admirable conduct. Their transition from slavery to freedom was unmarked by turbulence or crime. They received their freedom as a boon from heaven, and were too grateful for its promised blessings to dream of revenge for past injuries, or to stain the sacred gift with the blood of their oppressors. In the emancipated colonies of Great Britain the utmost tranquillity exists. The fear of revolts and insurrections has passed away with slavery. The laws are everywhere respected and obeyed. Crime has rapidly diminished, and in some districts almost wholly disappeared. Where treated fairly and honourably by their masters, the industry of the negro freemen abounds. The withdrawal of women, either wholly or in part from field-labour—change of occupation in a multitude of other cases—the education of the children in the schools, and, above all, the unparalleled drought which has prevailed during the most important periods of the last two years in Jamaica, Barbados, and British Guiana, have affected the production of sugar, but not to the extent that was feared; and, should the coming seasons be propitious, there is no doubt that the crop will greatly increase. In the meantime it is satisfactory to know that the exports of British manufactured goods to the colonies has increased in value more than one-third since emancipation has taken place, a decisive proof of the increase of the internal commerce of the colonies, and of the increased comforts of the people. The statements put forth by some parties in France, that Great Britain was prepared to sacrifice her West to her East Indian possessions is too absurd to need refutation. In emancipating her slaves she yielded to the moral sense and religious feelings of her people; and she anticipates, at no distant period, an increase to her resources and her greatness from that act of justice and mercy.

Permit me, gentlemen, to call your attention to one or two points, for the purpose of showing the true position of the abolitionists of Great Britain, in relation to some questions which they find to be the subjects of great interest in France at the present moment. I shall do so, however, not for the purpose of provoking discussion or controversy, but simply in the way of explanation. The right of search is one of those points. I give no opinion on its political bearings, nor on the delicate questions to which it has given birth. I leave that to statesmen. I beg, however, most unequivocally to observe, that the great body of British abolitionists do not look to treaties, however comprehensive their terms, or stringent their conditions, or perfect their machinery, to put an end to the detestable traffic in human beings. They are persuaded that the most effectual mode of accomplishing that object is the universal abolition of slavery itself. That is the root of the giant evil. Destroy the slave-markets, and you destroy the slave-trade. Leave them open, and that fatal scourge to humanity will continue. Under the treaties which already exist between Great Britain and other powers, the slave-trade has doubled the number of its victims and its horrors. No, gentlemen, it is not by treaties that the slave-trade is to be suppressed, but by the universal abolition of slavery. In making these remarks let me not be misunderstood. I would speak with all possible respect of the diplomatic acts of the British and French governments. I believe they have been actuated by pure and honourable motives in negociating the treaty which has unfortunately given rise to so much painful discussion. They have sought to brand the slave-trade as piracy, and to engage other nations to follow their example. I honour them for this; though it is my deliberate conviction that the slave-trade can never be extinguished by the measures they propose to adopt for that purpose.

Another point is the existence of slavery in British India. Gentlemen, I admit and deplore its existence there. It is a question, however, to what extent it has the sanction of law. But, whether it be the creature of law or of custom—whether it have the sanction of the Koran or the Shasters, it is a fact, and we have to deal with it as a fact. I now proceed to show you what has been done in reference to its abolition. During the government of Earl Grey, in 1833, the charter of the East India Company was renewed. In the bill submitted to the House of

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Commons for that purpose, there was a clause which provided for the complete extinction of slavery in all its forms in the Eastern possessions of Great Britain on the 12th of April, 1837, or sooner if it could be effected. The clause, in its passage through both houses of parliament, encountered much opposition; and, finally, as it passed the House of Lords, the date for the final extinction was stricken out, and the provision, as it now stands on the charter act, merely enacts that measures be forthwith taken for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, or mitigating the state of slavery in British India, and for extinguishing it *so soon as it should be practicable*. Nine years have passed away since the charter act became law, and the abolition of slavery has not been secured; nor, indeed, have any effectual measures been taken to secure that end. We have waited for the reports of government on the subject, and, having obtained them, are exerting ourselves to secure its immediate and entire abolition; nor, shall we rest until it is secured. Help us, gentlemen, in this great work, by the abolition of slavery in the French colonies.

Allow me now to address you as Frenchmen. You have in your colonies upwards of two hundred and sixty thousand slaves; their condition is deplorable. To you they look, and, with uplifted hands, plead for deliverance. Will you turn a deaf ear to their cries! If a wretch were brought into this assembly fettered from neck to heel—if that wretch were a woman—a woman in circumstances the most delicate, and she presented to your attention her bleeding person, fresh from the flagellation of the whip, would you not be horror-stricken? Would you not indignantly demand by whom this poor wretch had been scourged! Ah, gentlemen, she is a slave! Will you not bind up her wounds! Will you not shake the fetters from her limbs! Will you not deliver her from the grasp of her oppressor! Yes, you generously reply. Well then, gentlemen, let it be done immediately, unconditionally, entirely. Remember there are two hundred and sixty thousand human beings in your colonies liable to the same treatment. Who can imagine the aggregate amount of their sufferings—who can paint the depth of their degradation! Rescue them, I beseech you, from the horrible condition in which they have been placed by the cupidity and tyranny of their fellow-men. I am the more earnest in asking this at your hands, because I believe that your example on other nations holding slaves is more powerful than our own; they will follow you whither they would refuse to follow us, or whither they would follow us reluctantly. The example of France in the abolition of slavery in her dependencies will, whenever it shall take place, be paramount. Spain, Holland, Brazil, and, above all, the United States will feel its force, and adopt it as their own. Gentlemen, the destinies for weal or woe of six millions of the human family held in abject slavery are in your hands. As their feeble advocate, I plead for them—let me not plead in vain. Nor let me forget to add that Africa, prostrate and bleeding at every pore, stretches out her hands to you in behalf of her children. Terminate slavery in the countries to which I have referred, and you terminate the slave-trade, which has so long desolated and degraded her, and afflicted and degraded mankind.

Gentlemen, I do not find slavery inscribed on your charter. On the contrary, there I find written the glorious words "liberty and equality." These are the birth-right and inheritance of Frenchmen. But you would be unworthy of these blessings, if you withheld them from any human being born within the limits of your great empire, whatever might be the colour of his skin, or his condition in life. Seek to render that charter, of which you so justly boast, a great truth wherever your flag floats, or your influence extends.

Again, allow me, Mr. President, to return you the grateful acknowledgments of the anti-slavery deputies present for the fraternal reception you have given them, and the generous hospitalities you have shown them since their arrival in France; and to express their earnest hope that the divine blessing may rest on your counsels, and crown your efforts on behalf of the oppressed with speedy and complete success.

M. de LAMARTINE.—Gentlemen, in listening to the pious and glowing words of Mr. Scoble (words animated by the warmth of a zeal so truly divine that they made their way to your hearts, notwithstanding the difference of language); in applauding with you those appeals to the love of universal liberty—the national characteristic of France since, half a century ago, she achieved liberty for herself—and those invocations to the exercise of French influence throughout the world, in order that that influence may hallow itself by the universal abolition of the infamous commerce in slaves; I experience a double sentiment—one of joy, and another of sorrow. Yes, I rejoice from my inmost heart. I see here, in brotherly union, men of different languages, countries, birth, and opinions, who, actuated by the single desire of doing good, have left their habitation and their country, have traversed the sea and a foreign land, in order to combine their efforts in favour of a cause which affects neither themselves, their families, their children, nor even their fellow-citizens, and to devote themselves to the regeneration of a race of men whom they do not know—whom they have never seen—whom they never will see—whose benedictions will doubtless follow them into heaven, but whose gratitude cannot reach them here below! There is a disinterestedness in the present age which is accused of selfishness; but it is a disinterestedness required by love to men, and rewarded by God.

At the same time, gentlemen, I could not repress my feelings, when I recollected that these sublime manifestations of love for human kind, which refresh us here in all their vigour—a vigour so sincere and eloquent in the mouth of Mr. Scoble and his associates—would not be cherished beyond these walls; but that, on the contrary, you would not have quitted this meeting, the words which you have heard would scarcely have grown cold in your hearts, before malevolent challenges, odious insinuations, and interested clamours, would distort the actions, the men, the speeches, and throw over all a false colour, burlesque and ridicule—the first punishment of all truth. We must expect them, and we must brave them. Social, religious, and political truth would be too easy to follow, and too beautiful to embrace, were there not between her and us the interested hand of custom, and the sharp points of calumny!

What will be said of us, gentlemen! Two things: that, in urging men's minds to the solution of the question of slavery in our colonies, we are revolutionists; and that, in wishing the combined efforts of all civilized people for the abolition of the slave-trade, we are no longer patriots. Let us reply.

We are revolutionists. You see in what manner! You have just heard the prudent, well-weighed, irreproachable words of the speaker whom I follow; you have heard those of the duke of Broglie, of M. Passy, of M. Barrot; words which might fall from hence between the master and the slave, without awakening in their hearts any other sentiments than those of justice, mercy, and resignation. Our meetings have never heard any others. I assert that we are not, we do not wish to be, spouters of humanity, agitators of philanthropy, and from this place, where we are in safety, where we live under the protection of the laws and public authority, to hurl into our colonies I know not what arbitrary principles, pregnant with disorder and ruin, and to carry away at once the colonists, the masters, and the slaves. No; this would be both crime and cowardice; for, while we should receive applauses without danger in banquets like this, or on the resounding marble of the tribune, we should endanger our brethren, our fellow-citizens, in the colonies—the first object of our duty and our affection. (Unanimous applause.)

What, then, do we wish! That which has been told you, and that by mouths which add authority to their words; not to effect, but to prevent a revolution; to restore a principle, and to preserve our colonial society. We wish, gradually, slowly, prudently, to introduce the black into the enjoyment of humanity, to which we invite him under the tutelage of the mother-country, as a child to complete her family, and not as a savage to destroy it. We desire it on the indispensable conditions of indemnity to the colonists, of gradual initiation for the slave: we wish that the conducting of the blacks to liberty may be a progressive and secure passage from one rank to another rank, and not an abyss in which all would be engulphed—planters and blacks, property, labour, and colonies. See, gentlemen, what revolutionists we are! We say to the colonists, Fear nothing: our justice and our power is there to guarantee your wealth and your safety. We say to the slaves, Do not attempt to obtain any thing by other means than by public opinion: you will have no liberty but what we shall have prepared for you—but what will blend itself with good order and labour. If you call this revolution, then indeed we are revolutionists—revolutionists, like order! revolutionists, like the law! revolutionists, like religion! revolutionists, like Fenelon, like Mirabeau, like Fox, like Canning, like O'Connell, like the most conservative ministers of Great Britain; like all those great legislators and statesmen who find that a social truth has, by evidence, fixed itself in the opinion of a people, and boldly take it from the hands of philosophers in order to place it in those of the legislator, in the region of facts. May God give us many revolutionists of this species, and destructive revolutions will wait a long time! (New applause.)

We excite, we cherish, do you say, hope among the blacks! See, what a crime! You do not know, then, that the only punishment which God has not permitted man to inflict upon his fellow is despair! You do not know, then, that nothing sustains patience like hope, and that there are no bayonets, nor squadrons, nor prisons, nor manacles, which can equal, in order to retain the blacks in obedience and tranquillity, the assurance that the mother-country, that the government, seriously occupies itself with their condition—that ray of hope which issues from hence to gleam upon their last hour of servitude, and to show them from afar domestic happiness and liberty. (Applause).

So much for the first accusation.

And now, is it true that we are not patriots, because we wish to give a country to a whole race of men, proscribed, and without a home under the sun! Is it true that we are less patriotic than those who, while congratulating themselves on having all the benefits of civilized life, are not willing that others should possess them! Does the heritage of the children of God upon this earth resemble that limited heritage of the father of a family, where some of the children have a smaller portion in order that a larger may be given to their brothers! No, you know it well. The vast domain of the common Father of men is without bounds: it extends itself, with civilization and labour, as far as new races present themselves to cultivate it; it is infinite in space, in rights, in facilities, in resources. It is the field of God. He who bounds it, and who says to others "You shall not enter here," not only encroaches upon man—he encroaches upon God himself. He is not only unfeeling and cruel, he is blasphemous and insane. (Lively assent.)

Would it not be well to understand clearly what is called patriotism, in order that we may not eternally repel, as reproaches,

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ill-defined terms, which alienate our thoughts from one another, and sow error and irritation among men, and among nations!

Patriotism is the primary feeling, the first duty of man, attached by nature to his country above all, by all the ties of family and of nationality, which is but a family on an extended scale. He who should not be a patriot would not be a complete man; he would be a *nomade*. Why is it so honourable to die for one's country! It is because one dies for something more than one's self, for something divine, for the duration and perpetuity of that immortal family which has begotten us, and from which we have received every thing. (Cheers.)

But there are two kinds of patriotism. There is one which consists of all the enmities, of all the prejudices, of all the coarse antipathies, which people brutalized by governments interested in disuniting them nourish one against another. I detest thoroughly, I despise thoroughly, I hate thoroughly, neighbouring and rival nations; therefore I am a good patriot! This is the brutal axiom of some men at the present day. You see that this patriotism costs little: it is sufficient to be ignorant, to revile, and to hate. (Loud cheering.)

There is another kind of it, which, on the contrary, is made up of all the truths, of all the resources, of all the rights, which men have in common, and which, while cherishing its own country before all others, permits its sympathies to flow beyond the limits of races, languages, and frontiers, and looks upon different nations as the units which compose that one great whole, of which nations are the rays, but civilization is the centre. This is the patriotism of religion, of philosophers, and of the greatest statesmen; this was the patriotism of the men of 1789, that of your fathers, that which, by the contagiousness of ideas, has acquired more influence for our country than even the armies of your imperial epoch, and which preserved them most effectually. Yes, our own ancestors of 1789 showed us, in 1792, that those who dared to love mankind knew how to die for their country.

Them also they calumniated, reviled, and sought to deliver up to the derision and anger of the people! Them also they accused of being the dupes or the accomplices of the machiavelian designs of England, to destroy our colonies in regenerating them. They replied by naming their pretended accomplices in the parliament and associations of Great Britain. And who were they! Who were these pretended conspirators against the liberty, the rights, and the security of our colonies! These pretended enemies of France, who were they, gentlemen! Precisely those who, representing the opposition, combatted with the greatest perseverance the hostile and jealous sentiments of the English government, against our allies, against our revolution, against ourselves! It was Wilberforce! It was Sheridan! It was Lord Holland! It was Fox! It was the French party! It was the most enthusiastic advocates of the influence of your liberty throughout the world—those men who exclaimed in full parliament, that to separate France from England would be to mutilate European civilization; or who would have said with Fox and O'Connell, that France and England were together the pedestal of modern liberty, the pedestal on which the statue of humanity would be raised to the greatest elevation upon record. Behold the conspirators! To name them is to acquit them.

The susceptibilities of the two countries, naturally irritable after the painful political collisions which have taken place between them, have been excited. Mr. Scoble has touched on this point with as much loyalty as delicacy; I thank him for it. I would have avoided it; but it is better to explain one's self openly and without reserve. Public feeling has been unnecessarily aroused concerning a treaty, the time for which was badly chosen, and its extension and forms ill devised; but the principle of which (it was our own) cannot be abandoned by us, and was, in my opinion, honoured in the intentions of those who negociated it. (Slight murmurs.)

What, gentlemen! because, upon specified shores, on points determined with prudence, and on parts of the ocean which we mean to define and to guard with all possible guarantees for our commerce, and the utmost respect for our honour, this flag would be united with that of entire civilized Europe to repress an infamous commerce in men! Is it fitting the dignity of the French flag that it should consent to cover with inviolability the crime of those foreign vessels, those 'tween decks, those floating charnel-houses filled with human victims, instead of a great and sacred principle of humanity and liberty, for the benefit of man and in the name of God! Ah! it was not thus that the honour of the flag of France was understood by the orator and statesman who, presiding at that day in the national assembly, saluted it for the first time from the height of the tribune. "The national colours of France," cried Mirabeau, "will go forth upon the seas, and be the symbol of this brotherhood of the friends of liberty all over the world." What would the great prophet of the destinies of the revolution have said, if they had told him that, fifty years from the day on which he gave utterance to those beautiful words, they would dare to invoke for the pirates of America, Portugal, or Spain, the right of sheltering their crimes under the inviolability of the tricoloured flag! He would not have believed it; and with reason. France does not will it!

Once more, gentleman, let us brave these miserable yelpings of an odious interest, hiding itself under the honourable guise of national sentiment, which will, however, soon detect the shameful combinations which it serves to veil. Patriotism will withdraw its mantle, and interested selfishness will blush to be discovered in all its nakedness, and in all its weakness! A name has just been pronounced, the venerated name of a man who passed through the same trials as ourselves, and triumphed over them—for every truth has its calvary, where it must suffer before it can triumph. This man was the apostle of the abolition of the slave-trade—it was Wilberforce! He pre-eminently struggled, during forty years, for the restoration of one proscribed race; and he struggled with that fixedness of purpose and calm determination which belong only to those men who devote themselves to one idea, because an idea is a thing which does not die, an eternal thing; it partakes, so to speak, of the duration of him who lives and endures for ever—of God. Those who in his time called themselves practical men, often held up his intentions and his conscientiousness to the derision of the politicians of Great Britain. He did not, however, despair; and there was a day, a glorious day, in his life, a day for which he seems to have lived all the long number of his years. This was the day when the parliament of his country passed the act of emancipation—the 28th of July, 1833. Wilberforce yet lived; but, as if he had waited for the reward of his life before quitting it, his last hour drew near when his friends came to announce to him that the liberating act was passed, and that his idea was realized; his derided idea, calumniated, reviled, torn like the garments of martyrs, during half a century, had become a law of his country, and would very soon become a law of humanity! The holy old man, who was already absorbed in the thoughts of eternity, and who for a long time had not uttered a word, seemed to revive like a flame on the stirring of the cinders; he joined his hands, attenuated by old age and worn out by toil; he lifted them towards heaven, from whence he had derived his strength, and from whence had come the victory; he blessed God, he said, as the author of all things. "My object is accomplished: I die content!" And a few moments afterwards his spirit rose into eternity, carrying before God the chains of a million of men. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, let us place always before our eyes this example of patience triumphing over the injustice and prejudice of the age, and let us pray God that half a century of labours and calumnies may deserve for us a similar result. (Applause.)

I request in my turn to propose a toast analogous to the sentiments which unite us all. Gentlemen, to the unity of nations; a unity of ideas and of religion by means of intellectual communication—languages, and by means of material communication—railroads; to that unity which centuples the resources of the human race by the power of association, and prepares for a divine unity, namely, the brotherhood of all races and of all men.

M. ODILLON BARROT.—Gentlemen, it is the property of a good and holy cause, like ours, to be capable of being advocated under different aspects. I am in perfect unison of intention and sentiment with M. de Lamartine, with respect to the principle and object of the great work of slave-emancipation, to which he brings the aid of his pure and elevated genius; but he will pardon me for differing with him as to some of the means of accomplishing it. Thanks be to God, the cause of the abolition of slavery is gained, irrevocably gained, in our country, both as to right and principle. Who now in France, in this land which but to touch is to be free, will have the melancholy courage to assert that man can have a right of property over his fellow! Let such an one commence by snatching from the body which he would possess the soul which makes it a man, his fellow, his equal before God! What! You acknowledge that the slave has a conscience, you allow him a free choice, because you judge and punish him; and do you afterwards assimilate him to an animal, to a thing capable of appropriation! Ah! it is not such and such men, it is not such and such a nation, it is the human conscience which revolts against a pretension so absurd! Let property—the right of using and abusing—embrace the material world, its dominion is thus sufficiently vast; but that it should extend to man, to that divine creature who belongs not to himself, this is an insult to God and man—it is sacrilege! (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, M. de Lamartine has just told you, with that admirable poetry which is the language also of truth and good sense, that the question has left the hands of the moralist and the philosopher, to enter those of the legislator. The principle of abolition is secured; we draw near, I hope, to its realization. Let us not then embarrass such a position. Let us guard against bringing the public sympathy with the abolition of slavery into collision with the sentiment, not less respectable, of national honour. Our cause will gain nothing by such a conflict. The traffic in slaves was a crime in the eyes of humanity before it became so in the eyes of our country's laws. The indignation which I have ever experienced at a commerce which is infamous in its object, and atrocious in its details, is in no degree weakened in me; but, believe it, each nation is charged with repressing this, as well as every other crime, without alienating or delegating any portion of that sovereignty which no government can alienate or delegate. Nations may unite together to banish slavery from the earth, they may make, in sight of one another and of the civilized world, an engagement to pursue the accomplishment of this noble cause by all proper means; this is an alliance truly holy; but, in the attainment of this common object, each nation must act at full liberty, and preserve its independence. To confound sovereignties, to lose sight of the inviolability either of the territory or the flag, to place this inviolability in abeyance before a foreign jurisdiction, thus to put the sentiments of humanity in opposition to those of national pride, to create a collision between two noble passions, this, instead of raising a power for the abolition of

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slavery, would be to expose it to the greatest danger. Pardon me these reservations; after the deep and lively emotions with which the eloquent words of M. de Lamartine have filled you, nothing less than an imperative sense of duty, and a regard to the interest of our cause itself, could have constrained me to present them to you. (Cheering.)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The state of the Lascars in London is not within our province.

Mr. Abdy's letter to Mr. Tappan does not quite suit us.

Other articles are under consideration.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 6TH.

IN our account of the proceedings which took place in the House of Commons on the 1st of March, in relation to the exportation of labourers from India to Mauritius, the speech of Mr. Hawes was incorrectly reported; and for the sake, both of Mr. Hawes himself, and of Sir Lionel Smith, upon whom a reflection might appear to be cast, we take the earliest opportunity of correcting the error. Mr. Hawes said, "the noble lord (Stanley) had referred to the despatches of Sir Lionel Smith; but even Sir Lionel Smith justified him in doubting the authority of the Mauritians. He said in these very despatches that he looked with extreme jealousy and distrust to the opinion of any person connected with slavery, and that he did not feel inclined to trust much to the professions of parties who were still mourning over the loss of their slaves."

FROM the notice with which the anti-slavery body in this country has recently been favoured by some portions of the public press, it might be suspected that some parties unnamed are pursuing objects of unusual importance. It is not customary to be loud in the abuse of anti-slavery societies, except when their influence is particularly dreaded. We thank our useful, though not very courteous, contemporaries for their note of warning, and shall endeavour not to be wanting in the vigilance and activity which their invectives so distinctly challenge. We are especially indebted on this occasion to the *Courier*, who exhibited us to the public on the 29th ult., in an ultra-violent article, which, but for want of room, we would have transferred to our columns. We will make room for an extract, however, that our readers may appreciate the veraciousness of the writer.

The difficulty remains to be solved—what is to be done for the West India colonies? Labour is wanted; without labour they perish. But the humanity gentlemen will not tolerate the importation of labour in the shape of Hill Coolies from India. They will not hear of Africans fresh from the African coast. For black skins the labour is too severe. But *they kindly condescend to grant a permit for all the importation of white skins from Europe which can be obtained.*

The last sentence is either absolute ignorance, or wilful falsehood.

ON the 22nd of March, Lord Stanley stated in the House of Commons that he should shortly move the appointment of two select committees; the one of them to inquire into the state of the different West India colonies, in reference to the existing relations between employers and labourers, the rate of wages, the supply of labour, the system and expense of cultivation, and the general state of their rural and agricultural economy; and the other into the state of the British possessions on the west coast of Africa, more especially with reference to their present relations with the neighbouring native tribes. It is manifest from the lines of inquiry thus announced, that subjects of the greatest importance are to be taken up; and, indeed, Lord Stanley, in the remarks with which he accompanied his notice of motion, avowed the design to be to overcome, if possible, the difficulties which lie in the way of an extended emigration from Africa to the West Indies. The public has long been aware that the West Indians have been hankering after such a measure, and have been urging the government to its adoption; and we see with unfeigned regret and alarm that the present ministers have so far yielded to their importunities as to appoint the Committees of inquiry to which we have referred. The appointment of the Committees is not, of course, altogether tantamount to a decision of the question, inasmuch as there is a possibility that the result of the inquiry may be such as to defeat the design; but it indicates too plainly the wish and aim of the cabinet. Nor can we say that Lord Stanley has been over scrupulous as to the means of carrying his point. The persons whom he has proposed for his Committees of inquiry are almost without exception such as are either interested in the emigration contemplated, or committed to the approval of it by a public expression of their sentiments; so that, with these bodies, professedly constituted for inquiry, the whole question may be said to be prejudged. Little, however, as may be expected from them of an impartial hearing, they are the instruments by which the friends of humanity must at the present moment work. Evidence must be tendered to them by which the facts of the case may be brought out and set in their true light, and the positions and principles be established on which the friends of humanity object to the obnoxious design. Such an effort will involve much, both of labour and expense; but the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will not hesitate to encounter both. They have indeed already begun; and they solicit from their friends in every quarter references to persons qualified to render them assistance.

We cannot part with the speech of Lord Stanley, without expressing our gratification at the noble testimony which the former part of it contains to the results of emancipation, so far as the blacks are concerned. His lordship here echos what we have often said, and his authority will gain for it, we hope, universal credence. Would that the latter part of his speech had done equal justice to his subject!

AT last the American government has broken ground on the subject of the *Creole*, and a long letter of hypothetical instructions from Mr. Secretary Webster to Mr. Ambassador Everett has appeared in the public papers. Of course the American Secretary represents the case as calling loudly for redress and indemnity. He lays down the broad rule, as the only one that will satisfy his government, that "aid and succour should be extended" to Americans by British functionaries, in cases involving the presence of slaves, as in others affecting the interests of friendly states; and this he would require "as much in the ports of England herself, as of her colonies." That is to say, he would have every British functionary, from the highest to the lowest, enrolled as an assistant constable, in case of need, to American slave-holders. We believe him. The feeble and frightened tyrants of the south would be very glad so vastly to strengthen their "peculiar institution." But most assuredly they will not do it by British sinews. By the decision of British law, neither in Britain nor her colonies can a human being exist in slavery; and a British officer who should dare to bring one into bonds, or hold him there, would do it at his peril. Such is the great and glorious principle which Mr. Webster modestly calls on the British government to abandon! And this on the ground of the comity of nations! As if international courtesies were to have no limit, and could require or justify participation in crimes the most atrocious and abhorred! There is no possibility of such a concession being made by the British government. It is indeed humiliating to see the American cabinet soliciting it, for what, after all, is not a national object. Some of the states of the union as firmly repudiate slavery as Great Britain does, and perpetually refuse that comity to their sister states which is demanded of us. While Mr. Webster cannot persuade the New Englanders to assist the southerners in catching run-away slaves, to lecture the government of Old England on the subject is not only useless, but ridiculous.

In the Congress of the United States, the House of Representatives has been deeply engaged with Mr. Marshall's resolution, proposing to censure Mr. Adams for presenting a petition from some of his constituents for a dissolution of the union. This veteran statesman has sketched so bold an outline for his defence, and marked out for discussion a ground so broad, and containing so many dangerous points for the slave-holders, that the entire party seem to have been smitten with terror. They have in dismay consented to a proposition, in which Mr. Adams has also courteously acquiesced, that the resolutions of censure should be laid on the table; that is to say, in American technical phraseology, that no further notice be taken of them. This motion on being formally put, was carried by a majority of fifteen, and this result is a defeat and humiliation of the pro-slavery party. Public feeling in the north has been on this occasion very strongly excited in favour of the aged champion of liberty, and his struggle on behalf of the right of petition has been duly appreciated; so much so, that he is said by the *Emancipator* to be receiving at this moment higher honours than when he was elected to the presidency.

THE arrival of the British Anti-slavery deputation in Paris, was preceded by the appearance of a hostile pamphlet on the part of the colonists, from the pen of M. Jollivet, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and agent for the colony of Martinique. It has a certain sort of cleverness, but it is altogether unprincipled and unfair. It is entitled *English Philanthropy*, and makes an appeal to all kinds of topics adapted to awaken irritation and contempt towards the English nation. As a sample of his unfairness we may refer to the notice which the writer takes of the case of the *Creole*. He artfully misapplies our commendation of the forbearance of the slaves to their deeds of bloodshed, and then says "he leaves the *facts*, without comment to the indignation of his country!" He goes on to exclaim:—

"Thanks be to God, English philanthropy has not yet gangrened us! Fanaticism has not yet rendered us cruel! I doubt if there can be found in France a man (I do not except even the correspondent of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, M. Isambert), a single man, who dares to apologise for a black acquiring his liberty by assassination! Such a man has been found in England. It is Lord Denman, chief justice of the court of Queen's bench, and member of the house of lords. Lord Aberdeen, minister of foreign affairs, had declared that the British government had not power to bring the parties accused of revolt and murder to trial, and that the secre-

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tary for the colonies had sent out orders to release the nineteen persons who had at first been arrested. Lord Denman declared in his turn, that 'the opinion of Lord Aberdeen was concurred in by all the judges sitting at Westminster Hall;' and coolly added, 'At all events, your lordships will learn with pleasure, that two hundred human beings in a state of slavery have acquired their liberty!'"

It would, perhaps, surprise M. Jollivet to know how many millions of people in England sympathise in the joy thus expressed by Lord Denman. Is there a man in France, M. Jollivet alone excepted, who does not!

As his concluding topic, M. Jollivet takes up the continued existence of slavery in British India, concerning which our own pages have furnished him all the information he seems to possess, and he finishes with a recommendation to British abolitionists to "occupy themselves less with the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, and more with the abolition of slavery in India." This hit was to be expected, and we take the advice in good part. We shall endeavour to pursue the abolition of slavery in India with so much vigour as shall give consistency to our efforts, which will yet be continued, for its abolition in the colonies of France, and throughout the world.

In the Guiana papers we find an account of a public meeting of the coloured classes, and the formation of a society for the promotion of their common interests. We hail the token, and wish them both zeal and wisdom. The following remarks on the subject are from the *Gazette and Advertiser*:

The object of the meeting was highly laudable, and the society which it was proposed to establish might, if conducted with unanimity and vigour, be productive of very beneficial consequences. In times past there has been, for obvious reasons, a great disposition on the part of those who had African blood in their veins to sink as much as possible that portion of their pedigree, and to separate themselves as far as might be from the mass of the population. The consequence has been divisions among themselves, breaking them up into a number of hostile little coteries, and a total separation between the mass of the community and those whose education might fit them, and whose position and descent would point them out, as the natural leaders and instructors of the mass of the people. Any thing that might be effectually done to reverse this order of things, and so to give to the community a greater uniformity of feeling, would be very beneficial.

We have inserted elsewhere an extract from a letter of the rev. W. Ketley, of Demerara, in relation to the state of British Guiana. Although it was written before the outbreak of the late disturbances, it contains statements highly deserving of regard, especially with respect to the sums of money supposed to be in the possession of the peasantry, and their competency to the purchase of estates.

We are authorized to state that the letter on emigration to Jamaica, which appeared in our columns on the 9th ult., was from the pen of the Rev. George Wilkinson, an agent of the London Missionary Society, now resident in Kingston.

From the *Times* of the 4th instant we copy the following extract of a letter from the Madrid correspondent of that paper. Having no other information, we insert it as we find it; merely adding that, from the particulars stated, the conduct of Mr. Turnbull has evidently been such as to deserve the admiration and gratitude of all true-hearted abolitionists.

The *Espectador*, a ministerial journal, announces the recall of Mr. Turnbull, British Consul at the Havana. "The Spanish government," it says, "had repeatedly demanded his removal. The acquiescence of the English cabinet shows its good faith. It is certain that the consul had incessantly raised, as an abolitionist, questions which spread agitation and alarm among the population of the island of Cuba. Mr. Turnbull carried this mania to such an extent that it was impossible to continue him any longer in his consular post. He had latterly proceeded to Matanzas, where he began to question the people of colour respecting the period of their arrival in the island. The Spanish government pleaded temperately, and with perfect propriety, its right and the justice of its cause; and the British cabinet has hastened to prove to it the good faith with which it is animated."

THE BEY OF TUNIS.

We gave in our last, from a private letter, the answer of the Bey of Tunis to the address borne by Mr. Richardson. We now copy from the *Malta Times* such particulars of the presentation as our limited space will allow.

His Highness having appointed a day for the reception of the testimonial, the British Consul-general, Sir Thomas Reade, made all the requisite preliminary arrangements.

On the morning of the 2nd of February, at an early hour, the Consul-general, Mr. Ferrier the Vice-consul, Mr. Santillana the chancellor of the consulate and his son, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Holman the celebrated blind traveller, left the city of Tunis for Bardo, the far-famed palace of the Beys of that country.

The Bey received us in his private hall of audience. On entering the hall, we found the Bey with several of his ministers standing waiting to receive us. There were present besides his Highness, the treasurer Sidi Mustapha, the intimate friend and greatest favourite of the Bey; Sidi Ahmed Ben Deëff, a private secretary of the Bey, and a very accomplished Arabic scholar; the Cavalier Raffo, the minister of foreign affairs; and M. Bogo, minister of affairs for European residents.

Immediately the Bey saw us he walked up to us with a hurried step, and welcomed us with a most animated countenance. The deportment of the Bey (who is a young man) in the reception of strangers is marked with the greatest sensibility, if not passion, having none of that cold formality about it which is so forbidding in the intercourse of Europeans with Oriental princes. The Bey then, having himself sat down on a simple European chair, commanded his visitors also to sit down beside him, after Mr. Richardson had given the testimonial and the signatures to the minister of foreign affairs, to be presented to the Bey. On receiving the testimonial his Highness gave it to his private secretary to be read, Arabic translations of all the papers having been prepared. Before the reading the Consuls and visitors had coffee served up to them.

The first document read was an address of Mr. Richardson to the Bey: viz.—

"I present to your highness, in the name of that God whom all Christians and Mussulmans worship, an address, or testimonial of gratitude, signed by the British officers, merchants, and residents of Malta and Gozo, Gibraltar, Florence, Leghorn, Naples, Smyrna, and Tripoli, thanking your highness for those PRELIMINARY STEPS which your highness has taken for the abolition of slavery in your dominions.

"Among the names, attached to this testimonial, your highness will find some, nay many British gentlemen of the greatest talent and most eminent rank, who have spontaneously come forward to testify their gratitude and admiration of the noble and philanthropic conduct of your highness to relieve suffering humanity, and build up again the fortunes of Northern Africa!

"We are convinced that your highness has achieved more honour by this act for the abolition of slavery than any Mussulman Prince ever has done by war and conquest, or the promotion of the arts and sciences; and, we feel persuaded that if your highness continues to complete this great work of emancipation for Africa, your highness' name will descend, covered with glory, to the latest periods of the world.

"Our countrymen are deeply sensible of the great merit of the representative of their sovereign at the court of your highness, who has humbly but unceasingly represented to your highness the great good which your highness would accomplish by this measure, and the transcendent reputation which your highness would acquire thereby throughout Europe and the world.

"We are happy to hear, likewise, that enlightened and philanthropic Frenchmen have congratulated your highness on your noble determination to extinguish slavery; for, in this immense measure of humanity, national rivalries can never enter."

Then followed the reading of the testimonial, and afterwards a letter from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was read. During the reading of these documents, the Bey at times shewed himself much agitated, and now and then made ejaculations in Italian and Arabic, putting his hand to his breast, and adding—"*I did it all from my heart!*"

He then addressed Mr. Richardson in nearly the following words:—

"I am much obliged to you, Sir, for the trouble which you have taken in preparing the address, and procuring the signatures. I am extremely grateful to those of your countrymen who have delegated you to present the address to me. I am profoundly sensible of the great honour thus conferred on me. And I will not fail to seize every opportunity which is in my power, to ameliorate the condition of the blacks of Africa. *I began with pleasure the abolition of slavery, and I will not cease to prosecute the great work of emancipation until I have completely extirpated slavery from my dominions.*"

The party now took leave of his highness. It was very flattering to see the cordiality which existed between Sir Thomas Reade and the Bey. They talked together like intimate friends.

We must not close the account of the presentation of the testimonial without recording our thanks to Sidi Ben Ayed, who greatly interested himself in the success of our mission. Sidi Ben Ayed is one of the principal courtiers of his Highness the Bey; he is the most opulent and influential personage in the kingdom of Tunis, and is in great favour. Indeed, his generosity and amiable disposition, together with his knowledge of Christian countries (for he has been in Europe), render him a universal favourite. His family are very powerful, and bear an excellent character. Sidi Ben Ayed, on account of urgent business, was not present at the presentation of the testimonial, but expressed his warmest sympathies for the success of the mission. He has, following the example of his noble and generous master, liberated many of his slaves.

STATE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

(Extract of a Letter from the rev. W. Ketley, dated Dec. 3rd, 1841.)

As to the state of the negros and their abiding good conduct, it strikes me that the most impartial testimony might be gathered from their masters, who, being unaccustomed ever to give them a good name undeservedly, have yet been constrained to speak well of them, however reluctantly. As theirs however, seems to be praise and dispraise almost with the same breath, even when they applaud, it requires but little discrimination to decide on which side truth preponderates. I think it enough that every prediction which, in their predilection for reproaching the negro, they ventured to promulgate, has utterly failed. At present signs appear of a very unsettled state of feeling; but why? On many estates Portuguese immigrants have been located, and, though unequal to the labour of the negro, have been privileged above them. It was the fashion to extol them before the negro; it has been unwisely intimated to these that their services may soon be dispensed with; and one estate near us has been almost denuded of the negro population. I

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observe by the papers, however, that dissatisfaction is now expressed by the planters towards the Portuguese immigrants, and they say we have had enough of them; so that a re-action is taking place. But another, and I strongly apprehend, a fearful ground of discontent has arisen. The planters yesterday had a meeting for combination, at which I should think any man in his senses must see that they put forth a most exaggerated view of their case, especially when they tell us that every hogshead of sugar costs twelve or fourteen dollars more in making than the average market price. What wise man would make another hogshead, if such were the fact? And, to remedy this ruinous loss, they propose to begin in January to give 32 cents for the tariff rate of labour per day. Mr. —— knows what the tariff is, and what heart-burning it has already occasioned. They propose to make no payment unless the day's labour by tariff is completed. They propose further, in every such case to exact 16 cents, that is eightpence, per day for house rent from each labourer who shall fail! They propose to stop all usual allowances—no more to allow them food from the estate (by which I understand plantains grown on the estate), at a moderate charge, as heretofore. They propose not to allow a labourer, if in any case (as when the ground is light, or the grass not heavy) he should be able, to get more than his day's wages by extra labour, &c. &c. And when it is remembered that the people are mostly located on the estates, and have not houses of their own, you will see how entirely they will be at the mercy of their masters when all have combined to act together thus. Before the people will be well aware of this combination of planters I fear great restlessness will prevail, especially if, as I heard yesterday, some have begun already to act even beforehand. Suppose a case. A negro is unwell, so as not to be able to get through his task—he is not ill so as to go to the estates' hospital (where only the doctor is expected to attend), but, by remaining at home two or three days, he hopes to recruit. Because he (or she) is not at the hospital, he is adjudged squatting or idling at home, and is brought into the estate's debt 8d. for every such day. Of such an instance I was told yesterday, producing, as might well be supposed, great discontent, and some are said to be leaving the estate; but where will the discontents be able to go, if other planters under combination choose not to employ them? Such as have lands of their own, as some have, will leave estate cultivation, fairly driven away by whatever you may choose to call it—to me it is not unlike oppression. But a great outcry is made as to the increasing wealth of the negro, and missionaries have so written as to confirm the belief. My opinion is not as theirs. True, upwards of 400 transfers (perhaps 500) of land have been passed to labourers. Have all paid for the land? Can it be said to be theirs in any case when not paid for? In part they have paid; but I fear it will be found that the negro, ignorant of figures and not remarkable for calculation, has been carried beyond his reach. In the paper I send you by this mail you may see that one instance has already occurred, at Plantation Blyden Hall, where already the labourers who had purchased have failed to fulfil their engagements, and it has returned to its proprietor. This to me is signal. The same paper informs you that 80,000 dollars have been engaged to be paid by labourers for a plantation to be called *Victoria*; but you read also that half, *i.e.* 40,000 dollars has been, or (mark the words) *is to be*, paid in hard cash—the rest when? It is one thing to affix a time for payment, another to fulfil it. I also know of a purchase where half is paid and half to be paid; but the question is, will the negros be able to meet it. But it will be said that they must have been exceedingly well off, and have had enormous wages, to be able even to advance so much. This is a fallacy. I have spoken to several negros, inquiring how they had been able to make such purchase; and they have replied that many of them have thrown their money together, forming in each case a joint company—that, when they were slaves they reared stock and planted provision on waste parts of the estate; and, as the master had to give them fish and plantains, most of them who wanted to take care put their bits up in a safe place, and so it became much a little at a time; but that now they are free it is not so, every thing is dear, and it is hard to lay by without self-denial. But how then do you expect to fulfil your engagement? They reply it is our intention to work most of our time for our former masters, and our wives always will be at work; and, what time we can spare, we shall help such of our older brothers who will try to plant provisions, to sell and pay the balance. I may be as gloomy in my forebodings as any planter in some people's estimation, but still I do forebode; I do not believe the negros are getting wealthy, and, if the planters' combination stands, they never will. But I have said nothing of the ruinous taxation on provisions which our legislature will contrive shortly, if possible, to put on the lands and productions of our negro friends—which, if not paid in due time, will be followed by the knock of the hammer; and then what will become of negro wealth? Why, it will be said they had plenty of money to buy their estates, and were too lazy to cultivate them, and so they have come to want, as predicted by the planters! And are there no indications of such imputations already? I think a careful reading of the papers will show you that there are.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

IN the account of the proceedings of the anti-slavery deputation to Paris, it was stated "the deputies dined with M. Guizot."

As this might be understood to include the whole deputation, it seems right to explain that three of the number,* one from England, one from Ireland, and one from Scotland, thought it best, under the circumstances, to decline the invitation, although fully sensible that it was an unusual act of courtesy from the minister of foreign affairs.

Yours sincerely and respectfully, JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, Fourth Month 2nd, 1842.

* Messrs. Sturge, Dunlop, and Dr. Madden.—ED.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 22.

Lord STANLEY rose to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice—viz., for a select committee to inquire into the state of the British possessions on the west coast of Africa, more especially with reference to their present relations with the neighbouring native tribes; and a select committee to inquire into the state of the different West Indian colonies, in reference to the existing relations between employers and labourers, the rate of wages, the supply of labour, the system and expense of cultivation, and the general state of their rural and agricultural economy. He said that, at that late hour of the night, he should be very unwilling to trespass unnecessarily on the indulgence of the house; but he thought the house would perceive that, standing in the situation which he had the honour to fill, and having two committees to propose—and his observations in respect of them would be confined to a single address—it was impossible for him to enter on the inquiry into subjects so important without offering a few words to the house, while furnishing documents in respect of those great interests which he was about to advocate. He felt that, in doing so, he should not be able to call the attention of the house to topics of local or controversial interest, but he thought he might fairly claim their indulgence on a subject of immense importance to the interests of the country; and, considering how deeply he was involved in this question, and the situation he held, it was natural that he should be anxious for the great experiment which he was the organ of proposing. And he was happy to say that, so far as regarded the result of that great experiment on the whole of the population of the West Indies that had been emancipated, he believed he might say without exception, that it had been satisfactory beyond the most sanguine expectation of the most ardent colonial well-wisher. In every island, not only had physical prosperity increased to a great extent, but, what was more gratifying still, there had been a continuance of industrious habits, of improvement in the social system and religious and moral habits, and of all those qualities which were of infinitely more importance than the animal comfort of the parties (hear). He thought he might safely state to the house, that he had not exaggerated the present social condition of the West India colonies, so far as related to the labouring population, when, in an official statement, which it had become his duty to draw up not long ago, in answer to the supposed failure of the great experiment of emancipation, he had ventured to state that, since the Emancipation Act, the negros had become thriving and contented, had improved their manner of living, increased their comforts of enjoyment, and, while the offences against the laws had become less, their moral habits had become better. The number of marriages among them had increased, and they possessed knowledge and information, influenced in a great degree by the ministers of religion. Such had been the results of emancipation; and, as far as related to the primary objects of the act, the success had been complete. He would not read many extracts to the house, but he could not help calling their attention for a short time to some of the representations which had been made by persons in authority in the West Indies, with regard to the present condition and prospects of the negros; and, although the condition of the various islands varied according to their different circumstances, the prosperity of the labourer, and of the planter also, was more conspicuous in the thinly peopled and fertile new colonies, than in the old more densely peopled colonies. He believed, however, that the facts were more or less applicable to the whole of the colonies throughout the West India islands. He excluded the colony of the Mauritius, and confined himself to the West India colonies. And the observations with which he was about to trouble the house had reference to the colonies of Jamaica and Demerara. In 1840, Sir Charles Metcalfe gave the following report:—Six years after the passing of the Emancipation Act, and after two of his government, he said that the present condition of the peasantry in the island of Jamaica was very striking. He did not suppose that any peasantry had so many comforts or so much independence. Their behaviour was peaceable, and in some respects cheerful. They were found to attend Divine service in good clothes, many of them riding on horses. They sent their children to school, and paid for their schooling, and not only attended the churches of their different communities, but subscribed for their respective churches. Their piety was remarkable, and he was happy to add, that in most respects they deserved what they had. They were generally well ordered, free from crime, had much improved in their habits, and were constant in their attendance on Divine worship themselves, and in the attendance of their children, and were willing to pay the expenses. The last report of Sir Charles Metcalfe was on the 4th November, 1841, and he (Lord Stanley) had received it with regret, because it contained the resignation of his government, during which he had rendered most valuable services to the colony. Sir Charles Metcalfe said that, with respect to the labouring population, formerly slaves but now perfectly free, they were more independent than in other free countries. He ventured to say that in no country in the world could the labouring population be more provided with the comforts of life, or more at ease, or more free from oppression than were the peasantry of the island of Jamaica. The next statement he (Lord Stanley) would read to the house was by a stipendiary magistrate. He said, it would appear wonderful how so much had been accomplished in the island in building, planting, and digging, and making fences, without a cessation of labour on the part of the population. The reason was, that the emancipation from bondage to new hopes, new desires, and new responsibilities, strengthened the exertions of the negro, and enabled him to labour in his own plantation, and to spare time to labour in the plantations of others. And to that statement was attached a most singular document, which showed the number in one parish, not of those who had landed possessions, but of those who had entered their names as being the owners of property liable to taxation, and who had stated their willingness as freemen to bear their proportion of the public imposts. In that parish, in 1836, there were 317 names; in 1840, 1321; and in 1841, 1866. And the number of freeholders, who had become freeholders by their accumulations and industry in the island of Jamaica, was, in 1838, 2114, and in the space of two years, in 1840, their number had increased to 7340. He felt confident that he was not wearying the attention of the house by stating circumstances so important and so gratifying as they must be to the country at large, by whose liberality and generous sacrifice, never before paralleled in any country, so pure in

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its measure had been called into operation. He was sure that even at that late hour, he should not be considered unnecessarily trespassing on the house, while he stated what had been the result of that great and generous sacrifice on the negro population of the colonies. He had a statement now before him of the wages which could be earned by an able-bodied labourer, willing to work for six or seven hours a day, in the colony of Demerara. It appeared that the net amount earned in 1840 was not less than £23 in wages actually paid in money—a house and provision grounds, worth £15, and medical attendance, which cost £3, in all £41, beside the advantages of having churches and schools free from parochial or any other rates whatever. There was another statement before him, saying, that the resources of the colony were great if there were only hands for their development, and that there was no country in the world, in which houses, provisions, grounds, medical attendance, schools, chapels, and ministers, were more within the reach of the masses, or where the masses were more protected in their rights than in that colony. And what was the consequence of all this prosperity on the negro mind? Had it led to habits of vagrancy and indolence? Had it led the negros to abandon the pursuits of industry, and to give up the cultivation of the soil? He might mention the mode in which the wages were applied by the labourers who accumulated them. In 1839, some of them bought an abandoned sugar estate for 30,000 dollars, or £2000. sterling, two-thirds of it being paid down in hard dollars, and the remaining portion being agreed to be paid within three weeks. The person who made this statement to him added, that they intended replanting the estate, and that this entire transaction spoke volumes against the alleged idleness of the negros, and showed that they preferred to remain on the dear but cultivated estates of the colony, rather than go into the uncultivated districts where estates might be purchased for a mere trifle. In 1840, an estate in the neighbourhood of Annandale, on the east coast, was purchased by 140 or 150 labourers, for 50,000 dollars, or £11,000 sterling. 20,000 dollars had been offered for another estate on the same coast, but the bargain had not been yet concluded. The same things happened in Berbice. 20,000 dollars were offered for an estate on the west coast of that island. The sums offered on these occasions were in ready money, and were the market prices of the estates. The last account on this subject he had received within a short period indeed. On the 30th of November last, Governor Light wrote to say that another estate on the east coast had been purchased for 80,000 dollars, or £16,000 sterling; 30,000 dollars having been paid in hand, 5000 having been paid within a month after the contract had been entered into, and the remainder being agreed to be paid within a short time after possession should have been given up; and that, out of 200 negros who had entered into the contract, 100 had already paid down 400 dollars each; one man, who, from keeping a horse and gig, was supposed to be wealthier than the others, having contributed 2000 dollars. The result of the emancipation had been, in the first instance, that large and exorbitant wages had been demanded by the negros; and, in the next place, that they became thrifty and frugal, and were laying by their savings, acquiring property, and industriously improving their condition. He could multiply instances of this description, but that he was afraid of wearying the house, with regard to the conduct of these labourers, and the manner in which they applied their money and accumulated property. Governor Light, in another despatch, written soon after the 1st of August, 1840, said that he had not thought it necessary to make that anniversary a day of thanksgiving, but that it was most satisfactory to regard the conduct of the working classes, who appeared to sink the remembrance of their past state in the present enjoyment of freedom. Governor Light said that he visited Essequibo in 1838, and again in 1840, and that it was gratifying to report the change which had taken place in the bearing and habits of the negros since 1838. In the following year he repeated his visit, and he found, in parts where there had been scarcely a house standing before, that houses were now numerous, and that eighteen properties had been sold to the negros in small lots, on which they erected neat cottages, and that a respectable village, with a good church and school, had sprung up there. There was a new settlement three miles eastward of Essequibo, and near to Williamstown, where the congregation was numerous, attentive, and well-dressed. As far as the negros were concerned, the experiment had been most successful. They had more than vindicated the hopes which had been entertained of them by the advocates of emancipation. They proved the value which they set upon, and they took every opportunity to make the best return in their power, for the gift of freedom conferred on them by the British parliament. If the house wanted another proof of the success of the experiment, they would find it, not in the amount of produce raised in those colonies, but in the amount of the exports from this country to them during the periods preceding and following emancipation. There had been, no doubt, a diminution in the amount of sugar raised in those colonies, but nothing could be a better proof of the success of the experiment than the amount of the produce exported to them from this country. The average value of the exports during the six years preceding the apprenticeship was £2,783,000 from 1825 to 1838 £3,578,000, and in the first year of freedom £4,002,465 —(hear, hear). It was true that there was a depression last year, but yet the exports amounted to £3,492,734. He would not trouble the house with details with regard to schools, chapels, and churches. He thought that he had now said enough to show what was the state of improvement in the social condition of the negros in those colonies. If they were the only parties whose interests were concerned in the welfare of those colonies, it would not be now a part of his duty to call on the house to appoint a select committee, for the purpose of investigating the various subjects connected with the rural and agricultural economy of the West Indies. Notwithstanding this great prosperity on the part of the negros, for which he could not be unthankful for having been instrumental in persuading the British parliament to confer the boon of freedom on that ill-treated race, yet he could not shut his eyes to the fact that, though the great and paramount object of the advocates of emancipation had been realised, yet the causes which led to the present results with regard to the negros were productive, not only of great and unmerited hardship on the planters, but of serious injury to the commerce of the British empire—and he could not disguise from himself or from the house the fact, that the West India planters were now suffering serious loss and serious injury. And it would be his duty to ask the house of commons to take into consideration, and to investigate before a select committee, what were the causes of these losses; and, if they appeared to admit of a remedy, to consider what means could be adopted for the modification or mitigation of the distress. It could not be denied that the prosperity of the planters in the West Indies depended mainly upon sugar; and, when he looked at the quantity of sugar exported from the West Indies in comparative periods of years, he found that in the same period of years to which he had referred when speaking of the labourers, namely, in the six years which preceded emancipation, the average amount was 3,965,000 cwt.; in the period of apprenticeship the average fell to 3,058,000 cwt.; and in the first year of freedom, it sunk again to 2,824,000 cwt.; and in the year 1840, it fell from 3,000,000 cwt., which had been its original average, to 2,810,000 cwt. If the house would allow him to enter into these details, he did not wish to produce any impression of an exaggerated nature, but admitted that the diminished quantity of sugar produced had been made up to the planters of late years by the increased price which they received, and that, although there was a smaller amount of produce, yet, when he looked at the amount received in the six years preceding emancipation, he found it to be 5,320,000 dollars; in the four years of apprenticeship 6,223,000 dollars; in the first year of freedom 5,530,000 dollars; in the next year 5,424,000; and, although in this year there would be a large reduction, still there would be a fair remuneration for what was lost by the diminution of produce. The planters, therefore, had not sustained any very serious diminution of their income from this cause; but they had suffered a very serious and ruinous expense in the cultivation of their estates from the want and scantiness of labour—from the abstraction of labour in consequence of the industrious application of the labourers to their own farms —from their having become possessors of property, instead of mere cultivators of the soil. In consequence of this, the planters were compelled to pay exorbitant and enormous wages, and, from the information he had received, he believed that, in several of the colonies, so extravagant were the rate of wages and the expenses of cultivation, that unless some remedy could be provided, it would be impossible for the owners to cultivate many of the estates. He would beg leave to state one case, which was deserving of being made a subject of investigation by a committee, and of being tested by the cross-examination of witnesses, which was a much more satisfactory process than could be adopted upon any written statements, which were not liable to such a course of investigation. He had some reports on the subject from Trinidad, where a committee of planters had collected evidence as to the result of the enormous expenses incurred in the cultivation of estates. Another committee had been appointed on the same subject in Demerara, and he must say, that from those reports it appeared impossible for cultivation to be carried on, if they contained statements at all approximating to the truth. He had a report of sixty-two sugar estates from the 1st of January to the 31st of October, 1841, in which period the expenditure was 1,091,000 dollars, while the return was 217,000 dollars, making a gross loss upon the whole of the estates of 874,000 dollars; and from November to December the same committee stated the expense to be 1,295,000, and the total revenue 312,000 dollars, the loss being 983,000 dollars. He did not, of course, pretend to vouch for the precise accuracy of these statements. He could only say they were founded upon the report of a committee who had investigated the subject very carefully, having directed their inquiries to the estates of those planters who had hitherto carried on their plantations with most success and prosperity. Governor Light, who, whatever might be his predilections, could not be accused of being unduly prejudiced in favour of the planters, was not satisfied with this result, but he had forwarded to him (Lord Stanley) a despatch, in which he said he had the honour to transmit a statement made to him by a gentleman who had always been of moderate opinions, and well disposed to the government. He did not, however, wish his name to be mentioned, and therefore the governor withheld it, as well as the names of the estates referred to, designating them only by numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4. This statement he said would afford proof of the ruinous expenditure on these four estates; and, if all other estates were in the same condition, the position of the planters must be very disastrous indeed. The statement was not so bad as some relating to other places, but it confirmed a representation of the condition of four of the best estates in Demerara, on the authority of a gentleman whom he (Lord Stanley) did not know, but who was represented as being a man of moderate opinions, and perfectly competent to form a judgment on the subject. The result of the statement was, that, upon one of the four estates, there had been an excess of revenue over the expenditure of 5,981,000 dollars, being the difference between 37,000,000 and 49,000,000, while on the other three estates there had been an actual loss. These statements he should wish to have subjected to the investigation of a committee, and he thought they were well deserving the attention of a committee of the house of commons. It was of the utmost importance that they should be considered dispassionately, calmly, and deliberately, as he was sure they would be by any committee which should be appointed to investigate the subject. Well, now, the planters were naturally very anxious that a remedy should be provided for this state of things, and it was quite clear that there were two remedies, and only two remedies, by which the cultivation of those estates could be profitably carried on; the one was by a reduction of the expenses of cultivation by the introduction of a better mode of management, and that would require to be specially considered, and the other by practically increasing the population by encouraging immigration into the colonies; thus, by competition, diminishing the wages of labour, and enabling the planters to cultivate their estates at a more reasonable expense. He should not at present enter upon the details of the first mode. There were various points connected with it well worthy of attention—such, for example, as whether it would be possible to introduce a system somewhat assimilated to our English one, placing the labourers somewhat in the condition of tenants, and giving them an interest dependent upon, and inseparable from, that of the landlords, and rendering them participators in the benefits arising from the improvement of the soil, and the increase of the amount of the produce. He knew that there might be some practical difficulties in the way of such arrangement, but it would be well to consider how far they were capable of being surmounted. It would also be necessary to consider how far it would be practicable to save manual labour on various parts of an estate. On these points it would be highly desirable that persons conversant with cultivation in the West Indies should be examined by other parties conversant with cultivation in this country. With regard to immigration, all the details would prove that, as far as it

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affected the labourers, so far as it had been carried on with regard to all persons of African descent, whether liberated Africans from the coast of Africa, or immigrants from the United States, or from the neighbouring islands, the effect had been satisfactory—there had been little of disease, nothing of suffering, and little of mortality, and all persons of African descent were living proofs of the success of the scheme. They were satisfied with their condition, the persons who had received them were satisfied with their conduct, and it was admitted that their condition was improved. He wished he could say the same of immigrants from Europe; but he was bound in truth to state—and he wished to state it publicly—that, so far as he could judge from the immigration of persons from Europe to Jamaica or Demerara—particularly into those parts to which immigrants naturally resorted—namely, the low lands of the country, there had been a dreadful degree of suffering, which had had a fatal effect upon the health and lives of persons so circumstanced: and, in justice to the colony, he was bound to say, that, so sensible were they of the fact, that, desirous as they naturally were of procuring an accession of labour, a resolution had been proposed in the house of assembly, discouraging immigration at the expense of the public from the British islands or other parts of Europe. Some immigration had been carried on to Demerara by the Portuguese. Those who so immigrated had made themselves very useful to the persons into whose employment they entered—principally the shopkeepers in towns—and had proved very industrious; but unfortunately their introduction was accompanied, in the first instance, by a very great degree of suffering, and the mortality was not less than from 7 to 10 per cent. of the whole number. Under these circumstances he had felt it his duty to lay a statement before the Portuguese government that they should not suffer their subjects to emigrate to a British colony, where they might be subjected to so much suffering. If that were permitted to go on, it might be made a subject of complaint hereafter; and he had therefore felt it his duty to communicate to the Portuguese government the whole of the information he had received on the subject, and to caution them against allowing their subjects to expose themselves to such a lamentable degree of suffering and mortality as they might be liable to in those islands. In passing, he was happy to say that in the colony of Demerara, even the accounts of the Hill Coolies, who were certainly a class of persons which, next to Europeans, suffered most, were much more favourable than at an early period, and represented that the recent mortality among them had been very trifling—(hear, hear). Now, it was quite clear that, as far as immigration was concerned, the coast of Africa was the quarter from which the colonies expected the largest supply; and he (Lord Stanley) should not be dealing fairly by the house, he should not be dealing fairly by the colonies or the country, if he did not state that he saw very great objection, and doubt, and obstacles in the way of anything like an unlimited emigration from Africa. He thought it would be likely to give rise to a suspicion of much more abuse than at present existed, and also give rise to the jealousy of foreign powers; and, though he was convinced that a perfectly free emigration from the coast of Africa to our West India colonies would place the emigrant in more favourable circumstances than he was in at present in his own country, and, if the stream of emigration could be kept up, with the constant opportunity afforded the emigrant of returning to Africa, he believed that no step which could be taken would be so effectual for the promotion of the interests of humanity, and the extension of civilisation, and religion also, among the tribes on the coast of Africa, still it was a subject to be dealt with with the greatest caution and care, for he did not pretend to say that the difficulties had been understated. For this purpose he intended to move for the appointment of another committee, whose inquiries should be simultaneous with the inquiries of the committee into the state of agriculture in the West Indies. He wished for a committee to inquire into the state of the settlements on the coast of Africa, particularly with reference to their relation to the labouring classes. The house was aware that this country possessed along the Gold coast a number of detached ports or settlements, occupied by British subjects living under an anomalous form of government; at one time held by the crown, but now managed exclusively by a committee of merchants, who administered what was called British law, which was administered without the appurtenances of British law, for there was neither judge nor jury; indeed, the law was rather crudely administered—(a laugh). But in the immediate neighbourhood of and all round these forts were native tribes, intimately connected by trade and commerce with these forts, and to a great degree influenced by the merchants within these forts; and it was of the greatest importance that we should well consider the precise relations—the legal and real relations—in which we stand in regard to these surrounding natives—(hear). At present there was a certain degree of British law administered without British machinery, and administered also out of British districts without any legal authority. Under the law so administered sentences were passed, persons imprisoned, and debts recovered, and all that related to law, without the legality of jurisdiction, carried on with all the semblance of authority. Perhaps this state of things was a necessary evil, but at the same time it was an evil. It left those tribes in great doubt as to our real authority, and tended to produce a power which was at once acknowledged to have passed the limits of law, and which placed no limits on its own encroachments, except at its own discretion or indiscretion. If these settlements, thus occupying perhaps not more than a square mile or two, were made the ports from which emigration was to be conducted between Africa and the West India colonies, one of two things must occur. The neighbouring tribes, or the greater portion of them, were in a state of domestic slavery. He believed there were some tribes who were free; and he should like it to form one of the inquiries of the committee, to ascertain which were the tribes that were really free, and had the disposal of their labour and persons at their own free will. Among a great majority, however, there was no doubt that domestic slavery prevailed. Then one of two things must occur; either emigration would consist of run-away slaves who had left their masters, with whose institutions and customs, they being perhaps beyond our limits, we had no possible right to interfere, and, having so left their masters, taken refuge in our settlements; in that case, we ran the risk of bringing upon ourselves the ill-will and jealousy of these neighbouring tribes, with whom we had been on terms of the most perfect amity, and over whom we had great influence; or, on the other hand, under the name of permission and license to free labourers to emigrate to our colonies, the colonists might begin to enter into a traffic with the native chiefs for the emigration of their subjects for a sum of money; in other words, they would buy these emigrants; and, consequently, strong suspicions would attach to us that we were attempting to establish a new slave-trade on the coast of Africa. He did not say that these obstacles were not over-rated; but he would say this, that they were not to be surmounted without having the whole facts before the public and before the world, and that, if we could not surmount them, it was our bounden duty to prevent the slave-trade in Africa, under whatever colours it might appear—(cheers). If we could surmount them, let us declare to the world the mode by which we intended to surmount them, the protection which we would give those persons, and the extent of our guarantee to the merchants. If we could not do that, we should be justified in withholding from the West Indies a free emigration of labourers from the coast of Africa; but, if we could surmount these obstacles, and take care that the emigrants should be protected, then he said that such emigration, conducted on principles of entire freedom, would be productive of incalculable benefits, not only to the individuals the subjects of that emigration, but, in its ultimate results, by their intercourse with civilized society, to the interests of civilization, the interests of humanity, and the promotion of christianity throughout the continent of Africa (loud cheers). He thanked the house for the patience with which it had listened to his observations (hear, hear) upon a subject whose importance, whatever might be the manner in which he had introduced it, at least deserved the attention and serious consideration of the house (hear, hear). He had endeavoured to state the case as it appeared to him on a careful perusal of official documents, without prejudice or exaggeration; and all he hoped was that, if the house desired to enter into a discussion upon the subject, it would preserve the same care to avoid exaggeration and prejudice; and if, a committee were entrusted with the subject, that those two important points, intimately connected as they were, would meet with the committee's full, fair, and deliberate consideration.

Major C. BRUCE seconded the motion.

Mr. V. SMITH expressed his gratification at the very able statement which had been made by the noble lord the secretary for the colonies, seeing that his name was identified with the working of that great experiment which had proved so successful. At the same time, he (Mr. V. Smith) could not help feeling the great difficulties which the committee would have to encounter in the course of their inquiry. The noble lord proposed, through this committee, to inquire into the state of the different West India colonies, in reference to the existing relations between employers and labourers, the rate of wages, the supply of labour, the system and expense of cultivation, and the general state of their rural and agricultural economy. From the statement made by the noble lord of the prosperity of the labouring population in these colonies, it appeared that they were not only prosperous, but were making purchases for themselves. Now the task which would devolve upon the committee was of a very delicate character, and they must take great care not to interrupt, by any suggestions they might make, that good feeling and harmony which now existed as between the labourers and the employers. And, indeed, the difficulty of this question was increased by the union of such various subjects for the consideration of a committee. He would suggest to the noble lord whether it would not be advisable to give a power of conference between the two committees as to the introduction of free labourers. But the most interesting inquiry would be whether they would be able to produce any thing upon which the house could legislate or not, and certainly the mass of evidence could not fail to make an interesting document. With reference to the first committee, he thought the inquiry must be limited. If there were any thing in the noble lord's speech which he had to regret, it was that the noble lord had not stated what course the committee on the west coast of Africa were to pursue.

Mr. WAKLEY doubted whether the noble lord expected to get the least information from these committees. With reference to the second motion of the noble lord, he could not conceive the object of it, because the speech of the noble lord gave the most delightful account of the happiness of the emancipated slaves. Twenty millions had been given to the proprietors of the soil in the West Indies, as compensation for losses which they might have sustained. They were now suffering from a want of labour, and were enduring all those changes which the noble lord himself had anticipated, when he brought forward the great measure in 1833. He feared that the free labourers, whose condition was now so much improved, would be swamped by this measure, and reduced from a state of comparative happiness to one of the greatest distress. He believed the object of the noble lord was to ensure the complete success of the Emancipation Act, but he feared that, with respect to this measure, a pressure had been put upon the noble lord by the planters, who had informed him (Lord Stanley) that, unless he consented to it, we should not have a sufficient supply of sugar in this country. But the subject was one of great difficulty and delicacy, and he would therefore only say further that he hoped the committee would be so constituted as to protect the rights of the liberated slaves.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXI. Vol. III. No. 8.] WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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DEATH OF SIR LIONEL SMITH.

We regret to learn, by Mauritius papers to the 5th of January, the somewhat sudden removal of Sir Lionel Smith, bart., governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Mauritius, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His Excellency, who was at his country-house at Reduit, was taken ill on Friday evening, December 31st, but nothing occurred to excite the apprehensions of his family until early on Monday morning; when such alarming symptoms appeared, that his private physician considered it necessary to call in to his aid the chief medical officer and other experienced surgeons of the garrison, who succeeded in momentarily allaying his sufferings. This respite, however, was of short duration, and his Excellency, after having only a few moments previously stated himself to be much relieved, expired suddenly of hydro-thorax, or effusion of water on the chest, at a quarter before twelve o'clock. His funeral is stated to have been attended by a vast concourse of persons, the number being computed at not less than ten thousand. Sir Lionel's death appears to have been hastened by his incessant attentions to Lady Smith, who was at the time exceedingly ill, and who has since followed him to the grave. He is succeeded in the temporary government of the island by the Honorable Colonel Staveley, the senior officer in command. We learn from a private letter with which we have been favoured, that, up to the commencement of his brief illness, he remained vigorous and energetic. "He died," says our correspondent, "as he had lived—faithfully devoted to the great principles of benevolence and equal justice, his last words in public being a solemn denunciation of the prevalent practice amongst the planters and others of giving several portions of rum per diem to their labourers. This occurred at a meeting of council on the 20th December, 1841, when he uttered an energetic and memorable speech, adjuring the members of council to persevere, in spite of all opposition, in ratifying the projected law against drunkenness, warning them that nothing else could secure the confidence of the home government, and recommending the planters to take the initiative in a thorough reform, by spontaneously engaging to cease to give more than one ration of rum per day to their labourers."

To this account we add, in the words of the same writer, the following sketch of his character as exhibited at Mauritius. "Sir Lionel Smith was courteous and benevolent to all; harsh or partial to none. In his invincible adherence to law and equity the rich and powerful had the firmest security for their property and rights; and in his condescension and justice the meanest could repose unlimited confidence. His name will endure in honour amongst all classes."

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.

To the Friends of Africa and of the Emancipated Classes in the West Indies.

The appointment of two committees by the House of Commons, the one relating to our settlements on the western coast of Africa, and the other to the West Indies, coupled with the expectation that the result of the proposed inquiries will justify the government in making the former depôts for African labourers, with a view to supply the latter with a large number of immigrants, has not only engaged the close and anxious attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, but has excited their most serious alarm.

Under the plea of an absolute want of labour in the emancipated colonies to carry on the cultivation of sugar, except at a ruinous cost to the planters, and under the specious pretext that the natives of Africa are to be benefited by the measure, the right honorable Lord Stanley has prevailed on the house to grant him these committees, without opposition or discussion; and to place the names of honorable members thereon, who, with few exceptions, the committee regret to say, have either prejudged the important question they are now called to investigate, or have a direct interest in affirming the views of the West India party, by whose statements the noble lord appears to have been greatly influenced.

In these circumstances, the Committee feel it to be their bounden duty to put their friends throughout the country on their guard against the insidious scheme set forth in the speech of the colonial minister; first, because they are convinced that no good and sufficient reason can be shewn to warrant its adoption; and, secondly, because they are further convinced that it cannot be carried into effect without covertly, if not openly, reviving and extending the iniquities and horrors of the slave-trade.

The plea of the West India party is the scarcity of labour, and the consequent exorbitant rate of wages they are compelled to pay, in order to their carrying on successfully the cultivation of their estates. The Committee demur to the accuracy of these statements. They are of opinion that it can be demonstrated by a reference to official and other evidence, that there is no actual want of labour for keeping up the cultivation of the staple productions of the British colonies; and that it can be had on terms sufficiently moderate to insure a fair return for capital invested. If in any quarter the want of labour has been experienced, it has arisen principally from bad legislation, the object of which has been to coerce labour under a state of freedom; from the unreasonable and injudicious conduct of the planters in mixing up the questions of wages and rents, and from their resorting to summary ejectments to accomplish their purposes; and from want of capital to pay with regularity the wages due to their labourers, or to command the amount of labour required. These causes have been in active operation, and have led many negros to become independent holders of land, to escape the persecutions and annoyances to which they were subjected by their former masters.

As to the exorbitant rate of wages said to be demanded by the labourers, it appears that they have been usually fixed, except for task work, by the planters themselves, and have for the most part been made dependent on so great a variety of circumstances as to have proved injurious both to the employers and the labourers.

To remedy the evils resulting from the operation of bad laws and their own oppressive proceedings, the West Indian party have had recourse to various schemes of immigration: these have been conducted at a heavy expense, and with but little benefit to the colonies, and at a great sacrifice of human life and happiness. These schemes have failed, or are to be abandoned, for the one now proposed by Lord Stanley. From Africa a supply of labourers is sought to be obtained, for the avowed purpose of reducing the wages of labour paid to the lately emancipated slaves. But can that be done without absolute injustice to them! And, if done, without giving a fresh stimulus to the slave-trade! With the information before them, the Committee answer decidedly in the negative. To introduce masses of native Africans, composed as they will be principally of the male sex, imbued with all the gross superstitions and revolting heathenism of their country, must be injurious to the moral progress and religious elevation of the emancipated classes; and bringing these masses into competition with them in the labour market must take from them the fair reward for their toil. To a free circulation of labour throughout the West Indies the Committee have no objection: on the contrary, they have on all occasions strenuously advocated

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it. To the spontaneous emigration of free persons from any part of the world to the British colonies they have no objection; but to a forced system of emigration, involving the taxation, among others, of the emancipated peasantry of the West Indies to supply funds that the planters may bring large numbers of labourers into competition with them, is what the Committee cannot regard as either just or expedient. Above all, the Committee are opposed to emigration from Africa. To the Committee it appears utterly improbable that emigration can be free and spontaneous on the part of the Africans themselves. *They are with few exceptions slaves, and must be obtained from the chiefs who surround our settlements either by purchase or by negotiations, involving inducements tantamount to purchase; whatever number may be removed, it will be replaced by predatory warfare in the interior, and all the iniquities connected with the traffic in human beings be continued.* To any system involving in the remotest degree the guilt of the slave-trade, the Committee are firmly persuaded their countrymen will be utterly opposed; not only on general grounds, but lest it should give a pretext to other powers having settlements on the coast of Africa to resort thither, for the purpose of supplying their slave colonies in other parts of the world with Africans nominally free, but really slaves.

In confirmation of their views, the Committee would call the particular attention of their friends to an extract from an important despatch of the Marquis of Normanby, when Colonial secretary, addressed to the governor of British Guiana, dated 15th August, 1839; in which his lordship, speaking on behalf of Lord Melbourne's government, gave a definitive answer to the application for a supply of immigrants from Hindostan and Africa:—"With regard to the introduction of labourers from India," says his lordship, "more than enough has already passed to render Her Majesty's government decidedly hostile to every such project; and the laws now in force in the different presidencies would effectually prevent the execution of this part of the scheme." And with respect to Africa, he observes: "We are not less opposed to the plan of recruiting the negro population of the West India colonies from Africa. NO PRECAUTION WHICH HAS BEEN, OR WHICH COULD BE DEVISED WOULD PREVENT SUCH A MEASURE FROM GIVING A STIMULUS TO THE INTERNAL SLAVE-TRADE ON THAT CONTINENT, OR FROM BRINGING DISCREDIT ON THE SINCERITY OF THE EFFORTS MADE BY THIS NATION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THAT SYSTEM OF GUILT AND MISERY."

In contemplating the bare possibility of the project adverted to being realized—the gross injustice it would inflict, on the one hand, on the long-oppressed but now emancipated negros of the British colonies, and the misery it would entail, on the other, on the deeply injured natives of Africa, the Committee feel it to be their solemn duty, not only to guard their friends from deception on this vital point, but earnestly to entreat them to be prepared, if necessary, to resist a measure so fraught with calamity and crime.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

*** The foregoing Address may be had in the form of a tract, for general distribution, at one shilling per hundred, at the Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street; or Ward & Co., 27, Paternoster Row.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

[Extract of a letter addressed to the rev. J. H. Hinton.]

Paris, 3rd April, 1842.

I AM delighted to hear that the delegates have all arrived in their country in good health. We shall ever preserve the remembrance of their interesting visit, and of the cordiality which they showed us, when we were forced to break our word with respect to a public meeting which we believed ourselves authorised to promise them.

Unfortunately France is experiencing at this moment a profound re-action on all questions of liberty and morals. No one regards any thing but the grosser interests. Selfishness hardens the heart of the higher classes, and the people, disgusted, have deserted us.

The law on forced expropriations (in the colonies) adopted by the chamber of peers, has been discussed in the *bureaux* of the chamber of deputies amidst general indifference. The minister of marine has presented a new law for withdrawing from the colonial councils of our four legislative colonies, Guiana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Bourbon, their political attributes, and for reducing them to the condition of simple councils, according to their title. This law will pass without doubt, because it will augment the power of the government; but the first is opposed in the committee. It is wished to postpone it, as the minister has postponed the question of colonial and indigenous sugar. This legislature draws near its end, and will soon be powerless; but we have no hope of a better, the government having succeeded in destroying all generous sentiments by corruption.

The director of the administration of the colonies, the councillor of state, M. St. Hilaire, favourable to emancipation, has just been obliged to resign, in consequence of the dislike shown towards him, and of the impotency to which he was reduced, the colonial offices being filled with men who are avowed adversaries of emancipation.

After the language which M. Guizot held to you, one might have thought that this important place, under present circumstances, would have been given to a declared friend of the abolition of slavery. Far from that, it has just been conferred on a declared enemy of indigenous sugar cultivation—on a deputy from La Gironde, who is actually the bearer of the protest of the chamber of commerce of Bourdeaux. This deputy could not hope to be re-elected, if he showed himself an advocate for the abolition of slavery, of which, as you know, Bourdeaux is a violent opponent.

The relations of the abolitionists with the new director of the colonies will be constrained and difficult, notwithstanding the otherwise courteous and amiable manners of that functionary. Evidently there will be mutual mistrust. Communication will be suspended, if not interdicted, whilst the colonial journal, the *Globe*, will, with both hands, draw arms from that circumstance against us. Such have been the desponding thoughts of the French abolitionists, so violently attacked and calumniated by the editors of this journal. The duel of the honorable M. Lacrosse, one of the parties at the banquet, with one of these editors, is an evident proof of this. Happily the violence of this journal disgusts all moderate men, and creates a sort of re-action in our favour.

A letter of M. Granier Cassagnac, editor in chief of the *Globe*, is now circulating in Paris. This letter, which was sent from Guadeloupe to M. Schoelcher, is dated 11th November, 1841, and was addressed by M. Granier Cassagnac, at that moment delegate from Guadeloupe, to M. Bouvet, editor of the *Courrier of Guadeloupe*. It announces that his journal (the *Globe*) has obtained the highest patronage in Paris. It is patronised by the ministers, who dread it, and whose internal policy, moreover it defends. It announces that he has offered his services to M. Olozaga, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, and an old advocate of the corporation of Havana, in order to forward the interests of Cuba and Porto Rico; that this minister has given him letters for Espartero; that he has sent his secretary with those letters to Madrid; and that from thence the secretary will proceed to Guadelope and Cuba to obtain further subscriptions.

Guadeloupe has just obtained for him	195,000	francs.
Martinique will probably be as much	195,000	"
Guiana, perhaps	50,000	"
Bourbon	150,000	"
	590,000	
If Cuba and Porto Rico contribute (and the planters are rarely slow in making some sacrifice of money to defend slavery)	410,000	"
This man will realise a million .	1,000,000	"

With an equal sum one might do much in this age of cupidity. It behoves you to make known these calculations, at least with respect to Spain, by giving information to the English ambassador at Madrid.

A CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES.

[From the *New York Tribune.*]

THE supreme court of the United States has just pronounced the most important decision which has proceeded from its bench for many years—perhaps ever. In a case arising between Maryland and Pennsylvania, it has declared that the right of a slave-holder to capture, secure, and return his fugitive slave, under the well-known clause of the Federal Constitution, is absolute and illimitable—that the free states have no discretion as to its exercise, no protection against its abuse. If we do not misapprehend this decision, even the taking a claimed fugitive before a justice, and identifying him to the satisfaction of that functionary, is unnecessary and idle. The slave-holder may take his slave wherever he may find *it*, without adjudication or appeal; and the citizens of the free states may or must aid him in so doing, but cannot question his assertion of property. At any rate, all laws securing to the citizen of a free state claimed as a slave a trial by jury, all free state-legislation designed to prevent abuses of the slave-holder's constitutional right of reclamation, are hereby declared null and void, and the trial-by-jury law of this state, as well as that of Pennsylvania, is henceforth a dead letter. This judgment was pronounced by Justice Story, of Massachusetts, and concurred in by all the judges, except John M'Lean, of Ohio. Two or three of the justices read separate opinions, varying somewhat the grounds of the decision, but concurring, as we understand, in all the conclusions above recited.

This tremendous decision brings the great question of freedom or slavery home to all our doors. There is not a man in the free states who is not affected by it—whose personal liberty is not invaded and endangered by it. The constitution knows no distinction of white, black, and intermediate coloured persons: it says nothing expressly of slaves; it speaks only of "persons held to labour or service in one state escaping into another." Now if a negro may be apprehended in this city, and carried by mere force to Virginia, to some one who claims him as an escaped slave or servant, then any of us—then Governor Seward, Justice Thompson, or Justice Story, may be so taken. Where is the safeguard against abuse? Where the protection to freemen? The state law of 1840, extending the right of trial by jury to persons claimed as "fugitives from labour or service," afforded such protection. By that law a slave-holder was required to prove his property in a man or woman claimed by him, as much as in a

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horse or monkey. Even before the passing of that law, a slave-holder was always required to verify his legal right before a justice of the peace, who approved it, or set the arrested person at liberty. But this proviso, if we fully apprehend the decision, is now declared a nullity, as well as the trial by jury; and the slave-holder is authorized to take his slave any where, and without any legal process or security whatever. We need not add that this authority to take his slave is practical authority to take whomever he may think or claim to be such.

This decision is the paramount law of the land. It must be respected and obeyed as such while slavery and the union exist, unless modified by subsequent acts of congress. We remark a proposition in certain papers for a countervailing amendment of the federal constitution. But this is manifestly impracticable. One half the states are slave-holding, and will of course agree to nothing of the sort, while two-thirds are required to effect an amendment. It strikes us as the best that can now be done, that congress should at once pass some law defining and regulating this sweeping right of reclamation, and providing adequate penalties for every manifest perversion of the right to purposes of kidnapping or malevolence. To such action, intended merely to secure free citizens from the grasp of the kidnapper, the south ought to make no objection.

It may be well here to add, that the facts involved in the precise case passed on by the supreme court are briefly these:—Edward Prigg, the legal agent of a slave-holder in Maryland, went into Pennsylvania, and there apprehended a negro woman who had been for many years a resident, but was, it is understood, originally and actually the fugitive slave he was instructed to reclaim. He took her away by simple force (having a party to aid him) to her owner in Maryland. Coming again into Pennsylvania, he was arrested and convicted, under a law of that state which secures to a person claimed as a slave the right of trial by jury, and denounces the carrying off a claimed fugitive without such trial as a penitentiary offence. The conviction was affirmed by the supreme court of Pennsylvania, but an appeal being taken by Maryland to the supreme court of the United States, the law of Pennsylvania under which Prigg was convicted is declared repugnant to the federal constitution, therefore null and void, and Prigg entitled to his liberty.

SWEDISH SLAVERY.

THE following paper was read by Count Frolich at the meeting of the French Anti-slavery Society, at which the British deputation attended:—

The little island of St. Bartholomew, being the only colony which belongs to Sweden, the subject of slavery in it offers but a small circle to the moral or political activity of the Swedes; but a particular circumstance has rendered it still more contracted.

In 1812, the government then being of opinion that the small ultra marine possession in question would be more profitably administered for the state if it had no connexion with the newly established constitutional legislation, the general states were persuaded to confer the whole administration on the Prince Royal, with the sole condition, that no debt eventually contracted during this administration should be transferable to the charge of the state.

The Prince Royal, since become king, has not to the present day proposed to the states any change in the arrangement then concluded. And, as the administration has always continued, in some sort, for the private salary of his Majesty, although rightfully the colony belongs to the state, no official report has ever been given since that time, either to the general states, or to the public, concerning the situation of things in St. Bartholomew's in any particular. It is very rarely that either in the Swedish or foreign journals any notice is taken of it; and, in consequence, when, about two or three years since, there appeared in an English journal an accusation directed against Sweden, that an atrocious circumstance had taken place off the coast of St. Bart's, from which, if true, one might have suspected that the trade in negros was yet carried on by the colonists, the public in Sweden, and even the representatives at the diet, which assembled a short time after, seemed to be almost ignorant of the existence of slavery in the colony—a cruel infliction and repugnant to the national spirit, and moreover absolutely incompatible with our laws, our manners, and our liberal constitution.

The report spread abroad relative to the trading of negros was subsequently found to be entirely false. Nevertheless, public feeling was awakened, and during these transactions a society, of which I have the honour to be a member, was formed at Stockholm, for the abolition of slavery.

The society has had but one meeting, under the presidency of Mr. Geijer, our celebrated historian. It was then found that a motion had been made by a member of one of the chambers, having in view a petition to be addressed to the king, and that that petition should be referred to a committee for discussion. It was then thought most expedient to abstain from all sorts of a public demonstration of the sentiments of the society; as at the time it was generally known that there was a considerable deficiency in the funds of the colony. The motion for the petition was also, if I am not mistaken, rejected from the same motive. In short, in the present circumstances, there is every reason to believe that the Swedish society do not find it expedient to agitate the question of the abolition of slavery. Exact information on the actual state of the colony is also so difficult to be found in Sweden, that it was not until after my arrival at Paris, that by chance I came to be acquainted with any thing of the matter.

JAMAICA LEGISLATION.

IT will be in the remembrance of our readers that on the 8th July, 1840, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, presented a memorial to Lord John Russell on the laws, forty-four in number, which had recently passed the Jamaica legislature, in which documents they pointed out to his lordship the unjust character and mischievous tendency of those measures. To this memorial the Committee obtained no satisfactory reply from the noble lord; but we are happy to state that several measures of which the Committee complained, were either disallowed, or such modifications suggested as would bring them more into harmony with the act for the abolition of slavery, and with the rights to which the negros are entitled as freemen.

In a despatch dated the 12th January, 1840, Sir Charles Metcalfe, after having attempted the justification of the Jamaica legislature and himself, in the passage of the laws against which the most serious objections could be raised, observes:—

"Should any of these enactments appear to your lordship to be of a character that renders it utterly inexpedient that they should become laws, I must expect that they will be disallowed; but I hope that there are none of that description. Should there be any that your lordship may deem to be faulty in part, though not on the whole incapable of amendment, I would respectfully recommend that they be not disallowed, but that you should trust to the good feeling that pervades both of the legislative bodies of Jamaica for such amendments as you may deem it necessary to propose. I offer this suggestion, because it appears to me that more may be done by kindness and confidence than by any other method; and that a rigid and sweeping disallowance of the island enactments, founded on their imperfections or minute objections that might be removed by other enactments, is likely to produce a bad effect, and to impede that cordial co-operation between the colonial legislature and the government which it is most desirable to establish."

Now we must protest against this mode of dealing with laws which affect the liberty, and trench upon the privileges of the emancipated classes. At present they have no voice in the legislature; and it must be obvious to all acquainted with the past history and doings of that legislature, that to allow bad laws to remain in operation until they are amended is only, in the end, to make them worse; for the very amendments, as they are termed, are usually found more obnoxious than the original form of the law itself.

The observations of Lord John Russell on some of those laws, and on the spirit which pervades the whole series, are excellent. They will be found in his lordship's despatch to Sir Charles Metcalfe, dated 25th May, 1840, and are as follows:—

"The Act No. 3315, on the subject of vagrancy, is reported by you to be founded on the Order in Council of September, 1838, and to contain most of the provisions of that order. *I observe, however, some important deviations from that model. The terms of imprisonment are considerably lengthened. The definition of vagrancy is greatly enlarged.* In one case it is declared an act of vagrancy if a man shall run away from his wife and children, so as to leave them burdensome to any *individual*. Rogues and vagabonds may under this act be committed to labour on the public streets and highways. In the absence of a police officer, any man is authorised to arrest a vagrant, and a record of a conviction by a justice of the peace is to be admitted as evidence on a second conviction in aggravation of the punishment. Whatever may be the motives of these deviations from the model, they are at least unexplained, and the tendency of all of them is to render the law more severe and stringent. The act must therefore be amended in these particulars. *But not only is this law rendered more severe; its execution is confided to the ordinary magistrates.* You have very clearly explained the motives which induce you to conclude that it is unreasonable to expect from the assembly of Jamaica the enactment of a law implying any want of confidence in the magistracy of the island, and the grounds of your own opinion that such legislation is neither necessary or desirable, although I may observe that it has been introduced by the royal authority in Guiana, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, and adopted by the assemblies in a large proportion of the West India colonies. *As this principle of reposing implicit confidence in the local magistracy pervades the whole series of the laws of the past session of the Jamaica Assembly, it appears to require distinct consideration.* The ordinary magistrates are entrusted with very extensive summary jurisdiction, not only in the vagrancy act, but in the acts numbered 3310, 3312, 3323, 3325, 3335, 3336,* and in some other of the acts which I have noticed as being at present under the consideration of other departments or officers in this country. On this subject, therefore, I observe, that, in yielding my assent to the principle you have adopted of not evincing by legislation, or otherwise, a distrust of persons who hold an office implying trust in its very terms and title, I must qualify that assent with two conditions. First, that the authority, power, and jurisdiction of such magistrates is not to be rendered vague, arbitrary, and uncertain, by new enactments. Secondly, that the list of the magistracy of the island should be revised, and no person left in the commission for whom you are not ready to answer, as being worthy of that important office. *I therefore instruct you to prepare a revised commission of the peace for the island; and I shall await the result of that revision to see how far the extensive powers vested in these magistrates are exercised with prudence and moderation.* No order will therefore be issued at present on these acts; but, if her Majesty's government should unfortunately be disappointed, by finding hereafter that these powers are exercised oppressively towards the labouring portion of the community, they will feel themselves called upon to advise her Majesty to disallow them."

* 3310, Cruelty to animals: 3312, Petty debt act; 3323, Combination of masters and servants; 3325, Protection of rivers and fisheries bill; 3335, Poundage laws; 3336, Registration of fire-arms.

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"The Act No. 3322, to facilitate the recovery of the possession of tenements, you report to be similar in every respect to the corresponding British statute. Your reference, I presume, is made to the statute 1 and 2 Victoria, c. 74. If so, the distinctions between the two are numerous, though apparently minute and probably unimportant. *The act entrusts a very large discretion to the ordinary magistrates of Jamaica, and I refer you to the preceding observations on this subject.*"

"The Act No. 3350, for registering fire-arms, is, as you observe, revived in opposition to Lord Glenelg's instructions of 4th July, 1838, and moreover, *instead of being passed for four years, like the last corresponding act, is perpetual in its duration. I must request you to propose its amendment.*"

In concluding his remarks, the noble lord said :—

"You will observe that respecting the weight of your opinion, I have in very few cases, and those not the most important, advised the disallowance of acts passed by the assembly and legislative council of Jamaica. But *I am not the less impressed with the weight of the reasons to which I have adverted. You will therefore direct the Attorney-general to prepare such alterations and amendments of those acts which are not to be disallowed, as may render them more suited to the constitution of Jamaica, and the present condition of society.* I should be extremely sorry to advise the disallowance of acts to which the legislature attaches value, and to show a distrust of the assembly which has resumed its functions with so much zeal and industry, and has observed towards their governor so cordial and loyal a demeanour. But *you must be aware that no considerations of courtesy, and no fear of reproach, ought to deter me from affording the best protection in my power to those classes of the Queen's subjects, who, as labourers or artizans, constitute the great majority of the population of Jamaica.*

The foregoing extracts will show our readers that incessant vigilance on the part of the friends of the emancipated classes, both in the colonies and at home, is necessary to counteract the injurious legislation which is allowed, from session to session, to pass current by an accommodating executive. Oftentimes the end of the colonial legislatures is answered if they obtain for obnoxious acts the sanction of the Governor, inasmuch as they then go into operation, and continue in operation until disallowed by the crown ; or, if they be not disallowed, but only ordered to be amended, then, unless the most positive and decided instructions are given, but sometimes not even then, a show of compliance only with the wishes of the home government is exhibited, and the acts remain substantially what they were before, if not worse! Now we see no cure for this but in the inflexible application of a rule, that no act shall go into operation until it have received the sanction of the Queen in council. This we conceive to be due to the emancipated classes, who, though heavily taxed, are not as yet represented in the colonial legislatures.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 20TH.

WE call the attention of our friends to the approaching anniversary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which will be held at Exeter Hall, on Friday, May the 13th. Particulars are advertised in our columns to-day.

ON the 6th instant the two Committees announced by Lord Stanley were moved for and appointed. The names are not quite the same as appeared on the original list, but they are now far from affording any pledge of fair or impartial inquiry. They are as follows :—

Committee on the West India Colonies.

Lord Stanley.	Mr. Pakington.
Viscount Howick.	Mr. Godson.
Sir Eardley Wilmot.	Mr. Charles Howard.
Sir Charles Douglas.	Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Emerson Tennent.	Mr. Grantley Berkeley.
Mr. Hawes.	Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Villiers Stuart.	Mr. Barclay.
Viscount Chelsea.	

Committee on the West Coast of Africa.

Lord Stanley.	Viscount Sandon.
Lord John Russell.	Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. E. Dennison.	Mr. Foster.
Sir T. Acland.	Mr. Milnes.
Mr. C. Buller.	Mr. Hutt.
Captain Fitzroy.	Earl of March.
Viscount Ebrington.	Mr. George W. Wood.
Viscount Courteney.	

In relation to the general subject which these Committees are to take up, and the issue to which it is the evident desire of the government to bring the investigation, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have expressed their sentiments in a declaration which appears in our columns to-day, and to which we earnestly direct the attention of our readers.

WE perceive that, by a system of free emigration from Africa, some of its advocates mean a free African slave-trade. This is evidently the idea of a writer in the *Colonial Gazette*, who argues at great length that England should abandon her system of slave-trade prevention, and *permit "a free migration"* of the sons of Africa from her soil. The meaning of this is, not merely that Great Britain should permit those to leave who desire it, but that we should allow all parties to carry away as many as they please against their will, without taking any notice of the atrocity. This is absolutely called by the *Colonial Gazette* A FREE MIGRATION! And the whole article is evidently written to favour that scheme of free emigration from Africa to the West Indies, so clamorously called for at this moment by the colonial party. We are entitled to infer from this, that the liberation of the slave-trade from its present restraints is a part of the system, although now for the first time avowed. In order to get the labourers they covet from Africa, they want the continent to be made quite open, so that every body who pleases may do the same thing, and after their own manner. The gist of this argument is obvious. The required emigration from Africa has been most justly resisted by the friends of humanity, on the ground that it would give a frightful impulse to the slave-trade ; and it is in reply to this objection that the advocates of the scheme say, "Then let the slave-trade alone. Put an end to your endeavours to suppress it. *Permit* A FREE MIGRATION : it will then no longer be a question for you, whether emigration to the West Indies stimulates the slave-trade or not."

No doubt, the argument is to the point. But it is important to mark what is implied in it. We are no friends to the armed suppression of the slave-trade. All the world knows that we seek the extinction of it only by pacific means. Nevertheless it requires to be distinctly noted, that the advocates of African emigration are demanding the liberation of the slave-trade from all its present restraints, and a license for its immediate and unmeasurable aggravation. Let this be put into conjunction with what has been so often declared, namely, that the system of free emigration could be, and should be, so managed as to give no impulse to the African slave-trade, and it will be seen at once how little confidence can be placed in the representations of the parties who are bringing this matter forward. To the amazement, indeed, of every person of common sense, the writer in the *Colonial Gazette* says, that "a free migration permitted by England" would do "all that is needed towards the suppression (!) of the slave-trade ;" but he says nothing of the manner in which this is to be effected. This deficiency, however, is made up by one of his correspondents, Mr. McGregor Laird, who makes the following statement :—

A perfectly free trade in slaves would act in one of two ways,—

1st. There are 400,000 slaves in Cuba, whose average value I now suppose to be £50., or a total capital of £20,000,000 : a free trade would *lower their value to £20 a head*, or even less ; a perfect prohibition would *raise it to* £150—the actual value on the opposite shore of Florida. Self interest would urge every slaveholder in Cuba to combine and put down the traffic, in the hope of trebling the value of his slaves, and preventing the competition he would otherwise undergo from the fresh capital thrown into plantations, if negros could be got for £20. You would create, in fact, a *slave-holding interest* against the traffic. At present it is impossible to bring this policy into play ; the trade being a *smuggling* one, and its existence denied by all the public authorities. The *slave-holding interest* put down the foreign slave-trade in the United States ; and, through the House of Assembly of Jamaica, petitioned the British parliament for its abolition years before it took place. Or,

2nd. If the venal Spanish authorities were so short-sighted as to resist the influence of the *slave-holding interest*, an immense importation of slaves would take place, and Cuba would be a second St. Domingo in a year or two. I have only named Cuba, but it is evident the principle applies to all slave-importing countries.

Now we make no objection to this statement ; we think it highly probable that an unrestricted slave-trade would operate after some such manner. But then, in either alternative, how fearful are the results! Either the whole continent of Africa is to be the victim of a desperate commercial conflict between the slave-traders and the slave-holders, of unknown period and uncertain issue—unless, as we suppose to be quite obvious, such enormous profits as those attending the slave-trade should defy all efforts of the "slave-holding interest" to bring them to an end ; or, in default of the abolition of the slave-trade being thus brought about "in a year or two," we are to have, not only Cuba and Porto Rico, but "all slave-importing states," turned into "a second Saint Domingo!" With which of these alternatives can the friends of humanity be satisfied! Yet this is coolly written by Mr. Laird, and endorsed by the writer of the *Colonial Gazette*, as "all that is needed to put down the slave-trade!" Why, this very explanation assumes that the inevitable effect of the "free migration" so loudly called for will be an incalculable aggravation of the slave-trade.

From this, yet further, it follows, that our own part in this vast "migration," which is to be made so very clear from all abuse and so *bonâ fide* free, can be nothing else but a participation

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in the slave-trade. When the whole coast of Africa will be studded with agents who will give money for men, is it conceivable that British agents will be able to get them for nothing! Every creature for whom a slave-dealer will give a few dollars or a pound of gunpowder will be caught hold of by predatory bands; and, if British agents would have any share of them, they must buy them at the market price. Are the people of England prepared for this! Yet this, and nothing less than this, according to its own advocates, is the scheme, falsely so called, of free emigration from Africa!

We have inserted in another column an extract of a letter from France, exhibiting a painful view of the abolition question in that country. It has been frequently said, in a tone of high satisfaction, that the French government had taken up the abolition of slavery, and would carry it through; and we have not been forward to insinuate distrust in this matter. But what are we to say, when a public functionary friendly to abolition is driven from office by insult and helplessness, and is succeeded by a party decidedly adverse to it! It seems also that every effort is to be made, by a paper which is stated to have the highest patronage in Paris, to overwhelm the abolitionists with a torrent of obloquy. We can scarcely be going too far, if we infer from these things that desperate efforts are to be made for preventing the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, and that the government is not sufficiently resolute to resist them. The battle, it seems, is yet to be fought out of doors, and on the public arena. Is it not high time that all earnest French abolitionists prepared themselves to act their part in it worthily!

The appointment of Mr. Crawford to be her Majesty's consul in the island of Cuba, confirms the statement which we noticed in our last, that Mr. Turnbull no longer held that office. We have the satisfaction of being able to state, however, that this gentleman remains in Cuba in the responsible and important post of Protector of Liberated Africans.

The small semblance of tranquillity which is to be found in the slave colonies of Spain, is maintained at the price of blood. Late in the last year, it now appears, a conspiracy was formed among the slaves of Porto Rico, the discovery of which was followed, of course, with sanguinary punishment. The *Constitucional*, Madrid paper, of the 27th of March, supplies the following information on this matter:—

A good deal has been said respecting a conspiracy of negros, which had been discovered in Puerto Rico. A letter from that place, dated the 25th of January, furnishes us with the result of the trial of the conspirators, which is as follows:—"Three of them have been shot, and eight condemned to receive a hundred lashes in public, and to ten years hard labour in the prisons of this island. The three sentenced to death marched with imperturable coolness to the place where they were to receive the fatal balls. Each one was accompanied by a priest. Arrived at the place of execution, they seated themselves, and permitted their eyes to be bound without uttering a single expression. The justice of the peace much desired to draw some confession from them, but the condemned remained silent as the tomb which opened to receive them. The execution took place on the 21st of this month; an immense concourse of people were present."

Such is the terrible condition on which the system of slavery is maintained; and such the fearful retribution which the wrongs it inflicts every moment threaten to bring down on the perpetrators of them! Were abolitionists cruel, they could wish for the Spanish colonies nothing worse than the continuance of the frightful system to which they cling so tenaciously.

Our readers will recollect that, some short time since, Dr. Madden was sent by her Majesty's government on a visit to the British settlements on the west coast of Africa; and that, on his return, he sent in a report to which several allusions have been made in parliament. It is understood to have been the intention of Lord John Russell, then colonial minister, to lay this report on the table of the House of Commons, and, if we mistake not, it was actually printed in due form for this purpose. The present secretary for the colonies, however, Lord Stanley, has deemed it *too confidential* to be made public, and refuses the production of it. That it is a very interesting and important document is admitted on all hands; and it seems to be equally clear that the reasons for withholding it are derived, not at all from a regard to the public service, but from a wish to screen certain individuals from exposure. We shall not at the present moment trust ourselves to an expression of our feelings on this truckling course; but shall content ourselves with introducing the following extract of a letter from Mr. McGregor Laird to the editor of the *Colonial Gazette* in reference to it:—

Dr. Madden's report was alluded to by Mr. Vernon Smith as a very confidential document. If it is to be considered so, all I have to remark is, that some merchants in London and Liverpool, and some officers on the coast of Africa, have been very ill-used, as reports have been freely circulated, ever since Dr. Madden's return, not at all complimentary to their character. I will only allude to two of them. One affects our settlements on the Gold coast, where Dr. Madden is said to have found it necessary to issue a proclamation against British subjects holding slaves, after an altercation with some of the residents respecting the meaning of the Emancipation Act on the coast of Africa; the other a charge against a naval commander on the station, for sending a brig of war to the Gambia for some runaway slaves belonging to Madame Ferrars, of Prince's Island, one of whom committed suicide on board H. M. vessel, preferring death to a return to slavery. Do these sort of details comprise the confidential part of Dr. Madden's report? If so, why are they whispered about, and no opportunity offered to the parties spoken of to reply? I hope Dr. Madden will be examined on this point. He went out in a public capacity; there are no political secrets about our settlements on the coast; and, if the confidential nature of the report is only assumed to prevent unpleasant disclosures, the sooner those who keep it back are exposed the better.

We observe that Mr. Grantley Berkeley, M. P., has thought proper to publish in the newspapers a letter which he has sent to the Anti-Slavery Committee, in reference to their pamphlet on *Emigration from India*. He will no doubt receive an answer from that body, which, in due course, may make its appearance in the journals too. How full Mr. Berkeley's letter is of erroneous statements and fallacious arguments, will be obvious in a moment to any one acquainted with the facts. We will merely cite an example in passing. Speaking of the labourers in British Guiana, he says—"How can you awaken in the breast of these people a desire for gold!" And just afterwards he adds—"We have it now before our eyes that the negros *in* Demerara have struck to a man for exorbitant wages." What! these very people whom it *is* impossible to inspire with a love for gold! What nonsense is this!

The rev. Mr. Lester, one of the delegates from the United States to the General Anti-Slavery Convention, has been pleased since his return to publish a book, which he entitles *The Glory and the Shame of England*, and in which he uses the following inconsiderate language:—

I well know the dreadful meaning of the words; but I would sooner see the children of my love born to the heritage of southern slavery, than to see them subjected to the blighting bondage of the poor English operative's life.

On this remarkable passage we shall content ourselves for the present with quoting the following excellent observations from the *Liberator*.

This is extraordinary language to come from the lips of one calling himself an abolitionist, and no wonder it is eagerly quoted by those who are desirous to shield from attack a system which is full of bloody enormities. It is, we are constrained to affirm, not only untrue, but disgraceful to any man who will utter and endorse it. If the alternative supposed by Mr. Lester were really presented to him, or to any sane man, whether Jew or Greek, Barbarian or Scythian—he would not hesitate to reject the condition of the southern slave for his offspring, and to prefer that of the English operative. Between the two cases there is no parallel. The entire loss of liberty, and the transformation of a man into an article of property, constitute the highest insult to heaven, and the most miserable state which can befall a human being. The absence of the necessaries of life is, indeed, a sore calamity; and the small pittance which the operative in England obtains for his labour is by no means just or equal. Wretched, however, as is his lot (and it is most lamentable), he is still a man—still a freeman, as contrasted with those who are held and treated as chattels—still the owner of his own body—still an equal in the eye of British law—still free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience—still a husband, from whose embrace no ruffian can tear his wife—still a father, whose children no man may seize, and offer in the shambles to the highest bidder—still at liberty to read his bible, and to derive consolations from its teachings—still in a position to be benefited by that which makes a kingdom prosperous—still free to state his own grievances, to exhibit his own sufferings, to influence public sentiment by his pathetic appeals, to denounce injustice and oppression, to call for redress and reform! We are here reminded of the indignant interrogation of William Howitt, in reference to a case like this—

And is *this* the man, thou vaunting knave!
Thou hast dared to compare with the weeping slave?
Away! find *one* slave in the world to cope
With him, in his heart, his home, his hope!

He is not on thy lands of sin and pain,
Scar'd, scar'd with the lash—cramped with the chain;
In thy burning clime where the heart is cold,
And man, like the beast, is bought and sold!

But, O thou slanderer, false and vile!
Dare but to harm his garden-stile;
Dare but to outrage his lowly thatch;
Dare but to force that poor man's latch;

And thy craven soul shall wildly quake
At the thunder peal the dead shall wake;
For a myriad tongues of fire shall sound,
As if every stone cried from the ground.

The indignant thrill, like flame, shall spread,
Till the isle itself reek beneath thy tread;
And a voice from people, from peer, and throne,
Shall ring in thine ears—"Atone! Atone!"

We are sorry that Mr. Lester, in his sympathy for those who are famishing for bread across the Atlantic, has attempted to represent the situation of the American slave as one of comparative comfort and pre-eminence. There is not a pro-slavery press in the land that will neglect to give currency to his rash declaration, especially as it comes from the lips of a professed abolitionist.

MR. DICKENS IN AMERICA.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

As all parties and all sorts of people seem to be vying with each other in courtesies and compliments to "Boz," do you not think it would be as well that he should have an opportunity of seeing the "shadows" as well as the "lights" of your country, and that he should

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not be suffered to leave the United States as ignorant of the condition of one-fifth of their population as when he first arrived! If he were made acquainted with the progress abolition doctrines have made amongst you, the obstacles you have to contend with, and the prospects you have before you of restoring health and vigour to the land of your birth, by destroying the cancer that is eating up its heart, his pen might perhaps be employed in a cause congenial to the spirit of kindness which pervades his writings, and an impression made upon readers hitherto inaccessible or insensible to the cry of suffering humanity. E. S. A.

Clifton, near Bristol, April 18th, 1842.

BRAZIL.

We have received the following list of vessels which sailed from Rio de Janeiro during the last year on slave voyages to the coast of Africa. The greater portion of them it will be seen, viz., nine out of seventeen, sailed under the flag of the United States. Thus does the star-spangled banner of the much vaunted land of liberty cover the most inhuman traffic that ever disgraced mankind. When will the federal government relieve itself of the odium of throwing its protective shield over such deeds of darkness and of blood!

Vessels which sailed for Africa from Rio de Janeiro in 1841.

Date.	Nation.	Class.	Name.	Tons.
January 27th	American	Brig	Pilgrim	205
February 6th	Portuguese	,,	Conceiça da Maria	190
,, 20th	American	,,	Sophia	204
,, 23rd	Hamburgese	Barque	Louise*	363
April 3rd	American	Schooner	Solon	168
,, 6th	Portuguese	Brig	Africano	218
,, 17th	American	,,	Himmaleh	246
May 14th	,,	,,	William Jones	221
July 22nd	Portuguese	,,	Conceiça da Maria	190
October ,,	,,	,,	Duarte 4	377
,, 9th	American	,,	Gadrafilia	212
,, 30th	Brazilian	,,	Fermeza	145
Novem. 10th	,,	,,	Virtuosa Maria Aldina	132
,, 13th	American	,,	Rodbury	240
Decem. 16th	,,	,,	General Pinckney	209
,, 10th	Brazilian	Schooner	Espanlador	57
,, 30th	American	Brig	Odessa	222

Two American vessels were loading in January last for the coast, one the *Robert Browne*, a ship of upwards of 500 tons, chartered for 10,000 Spanish dollars; the other, the *Sagamore*, of about 300 tons, chartered for 6000 Spanish dollars.

In *O Commercio*, a Bahia paper, of the 12th December, 1841, we have an account of the capture of fifty-six newly imported Africans, who were concealed in the factory of Cabrito, in the vicinity of the city. It appears that information of their being there had been conveyed to the President, and a public officer was ordered to seize them. Sr. Antonio Magalhaes de Castro, the "Promotor Publico," who was sent upon this service, in a letter to the President, gives a detailed narrative of the expedition, for such it might truly be called, as he was accompanied by a captain, Bento José Goncalves, forty foot soldiers, ten cavalry, and six policemen. With this formidable force he marched to the scene of action at midnight, on the 8th of December, and surrounded the place where the poor victims of cupidity were supposed to be. The soldiers on one side of the building having, without waiting for orders, discharged their muskets at some launches in an adjoining creek, which made off on their approach—the guilty parties received a timely alarm, and effected their escape, only a book-keeper belonging to the establishment having been secured. Fifty-six Africans were, however, released, and delivered over to the chief of the police. The conclusion of Sr. Antonio's letter to the President deserves to be recorded, as it exhibits the most just and enlightened views with respect to the disposal of the captured negros. He says:—"Permit me now, your Excellency, to intercede for these unhappy people, liberated by my exertions; my supplication is not without foundation, nor without legal base. It is time that, in fulfilment of the law, all these negros, thus violently dragged from their homes by deceit and violence, should be restored to Africa—let them be sent back to their country, to which they are probably more attached than many of our countrymen, who dare to call themselves civilized, are to ours. I hope that your Excellency will, in pity, favourably consider all the unhappy Africans, and particularly these lately taken, as a special favour to myself. The liberated African whose services are put up to the highest bidder, in my opinion, your Excellency, meets a lot of unparalleled hardship. Better to be a slave! What guarantee has the *emancipado* whose services are put up to auction? What treatment can they expect when sick? And how jealously watched, in the hands of a purchaser oftentimes without philanthropy, and who, perhaps, killing them by draining the last drop of the most extreme service, can scarcely himself suffer the slightest prejudice? Some few exceptions there may be, but we should not for these make the existence or the destiny of so many unhappy fellow-creatures, dependent on a system which as a general rule is so inhuman. If these Africans liberated by my assistance be delivered up here into the hands of individuals, the painful idea will always accompany me, that I have co-operated in the aggravation of their sad condition."

From the order of the President to the chief of the police, it would appear that the humane request of Signor Antonio was not complied with. The President directs, that the "men and boys should be placed at the disposal of the Intendant of Marine for the service of that department, and the women be distributed in the various nunneries, and in the misericordia (hospital), as they may be required: and the former as well as the latter will be required to be compensated for the little service they can render during the first six months with food and clothing; after which they will be distributed to various services, according to law, with preference to the said department and convents in which they are found."

* Since captured by H. M. brig *Grecian*.

UNITED STATES SLAVE-TRADE.

[From *Africa's Luminary*, a Liberia paper.]

RIGHT OF SEARCH.

We presume it is well known to all reading Americans, that merchantmen from every considerable port in the United States, and some from inconsiderable ports—from Maine to New Orleans—are accustomed to traffic continually along the African coast; that their cargoes are made up principally of muskets, powder, tobacco, pipes, cheap figured and plain cottons, and *oceans* of rum and whiskey; that they trade indifferently with native Africans, and the Spanish and other slavers who are established on the coast. To this we know no exceptions; and "we could a tale unfold," &c. The English, too, and other Europeans, are in the above "as deep in the mud, as the Americans are in the mire." But we are now talking to "our own people." By the above it will be seen that slavers can be, and *are* supplied from legally trading Americans, with everything that is required to purchase their slaves from the native princes. And we add with feelings of mortification, that the slavers find no difficulty in chartering, or otherwise securing, the services of some American merchantmen, to go up and down the coast and purchase rice, and other necessary articles, to procure water, and sometimes to go to Sierra Leone and purchase condemned or other vessels, for the slaver's use in sending away his cargoes of slaves! So much for assisting the slavers to tobacco, muskets, cottons, powder, rum and whiskey, rice, water, &c., *to purchase*, and prepare the slavers for their outward bound, or *middle passage*, to whithersoever they are *sent*. Again; it is known to *all who have a right to know*, that American vessels are built expressly for the slave-trade, and sent to Havana, Africa, and other places, and sold to those who desire them. And that they are frequently sold to be delivered under the United States' flag on the coast of Africa; that they come doubly armed, having American and Spanish colours and papers on board, with a mixed crew, and an American and a Spanish captain on board. Here they *cruise*; take in rice, water—and gather up and deposit their slaves at a suitable place for immediate embarkation. If they fall in with an English-man-of-war or merchant-man, they hoist "the star spangled banner," and show American papers; if they *should accidentally happen* to be overtaken by an American man-of-war, up goes the Spanish or Portuguese flag, and all is safe; for commanders of American vessels-of-war are instructed at their peril not to interfere with the flag of foreign nations. Besides, they dare not do themselves what they condemn and censure others for; it would place them in the position of the late governor of Virginia, and might lead to "a voluntary dismissal!" When this game is gotten through with, and "the preliminaries settled," and the slaves on board, the American captain, colours, and papers are sent ashore; and the vessel takes her departure with a full cargo of slaves. Sometimes the American captain is retained aboard—for his papers and flag may still serve a good turn; but, as the main dependence of a vessel having slaves is upon her "heels" (fast sailing), the *pro tem.* captain is left behind. Having by "the operation" made his thousands, he now turns his face homeward; perhaps takes passage in some of our colony's small craft, and comes to Liberia; we are introduced to "a white gentleman," an American too; he inquires if a vessel by such a name has been *here*; is answered, no—he expresses his surprise—"it is very strange; my vessel left me two weeks ago, and I can hear nothing of her; she is either lost, or the mate and crew have run off with her—however, I must get home, I can do nothing here—I will pay any price to get to the United States!" Accordingly, he gets a passage in the first vessel; and so the farce ends.

Now, if our readers will reason upon the facts which we have given them, they will be convinced of the truth of our proposition; viz.,—that, so long as the government of the United States pursues its present policy towards Africa and other nations, so long will the African slave-trade be continued, aided, and perpetuated by the American government.—*September 3rd*, 1841.

ANTICIPATED INCREASE OF THE SLAVE-TRADE UNDER COVER OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.—To prevent such portions of the slave-trade, as *are* prosecuted under the American flag, the American government must support a larger and *more* efficient squadron upon the WHOLE of this coast. This we believe they will not do, partly because it is contrary to their policy, partly because they are averse to sacrificing the lives of their officers and crews; and partly because the *Dolphin* and *Grampus* suffered so severely from the African coast fever, when last upon their cruise on this station. In 1837, '8 and '9, when the English were not much accustomed to closely examine vessels sailing under American colours, and before the *Dolphin* and *Grampus* were ordered to this part of the African coast, *the Monrovia roadstead was hardly ever clear of slave vessels, having colours, papers, and captains as before described, and the vessels American build.* Certainly we can say with safety, that the horizon was never without one or *more* slave ships gliding upon its verge. So it will be again, in a short time, if some vigorous measure is not speedily adopted by the United States' government, to prevent the prostitution of its flag, in aiding, abetting, and perpetuating the AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.—*Ibid.*

FAILURE OF THE MEANS RESORTED TO BY THE UNITED STATES' GOVERNMENT FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.—If American merchantmen continue to supply slavers with goods, they can purchase slaves at pleasure; and if the same vessels frequently carry rice, and water [and irons?] from one part of the coast to another for the slavers, they can prepare themselves for shipping slaves at an hour's notice. Then, if Americans build, send, and sell their vessels, flag and all, with an accommodating captain—to the slavers, they can ship and send their slaves to slave-ports whenever they wish. And further, if English men-of-war dare not inquire about what is concealed under American colours, and if the American men-of-war do not do it, of course the slave-trade is open and free to all whose cupidity leads them to engage in it. It is certain that the English cannot search; and equally so that the Americans, will not, because there are no American men-of-war upon this coast. The brig *Dolphin* and schooner *Grampus* have been employed during the last season on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of preventing such portion of the slave-trade as was said to be prosecuted under the American flag; but the *Dolphin* hardly touched upon the African coast, having only visited the rivers Gambia, Nunez, Sierra Leone, and one or two adjacent places. The *Grampus* was here a short time (say eight or ten weeks), and visited the coast as far as Cape Palmas only, and then returned to the United States.

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True, the sloop of war *Cyane* spent a few days along this part of Africa; and was at one time within a mile of a very suspicious looking vessel, which altered course once or twice and stood away from the *Cyane*; and, notwithstanding the *Cyane's* officers believed her to be not only suspicious, but piratical, still, as she hoisted a Spanish colour—although an American built ship—she was suffered to go her own way, without any recognition on the part of the *Cyane*! This vessel proved in a few hours after to be the notorious *Gabriel*, which Lieutenant Seagrum, of her Britannic Majesty's navy, attacked so courageously; and that too in about twenty-four hours or less after the *Gabriel* had been alongside of the *Cyane*. And we are not prepared to say, that half the *Gabriel's* men, and one of her captains, were not Americans! When that and that are put together, and when we remember that the slave-trade *here* "is only as a drop in the ocean, when compared with the same traffic from one to two thousand miles to the southward and eastward of the African coast from Liberia, and where we are informed that American men-of-war are never or rarely seen, we are irresistibly forced to believe that a new impetus is about to be given to this most nefarious business.—*Ibid.*

ADDRESS FROM THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN AND COUNTRYWOMEN IN AMERICA.

THE following address has been signed by upwards of sixty thousand persons in the Emerald Isle (among whom are Daniel O'Connell, and Father Mathew), and sent across the atlantic, where its promulgation is producing quite a sensation. It was read at a large anti-slavery meeting at Boston, on the 28th of January last, and received with "loud acclamations of applause." On this occasion the following resolutions, proposed by Mr. Wendell Phillips, were adopted by acclamation:—

"That we rejoice that the voice of O'CONNELL, which now shakes the three kingdoms, has poured across the waters a thunder-peal for the cause of liberty in our own land; and that Father Mathew, having lifted with one hand five millions of his own countrymen into moral life, has stretched forth the other—which may heaven make equally potent—to smite off the fetters of the American slave."

"That we receive, with the deepest gratitude, the names of the sixty thousand Irishmen, who, in the trial-hour of their own struggle for liberty, have not forgotten the slave on this side the water; that we accept, with triumphant exultation, the address they have forwarded to us, and pledge ourselves to circulate it through the length and breadth of our land, till the pulse of every man, and specially every man who claims Irish parentage, beats true to the claims of patriotism and humanity."

The address is as follows—

DEAR FRIENDS,—You are at a great distance from your native land. A wide expanse of water separates you from the beloved country of your birth—from us, and from the kindred whom you love, and who love you, and pray for your happiness and prosperity in the land of your adoption.

We regard America with feelings of admiration; we do not look upon her as a strange land, nor upon her people as aliens from our affections. The power of steam has brought us nearer together; it will increase the intercourse between us, so that the character of the Irish people and of the American people must in future be acted upon by the feelings and dispositions of each.

The object of this address is to call your attention to the subject of SLAVERY IN AMERICA, that foul blot upon the noble institutions and the fair fame of your adopted country. But for this one stain, America would indeed be a land worthy your adoption; but she will never be the glorious country that her free constitution designed her to be, so long as her soil is polluted by the footprint of a single slave.

Slavery is the most tremendous invasion of the natural, inalienable rights of man, and of some of the noblest gifts of God, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." What a spectacle does America present to the people of the earth! A land of professing christian republicans, uniting their energies for the oppression and degradation of three millions of innocent human beings, the children of one common Father, who suffer the most grievous wrongs and the utmost degradation for no crime of their ancestors or their own! Slavery is a sin against God and man. All who are not for it must be against it. None can be neutral. We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion, and liberty.

It is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country's degradation under this withering curse. AMERICA IS CURSED BY SLAVERY! We call upon you to *unite with the abolitionists*, and never to cease your efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. We are ALL children of the same gracious God, ALL equally entitled *to* "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

We are told that you possess great power, both moral and political, in America. We entreat you to exercise that power and that influence for the sake of humanity.

You will not witness the horrors of slavery in all the states of America. Thirteen of them are *free*, and thirteen are *slave states*. But in all the pro-slavery feeling, though rapidly decreasing, is still strong. Do not unite with it; on the contrary, oppose it by all the peaceful means in your power. Join with the abolitionists everywhere. *They are the only consistent advocates of liberty.* Tell every man that you do not understand liberty for the white man and slavery for the black man: that you are for LIBERTY FOR ALL, OF EVERY COLOUR, CREED, AND COUNTRY.

The American citizen proudly points to the national Declaration of Independence, which declares that "*All mankind are born free and equal, and are alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*" Aid him to carry out this noble declaration, by obtaining freedom for the slave.

Irishmen and Irishwomen! treat the coloured people as your equals, as brethren. By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty—hate slavery—cling by the ABOLITIONISTS, and in America you will do honour to the name of Ireland.

CONDITION OF HAYTI.

IN his prize essay on the prejudice against colour, M. L'Instant meets without hesitation the common objection to the capacity of his countrymen, taken from the recent history of the black republic. With freedom and good order, and the advantages of instruction, millions of Africans, says he, will contribute intellectual treasures to the world at large; and generation after generation of the civilized inhabitants of the rich tropic will appreciate correctly its multitudinous treasures, and bring the resources of art to develope and perfect the hidden stores of nature.

"But," continues M. L'Instant, "I am aware of the objection which the partisans of slavery and prejudices draw from the example of Hayti. Look, say they, at the fine island which flourished so long when enjoying the benefits of slavery—what a desert it has become since freedom and universal equality prevailed there! What an irresistible argument it affords against the possibility of negros *by themselves* forming a civilized state, and for the absolute necessity of a superior race guiding them!

"Now this objection betrays great want of candour, and great ignorance of facts. I readily admit, and it *is* with great satisfaction that I admit, that Hayti has lost for ever the rich monopolists of power and fortune—the Creole planters, who wrung their millions out of their enslaved fellow-men—the blacks, and held their estates at the mercy of mortgagees in France. But there is abundant compensation for the disappearance of great fortunes in Hayti, in their equal and general distribution. The people at large are better off than they were formerly; and in this respect Hayti is, beyond all doubt, happier than many of the most refined states of Europe. The main point, however, and one that is far too little considered, is, that peace has not yet prevailed in Hayti for twenty-five years. Foreign invasion and civil war, by turns, long disturbed all the elements of her prosperity, and crushed the germs of her promised civilization. It was only after the death of Christophe that some degree of internal repose prevailed—and even this was unceasingly shaken by the menaces of France, before the late treaty put an end to them. In this disastrous state of things, the arts of peace and of civilization could not prosper. The soldier necessarily neglected the plantation; and the martyr to liberty must be forgiven for deserting the quiet walks of industry. After so many sanguinary convulsions in our land, twenty-five years are not too protracted a breathing time to be spent in recovering from exhaustion, before we can set about the difficult task of re-establishing social order, and of peacefully advancing civilization. Hayti has indeed suffered enormous losses; civil war has left deep and numerous wounds still unhealed; and the parent has almost expired in the throes of a parturition, which, out of the oppressions of negro slavery, brought a nation of freemen into the world. To blame is easier than to act; and it may be doubted whether any civilized people would have come forth from such a struggle with greater success. Our people were well fitted for that struggle, but exceedingly ill prepared for the duties since imposed upon them. The Haytian governments have been formed almost exclusively of self-taught men, bred far from the refinements of Europe, and enjoying no share in the intellectual improvements of civilized nations. Prejudices against their colour deprived them of all instruction beyond the very A, B, C; and they were necessarily utter strangers to the commonest elements of knowledge, with which school-boys in Europe would be ashamed not to be familiar. Still the same energy of character, the same love of country, and the same desire to prove to the world that their race deserves to be free, which led them to overcome all the difficulties of war, have also enabled them to supply the deficiencies of education, and, in defiance of all obstacles, to place the Haytian people among the independent nations of the earth. What other state has ever in so brief a space of time done so much as Hayti, with means so circumscribed, and against obstacles so formidable! None such can be found. Yet, with a case like this before them, the uncandid adversaries of the negro neither make allowances for the impediments to his civilization, nor give him credit for any efforts however successful! Such men call every thing barbarous that does not copy London or Paris, and they assert that a people must be a horde of brutal savages, if they cannot all at once boast of operas, sumptuous parks, and public walks. Well may the barbarian, in demanding time for a change in his character and condition, retort that the wretched hovels of Europe in the middle ages, and even the streets of Paris and London five centuries ago, dark, narrow, and filthy as they were, gave few signs of the brilliant luxury of the present day. They are right in saying that, with patience, the same career may be expected for all mankind. The measure, therefore, applied to the slow progress of Europe, ought not to be refused to any member of the human family. Hayti is not behind some of her neighbours; and it is most unreasonable to charge her with insuperable want of capacity, if she stumbles at certain social problems which the most advanced nations have been a thousand years in solving. When the doctrines of political freedom, of social equality, and chiefly that of brotherly good feeling between nations, are still mysteries for most other men, how shall we suddenly become familiar with them! When our

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opponents have so much to learn, they surely should be just, if not indulgent to our venial backwardness.

"I am far from supposing that the tranquillity enjoyed by Hayti, after so many trials, can last for ever. Liberty must be preserved by efforts equal to those by which it was gained. Education and industry are the great foundation of our hopes. Poverty and ignorance brutalize men, and reduce them to be the slaves of the rich and the intelligent. We, therefore, the sons of the conquerors of our independence, must, by our energy in the new fields of science, and by our determined rejection of every selfish feeling, help our fathers to complete the object of all their struggles.

"These are sentiments shared by the whole Haytian people; already a generation of young men begin to seek instruction of every kind abroad, and at home they are anxiously pursuing every means of improvement. They are diligently learning how to labour; and, rich in the experience of their fathers, as well as in the sciences of Europe, they are training themselves to follow worthily the traces of the heroic founders of the Haytian republic."

INHUMAN TRAFFIC IN SLAVES IN EGYPT.

Alexandria, 23rd February, 1842.

AT the moment when Great Britain on one hand is concluding a treaty with France, Austria, and Prussia, and on the other threatens a war with America, both things tending to the suppression of the slave-trade, we see arising here a trade in human flesh which fills with terror every living soul. We set aside the unfortunate black slaves, on whom the local government, making use of the new tariff exacts a duty of 13 per cent; we set aside the manner in which these poor wretches are put into the custom-house, like so many bales of merchandise, as well as the indecent way in which they are visited to ascertain their value. Of these it is useless to speak; as their hour of freedom has not yet struck. We hope indeed that time, from which nothing escapes, already marks the happy day of their deliverance; and, lovers of liberty in general, we desire that it may not delay its coming. But what attracts painfully our notice is this. The Egyptian soldier, who covers himself with the honourable military insignia, and who has his breast pierced with wounds; the support of his sovereign, the defender of his country, the pillow on which reposes the safety of the citizen—this soldier, in reward of his services, to drag out at the best a few days of existence is compelled (and we have seen it) to sell publicly his affectionate and beloved children. We know for certain the sale of three children, belonging to three different soldiers; one sale of a boy for the sum of 300 piastres, equal to 15 dollars; another of a smaller boy for 58 piastres, equal to 2 9/10 dollars; and another of a little girl four years old for 27 piastres, equal to 1 7/20 dollar. In proof of the truth we quote the fact of the first sale, and to avoid prolixity we omit the other two.

The wife of a marine, returning to her house (if we may give that name to a sort of a dog-kennel in which Egyptian soldiers lodge) and seeing the sadness of her husband, among many other questions asked him where his son was: to this he replied by stretching out his hand, and giving her the infamous price, saying at the same time—"I have sold him; this is the price; he is a slave." At these words the grief-struck mother rushes out of the hovel, and, with terrifying shrieks, fills all the bystanders with compassion. Seeing, however, that crying availed her nothing, she ran to H. E. Mustapha Pacha, head of the navy, and accused her husband of this sin. He immediately sent for the marine, and asked him the reason of this action. Against this charge he defended himself in the following terms:—"My Lord, you know very well that I have not for two years received any pay; as long as the government supplied me with my soldier's rations, I managed with them to support my family; to complete my misfortune, the rations have been for some months suspended from me, and my companions who work in the arsenal, with the promise of our receiving their amount in money, of which I have not yet seen anything; I have nothing left to sell; I can find nothing to steal; hunger oppressed my family, a remedy was necessary at any cost to escape from death, and no expedient did I find but that of selling my son, thinking that in this way I should insure him a morsel of bread, deliver myself from shedding bitter tears over the unhappy boy, when, trembling with cold and hunger, he stretched out his hand to ask me for bread—and lastly, I should procure for myself and wife the means of subsistence for a month or two more."

H. E. Mustapha Pacha, moved at the horrible picture of such a barbarity produced by the misery of one under his orders, sent for the purchaser, and ordered him to restore the boy he had bought. Conscious of his rights, he presented the written agreement, alleging that the boy was his slave as he had purchased him in this manner. Mustapha Pacha repeated the positive order for his being given up, and, counting from his own purse the three hundred piastres, he made him restore the boy to his afflicted mother.

To this state of misery the wretched Egyptians are reduced under the government of the immortal Mohammed Ali!!!—Correspondent of the *Mediterraneo*.

STARTLING AS WELL AS STRANGE.—A Washington correspondent says, among the wonders of the day at Washington is novel and extraordinary phenomenon, presented in the notice of a petition from Virginia for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia! It is signed by ninety-three men in Lewis county, which is in the northern part of the interior of the state—a free-labouring, grain-growing district, which has been much filled up lately with the sturdy northern farmers who have been emigrating thither from Pennsylvania. A significant portent, and a notable sign of the times!—*Philadelphia Gazette*.

SANDWICH ISLANDS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The friends of the slave will be greatly gratified to hear that an Anti-Slavery Society was organised at Honolulu, one of the Sandwich islands, on the 9th of June last. Missionaries of the American board are members and officers of this Society.—*Ibid.*

TEXAS AND THE UNITED STATES.—The project of annexation was formally introduced into the senate of Texas on the 29th January, by Mr. Greer, who offered a bill directing president Houston to negociate with the United States for annexation to the Union.—*Emancipator*.

ICE AND COTTON.—The *Charleston Courier* says, that letters have been received in that city from Boston, stating that large orders have recently been dispatched to the East Indies for cotton! Ships sail from Boston and Salem with ice, and return laden with this raw material. This simple fact has set the whole south in commotion. Their celebrated cotton crop, the only thing of substantial value they export, is in jeopardy, and, forsooth, they are now crying out for protection, for a tariff! One little fact, demonstration in a small way, has utterly upset all the elaborate and learned theories of the south on the subject of protection.—*Philadelphia Gazette*.

IN CONGRESS, Mr. Giddings has repeated Mr. Adams's offence. He has presented a petition, praying that the house take immediate measures to *dissolve the union*. The petition sets forth that the citizens of the free States have been suffering incalculable evils for the last thirty years, and are now suffering from the institution of slavery. Mr. Giddings moved that the petition be referred to a select committee, with instructions to report that the prayer of the petition ought not to be granted. It was rejected by a large majority.

ANOTHER SLAVEHOLDERS' CONVENTION.—The Marylanders are far from being satisfied with the action of the Annapolis convention. In Baltimore the citizens have memorialised the house of delegates against the enactments that convention had recommended. The *Baltimore Patriot* is publishing letters from a slaveholder, who denounces its proceedings. Finally, an opposition convention has been called, to be held on the eastern shore of Maryland. Southern conventions on the subject of slavery and its dependencies have hardly yet begun; but the ball that is now rolling will become an avalanche before it finds rest.—*Free American*.

AND YET ANOTHER.—In Alabama they have just had a convention of planters, and adjourned to hold a *state* convention in the spring. The slaveholders see clearly enough that their craft is in immediate danger, from the importation of Indian cotton into England.—*Free American*.

EMANCIPATION.—Doctor Brisbane has at last succeeded in re-purchasing the slaves he formerly owned, and has emancipated them all. They cost him 17,000 dollars.—*Ibid.*

COLOURED STUDENTS EXCLUDED BY COLLEGE CHARTER.—A member of the legislature writes us, that a bill was introduced into the House to charter the "Central College of Ohio." It was amended by adding a clause prohibiting the education of coloured persons, and in this form the bill passed by a large majority. We hope the trustees will not accept the charter, if the Senate should concur.—*Oberlin Evangelist*.

COLOURED MEN KEEP AWAY.—In the New York *Tribune* of the 22nd inst. we find the following:—Alabama has just passed a law authorising the citizens of Mobile to arrest any free coloured person in the street or on the wharf, and put him in prison, for the crime of having a dark skin.—*Emancipator*.

THE PETERBOROUGH CONVENTION has issued an address to the slaves recommending them to make "temporary use of other men's property" to aid their escape. The correspondent of the *Friend of Man* says, "I have not met with a defender of slavery here, who does not justify the advice given by the Peterborough convention to fugitive slaves, in regard to the temporary use of other men's property to aid their escape. 'The convention are perfectly right,' said an ardent Kentuckian, a few days since. Every important movement made by the foes of slavery in the north, is watched with intense interest by the thinking portion of the slaveholders. And the outbreaking of the fires of liberty, so long pent up, in East Tennessee, where public meetings to put down the slave system have commenced, excites much attention."

ANTI-ABOLITIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES.—We intend to make up a list of every abolitionist in Cincinnati, the business he follows, and publish it for the benefit of the south. We shall supply every steamboat that runs in southern waters, and every hotel in the southern states, with a copy, and then it will be best for these villains to keep themselves at home—it will be unsafe for them to put their foot in a southern state.—*Cincinnati Abolitionist*.

Advertisements.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THIS SOCIETY,

Will take place at EXETER HALL, on FRIDAY, May 13th, 1842.

The Chair will be taken at Eleven o'clock, precisely. The Doors will be open at Ten o'clock. J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

Will be ready in a few Days,

BRIEF NOTICES OF HAYTI, with its condition, resources and prospects, By JOHN CANDLER.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXII. Vol. III. No. 9.] WEDNESDAY, MAY 4th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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THE CASE OF THE CREOLE.

To the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

New York, 1st April, 1842.

Dear Sir,—I am instructed by our committee to express to you their high gratification at the determination of your government not to surrender the negros of the *Creole*, either as felons or as slaves. It is now understood that their *surrender* will not be insisted on by our cabinet, but that a pecuniary compensation for the loss of these human chattels will be peremptorily demanded.

We are consulting the interests, not merely of humanity, but also of our country, when we unhesitatingly declare our earnest wish that this demand may be promptly and resolutely refused. It would tend greatly to strengthen and perpetuate slavery among us, were other nations to recognise our property in human beings, beyond the actual jurisdiction of our slave code.

By acceding, moreover, to this demand, your government would become in fact, to a very great extent, *insurers* of our American slave-traders against shipwreck and revolt. This American slave-trade is a most inhuman and detestable traffic, little, if any, inferior in atrocity to the African trade; and our slave-holders are exceedingly anxious to compel Great Britain to recognise and respect it as a legitimate commerce.

If Portugal still authorised the slave-trade, and a cargo of Africans should happen to be brought into London, under circumstances like those under which the *Creole* negros were carried into your West Indies, would the British nation condescend to participate in the accursed commerce, by calculating and paying the market price of men, women, and children!

We are happy to assure you that anti-slavery principles are rapidly extending at the north, and are gaining converts even at the south. The anti-slavery *organization* is from various causes less efficient than formerly; but the tone of public opinion is decidedly improved, while the opposition to us has diminished in strength and virulence.

We perceive at present but one obstacle to our ultimate and entire triumph, and that is the possible annexation of Texas to the United States. Should this renegade republic be received into the union, not only would the permanency of slavery be secured in this country, but the curse would probably be spread over Mexico, and perhaps far beyond it. The annexation is the last hope of the slave-holders, and to effect it, their agents at Washington will endeavour to involve this country in a war with Mexico—a measure which they justly believe would result in a union with Texas. The abolitionists will do their best to avert so dire a calamity, but it is uncertain how far success will attend their efforts.

We shall be happy to receive frequent communications from you, and to co-operate with you in promoting the great cause of human liberty.

I am, Sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,

Simeon S. Jocelyn,

Corresponding Secretary of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. GRANTLEY BERKELEY.

Berkeley House, April 14th, 1842.

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of a pamphlet entitled *Emigration from India*, to which your name, "on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," is subscribed.

In return, I have to request that you will acquaint the members of that committee, *that it has been with the deepest regret* that I have looked through the pages of that publication, and in it perceived a vein so party stricken and purposely deceptive, as to the real intentions of those who are advocates for the importation of free labour into the Mauritius, as well as other places, that I cannot but regard it as calculated to do an infinity of mischief to the general welfare of British colonial property, while, at the same time it amounts to an address, *favourable to the foreign slaver*.

I have voted for, and been an unflinching advocate in furtherance of the abolition of slavery, but, at the same time, I have never lent myself—nor will I lend myself, to the views of a party who seem entirely to forget that there are other interests, as well as those of the negro population, which are entitled to an equal share of just and fair attention from the government of this country.

At the present moment there exists a ruinous depression on colonial property, as uncalled for as it is cruel. There are localities where the black population cannot be induced, either by a fair and ample amount of wages, or by giving them an interest in the produce, to work upon estates; and to such an extent has this existed, that the owners of many estates have been necessitated to expend far more than the sum received in compensation in forced disbursements, without a shilling of income in return. It is an established fact, that, in the last year, the cost of labour in making a hogshead of sugar in British Guiana was greater than the value obtained for that commodity in the London market.

In parts of British Guiana, a fortnight's labour, or less, will supply a native family with vegetables for twelvemonths, the river abounds with the finest fish, while the "bush," or forest, is full of deer and hogs; in addition to this, the climate and the custom of the country render clothing in no way important to the comfort of the negro. They have at their command the necessaries of life without the necessity of money to procure them; how then can you awaken in the breast of these people a desire for gold, or give them an interest in produce arising from the culture of the land?

I would impress on the Anti-Slavery Committee, and on the public, that unless free labour be introduced, and that to a widely spread and liberal extent, the cultivation of our colonies must be eventually abandoned, our possessions be returned into the hands of the black population, our nursery for seamen and the consumption of fourteen millions of home produce be lost to this country, the cause of religion relinquished, and that which was once a boasted territory—its population and all—be left to retrogade into a state of barbarism.

We have it now before our eyes, that the negros in Demerara have struck to a man for exorbitant wages, while as a fact in favour of free labour importation, it is proved that the Portuguese emigrant has remained faithful and contented with his employer: do not tell me, then, that religion, reason, or justice, demand that we should oppose an emigration properly regulated, and where the spiritual and temporal welfare of the labourer would be duly considered and cared for by government.

I repeat, sir, my regrets, that a struggle so just and beautiful as the one in which *we* were lately engaged for the abolition of slavery, should now be turned into a mere ruse, and an unjust one too, against individual property, simply because that property is situated where slavery used to exist.

For myself, I am an advocate for the general importation of free labour to the Mauritius, to the British West India colonies whenever it is required—Guiana, Demerara and Berbice, guarded, as the measure should be, with the utmost jealousy as to the welfare, spiritual and temporal, of the emigrant.

A sufficiency of free labour once fairly obtained, the British West India merchant need fear no reduction of the duties on foreign sugar, but, on the contrary, he would be able to compete with the market of the world. Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Grantley Fitzhardinge Berkeley.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

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TO THE HON. GRANTLEY FITZHARDINGE BERKELEY, M. P.

SIR,—In accordance with the communication I addressed you on the 15th instant, I laid your letter of the preceding day's date before the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society at its sitting on Monday evening last, and have now the honour of forwarding to you their reply.

The Committee have felt some degree of surprise, that a letter formally sent to them, through their secretary, containing charges which affected their character as a public body, and which evidently called for an answer in the way of explanation and defence, should have been forwarded by you to the public press for circulation, previously to their having communicated with you on the subject; and that surprise has been increased by finding your name on the West India Committee, appointed by the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord Stanley, to investigate the very points on which you so confidently express an opinion. The Committee think that it is always an unfavourable circumstance, when the ends of justice and truth are to be attained, that persons who have prejudged a case, should afterwards be called upon to examine and to decide upon its merits. Strict impartiality can scarcely be expected from them.

The circulation of a pamphlet by the Committee on the *Export of Coolies and other Indian labourers to Mauritius*, appears to have brought them under your displeasure, if not your reprobation; and in terms, permit them to say, which show but little courtesy or temper. You accuse them of having circulated a publication written in "a vein, *so party stricken* and PURPOSELY DECEPTIVE as to the real intentions of those who are advocates for the importation of free-labour into Mauritius, as well as other places, that I cannot but regard it as calculated to do an infinity of mischief to the general welfare of British colonial property, while at the same time it amounts to an address, *favourable to the foreign slaver*." This, sir, is your charge, but the Committee ask, where is your evidence to prove it? You produce no arguments to overthrow the positions taken in the pamphlet—you adduce no testimony to damnify the facts on which its recommendations are founded—the Committee are, therefore, unable to repel the attack you have made on them, or to justify the course they have felt it their duty to pursue, except by denying the accuracy of your judgment in the matter, and pronouncing it to be as unfounded as it is injurious. The Committee have ever felt it to be their duty, in the documents which they have issued, to present to their readers what they believed to be truth, and could defend as such; and they presume to think that their composition as a body, as well as their past history, should have shielded them from the charge of being governed by a party spirit, and of giving publicity to statements with an intention to deceive. You, sir, as the advocate of a cause which you eloquently designate as "just and beautiful," must feel upon reflection, that the charges of which the Committee complain, ought not to have been lightly made, or if made hastily, or under a misapprehension, ought immediately to be withdrawn.

The opposition of the Committee to emigration from India to Mauritius, and the British West Indies, has been grounded on a large number of facts of an appalling character, which have been brought officially under the attention of the House of Commons and the country, and which led both the Indian and the Home governments entirely to prohibit that which they found themselves unable to regulate or control. You, sir, think emigration from India, may be so regulated as to be productive of no evils to the emigrants; so did not Lord Melbourne's government in 1839, when they declared themselves, on the evidence laid before them, as, "*decidedly hostile to every such project.*" So did not the House of Commons in 1840, when it gave a decided negative to Lord John Russell's proposition to relax the prohibition in favour of Mauritius; and so did not Lord Auckland in 1841, when he declared it to be his opinion, in an official minute on the subject, that, "*no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons, helpless from their poverty, and from their utter ignorance and inexperience.*" In the face of such facts and testimonies as these, are the Committee to be told, that they are acting a deceptive and factious part, because they oppose themselves to the measures contemplated by the present government, for the import of Coolies into Mauritius. They seek to guard the ignorant against the wiles of the crafty—the helpless from becoming the prey of the strong; and to prevent, as far as they may, the repetition of those crimes, which have too long afflicted and disgraced mankind. A more familiar acquaintance than you appear to have with the proceedings of the Anti-slavery Society, would convince you of this.

Another charge which you hesitate not to bring against the Committee is, that they "seem entirely to forget that there are other interests, as well as those of the negro population, which are entitled to an equal share of just and fair attention from the government of this country." How do you prove this! not certainly by pointing at any act of theirs which will bear out the accusation, but merely by the expression of a strong opinion on your part, that it is so. Here again the Committee have nothing to reply to but an opinion, and must content themselves with simply denying its accuracy, and by stating in their own defence, that they always have been, and are, most anxious by all fair and legitimate means, to promote the welfare of all parties interested in the British colonies, not only on general grounds, but, because they are desirous that the noble example set by Great Britain to the nations of the earth, in the abolition of slavery, should be universally followed. They have it is true, set themselves determinedly against the coercive legislation of the colonies by which it was sought to compel labour under a state of freedom; they have exposed to the condemnation of the public the oppressions which have been practised on the emancipated classes since they were declared free; they have pointed out the evils connected with the various schemes of immigration resorted to by the colonists, which have not only resulted in the waste of a large amount of capital, but in the destruction of thousands, and the misery of thousands more. They have not, however, at any time prevented a free circulation of labour through the colonies, but, on the contrary, have called for the repeal of those absurd and unjust restrictions which the colonists have themselves interposed to prevent it; and for the enactment of wholesome laws to regulate emigration, so far as it may be the spontaneous act of free persons desirous of bettering their fortunes, as field labourers, in the colonial possessions of this country, and have pointed out sources of supply whence they may be obtained without resorting either to India, Africa, or Europe, against which the Committee conceive, for good and sufficient reasons, special exceptions may be taken.

But, sir, you not only charge the Committee, who are able to defend themselves, with being the enemies of the colonies; but you endeavour to fix on the character of the liberated negroes, who are not able to repel your attacks, a stigma as unjust as it is uncalled for. On what evidence do you condemn them! Certainly not on official evidence. You say, "there are localities where the black population cannot be induced, either by fair and ample wages, or by giving them an interest in the produce, to work upon estates," and you add, "that to such an extent has this existed, that the owners of many estates have been necessitated to expend far more than the sum received in compensation, in forced disbursements, without a shilling of income in return." The Committee venture to ask where this has been the case—where the indolence of the negro on the one hand, or the exorbitant wages he demands on the other, has led to this result! Lord Stanley gives a very different account of the matter. With a more perfect knowledge of facts, his lordship pays the emancipated negroes a just tribute of praise for their industry, their self-improvement, and the noble uses they have made of their freedom. It is true, his lordship speaks of the high rate of wages paid to them for their labour; but this he attributes to the supply of labour not being equal to the demand, and not to any spirit of extortion on the part of the freed men.

But you say, in support of your statement, "It is an established fact, that in the last year, the cost of labour in making a hogshead of sugar in British Guiana, was greater than the value of that commodity (quantity!) in the London markets;" and again, "We have it before our eyes, that the negroes in Demerara have struck to a man for exorbitant wages." Now on both these points the Committee might challenge you to produce the proofs, in the perfect conviction that they would not be forthcoming; but, as they believe you have been misinformed upon these points, they venture to set you right.

Your first statement is founded, no doubt, on a report put forth by certain persons in Demerara, in December last year, that, "the cost of production on sixty estates in that province was 98 dollars 81 cents per hogshead, whilst the price in the British market was only 86 dollars 40 cents, showing a loss upon every hogshead of sugar made on those estates of 12 dollars 41 cents, equal to £2 11s. 8d. sterling per hogshead, exclusive of interest on capital, and extraordinary expenses." But, if you will consult the tabular statement which accompanies the report, you will find that the wages paid the negroes, did not amount to *one-half* the charges carried to the cost of producing a hogshead of sugar. There were the salaries of attornies, managers, overseers, and medical men, besides taxes and other expenses included in the mighty sum, which brought the estates in debt; and this point, in fairness, ought to have been noticed by you. The Committee, however, believe the statement of the planters to be fallacious, and are confident that if it be thoroughly sifted in the Committee, of which you, sir, are a member, it will be found utterly at variance with truth. In opposition to it, the Committee can produce other statements of expenses incurred in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar on various estates, in the same colony, which show the cost of production, including the labourers' wages, salaries, taxes, *interest on capital, and extraordinary expenses*, to have been several pounds per hogshead less than above stated, and that the produce of the molasses and rum nearly covered the entire amount of wages paid the labourers, leaving the sugar almost without charge, to bear the other expenses of the estates, and to put a handsome profit into the pockets of the proprietors.

In alluding to the same case as that to which you refer, Lord Stanley, in his speech of the 23rd ultimo, said, he did not vouch for its accuracy. The substance of the statement made by the noble lord was this, that it had been represented to him, that the total expenses of sixty sugar estates in British Guiana, exclusive of interest on capital and extraordinary expenses, had, during the last year amounted to 1,295,678 dollars; and that the revenue had only been 312,171 dollars, leaving a dead loss to these states upon the year, of 983,507 dollars! In making this statement the noble lord was deceived by the form in which it appears in the table forwarded to him from Guiana. In that table a gross error has been committed, whether intentionally or inadvertently, the

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Committee have no means of determining, but the amount of the sugar crop is not calculated in the column marked "Total Revenue," which it ought to have been; and, in the column in which it appears, it is represented by *dollars* instead of hogsheads, thus:—"Total sugar crop."—"Dollars 9953;" whereas it should have been 9,953 hogsheads, or rather, 10,343 hogsheads, as it appears in the report which precedes the table!

Your second statement "That the negroes in Demerara have struck to a man for exorbitant wages," does not truly represent the case. There has been a strike on a considerable number of estates in that colony, occasioned by a general combination among the planters to reduce the wages "for the best quality of labour," to "32 cents, (about the third part of a dollar, or 1*s.* 4*d.* sterling,) for a full day's field labour," subject to a deduction of 16 cents a day for every day's absence from work, or for not performing the allotted task, with other stringent regulations, some of which are absolutely illegal. On the 1st of January last, the planters, without, it appears, giving the labourers any intimation of their intentions, commenced their insane proceedings. This led to a cessation of labour on many estates, extending over a period of three weeks, and, not being able to help themselves, the negroes have been forced to submit, or to be driven from their homes. This contest is to be deprecated, as it cannot fail very materially to affect the prosperity of the colony, to revive old feelings, and to lead the negroes, as they have opportunity, to become independent of their masters, by the possession of land of their own. On the subject of wages generally, the Committee remark, that the average amount paid the labourers on a considerable number of estates, which have made specific returns on the subject, ranges from 25*s.* to 27*s.* each per calendar month, and no more!

The Committee think it scarcely necessary to notice that part of your communication, in which you represent that "in parts of British Guiana, a fortnight's labour, or less, will supply a native family with vegetables for twelve months," that "the river abounds with the finest fish, while the 'Bush' or Forest is full of Deer and Hogs," of course for the use of all who can catch them, and, that—"the climate and the customs of the country render clothing in no way important to the comfort of the negro," because of its utter absurdity, and because it could only have been circulated for the purpose of imposing on the credulous and unreflecting. The Committee do not say that you, sir, have given currency to it for such a purpose; but it is inconceivable how you could have adopted it as true. You further say, that "they (the negroes,) have at their command the necessaries of life, without the necessity of money to procure them;" and you ask, "How then can you awaken in the breasts of these people a desire for gold, or give them an interest in produce arising from the culture of the soil?" To this the Committee reply, that on your own shewing elsewhere, their desire for gold is so inordinate, that they will not work but for wages ruinously high! But, sir, the fact of their having become large purchasers of land since their emancipation from slavery; the fact of their being large consumers of imported provisions, and of British manufactured goods; the fact of their increase in knowledge, self respect, and morals, is a complete refutation of the calumny that they cannot be stimulated to labour except by the whip, and that as freemen, they will retrograde into a state of barbarism." If, sir, it were true that the negro need not work in Guiana for his living, or that he cannot be stimulated to exertion by the hope of reward, why are the planters of that colony, and their friends at home, so anxious to obtain additional numbers of them direct from Africa, however barbarous and uncivilized they may be! The answer is readily given that there are no labourers in the tropics equal to them, either for docility or for industry. You, sir, give it as your opinion, that, "unless free labour be introduced, and that to a widely spread and liberal extent, the cultivation of our colonies must be eventually abandoned." The Committee cannot agree with you. They do not conceive that immigration is the cure for the evils which are said to depress the colonies at the present moment. What is wanted to develop their resources is capital on the part of the proprietors to command the requisite amount of labour, or to pay for it regularly and punctually; what is wanted is a class of managers, who shall have the confidence of the people, and who shall unite with tact and good management, good humour and liberality; what is wanted, is a better mode of cultivation—a greater economy of human labour. Let these desiderata be found, and the Committee are persuaded an abundant supply of labourers will be found also, without going to the ends of the earth for them, and thus wasting the capital that might be otherwise and better employed. It is a well ascertained fact, that the best cultivated and most profitable estates in the British colonies, at the present time, are those on which the labourers are treated with the greatest liberality.

The fears which you entertain that without immigration the cultivation of the colonies must be abandoned, that they will ultimately become the possession of the black population; that our nursery for seamen, and the consumption of £14,000,000 of home produce be lost to this country, that the cause of religion will be relinquished, and utter barbarism everywhere prevail, are not participated in by the Committee. The facts of the case are all against you at the present time: there are already indications of increased cultivation in various colonies; the chief purchasers of estates in them are European residents, who are intimately acquainted with their value, and the character of the labouring population with whom they have to deal; the amount of shipping resorting to them of various kinds, and from various countries, is greater than ever, and the consumption of British manufactured goods has been increased more than one-third in value, and one-half in quantity since emancipation has taken place, and churches, chapels, and schools are multiplying in every direction, and the demand for them constantly increasing. At all events, there are no symptoms of decay at present, and we have Lord Stanley's assurance, that, up to the last year, the planters have suffered no loss, for if there has been a diminished quantity of produce shipped home, which will admit of a satisfactory explanation, the advance in price, consequent upon that diminution, has more than compensated them for the decrease. You are, sir, however, wrong in your figures: the average quantity of home produce exported to the colonies during the last six years of slavery, was, not £14,000,000 as you state, but £2,783,000. During the four years of the apprenticeship £3,578,000, and during the first two years of complete freedom £3,747,599, showing a very rapid and most satisfactory increase.

The Committee are not aware that any other point in your letter calls for comment. They trust they have said enough to vindicate themselves and the emancipated negroes from your unjust charges, and, that, if they are honoured with any more communications from you, such communications will be more explicit in their facts, more courteous in their spirit, and therefore more deserving of reply.

I have the honor to be, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD,

Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

April 22nd, 1842, 27, *New Broad Street*.

THE STRIKE IN BRITISH GUIANA.

[From the *Guiana Gazette and Advertiser*.]

WE are happy to be able to write, on this first day of the month of March, that the strike which took place among the labourers at the beginning of the year, on account of an ill-advised and most unskilfully managed combination among the employers for the reduction of wages, may now be considered as at an end.

The result of this unwise and most miserably managed attempt at the reduction of the cost of producing sugar, may be stated in a few words.

First.—The entire loss of from four to six weeks labour upon at least three-quarters of the estates in the counties of Demerara and Essequebo.

Secondly.—The abandonment of several estates, upon which the labourers are either not at work at all, or which they have left in a body, and the prospect of the resumption of which is very uncertain.

Thirdly.—A considerable diminution of the number of labourers on the estates actually at work.

Fourthly.—A great impulse given to the purchase of freeholds upon the part of the labourers, who seem resolved to become independent proprietors at as early a day as possible.

Fifthly.—No reduction of wages at all—a *bonâ fide* reduction not having been effected upon any estate of which we have obtained an authentic account, except upon those of Sir Michael M'Turk, and a few others who had nothing at all to do with the combination, and whose refusal to come into it exposed them at first to many ill-natured remarks, and a great quantity of abuse on the part of the *Guiana Times*, which calls itself, and is generally considered, the organ of the planters and attorneys.

The combination and the strike which it produced, and which all men of information and reflection regarded as its natural and inevitable consequence, has been attended by many serious evils. It is to be hoped that we shall hear no more of combinations among the employers to force the employed into certain terms; and that the colonial legislature will at length pass some sort of a tenantry act, and will give over the absurd idea of keeping the labourers in a condition of serfdom, totally dependent for house and home on the caprice of their employers. There will, indeed, be great occasion for thankfulness, if the labourers, who are sufficiently apt scholars, and exceedingly keen at a bargain, shall not have learnt, from this unsuccessful attempt on the part of the weaker party, the employment of an instrument from which, in their hands, the most disastrous consequences might justly be feared.

In looking back upon the late strike, we cannot help remarking the extremely peaceable and quiet demeanour of the labourers, who engaged in no riots, and committed no breaches of the peace or violations of property; but, while exhibiting a high degree of obstinacy, and a fixed resolution not to be driven by anybody into working for diminished wages, took very good care to keep upon the safe side of the law.

This is to be ascribed partly to the generally peaceable disposition of the labourers, who, though loud enough in talk, seldom exhibit any disposition to come actually to blows, and very much also to the perfect trust with which they universally rely upon the justice and truth of the local government, to which they look with confidence for information and protection. If the labourers had felt a similar confidence, or anything approaching to it, in their employers, not only might a reduction of wages have been effected without any strike at all—as in the case of Sir Michael M'Turk above alluded to—but, after it was resolved to abandon the unlucky "rules and regulations"—the promulgation of which by the sole authority of the planters, and without any consultation with the labourers, or even previous notice to them, was the great cause of all the mischief—much less difficulty would have been experienced in persuading the labourers that some trick upon them was not concealed under the new proposal of the old terms, and in persuading them to recommence work as before.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 4TH.

BEFORE our next number issues from the press, the third annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society will have been held. It is already extensively announced for the 13th instant, at Exeter Hall. The Marquis of Clanricarde has accepted the invitation of the Committee to preside on the occasion, and various topics of immediate pressure will contribute largely to the interest of it.

WE direct attention to the correspondence, which they will find in another column, between Mr. Grantley Berkeley and the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee. We have given both Mr. Berkeley's letter and the reply.

WE are gratified by receiving some warm responses to the appeal which has been made by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on the subject of African emigration. Among the resolutions which have been forwarded to us are the following :—

Spilsby, April 25th, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—I am directed by the Committee of the Spilsby and Alford Auxiliary Anti-slavery Society to forward you the annexed resolutions, which were adopted this day in committee.

You will be kind enough to forward three hundred copies of the address for circulation. I am, dear sir, yours respectfully,

(Signed) WILLIAM ROSE, Jun.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

Committee Room, Spilsby, April 25th, 1842.

At a meeting of the committee held this day, the address of the London Anti-slavery Committee on the subject of emigration from Africa to the West Indies was read.

Resolved—That this committee entirely participate in the apprehensions of the Parent Committee, as to the danger to Africa of a forced system of emigration to the West Indies, and of its injustice and impolicy as it respects the free labourers of those islands.

That this meeting is prepared to co-operate vigorously in any efforts suggested by the Parent Committee as being calculated to prevent the threatened evil.

That these resolutions be forthwith communicated to the Parent Committee, and that 300 of the address be ordered for immediate circulation among the anti-slavery friends in this district.

H. HOLLAND, Chairman.

At a meeting of the committee of the Brighton Anti-slavery Society, held at the Town Hall, fourth month 22nd, 1842,

ISAAC BASS in the chair.

A communication was received from the Parent Society, relative to the proposed plan of government for emigration from Africa to the West India colonies, which has been read at this meeting.

Resolved—That this meeting sympathises with the Parent Society in their views respecting the injustice and danger of the proposed plan of emigration, and desires to encourage the committee in London to adopt such mensures as may appear rightly to open, for the prevention of such a scheme being carried into effect.

Resolved—That a copy of the aforesaid communication from the Parent Society be forwarded to the members of parliament for this county, by the chairman, who is requested to draw their particular attention to the subject of it.

AT length the wanting West Indian mails have arrived. By private advices we learn that the governor of Jamaica had issued a commission of inquiry into the recent murderous affair at Kingston, the result of which (for it would seem to have been secret) was anxiously waited for by all parties. The corporation of Kingston had shown their estimate of the matter, by re-electing Mr. Hector Mitchell as their chief magistrate. We take the following information of the general state of the island from a summary given by the *Morning Journal*.

"Our island, we rejoice to have it in our power to state, is peaceable and quiet. Advices from all parts of it are to this effect: since the cessation of the Christmas disturbances in this city, nothing has occurred to disturb its good order, and we have every reason to anticipate a continuance of the present calm.

"Health of the island.—The colony, on the whole, is healthy. The exceptions are Kingston and its neighbourhood, and Spanish Town and its neighbourhood. At these places the scarlatina still prevails to an alarming extent, and has committed serious ravages among the population. It is thought to be subsiding in some degree. We trust it will shortly disappear. In the rural districts the inhabitants enjoy their usual good health.

"The weather.—The agriculturists, and all parties interested in the cultivation of the soil, have had cause for gratulation in the very seasonable weather with which we have been favoured. The rains have been general; and the effect is visible in the flourishing appearance of the cane and other fields. In some districts there has been rather too much rain after the late long and destructive drought; no one, however, is disposed to grumble at the excess of moisture.

"The crops.—It is with much pleasure we congratulate our readers upon the prospect which now presents itself in every part of the country of a fair average sugar-crop. We might safely say a large crop, in comparison with those that have been taken off for the last two or three years; but as these have been unusually and ruinously small, it would be manifestly unfair to institute any comparison between them and the present one. Our information, however, justifies the expectation that the quantity of sugar produced will be such as to revive the drooping hopes of the proprietors; perhaps we should be more correct in saying, would be such as to revive the drooping hopes of proprietors, had the price of the article in the mother-country not suffered such a serious depression. In some districts of the island the coffee-crops will be very small indeed, the trees not having borne. Experienced planters attribute this circumstance to the late drought, during which the coffee-plants suffered considerably, and from the effect of which they have not yet recovered. In the more favoured portions, and where the drought was not so severely felt, the crops, we learn, will be fair.

"Labour.—Complaints respecting the insufficiency of labour, and the conduct of some of the labourers, who do not, it is said, give an equivalent for the money they receive, continue to be made. They are not general, however, in any single parish; and appear to be confined to St. James, St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and Vere. In St. Mary's an injudicious attempt was made to reduce the price of labour, which has failed.

"In St. James, the labourers, or a portion of them, appear to have struck for higher wages, but without effect.

"The price of sugar.—The general complaint for some time past has been the low price of sugar in the home-market, and fears are entertained that the increased quantity will tend to send prices down still lower. The unfortunate sugar-growers seem to be placed between two extremes, and never able to reach that desirable middle state so essential to their happiness and prosperity. High prices, by engendering dissatisfaction and complaint on the part of the English consumers, strengthen the demands of their foreign rivals for the admission of their sugars, and provoke competition from the east; whilst low prices, on the other hand, render the production of sugar an unprofitable, if not a losing concern. We can only hope that no further reduction may take place in the price of the article."

In British Guiana, the infatuated measures of the planters have been abandoned, and the labourers generally have resumed their toil. The condition of the colony is matter of vehement dispute between the respective parties in it. The terrific accounts given by the *Guiana Times* are too obviously intended for effect to be deserving of any confidence. The attorney-general of this colony, Mr. Gloster, has given a most extraordinary opinion, to the effect that the planters are entitled to eject from their cottages the labourers who will not work for them, immediately and *by force*, without an appeal to a magistrate! An attempt made on the part of the government to confer on the labourers the rights of tenants is violently opposed by the planters, lest it should "make them independent." How is it these gentlemen do not see, that, to refuse the peasantry as *tenants*, is to drive them to become *freeholders?*

WE have much pleasure in presenting to our readers the following extract of a letter from Mr. Lewis Tappan to Mr. Sturge. It is dated

New York, April 1st, 1842,

The committee voted last evening to address a letter to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on several topics connected with the anti-slavery cause, particularly on the subject of the *Creole*. Since the receipt of the debates in the House of Lords, our politicians are abandoning part of the ground taken. They now allow that Great Britain is not obliged to give up the nineteen persons as pirates, murderers, or mutineers; but, if the 135 were liberated through the influence of the British authorities at Nassau, this government had a claim on the British government for *compensation!* They are endeavouring to shew now that this was the principal point in Mr. Webster's despatch to Mr. Everett. They earnestly hope your committee will be upon the look out with reference to this matter, and that your government will never allow compensation in such a case as this. Should they do so, many vessels loaded with slaves will probably find their way to the British islands, and a sale be made of them to your government.

We are now in danger of being involved in war with Mexico, and having Texas annexed to this country. Mexico has poured in about 15,000 troops into Texas, who are marching through the country rapidly. The Texans have turned out *en masse* to resist them, and have appealed to the people of this country for aid.

This government has ordered troops to the frontiers, ostensibly to preserve tranquillity in our own borders, but really, it is feared, to afford countenance to the Texans.

Very great efforts will be made to involve this country in a war with Mexico, and to annex Texas to the United States.

The anti-slavery cause is onward here, without doubt, and the crisis approaches rapidly. God is interfering for the deliverance of the poor slaves, "in judgment or in mercy."

As a striking illustration of the last sentence in this interesting communication, we may notice the important step which a member of congress, Mr. Giddings, has taken, by introducing into the house of representatives some noble resolutions on the case of the *Creole*. Of the agitated and extraordinary proceedings to which this act gave rise we have presented a detail elsewhere; we shall here add a few lines from the *Emancipator*, to show in what light this important step is regarded by the friends of liberty.

Our readers may rest assured that Mr. Giddings has pursued, throughout the late extraordinary proceedings, a course eminently judicious, patriotic, dignified, firm, and honourable to himself and his constituents. His resolutions were most timely—they broke the silence of the house on

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a subject on which, before, every lip had been sealed. They have spoiled the plot by which the slave-holders intended to *smuggle* the country into a war in defence of slavery. This is what made them so mad. This was the *treason* of the measure. The resolutions are so true, so logical, so irrefutable, that the slavocracy did not dare to have them discussed, and Mr. Giddings therefore did wisely in withdrawing them, that they might not be rejected without discussion. It was patriotic in him to save the country from a blind commitment to the opposite of those resolutions, at the expense of a war.

His demand of time to prepare for his defence was also strictly proper. It was a right of the accused; and although, in the particular case, he would not have been caught unprepared, yet his omission to claim the right would have wrought injustice as a precedent in the case of others. A moment's reflection also will satisfy every one that he acted right in refusing to enter on his defence by the courtesy or charity of his enemies. He knew enough of their temper to know that a defence, with his head in the lion's mouth, would be rather an aggravation than an advantage.

Mr. Giddings is, beyond a question, the ablest, most industrious, and most influential member of the house from the whole north-west. There are others who make more noise, but no other so universally respected and confided in. We have no doubt he will come back with a vote nearly unanimous from his great district.

The affairs of Texas are undoubtedly adapted to excite the deepest anxiety. We have been concerned to see it announced that a treaty between Texas and Great Britain would probably be ratified by August next. We had hoped that the present government would not have entered into negotiation with this insurgent province upon any subject.

WE copy from the *Colonial Gazette* the following extract of a letter from Sierra Leone, dated 12th February, 1842.

"There is a French brig of war in harbour, making the second that has been here within the last three or four weeks. The ostensible reason of their visiting this port is to watch and inquire into the system of emigration from hence. From what I can gather from the French officers, their government is very jealous of the system."

This jealousy of the French government is both natural and just. How will the promoters of the African emigration scheme disarm it?

IN the *Revue des Colonies*, which we have just received, we find a copy of a letter of M. Granier de Cassagnac to one of his good friends in the West Indies, M. Bouvet, making such an exposure of himself as would be enough to ruin any man who had a character to lose. It is not with himself alone, however, that he takes injurious freedoms. He uses the liberty of announcing the views of the government [in the following terms:—"The government has no more intention of emancipating the slaves than you or I have; and it will load me with benedictions if I will disembarrass it of the Broglie commission." That M. Granier has a sufficient reason for saying this, even if it is not true, is obvious enough from the selfish purpose to which he turns it; but the circulation of such an assertion in the colonies gives the greater importance to every indication by which it can be demonstrated that the government is really sincere. It shows at the same time by what methods a determined opposition to emancipation is sustained in the colonies.

UNITED STATES: IMPORTANT PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

THE legislature of the United States has been the scene of another "tempest" on the dreaded anti-slavery question. The whole proceedings on this occasion are so important and so interesting, that we shall detail them at some length, as given by the *Emancipator and Free American*.

On Monday, March 21, resolutions being in order, Mr. Giddings said he had a series of resolutions on a subject which had been debated with much interest at the other end of the capitol, although the discussion had not yet reached the house. The resolutions he should offer at this time, and wished them to be read for the information of the house, as he intended to call them up for discussion at the first convenient opportunity. The clerk read the following

RESOLUTIONS ON THE CREOLE CASE.

Resolved—That prior to the adoption of the federal constitution each of the several states composing this union exercised full and exclusive jurisdiction over the subject of slavery within its own territory, and possessed full power to continue or abolish it at pleasure.

Resolved—That by adopting the constitution no part of the aforesaid powers were delegated to the federal government, but were reserved by and still pertain to each of the several states.

Resolved—That by the 8th section of the first article of the constitution, each of the several states surrendered to the federal government all jurisdiction over the subjects of commerce and navigation upon the high seas.

Resolved—That slavery, being an abridgement of the natural rights of man, can exist only by force of *positive municipal law*, and is necessarily confined to the territorial jurisdiction of the power creating it.

Resolved—That when a ship belonging to the citizens of any state of this union leaves the waters and territory of such state, and enters upon the high seas, the persons on board cease to be subject to the slave laws of such state, and thenceforth are governed in their relations to each other by, and are amenable to, the laws of the United States.

Resolved—That when the brig *Creole*, on her late passage for New Orleans, left the territorial jurisdiction of Virginia, the slave laws of that state ceased to have jurisdiction over the persons on board said brig, and such persons became amenable only to the laws of the United States.

Resolved—That the persons on board said ship, in resuming their natural rights of personal liberty, violated no law of the United States, incurred no legal penalty, and are justly *liable to no punishment*.

Resolved—That all attempts to regain possession of or to re-enslave said persons are unauthorised by the constitution or laws of the United States, and are incompatible with our national honour.

Resolved—That all attempts to exert our national influence in favour of the coastwise slave-trade, or to place this nation in the attitude of maintaining a "commerce in human beings," are *subversive of* the rights, and injurious to the feelings and the interests of the free states, are unauthorized by the constitution, and prejudicial to our national character.

Even Mr. Adams's presentation of a petition from northern freemen for a dissolution of the union, was not so great a blow as these resolutions, for it did not strike so directly at the grand conspiracy to smuggle the country into a war for the defence and *extension of the* slave-trade. The first attempt was to prevent the resolutions from being received, so that they need not go on the journals; but it was found that, under the rules, no such question could be raised on resolution day. The next effort was a motion of Mr. Everett, of Vermont, (!) to lay them on the table by a vote, but our experienced overseer from Kentucky, Mr. Andrews, understood the game better, and said he wished *to have a direct* vote on the resolutions themselves. Consequently, the motion to lay on the table was lost, 52 to 125.

This was a master movement of the overseers, if they could thereby bring the house, on a sudden impulse, to reject the resolutions themselves, under the coercion of their master's eye, and thus get the country committed to the contrary doctrine, and get *the whole thing* through the house without discussion, which they dreaded. Regularly, according to the rules, all resolutions that elicit objection or debate are laid over to another day and take their place on the docket of business, and it was the business of the speaker to make the announcement immediately. But Mr. White has now learned to take the wink on all matters that concern slavery or his party, and plays fast or loose with the rules, *as occasion may require*. He therefore allowed General Ward, a most devoted sub-overseer from the state of New York, to thrust in a motion for the previous question, on another member's resolutions! A most ungentlemanly and impertinent thing indeed. Being on the right side, he was allowed to make a speech out of all rule, in which he declared, in effect, that it would not answer to allow the question to remain undecided *long enough to discuss it*, but that the salvation of the country demanded an immediate decision. The P. Q. was seconded, and then Mr. Holmes, the embodiment of Charleston courtesy, began a speech, saying, "there are subjects [slavery] as well as places, too sacred for common discussion; [What a *holy* thing slavery must be!] but," said he, "*fools* rush in, where angels fear to tread." *Here the oration was interrupted by a call to order, and could not go on.*

Mr. J. Q. Adams said he would like to have the question divided, for he would vote for some of the resolutions and against others.

Mr. Everett asked to be excused from voting on this question, and assigned as a reason that the subject would come before the committee on Foreign Relations, and he did not wish to commit himself until that committee should report; *he would, however, express his strong objection to* the firebrand course pursued by the gentleman from Ohio on this floor. The house refused to excuse him.

[It ought to be known that there is a very snug and respectable office under the federal government in Vermont, the present incumbent of which is a very old and infirm man, and as soon as he drops it, the appointment *will be in the hands of President Tyler*, who will doubtless give it to some man of approved "patriotism," according to the executive standard. This fact may help to explain many things, otherwise unaccountable.]

Mr. J. G. Floyd rose to ask to be excused from voting, until he could see and read the resolutions; but withdrew his motion to be excused.

Mr. Fessenden asked to be excused, as the resolutions involved prin*ciples of great moment, which, at the short notice* thus given, it was impossible he could vote understandingly upon them. Not excused.

Mr. Cushing asked to be excused from voting on the resolutions, as they were British arguments of a treasonable nature against this country, and such as would compel him to vote against them seriatim. He then withdrew his request.

All this contrivance of the overseers to get the house committed to the slave interest so that they could not go back, but might be pushed forward into a war, was at once frustrated by Mr. Giddings' withdrawal of the resolutions. They had served the great purpose of calling the attention of the country to the true principles of law and justice, and constitutional obligation, and he could well afford to withdraw them, sacrificing no principle or point of honour, and at the same time prostrating the plot of the conspirators against liberty. The frantic fury of the slaveholders when he proposed the withdrawal, turning the hall into a bedlam-cell for half an hour, proves that the tact of the latter movement was equal to the boldness of the first.

The correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce* says he withdrew the resolutions on account of "*the trouble* and confusion they would make among his particular friends." We do not believe he acted under any such motive; if he did, he got well paid for it, for, as soon as he had succeeded in withdrawing them, Mr. Botts, of Virginia, a leading whig, who has gained much good will at the north for his support of Mr. Adams and the right of petition, seized the opportunity to expurgate himself, and offered the following

RESOLUTION OF CENSURE.

Whereas the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, the member from the sixteenth congressional district of the state of Ohio, has this day presented to this house a series of resolutions touching the most important interests connected with a large portion of the union, now a subject of negotiation between the United States and Great Britain, of the most delicate nature, the result of which may eventually involve those nations and perhaps the whole civilized world in war; and, whereas the duty of every good citizen, and particularly the duty of every selected agent and representative of the people, should discountenance all efforts to create excitement, dissatisfaction, and division among the people of the United States, at such a time and under such *circumstances*, which is the only effect to be accomplished by the introduction of sentiments before the legislative body of the country hostile to the grounds assumed by the high functionary having charge of this important and delicate trust; and, whereas mutiny and murder are therein justified and approved in terms shocking to all sense of law, order and humanity; therefore,

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Resolved—That this house hold the conduct of the said member as altogether unwarranted and unwarrantable, and deserving the severe condemnation of the people of this country, and of this body in particular.

Mr. Botts was not in order, because the state of Virginia had already been called. He was obliged to move a suspension of rules, which, as it requires two-thirds, failed. Yeas 124, nays 68, showing 68 men *at least* who dare to uphold the rights of a free representative.

After a little altercation, Mr. Weller, of Ohio, whose notable services as a sub-overseer have often been recorded in our columns, said, that as resolutions from Ohio were still *in order*, he would renew the motion of the gentleman from Virginia. He wished to express in the strongest terms his dissent from the course pursued by his colleague. With characteristic generosity he moved the previous question, in the hope thereby to condemn Mr. Giddings unheard!

Mr. Giddings inquired whether, if the previous question should be sustained, he could be heard in his defence.

The speaker decided that, as it was a question of privilege, Mr. Giddings had *now* a right to defend himself, but that after the previous question, he could not proceed.

Mr. Giddings claimed a delay of two weeks, to prepare his defence, and he wished a postponement for that purpose.

A desultory jangle again followed in regard to the question of postponement, and to the numerous questions of order. The speaker decided that the previous question could not be put until the accused had been heard, and that when put, it cut off the accused as well as all others from speaking at all. On appeal, he was overruled as to the first point, the house deciding that the previous question could be put before the accused had been heard. *And it was put and carried.* On another appeal the speaker was sustained, and the house decided that the previous question cut off the accused member from his defence. *And he was silenced!*

In the midst of these proceedings, however, the house adjourned, before the final vote was taken.

That night a caucus was held, and the plan of operations for the next day agreed on. The troops in the morning of Tuesday were well drilled to do their dirty work of despotism. The righteous and sensible decision of the speaker was first overruled, seventy-seven to ninety-eighty, and the main question on the adoption of the vote of censure ordered, ninety-five to ninety-one.

Triplett of Kentucky, in the midst of a terrible storm of disorder and loud talking, tried to move that Mr. Giddings be allowed a hearing in his own defence. But the chair (of course, after the decision against him) would not receive the motion. Mr. Adams made an effort, by raising a question of order, with the like success. Stewart of Vermont, moved to reconsider the last vote, but the chair said the motion was out of order; and, on an appeal, he was sustained by a large vote. Brown of Tennessee asked to be excused from voting. This was an appeal to *moral* influence on a question of morals. But a vote of censure would do no good, and it might be considered as indicative of a disposition to persecute—"order" said the speaker and his mallet. "The question cannot be debated."

Cushing wished to be excused. It might expose him to misconstruction: and the house had no power to censure men for the expression of their opinions. So also said Irwin, in strong and indignant language.

Weller offered to withdraw the previous question if Mr. Giddings would pledge himself to renew it after he had closed his defence. But this the speaker declared out of order. An attempt to have him speak by universal consent was made; but he had not finished half the first sentence of a declaration that he should *not* speak as a matter of grace and favour, when Cooper of Ga. rose and objected.

Mr. Adams moved to lay it on the table, but the vote did not prevail. 70 ayes to 124 nays.

The question was taken first on the resolve, which passed, 125 to 69, and then on the preamble, 119 to 66. Only two of the southern men voted nay, Pope and Underwood, of Kentucky. Of the democrats, Parmenter, Ferris, McKean, Roosevelt, Doig, R. D. Davis, Egbert and Gordon, stood by the right. Several of the western whigs voted yea, and all the rest of the democrats and southerners present. Slade and Burnell were sick, and Briggs gone home. About 20 *dodged*, by going out to avoid voting. Immediately on the announcement of the vote, Barnard, of New York, gave notice of a protest against the action of this house. That protest is said to be a noble document. It has not yet been offered. Everett, of Vermont, Winthrop and Saltonstall, of Massachussets, Brockway, of Pa., Cowen of Ohio, Bronson and others, yesterday morning called a meeting, of all the northern whig members to consider this protest. But, in consequence of the opposition of some of the Ohio delegation, nothing was done. Another meeting will be held soon.

Slade's manly letter in the *Intelligencer*, making common cause with Giddings, is well worth copying. It is a sample of the prevailing spirit and decision of the mass of the northern members. They are far more excited than they were, even in Mr. Adams' case. And I have no doubt that the result, in its influence upon *them* as well as elsewhere, will be highly beneficial. The audacious violation of the constitution in censuring a member, without trial or defence, for the free expression of his opinions, must and will rouse the energies of the people. Such despotism is not to be endured.

If the SLAVE POWER cannot be speedily shaken off, nothing can save a union by which the right of petition, and, now, the FREEDOM OF SPEECH also, are destroyed, as the means of rivetting the bondage of the millions of the poor for ever.

After the vote Mr. Giddings, with his usual calmness and decision, rose, passed round the hall, and took leave of his friends, some of whom, especially the venerable ex-president, were deeply affected, and then left the house, accompanied by the whig members of the Ohio delegation. The slavocracy watched his motions with evident alarm. What! did this cautious, prudent northerner *dare* to question their decree, and *appeal to the people* against their decision? They had indeed made a blunder and committed a crime too, if that was the case. Their smiling faces became instantly solemn. And, while the house pretended for an hour or two to be in committee on the Loan Bill, the members were, in fact, busied in excited discussion, in little groups, on the nature and consequences of their deed. The next morning Mr. Giddings sent in his letter of resignation, and the Speaker was ordered to communicate it to the governor of Ohio. Cown, who, by the way, is a particular friend of Mr. Giddings, and will not be very likely to love the slavocracy any the better for this act. Three hours and a half were then consumed in a series of efforts to amend the *Journal, so as to give* a more complete or faithful account of the confused doings of the day before. Weller made a strenuous effort to show that he had given Mr. Giddings a chance to defend himself, but that Giddings had refused to do so. "He did right," exclaimed Goode. "He had the same chance to defend himself that a felon with the halter around his neck has. He could make his confession, and that was all. His colleague had refused to make his defence as a matter of favour, and he honoured him for it. They would find some spirit left in Ohio yet." Father Everett, who, on the first day, had uttered a splenetic remark about Mr. Giddings "throwing a fire-brand" among them, also gave them to understand that his powers of endurance were quite exhausted.

The next morning, Mr. Adams moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to propose a standing rule, that henceforth, when a member was charged with any *offence*, no rule of the house should be construed to deprive him of his right to defend himself. But the 2-3 did not vote for it, ayes 97, noes 77.

Yesterday morning Mr. Giddings left for Ohio. He will doubtless be re-elected without opposition, and will resume his seat by the middle of May, freed from all party ties, and ready to do battle with the slavocracy, tooth and nail, or, rather, *heart* and *soul* and *mind*—things much more dreadful to slavery.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

From the *Revue des Colonies* of January and February 1842.

WE informed our readers in a former number, of the frightful crime committed by a manager of an establishment in Guadelope on some unfortunate slaves.* We now present the trial of this case, which was adjudged in November last, by the correctional police. It is astonishing that such great excesses are not delivered up to criminal justice, because the crime, although committed by a *white* on the person of a *black*, is not less a crime; and, if there is an incontestable equality in this lower world, it is the equality before justice.

Royal Court—Correctional Police.
Audience of the 10th November.
PRESIDENT M. A. DE LACHARRIERE.

The court being opened, and the attorney-general *pro tem.* having taken his seat, the register read the depositions of the surgeons and the arrest of the chamber of accusation; from which it appeared, that Jean Laffranque, aged 26 years, born at Bagnéres, department of Hautes-Pyrénées, is accused — First of having inhumanly treated the slave Dalphont, who was afflicted with a serious disease—of having inflicted on him several blows with the whip and kicked him, only a few seconds before his death—Second, of having tied the slaves Jacob and Six-Pouces to a tree, and *thus exposing them many hours to a burning sun—of having* then caused them to be tied face to face, and, whilst in that position, forcing them to swallow human excrement, flogging them, and finally burning their posteriors with a hot iron—offences punishable by the ancient ordinances, and by articles 5 and 311 of the penal code.

It appeared from the deposition of the surgeons who were called upon to visit the slaves Six-Pouces and Jacob, as well as the body of the deceased Dalphont, that the loins, buttocks, and thighs of the two first, exhibited the marks of from fifteen to twenty blows with the whip, and two superficial sores of about two and a-half or three inches in diameter, similar to those which a very strong blister would produce; that they were not of a serious nature, and, "if it be true," adds the doctor, "that the hot iron was applied (as Laffranque asserts in his defence) to destroy ulcerations of a bad character, I must declare that he has completely succeeded." The wound might be cured in two or three days. With respect to Dalphont, who had been some days interred, the doctor, after an examination and proof of the disordered state of the stomach and intestines, thus concludes: "in the absence of all external marks of violence, and in presence of the *tissue* indicating that the individual was in a state of great debility, I think that his death was not the result of violence exercised on him during his life; but must be attributed to that morbid state which is the natural consequence of a diseased stomach."

After the reading of these documents, the usher introduced the witness Jacob, but the explanations which he attempted to give in the Creole language of the facts relating to himself were so contradictory and unintelligible, that the court was obliged to have recourse to an interpreter, hoping that Jacob, a slave from St. Martin, would explain himself better in English. The substance of his evidence was as follows:—

"My first master resided at St. Martin, he brought me to Pointe-à-Pitre, where I was sold to M. Boisaubin, and attached to the establishment under the management of the accused. I was *marooning* with the negro Six-Pouces, employed in the same establishment, when we were arrested by M. Laffranque. We were in the first instance bound together face to face with cords, which were then fastened over our heads to the branches of a tamarind tree, our feet rested on the ground: in this position we remained from eight in the *morning until noon*: M. Laffranque then ordered them to bring a vessel containing the fæcal matter, which he introduced into our *mouths*, and with the nostle of a watering-pot, which served him as a funnel, he poured water into our mouths to force us to swallow it."

Q. Why did he make you swallow this fæcal matter? A. It was for punishment. He said to us; "I will not beat you, but I will make you eat excrement."

Q. Were you ill? A. No, because I vomited immediately. After that, we were untied from the tree and laid on the ground. M. Laffranque made Aurelie heat a piece of iron which he applied to the skin, my posteriors and thighs were burnt, he did the same to Six-Pouces.

Q. Had you any ulcers which he wished to cauterize? A. No.

Q. When the accused applied the red hot iron, did he not ask you what you had done with the articles which he accused you of having stolen? A. Yes; but I replied that I had not stolen anything.

Q. Have you not frequently been beaten with tamarind twigs by the

* Vide *Reporter of January 26th, 1842.*

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negresses on the establishment, who accused you of having robbed their huts? A. It was not I, but Six-Pouces.

Q. Tell us what you know of Dalphont A. Dalphont was ill, he had a swelled leg. M. Laffranque had made many incisions, in order to cure it. For some time it improved; but the disease returned when they forced him to work. One day he fell into a rut, and M. Laffranque caused him to be covered with earth. Some days afterwards they desired him to draw the carcass of a bullock, with the other negros of the establishment (a large slaughter-house), he fell from exhaustion. M. Laffranque made the driver beat him, and then beat him himself. *He died under the blows.*

Upon the requisition of the attorney-general, the court directed the reading of the depositions of the witnesses Six-Pouces and Aurélie, both deceased since the arrest of Laffranque.

Six-Pouces corroborated all the circumstances contained in the evidence of Jacob. He adds, that the scars which he had upon his shoulders proceeded from the blows which were given to him by Laffranque; that he had been beaten by many negresses of the establishment, but that their blows had left no traces.

It appeared from the written deposition of Aurelie, that Jacob and Six-Pouces, being tied together in the manner described, complained of being burnt by the sun; that Laffranque said to them, "Ah! Ah! I will show you something immediately, I will burn you directly with a hot iron;" that it was she (Aurelie) who, by his orders put the iron in the fire, from which he withdrew it himself in order to make use of it; that, at the cries of the two unfortunate men, he said, "this burns you so much the better! What have you done with that which you have stolen?" During this operation, relates the witness, Jacob and Six-Pouces rolled one over another imploring forgiveness. After this Laffranque caused them to be unbound, and, tying their hands and legs together, he forced them to walk by beating them with a *supple-jack*; these cruelties of Laffranque, and the cords together, caused all the wounds of Six-Pouces and Jacob. He made them eat excrement by means of a funnel; he has employed the same means to make her (Aurelie) eat it.

Aurelie further corroborated the evidence of the other witnesses relative to Dalphont.

Suzanne, a slave from St. Martin at present attached to the establishment of M. Boisaubin, stated, that she was present during all that passed, and entered into the most minute details. The day of the death of Dalphont she saw Laffranque dance on his body.

Charles, the overseer, corroborated the former statements, as did also Benedictine, who further added that Laffranque had made her son, a child of six years of age, eat excrement.

Prosper, the slave of M. Brane, being at the time placed for punishment on the establishment managed by Laffranque, gave some evidence of a somewhat contradictory character in support of the charge.

On the requisition of the prisoner's counsel, the deposition of the witness Doré Duval, who had not been subpœned, was read. He stated that he had heard Laffranque say that he was obliged to use the hot iron in order to free them from the vermin which they had collected while in the woods.

The prisoner stated in his defence, that the accusation was got up against him by one M. Molas, who wanted his situation, and that his bad counsels had thrown the whole establishment into disorder. The two negros were always running away, and, though he had put them in chains for it, they still persisted in the same offence. Having caught them the last time, he caused them to be tied in the manner described, but the cords were so loose as to allow them to turn round with freedom.

Q. In this position did you not make them eat fæcal matter? A. It is false; I merely passed a cloth saturated in it across their mouths. It was only a joke, all the negros laughed at it.

Q. Have you not been in the habit of using this as a means of punishing the negros? A. Never.

Q. Did you not do so to Aurelie? A. It was done as I have stated, and on the day of which I have spoken.

Q. You have heard your overseer (Charles) state that, two weeks after the affair of Jacob and Six-Pouces, you did the same to Aurelie, Melie, Julie, &c.? A. It is false.

He then, in answer to the question of the court, gave his reasons for using the hot iron, namely to cure a disease, the existence of which was indicated by the sores on the skin of the two negros.

Q. All the witnesses deny the existence of such sores. A. It is as I have stated.

Q. Where did Dalphont come from? A. He had been *marooning* five years. His master sent him to M. Boisaubin to work upon his establishment, advising him by a letter, which you have among the papers, that he often became sick to avoid work. Whilst he was on the establishment his legs were very much inflamed. I was often surprised at finding this man eating dirt; he died of a disease of the stomach resulting therefrom. He fell at his work while dragging a dead bullock; I was not there. When I arrived at the place where the negros were at work, I found him dead.

Q. The commonest humanity should have inspired you with pity towards this poor man; his condition should have excused him from all work. A. The driver will tell you that Dalphont has often been at the hospital. But in fact, *it is the general custom not to allow slaves who are afflicted with disease of the stomach to remain inactive. This malady requires exercise and constant surveillance.*

Q. Sometime before this did you not cover Dalphont with earth, when he had fallen from weakness into a rut? A. Yes, I made them throw a panier of earth on him, but it was not done in earnest, it was only a joke. I said to him, you desire to die: well! I am going to bury you.

The court then adjourned.

(Audience of the 17th.)

The attorney-general resumed the proceedings, and in an animated discourse summed up the evidence against the prisoner. He laid particular stress on the statements respecting Dalphont, and sought to establish the fact that Laffranque had forced to work and beaten a dying man. He finished by inquiring how it was that the crimes against slaves are frequently of a character which are unheard of against free people. It is, said he, that, in the breasts of some men, religious sentiment is counted for nothing in the relations between master and slave; they do not believe in their fraternity before God. When they exhaust on him whom circumstances has placed in their hands, all the contempt, all the outrages, all the tortures which a devilish imagination can invent, they do not blush with shame; they do not experience that compunction which rarely fails a man when he is about to injure something made in his own image. It is your sentence, gentlemen, that will restore the slave to his dignity as a man; and if they still repudiate the dogma of his equality before God, they will, at least, be forced to believe in his equality before the law which protects him.

After the reply of the advocate, the court retired into the council-chamber to deliberate, and, at the close of an hour they returned with a sentence which condemned Laffranque to *one year's imprisonment!*

Literary Notice.

Brief Notices of Hayti: with its condition, resources, and prospects. By JOHN CANDLER. London, 1842.

Our readers are already familiar with the fact, that Mr. Candler has travelled extensively in the British West Indies, to ascertain the working of freedom there. The little volume now before us acquaints us that he spent some time also in surveying the island of St. Domingo, now constituting the republic of Hayti. He furnishes a very simple, lucid, and interesting account of that which he saw and ascertained; and has made a valuable addition to the hitherto very small amount of knowledge possessed by the world at large respecting this important portion of it. The author treats, in the course of his narrative, on all the topics, whether lighter or more grave, on which the reader can wish for information; and uniformly in a manner so sensible, instructive, and agreeable, that one can hardly fail to arrive at the end of the volume with regret. As a sample we make one extract, relating to the cultivation of sugar and general commerce.

"The greater part of the land, in some of the extensive plains, is well adapted to the cultivation of sugar; and the exportation of that article was once very large. Previous to the year 1789, according to the table given by Bryan Edwards, in his history of the West Indies, the annual export of sugar from this colony, chiefly to the mother country, was 1,296,360 cwts., or about 65,000 hogsheads of a ton each. This trade has entirely ceased; and on this circumstance is built the hypothesis, maintained in France, and in all the colonies where slavery still exists, that freedom has ruined the island, and that slavery, and slavery alone, can be relied on to ensure a sufficient supply of sugar for the markets of the old world. By far the larger part of the estates of the old proprietors went out of cultivation for want of hands, on the depopulation that followed the civil wars; but much land is still devoted to the sugar-cane, and yields an abundant supply of syrup, or uncrystalized sugar, and also of a spirit that is distilled from it, called tafia, which is consumed in the island to an astonishing extent. A great part of what once constituted the wealth of slave-proprietors goes to supply the wants of the descendants of their slaves, who are now free, and possess the soil. It is quite true that these wants of the people pursue a wrong direction—that sugar is better than tafia—that it would be far better to export sugar, and purchase manufactured goods with the produce, than to consume the ardent spirit distilled from it: but this is a matter of taste with the consumers, whose comforts real or imaginary are bound up in the present system; and all we can say to them, as we might say to multitudes of the English, Scotch, and Irish, who pursue the same course, is, that in using strong drinks they greatly mistake the meaning of comfort, and retard their own advancement in civil society. The syrup consumed is of excellent quality, as good and useful for all domestic purposes as sugar itself.

"A review of the present exports of Hayti, brings us to a comparison of its foreign commerce with that carried on by other nations: nor shall we discover in it that ruinous deficiency of which the pro-slavery press of Europe and America is so constantly complaining. The annual exports of the republic at the present day exceed in value a million sterling. Its trade with the United States of America was greater a few years since than it is at the present time. In the year 1839, the United States imported from Hayti to the value of 2,347,556 dollars; and exported thence to the value of 1,815,212 dollars, whilst, from *all the British West Indies* in the same period, the imports were only 1,835,227 dollars, the exports 1,522,347 dollars, leaving a balance of imports in favour of Hayti, as compared with that of our colonies, of more than 500,000 dollars! In the same year, Hayti sent more merchandize to the United States than almost any European power, except Great Britain, France, and Russia, and nearly as much as the latter. During the year 1840, the imports of foreign goods into the United States amounted to 107,141,519 dollars. The exports to 132,085,946 dollars, or £27,000,000 sterling. The population of the United States is twenty times as large as that of Hayti: its trade is only twenty-seven times as large.

"In the year 1840, *the declared value* of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from this country to Hayti, was £251,979, a larger amount than it sent either to Denmark, to Prussia, or to our own trading port of Malta; and more than half as much as it exported either to Mexico or to the great empire of China! The total value of the *produce and manufactures* of the United Kingdom, exported from this country in 1839, was £50,060,970. The total mean value of produce exported from Hayti, in the years 1838 and 1839, as we have seen in the previous table, was £1,040,799. The population of Hayti may be estimated at 850,000; that of Great Britain and Ireland is twenty-seven millions.

Thus we see that the exports of the United Kingdom, considered relatively in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, are as one-eighty-five to one; those from the United States of America, as one-sixty-five to one; those from Hayti, as one-twenty-five to one. So that Hayti, poor, and despised as she *is*, has a commerce, *in native produce*, nearly three-fourths as large, *in proportion to her population*, as our own United Kingdom, which is the great manufacturing mart of the world; and seven-eighths as large as that of the United States, where the staple exports are produced by the labour of three millions of slaves! The only disadvantage to Hayti in this comparison is, that Great Britain has an immense carrying trade: Hayti has none: but how can she be expected to raise a

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commerce of this kind without capital; and how can capital be created whilst she continues to exclude foreigners from her soil, and whilst her institutions tend rather to depress than to encourage the industry of her people?"

BRITISH GUIANA: OPPOSITION TO THE RENT SYSTEM.

(From the *Guiana Gazette.*)

The old school planters have steadily resisted the introduction of the rent system, on the ground that it would make the labourers independent, and would deprive the estates of a regular command of labour.

Now, granting all the force to this objection to which any body can possibly suppose it entitled, the answer is most complete and satisfactory. By refusing to rent cottages to the labourers, by depriving them of the right to become tenants on your property, on which, perhaps, they were born, and to which they have a strong attachment, you actually compel them, for the sake of that independence which they covet quite as much as you fear it, to become independent proprietors, to club together to buy plantations, or to buy lots, and move away from you altogether.

The very strong disposition of the labourers to buy land of their own, and the very high prices they have been induced to pay, are to be ascribed in a great measure to the general refusal to allow them to become tenants; and it is worthy of remark, that several of those who have been the most violent opponents of the rent system and of the independence of the labourers, have yet, when they could get a good price, been ready enough to sell their own land at a profit, and have thus contributed to produce, in its most aggravated form, the very evil which they set up as a decisive objection to the rent system.

We have heard, for instance, the following very good story of a celebrated conservative, so brim-full of old school notions that he has advanced a thousand pounds for the establishment of a new conservative journal—the sun-shiny side of which thousand pounds he has seen, poor man! for the last time—who happened formerly to possess a plantain cultivation in the neighbourhood of *Victoria*, the first purchase of the emancipated negros. In the excess of his patriotic fervor against the labourers becoming proprietors, it is alleged that he gave out, that, although he dealt in plantain stools, the ordinary price of which was a bit each, yet to the fellows who had bought *Victoria*, he would not sell one for less than a guilder. Little did this gentleman think, when putting forth this pompous little threat, that within a little three years he would himself sell his own plantain walk, and the very house over his head, to a body of emancipated labourers, and would make so much money by the transaction as to be able to throw away a thousand pounds upon the establishment of a newspaper, intended to preach to others those conservative principles which he himself, in practice, had found it convenient to depart from. Whether he sold his land upon the same generous principles and with the same disproportionate profits which he proposed to himself in the sale of his plantain stools, we are not informed. But one thing we do know, and that is, that plantation *Friendship* is drawing off from the neighbouring estates, and turning into freeholders, many of the best labourers whom the short-sighted policy of their employers has not permitted to become tenants.

This is a point of view in which, perhaps, the open opposers or lukewarm friends of the rent system have not considered it; a view which if they will take—and if they have sense enough not to fall into the ridiculous notion of mistaking obstinacy in error for a proof of sagacity and wisdom—may lead them to allow a measure to pass, which is quite as essential to themselves as it will be advantageous to the labourers.

DEMERARA.

EXTRACT of a letter addressed to the Treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, dated George Town, February 21st, 1842.

"We have, as you may suppose, been greatly interested by the recent capture of a slaver on the coast of Essequibo, an account of which first appeared in the *Guiana Times* (an apparently pro-slavery paper), and was afterwards copied into the *Gazette*. As you will have seen the statement ere this, I have no need to recapitulate. Of the proceedings of the authorities in relation to it we have not yet heard any intimation; but to us it seems wonderful here, that under any circumstances, a slaver should have strayed into these latitudes, and, after escaping the vigilance of our cruizers on the African seas, should have become the easy prize of one of our own plantations (Richmond in Guiana).

"I rejoice to learn, that, generally speaking, a better understanding is beginning to prevail between many of the labourers and their employers than had been anticipated, the obnoxious rules and regulations having ceased to be extensively the *sine quâ non* of the planters, and the former rates agreed to by the labourers on those plantations where they had been partially raised during the urgent prices of sugar in Britain. Such plantations as sought to reduce the wages lower than formerly, not having previously raised them, have found it their interest not to contest the point further to the injury of the plantations, and are using means to induce such of their valuable labourers as had left them to return. And though some now affect to despise religion and now to court its aid, little do they know its real excellence, or understand the extent to which they are indebted to its influence for the general peacefulness of the people, or for the disposition of many of them to return to the labours of the field. Much good may be expected to result from some proprietors of estates having at length wisely advertised the front waste lands of their plantations for sale, in lots sufficient for a cottage and a garden, which will doubtless be sought after by such of the labourers as may attain to it. Better had it been, both for themselves and the general prosperity of the province, had this plan been adopted earlier, so as to have enabled them to form themselves into independent villages near the cultivated lands, instead of forming certain kinds of joint-stock companies for the purchase of abandoned, if not barren lands, with, I fear, small prospect of advantage. There are doubtless exceptions, and it is gratifying to observe the progress that is making, in some parts of the provinces, toward the erection of embryo townships.

"Every one must perceive that it will be the planters' wisdom to use conciliation and kindness; unreasonable determinations, however obstinately persisted in, can work nothing but injury to the employers and the employed.

"I have recently heard very little about immigration or immigrants—some pitiable objects now and then present themselves at my door, whose tale of sorrow ignorance of their language renders it next to impossible to ascertain. Their attitudes have evinced the devoutest gratitude when either food, or money, or clothing, according to their apparent necessities, has been administered by us. Others have been advantageously circumstanced, and by frugality, perseverance, and skill, appear to attain a competency as petty hucksters. Of the probability of any attaining to wealth on plantation labour, no very favourable opinion is likely to be formed by any who have become acquainted with recent events."

SLAVE-TRADE.—The *Univers* states, that, notwithstanding the severe penalties enacted by the authorities of Port Rico and Cuba against persons engaged in the slave-trade, that infamous traffic was still publicly carried on in those islands. "The person who writes these lines," says that Journal, "saw, in the month of August, 1841, two schooners fitting out at San Juan for the coast of Africa. He also beheld at Havana, a few months later, five negro ships armed with guns, which had just landed a considerable number of slaves. The wretches interested in the trade give large bribes to the public functionaries of the districts in which they land the Africans. Finally, in the small island of Bieque, contiguous to Porto Rico, the governor, a former planter of Guadeloupe, receive the slave ships, and encourages by every means in his power that abominable traffic in human flesh."—*Times.*

ENGLISH SLAVE-HOLDERS IN BRAZIL.—From the *Diario, or Daily Official Gazette of Pernambuco*, 1st Dec. 1841.—Run away on the 20th ultimo, a black woman named Maria, belonging to the English parson residing at Madelena, of thirty-five years of age, stature regular, feet and hands small, has a scar on the left cheek the size of a halfpenny, which runs to the bottom of the cheek; has another large scar above the left side on the back between the shoulders, had on a dress of blue and yellow print, and shift of unbleached cotton; whoever takes her, carry her to Cross Street, No. 43, shall be rewarded.

From the same, 3rd Feb. 1842.—Run away on the 22d *ultimo*, from the seat of the reverend English priest, a black man named José Loands, of 40 to 45 years old, has some white hairs, height regular, little beard, has some of the front upper teeth rotten, of the Benguella nation; had on a blue shirt and trousers of bagging; whoever takes him carry him to Cross Street, No. 43, shall be recompensed.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

	Donations. £	s.	d.	Subscrip. £	s.	d.
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Advertisements.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THIS SOCIETY

Will take place in EXETER HALL, on FRIDAY, 13th May, 1842.

The Most Noble the MARQUIS of CLANRICARDE will preside.

The Doors will be open at Ten, and the Chair will be taken at Eleven o'clock, precisely. J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

Admission by Tickets only, which may be had at the SOCIETY'S *OFFICE*, 27, New Brood Street; THOMAS WARD and Co., 27, Paternoster Row; HATCHARD & SON, 187, Piccadilly; JAMES NISBET & Co., Berners Street; JACOB POST, Lower Road, Islington; JOSEPH STERRY & SON, 156, High Street, Borough; JEREMIAH CLARK, 13, Moorgate Street; and CHARLES GILPIN, 5, Bishopsgate Street Without.

Just Published.—Price Half-a-Crown.

BRIEF NOTICES OF HAYTI, with its condition, resources and prospects. By JOHN CANDLER.

London:—Thomas Ward & Co., Paternoster Row; and Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate Street.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXIII. Vol. III. No. 10.] WEDNESDAY, MAY 18th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, PRESENTED AT THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THAT SOCIETY, MAY 13, 1842.

Like every other great and good work which depends for its success on the force of christian principles, and enlightened public sentiment, the anti-slavery cause has had its difficulties to encounter, and its triumphs to record, during the past year. In meeting the friends of that cause on the present occasion, the Committee express their unwavering confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth over error—of righteousness over injustice—of liberty over slavery; and, commending it to the watchful care, the warm sympathy, the active efforts of the friends of humanity in this country, and, above all, to the Divine blessing to crown it with success, they proceed very briefly to narrate the most material events connected with its history since they last assembled together.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY.

The slave-trade, so far as its movements can be traced in official and other authentic documents, is but little diminished in its extent. The markets for human beings are still open—the traffic is carried on with great activity—the profits are immense—and it is found, that, just in proportion to the vigour of the means used for its forcible suppression, is the ingenuity of its abettors successfully exercised in carrying it on, and the miseries and mortality of its victims fearfully increased. Cuba and the Brazils are, at the present time, the largest markets for the sale of slaves, and thither a vast multitude of these wretched beings—principally of the male sex, in the prime of their existence—are annually transferred from the continent of Africa, to replace those who have miserably perished under the oppressions of the slave systems of those countries.

If, in consequence of the difficulties to be overcome in procuring and bringing cargoes of human beings to market, the profits of the slave-buyer are less than formerly, those of the slave-seller are greater, and his incentives to pursue his criminal undertakings multiplied.

The ravages of the slave-trade are not confined to the Western Coast of Africa, for the supply of the slave-markets on both the American continents and the West Indies. The eastern coast suffers also. Thence slaves are transported to the Brazils, and to the states bordering on the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, through which they find their way into various parts of the east, and even into the British territories in Hindostan. From northern Africa slaves are shipped for the markets in the Levant and Constantinople, where they find a ready sale. The negro states on the borders of Egypt supply that country with wretched beings of the same class. To glut the rapacity of the more civilized portions of the earth, Africa is still compelled annually to yield up an immense number of her children, who are forced into exile and slavery.

The treaties which have hitherto been negotiated by this country with foreign powers for the suppression of this great iniquity, however honourably designed, have, with few exceptions, been flagrantly broken. Spain, Portugal, and the Brazils, have long been under the most solemn engagements to terminate the disgraceful traffic; but the bad faith of these powers has only led to years of painful diplomatic remonstrance and negotiation, without lessening the evil to any great extent. At the present moment Spain is unable, even if she were willing, to fulfil her obligations. Deriving an immense revenue from her colonies, in part from the slave-trade, and threatened with revolt if she listen to the demands of the British government, she hesitates to fulfil her treaties, and to vindicate her own laws and character from the foul dishonour cast upon them. Portugal, without the shadow of a pretence, save her poverty, and consequent inability to keep up her colonial establishments in Africa without it, refuses to carry her treaties for the extinction of the slave-trade into effect, except under such limitations and restrictions as the British government cannot and will not sanction. Brazil is retrograding: her treaties are a dead letter: her authorities connive at the illicit introduction of slaves into all parts of the country; and the greatest efforts are made by some of her leading men to repeal the laws of the empire which make that introduction criminal, and give force to her treaties with Great Britain. Against this flagrant act the British government has earnestly, and hitherto successfully, protested, as a gross violation of her engagements. France refuses to ratify the very treaty which, in conjunction with this country, she proposed to the other great powers of Europe, from the jealousy of her people that England aims, under the cover of philanthropy, at maritime supremacy and the degradation of her flag. The United States peremptorily refuses to enter into any treaty with any power for the suppression of the slave-trade, and even threatens war if the right of search, in its most qualified sense, be insisted on by the British government. Several of the South American States are temporising; and one of them, Monte Video, has actually evaded her treaty stipulations by importing native Africans into her territory under the name of colonists.

What lies at the root of all this hostility, opposition, and tergiversation on the part of kingdoms and republics, both in the Old and New World, in reference to the benevolent and generous exertions of Great Britain to destroy this evil? The Committee reply in one word—Slavery; and they feel confident that, until that mighty evil be extinguished—until the markets for slaves be broken up—it is vain to hope for the suppression of the slave trade.

The flags at present employed in covering this traffic, on the western coast of Africa, are the Portuguese, the United States, and the Spanish. Occasionally the flags of Brazil, Monte Video, France, Sweden, and Hamburgh, are used for the same purpose. On the eastern coast we find the flags of Portugal and Brazil, with the occasional assistance of others. The flags of different Arab chiefs also are at present devoted to the same infamous trade. On the northern coast the Sardinian, Greek, Russian, Austrian, and Ottoman flags cover the traffic to the Levant and Turkey; and, it must be confessed, that, although the flag of Great Britain is not prostituted in the same way, her merchants generally, as well as those of the United States, residing in slave-holding and slave-trading countries, or trading to the coast of Africa, furnish the means either in capital or goods by which no small part of this dreadful commerce in mankind is carried on.

In the ports of the United States slavers are built and fitted out, with a full knowledge of the purposes to which they are to be devoted. In those of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, they are also openly prepared for their guilty voyages. Consuls, governors and captains general, ambassadors, ministers of state, and subordinate officers, have hitherto showed no reluctance in availing themselves of the splendid bribes offered them for assisting or conniving at the prosecution of this revolting trade. In fact, it appears that treaties are made only to be broken—that laws are enacted only to be violated; and that Great Britain has stood almost alone in the sincerity of her efforts to suppress the slave-trade, and in the generous—the almost incredible sacrifice of treasure and of life, to accomplish her noble purpose. She has, however, toiled and sacrificed in vain. Her cruizers on the coast of Africa and elsewhere, have not been seconded, to any extent, by those of other powers with whom she is in treaty; and, if she has driven the trade from one part of the coast, it has sprung up in another. "Under such circumstances," then, to use the language of the late secretary for the colonies, "under such circumstances, to repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard, would be scarcely possible if the whole British navy could be employed for the purpose. It is an evil that can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties."

If it be asked, how is the evil to be overcome? The committee answer again—by the universal abolition of slavery, to promote which great object this Society has been established.

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The committee now proceed to call attention to the home and foreign operations of the Society during the past year.

HOME OPERATIONS.

The first subject in point of importance which has engaged the attention of the committee has been

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

It will be recollected that, last year, the committee announced the gratifying fact that the long tried friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, Dr. Lushington, had, at their solicitation, undertaken to bring the question of slavery in the eastern part of the British Empire and its dependencies, under the consideration of the House of Commons. Circumstances, however, over which that honourable gentleman had no control, prevented him from doing so; and at the close of the session he retired from a position in parliament, which he had so long, so usefully, and so honourably occupied. The Committee are convinced that the friends of the anti-slavery cause generally will unite with them in the expression of their deep regret, that it has lost the public services of so distinguished an advocate; and would cherish the hope that others may be raised up who, with equal sincerity and zeal, ability and eloquence, shall plead the cause, and defend the rights, of the suffering and oppressed.

During the election which followed the late dissolution of parliament, the committee actively exerted themselves in diffusing information on slavery in India among the electors, and specially called the attention of all candidates for seats in the House of Commons to the same subject. They followed this up by a memorial to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, which was presented to him by a large deputation, composed of members of the committee and friends from the country, in which they laid before him the condition and the claims of the Indian slave. Subsequently to this interview, a deputation from the committee waited on Lord Ellenborough, then president of the Board of Control, and now governor-general of India; but found that, whilst the subject had not escaped the attention of the prime minister and his colleague, no plan had been matured for securing the object desired. They next turned their attention towards the House of Commons, for the purpose of securing the assistance of hon. members in bringing the case before parliament, and hoped that, as soon as the excitement connected with the great political questions of the day had subsided, the cry of the slave for deliverance would have been heard. In the meantime the report of the law commissioners of India, and other important documents on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade in that part of our dominions, have been printed by the House of Commons, and carefully analysed by the committee. The case is therefore ripe for discussion; and they trust they will soon be able to announce that some hon. member is prepared to move that slavery, in whatever form it may exist in any part of the British Empire, shall be immediately and for ever abolished. It is perhaps due to the law commissioners and the late governor-general of India to state, that, although differing very widely in opinion on some points, they unite in various rules and regulations being necessary to mitigate the state of slavery with a view to its ultimate abolition. Lord Auckland, especially, recommends the enactment of a law to diminish the authority and control of the master over his slave, but none of them contemplate its immediate and entire extinction.

SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST.

The existence of slavery in Ceylon has long been a subject under the consideration of government, and measures have from time to time been suggested to the authorities of that island, with a view to its abolition; but into these measures none of the successive governors appear to have entered with a sincere desire to accomplish that object. In consequence of this state of things the Committee felt it to be their duty to urge on the attention of the late Colonial Secretary, Lord John Russell, the necessity of immediately issuing an order in council (Ceylon being a crown colony) for its entire abolition. In reply to their suggestion, they were informed by him, that the governor of that colony had been called upon "to furnish a report on the actual state of slavery in Ceylon, with an expression on the part of his lordship of his anxiety to abolish every vestige of slavery therein." What steps may have been taken in consequence the Committee are not at present able to report.

The Committee also memorialized the late board of control on the existence of slavery in Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and province Wellesley, pointing out its deplorable character, and the fact of a slave-trade of an atrocious nature having grown up with it. They pointed out also, that slavery in these settlements had not even the plea of a legal existence, and ought, therefore, to be immediately terminated. Their memorial has been transmitted by the government to the Governor-General of India, and they trust they will soon be able to report that their wishes have been complied with.

WEST INDIA COLONIES.

The Committee have watched with intense interest the progress of emancipation in the West India colonies, and are happy to report that the general good conduct of the emancipated slaves continues to be deserving of the highest praise. It is evident from the united testimony of the authorities in the colonies, that they are rapidly advancing in intelligence, moral excellence, and, in some instances, in wealth. There are, however, the Committee regret to say, many circumstances existing which prevent the full development of the system of free-labour, and consequently, the general prosperity of the colonies. The want of confidence exhibited by the proprietors of estates or their agents towards the negros, and the attempt to coerce labour under a system of freedom, by adjusting a scheme of rents for huts and provision grounds of the most vicious, unreasonable, and oppressive character, and by combinations to reduce the price of labour below its fair and just level, has led to such results as might have been anticipated: the negros have withheld labour where they could, and have sought refuge from oppression by the purchase of land for themselves. The state of the law and its administration has also had an evil effect. The Committee, however, are happy to say, that, in this respect, much has been done by the home government to soften the rigour and remove the inequalities of the law which recently existed: but still much remains to be done; and they are satisfied that nothing short of a thorough revision of the whole mass of colonial enactments, or rather their supersession by one uniform code of laws and a re-construction of the courts of judicature, will meet the demands of justice, or secure, permanently and efficiently, the rights of persons and of property. Another disturbing cause has been the want of capital to secure labour, or to pay for it regularly and punctually: but for this, cultivation would have been extended in various quarters, and much valuable produce would have been saved from destruction. Another cause which has operated unfavourably has been bad management. By this the committee mean, that the same unbending sternness and violence of manner which characterized the planters during the period of slavery, when the power of the lash was in their hands, has been allowed to actuate their conduct, in too many instances, under the new system. This has begotten opposition and contests which have always ended to the disadvantage of the estates. But, wherever fairness and honesty, tact and good humour, have taken the place of violence and deceit, they have been met by corresponding efforts on the part of the negros to advance the interests of their employers. It may now be considered an established fact, that, where the greatest liberality has been manifested, there the greatest success has been obtained, and the expenses of cultivation most reduced. The Committee are gratified in being able to state that, with the exception of Demerara, the crops in the colonies generally, for the present and the ensuing year, promise to be much larger than any since the freedom of the negros has been established. This arises from a better understanding existing between the employers and the labourers; and from the colonies having been blessed recently with more favourable seasons than for several years past, during which droughts, of almost unparalleled duration, destroyed large portions of the crops.

IMMIGRATION INTO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

A great, but, as the Committee believe, a fictitious demand for labour has arisen in the colonies. This has led to various schemes of immigration, both of a public and private nature, which have resulted in a large expenditure of money, and a vast waste of human life. Against these schemes they have earnestly protested, and have used their best exertions to limit their extension where they could not prevent them altogether. The Committee are by no means opposed to the spontaneous emigration of free persons to the British Colonies, nor to the unchecked circulation of labour among the colonies themselves; but they have felt it to be their duty, on grounds of humanity, to oppose the emigration of Europeans to them as field labourers, and to warn their countrymen against the delusions attempted to be practised on them by interested men. The melancholy result in the sacrifice of human life among those who were duped, the Committee lament to say, far exceeded their fearful anticipations and will, they trust, prove a beacon of warning in future to the unwary.

The Committee have also opposed the immigration of Coolies, or other Indian labourers, into Mauritius, on the various grounds set forth in their memorials to government, petitions to parliament, and the pamphlets they have circulated on the subject. Feeling the great importance of this subject, they obtained an interview by deputation with the present colonial secretary; and, though they received from Lord Stanley, every assurance, that, should the measure be carried into effect, every regulation should be adopted to prevent the recurrence of the frightful evils which formerly took place, they are satisfied that, to use the language of Lord Auckland, late Governor-General of India, "no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons, helpless from their poverty and from their utter ignorance and inexperience."

But, great as are the objections which the Committee feel to the emigration of Europeans and Indian labourers to the colonies, their objection to the peopling of them by the natives of Africa is, if possible, still greater, because, in their opinion, it involves the renewal of the slave-trade by this country, and the inevitable extension of it by others. Free emigration from Africa, is, they believe, utterly hopeless; but the Committee beg to refer, for their general reasons against it, to a short paper they have drawn up and circulated throughout the country on this important subject, entitled *Emigration from Africa to the West Indies* At the present time there is a parliamentary inquiry going forward, the object of which is to ascertain the feasibility of the proposed scheme. The Committee are watching the progress of this inquiry with deep solicitude, and earnestly call upon their friends to be prepared to resist any measure, the effect of which shall be, directly or indirectly, to give new impetus and vigour to the African slave-trade.

FISCAL REGULATIONS IN FAVOUR OF FREE LABOUR.

In the prosecution of their labours the Committee have felt it to be their duty to draw the attention of the president of the

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board of trade to the importance of admitting the produce of free labour, come from what country it may, into full competition with that from the British colonies generally; to the necessity of reducing the duties on free labour sugar, so as to increase its consumption by diminishing its price; and to the propriety of relieving West Indian Commerce from the restrictions which impede its full development and prosperity. These measures, coupled with a really spontaneous immigration, the Committee are persuaded would have the effect of securing an ample supply of tropical productions, at moderate prices, to the people of this country; would increase the revenue; and enable the British planter to compete with the slave-holder in other markets than his own. In support of these views a deputation from the Committee waited upon the Earl of Ripon, and had a long interview with him, and his colleague, Mr. Gladstone, to whom, as well as to Lord Stanley, they subsequently submitted their views on the subject of immigration into the West Indies.

BRITISH SUBJECTS HOLDING SLAVES IN FOREIGN STATES.

In their last Report, the committee referred to the painful circumstance that British subjects, both at home and abroad, were deeply implicated as the holders of slaves and the abettors of the slave-trade in foreign states. Subsequently to that period they presented a petition to the House of Lords, setting forth at large the facts that had come within their knowledge on the subject, and asked for a committee of inquiry for the purpose of proving them, and for the extension of the laws, if they were not found sufficiently comprehensive for the punishment of all persons so engaged. In an elaborate speech delivered by Lord Brougham, on the presentation of the petition, he gave a luminous exposition of the state of the law relative to the slave-trade; and demonstrated the illegality of most of the cases referred to. That speech the committee printed for general distribution. It is understood that the government have not finally decided upon the course it will be proper for them to pursue, to prevent such disgraceful proceedings in future. They believe, however, there is no indisposition on the part of the present administration, to do what may be necessary to secure the great ends contemplated by the slave-trade abolition act.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS.

UNITED STATES.

At the last anniversary of the society, the committee announced that their devoted friend Joseph Sturge had felt it to be his duty to proceed to the United States on an anti-slavery mission. After spending some months in that country in various useful and laborious engagements, which the Committee believe have tended greatly to advance the cause of the slave, and to strengthen the bonds of union between the abolitionists of the two countries, he returned hither to renew his labours in promoting the great general object of this society. The particulars of his interesting tour in the United States have been given to the public, in a volume entitled *A Visit to the United States.* From this publication, and from the information subsequently derived from that country, it is quite clear that, whatever division of opinion may have prevented unity of action among the friends of the anti-slavery cause, their principles are rapidly advancing, and their ultimate success is certain. The recent debates and collisions in Congress on the right of petition, in its relation to slavery and its kindred subjects, has awakened the public mind to the enormous power of the pro-slavery party in the legislature and government of the country, and its injurious influence on public liberty, and has begotten a spirit of resistance in the free states which cannot be controlled. Indications that the crisis of the anti-slavery cause is not far distant are not wanting, and its friends are full of confidence that the issue will be in favour of the freedom of the slave.

The Mendian Africans, so long the objects of deep interest to the abolitionists of the United States and of this country, are safely arrived at Sierra Leone, on their way to their families and homes. The Committee feel it to be their duty to record their gratitude to the Earl of Aberdeen for the interest he has taken in their welfare, and for the reception given to them by the authorities of that colony.

The Committee are happy to state that the slaves of the *Creole*, an American vessel brought into one of the Bahama Islands under circumstances of an extraordinary character, are now in possession of complete freedom. Nineteen of the number stood charged with mutiny and murder, but these have been discharged out of custody by order of the government. Thus by the mere fact of touching the free soil of one of the distant dependencies of this country, one hundred and thirty-five human beings, destined to interminable bondage in the slave-states of America, have become possessed of the rights and immunities of free men. To the great legal authorities, who may be said to have given judgment in their case in the House of Lords, and to the government, the thanks of the friends of freedom and humanity are due for the course they have pursued in this important affair. One thing only remains to be done by the Queen's ministers, and that is peremptorily to resist the demand of the United States' government for compensation for the loss of these slaves.

It appears that the old and favourite project of the slave-holders of the United States, to annex the republic of Texas to the union, is again to be attempted, but the Committee trust only to be defeated. They deeply lament that her Majesty's present advisers are ready to confirm the treaties with that country, entered into by the late government, though not yet ratified; and would hope that, if it be not too late, the subject may be re-considered, and the great question of human liberty be held paramount to mere commercial advantage, if indeed any advantage can ultimately be derived from wrong-doing.

BRAZILS.

At the suggestions of several devoted friends of this Society, Mr. and Mrs. Pilkington, towards the close of the year 1839, proceeded to the Brazils, for the purpose of instituting an inquiry into various matters connected with the system of slavery as existing in that country, and the extent and character of the slave-trade.

From the valuable information collected by him it appears that nearly ONE MILLION of slaves had been introduced into that empire during a period of little more than seven years previous to his arrival—that British subjects were deeply implicated in the slave-trade—that the Brazilian mining companies had their mines wrought principally by slaves, a considerable number of whom were purchased from slavers direct from the coast of Africa, and that their condition, especially in reference to punishments, and want of all means of education, was such as to reflect the greatest disgrace on the directors and share-holders of these companies, with, the Committee regret to say, but few honourable exceptions; and that the general condition of the slave population of that country is extremely wretched and fearfully degraded.

During their sojourn in the Brazils, Mr. and Mrs. Pilkington circulated several thousand anti-slavery publications, and were instrumental in awakening a deep interest in the minds of many persons in the condition of the slave. Though, in the present circumstances of the Brazils, there is much to discourage the friends of abolition, there are also some indications of the progress of the cause of humanity even there. A growing conviction of the danger connected with the importation of large masses of slaves — the better character and cheaper cost of free labour over slave labour and the opposition of many of its distinguished men to the system of slavery, as equally unrighteous and impolitic, lead to the hope, that, whenever the present pro-slavery ministry shall be displaced, some large advances may be made in the cause of abolition.

HOLLAND.

The progress of the anti-slavery cause in Holland, is, upon the whole, very encouraging. Since the last meeting of this Society, anti-slavery committees have been formed at Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Amsterdam, Utrecht and Groningen. At the solicitation of their friends at Rotterdam, Mr. G. W. Alexander, the treasurer of this society, accompanied by Mr. Scoble, paid a visit to Holland at the close of the last year, for the purpose of intercourse with the friends of the cause there; and, during a tour through the principal cities of that country, they were much gratified by the deep interest felt in the condition of the slaves in the Dutch colonies, and the many public and private opportunities afforded them of advocating their cause. Among the gratifying circumstances which have occurred, the Committee have the pleasure of stating that the Netherlands government have come to the resolution of abandoning the purchase of slaves in Africa, to recruit their military forces in their distant dependencies and colonies.

FRANCE.

The Committee have watched with more than ordinary interest the movements of their anti-slavery friends in France during the past year, inasmuch as they believe that the example of that great country is likely to operate more widely and powerfully than that of any other, on the general question of the abolition of slavery throughout the world. The Committee indulged the hope at the last anniversary of the society, that the French government would have matured a measure for terminating the existence of slavery in the colonies of France during the present sitting of the chambers. Obstacles, however, appear to have presented themselves, which have not yet been surmounted. Anxious to remove these obstacles, and to prepare the way for an early solution of the question, the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery, under the presidency of the Duc de Broglie, invited the various kindred associations in Great Britain and Ireland to send representatives from their bodies to attend the public meeting of the society, proposed to be held in Paris on the 21st of February last, but subsequently postponed to the 7th of March. This invitation of their friends was cheerfully responded to by this society, as well as by the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society, the Edinburgh Anti-slavery Society, the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and by the various Anti-slavery Associations established at Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Exeter, Southampton, Oxford, Woodbridge, and Hitchin. The delegates, twenty in number, were most cordially and courteously received; and, although the original design of their friends at Paris could not be realized in the manner at first contemplated, the Committee believe that much good was effected by the presence and exertions of the English delegates, whilst in the French metropolis.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The accession of a liberal government in Spain naturally created, in the minds of the abolitionists of this country, the hope that the bad faith which had, for so many years, marked the conduct of its authorities in relation to the slave-trade, would have ceased, and that there would have been exhibited, on the part of those who now hold the reins of power, a sincere determination to put an end to so great an evil. As yet the committee are not able to report officially what reply has been given to the demand of the British government for the exact fulfilment of the Spanish treaties with this country; but it is understood that the regent either has resisted, or intends to resist the liberation of the slaves illicitly introduced into Cuba and Porto Rico. On this point, however, the Committee trust the British government will be firm, as they are persuaded that this is the only effectual means by which they

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can secure the termination of the slave traffic in those colonies. How far the new-born zeal of the authorities in Cuba in reference to the suppression of the slave-trade results from policy or from principle, a short time will probably show; but the Committee, with every desire to augur well of the present movement, cannot anticipate any great result to flow from it, while the government of Spain refuses to vindicate its own laws by enforcing the liberation of all slaves illegally possessed, and thus honourably to fulfil its engagements with Great Britain.

The Committee are decidedly of opinion, that in Cuba a very strong feeling of opposition to the continuance of the slave-trade, exists, especially among the creole or native population; but they regret to say that, except among a few of the most enlightened part of the community in that important colony, there appears no desire for the abolition of slavery itself.

The recent visit of Messrs. G. W. Alexander and Benjamin Wiffen to Madrid, Seville, Valencia, Barcelona, and Cadiz, in the prosecution of an anti-slavery tour, has afforded them a renewed opportunity of strengthening the hands of the friends of humanity in Spain, and of putting them in possession of information which cannot fail to be of great use to the cause of abolition in that country.

The state of the anti-slavery question in Portugal is not a little singular and interesting. Where least was to be expected of the prevalence of just views and principles, there, Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen, who proceeded thither from Spain, found much to encourage them. Several individuals distinguished by their position in society declared themselves the friends of abolition, and were, apparently, much alive to the movements of the question in this country.

The Portuguese government, however, have not as yet, met the just demands of this country, by crushing that branch of the slave-trade hitherto carried on so unblushingly under their flag.

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

The Committee regret to say, that they have no communication of interest to report of the progress of the cause of emancipation in Denmark, or Sweden: they cannot believe, however, that the friends of humanity in those countries will allow the question to sleep.

AFRICA AND ASIA—TUNIS.

Turning from the continents of Europe and America, the Committee are much gratified in being able to record the fact, that His Highness the Bashaw Bey of Tunis, in northern Africa, has not only prohibited the slave-trade throughout his territories, but has emancipated the slaves which belonged to him, and is using his influence to induce his subjects generally to follow his excellent example. The friends of the abolition cause in Malta have presented to his Highness a congratulatory address on the occasion, and the Committee have felt it to be their duty to forward to him, through the medium of the British government, an address of a similar character, to be presented by the Consul of this country, Sir Thomas Reade, residing there, whose successful exertions in the cause of humanity the Committee would here acknowledge.

MUSCAT.

The Committee have also the pleasure of stating that the Imaum of Muscat has recently entered into treaty with this country, to prohibit the slave-trade in his dominions both in eastern Africa and Asia; and it is not improbable that some, if not the whole, of the Arab chiefs on the borders of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, may be induced to take the same course. The number of slaves supposed hitherto to have been annually exported from the territories subject to the Imaum of Muscat, is estimated at 20,000 annually.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this summary statement connected with the progress of the abolition cause, the Committee rejoice to say, that there is a manifest and rapid advance in the public mind of most countries in favour of the liberty and happiness of mankind. In Africa, on the death of their chiefs, two tribes have declared themselves free. Even Russia is alive to the generous impulse as the Committee find by the recent *Ukase* of the emperor in favour of the serfs of that country; and, although he has not been able to realize all he wished, yet the gratitude of all interested in the welfare of their fellow-men is due to him for what he designed, and the hope is cherished that he may live to see the relics of a tyrannical age and a barbarous people swept from his vast dominions.

The Committee have now the pleasure to announce that, in accordance with the intimation already given to their friends in America and Europe, and in unison with their wishes, the next general Anti-slavery Convention will be held in London, on Tuesday the 13th of June, 1843, to which the friends of the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade, from all parts of the world, are cordially and respectfully invited.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Third Annual Meeting of the above was held in Exeter Hall, on Friday the 13th instant. About 3000 persons were present. On the platform we noticed, the Bishop of Norwich, Lord Clifford, Dr. Lushington, Sir George Strickland, Bart., M. P., Edward Stanley, Esq., M.P., Henry Pownall, Esq., Dr. Madden, M. L'Instant, of Hayti, N. Dunn, Esq., and Isaac Collins, Esq., of the United States, Henry Waymouth, Esq., E. N. Buxton, Esq., J. S. Buckingham, Esq., William Allen, Esq., Joseph Sturge, Esq., G. W. Alexander, Esq., B. Wiffen, Esq., Colonel Nicolls, Dr. Hodgkin, John Candler, Esq., J. Conder, Esq., George Pilkington, Esq., —— Eccleston, Esq., R. Stokes, Esq., John Scoble, Esq., B. R. Haydon, Esq., J. Beldam, Esq., —— Sturs, Esq., &c., also the Rev. Messrs. J. Burnet, J. Robinson, R. Munro, J. Carlile, Professor Hoppus, J. Godkin, J. Young, J. Yockney, J. H. Hinton, E. Miall, Dr. Cox, Dr. Russell, J. Glanville, C. Stovel, W. Knibb, W. G. Barrett, S. Green, J. Silver, J. Godwin, Dr. Wright, W. Groser, J. Mirams, W. Spencer, S. Luke, J. Flower, F. Du Croix, &c.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE on taking the chair, said, it will not be necessary for me to state at any length, or in any detail, the objects for which we are met together this day, or the feelings which make those objects, matters of such deep interest to us. The progress which this society has made, and the claims which it has upon your sympathy and attention, will be developed and explained to you by speakers who are more able to do it than myself. Thus much, however, I may say, that the objects for which we are met here to-day, and the feelings which those objects excite, are such as cannot be objected to by any friend of humanity, or by any christian. They are unalloyed by any personal or selfish feelings, and even by any political bias. On the contrary, we are here for objects which must be dear to every philanthropist, to every friend of humanity, and to every christian. The good which this society has done, the necessity for continuing its exertions, and the need of more earnest sympathy and zealous co-operation, will be explained to you very fully; and we will, therefore commence the proceedings by Mr. Scoble reading the report.

J. SCOBLE, Esq., then read portions of the report, which we have given at length elsewhere.

The Right Hon. Dr. LUSHINGTON rose, and said, I am instructed by the committee to propose.

I.—That the report which has now been read, be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee. That, G. W. Alexander, be the Treasurer, and J. H. Tredgold the Secretary; and the following the Committee for the year ensuing:—William Allen, Stafford Allen, William Ball, Richard Barrett, John Beanmont, Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., Rev. James Carlile, Josiah Conder, Joseph Cooper, J. S. Elliott, Josiah Forster, Robert Forster, Samuel Fox, Samuel Gurney, Rev. J. H. Hinton, A.M., L. C. Lecesne, Samuel H. Lucas, Right Honorable Dr. Lushington, Richard Peek, Dr. Thomas Price, Jacob Post, George Stacey, Henry Sterry, Henry Tuckett, Rev. John Woodwark, and Rev. John Young, A.M.

I confess, in making that proposition, the feeling which is uppermost in my heart is, that notwithstanding all the difficulties we have had to encounter, notwithstanding all the obstacles which have impeded our onward course, yet we now stand in a very different, in a very altered situation from that in which in former times the anti-slavery cause was placed. We have no longer to uphold, to defend, and to maintain the great general principle of liberty to mankind all over the world. In former days we had to show what now is admitted by every Englishman, and maintained by the universal voice of Great Britain, that according to the eternal principles of justice, and the revealed will of God, every man ought to be free, and that slavery itself is a crime. (Cheers). We have not now, then, to defend our objects, we have not now to explain our principles; but we have to call upon you to consider what has been done, what is doing, and to co-operate with us and the friends of liberty, throughout the world, in the attainment of those objects which are dear to us all. When I consider the report which has just been presented—when I see how vain have been the stipulations entered into by foreign states for the suppression of the slave-trade—and when I recollect this melancholy fact, that, where this country has entered into treaties, be it for the maintenance of this possession or that, no foreign state ever dared break the stipulation by which they were bound; yet, where the stipulation is only in favour of humanity, and not for the benefit of this or of that individual country, singular it is, but most melancholy, that of all the treaties formed by this country for the last thirty years past, there is scarcely one but has been in a state of constant violation. (Hear, hear). It is melancholy to remember the greater force and the greater power of obligation when it is for mere temporal advantages, than the solemn obligation to maintain the happiness and the freedom of the civilised world. But, if this be a melancholy picture, and such it is, it arises, I am sorry to say, from two causes, the one the most powerful of all, the love of gain—the other, the state of mind which prevails in other countries upon this subject. There is no such general feeling extant in those countries as exists in England. There is no detestation of the slave-trade, there is no abhorrence of slavery, there is no intense love of liberty, there is no deep sense of the binding obligations of that religion, which, in common with us, they still continue to profess, at the very moment that they violate its most sacred enactments. But while we look with sorrow upon this side of the question, have we not room for rejoicing? An opportunity for exultation, in the contrast which has been presented to the conduct of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Brazils? We have the noble contrast of the Bey of Tunis. (Hear, hear.) We have him, steeped as he may be in prejudices, unaccustomed as he is to the knowledge, the sacred knowledge of the great and most solemn duties which bind mankind the one to the other, and all to their God. We have him, nurtured in slavery, united with a race whose curse has been slavery for years past—we have him breaking all the chains of lucre, prejudice, and iniquity, and setting an example to the christian world which may well make them blush, while he rejoices in the superiority of his own morals (Cheers). But believe not that this example will be without its force and effect. It is hard, indeed, to drive the wedge where the door is closed by a love of gold, however it be obtained; but it is most true that never was there the great and noble example of truth and self-sacrifice exhibited to the world, but, by the blessing of Providence, sooner or later, it did its work, and paved the way to its imitation. (Applause). There is another topic referred to in this report, which contains in my opinion a truth incapable of being contested. It is truly said, in the report, that slavery is the root of the slave-trade. The true meaning of that expression is this, that so long as slavery continues to exist, so long the slave-trade will continue to prevail. And for the plainest of all possible reasons, the state of slavery furnishes the motive, the slave-trade is but the means of carrying into effect and realising that motive. So long,

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therefore, as in Cuba and in the Brazils, and other countries, slavery is allowed to flourish as it now continues to flourish from time to time the welfare of the slaves will be considered—no, I do not say as a matter of subordinate concern, but as a matter of no concern, and the question will be, as it used to be in former days, which is the cheapest, to breed slaves, or to work them out and to buy them? So it has been, so it is, and so it will continue to be, until the whole state of slavery is eradicated from the face of the globe. Now this society purports to work its end, and to accomplish its great objects, by means that no man can impeach. Whatever some think of force or of violence, this society addresses itself to the understanding and to the conscience. It relies upon the truth of its cause; it relies upon the certainty, that, if this great principle can be made to reach from one end of the globe to the other, they must sooner make their impression upon the human heart, and must inevitably produce the real fruit of all such principles, and abandonment of practices which every christian views with horror and detestation. (Cheers). One word more before I put an end to the address which it is now my duty to make—one word more upon the subject of slavery in the East Indies. It is the bounden duty of this country, while it complains of the faults and offences of others, to take care that it shall itself be pure. (Hear, hear.) I am afraid that the best answer that could be made to us when we are seeking the abolition of slavery in other lands, is to say, what have you done since the year 1834 in your own dominions, in Hindostan. When the House of Commons decided to abolish slavery throughout all our eastern dominions, Lord Glenelg, then at the head of the Board of Control, declared in the House of Lords that he foresaw no difficulty in carrying it into practical effect; and when the House of Lords did not concur in the immediate abolition—and that is a censure upon that house—of the evil, yet they were so anxious to afford a remedy that they came to a specific resolution, requiring the East India Company to take means to carry into effect as soon as practicable the object upon which both branches of the legislature agreed. But, alas! alas! from the year 1834 up to the present hour, we have had no fruits produced from this magnanimous declaration. We have, I believe I may say, very bulky reports, we have much reasoning, we have a multitude of statements, but I at least am ignorant that any one efficient practical step has been taken towards the accomplishment of that, which the legislature, I may almost say, declared to be necessary to be done and effected. Now, that there may be difficulties and must be difficulties, and are difficulties, I am disposed to admit; because it has been my doctrine since the first day I ever embarked in the anti-slavery cause to the present hour, that the longer we persevere in any course of iniquity, the greater will be the difficulty in turning round. Now, there are difficulties; but the great point is this, that these difficulties shall be duly appreciated, that every exertion should be made consistent with the safety of that empire, first entirely to prevent the possibility of introducing another slave into the country, and then to emancipate as speedily as may be all those who at present remain in bondage there. This, I trust, is a question that will not be allowed to fall to the ground, and that some member of the House of Commons—now I no longer have the honour of a seat there—will have the courage notwithstanding—I am well aware that the subject of slavery is palling on the appetite and feelings of that house—will have the courage to get up and perform his part by demanding the attention of that house and of the nation to the consideration of this subject; that the British name may no longer be tarnished in any part of the habitable globe with the foul and odious sin of keeping their fellow countrymen in bondage (Cheers); that we may set to other countries the last great example in our power; that, whatever may be the fears of the timid, whatever may be the outcry against the effort, we are firm to our great principles, we know their truth; we are assured in all humility of the protection of an all-seeing God, and we will go on to show to the whole world our determination that no part of that sin shall longer lie at the door of the British nation. (Cheers). Trusting and hoping that mankind is not so degenerate, whether in Spain or in Portugal—or living in the very life-blood of his fellow-creature in Cuba or in the Brazils—or still nursing at home a bosom slave-trade, like the United States of America—trusting their understandings will be opened to conviction—their consciences softened—their exertions aroused; and that, finally, our great cause will, by the blessing of Providence, be every where triumphant, I beg to propose the resolution. (Loud cheers.)

NATHAN DUNN, Esq., in seconding the resolution, said, that he fully accorded with the views of the Society. He hoped it would not be many years before they had more pleasant news from the east (of which he was a native) and the United States. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

LORD CLIFFORD rose and said, I have the great honour to propose the following resolution:—

II.—That this meeting deeply deplores, as a gross violation of the principles of justice, the claims of humanity, and the spirit and precepts of the Gospel, the prolonged existence of slavery in British India, and the dependencies of this country in the East, whatever be its character or sanction; and earnestly calls upon the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the empire to unite their most active and zealous efforts for its immediate and entire abolition, and for the establishment of the right of every human being found within, or resorting to, any and all parts of the British dominions, to personal liberty and the full protection of the laws.

The first observation which I have to make on this resolution is, that this is not a meeting to take into special consideration the interests of India; but the best means of promoting and effecting the abolition of slavery all over the world. (Cheers). In the remarks, however, which I shall have to make, you will see how much the interests of India are connected with the abolition of slavery. Great Britain has expended fifteen millions of money to put down the unchristian, the inhuman, traffic in slaves. What has been the counteracting cause which has neutralised and nullified the intended result? It is this; that, while fifteen millions of money have been expended for this object, no less a sum than £62,500,000 has been expended by this country for the maintenance of slavery. (Hear, hear). How is this proved? By the fact, that, instead of importing cotton, as we might have done, from the East Indies, we have been importing the slave-grown cotton of America. Encourage the growth of cotton in India, and that country will become a great mart for your manufactures. The prosperity of India and the abolition of the slave-trade are two correlative propositions. If the £62,500,000 had not been paid to the American slave-holder, that money would have gone for the employment of free labourers in our British dominions, and you would not then have felt the distress which unhappily now prevails. (Hear, hear). I have but one word more to say, and that is, that the satisfactory settlement of this question depends far more upon the ladies of England than on any foreign powers—than upon any exertions which our sex can make. With reference to the opposition of the American churches to the abolition of slavery, I observed to a friend that there was a power far superior to any ecclesiastical power—the power of a lady's smile. (Laughter and cheers). If the ladies of England will refuse their smile to all who do not hate slavery, we shall soon have an end put to the system. (Laughter and cheers).

SIR G. STRICKLAND, Bart., in seconding the resolution, said, after the splendid efforts which this country has made—after it has stood conspicuous before all parts of the world for its great exertions, for its great sacrifices of money, and especially for its last splendid act of liberality in order to effect the abolition of slavery in a part of our British dominions—does it not strike you all with astonishment, and I will say with horror, that the curse of slavery still exists in our vast dominions in the east? (Loud cries of hear, hear). Nay, I believe it will be conceded by every person who hears me, that we hold those vast dominions, not by the power of the sword—not by our soldiers, spread amongst millions of human beings, extending over a still larger number of millions of acres—but by moral power and influence. We hold those vast dominions because there is a feeling extensively prevailing there, that British law is more just than Mahomedan law; because it is universally believed that the British government is a benign government wherever it extends. Then how much should we increase that power and influence, if we were only to do that which consistency demands; and declare, by one universal and extensive law, that a slave cannot be found upon British soil? (Loud cries of hear, hear.) I know that many persons have contended, that slavery in India is of a milder character than it was in the West Indies, or than it still is in other parts of the world. But have you read the description of slavery, and can you believe that slavery is mild in any form it may assume? (Cheers). No; it is an accursed abomination that you should hold your fellow-man as a species of chattel-interest, which you may sell to the best bidder, and may wear down his flesh, his sinews, and his bones for his own profit. (Cheers). That is a system, in whatever light you can look upon it, that never can be mild; never can be merciful; never can be any thing in the sight of God and man, except a great moral sin. It is upon these grounds I contend, that it is the duty of the British legislature, as soon as possible, and without delay, to look searchingly into this great subject; not to let it be slurred over by any representations of interested individuals, that some parties will receive detriment by an act of mercy and justice. (Hear, hear). There have been various estimates of the number of slaves throughout the British dominions of the east; but, though I have looked into the subject, I believe it impossible to calculate their amount. Some have estimated them at one, and some at two millions, and I see they have been calculated as high as ten millions. The fact is, the great mass of the labouring population in India are slaves of some description. Some of them appear to represent that which used to exist in this country formerly, a kind of prædial slavery, servants attached to the soil. This is a species of domestic slavery, perhaps in its most mitigated form; but, when we come to districts where sugar is made, or produce raised for other markets, there slavery exists in all its severity. I am persuaded, that, if persons will look candidly into this subject, it will be found that slavery in the east is not attended with less horrors than are found connected with it in all other parts of the world. I will not dwell upon the topics which have been touched upon by other speakers, but confine myself entirely and exclusively to the subject put into my hands. I can only assure you, that as I have long been an earnest but humble labourer in this vineyard, so, whether in or out of parliament, I will continue to give my aid, until the horrid system is abolished in this and in every other country. (Loud cheers.)

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., in supporting the motion, said, the resolution which has been moved and seconded, is, in my judgment, one of the most important that can engage the attention of abolitionists. Slavery in India is a home question, and, viewed in its relation to the general question of the abolition of slavery throughout the world, must be regarded as one of paramount importance. I can appeal to my friends about me, who have visited other lands with the earnest desire to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, that we have been taunted with the existence of slavery in British India, and we have been called upon loudly and frequently to overthrow that great evil in Hindostan, before we attempt to lecture other nations upon the subject of slavery or enforce the duty of emancipation in their respective countries and dependencies. I am rejoiced that the honourable gentleman who has just sat down, takes the same view as myself of the importance of cleansing ourselves from this foul iniquity, when we ask other persons to abolish similar evils in the countries to which they belong. In British India there are millions of our fellow-men held in slavery, and the slavery that is felt there is by no means the patriarchal system, which some have endeavoured to represent it to be, but is atrocious in its character, destroying human life as well as robbing multitudes of liberty. I feel it to be my duty to lift up my voice against the foul iniquity, and to demand that Great Britain put an end to slavery in British India, with its fearful adjunct the slave-trade. (Cheers). You are aware, my lord, that individuals from India have denied the existence of slavery in that part of the British empire; but when your lordship directs your attention to the vast pile of parliamentary documents which have been placed on the tables of both houses of Parliament you will there find that slavery not only exists, but that it exists to a fearful extent; that it is characterised by nearly all the atrocities which marked the system in the West Indies. But there are other individuals from India, who deny that the slaves suffer any thing like the same amount of degradation and privation with those who were recently emancipated in our West India colonies. By way of shewing you the extremes of opinion upon this subject, allow me to give you two short extracts from papers I hold in my hand. One of them is taken from the evidence of a gentleman, who fills an office of importance under the government; the other from a

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letter recently received from British India, written by a distinguished judge, who has filled offices of the highest class for the last forty years. Mr. Trevelyan, in his evidence given before the East India produce committee in 1840, describes slavery in British India in the following terms: "slavery has been discussed in India on several occasions with a view to the abolition of it; but the conclusion always came to was, that it was not a practical grievance, and that by interfering with the relations between landlord and ryot in that form—for it is nothing more in fact, we should be meddling with a matter in which we should do no good; and might give general dissatisfaction." This is the testimony of Mr. Trevelyan; he says that slavery exists, but it is not felt to be a practical evil. What, is it not a practical evil to be bought and sold in the market? Is it not a practical evil to suffer the loss of all those domestic ties, and all the endearing circumstances of home which the slave invariably loses in any part of the world in which he may be found? Is it not a practical grievance that any man should be deprived of his natural rights, of the power of locomotion, and be made a mere means to an end to serve other persons? (Loud cheers). But Mr. Trevelyan afterwards admits, that the slave of India may be sold, may be separated from his family; and he goes on and gives details of the various hardships which these slaves—who suffer no practical grievances—(laughter) have to endure in that part of the British empire. I have thought it right in order that I might have an opportunity of correcting some false opinions upon this subject to bring out the evidence of Mr. Trevelyan, and to place it in contrast with Judge Baber, who bears his testimony to the fact, that slavery in British India possesses in all its essential characteristics, is even worse than the slavery that formerly existed in the West India colonies. In a letter recently received from him, he says, "the condition of the agrestic slaves throughout the whole length and breadth of the western peninsula, amounting to between three and four hundred thousand souls, is infinitely more appalling than any thing ever known or heard of in the far west." It will, however, be found upon a careful review of parliamentary papers, that these gentlemen have viewed the system of slavery under different aspects, and in different parts of the country. It will be found that Mr. Trevelyan's judgment is formed from what he observed in Calcutta; but Judge Baber's on what he knew to exist on the western peninsula of India. It may be true, there are some mild forms of slavery existing in certain parts of the continent of India; but with respect to the general character of prædial slavery there, it is as bad in principle and as atrocious in detail as that which existed in the West Indies. I am anxious that the system of slavery in the east should be overthrown, in order that the objects contemplated by the noble lord (Lord Clifford) should be carried into effect. I am most anxious that we should have in British India a free population to cultivate free cotton to bring into competition with the products of the United States. I therefore rejoice that the noble lord is willing to give us his assistance in the abolition of slavery in the east. I ask you to bear in mind the claims of the slaves in British India, and not to relax in your exertions, nor to swerve from your purpose till every part of the British dominions be free from this great evil. The very ground upon which your lordship enjoys your titles and princely estates will be found associated with the liberty of the slave all over the world; for I ask, what are our rights based upon, but upon an acknowledgment of an individual right to personal liberty, and to the enjoyment of property. (Cheers). Therefore it becomes a duty on the part of all men, however high their station, to assist in the elevation of the world by the overthrow of this mighty evil, which impedes the march of civilization and liberty throughout the world.—(Loud cheers).

The resolution was then put and carried.

The Rev. J. BURNET rose to move,

III. That this meeting views the continuance of the African slave-trade, especially as carried on by professedly Christian and civilized countries, with the utmost abhorrence, and cannot but regard any encouragement of this guilty traffic as reflecting the greatest dishonour on the governments which permit, and the people who sanction it. This meeting therefore, renews the expression of its opinion, that the only certain means of securing the complete extinction of this traffic is to be found in the universal abolition of slavery, and earnestly recommends to the friends of humanity throughout the world, perseveringly to seek the accomplishment of this great object by the use of those means only, which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character.

That this meeting would hold up to the just condemnation of the world, those of their countrymen who are voluntarily the holders of mines or estates worked by slaves; or who are engaged, directly or indirectly, on the coast of Africa, or in foreign states, in carrying on, or intentionally facilitating the operations of the slave-trade; and would urgently call on the government to institute proceedings against all such persons known to be residing within the jurisdiction of the British courts.

That this meeting, in view of the appalling facts laid before Parliament, regards with alarm the contemplated removal of the restrictions laid on the export of Indian labourers to Mauritius; as well as the insidious project, now the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, of peopling the West India colonies with native Africans, involving as it does the renewal by this country, and the extension by others, of the iniquities of the slave-trade; and expresses its firm conviction, that neither the legislature nor the people of this country will ever permit so unrighteous a plan to be realized.

This important resolution is really so long, that it ought to serve for a speech—(Laughter). We cannot however, complain of it, because it is right, that when the result of proceedings, such as those in which we are now engaged, shall have been laid before the public, they should fully understand the great objects that we have in view. And, perhaps, one of the best ways in which these objects can be well understood, may be the means employed by our committee on this occasion, viz:—a full, and clear, and lengthened statement of those objects in the resolutions of the day. But many may be disposed to say, and it frequently happens that they do say, that we do not require an anti-slavery society now; that slavery is altogether at an end in our dominions, and that it is scarcely possible to conceive what object an anti-slavery society can have in view, in now continuing to prolong its existence, and its proceedings. Many individuals who did not enter into the slave question when it had something to do with our own dominions, are ready to say still, that there are no means of satisfying these extravagant, and persevering, and enthusiastic philanthropists, and that they are carrying on this system of protracted meetings in connexion with slavery for the mere purpose of relieving themselves of the feelings which ought long since to have been gratified by the removal of slavery from our own dominions—(Laughter and cheers.) Now I should like to set the public right, if I can, by a few plain statements on this subject. It is very true that in our western colonies we have no slaves; I wish that could be said, with truth, of our oriental colonies. It cannot, however. But I do not say that we ought to have an anti-slavery society merely for India, because there are slaves there. I would go a step further, and say the condition of slavery throughout the world demands the existence, and cannot be ameliorated without the assistance, of an anti-slavery society. And where can an anti-slavery society be formed with the advantages associated with an English anti-slavery society?—a society existing in the bosom of a people that gave twenty millions of money—sooner than carry on a lengthened cavilling with planters, and have planters cavilling with them—to be relieved of this foul traffic, and its moral criminality. Such a society could not exist in America, boasting as America does of its act of independence, which, let it be remembered, is found applicable in its working only to the white man. No such society could exist in France, whilst France has its slaves; nor could such a society work effectively in Spain, in Holland, or in Portugal. Though such societies may arise there, they must first of all act for the freedom of their own slaves, and then for those of the world. But in our western colonies we have no slaves, and therefore we take our ground upon the great fact that we have emancipated them; and upon this ground—consecrated by this fact, we can turn round to all the powers under heaven, and say, "Go ye, and do likewise." (Loud cheers). This is what makes an anti-slavery society a suitable, working, and effective body in this kingdom. Let there be a constant distinction made, however, between slavery and the slave-trade; and it will be found that an anti-slavery society, existing so appropriately in England, has a great deal of work to do. If I should offer to explain any distinctions that may be obvious to your lordship, and to many on the platform who are accustomed to think upon these affairs, let it not be supposed that I wish to minister any instruction to you; but let it be recollected, that there are many who are not in the habit of directing their attention closely to the slave-question, and who do not understand all the technicalities employed when speaking about it, and, if we can, we ought to enlighten them upon this great question. The slave-trade, therefore, let me remark, is the traffic in slaves between Africa and the countries to which they are carried—is the sail to and fro, backwards and forwards, of the men, and women, and children of Africa. This is the slave-trade which, with us, terminated in the year 1807. Slavery is the state of the negros that have been held in slavery since the slave-trade was abolished, either in our own colonies, or in others. In our own colonies slavery is at an end, as well as the slave-trade; in other colonies, however, slavery continues to exist, although the slave-trade has been condemned. Now let it be remembered, that slavery is the receptacle for the stolen men and women of the slave-trade. Let us therefore clearly observe this distinction. The powers of France are ready to do away with the slave-trade, and to denounce it, and they have done so. But come to slavery itself, and then what do they do? They refuse to listen to you. The question then arises—can they stop the slave-trade while slavery exists? If there is a market for British goods—let those goods be stolen from Africa, or manufactured in England—British commercial cupidity will find it. If there is a large profit to be obtained in a market by a successful speculation, no law will prevent smuggling; and it is well known by those who have paid any attention to the subject, that, if 30, 40, or 50 per cent. can be gained upon an article—no arrangements in the houses of parliament, no arrangements at the custom-house, can stop the traffic that may be denounced. Give the British merchant a profit of 50 per cent. in any trade, and he will run his goods in the face of both houses of parliament; in the face of the custom-house regulations; in spite of all the supervision that men can exercise over him. And why? Just because the property in which he is dealing will be found only in one channel at a time, whilst the means by which you watch him are spread here, and there, and every where. They are not omnipresent, that cannot be; and he will find the place where they are not. (Laughter). If you catch him one time, the profit he gets on seven other occasions will be an ample compensation for the loss he has sustained, when you have been happy enough once to detect him. This is the way the slave-trade goes on in nations where the slaves are compelled to work. You can easily see that the slave-trade must continue while there is a large profit in carrying it on. I have spoken of forty or fifty per cent., but in this case a profit is obtained of two hundred or three hundred per cent. While there is an opportunity of running such a trade, they will run it against all the laws which can be made. What will not the sons of mammon do, when they can look for such a golden harvest as this? They are clever, ingenious men, made able by practice; and they will set at defiance all the revenue regulations, all the custom-house regulations of Europe, if they can obtain such a profit as this. If you capture a slave-ship, and it happens to be worth £2000 or £3000, you are ready to say they will never do it again. But you forget that they have twenty such ships, and this is a mere accident, like the breaking of a rope, or the tearing of a sail in the wind. (Hear, hear). That is the way they look upon the capture; and again they set to work at the trade which is so profitable. (Hear, hear). But it may be asked whether the powers of Europe are taking any steps to prevent this. We answer that some of them are signing treaties; and some of them have broken all they have signed; some will not sign treaties; and they would not be worth the paper they were written on, if they did. (Hear, hear). Therefore France need not make so much to do about refusing to sign this treaty. The national pride, may induce the governors of that people to say, "we will not allow an English officer to search a French vessel. But really, if an English officer were allowed to do this, means enough would be taken to escape him, and the French flag would make its way from the English cruiser, with its cargo of slaves, to the distant port. We must look to the extinction of slavery, or no treaties can accomplish the destruction of the slave-trade. But it will be asked, How is it that those powers that

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refuse to allow transportation from Africa are not more on the alert? Why, thousands and tens of thousands are shipped into the colonies of Europe, with the knowledge of the functionaries residing there, (hear, hear) every year. Who are these powers? Why France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, all these nations have their colonies; and all these colonies have slaves; and slaves will be smuggled in for the purpose of securing the profit. In Cuba you have a range of coast of 4500 miles at least; and with a range of coast like this, with creeks and bays of every description, there is a facility for smuggling anything you please. A vessel comes from Africa, and, notwithstanding the treaties we have by which she is seizable, her cargo of slaves is landed and purchased. She does not run into the port of Rio, she only goes a little north, or a little south of it; and, the fishermen helping them, the cargo is entirely landed, and the vessel comes round with the Brazilian flag at her mast head, with all the impudence by which a slave-vessel can be distinguished, and, stopping at the custom-house, says she has returned in ballast, and that after she has landed her slaves the preceding night. They know that at the custom-house, but they get something for doing nothing in it. The slaves are taken into the country in this way. And when they are going in the waggons, something is thrown over to hide them. And why do they do this? Is it for fear they should be taken? No; but for fear the public functionary should see them, and he should want something more. (Hear, hear). But if a public officer were to act efficiently, they would think nothing of meeting him with a pistol, or stabbing him to the heart with a knife. (Hear, hear). But what becomes of justice? Justice is no part of their moral attributes. Therefore let me remind this meeting, that we have not to deal merely with the powers of Europe—with the public functionaries of Brazil—with the national character of those countries. Take the whole of the Brazilians, and ask them to do any thing in the way of pure, unalloyed justice. They mean to do no such thing; they do not mean to follow up the treaties that would terminate the slave-trade. No; thousands and tens of thousands get into that country still, stolen, and torn away from their own homes in Africa, in spite of all the treaties we have made. They will continue to do this; and for the reasons I have mentioned—the extensive profits derived from the traffic—the winking of public functionaries at the affair—the want of moral feeling on the question throughout the whole mass of the community—all these things will make it perfectly hopeless to prevent any vessel carrying slaves from entering the Brazils. Such is the condition in the Brazils: are we better in Cuba? By no means. All the remarks I have made will apply to Porto Rico, or any of the colonies where slavery is to be found. Tyranny likes slaves, and despots like the people to succumb; and you have to ask the tyrant to prevent slavery; you have to ask the despot to lift the people, to set them upright, and tell them to be men. (Hear, hear). How long will you ask tyranny at home or abroad to do this? Never was tyranny known to meet such a demand, and it never will.—What can we do to stop this plundering? The African plunderer may be supposed to carry two hundred thousand souls a year from their own home. That is done now, and all the cruelty that you heard of in our own islands—all the separation of wives from their husbands—all the destruction of human life—all the expressions of passion on the part of tyranny amongst slaves, all this is going on among twice as many slaves as we held in our West India colonies. There they are, suffering, flogged, excoriated, peppered, as formerly practised in the West Indies. When the poor people are afflicted upon the recollection of their own country, when in the mines or elsewhere they suffer under nostalgia, or the diseases arising from it, and in despair eat the very dust of the ground, what is the plan to which their masters have recourse? They have a tin mask, which is placed over their heads, and so fastened round their necks that it cannot be removed. (Hear, hear). They may look at the dust, while they are prevented from eating it. It is an expression of sad despondency, and in those iron masks they must work for their tyrants. Every thing which we have been accustomed to hear in this hall about our own slaves is going on now. You have only to call this to mind with the additional cruelties I have now stated, practised in those countries less affected by British influence than our own planters were, bad as was their conduct, and I ask, is not this an awful state of things? If then we have touched slavery in our own territories, yet here it is in all horrors; and will any one then say, what is the use of an anti-slavery society? (Cheers). Look at the influence which English wealth has on this slave traffic. (Hear, hear). This assembly may be ready to tell me, that Englishmen have nothing to do with this, that our slaves have been emancipated. They are mistaken. After the South American republic cast off old Spain, mining speculations rose to a very high pitch, and many companies were formed in England, and large capitals were subscribed: these mines are now in operation in the new Spanish republics, as in the empire of the Brazils. There are English agents employed in many cases, and some of these are British officers. (Hear, hear). Yes, these mines are worked under the superintendence of English agents who have carried her majesty's commission, and are now receiving their half-pay! (Hear, hear). There they are ashing these slaves, and the money comes back to the respectable merchants that are holding shares. This is the way the shares produce their dividends, and dividends arising from slavery are paid to gentlemen who reside in this city, whose merchants are princes; and who, in their gay equipages, rival nobility in the grandeur of their display, whilst their poor slaves are eating the mud, or, masked by iron, are prevented the degrading gratification. There is the Brazilian Imperial Mining Company, and many others, which float with English capital and English agency, and into these mines the new importations from Africa are carried, and there sold, there bought, and there worked to death, to make way for another importation. Ah! has England nothing to do with the anti-slavery cause? It may be asked, can we do nothing to stop this? You would suppose the law would catch them here; but does it? The consolidated slave act of our own country provides, that any individual engaged in the slave *trade*—because the act was passed before slavery was abolished in the colonies—taken in it, within or without the jurisdiction of the admiralty, shall be punished in the one case by transportation for 14 years, and in the other for life; but can you catch these men? They will say, all my slaves are of the old class, they are not of recent importation, and this act is only against the slave-trade: in this way we cannot get at them, you have thus another reason for the entire abolition of slavery. When you have chicanery of this kind to cover the delinquency. But it may be said, that we can apply to her Majesty. If we inform her that officers, not in the full-pay, but the half-pay of England are engaged superintending in foreign mines, where slavery is going on, and the slave-trade is practised, surely, according to the law of England, she will take their commissions from them. Such applications have been made to her Majesty's government, and what was the answer? We are not in the habit of interfering with the private employment of officers on half-pay! (Hear, hear). But I know they are in the habit of interfering with them, when it touches themselves. (Hear, hear). I could tell you of instances where they have dismissed officers on half-pay in connection with their private employment but they were not connected with slavery. (Hear, hear). This then is another reason for the total abolition of slavery, when from our government to the government of France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, down to the Brazils and South American republics, you can get nothing but chicanery, national winking, and overlooking the criminality going on, while Africa is losing, year after year, so many hundred thousand of her sons, and British merchants are employing British capital in these mines, all your efforts to put down the slave-trade are in vain. There seems to be such a system connected with slavery, that unless you destroy it root and branch, you will never eradicate it. All the vicious passions, all the illogical deductions, all the unprincipled feelings, all the foul chicanery, by which an intelligent people ought to feel themselves degraded, will be found to cluster till it blinds the eyes of those who ought to detect and expose it. But this is not all. We have Africa set upon, not only in the southern, the eastern and the western ports, but we have the centre of Africa set upon by these blood-hounds, that take, and sell, and buy, and work the poor slaves. In the interior of Africa there are Mahomedans—Moors; and those acting on the principles of the Koran, cannot hold slaves, for that book forbids that they should be held. What do these Mahomedans do? Upwards of twenty million of them are scattered through Africa, who apply themselves to the capture of the negro, and they have establishments for slaves just as they have establishments for camels or other cattle. Some of these are made slaves in the interior, and others are carried away to be made slaves abroad. Nor is this all—the markets of Abyssinia are filled with slaves, who are carried through Egypt to the Asiatic market, and some of them as far as our own Indian territories. The poor Africans are seized on the coasts by the cupidity of the European customer, they are seized in the interior by the Mahomedan and carried away by land, and the horrors of the middle passage are only equalled by the horrors of the desert, through which they are conducted to the Asiatic market. We know what this country has done for Turkey. We have refused to allow the integrity of that empire to be touched. In 1800 we gave many a man to preserve Egypt to Turkey, recently, we have directed our attention to Syria, and we have given that back to the Mahomedan power. Have we no influence in Turkey while we are acting thus? Does not Turkey feel that we have—does she not feel her dependence upon us—is she not our ally? Then we ought to press the government to work the great principles of humanity. When we go to help a poor enfeebled empire, what right have our government to give up every thing that policy can give up, to save the empire in its integrity, without demanding at the same time, that this internal, infernal traffic shall for ever cease? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) These opportunities are lost, because the public do not understand it We understand it. (Cheers). Tell the government, let it be whig or tory, blue or grey, orange or red (laughter)—that they have no right to stir to the right hand or to the left, without remembering that they are an anti-slavery government,—let them know that the great principles of freedom have to do with every stroke of policy in which they may engage, and give them always to feel, that, while they are moving in any direction, among the nations of the earth, whether it be in Affghanistan or China, whatever else they may be doing, they must be seeking the elevation and freedom of our race—(Loud cheers). If British influence were thus used, slavery would soon pass away from our world, and we should find all the countries to which I referred, deprived of the power of tampering with the slave-trade, because there would be no slavery. Let it be known that the moment an African landed on the shore of Brazil, he can lift up his head like a man, when they ask him to work, and say, "What are your terms? What will you give me? What are your wages?" They tell him. "I will not work for you," he says—he goes somewhere else, and gets some other employment. If this were done, there would be no man stealing. They would not give their dollars for men on the one side of the Atlantic, if, when they landed on the other, they became free men. But it may be asked, have we any thing more to do with slavery? Yes; there are goods manufactured in Manchester for the slave-market. They know very well how to buy and sell goods for the slave. Certain goods are made up in England, of a quality known to be fit only for the slave-market. The gentlemen in England sending them out, know that they go to buy slaves. They know that, as well as you know that the money you give to the servant to go to the baker is intended to buy loaves—(Laughter and cheers). They are sent to buy them of the chiefs, who have taken them from other chiefs in the interior. Cowrie shells are used for the same purpose; if you have any old muskets, or bad gunpowder, these are sent to buy slaves. Spirits are sent to buy them. Ships go out with cargoes worth almost nothing, and come back with slaves worth a large price, in all the colonies to which I have referred. They will make more by buying slaves, than they could make by rearing his children. But it may be said, cannot the government compel them to register their slaves; and take an account of those who die? I have already shown you that no government can do any thing, if the whole community are against them. This is the way the owners have done, and do still, wherever registration is insisted upon. The moment a slave is registered, that is, put upon the returns, it is thought the slave-trade is at an end, and that no fresh supply can be obtained; the theory is, that he will take care of those already under his control. But, when a cargo comes in, he will take one and another, and place them in the room of those whom he has worked to death; and he will swear that these are the men whom he had put on the register. If it should be said, that we do not know how many slaves are brought from Africa, and that our numbers are exaggerated, I reply, that we have many ways in which we can ascertain it. We have reports from commissioners that have been appointed; we have reports from the consuls of the countries to which I have referred; we have the quantity of slave-goods—coast-goods, as they are called, but I am giving the translation of the word—that are exported; and taking all these things together, along with private intelligence, we feel no difficulty about ascertaining the number of slaves exported from Africa. If we say, taking Africa round and round,

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and going into the interior, 300,000 people are carried off annually, we shall not go too far (Hear, hear). They are sometimes suffocated between the decks; sometimes they are landed without a rag to cover them, and the persons who are detected have the impudence to say, that they are emigrants, or passengers (Hear, hear). I was anxious that the meeting should understand foreign slave-trade, as it exists throughout the earth; in order that they may take their own stand, against so nefarious a traffic. The resolution which I am about to move, directs your attention to all the topics which I have noticed. I cannot take it up phrase by phrase, or sentence by sentence, and therefore I must satisfy myself with this general review of its topics. There is, however, one point of it on which I would just make a remark; that is the point, that alludes to a committee now sitting, and making inquiries about the propriety of bringing the Africans as emigrants, and free men, to work in the colonies. I trust the meeting will accept this part of the resolution, by denouncing such a scheme. Go to the coast of Africa, and ask the people to emigrate, to come and work; they do not understand you; they know nothing about your work; they know nothing about your country; men are brought down from the interior by chiefs, by a banditti, who know as little about your country as you do of the countries in the moon (Laughter.) If you tell them they are going to the moon, they are ignorant enough to believe it. Talk of making a bargain with them; you may as well make a bargain with camels; not because they are incapable of understanding, but they know nothing about it. They want the old system in the West Indies again (Hear, hear). They will be driven down in flocks; they will be shipped as workmen; they will come under the cruelties of the middle passage; they must pass through all the sufferings experienced in the old slave-trade; and, when they are landed, there is no one who can speak to them. How can they tell the governor where they proceeded from? And if they could, the super-cargo would say it was a falsehood. What is to be done. They say that you cannot prevent emigration. Look at your own country. Let a man stand on the quays, and attempt to bargain with them, and who will say that that can be done with the poor people on the coast of Africa? There is no man that will dare to tell us that there is any parallel. I hold that, if we find men in a condition of barbarism we must not let them remain in ignorance, but treat them according to the state in which we find them. Africa is too ignorant to suffer it to be permitted to come forward for a moment, and offer pretended workmen as emigrants. First let the people be enlightened, and then we will leave them to make a bargain. (Cheers). Let the people of this country, who plead so strongly for emigration from Africa, take the native population in, and school them up, and then, when they have taught the people, let a British vessel arrive at Fernando Po, or any where else you please; let a number of healthy blacks come into the boats and demand where you are going to take them, for what you want them, what is the amount of wages you propose to give and what is the security for its payment. Let it come to that, and then let the legislature say, "we cannot interfere with freedom." These people have no freedom, they do not know what it is; and we must teach them. Do not let it be supposed, that I run down the intellect of the coloured population; no, I am about to be seconded by M. L'Instant, a gentleman who has studied in France, and who has gained a prize for an essay on "the best means of abolishing the prejudices of the whites against men of colour." He has carried away the palm, against all the intelligence and ingenuity of France, (cheers), though the work was in their own language (Loud cheers). Here a man of colour comes forward to assert the equality of his own race; to take his stand in the most polished capital of Europe, and to shew that any objection to the black man, or to the coloured man, must have its ground in ignorant prejudice—(Loud cheers).

M. L'INSTANT, from Hayti, said, I rise to second the resolution. As a citizen of Hayti, I think it is my duty to make my voice heard, in a meeting, the object of which is, the abolition of slavery throughout the world. As a man, I think it is my duty to protest against the system which reduces man to the condition of a beast of burden. As Christians, we are all brethren, because we are all children of one God (Loud cheers).

The Rev. W. G. BARRETT, in supporting the resolution, said—I feel it to be a privilege to say a word on this occasion, and to speak upon one subject which has not been particularly alluded to by any of the preceding speakers, although I have no doubt the Rev. Mr. Knibb who is to succeed me, will enter more fully into it. That subject is the alleged non-working of the free system in Jamaica. I read with the greatest attention the speech of the noble secretary for the colonies, delivered on the evening of March 22nd; and, when I read the first part of it, I thought that the most ardent abolitionist could not have pleaded the cause of the world's freedom more powerfully than did his lordship. To use his lordship's own words, he said, "that the results of emancipation had far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its most ardent advocate." But whilst his lordship stated this, he told us that, beneficial as its results of freedom had been to the down-trodden negro, who was now settled in liberty, to the planters it had been ruin; and that the produce of the estates was much fallen off, and would continue to fall off year after year—

"Small by degrees, and *miserably* less;"

and that unless the legislature took some steps to provide for the evil, inevitable ruin must be the result. I ask when our West India proprietors are going to be satisfied. Their watchword has been ruin ever since I have had any recollection. When the inhuman traffic in slaves was about to be destroyed, they told us that their estates would be ruined; but they still continued to flourish, and the absent proprietors in Belgrave and Portman Squares rolled in luxury, although you had cut off the supply of slaves. When we were about to abolish slavery, and Lord Stanley introduced the modified form of apprenticeship, the West India planters told us again that they were going to be ruined, and confusion worse confounded, they rose and demanded from a high minded and generous people the payment of twenty millions sterling as a bribe, a subsidy, before they would let their oppressed slaves go free. And now, in a time of commercial distress the direst and most unexampled, when the prime minister, to meet the exigency, is obliged to bring forward a new tariff and adopt a variety of expedients, the West India proprietors, these same modest men, come and demand, after we have paid the twenty millions to relieve them of the dead weight of slavery, that we shall provide them with labourers from Africa—(Cheers). The fact is, there is no want of labour in the West Indies, but there is a lack of something else—there is a deficiency of capital—(Hear, hear). There has been a most lavish and most shameful expenditure occasioned by overseers and attorneys; and another cause, is the absorbing of so large an amount of the island income in support of the establishment—(Hear, hear). These two things occasioned the want of cultivation, and yet the evil we are told arises from the lack of labour. A large planting attorney assured me that he could obtain more hands than he could employ; what he wanted was capital. They tell us that the present state of things is the negros fault; but that is not the fact, the blame rests upon the head of those who have so long endeavoured to uphold so sinful a state of things—(Cheers). If the produce had fallen off, and the free system had not worked, it would have been their own fault. Mr. Burnet correctly remarked, that justice was no part of a slave-holder's attributes; and I may add, that common sense is no part of them—(Cheers). Immediately after freedom, the overseer of a property in my neighbourhood wrote me a letter, requesting me to come over, and make an arrangement with the labourers; as he earnestly requested it. I agreed to do so, for the people would make no arrangement unless their minister was with them, to see that all was fair and square. I still retain possession of the overseer's note. We went all over the property; we went into every house, and placed a value upon each. I then addressed the labourers, who said they were willing to abide by my decision. The regulations were simple. I determined that the questions of rent and wages should be kept distinct; and that the freemen should have the liberty of taking their labour to whatever market they pleased, and selling it for the highest price. The regulations were these—that the people should have their houses and grounds for one year certain, upon a rent then to be fixed. At the end of the year, if the attorney wished them to leave, he was to give them three months notice; and the people agreed that, if they wished to leave, they were to give three months notice. The rent to be agreed upon was to be paid on the last Saturday in every month. This was settled, and the agreement was signed by the attorney, and by myself on behalf of the people. I then said to him, "Mr. Lee, so strong is my confidence in the people, that I will undertake to pay you the rents for all the houses; I know the people will pay it to me, and therefore I will pay it to you." I did so, because I wanted to see one estate setting an example of good order. The agreement lasted two days—(laughter), when I received a note, saying that Mr. So and So, the attorney of another property, advised him not to keep to the agreement unless the people would bind themselves to work for him, and for no one else, for a year certain. (Laughter). I knew that if they bound themselves to him, he would have ground down their wages to the starving point. (Hear, hear). The people came in confusion, and said, "what this mean? The Buckra people always take too much of we. If he take paper back again, is not we off bargain too?" (Laughter, and cheers). I said, "to be sure your are." It so happened at that very time there was a lot of land to be sold, consisting of 138 acres, immediately adjoining the property. I bought it, and had it divided into lots; every man belonging to that property took a part of the land, and was located upon his own freehold. (Cheers). I was blamed for this, and it was said that I had unduly interfered; but I never interposed, except at the overseer's request. It is true, there was for some time, a withdrawal of the usual amount of labour, but it arose from the people working out their own land and building their own houses. But whose fault was it? The people would have stopped and worked, had they received proper wages. They were, however, driven from the property, because common sense forms no portion of the attributes of the slave-holder.

The resolution was then put and carried.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., rose to move the fourth resolution.

IV.—That this meeting regards with deep interest the enlightened efforts and noble sacrifices of the abolitionists of the United States of America in the sacred cause of human freedom; and whilst it sympathises with them in their struggles, heartily rejoices in the more extensive prevalence, and in the certain, and not far distant triumph of their principles; and publicly renews the offer of its warm and steady co-operation.

That this meeting rejoices in the restoration of the *Amistad* captives to their native land, through the zealous and christian exertions of the friends of humanity and freedom, and in the triumph of law over despotism; that it equally rejoices in the escape of the slaves of the *Creole* from a cruel and interminable bondage in the slave states of America, by seeking refuge in a British colony; and would record its high approbation of the noble sentiments of the great legal authorities of this country on the subject, and the prompt decision of the government in ordering the release of those in custody.

That this meeting feels assured the British government will utterly and for ever repudiate any and all demands that may be made upon it, for the restoration of the *Creole* negros, and all other slaves who may have sought refuge within its territories, or for compensation to their oppressors for their loss.

That, renewing its decided protest against the recognition of Texas by the government of this country, as deeply affecting the liberty and happiness of mankind, this meeting views the renewed project of its annexation to the United States as involving the questions of peace and war between nations now at amity—the introduction of slavery into countries not now subject to its curse—and the increased preponderance of the slave-holding party in the government of the great North American republic; and earnestly calls upon the philanthropists of that country to use their most active and persevering exertions to prevent a calamity so fatal in its consequences to the welfare of mankind.

That this meeting further rejoices to learn the progress of the anti-slavery cause on the continent of Europe, and trusts that the number and power of its advocates will rapidly increase, until the governments under which they live shall no longer be able to resist their influence, and shall, without an exception, decree the extinction of slavery in the various countries and dependencies subject to their control; and, finally, that this meeting cordially

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invites the correspondence and co-operation of the friends of freedom throughout the world with this society, in carrying its great design speedily and peacefully into execution.

I rise under peculiar disadvantages, for it was intended that the Lord Mayor of Dublin should have seconded this resolution. I think it however due to him to state, that I am satisfied nothing but urgent business in Dublin would have prevented him being present. As I visited America last year, principally on an anti-slavery mission, I will make a few observations in reference to it. I am glad that I shall speak in the presence of Americans, and, if I should make any statements that are inaccurate, they will I trust correct me. If I had ever doubted the justice of the principles on which this society is established, my visit to America would have removed them. Not only is it entirely hopeless to attempt to abolish the slave-trade without the abolition of slavery, but it is our duty, as wise politicians as well as christians, to seek that great end only by moral, religious, and pacific means. But, perhaps, there was no subject with which I was more strongly impressed in my visit there, than the absurd idea of attempting to distinguish between the guilt of the slave-holder and that of the slave-trader. (Cheers). The first establishment for carrying on the slave-trade I visited, was almost in the centre of the city of Baltimore. I visited it in open day; and I should have scorned to have made any concealment of who I was. (Cheers). I was very courteously shewn over the building; and I was assured by the proprietor, that he bought slaves from more severe masters to transfer them to others less severe (laughter); that slaves often came and asked him to buy them; and he advanced arguments that I could not answer, to shew that the slave-trader was not more guilty than the slave-holder. I went directly from that establishment to the triennial meeting of the Baptist board of missions, which was then being held. When I entered the large meeting house, the subject before them was the ballot for officers for the next three years. I knew before I went, that it was intended by the convention to displace our friend, Elon Galusha, as one of the vice-presidents of the American Baptist Missionary Society, because he had attended the convention in London, and supported a resolution which affirmed that slave-holders ought not to be received as members of christian churches. (Hear, hear). The principal person who spoke in favour of the ejection of Elon Galusha was a minister very celebrated in the south, and who held one hundred slaves himself. When the ballot was taken, our friend was rejected by 124 against 117. It is not for us to decide, it is known only to Him to whom the secrets of all hearts are unfolded, who is the most guilty —the 124 ministers or members of religious churches, or the slave-dealer (hear, hear,) whom I had just left in the den where human beings were sold as beasts of the field. I know this is strong language, but I wish things to be seen in their true light. Do not for a moment suppose that the Baptists are worse than other denominations. I believe that, in a convention of any other denomination of Christians, except those who have wiped their hands of the system, there would not have been so many votes in favour of Elon Galusha. (Hear, hear.) And the decision, was considered a moral triumph as compared with the state of feeling at an earlier period. The next slave-trading establishment I visited was at Alexandria. Among the victims of the traffic here, I met with a woman and nine children, who had been sold from her husband. Now I put it to any one here, whether the planter, who derived a benefit from the uncompensated toil of this poor woman and children, was less guilty than the slave-trader who bought them to send to New Orleans. The next establishment I visited was in the city of Washington, and so near the house of representatives, that within half an hour after talking in the senate with Henry Clay, I was within the slave-trader's establishment. I was also within sight of the President's house, and he is himself a slave-holder. (Hear, hear). In conversation with the person who kept this establishment, he significantly remarked he could not see any difference between a slave-holder and a slave-trader. With such scenes around me I could not answer that he was more guilty than they. I think it is of importance for the sake of humanity that the system should be considered as one and the same. I rather think I was the very first person who went into the southern slave-holding estates, avowedly and openly, as a professed abolitionist. (Cheers). Some of my friends thought I ran a little risk in so doing, and perhaps I might, if I had not been rapid in my movements. (Laughter). But in addition to that, the guilty are always cowards. When I was in one of these establishments, and one of my friends turned round and said, "that is an English abolitionist," the man looked more afraid of me than I was of him. (Laughter). We also distributed some books on the subject, and the other day I received a letter from a friend, of which the following is a short extract:—

"Charles T. Torrey has been tried as an *incendiary* in Maryland, and acquitted on the ground that he had *not* distributed anti-slavery publications in the state. Thou and I narrowly escaped a ten years' sojourn in the Maryland penitentiary, for distributing books, &c., in Baltimore. I should scarcely risk it again."

I wish to make one remark or two with regard to Texas. (Hear, hear). It is a fearful question, and I cannot now go fully into it; but I will state that there is no abolitionist in America, or an enlightened politician, who is not aware that the great object in establishing the republic of Texas is to open a new slave market for the southern states. Mexico had abolished slavery in her dominions, of which Texas formed a part. The slave-holder has gone across the border, and again set up slavery. That is the simple fact, one which I trust our friends will bear in mind, for I know that great pains are taken to deceive the public on this subject. There are, however, many encouraging indications with reference to America. The anti-slavery friends there have organized what is called the third, or liberty party. The object is to put up a candidate, in all the free states, at every election, from the president down to a constable. (Cheers). I think I am safe in saying, that the votes of 1841, as compared with those of 1840, for anti-slavery candidates, were on an average nearly as three to one in their favour. (Cheers.) I have also the pleasure of stating that in the city of New York, they have abolished the Nine months' act. That act was this; that any slave-holder coming from the south to that city with a slave, as a personal attendant, if with the slave's consent, might detain that slave for nine months, and then take him back. It was, however, determined by a majority, I think of fifty-three to forty-nine, in the lower house, and by a still greater majority in the upper house, that a slave thus brought by his master should be free. (Cheers). I was told that, if it had been proposed two years ago, that they did not think ten votes could have been obtained. (Hear, hear). There was another pleasing circumstance. I was present at a meeting in New York, which was attended by the negros released from the *Amistad*. The price of admission was half a dollar, but there were 1500 persons present. Some of these negros came forward, and I am happy to say, that they had made great progress in the English language, and had you taken men from any part of any country, they would not have shown more intellect. I was told that, had such an exhibition taken place, some years before, it would have caused a popular outbreak. (Hear, hear.) Another pleasing circumstance has also just taken place. An anti-slavery member of the Congress brought forward some resolutions, affirming the propriety of the conduct of the British government in reference to the *Creole*. The slave-holders and their supporters carried a resolution of censure upon him, and the consequence was he resigned his seat, and went back to his constituents in Ohio; and I am assured there is every reason to suppose that his constituents will send him back with a still larger majority. (Cheers.) But while condemning America let him "who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." When I was in the West Indies, I found that some of the most severe slave-holders had received a religious education in Scotland. (Hear, hear). In coming across the atlantic the other day, one of my fellow passengers, a Scotchman, a high religious professor, had become a holder of slaves; he spoke of the liberality with which they paid their ministers, but when I asked him, if ministers were faithful enough to preach against the sin of slavery they would, he replied, "O no!"—(Hear, hear). On asking him whether he had ever bought and sold slaves, he acknowledged that he had. Whoever it may offend, I should say, with reference to the directors of mining companies—and I will mention one "The Imperial Mining Association—in which slaves are employed, that I consider them as guilty as the despised slave-dealers whom I saw in America, (hear, hear) We must condemn these things in high places, before we put down the evil. (Cheers). If Daniel O'Connell had been present, I would have asked him a question. He and Theobald Matthew, with 60,000 of his countrymen signed an appeal to the Irish people in America, to join the anti-slavery ranks. I am told that the authenticity of his signature has been denied, and I should like to have ascertained it. Some Irishmen when they get the other side the atlantic are the most prejudiced against colour, and join the pro-slavery ranks. (Hear, hear). I beg of my young friends to join in promoting, by every means in their power, the abolition of slavery throughout the world; and not only so, but every kind of oppression in this country, (cheers). I do not wish to touch upon any matter not legitimately connected with the meeting. But we have systems in this country closely bordering on slavery (hear, hear); and I have feared there was something of a pro-slavery feeling, from which even abolitionists were not always exempt, that censured the working class and their advocates when demanding only their just and equal rights—(Cheers). I can cordially unite in the sentiments of one our poets when he says,

"'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,
And we are weeds without it."

(Cheers), I can hardly sit down without very briefly noticing a remark which fell from Sir George Strickland, I wish I could have joined in the sentiment, that England all over the world, now and at all other times, retained her power by her moral influence. I would not have alluded to this subject, had not such a remark been made. I put it to any candid mind, whether the war in Affghanistan or China does not represent this country as any thing rather than christian—(Cheers.) But I am one of those who look to the bright side of the picture and I yet hope that we shall live to see the day, that, "wherever England's power is felt, mankind shall feel her mercy too (loud cheers).

The Rev. Dr. MILLER, of Rotterdam, in seconding the resolution said, this is a cause in which I have ever felt deeply interested. Can that individual who does not feel interested in it be loving his fellow-creatures as he loves himself? Is he not disobeying the law of his Maker, if he does not regard those who are in circumstances of distress as peculiarly the objects of his compassion and sympathy? Your efforts, however, will be required to put down slavery in the eastern part of the British empire, for, until you have done that, it will not become you to boast even of your past efforts—(Hear, hear.) In Holland the cause of immediate emancipation is progressing: of this I am fully persuaded. A committee was formed in Rotterdam a year and a half or two years ago, of which I am a member. There are also anti-slavery committees formed in Amsterdam, in the Hague, in Utrecht, and in Leyden, and they are desirous of uniting with each other in carrying out their object, (hear, hear,) and effecting the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. In Holland we must ask permission to form a society, even for benevolent or religious purposes; and we have petitioned the king to allow the consolidation of these anti-slavery committees. I have every reason to believe, that the prayer of the petition will be granted (applause), for I have ground for concluding, that the king desires the emancipation of the slaves in his colonies. The number of slaves in Surinam is 60,000; and the number in Java belonging to Holland, about 1500—(Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM, in supporting the resolution, said, I am one of a few individuals who have seen the working of the slave system in the West Indies; I have also seen it in the East Indies, and examined it in the southern states of America. Having seen it in all these parts, I feel bound to declare that there is no difference between slavery as it existed in the West Indies and that which prevails in our East India possessions. (Hear, hear). I hope my testimony will be received in confirmation of that of Judge Baber. But the most important point is the kind of remedy to be applied. There are two modes. The one governmental, the other belonging to the community. The government is all powerful, and could at any time cause slavery and the slave-trade to cease. Let it withdraw its countenance from every nation in which these evils exist. But there is one point within our own province—I refer to the east. The charter granted to the East India Company, gives them the power of abolishing it, but that charter has remained a dead letter. The idea of the company removing the evil is most delusive—what I ask is, that the people should do it. The complexion of a government depends on the House of Commons, and the complexion of the House of Commons depends on the community. I ask the community to take care, when the next election occurs, to pledge the members to vote for the alleviation of the miseries of the inhabitants of Hindostan (Cheers).

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

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The Rev. W. KNIBB then rose, and was received with reiterated bursts of applause. He moved

V. That this meeting feels that it has not only cause for devout gratitude to the Most High, that the act for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies was carried into effect under circumstances which reflected the greatest honour on the negroes delivered from bondage thereby, but for warm congratulation that it has been followed by a rapid and vast improvement in their physical and moral condition; and that, if not interfered with by unjust legislation, by the partial administration of justice, and by the schemes of interested and unprincipled men, it cannot fail to result in the increased and permanent prosperity of these colonies, and greatly to advance the interests of the mother country.

That this meeting, whilst sincerely desirous that the interests of the proprietary body of the colonies may be advanced by all fair and legitimate means, will continue to oppose all schemes of theirs at variance with justice and humanity, all laws oppressive in their character, and all practices designed to coerce labour under a state of freedom.

That, grateful for past success, this meeting desires afresh to commend the anti-slavery efforts to the divine blessing, and exhorts its supporters everywhere to increased activity in this righteous cause.

If there was one sentiment that fell with a more deadening sound on my ears than another, in the whole of this discussion, to which I have listened with much attention, it was the one that fell from the lips of Dr. Lushington (cheers), when he asserted that in the English House of Commons slavery palled upon their taste. I thought that a severer rebuke, or one more calculated to sink that legislative body in the esteem of the wise and the just, could not possibly have been uttered. I most earnestly hope that that legislative body, if they wish to have the respect of those whose respect is worth obtaining, will, by some act of theirs, show that, if that rebuke in past days, or even now is just, it will no longer attach to it. I should almost feel disgraced in bearing the name of a Briton, if I could believe that, because there was something to be done for the miseries, the woes, the tears, and the blood of men—not for its removal, but because it was implored to be removed—it was a palling subject—(Hear, hear.) I sincerely trust that, if this be the case, the people of England will shew that they are not contented with such a state of things—(Cheers) For myself, I have little hope from any thing, except it be from Christian effort. I know perfectly well—from a residence of seventeen years in a slave colony—that every thing that is not based on the principles of this society will most assuredly fail. If, however, we can but obtain the concurrent effort of those who feel interested, not merely in the freedom of earth, but in freedom eternal in the skies, soon the last despot shall lift his hand, and the last slave shall be free—(Loud cheers). I did intend to remove the impression from this meeting—if the impression does still exist—that the want of that sweet article, sugar, is to be ascribed, as has been asserted by honourable persons in public prints, to a disposition in the minds of the labourers not to work except for exorbitant wages. For the last two days I have spent my time in going through the statements upon that subject, given by slave-owners themselves. I assert—and I defy contradiction—that the negros work for a less sum than their masters said they ought to work for. If I could not prove this by a reference to evidence given in the House of Commons by Jamaica planters—if I could not prove it by the records of all the courts where valuations were made, and sworn to on oath by the planters—if I could not prove this by every official document which has reached this country, I would submit to all the degradation of pronouncing that which was false. If then this is the case—and such it is—if the same amount of labour is now performed by the negro for £3. 8s., which the planters themselves deposed upon oath they never could get, and never wished to get, under £4. 10s., then I say that I have proved that which I had asserted. I have taken the hardest, the most difficult of plantation labour, and I have taken the plantation of R. Scott, Esq., because his property is in the parish where I live. He asserted in the House of Commons, that, when they paid job labour in the island of Jamaica, they always paid £7. 10s. currency per acre, for digging the cane holes; and that it would not be considered dear, if it was done at £10, old money, which is £6 sterling. Now I can prove that what the negro demands for digging 2800 cane holes—which is the number in an acre—is not £6 sterling, but £3 8s—(Loud cheers). However I am well aware that there are other circumstances connected with this discussion than that to which I have referred. But, as the demand in the House of Commons for emigration proceeds upon the principle, that work on fair and legitimate terms cannot be obtained, I have thought it right, and still think it right, to assure you, that from the last documentary evidence that has been presented to Parliament, I could cull from all the special magistrates' reports, without one exception, a confirmation of this truth. The fact is, it is not because the people do not wish to work that the present state of things exists—but because the masters have no money to pay. I wish those who are interested in West India property would just come and see for themselves. I wish they would see what reductions might be made, not in the poor man's wages, but in the costly expenditure connected with the old slave system. There might be a reduction in a great many things to which I could refer; but it is not my business to take care of the slave-owners, property. It is my duty, a duty devolved upon me by the position in which I stand, to take care that the poor man is not cheated, and I intend to take care of him—(Loud cheers). I should like to have referred to that rapid and growing intelligence, combined with industry, sobriety, and honesty, which is walking in all its loveliness, throughout the island of Jamaica. But I am fearful that a just description of this would be considered romance and fancy. Allow me, however, to read one extract from a letter, sent to Sir Charles Metcalfe by a special magistrate. "If it were possible adequately to describe the rapid improvements which have taken place, and the wonderfully ameliorated condition of society generally, since the advent of freedom, the readers at a distance might be disposed to ascribe even a faithful representation to an attempt to practice on their credulity"—(Cheers). If such statements as these are presented to his Excellency the governor—if they have received the official stamp of government—if the whole returns testify that, for fair and equal wages, the negros are disposed to work; I do implore this respectable assembly not to allow their souls to be harrowed up by the bloody and murderous system of European emigration. I have witnessed scenes with respect to this which I shall never forget. I have seated myself, by the side of a poor deluded Irish emigrant, though of a different religion to myself, and in the absence of one whom he considered his only spiritual guide, he was glad to receive temporal and spiritual consolation from myself. I have stood by his side, when in the deepest depths of poverty, joined to despair, and on a bed covered with rags, he has breathed his last, a dupe to this infernal scheme—(Hear, hear). In circumstances which I could not mention to this respectable audience, have the victims of this accursed plan been hurried into eternity. I declare, without the least fear of being contradicted—and if the House of Commons think that I cannot prove it, let them call me as a witness to their bar—(Loud cheers)—I declare that there have been scenes in Jamaica, within the last two years, unequalled in atrocity by all the abominations connected with the foreign slave-trade. I say this not on account of the number; but when I think of the manner in which these poor deluded people came—when I think that comfort was the lot of some before they left their homes, and that I have stood by their bedsides, where poverty, disease, and starvation have combined to hurry them from the world—when I have seen the misery, and the last gasp of breath, and have had the office of consigning them to the tomb—I implore on behalf of Ireland that she be rescued from a system which entails misery on all who go, and must bring down the just judgments of God—(Hear, hear). So convinced was Sir C. Metcalfe of this, that at his request I interfered. I know his Excellency thought I could not prove what I had asserted with respect to one estate; but an investigation was ordered. Mr. Kelly, a special magistrate, was invited to Spanish Town, and his evidence was taken, but it was so abominably filthy that it was suppressed. I have it, however, and the world shall have it too—(Hear, hear). If it is necessary to state how I obtained it, that shall be done, for on that subject I care for no individual that breathes on earth—(Cheers). It is but the other day that I went to one of the jails in Jamaica. I dare say a great many people will say, I had no business there—(Laughter). I have business every where where tyranny dwells—(Cheers). I saw in that jail a poor Irish girl, seventeen years of age, fed upon the coarsest corn meal, without coffee or tea, or any thing but water. Seeing her there, I inquired what was her crime; she told me that she had been hired by Mr. Hylton at £8 per year, and that her food was to be found her; when he had taken her seventeen miles up the country, he told her that he would only give her £6—(Hear, hear). She was one of the unfortunate victims who went out in the *Robert Kerr*. For refusing to work for £6, what did the chief magistrate do? He called two of his brother magistrates into his house to dine, and after dinner they held a court in his house, and sentenced this poor Irish girl, who had not been in the island three weeks, to pay a fine of three pounds, or, in default of finding goods upon which it could be levied, to imprisonment for fourteen days—(Loud cries of hear, hear). The moment I saw her I said, I will pay the money, and you come out—(Loud cheers). That poor girl had been walked barefooted seventeen miles under a burning sun to a jail, in which she was placed for fourteen days, in the midst of a deadly morass. I had her taken care of in the mission-house. I said to the jailer, give me a copy of her commitment; he replied I dare not do it; what would the magistrate say? I answered, I don't care whether you durst or not, but you shall; you know that every person has a right to a copy of their commitment, and I demand it in behalf of this poor girl—(Loud cheers). And here it is—"Whereas Eliza Kennedy, an immigrant, located on Retirement, the property of Thomas Rickets Hylton, Esq., has been convicted before us, David Mason, sen., and David Mason, jun., esquires, two of her Majesty's justices of the peace, for the parish of Westmoreland, of refusing"—mind, how logical they are—"to do the duty she had agreed upon to perform to the said Thomas Ricketts Hylton, and has been sentenced to pay a fine of £3 sterling, or, in default of goods to levy upon, to fifteen days in the house of correction, agreeable to the act to encourage immigration to this island, &c.—(Loud laughter). And whereas no goods to levy on have been found; these are in her Majesty's name." I thought my first duty was to tell the governor about this. I wrote to Daniel O'Connell, but I think the post-office stopped the letter. You shall have the governor's reply.—"Sir, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ult. Inquiry will be made into the circumstances of the case therein reported, and, pending the receipt of the result, the governor suspends his judgment on the conduct of the parties concerned. But, whatever the causes may have been, his Excellency deeply laments that a young female, immediately after her arrival in this island, should have been subjected to a fine which she could not be expected to pay, and to the consequent degradation and danger of imprisonment. He requests you to accept his thanks for your generous interference in paying the fine, and rescuing the unfortunate prisoner from confinement, and begs leave to transmit herewith the amount of the expense which he understands you to have incurred upon that occasion"—(Loud cheers.) I say honour to whom honour is due, (renewed cheers) and I shall feel pleasure in referring more than once to the kindness the governor has manifested to these poor deluded creatures. I only regret that in the last despatch, on leaving the colony, he has still recommended, under certain conditions, a new trial of this emigration scheme; and, if he had not done this—if the whole of his official weight had not been thrown into the scale, I should not have stated some circumstances, which duty now compels me to lay before you. I have here an account of emigration to different parishes. I wish you to understand that I have been there, mine is no hearsay evidence, that I have gone to the bedside of these poor victims, and I have endeavoured to smooth their passage to the tomb. On Hyde Hall estate, between March and July, twenty-one emigrants arrived, six with wives and children, the rest single men; in November the same year twelve of the men and women were dead, four of the children were dead, six of the widows and orphans were shipped by the kindness of an individual for America, five were in the hospital and three remained fit to work. On the 19th April, four persons from Ireland were situated at Glamorgan, and these estates are not on the plain, they are in the mountain,—the man, the woman, and three children were dead by the 10th of June. The other da; I went to

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another estate at Edington. I saw on that estate, to the windward of Dundee, two Irish families from London. On one bed, without a rag to cover them, lay the father vomiting blood, on the same bed lay two children, one four and the other two years of age, in a corner of the room lay a girl of fourteen, ill with ague and fever, and the mother had not a farthing to support any of them—(Loud cries of hear, hear). In the next room which I visited, after having prayed with this poor Irishman, and done something else for him, for it is of no use to attend to the soul if you do not take care of the body—(Hear, hear) I saw another Irishman on his death bed. I wrote to the governor, telling him that the only alternative was the removal of the survivors back to England or their death. The governor wrote back and I have his letter,—it is to this effect. "If these are the only means, take a passage for the whole, and I will pay the expense let it be what it may." (Loud Cheers). I returned to these poor people with the joyful tidings, but, though a vessel was to sail in ten days, three of the parents were dead, and two of the children! There were three orphans whom I sent in a carriage to my own house; one died before it had been there six hours, the other two are in the Nasmal school, and they are supported by his Excellency Sir Charles Metcalfe—here is the letter with which he sent me the money—"Sir, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter," says the secretary, "of the 8th instant, and to transmit herewith a check for £30., being the amount stated, to be sufficient for the board and education of three orphan children for one year." One being dead, I told the governor there were plenty of others, and I should soon find one. I aver that I can prove that the Irish emigrants have not only been deceived, but starved to death; I aver that I can prove that a mother has lain with her two children beside her, the one ten years of age and the other an infant dying at her breast, while her other daughter has been weeping over the putrid remains. I aver I can prove, that my poor fellow-creatures are subsisting on what is called Spanish needles, what is given to feed rabbits, mixed with water; that starvation, misery, spoliation, and death is the result of this accursed new slave-trade. I speak strongly because I have a right so to speak—(Cheers.) A body of these poor Irishmen came to me, and our pockets ought to be fuller than Baptists pockets usually are (laughter) to supply all the demands that are made, and implored me to do something for them—What can I do? Oh, get us out of this country. Another poor man said, "I will walk a mile on my knees to thank you, if you can get me out of this place." A woman who landed in 1835, assured us that she came out with 150 emigrants, twenty of whom returned home, and all the rest were dead. Let those who are carrying on this plot in reference to the West Indies hear these facts, they certainly shall through the public press—(Cheers). I would implore that a ship be immediately freighted by the British government, it cannot be better employed, to fetch home these emigrants. Let them throw their guns overboard, and put up hammocks for the dying. I hope there are spirits in this country that will assist me in carrying out this object. I hoped that Daniel O'Connell would have been here, and I would have asked his aid on behalf of his countrymen. There are a few withered creatures left—there are a few orphans and widows, and I implore that no time be lost in fetching them home again. I am sure that if you could see them, you would not want the eloquence of Daniel O'Connell to convince you of the atrocity of European emigration. Emigration even from Africa, though it may not be so fatal in its effects, will be quite as abominable in its principles—(Hear, hear). My hope is that they will not be able to obtain emigrants from Africa and, if I had nothing else to do, I would go there for the very purpose of telling them not to come—(Cheers). I am happy to tell you that the last ship that came from Africa came in ballast, no emigrants would accompany her—(Cheers.) Perhaps some will say, how do you find these things out? Why we make it our business—(Laughter and cheers.) They have told us they have been grossly deceived, and they will not work for the paltry wages offered them. Is eighteen pence a day too much to toil twelve hours under a burning sun. Some will inquire how it is that sum enables them to supply themselves with so many comforts. Read the official reports, and you will find it is that numbers have joined the temperance society—(Cheers). They will drink no rum, and many never taste animal food, except salt fish may be called so. It is because they occupy their spare time in the cultivation of their own land, and in rearing fowls and other things for the market. It is not because they obtain exorbitant wages.—The emigration from America is just as bad as from other parts. The coloured individuals that came from thence were all dead in twelve months—(Hear, hear). But leaving that subject, let me speak of some of the results of emancipation more especially with respect to the freeholders. Take St. Thomas' in the Vale for one year, and also take Manchester, there is nothing like statistical facts because they hit hard—(Cheers). I rejoice to speak of Manchester, because it is one of the parishes where the agents of the London missionary society have been most successful. In that parish, in the year 1838, there were four hundred and thirty-eight tax payers, you remember that was the year in which freedom was given. In 1841, there were one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six tax payers, so that, in that parish alone, the labouring population have realized sufficient property in three years to make one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight additional tax payers. In the western union alone, and I now refer to those who attend the congregations of Baptist ministers, since the advent of freedom, three thousand and seventy have purchased land, and paid for it thirty three thousand and thirteen pounds sterling: one thousand six hundred and eighty three have erected houses, and have paid for them forty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-seven pounds sterling. Were it necessary, which it is not, I could detain you for hours with statements of this kind. But I dare not conclude without reiterating the earnest cry from dying, starving emigrants in Jamaica, that yet suffer in that climate. Could you see them as I have beheld them, heart-broken, dying, and dead, you would implore her Majesty's government not to let a month pass without sending a vessel to bring the deluded victims back to the land of their fathers. Think you we are afraid of them competing with the negro? No; nor is the negro himself. He treats them kindly. One of my brethren saw the other day a deacon of his own church walking on the road-side, and a poor Irish emigrant wa riding on a horse; his minister asked how that came to pass, his deacon replied, I saw him lying under a tree starving, I got off my horse and put him on, and I am walking by his side to take him home and give him something to eat—(Loud cheers). I ask you whether he could have done more?—(Hear, hear). I ask you if a black man would have been so treated if he had come to reduce wages here? No Irishman has perished, because the black man would, to the utmost of his ability, prevent it.—(Cheers.) I ask the meeting not to allow the government to be palmed upon by those who think they can reduce the negros to serfs. They cannot, and they shall not, for we have a mountain top to which to flee. We have already suffered enough, they shall not extinguish the ethereal light which now beams in the islands of the West. Come what will, we will be free, and enjoy the blessing which God has given us—(Immense cheers.)

The BISHOP OF NORWICH seconded the resolution, which was then put and agreed to.

WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq. briefly moved, and the rev. W. KNIBB seconded,

VI. That the most cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to the Most Noble the Marquis of Clanricarde, for kindly accepting the chair, and for his readiness on this and all occasions to promote the advancement of the cause of humanity and freedom.

The resolution having been carried by acclamation,
The CHAIRMAN acknowledged it, and the meeting then separated.

SPAIN.

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO A FRIEND AT SEVILLE, IN REPLY TO OBJECTIONS TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES, MADE AT A RECENT MEETING IN THAT PLACE.

Lisbon, Fifth Month 16th, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Recollecting the objections which were advanced at Seville, to the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish colonies, I proceed to answer them in such a manner as my present engagements and the want of documents at hand will permit. These inconveniences will be the less felt, as I intend to direct my remarks chiefly to the general features and great moral considerations of the subject, rather than to enter into details, which would require a lengthened argument and an extended illustration. I do not, however, doubt that a more minute examination of the nature and results of slavery and freedom, might be rendered at once highly interesting and instructive; and furnish fresh evidence of the truth, that both nations and individuals, in acting upon the principles of moral equity which require the abandonment of a system of coerced labour, would thereby promote the economical and commercial interests of a country, as well as its peace, happiness, and security.

I shall insert the questions proposed, with a small alteration in the words, before each of the answers. I intend adding a question which will be placed second in order, the reply to which is designed to meet the objection felt by many well disposed, but timid persons, to immediate emancipation.

Question 1. Can the government, in granting simultaneously to the negro the enjoyment of civil and political rights, guarantee to its white subjects in the colonies their lives and property!

Answer. The safety of thus conferring freedom appears to be established by the fact that, in every instance in which it has been effected by the authority of law, it has been attended with peaceful results. This was the case in the French West India colonies of Hayti and Guadeloupe, when the liberty of 400,000 slaves, which they contained, was decreed by the French convention in 1794. In 1829, the emancipation of 800,000 bondsmen in Mexico was accompanied with similar peaceful results. Lastly, the abolition of slavery in eighteen British colonies, containing 750,000 slaves, within the last few years, is a further and conclusive proof of the perfect safety of an act of general emancipation. The last mentioned circumstance derives, perhaps, additional value, from a consideration of the number of the white and free coloured persons in these colonies, as compared with that of the slaves, which was nearly as follows, viz., whites, 100,000, free coloured, 120,000, and slaves, 750,000.

I find that it is stated in R. de la Sagra's work on Cuba, that, in 1827, the number of whites, free coloured persons, and slaves, in that island were respectively, 311,051, 106,494, and 286,942.

If the increase in the two former classes have taken place in the same ratio as during the preceding period of ten years, they will now amount to about 410,000 whites, and 118,000 free coloured persons. It is understood, that, owing to great and constant importations from Africa, the slave population has in the same time been swelled to 600,000, or 640,000. Supposing this computation to approach in any degree to the truth, of which there can be but little if any doubt, it will be seen that the whites in Cuba bear a large proportion to the slave population. If the whole of the freemen in Cuba be compared in number with the slaves, it will be found that their difference is not very great; while, in the British colonies, those who enjoyed the blessing of freedom did not amount to one-third of those who were held in bondage.

In Porto Rico the population is thus stated in returns made to the Spanish government, for 1836—whites, 188,869; mulattos, free, 101,275; black, free, 25,124; slaves, 41,818. It will thus be seen that the slaves in Porto Rico did, not a few years since, amount to one-seventh part of the population of that island.

With a knowledge of the facts that have been stated relative to emancipation, and the present situation of the Spanish colonies, there can be no reasonable anticipation of danger to the white inhabitants from the emancipation of the slaves in these possessions. If, however, it should be urged as a pretext for the slave owner retaining his prey, that many of these victims of oppression have

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been recently imported, and are therefore less fit for freedom than those who have been long in an European colony; I reply, that this is to admit an extensive violation of all law, and it would be a monstrous and cruel injustice to adduce the consequences of such a fact as a reason why freedom should not be conferred. The circumstance that great numbers of slaves are held as such without a legal tenure, should be regarded as another cogent argument for emancipation. These remarks, however, apply chiefly to the principle involved in the objection. It may be shewn, that on prudential grounds, there is no validity in this objection. In the important island of Hayti, not only had extensive importations of Africans taken place up to the period when the question of emancipation was agitated by the French convention; but the same spirit which overthrew the former government of France had led to attempts, on the part of the free coloured people, not without a sanction from the parent state, to seize those rights which had been hitherto withheld from them. This had led to acts of violence in which the slaves had been called to take a part, some on behalf of those tinged with their own complexion, and others for their white masters. At the proclamation of liberty, however, under such circumstances as these, all was peace, and the island enjoyed a large measure of prosperity until the fatal edict of 1792 arrived, by which it was sought, but in vain, to re-establish slavery.

The British island of Mauritius affords a more recent instance of freedom being simultaneously given to a large number of slaves, of whom more than one-half were imported Africans, owing to a shameful disregard of law in that colony. Mauritius, however, furnished no exception to the general peace and security which followed the introduction of freedom. In 1833, the number of slaves in Mauritius appears to have been 76,774, and the total population, including whites and free coloured persons, 101,469. If the white inhabitants be estimated at one-half of the whole free population, it will thus amount to between 12,000 and 13,000, being about one-sixth of the number of the slaves.

It may not be improper here to remark, that, if a government have sufficient force to keep a population of slaves of any description in subjection, *a fortiori* they can do this with a population comprising the same persons in a state of freedom; for enfranchisement does not increase the physical force of the negro, while it takes away one of the chief motives for rebellion. Enfranchisement does not mean exemption from the influence of legal authority. Every well constituted community has the right of punishing the promoters of disorder or violence. In being enfranchised, the amenability of the slave only passes from the arbitrary power of the owner to the steady and equitable authority of the law. An executive appointed by the state has a more beneficial and powerful influence, both moral and physical, than the authority of the slave owner, and is far less likely to provoke a population to acts of insubordination.

I think, then, it must be admitted, that any idea of danger from the slaves of Cuba or Porto Rico, by granting to them their natural rights, is in the highest degree unreasonable.

It is proper to observe, that the reply which has been given to the question under consideration refers almost exclusively to personal and civil rights. In reference to political rights, the friends of the negro only demand that he shall be subject, when emancipated, to the same qualifications as other citizens, whether these refer to intellectual attainments, pecuniary circumstances, or obedience to the law. Such an arrangement has been adopted in the British colonies, and has proved to be as safe as it is just.

Question 2. Is it not needful that the slave should be prepared for freedom by training him to habits of industry, by instruction in the rudiments of knowledge, and by the inculcation of moral and religious duties?

Answer. It is not needful. Industry cannot indeed be reasonably expected, and will not be generally found to exist, so long as a just and adequate motive is not supplied by the payment of wages. Consequently, slavery, which withholds this stimulus to exertion, has a natural tendency to produce the opposite effect. An indisposition to labour is the result of slavery, wherever this unjust and impolitic system prevails. Under freedom it has been found that the habit of indolence has been relinquished, with the paralyzing influence by which it was caused and fostered. Testimonies might be very largely produced, to show that those who were once slaves in the British colonies have generally worked industriously when no longer coerced, in all those cases in which they have been fairly and properly treated. I quote the following passage from the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in the year 1836, appointed to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship in our colonies:—

"In the evidence which they (the committee) have received, they find abundant proof of the general good conduct of the apprentices, and of their willingness to work for wages wherever they are fairly and considerately treated by their employers. It is, indeed, fully proved that the labour thus voluntarily performed by the negro is more effective than that which is obtained from him while in a state of slavery, or which is now given to his employer during the periods for which he is compelled to work as an apprentice."

The industry of the negro since entire emancipation has taken place, is such as might have been expected from the decisive character given in his favour during the apprenticeship. An evidence of this truth is afforded by the amount of the staple productions now raised in our colonies. About two-thirds of the quantity which was usual in the time of slavery has been exported, notwithstanding the increased consumption of these articles by the emancipated negros, the occurrence of unfavourable seasons, and the withdrawal of a considerable number of persons from field labour—principally women who are mothers of families, children who are now generally sent to school, elderly and infirm individuals, and others who, no longer chained to field-labour, are able to procure more advantageous employment. Such a loss of labour cannot be regretted by the philanthropist, or by those who take an enlarged view of the sources of commercial prosperity. The children will no longer perish in infancy from the want of a mother's care, but become future labourers in the colonies. These will be rendered more valuable than in the time of slavery, by the moral and religious culture which they receive. The limited number of adult male labourers who have exchanged field cultivation for other employments, may promote in an equal, or greater degree than before, the prosperity of the British colonies, while engaged in the production or sale of a great variety of articles for which a demand is created by the improved circumstances of the mass of the population. The case of Antigua, in which freedom has been longest established, affords the strongest evidence of its beneficial character in all respects. In this island the average exports have become considerably increased since the abolition of slavery. The fact of several thousands of emancipated labourers in Jamaica, and large numbers in Guiana, having purchased land, which could only be done by the fruits of their industry, is further satisfactory evidence on this point.

A state of slavery is no less unfavourable to the general improvement of the slave than to habits of industry. It will be at once perceived, and the master knows well, that, subjected to intellectual and moral culture, the negro, like any other member of the human family, becomes more sensible of his wrongs, less adapted for that brute-like state of passive submission which is required of him, and better qualified to avail himself of opportunities to secure his liberty. Hence the determined efforts of the planters in every country to retain their bondsmen in ignorance, from which, while in this state, it is impossible to elevate them. Under freedom these difficulties no longer exist, and the emancipated negros have already made astonishing progress in knowledge, morality, and religion. Hence it is concluded that a preparation for freedom of the nature proposed in the question is impracticable, and altogethe illusory.

(To be continued.)

WHITE EMIGRANTS IN JAMAICA.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

SIR,—The deplorable condition of the unfortunate emigrants from Ireland, and likewise from this country, inveigled by false representations to emigrate to Jamaica, as represented by the rev. William Knibb at the recent anti-slavery meeting at Exeter Hall, it seems to us calls for immediate attention.

The conduct of Mr. Knibb, and the humane efforts of Sir Charles Metcalfe on behalf of those wretched creatures, are deserving of all praise; but to Irishmen in an especial manner the prompt and efficacious exertions of Mr. Knibb are entitled to the highest gratitude.

His proposal for the immediate removal of the miserable remnant of the body of these emigrants, should be carried into execution without loss of time. We, therefore, from the extreme urgency of the case, suggest to our friends, both in England and Ireland, that an immediate subscription be entered into for the purpose of accomplishing this object; at the same time, we would urge on the committees of the British and Foreign and the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Societies, the importance of memorialising government to give active assistance to the proposed measure, for removing the suffering from a scene which is deeply stained with the guilt of blood.

One of us, from actual experience in the West Indies, being practically acquainted with the evils of this system of European emigration; and the other, from the fullest knowledge of the mischief attendant on it at home, think ourselves especially called on to take active and immediate steps for effecting the proposed removal of these unfortunate people. We propose for this purpose that subscriptions be received by Mr. Joseph Soul, at 27, New Broad Street, London; Mr. Joseph Sturge, Birmingham; the rev. W. Bevan, Liverpool; Mr. John Dunlop, Edinburgh; Mr. W. Smeal, Glasgow; Mr. Joseph Eaton, Bristol; and by ourselves in Dublin. We are respectfully, &c. &c.

R. R. MADDEN,
RICHARD ALLEN.

London, May 17th, 1842.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 18TH.

WE have devoted our columns to-day almost entirely to a report of the proceedings at the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, which was held, according to announcement, at Exeter Hall, on Friday last. The attendance was very numerous, and the meeting, as a whole, most useful and gratifying.

The report of the Committee, which, to save the time of the meeting, was not read *in extenso*, will be found in full in our columns, and will amply repay perusal. So, indeed, will the entire proceedings, which we commend most earnestly to the attention of all friends to the abolition of slavery throughout the world. It will be observed that the last resolution announces the now matured design of a second Anti-slavery Convention, to be held in London on the 13th of June, 1843.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXIV. Vol. III. No. 11.] WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1st, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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SPAIN.

Our friends G. W. Alexander and B. Wiffen returned a few weeks since from their journey to Spain and Portugal, undertaken in the hope of promoting the anti-slavery cause in those countries. We now proceed to give some account of the efforts which they have made in the peninsula, and the measure of success which has attended their endeavours.

Our readers have been informed that G. W. Alexander and B. Wiffen formed a part of the deputation which some months since proceeded to Paris, in order to be present at the public anti-slavery meeting which it had been intended to hold there. Although the circumstance of this meeting not being allowed to take place was one which might appear in some degree discouraging, our friends felt that this ought not in the slightest degree to divert them from the prosecution of the course they had previously contemplated, of proceeding to Spain and Portugal. If the righteous cause, for the promotion of which the assembly in Paris was to have been called together, had really sustained any injury in foreign countries from the meeting not being held, this was an additional reason for endeavouring to encourage, by personal intercourse, those who were already enlisted in the anti-slavery cause in Spain, and for making an attempt to increase their number. In Portugal also, deeply implicated as that country had long been in the African slave-trade, and where no efforts were hitherto known to have been made to excite an anti-slavery feeling, it appeared no less desirable that the claims of the deeply injured African should be commended to the attention of the government and people.

On the return of G. W. Alexander and B. Wiffen from their former journey to Spain, they had met with warm and intelligent friends of the slave in the south of France, during a short stay at Toulouse and Montauban. Among these there may be mentioned MM. Courtois, brothers, bankers at the former place; and pastors Felice and Morod, residing at the latter. Our friends availed themselves of the opportunity afforded of again visiting these places on their way to the eastern part of Spain. It was cheering to them to find, that the interest which had been manifested by those whom they had the pleasure of meeting on a former occasion, was still felt, and had perhaps been increased by a more intimate knowledge of the subject of slavery, obtained through the medium of various publications which had been supplied to them. We may here express our desire, that the leaders of the anti-slavery cause in France, who complain of the want of interest felt in this question in that country, would adopt some means of diffusing there, much more generally than has yet been done, a knowledge of the horrors of slavery. If these steps were taken, we cannot but believe that the enlightened and humane public of France would be no longer liable to so great a reproach, as is involved in the charge of an indifference to the intolerable wrongs of more than 250,000 of their unoffending fellow-subjects, held in bondage in distant colonies.

The first place which our friends visited in Spain, was Barcelona. They were glad to find, that in this important town, there are persons who remain earnestly desirous that the cruelties and iniquities involved in the continuance of slavery and the slave-trade in the colonies of Spain, should be terminated. They hope that measures will be taken to spread these just and humane sentiments, notwithstanding the adverse influence and efforts of slave-traders and slave-owners, in a town which is more largely connected with Cuba by commercial relations than any other in the peninsula. Within a few months past, an address has been presented by the Chamber of Commerce in Barcelona, to the government of Spain, praying for the continuance of slavery in the West Indian possessions of that country. This address has been prepared, in conformity with a request forwarded from the Havana. It may not be improper to remark here, that addresses of the same description and origin have been presented from similar bodies in some other towns. We believe that the active members of the associations, designated by the imposing name of Chambers of Commerce consist generally of a small number of individuals. It might be worth while to inquire, what portion of those who have signed these disgraceful documents are slave-traders or slave-holders, or, by commercial or other relations, are induced thus to lend themselves to the continuance of the dreadful system of negro bondage. Some copies of the French edition of J. J. Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*, and a few other publications, were distributed before leaving Barcelona.

At Madrid, where G. W. Alexander and B. Wiffen stayed about two weeks, they made calls on various influential persons, and were glad to find that several of those whom they had had the pleasure of seeing on a former occasion, were still zealously affected in the cause of abolition. They believe, that anti-slavery principles are gaining ground among intelligent and liberal persons in the capital of Spain, notwithstanding the efforts of the interested apologists of slavery, and the unfounded fears which they endeavour, not wholly without success, to excite in the community. It is a painful circumstance, and one which reflects dishonour on the public press of Madrid, that newspapers generally are unwilling to admit any articles in favour of the righteous claims of the slave. It is surely no mean argument for the justice of a cause, when such means are resorted to, in order to prevent its triumph. Truth does not fear but courts discussion, when fairly conducted, because its claims will thus become more apparent. Error and wickedness on the other hand shun this ordeal, and seek their appropriate refuge in ignorance, or the sophistries which they weave to conceal their hateful deformity. Two modern apologies for slavery in the Spanish colonies have recently appeared, one entitled, *Memoria sobre la esclavitud*, by Marina Torrentes; the other, *Los Esclavos in las colonias Espanolas* by the Countess Merlin. The latter is a translation from an article which originally appeared in the *Revue de deux mondes*, a French periodical.

Neither of these pamphlets are calculated to inflict injury on the cause which they have ventured to attack, when read by persons having a moderate knowledge of the subject of which they treat. It is, however desirable, for the sake of the less informed and unreflecting, that the serious inaccuracies which they contain, and their fallacious reasoning should be exposed. Some very important admissions are made, among which are two which occur in the work of the female writer, who, we understand, is a Creole. One of these is the dreadful fact of an excess of ten per cent. in the number of deaths over births, in the slave population of Cuba. This destruction of human life is attributed, to a considerable extent, to the deaths which occur among those who are recently imported from Africa; but how easy is it to see, that the existence of slavery, with its effect in keeping down the number of the wretched bondsmen by its severities and demoralization, is a constant incentive to this importation. It is also allowed, that there is little inducement to form marriages, owing to the liability of husband and wife, and parents and children, to be separated, and that little is done to discourage the prevailing licentiousness; yet a female does not blush to advocate the continuance of this murderous, immoral, and unnatural system! The only palliation that we can find for such sentiments is, that the writer has been exposed to that deplorable influence upon the heart and character which arises from living in a slave country, and which appears to be scarcely less fatal to humanity and virtue on the part of the oppressor, than to life on that of the oppressed. In the work of Torrentes, who is a member of the Spanish Cortes,

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the desire of a great majority of the inhabitants of Cuba, that the slave-trade should be continued, is frankly acknowledged, and an attempt is made to palliate or to defend this horrid traffic. We are glad to learn that Torrentes' book is likely to have a reply from one of his countrymen.

In the above paragraph it will be seen, that the words, "inhabitants of Cuba," (Cubanos,) refers only to the free part of the population. How unworthy are persons holding such sentiments of the name of freemen, or of the liberty which they possess!

Our friends consider it highly desirable that pains should be taken to circulate extensively, correct information on the true character of slavery and the actual results of emancipation, in Madrid and throughout Spain. Impressed with the importance of these objects, our friends gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of putting into circulation, in the capital of Spain and elsewhere, Dr. Madden's Address to the Anti-slavery Convention, which has been translated into the Spanish language, and J. J. Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*, already noticed. They hope that these works, and others of a similar character, will be more generally placed in the hands of persons who, from their character, may be likely to take an interest in the abolition cause, and especially those of this description, whose position in society may qualify them to render it important service. There is reason to believe that attention to this subject will not be wholly neglected. Before leaving Madrid, G. W. Alexander and B. Wiffen sought, through A. Aston, the British ambassador, an audience with the Regent of Spain. The request was graciously granted; and on this occasion our friends represented to the Regent, the deep interest which they, in common with the numerous friends of the negro in England, felt in the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the colonies of Spain. They also stated their conviction, that the termination of slavery was the only measure which could be relied upon to terminate the traffic in the persons of their fellow-men, and that this measure was no less in accordance with sound policy than the requirements of humanity and justice. They represented to the distinguished person they were permitted to address their conviction, that, by conferring liberty on the slaves, this large portion of the population of the Spanish West Indies would, in the most effectual manner be attached to the parent state, and the peace and lasting welfare of these valuable possessions greatly augmented.

Our friends cherish the hope that their appeal to the humane and enlightened sentiments of the Regent of Spain will not be unproductive of benefit. At the same time they, with ourselves, are aware, that the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, in countries in which these evils exist, requires a decision and firmness which has seldom been found in rulers, unless powerfully supported by the virtuous portion of their subjects, owing to the influence of slave-holders strenuously directed to prevent the removal of those wrongs and cruelties to which they have been accustomed.

At Seville, G. W. Alexander and B. Wiffen made several calls, and were obligingly permitted to meet at the office of the *Sevillano* (a daily paper published at Seville), for the purpose of an exchange of sentiment with some friends of the Editor, and a few other persons. On this occasion, the necessity and duty of the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery in the colonies of Spain were stated by one of our friends, and approved by some who were present. A larger number were apparently opposed to the abolition of slavery, and many objections to such a proceeding were advanced. The time occupied in making these objections was so considerable, as to afford scarcely any opportunity for reply. It was, therefore, determined that an answer should be given in the pages of the *Reporter* to questions in which the principal difficulties that had been urged were contained, and which, it was stated, should be discussed in the *Sevillano*. Our friends felt much obliged by the courtesy shewn them by the editor of this paper, and cannot doubt that the cause of truth and justice will be promoted by the examination of the subject if both parties engaged in it are fully and fairly heard. While at Seville, our friends had the satisfaction of an interview with the aged Bishop elect of Cordova resident there. They were glad to find in the Bishop a decided friend of the negro, and one who had manifestly devoted considerable attention to the subject of emancipation. He had been a member of a commission appointed by the government of Spain about ten years since, at the suggestion of that of England, to consider the practicability and means of effecting the abolition of slavery in the Spanish colonies. This commission appears to have produced no other fruit than that of increasing the knowledge of the Bishop, with whose conversation our friends were much delighted, on the subject which had been thus particularly brought under his notice. That the commission did not take any effectual steps towards the promotion of the object to which its consideration was directed, appears to have been owing to the injurious influence of a rich slave holder. It is a singular practice on the part of governments, in considering the subject of the abolition of slavery, to attach considerable weight to the opinions of slave-holders, although these persons are on such occasions, judges in their own case, and, like all other individuals in similar circumstances, cannot be regarded as impartial. There is another reason why they should be listened to with much distrust. They are universally persons chargeable with moral delinquency, in withholding from their labourers the just reward of their toil; and, in a vast number of instances, they are offenders against the laws of the land, in their conduct towards their slaves, and by the encouragement of slave-trading.

At Cadiz a similar opportunity was afforded to that which had occurred at Seville, of pleading the cause of the negro. This took place in the presence of about twelve persons, including some female friends, at the residence of A. Llorente, the Editor of the *Globe*, a newspaper published at Cadiz. On this occasion our friends have to notice the urbanity and kindness which was manifested towards them, and believe that some good has resulted from the conference which took place. The books which were distributed, will also, it is hoped, serve to promote and deepen an interest in the anti-slavery cause.

Our friends now embarked for Lisbon, where, through the courtesy of Lord Howard de Walden, they were favoured with an opportunity of seeing the Duke of Terceira, and the other ministers of the crown in that country, together with several of the distinguished individuals who have formerly occupied those offices, including the Duke of Palmella, the Viscount Sa de Bandeira, Rodrigo da Fonseca Magilhaens, and Silva Carvalho. In a similar way they obtained an audience with the patriarch of the Roman Catholic church at Lisbon, the nuncio of the Pope, and the Queen's almoner. In the course of the interviews thus obtained, our friends were truly gratified to find that the impolicy and cruelty of the slave-trade and slavery were to a great extent admitted, especially in reference to the existence of these great evils in the foreign possessions of Portugal in Africa and the east. It was also stated by the various members of the government, that their anxious and energetic endeavours are, and have been directed to the suppression of the slave-trade, and that many instances have occurred of slavers having been captured by Portuguese vessels of war. Our friends were glad to hear from several of the eminent and enlightened persons on whom they called, an avowal of the conviction, that the only way in which the slave-trade can be effectually destroyed is the abolition of slavery, because they hope that as this just conviction is more generally felt, it will increase the interest which already exists in the termination of slavery, and add to the energy of those efforts which are at present made for this humane and righteous object. Our friends were cheered in finding that the Viscount Sa de Bandeira, not only possessed a considerable knowledge of the anti-slavery question, and was in possession of various English publications on this subject, including the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, which he is in the habit of receiving; but that he intends to introduce in the legislature of Portugal a measure for the abolition of slavery in the possessions of that country in India. Before our friends departed from Lisbon, they had the high gratification of an interview with Count Lavradia, a member of the upper house of the Portuguese legislature, who received them with great kindness and cordiality, and expressed a deep interest in the objects of their visit to Portugal. Count Lavradia stated, that he had from a very early period of his life entertained anti-slavery sentiments, and that he had felt, and still feels, a deep interest in the promulgation of christian truth in Africa. This interest in the welfare of the unhappy descendants of that continent, had induced him to study one of their languages; but his hope of being able to adopt measures for their improvement had been rendered abortive, by the insuperable difficulties and dangers in carrying out such an object, resulting from the prevalence of the slave-trade. The Count informed our friends that he had been in Brazil in early life, when he had an opportunity of seeing the impolitic character of slavery as well as its injustice. He stated, that the Portuguese laws in reference to slavery were more mild than those of Spain, but that they were not sufficient to protect the slave, because the leaning of the judge was generally or always in favour of the master, a just description of that which takes place in all slave countries, and the mockery of justice where these helpless bondsmen are concerned. G. W. Alexander and B. Wiffen received much attention and kindness from several of their countrymen, who, as in other lands, were found to sympathize in efforts made to promote the termination of those atrocities which were too long countenanced by their own government. Among those from whom they received much attention and assistance, they feel it due to mention Henry Southern, the Secretary of the British Legation at Lisbon, William Payant, and Dr. Lovell. On a review of their proceedings, our friends feel much satisfaction in the endeavour they have made to promote, in the countries they have visited, the carrying out of those great principles of humanity and justice which are promulgated in the gospel of Christ, and the fulfilment of which, universally and entirely, they believe to be absolutely necessary to the true happiness and welfare, alike of individuals and of states.

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO A FRIEND AT SEVILLE, IN REPLY TO OBJECTIONS TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES, MADE AT A RECENT MEETING IN THAT PLACE.

(Concluded from our last)

Question 3. Will the mother-country be able to preserve her colonies if emancipation be granted, considering the position of the European governments?

Answer. By emancipation a government secures to itself the

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allegiance and affection of a considerable portion of its subjects, hitherto bound to it by neither of these ties. Supposing the slave population of Cuba to amount to upwards of 600,000, as already mentioned, this large number of persons, who are now regarded in the colony itself as domestic enemies, would be firmly united to the mother-country, and the danger arising from foreign interference or invasion greatly lessened. To such an extent is the security of the British colonies considered to have been promoted by the act of emancipation, that one-half of the troops have been generally withdrawn from them subsequently to the period of entire freedom. This has taken place, notwithstanding the far greater disproportion of the white to the free coloured and slave population in these colonies, than in those of Spain.

Question 4. Has the government the right of abolishing slavery in its colonies, without indemnifying the possessors of slaves who have obtained them under the protection of the law, and with its consent; and in what way can this indemnification be effected?

Answer. It is the duty of a government to abolish slavery on account of its injustice and inhumanity. An action which is thus rendered of imperative obligation should not be made dependent upon its being accompanied by indemnification. If in time past a government have given its sanction to robbery, and the destruction of human life, such a sanction cannot be too soon withdrawn. How far pecuniary losses which may be thus sustained shall or shall not be reimbursed, may form a subject for separate consideration. In reference to indemnification, it is evident that both the justice of the measure and its practicability are to be considered. I confess that I entertain the strongest repugnance to regard human beings as property, believing that they cannot be held as such in any instance without a violation of the nature and rights of man, and a contravention of the most evident principles of justice, as well as of the spirit and precepts of the gospel. Upon these grounds I cannot admit an obligation, on the part of a government which determines no longer to countenance an iniquitous system, to make good the loss sustained by those who have availed themselves of the permission to commit so great a wrong.

If, however, it could be shown, after emancipation has taken place, that there were cases in which it had been attended with loss to individuals, it would not, I think, be improper for a government to consider such cases. Experience, founded not on a few partial instances, but on a large scale, as in numerous estates which have been sold in Guiana to persons resident in the colony since the passing of the emancipation act, prove that, under a state of freedom, land rises rapidly and greatly in value. In general, and this remark applies to nearly all the cases which have been referred to in Guiana, as stated in official documents presented to the British parliament, the price is equal to that which could have been obtained for the estates and slaves together during the latter period of slavery. The low price of land in slave countries arises from a variety of causes, intimately connected with a general tendency to decay and impoverishment in regions in which this curse exists.

Among these are the decrease in the slave population, arising from the unnatural excess of deaths over births—the immense capital swallowed up in the purchase of new negros, and the languishing state of industry and commerce. An unusual fertility of soil, high prices of produce, protection, or a large supply of forced labour, may for a time stimulate production and trade, notwithstanding the vices of the slave system. Under these circumstances, however, in addition to the guilt which attaches to those who grow rich by oppression, and as a consequence of it, there is not, and cannot be, that security for life and property which exists in free countries. In every respect, indeed, free countries possess immense advantages over those tenanted by slaves. The population is not kept down by sterility or the shortened period of human existence; industry, a term which cannot properly be applied to coerced labour, flourishes; skill, enterprise, and prudent habits are formed by the advantages which they hold out to their possessors; and happiness, contentment, and religion find an entrance, and give security, alike in the poor man's hut, and the dwelling of the affluent.

From these causes, countries in which liberty is established, and especially those in which there is the greatest scope for industry, as in lands which are newly settled, have advanced in wealth and commerce with a rapidity unequalled in the most favoured regions blighted by slavery, as strikingly manifested in the northern states of the American Union.

In the infancy of freedom in the British colonies similar results are taking place, as evidenced not only in the greatly increased value of land already noticed, but in the increase of the exports to them from the mother-country. These exports from Great Britain averaged £2,500,000 sterling in the time of slavery, and now amount to £3,500,000. The considerations to which I have referred may serve to show, that little if any real loss will be sustained by emancipation, while great benefits may be reasonably expected from it to all parties, and consequently a claim for indemnity founded upon losses to be sustained, reposes at best but upon a very doubtful foundation. It has, however, been admitted by a recent apologist for slavery, and the fact is notorious, that a very large proportion of the slaves in Cuba have not been obtained "under the protection of the law, and with its consent," but in direct violation of its enactments. Those who hold slaves thus obtained, who, it is well known, are in general easily distinguished from those who have been long naturalised, deserve condign punishment, which might in part consist in a large fine to be paid to the persons who have been so grievously wronged. To speak of compensation in such instances to the wrong-doer, is at once an abuse of language and of common sense. I have, indeed, heard it said, that the case of these slaves resembles that of goods which have been smuggled into a country, and the seizure of which, in the hands of every person possessing them after some lapse of time, would be an act of hardship; but I would ask, are the dearest rights, the happiness, and the lives of hundreds of thousands of human beings of no higher value than common chattels, and the trespass of the laws in one case to be compared in enormity to their infraction in the other? Thus, then, compensation, for a very large number of the slaves, is disposed of, if the principle inferred in the query were admitted, from which I entirely dissent. The mode of effecting emancipation, so long as the rights of the negros are secured to them in all those instances in which it might be judged expedient, is a consideration which belongs to the government, and not to the advocate of emancipation.

Question 5. Is emancipation consistent with the economical interests of the nation, supposing that the obstacles implied in these queries can be overcome?

Answer. Yes. One great economical advantage to the nation by the abolition of slavery would be found in a large reduction of the existing military force, the maintenance of which to its present extent, it may be fairly presumed, would then no more be considered necessary than has been the case in the British colonies. The Spanish colonies would have the same great natural advantages which they now possess in the extraordinary fertility of the soil, and, under judicious management in a state of freedom, might continue to produce a very large amount of their present staple articles. In fertility and in the number of labourers they have even greater advantages than the most favoured British colonies, and would therefore be in a situation to attain results equally satisfactory in the maintenance and extension of cultivation, while there is no doubt that there would be an immense impetus given to the commerce of those fine countries. In reference to the alleged general prosperity and commercial advantages of emancipation, Hayti is cited as affording a contrary result. It will, therefore, be proper here to refer to the past and present state of that island. On the occurrence of the intestine war occasioned by the wicked attempt to re-establish slavery, the bulk of the population, took a part in the struggle to retain their liberties, and were thereby diverted from habits of industry. This was of course unfavourable to their future character and circumstances, as was also the destruction during the civil war of the plantations and property of every description, a loss which it will require a new influx of capital, and many years of peace, to restore. For a long period the Haytians retained their liberty by an uncertain tenure, and hence adopted a course of policy highly injurious to industry, commerce, and financial prosperity, by maintaining a large military establishment. It must also be borne in mind, that their trade was no longer fostered and encouraged by the consumers of the staple articles, but was, on the contrary, discouraged by the obstacles to which it was subjected, particularly by France and Great Britain.

Besides this, the education, or neglect of education, of those who now held the reins of government, had not qualified them to overcome these almost invincible difficulties, and to lay deep the foundations of national prosperity in the encouragement of industry, education, morality, and religion. With such disadvantages, it is only remarkable that they have paid the French government 64,500,000 francs, by the produce of their labour, for losses sustained principally, by the planters during the war of independence; and they have, within a few years past, exported a large amount of coffee and other articles, amounting in value to about £1,000,000. sterling per annum. When I compare the circumstances of Cuba and St. Domingo, I acknowledge that I think there is much to reconcile the mind to commercial results of a character much less satisfactory than those which really exist in the latter island. The slave ship no longer haunts the shores of Hayti with its suffering cargoes, the population has been doubled since freedom has been established by a natural increase, and the whip of the slave-driver is no longer the atrocious instrument by which men and women are forced to toil. In Cuba there is indeed a larger trade, but how is it obtained? By the encouragement of the man-stealer about its coasts, to supply the waste of human life incident to slavery, and by the degradation and torture of more than half a million of human beings. In this way, with the great advantage of a soil of almost unequalled fertility, the exports of Cuba have increased forty per cent. between 1830 and 1840. I pity that man, who is so dead to every feeling of humanity and duty, and to the honour of Spain, as to be willing that a system based upon such atrocities should continue, were the fallacious advantages which it promises to the guilty parties a thousand times greater than its apologists, in their war against human nature, pretend. I rejoice in knowing that I do not write to one who entertains such ungenerous and unworthy sentiments, and that his deep interest in the sufferings of the slave is shared by others of the best and most intelligent of his countrymen.

With much regard, I remain thy sincere friend,

G. W. ALEXANDER.

TRIPOLI.—Another cargo of black slaves has just left for the Levant, the only trade cherished and encouraged by the governor of Tripoli!!—*Malta Times.*

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ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

THE following extracts of a letter from a correspondent in Paris will be read with a painful interest :—

We are indirectly but certainly informed, that the Duke de Broglie has been charged by the commission, constituted by the government in 1840, for the investigation of questions relative to slavery in our colonies, to prepare a report upon its resolutions.

The first part of the report has been read and approved. It is stated, that it is got up with remarkable talent, and that its publication will produce a deep impression on the French public. We await its appearance with much impatience; but we do not, unhappily, await with similar feelings, the conclusions of the commission. The system of slow and progressive abolition makes new progress in the public mind every day, through the hesitation of the government.

Your delegates were informed, in private but semi-official communications, that the government and the chamber were, on the subject of emancipation, in advance of national opinion. It is true, that that opinion has considerably deviated from the generous sentiments which animated us all at the period of the revolution in 1830, and that we have retrograded on all questions of liberty; but the fault is in the government, and it ought to know that a spark would suffice to rekindle those sentiments.

With respect to the abstract question of slavery, the national opinion is unanimous for its extinction. It is divided only as to the indemnity required by the colonists, and on the mode of emancipation.

If the government had not prevented our society from holding its public meeting, if it had not succeeded in shutting us up within closed doors; we should have had partisans as zealous as any in the three kingdoms. You saw with your own eyes with what sympathy the words of Mr. Scoble, and M. M. Lamartine and Odillon Barrot were listened to.

The truth is, that the government were afraid lest the agitation of this question should arouse the popular feelings, and the instinctive hatred which the French people have against slavery. It wished to gain time by prohibiting our communications with the public, and to leave us only the press. It has succeeded; it will succeed, perhaps, yet further. M. Guizot has been able to adjourn the preparation of the project of law for several sessions. We know where the obstacle is; and if it is not given to us to overcome it in the present state of the French parliament, be assured that we groan over it more than you.

In 1790, political rights were granted to the men of colour. This prepared the way for the abolition of slavery, which the results of the revolution, without doubt, too much precipitated, since it was attended with such great misfortunes. Slavery was re-established in our colonies only by fraud, in violation of the most sacred engagements, and by a vast effusion of human blood at Guadeloupe. This re-establishment was the cause of the loss of St. Domingo, and not its abolition.

If Great Britain has made a noble sacrifice, and given a great example to the world, we can trace in our national history analogous examples to encourage our patriotism. The religious spirit of France is not extinguished, although its clergy for fifty years, have been the enemies rather than the auxiliaries of liberty.

Your great annual meeting approaches. May it give a new impulse to your efforts for the emancipation of the slaves in Hindostan, as well as for the suppression on the coast of Africa of those enlistments, with which we were justly reproached on an occasion which, happily, will not occur again.

If your efforts should succeed, you will take from our adversaries a subject of recrimination, which they are continually stirring up to mislead and irritate public opinion.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are requested by Mr. Sturz to say that he was *not* on the platform at the meeting of the Anti-slavery Society, as erroneously stated in the report.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 1ST.

WE have, at an hour too late for the present *Reporter*, received the suppressed evidence taken before the council in Jamaica, on the results of the recent emigration-scheme. These most important and affecting documents shall appear at large in our next.

WE regret to have to announce the death of our estimable friend and valued coadjutor, J. H. Tredgold, esq., secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. After a long period of declining health, he died at Richmond, on the 22nd ult. His funeral took place at the church of that parish on Monday last, and was, according to his own wish, attended by the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society. The high estimation in which he was held by that body will appear by the following record, which is entered on their minutes :—

At a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad Street, on Monday, 30th May, 1842.

RICHARD BARRETT, Esq., in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously—That this Committee have learned with unfeigned sorrow the decease of their valued friend, John Harfield Tredgold, late Secretary of this society, and would record their high sense of his sterling worth, and of the services rendered by him to the anti-slavery cause. To lively sympathy with the suffering and oppressed, he united an active benevolence, which prompted him to devote his best energies to their freedom and happiness. Retiring in his manners, urbane in his temper, indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, in character a consistent christian, he endeared himself to his fellow-labourers; and his memory will be long cherished by them, in common with the circle of his private friends, with affectionate respect.

OUR desire to introduce part (we found it impossible to insert the whole) of the important communication of Mr. Alexander in our last number, constrained us at the last moment to omit the speech of the Bishop of Norwich at the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society. We take the earliest opportunity of supplying this omission :—

The BISHOP OF NORWICH said, I confess, my lord, that I rise under some emotion. I pity the man, I envy not his feelings, whose heart is so cold and chilled that he cannot be roused by such an expression of eloquence as we have just heard. I will say but few words, and that for three reasons. In the first place, I think that to say much upon the subject of slavery would be a libel on the cause. Slavery requires no arguments, no eloquence, to convince us of its turpitude (cheers), or to excite the indignation which it ought justly to create. In the second place, I would not wish to neutralise the effects of that brilliant and interesting speech which we have just heard. It is a privilege to be here upon such an occasion, and I trust that, in the position in which I am placed in my church, I am not forfeiting my caste, or placing myself in other than a right position.—(Loud applause). In the third place, I did not come here to speak, but rather to learn. No, I retract the word. It is not necessary that I should take lessons to convince me of the impropriety of slavery.—(Cheers.) Abhorrence of slavery came with me into the world; it was nurtured in my cradle, and has been fostered in later years, and I hope it will continue with me till the close of life.—(Loud Cheers.) A speaker on my left (Mr. Sturge) gave us a most significant hint. He stated that while we were attending to the freedom of slaves abroad, we should also promote the freedom of those who are oppressed at home. (Cheers). Within the last few days I have had the honour of presenting some petitions to the house on the slavery—for I can give it no milder term—of our females in some of the collieries of Great Britain. (Cheers.) When that hint was given there was a cord which vibrated in my heart. I trust the case of the children in the mines of this country will excite attention: and that while we deprecate foreign slavery, we shall not have to deplore wretchedness lingering within our own shores, and within the confines of free England. (Applause.)

THE erroneous representations—whether inadvertent or intentional, we express no opinion—of a writer in the *Colonial Gazette* of the 25th ult. entitled, *Confessions of the Anti-slavery Society*, require from us some explanatory remarks. We must trouble our readers with a few quotations. The article begins thus :—

The Anti-slavery Society have made great progress within the year, for they have at last discovered the *cause* of the slave-trade! The usual emphatic reiteration of the failure of their own plans to suppress the trade pervades the announcement in their report.

The Society have said nothing in their report about the *cause of the slave-trade*. Let the reader judge :—

What lies at the root of all this hostility, opposition, and tergiversation on the part of kingdoms and republics, both in the old and new world, in reference to the benevolent and generous exertions of Great Britain to destroy this evil? The Committee reply in one word—Slavery; and they feel confident that, until that mighty evil be extinguished—until the markets for slaves be broken up—it is vain to hope for the suppression of the slave-trade."

It is plain from these words, that the report is tracing the cause, not of the slave-trade, but of the hostility shown by various governments to measures for its suppression.

It is further erroneous to say, that, in announcing the failure of the plans which have been hitherto adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade, the Society announced the failure of "their own plans." Treaties and cruizers are not, and never have been, any part of the plans of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society; which, by its fundamental rule, adopts such measures exclusively as are moral, religious, and pacific. A similar mistake runs through the following passage :—

They have devised "remedies," and they have been permitted and helped by a government to send an expedition where well-informed people knew that it would do nothing, except itself be routed by the pestilent climate: it was sent, and it was routed. They have been suffered to pet the newly-emancipated negro, and thwart the plans of the planter for meeting the difficulties which emancipation entailed upon him; to subject the British consumer to high prices for sugar; to make the slave-trade, by their own confession, more cruel than ever it was, by their efforts in "the cause of Africa;" to rant, to suggest experiments, adopted by parliament, to send their fellow-subjects out to be killed in those experiments without being called to account—for no coroner's jury sat on the bodies. And now, when all this is done, they coolly declare, in their periodical manifesto, that it was all in vain.

The Anti-slavery Society has had nothing to do with the Niger expedition, or with any of those measures which have aggravated the atrocities of the slave-trade. The entire responsibility of the Niger expedition rests with the Society for the extinction of the

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slave-trade and the civilization of Africa. This confusion of things, perfectly distinct pervades the entire paper, and is the basis of the following language :—

Such are the assumptions and conflicting statements which illustrate the new avowal of the society, that all their expenditure of blood and treasure has purchased nothing! Their report this year is the most flagrant instance that they have yet achieved of self-condemnation, practised as they are in that art.

We might have quoted much more to the same effect; but these few lines will be sufficient to make our readers and the public understand the nature of the fallacy into which the writer has been betrayed. He has confounded the present Anti-slavery Society, which was constituted in 1839, on an express avowal of new principles, first with the old Anti-slavery Society, which has been for some years extinct; and next with the African Civilization Society, formed under the presidency of Prince Albert, in 1840. If he has done this ignorantly, we charge him with no fault. We say only, that he is too ignorant to be employed as a writer in a public journal at all concerned for its respectability. If he has done it knowingly, he has been guilty of a fault which we are not anxious to characterize. Misrepresentation is an act of genuine, though reluctant homage to the party against whom it is employed.

WE announce with much pleasure, that ground has at length been broken in parliament on the subject of slavery in British India. On the 13th ultimo, the Hon. Mr. Villiers presented to the House of Commons a petition on this subject from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and immediately gave notice that he should, after the Whitsuntide recess, call the attention of the house to it. The petition is as follows :—

To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society

SHEWETH—That your petitioners deeply deplore the prolonged existence of slavery in British India, and the settlements of this country in the East, as utterly opposed to the principles of the British constitution, and the spirit and precepts of the gospel.

That your petitioners consider as due to the honour of their country, and necessary to give additional weight to the example already set to other nations in the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, that slavery be immediately and entirely abolished in every part of the British empire.

Your petitioners, therefore, entreat your honorable house to pass a law for securing this great end, and for establishing the right of every human being found within, or resorting to, any and all parts of the British dominions, to the complete enjoyment of personal freedom, and to the full protection of British law. And your petitioners, &c.

(Signed) G. W. ALEXANDER, Chairman.

WE have inserted, from the *Morning Herald*, an account of some interesting proceedings in Russia, tending towards the emancipation of the serfs. We give below an extract from a letter of the correspondent of the *Times* at Brussels, throwing some additional light on this important movement.

"An ukase has appeared allowing and recommending the owners of estates in Russia to set their serfs free. This means, in intelligible language, to allow the crown to recruit from their number direct, without encountering the protestations of the land-owners against this abstraction of their labourers. The mortality in the Russian army is, as will easily be supposed, enormous, and nothing is more unpopular amongst the owners of large estates than a draught from the peasants who are sparingly scattered over them, and without whose aid they are wholly unproductive. Should the recommendation here mentioned prove, as in Russia it usually does, a command, and be enforced as such, you may soon look for news from St. Petersburg."

WE have received some papers from the provisional directors of the East India Cotton Company, and among them a letter of Colonel Nicolls to the editor of the *Times*. That part of the Colonel's letter which relates to the bearing of this commercial enterprise on the question of slavery, we insert with pleasure, and express our full concurrence in his views. We have to desire, however, that, in India, cotton should be cultivated by freemen. Surely the extension of Indian agriculture and the abolition of Indian slavery ought to be simultaneous.

There is one other aspect of the subject I am discussing, to which, sir, I will briefly advert: I refer to its connexion with the slave question. The number of slaves in the United States alone, is, I believe, nearly three millions, the greater proportion of whom are engaged in the culture of cotton. Now, there has been a great deal said and done by a large body of philanthropists in this country, for the extinction of this mass of slavery; but what, I ask, is likely to produce this result so completely, or so peacefully, as the employment of British skill and capital in raising cotton by free labour in our own possessions in India, and thus gradually superseding the demand upon America, which is the mainstay of slavery, and of the horrid slave-trade which is still carried on, on the coast of Africa?

The policy of such a course is acknowledged by the chiefs of the anti-slavery party. At the last Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society, Mr. Gurney declared, that, "*if a supply of cotton could be obtained from any other part of the world, no greater stab could be given to slavery in the United States*"—a declaration which was loudly cheered from all parts of the hall. Let, then, Mr. Gurney and his coadjutors assist, by every means in their power, the practical steps which have been announced by the Company before alluded to. They have a golden opportunity before them, and if they do not avail themselves of it, what will the world say of their sincerity and consistency? During the debates in parliament last session on the sugar duties, they were frequently taunted with their inconsistency in refusing slave-grown sugar, whilst they consumed with complacency slave-grown cotton. This reproach may have been hitherto undeserved; but, unquestionably, it will be no longer so, if the practice complained of should be persisted in, now that a course is pointed out to them by which, not only without sacrifice, but with actual pecuniary gain, they may supply the British market with cotton grown in our Eastern possessions by free labour.

WE insert the following extract, of a recent letter from Richard Peek, Esq., on an important subject :—

I advise the Committee to do what they can to encourage free trade in the produce of free labour, but to endeavour to get such duties laid on articles the produce of slavery as will prohibit their being used in England. I should like to see a list of all articles the produce of slaves, with the duty each pays. I wish the duty on each was doubled. In fact, I should be glad to see a law to prohibit any article the produce of slave from touching our shores, and admitting free labour produce from any part of the world. The British nation should bear testimony against slavery by a law against slave produce from any country.

If information could be collected as to the articles, the countries they come from, and the duty they pay, it might form a foundation for some legislative measure in future. I think this would be more effective than sending out armed cruizers to prevent the slave-trade. I would admit cotton and other articles from the free states of America, under a certificate that they were the produce of free-labour, and the same from other countries.

Will the Committee take it into consideration, to see if anything in this way can be done? To collect information should be the first object.

THERE must be something useful, we think, in the humble efforts of this journal, and in the labours of the Committee whose organ it is, because they make some people so angry. The proceedings, for example, which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have taken in reference to the transportation of labourers from India to Mauritius, and particularly an article in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* on this subject—which is denounced as a wicked outrage perpetrated against that most amiable and benevolent race, the Mauritian planters—elicits the following from the editor of the *Cerneen* :—

And who are those with whose sanction and by whose authority it has been committed? Who are the self-elected members of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society? Who? Why, they are composed of all that is most base and despicable! Professing philanthropy, and making use of religion as a cloak to cover their own selfish and sinister purposes, they have but one end in view—that of their own aggrandizement. This accomplished, the stool upon which they have set themselves up as prophets, and which has served as their stepping-stone to place or power, is contemptuously kicked down by them, and the people who have been fools enough to be gulled by their fair promises and smooth words become the special subjects of their contempt and ridicule! Who are they? We believe, without a single exception, a set of the most audacious and accomplished scoundrels that were ever suffered to go unhung! One of them, some years ago, contrived to leap over the heads of his dupes upon the woolsack, whence by his own party he was not long after summarily and disgracefully expelled. Another not long since obtained a baronetcy, a third a judgeship, a fourth, two lucrative situations in succession under government. But then, they are "all, all, honourable men!"

Well, for ourselves, we care not; for we utterly abhor and despise them. But this we will and must say in conclusion, and in justice to the author of the article we have given ourselves the trouble to read, that, frankly and conscientiously speaking, we believe there exists not in any civilized portion of the globe a journal which contains so many *wilful, premeditated*, and *malignant* LIES as does the *Anti-slavery Reporter*!!!

MR. TURNBULL.

THE violence of the Spanish press against Mr. Turnbull, late consul-general at Cuba, and, at present protector of liberated Africans in that colony, is a proof of the honesty with which that gentleman has endeavoured to carry the instructions of her Majesty's government for the suppression of the slave-trade into effect. In what respects Mr. Turnbull may have failed in the performance of his duty, or have overstepped it, does not appear. Nothing, indeed, appears beyond the fact that he has given the greatest possible offence to the authorities of Cuba, and the pro-slavery party of that island, by the vigilance with which he has watched their proceedings, and the honesty with which he has exposed and denounced them to his own government. It appears, however, that nothing short of his being sacrificed will satisfy the rage of the party, whose nefarious practices he has brought to light, and upon which he has been able to put a check. But will her Majesty's government consent to sacrifice such a man! We trust not: for how then can the government expect to secure the fulfilment of its treaties for the suppression of the trade in slaves? Besides which, how can honourable men be expected to accept appointments under government, if they are to be sacrificed in the performance of their duty! It appears to us of immense importance that honest men should be appointed, and, in proportion to the delicacy and the difficulty of their situations, be countenanced and sustained. If Spain will tolerate no functionary who really discharges his duty, the next step should be for Great Britain to decline sending any functionaries at all. The cessation of all diplomatic relations with this country would soon bring these honourable slave-traders to their senses. To these remarks we append the following extract of a letter which has been received from a known correspondent in Cuba :—

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Havana, 12th *April*, 1842.

It would appear that Mr. Turnbull is really to be deprived of his appointment as her Majesty's Consul in this city, and I can assure you, that there is not throughout the island, one single friend to humanity who does not deplore his removal. Although Mr. Turnbull has resided but a short time in this city, he has succeeded in doing what no one thought possible before his arrival. The slave-trade has ceased for the present. Wonderful to relate, a Portuguese slaver, with about 200 negros on board, has been brought into the port, a prize to a Spanish brig of war. The court of Mixed Commission have declared, that, as it has not been possible to fix a Spanish character on the prize, the *Aurelia Felix*, it is not within their competency to deal with her; and, although the prize has been demanded by her Majesty's Consul, and by two of her Majesty's ships of war, in order to carry her to Jamaica for adjudication by a British court of Admiralty, the Captain-General persists in his refusal to give her up.

Three cargoes of negros have been seized after having been landed; but, although such a proceeding may tend to some good results by deterring the slave-dealers from their nefarious traffic, the poor victims themselves benefit nothing from the tender mercies of our philanthropic Captain-General, because, as heretofore, he causes them to be made *Emancipados* of, and then sells them into slavery.

It is the prevailing opinion of all the friends of humanity, that, as soon as Mr. Turnbull leaves the island, the slave-trade will commence again with its former activity, because there will then be no efficient person devoted, as he is, to the fulfilment of the treaties, to watch over their infractions.

The Mixed Court is a *nullity* in this city, and long experience has proved that their so called *efforts* to suppress the trade have never tended to any favourable results. For my own part, I am at a loss to comprehend the policy which causes Mr. Turnbull's removal, but I hope and trust that his successor will differ from him but in the name.

It will be distressing to see the great good which Mr. Turnbull has achieved to the cause of humanity retrograde to nothingness, merely from the want of a suitable person to continue what he has so gloriously commenced. Follow up with energy what has already been done; and believe me that the days of slavery in the island *are numbered*.

THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA, THE RUSSIAN NOBILITY, AND THE SERF POPULATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

[From the *Morning Herald*.]

We publish subjoined a document of much importance—viz. an ukase of the emperor of Russia for ameliorating the condition of the serf population of his empire. We give at the same time an order of the minister of the interior, and a circular letter of the grand master of police, accompanying the ukase, modifying and limiting the sense of the imperial edict.

An apparent contradiction is evident in the text of these documents. It seems as if the benevolent intentions of the emperor were arrested almost on the point of execution, by an after thought of policy, forced upon him by unseen obstacles which had arisen. We are enabled, however, by a communication from Vienna of a confidential and important nature, to explain this seeming inconsistency.

We are told, that the emperor of Russia, having resolved to liberate, in one sweeping act, the immense portion of the population of his empire born in a state of servitude, lately called together the council of state for the purpose of making his intentions known. The proposition was received by the subservient portion of the council with satisfaction; but the old and powerful nobility present declared, that such an act was tantamount to a revolution—that it endangered their lives and properties—and that, in honour and conscience, they could not adopt it.

The council separated without any decision being taken, and the utmost secrecy was for some time preserved on the subject. But a matter so important to all the great interests of the nobility and inferior classes could not long be suppressed, and at length the public became alarmed with reports relative to the emperor's intentions. The old nobility (whose fathers have heretofore proved what desperate expedients they were capable of resorting to, when their interests were affected by the imperial will) assumed a tone, almost amounting to menace against the emperor; while, on the other hand, the liberal portion of that class, supported by popular opinion, openly avowed their approbation of the Autocrat's conduct.

In this state of things, the emperor was forced to compromise, and unwilling either to give up his favourite project, or to have the appearance of yielding to the clamour of the old nobility, he issued the ukase above alluded to, for the modification of the condition of the serfs; accompanied at the same time by an order of the police, explaining it in a manner calculated to satisfy the apprehensions of the opposition.

The question now remains in this rather uncertain position. The violent and headstrong character of the emperor, who is never known to recede from any resolution deliberately formed, gives reasons to believe, that he will proceed to other and more decided acts, while the deeply-rooted prejudices of the nobility, who are equally reckless in their resolves, may lead them, rather than submit, to make such a resistance as might be fatal to the emperor.

Viewing this subject in all its bearings, it is one of great importance; and neither the revolution of 1830 in France, nor the Reform Act in this country, have led to the serious consequences which may arise from further agitation of it.

We need only add that our information on this matter is drawn from the best and most authentic sources.

UKASE TO THE DIRECTING SENATE.

In the ukase of his majesty to the directing senate, dated 2nd of April of this year, and signed with his own hand, it is said:—

"The articles 440 and 457 of paragraph 9 in the code of laws, fix the regulations according to which seigneurs are allowed to convert their serfs into free labourers, in making over to them in full property seignorial lands, in consideration of certain reciprocal advantages to be specified in special contracts. But, willing in the interest of the state, that these feudal lands, one of the privileges of the nobility, and which are engaged by contract, be guaranteed from all that might endanger property belonging to the nobility, we have thought proper, by interpreting article 442, paragraph 9, of the code of laws, to concede to the seigneurs who should be disposed to conclude with their peasantry contracts based on the said article, and this without prejudice to the interests of the labouring peasantry, to concede to them the right of supremacy over the lands thus conceded. And we order all peasants who shall receive portions of the said feudal lands to recognise this supremacy. Wherefore, we have decided that all contracts passed by mutual consent between the seigneurs and their peasantry, shall be based on the following dispositions, which have been examined in the council of the empire, and sanctioned by us:—

1. "The tenure of the peasant to the seigneur can be regulated in the contracts by money arising from the produce of the land, or from any other kind of industry."

2. "Should the peasants refuse to fulfil the conditions of the contract which they have accepted, they shall be compelled thereto by the local police, under the guarantee of the head of the nobility of the district, and under the superintendence of the government authorities.

3. "The peasants who shall have entered into contracts with their seigneurs shall henceforward bear the denomination of '*peasants who have obligations to fulfil.*'

4. "In as far as these peasants are concerned, the recruiting service shall follow the rotation laid down by the ordonnances for that service.

5. "With respect to the support of the *Greniers d'Abondances* (depôts for grain), and the assistance to be given in case of fire, which are at the charge of the free peasants, under the direction of their seigneurs, if the latter refuse to take upon them this responsibility, the obligation shall be fulfilled by the nearest authorities.

6. "The seigneurs shall organise among the labouring peasantry a local administration, and shall have the high police.

7. "As for the contracts to be concluded with the peasants who belong to the properties engaged with the banks of the empire, if it be the intention of the seigneurs to place these properties in pledge, they must obtain the consent of the bank before passing a contract.

8. "The seigneurs and the labouring peasants who have been liberated, are to consider the contracts passed between them as indissoluble, each, however, keeping the right to change certain clauses of it, in case the property should be engaged to the banks of the crown These changes must be guaranteed by those banks.

9. "The contracts entered into according to the above dispositions shall be drawn upon stamped paper of the fourth class, and submitted for our sanction and signature according to law.

10. "The directing senate is entrusted with the carrying into effect of this ukase."

The next document is from the minister of the interior, dated April 2nd, 1842, addressed to the head of the police at St. Petersburg. The minister, in forwarding the above ukase, says, that "the object of it is to determine the nature of the tenure of the peasantry, in the contracts they will form with their seigneurs, but that the lands remain, as heretofore, the lands of the nobility. From hence it clearly results, that the relations which exist between the seigneurs and the peasants, with whom no contract should have been concluded, remain the same as ever, and experience no change. All this is explained in the terms of the ukase, and it must be understood in that spirit. If the emperor had had any other view, he would have openly declared it. As he had not done so, to seek in the imperial ukase, or to persuade others that it can bear any other signification, would be a great crime, since it will be acting against the will of our Sovereign.

"His Majesty, therefore, orders all military and civil governors to watch with care that no false interpretation be given to the present ukase, such, for instance, as the freedom of all peasantry. If among any class should be found evil-disposed persons spreading false and dangerous intelligence to delude the people, they are to be arrested and punished with all the rigour of the law.

"They are equally to take care that the peasants remain in the same subserviency to the legitimate power of their seigneurs. If any should prove contumacious, they are to be brought back to their duty by mild means and persuasion, and in failure of this, by the rigour of the law.

(Signed) "PEROWSKY.

"To this letter is subjoined an order from the grand mater of police, aide-de-camp of the emperor, prescribing to the masers of police to give their utmost attention to prevent any false interpretations and false reports that may be spread about in the imperial intentions, as manifested in the above ukase.

(Signed) "CACOCHEKINE, Grand Master of Police."

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GLIMPSES OF SLAVERY AND SLAVE-TRADE IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—Having lately received a file of Brazilian papers as well as some private intelligence from that country, I again address you a few lines, which I hope will convey some information to your numerous readers on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade in that empire.

The present Brazilian ministry are all slave-dealers, and of course do all in their power without coming to an open rupture with this country, to encourage the trade. The minister of GRACE AND JUSTICE! left his official duties a short time since, to accompany 50 newly imported negros to his estate, some distance in the interior. At Santos, 750 Africans had been landed belonging to a man named Vergueiro, and not the slightest notice was taken by the authorities. The cruizers on the coast are almost useless, they sometimes bring a slaver into Rio Janeiro, but they are generally discharged by the Mixed Commission Court, which is worse than useless. It would be a great saving, both of men and money, to this country, if our squadron were withdrawn, and our mixed courts abolished forthwith. These functionaries, in the discharge of their public duties, bring discredit upon the country which employs them; and, in their private conduct, they disgust all the well disposed of those in whose society they are thrown. There are, I am aware some honourable exceptions to this rule, but they are rare; and the persons who have distinguished themselves by their upright and uncompromising conduct have, I regret to say, too frequently suffered loss in consequence.

I shall now give you a few incidents of slavery taken from the *Jornal do Commercio*.

Department of Police, March 1st, 1842.

"The Justice of the peace of Lagôa, José Pereira Lirio, reports, that in consequence of the directions which he received from the police to institute a search and inquiry, with a view to ascertain whether Isidoro Joaquim Pereira, resident in the Barra da Tijuca, had assassinated, by flogging, some of his slaves: he, the said Justice, proceeded in person to the spot, accompanied by the Promotor Publico, and surrounded the house with a military and police force. On entering, they were met by the said Isidoro Joaquim Pereira, and on searching the places pointed out, *four bodies were dug up, and another burying place remained to be examined*, which was at a considerable distance, by a road intersected with marshes, rivulets, &c. The accused was conducted to the jail, where he now is, together with the following blacks, Manoel, Francisco," &c., &c.

I shall endeavour to trace the sequel of this frightful case, and inform you of it.

In the same police report is to be found an advertisement of the apprehension of a runaway negro at Conceicao, who declared himself to be "the slave of a married lady in this city; that he worked for himself, and gave four dollars (10s. sterling) per week to the said lady, from whose power he fled under fear of punishment, for not having, one week, made up the required sum." This gives a painful view of the unrequited, hopeless labours of the slave: there are many Brazilian families who are entirely supported by the labours of three or four slaves in this way.

What should we think, sir, in England, of such an advertisement as the following, headed

"OPPORTUNITY OF OBTAINING A WAITING WOMAN FOR ONE SHILLING!!!

"TO BE RAFFLED FOR, *a waiting woman with a child eight years of age*, and other objects of value. Tickets may be had at No. 91, Rua do Roserio," &c. Here follows a similar one. "A private raffle at S. Christovao, *for two slaves and other articles.*"*

The next advertisement is a rarity, even in Brazil:—

"TO BE SOLD A LITTLE MULATTO TWO YEARS OF AGE, VERY PRETTY, AND WELL ADAPTED FOR A FESTIVAL PRESENT (Christmas-box), No. 3 Rua dos Latoeiros."

The following I have extracted from a single number of this paper, not for their peculiarity, but to show the every day character of the cruel, brutalizing system of slavery, and to bring it again and again before the public; knowing that the most humane persons are apt to forget, those sufferings of their fellow-men with which they are not brought into contact, either by actual observation or through the medium of the press.

"To be sold a wet-nurse, a mulatto girl aged twenty, *has very good milk, her first child now four months old.* Rua de S. Pedro, No. 180."

"To be sold, a black woman, *five months gone with child*, fit for all kind of service. Largo do Paço, No. 5.

"To be sold, a waiting woman, with milk, and with a son eight months old; she is to be sold WITH OR WITHOUT THE CHILD, has all the qualifications of a good waiting woman, and is without vice of any kind.† Rua do Senado, No. 41."

"*Sale of Furniture, Plate, a Black Cook, &c.*

"A. Lawrie & Co. (an Englishman) will sell on Tuesday, the 23rd instant, No. 6, Rua Direita, a quantity of furniture, gold and silver plate, watches, porcelain; and *one black man, a perfect pastry-cook*, belonging to a family about to retire."

"Feraudy & Co. will sell one day this week, at No. 2, Rua do Conde, furniture, plate, porcelain, a piano, *some slaves*, and sundry other articles."

"*Sale of slaves.*

"J. Bouis will sell on Saturday, at No. 90, Rua do Ouvidor, *a large lot of slaves* of both sexes, consisting of carpenters, field negros, negresses waiting women, young negros and negresses, &c.; the which will be sold with conditions of health and good sale."

* The slaves who are thus *raffled for* are those for whom it is difficult to obtain a purchaser, on account of some defect in person or in temper.

† This means that she will bear any amount of ill treatment without resistance; the expression in Brazil, as applied to slaves, has no reference to moral qualities.

This paper contains twenty-eight advertisements of sales of human beings, and the usual number of runaways—some with the loss of teeth, the marks of old wounds, of galling irons, &c., indicative of the mild treatment they received under the "domestic institution," and of course of their own folly and ingratitude in escaping from it.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.

London, May 28th, 1842. FULANO.

THE IRISH ADDRESS.

THE address from Ireland to Irishmen in America on the subject of slavery, is causing considerable agitation. At a recent meeting of the Repeal Association, in Dublin, a letter was read by the Secretary from the Albany Repeal Association, complaining very much, both of the address itself, and of its influence on the repeal agitation. It brought prominently forward the conduct of Mr. O'Connell, in having signed the address, and elicited from that gentleman the following avowal, which we transfer to our columns:—

The LORD MAYOR—He had heard, with a good deal of melancholy feeling, much in that document, to show how man would reconcile himself to false principles, and how the frequency of crime was capable of blunting our feelings. In this document the writer took care not to say he was the advocate of slavery; on the contrary, he said he was the friend of freedom in the abstract. A man might be an excellent friend to liberty in the abstract, but he (the Lord Mayor) did not see what good could come from this—if a person were bad in the abstract, his being so, without going further, could scarcely be productive of real evil; it was so with respect to good principles, and as little effect could be produced in the one case or the other. But was there not a great deal in that letter to advocate slavery? He (the Lord Mayor) wished to be candid—*he did sign that document which had gone to America: he avowed it, and, come what would, he was still the opponent of slavery* (hear, hear). He perceived by the American papers—what he had not looked much to before, or taken notice of in signing—that there was in the document a recommendation to co-operate with the abolitionists (hear, hear, and cheers).—They translated that into a recommendation to join any parties or particular societies opposed to the slave-trade. But this should not be so understood. If the abolitionists in America suggested crime or outrage, or the violation of any law, he did not want any Irishman to join them. The Irish did not mean to obtain Repeal by the commission of a single crime, and, of course, they would not sanction a different course by others. Therefore, when they recommended a union with the abolitionists, they did not mean—nor did the address to which he referred mean—that men should combine with any society that would sanction any violation of the law. When they talked of the abolitionists, they spoke of men who join together in a legitimate manner, and endeavour, by peaceable means, to effect that abolition of slavery, which every good man should be anxious for (hear, hear). That document which had just been read, filled him with regret. They talked of a violation of a constitutional principle. What violation of a constitutional principle could there be in advising a people to take this particular course? They suggested no violence or wrong—they did not threaten to invade America (a laugh), or join the abolitionists in arms—they only suggested that men should unite to put down slavery (hear, hear). The letter estimated, that time would put an end to the slave system; but that was what exactly the West Indian slave owners said, when a question was raised about their slaves in 1822. At that time, Canning said it was unnecessary to propose any measure for the freedom of the slaves, because the planters themselves would train them up and prepare them for liberty; and he proposed a resolution to the effect, that it was unnecessary to take any immediate steps in this respect, inasmuch as the planters themselves were determined to do what was required. But he (the Lord Mayor) had the honour of sitting in the House of Commons when Lord Stanley brought in his bill for the emancipation of these very slaves, and he challenged the house to show did the planters carry out their promise. Twelve years had elapsed from the time of their making it, and they could not allege that one single step had been taken towards its fulfilment (hear, hear). Nay, more, the planters who had made this assertion refused to allow a bill to pass to prevent the flogging of the women whom they had in bondage, and there they were declaring their love of freedom in the abstract, but opposing its effects, and its enjoyment. The gentleman who wrote from America told them of the contrast between the state of the American slaves and that of the people of this country. To be sure the slave owners fed their slaves as they would feed their horses and other beasts of burden, that the beast might be able to work, and that they (the owners) might have an abundant return (hear, hear). But now it irritated him (the Lord Mayor) in a more than ordinary degree to see slavery supported amongst a christian people—that in a land of freedom it should be tolerated, and on turning to states where it did not exist still to find advocates of so horrible a system (hear). Their course, however, was manifest—they would declare themselves the enemies of slavery, come what would (cheers); but they would not suggest the commission of any crime; on the contrary, their object was to put an end to crime by the abolition of the horrible system of slavery. It was a blot upon the Americans, and they could scarcely ever wipe it from their escutcheon. He moved, that Mr. Ray would communicate with this gentleman, as well as reply to the other document from the convention; but in the meantime, while they inserted this letter on the minutes, and while they disclaimed any connexion with any particular society of abolitionists they would proclaim themselves the opponents of slavery throughout the world (loud cheers). Whatever brand there might be on the brow of the negro—whatever might be his caste or his colour, they would not consent to any thing but that system by which no property in human beings, but that of the father in his child, and where the father would not allow of any but that possessed by the mother (hear, and cheers). They were opposed to a system by reason of which, there was not a tender tie of nature that could not be broken in a moment; and even this might be done without the owner of the slave being a party to it—for instance, in this country, men sell their horse and cattle, so in the slave, the husband might be sold to one, the wife to another, and the children to a third—and this even without the consent of the owner, should he become insolvent, or meet with a reverse of fortune. This, therefore, was the system which called for redress, and the support of every good man, to put an end to it if possible. No man should be without doing something to redress so great a grievance, until he saw the finality of the evil—and, while they

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went for repeal, they should wish that every man in America, would, in a peaceable manner, agitate to put an end to a system so horrible.

Mr. BARRETT said he had received a letter from a most intelligent correspondent in America, corroborating the views that had been taken by the Lord Mayor.

MADISON WASHINGTON.

ANOTHER CHAPTER IN HIS HISTORY.

THIS name will be remembered as belonging to the leader of the "Immortal Nineteen," who fought for and obtained their liberty on board the *Creole*. Madison was the "very large and strong slave" found in the after cabin, who being seized by both the master and mate, shook them off, and in spite of their endeavours—together with those of a third sailor who stood over the hatchway—forced a passage, and, rushing on deck, cried, "*We have begun, and must go through!*"

This scene on the *Creole* deck was but one chapter in the history of Madison Washington. Nothing could be more absurd than to suppose that this occasion made Madison, and not Madison made the occasion. A new clue to the character of this hero of the *Creole* has just been furnished us.

About eighteen months since, Madison was in Canada. He there bore this same name. He stayed awhile in the family of Hiram Wilson, who describes him, like the "*Creole* protestants," as a very *large* and *strong* slave. Madison had been some time in Canada—long enough to love and rejoice in British liberty. But he loved his wife, who was left a slave in Virginia, still more. At length Madison resolved on rescuing her from slavery. Although strongly dissuaded by his friends from making the attempt in person, he would not listen, but crossed the line into this state. At Rochester he fell in with friend Lindley Murray Moore, who collected ten dollars to aid him in his journey towards Virginia. So strong was Madison's determination, that at this time he assured his friends he would have his wife or lose his life.

As he passed along, he was heard from at Utica and in Albany. The next account, he stands a freeman on the deck of the *Creole*—the master spirit of the noble nineteen!

We infer, of course, that Madison in attempting to liberate his wife was himself re-enslaved. And, as it is the custom with slave-holders in the more northern slave states, to send the fugitive when secured by them to the extreme south—lest he escape again—lest he communicate to other slaves the incidents of his day of freedom—as an example that shall strike terror to the breast of his fellows—he is sold to the southern market. So Madison, we suppose, was captured, and as a dangerous slave sold for New Orleans, and shipped with his 134 fellow-sufferers.

The sequel we all know. Madison Washington is again a freeman under the dominion of Queen Victoria. Long may he remain free! One question, however, we greatly wish to have answered. Is he still without his beloved wife? Remember, it was Madison's visit "aft among the women" that led to the first act of violence on the *Creole*. Might not his wife have been there among the women? Yes; and this grave *Creole* matter may prove to have been but a part only of that grand game in which the highest stake was the liberty of his dear wife. Will not some British abolitionists obtain for us the story from Madison's own lips?—*Friend of Man.*

THE MENDIANS.

(From the *New York Tribune.*)

THEY arrived at Sierra Leone on the 15th of January, in fifty days from New York, and all their stores, tools, implements of agriculture, &c. were admitted free of duty, and even without examination. They met with a very favourable reception from the government there, and also from the English missionaries, who seemed anxious to lend all the assistance they could to the enterprise.

Dr. Fergusson, the acting governor, was promoting their comfort, and affording them all the aid in his power. He offered Mr. Steele a government boat, with a crew and a superintendent, if he chose to depart immediately; but he recommended his staying until the arrival of the successor of the late governor, Sir John Jeremie. On the 30th January, Sir George Macdonald, the new governor, arrived from England, and proferred every necessary assistance to the missionaries. He expressed himself very favourably towards them and those under their charge, and advised Mr. Steele to proceed on the exploring tour he had contemplated, ascertain the disposition of the people, report to him his success, and state the aid he thought necessary from the British government.

The returned Mendians are all with, and under the care of, Mr. Raymond, at Freetown. He is engaged, as far as he can appropriate the time to it, in giving them instruction. He mentions that some of them seemed overjoyed at the idea of recommencing their studies. Some of the Mendians had returned, in some degree, to their former licentious habits, and seemed unwilling to brook control; but, by his prompt and judicious measures, Mr. Raymond appeared to have checked in a great measure the tendency to return to heathenish life. The liberated Africans at Sierra Leone are from about sixty-six different tribes, and a large part of them are Kcosos, or Mendians. From 200 to 600, it was conjectured, might accompany the *Amistad* Africans, if it should be thought desirable, when the missionaries have determined on the best location.

On the 3rd of February, Mr. Steele, accompanied by Cinque, Ban-na, Fuli-wa, Covey, &c., started on his exploration, from which he had not returned at the latest date. Mr. Raymond informs us, that a war had broken out about that time among the tribes in the region to which Mr. Steele had gone. Mr. S. had a letter from the Colonial Secretary to one of the chiefs who was at the head of this war. It was at first feared that this would frustrate the object of his exploring tour: but the war soon terminated, and Mr. Steele was probably prosecuting his object. He will personally be in no danger from their hostilities. It seems quite difficult to obtain any satisfactory information respecting the Mendi country, in addition to what is already known; but Mr. Raymond has obtained, through a certain Mr. Parker, who is well acquainted and has traded much with them, and from other sources, very definite knowledge of the character of the Mendian people.

They are represented as very warlike, and some of the greatest slave-dealers are in that part of Africa. They even war among themselves for the purpose of getting slaves. If the Mendians who were in this country should return into the midst of their own, it is feared they would be immediately taken and sold again. It is therefore deemed unsafe, for the present at least, to go back into the interior, and Grand Cape Mount, on the borders of their country, is now supposed to be the most eligible site, as it respects health, &c. for the establishment of the mission. Here their relatives can have access to them, and the mission can be gradually working its way into the interior. Some of the *Amistad* Africans are found to be Mendians, and some to belong to another tribe called Bulloms, and there is some disagreement among them respecting the question with whom the mission shall be identified. Their eyes are turned to different locations. This, however, it is hoped will not be a serious difficulty. Some of them indicate a strong disposition to lay aside their clothing, and return to their former savage life of nakedness. One strong incentive to this is the *gree-gree* marks, as they call them, which are found upon their bodies. These are marks of honour, diplomas which have great meaning with them.

Literary Notices.

American Whites and Blacks, in reply to a German Orthodermist. By E. S. Abdy, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Author of *A Journal, &c. in the United States.* London: 1842.

THIS is a very spirited and interesting pamphlet. The author, during a residence in Germany, has found that some of the most distinguished periodicals in that country are adapted to deceive the public mind on the subject of American slavery. He evidently suspects that the writer in these is one and the same; and although un-named, this person is the "German Orthodermist," to whom the reader's attention is directed in the title page. Accordingly the pamphlet consists in a running fight with these German periodicals, answering, and we may justly say, refuting, their various misrepresentations. The object is effected with admirable vigour, tact, and felicity; and the pamphlet cannot but be greedily read, when once it is begun. The author has rendered an excellent service to the anti-slavery cause; and anti-slavery friends everywhere cannot do better than contribute to the wide circulation of the pamphlet.

The Slave States of America. By J. S. Buckingham, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo; London, 1842.

IT is only as touching on the subject of slavery, that these two handsome—and we must say, in passing, interesting and well written volumes—come under our notice. Without making it a prominent object of inquiry, or undertaking any extended survey of the country in relation to it, the author takes it up as it happens to present itself to him, and makes on it the free passing remarks of a general traveller. We think his observations and sentiments fairly made, and well expressed. Although he was far from seeing United States slavery in its most aggravated forms, he fully recognises its unjust and revolting character, distinctly traces its demoralizing and ruinous effects, and properly estimates the workings of the southern mind in relation to it. Would our limits permit, we should with pleasure give several extracts, from which it would clearly appear that Mr. Buckingham's judgment fully harmonises with that which the great body of abolitionists in both countries have already pronounced on American slavery. He establishes by several decisive examples, the fact that the system of slave-labour is much more costly to the southern planter than that of free labour would be; and he confirms all that has been said of the un-nameable atrocities committed in the slave-breeding states. He declares also his conviction, notwithstanding the current denials of it by the planters, that the practice is prevalent among them of selling their own children by slave mothers.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following Contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXV. Vol. III. No. 12.] WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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THE TRUE STATE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

[From the *Guiana Gazette and Advertiser*.]

The delay in the departure of the mail enables us to write a few words by way of diminishing a little, if it be possible, the consternation, fear, and trembling, which no doubt will seize upon the ministry—all those who had any thing to do with bringing about emancipation—all proprietors of property in this colony or holders of liens upon it—the editors of the *London Times* and *Morning Herald*—and, indeed, the whole universal world, when they come to read the "summary to go by the packet" which the *Guiana Times* has concocted for this mail.

This summary consists of several parts, of which the principal are, firstly, an announcement (positively final and for the last time) that the colony is now certainly ruined beyond all question, or redemption; secondly, speculations upon the cause of the said ruin; and, thirdly, the determination of the *Times* that the combined court shall refuse to vote any supplies, in order that the affairs of the colony may be brought before parliament, the causes of its ruin may be investigated, and the guilty parties punished. Whether, after this process, the colony, notwithstanding its total ruin is again to revive and be made to flourish, is not positively stated, lest it might tend to discredit the fact of ruin altogether; but, unless this is to be the result, why make all this stir and trouble! If we are really and truly dead and buried beyond all hope of redemption, why not let us rest in peace!

The facts upon which the *Times* rests its proof of ruin are these: plantation Enfield, in Berbice, which in 1829—that is *thirteen years ago*—sold for £29,000, was sold the other day at execution sale, for about £2000, and plantation Port Mourant, also in Berbice, was also sold on the 28th ult. for 35,000 dollars, whereas, before the termination of the apprenticeship—what time before! it was valued—by whom! at £35,000. Plantation Industry, in the hands of sequestrators, though a good estate, has stopped work because the court would not allow them to borrow money to carry it on till the execution sale; plantation Schoon Oord, for which fifteen months ago £36,000 were refused, when it was in the hands of a single proprietor, now that it is under the management of three executors and nine heirs, who possibly are not very unanimous about the management of it, and who are anxious to realize—might perhaps be bought for something like £20,000. Rome and Houston, instead of making 700 hogsheads, as the governor prophesied it would do, made last year only 600; and other properties belonging to the same gentleman are doing badly. However, the governor was a better prophet in this case than a certain experienced planter, patriot, and speculator, who, it was thought, had a mind to buy Houston himself, and who openly prophesied in the colonial legislature, about the same time, that it would make no sugar at all. Plantation Vrow Anna was bought three years ago, on credit, for a very large price, and the sureties given for payment have since become insolvent. Plantation Nonpareil, bought last year for £30,000, though a good bargain, is now in the market, and may be bought, for the "*Times* will not venture to say what price."

It omits to add, however, that the principal owner of it has suffered severely from speculations having no connection whatever with this plantation, nor with any other, and that his necessities oblige him to sell. Finally, a nameless plantation up the river, which somebody remembers some time or other to have made 480 hogsheads in one year, and which was bought last year for 50,000 dollars, has lately been offered for 30,000 dollars, without bidders.

Such are the particular facts, upon which the *Times* relies to prove that the colony is totally ruined. To which we reply, that, although the sale of a number of plantations at high prices proves, beyond all question, that at the time of the sale a high value is put upon that kind of property, yet the low price or unproductiveness of three or four, or even ten or fifteen particular estates, affords no proof whatever of a deterioration in the general value of sugar properties. Everybody who knows anything of property in this colony, knows that estates are liable to a thousand accidents, especially in what regards the drainage, and as to the supply of labour, and the method of cultivation, which may greatly reduce the value of particular estates in a very short period, though other estates in the immediate neighbourhood, and the great bulk of the estates in the colony, may still retain their value. Indeed, if we would condescend to make use of the same special pleading which was employed upon the governor's despatches a year or two ago, giving an enumeration of the estates in the colony which had sold for high prices, we might make out a very plausible case with respect to each of the estates above named, showing very good reasons for their particular depreciation.

But we despise all such quibbling; and, though all that the *Times* states has very little tendency to establish any such fact, we shall yet state, of our own knowledge, that estates at present may be bought for less money than they could have been two or three years ago. At that time a great spirit of speculation prevailed; the price of sugar was high, and had been so for some four or five years preceding, and promised to go higher. The estates, during the apprenticeship, had made more money than they ever did in any period of four years since they were established; and people were deluded by golden dreams of an immigration loan, and a great influx of immigrants; and it was thought if one could but get a sugar plantation on any terms, that his fortune was made.

Times have now altered. The money pressure at home is felt here. Sugar has fallen, and is like to fall more. Very few immigrants have come in, and those at a great price; it is evident, that many heavy expenditures made upon estates during the past two years were injudicious and unproductive; that those who bought estates without capital, hoping to pay for them in three or four years out of the proceeds will find themselves mistaken, and that the estates which they bought on credit and cannot pay for must come to the hammer. All these circumstances have tended greatly to reduce prices. Many wish to sell, but few wish to buy. Let us add, that a false and exaggerated value was always placed upon estates here, and that nobody ever made money as proprietors in this colony except a few mercantile houses at home, who were not planters merely, but shippers also and sellers, and whose immense capital enabled them to wait for years, and to persevere through great losses, till at length high prices for a few years, or a few extraordinary crops, would make up for all; who did not risk every thing upon a single plantation, but who had a dozen, and whose losses upon some were made up by their gains upon others. The *Times* truly remarks, and when we can extract a particle of truth from that journal we desire to give all due credit, that "there are instances, as well known as curious, of gentlemen who, after having been for several years most successful attornies, become most unfortunate proprietors." This in fact is the general rule. An attorney has little more to do than to pocket his commissions, and one may be very skilful at that without any great skill at managing a plantation, or anything else. We join with Lord Stanley in begging the proprietors to come among us, in order that they may introduce a totally new system of management. The present system never can go on, and we will take an early opportunity to show why. As to the present proprietors among us, most of them are too much hampered with mortgages to have any power over their estates, and they ought rather to be considered as tenants at will than as proprietors.

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But, says the *Times*, there is no hope for the future, for the labourers are rapidly quitting the field, and becoming proprietors, and these new proprietors are invincibly lazy, or, if they work, they cultivate provisions, and not the staples.

Ever since the final cession of this colony to Great Britain in 1815, the effective labouring population has been constantly diminishing. The slave registrations showed a regular annual diminution to the amount of about 1500 in the slave population, ascribed *then* to the climate, but thought now—for, since immigration has been in vogue, the climate has been very salubrious—to have originated from over hard work. At present, the population is annually increasing; but at the same time, a certain number of labourers—perhaps about the same number that used annually to be demolished—withdraw from the plantations, buy land, build cottages, and cultivate provisions. This appears to us to be better than having them worked to death, according to the old system; and therefore we do not think that this fact makes out a decided case against the labourers. If they apply their labour to raising provisions, they show their wisdom. In no country in the world is food so dear as in this colony; and so large a part of our food is imported, that it is actually cheaper at present to live in town than in the country, which is one reason of the rapid growth of the town, and the flocking of the labourers into it. It is not true, however, that the new freeholders do no plantation work. They do a great deal; and several plantations are almost entirely worked by them.

Although at this moment the colony holds out little promise to speculators on a large scale, and though those proprietors who are burdened with debts, are in great danger of being obliged to part with their property—yet that from among the labouring classes, there is fast arising a new class who are at once labourers and capitalists. Those proprietors at home who have clear estates, and who are not engaged in more important matters, if they will come among us, and if they have sagacity and business talent, may yet find plentiful opportunity and means to continue the cultivation of their lands, or to dispose of them to advantage. If, however, they prefer to leave their affairs in the hands of old school attorneys, let them abide the consequences.

It is a favourite doctrine of the *Guiana Times*, upon which it is for ever harping, that the new freeholders do not engage in the cultivation of the staples—by which it means sugar and coffee—and, therefore, do not contribute to the wealth and prosperity of the colony. Not only is this doctrine theoretically false, but it proceeds also upon a false statement of facts.

Plantains and other articles of provision are just as much items of wealth, and contributions to the wealth of the colony, as coffee and sugar. The population cannot live, nor can sugar and coffee be produced, without provisions; and the extreme scarcity and high price of provisions is one principal cause of the expensiveness of every thing else in the colony. In those days when sugar-growing was most profitable, every sugar plantation had its plantain walk; and the cultivators were fed principally by the produce of their own lands. The high prices of sugar which have prevailed during the last seven years, and the scarcity of labour consequent on emancipation, caused the estates' plantain walks to be almost every where abandoned; and, if the new freeholders have given their chief attention to the cultivation of provisions, they have turned their industry into a highly necessary and useful channel. To state, however, that they have abandoned the cultivation of the staples, is totally untrue. It is true that, on the estates which they have purchased, all of which were either abandoned estates or else in plantains, they have not yet introduced the cultivation of sugar and coffee. It requires no small amount of capital—according to the extravagant processes of this colony, £15,000 or £20,000 at least—to put an estate into sugar; and coffee must be waited upon three or four years before the cultivators can begin to expect a crop. The Victoria people, though they do not yet make sugar on their own account, are the principal labourers on the neighbouring sugar estate, John and Cove, where upwards of eighty of them have regularly been employed for the last five months, doing six days' labour a-week. Indeed, without these people, the estate could not be cultivated at all, as the engineer, boiler-men, and, indeed, all the head men are part proprietors of Victoria.

Nor is this a solitary instance: Plantation No. 17, on the west coast of Berbice, distant about twelve miles from New Amsterdam, is an entirely new sugar estate, belonging to Mr. Blair, put into canes since emancipation, and expected to produce this year six hundred hogsheads of sugar. It is wholly worked by the freehold proprietors of lots No. 19 and 21, in its immediate vicinity. These lots were abandoned cotton estates, bought up and settled upon by the labourers, many of whom had been removed from the vicinity fifteen or sixteen years before, and carried to the islands of the Essequibo, but who embraced the earliest opportunity in their power of returning to the place of their birth, and buying land there. Indeed, it was the settlement of these people near by that first suggested to the proprietor of No. 17 the idea of erecting sugar works, and putting the land into sugar—an experiment which, thus far, has been wholly successful, and which promises to continue so. In this case, the great outlay usually necessary for the erection of labourers' cottages was wholly avoided.

Plantation Albion, on the east coast of Berbice, has also been planted in canes since emancipation. It is a fine promising estate, and is chiefly cultivated by the freeholders in the neighbourhood

That, for the first year or so after the freeholders obtain possession of their land, they should withdraw themselves in a great measure, from plantation labour, is inevitable. Their first business is to build a house, and to put their plots of land into cultivation; and any one who travels through the colony, and sees the number of freehold cottages erecting, many of them extremely neat and comfortable, and observes the thrifty and clean appearance of their provision grounds, will be slow to believe those charges of invincible indolence and laziness which the *Times* brings against them. As these freeholders finish their houses, and get their land into order, they return gradually to plantation labour, leaving their lands to be taken care of by their wives and children. This is the case with the Victoria people, those who work regularly on the John and Cove having gradually increased from twenty or thirty to the present number.

If it be true, then, as the *Times* asserts, that the proprietors, in selling land to the labourers, do it only out of sheer necessity, and with the belief that they are destroying themselves, we can only say, that, in this case at least, they are making themselves miserable without the slightest occasion. We look upon the employment of task gangs composed of freehold labourers, for putting in new fields, for throwing out drains and trenches, for cutting canes, and transporting them to the buildings—indeed for all the work of a plantation, except the light weedings and the manufacture of sugar, if not also for that, as one great means of economizing time and money, inspiring the labourers with a spirit of continuous industry, and above all, of economy and productiveness in the application of labour.

MR. WEBSTER AND THE CREOLE.

DR. CHANNING has put forth a pamphlet on the case of the *Creole*, full of noble sentiments, and handling in a very masterly manner the letter of the American secretary to the British government. The extract we give below exposes the doctrine, that, because men are made property of by some states, they ought to be recognized as property by all others.

A grand principle is involved in the case, or rather lies at its very foundation, and to this I ask particular attention. This principle is, that a man, as a man, has rights, has claims on his race, which are in no degree touched or impaired on account of the manner in which he may be regarded or treated by a particular clan, tribe, or nation of his fellow-creatures. A man by his very nature, as an intelligent, moral creature of God, has claims to aid and kind regard from all other men. There is a grand law of humanity more comprehensive than all others, and under which every man should find shelter. He has not only a right, but is bound, to use freely and improve the powers which God has given him; and other men, instead of obstructing, are bound to assist their development and exertion. These claims a man does not derive from the family or tribe in which he began his being. They are not the growth of a particular soil; they are not ripened under a peculiar sky; they are not written on a particular complexion; they belong to human nature. The ground on which one man asserts them all men stand on, nor can they be denied to one without being denied to all. We have here a common interest. We must all stand or fall together. We all have claims on our race, claims of kindness and justice, claims grounded on our relation to our common Father, and on the inheritance of a common nature.

Because a number of men invade the rights of a fellow-creature, and pronounce him destitute of rights, his claims are not a whit touched by this. He is as much a man as before. Not a single gift of God, on which his rights rest, is taken away. His relations to the rest of his race are in no measure affected. He is as truly their brother as if his tribe had not pronounced him a brute. If indeed any change take place, his claims are enhanced, on the ground that the suffering and injured are entitled to peculiar regard. If any rights should be singularly sacred in our sight, they are those which are denied and trodden in the dust.

It seems to be thought by some, that a man derives all his rights from the nation to which he belongs. They are gifts of the state, and the state may take them away if it will. A man, it is thought, has claims on other men, not as a man, but as an Englishman, an American, or a subject of some other state. He must produce his parchment of citizenship before he binds other men to protect him, to respect his free agency, to leave him the use of his powers according to his own will. Local, municipal law is thus made the fountain and measure of rights. The stranger must tell us where he was born, what privileges he enjoyed at home, or no tie links us to one another.

In conformity to these views, it is thought that, when one community declares a man to be a slave, other communities must respect this decree; that the duties of a foreign nation to an individual are to be determined by a brand set on him on his own shores; that his relations to the whole race may be affected by the local act of a community, no matter how small or how unjust.

This is a terrible doctrine. It strikes a blow at all the rights of human nature. It enables the political body to which we belong, no matter how wicked or weak, to make each of us an outcast from his race. It makes a man nothing in himself. As a man he has no significance. He is sacred only as far as some state has taken him under its care. Stripped of his nationality, he is at the mercy of all who may incline to lay hold on him. He may be seized, imprisoned, sent to work in galleys or mines, unless some foreign state spreads its shield over him as one of its citizens.

This doctrine is as false as it is terrible. Man is not the mere creature of the state. Man is older than nations, and he is to survive nations. There is a law of humanity more primitive and divine than the law of the land. He has higher claims than those of a citizen. He has rights which date before all charters and communities; not conventional, not repealable, but as eternal as the powers and laws of his being.

This annihilation of the individual by merging him in the state, lies at the foundation of despotism. The nation is too often the grave of the man. This is the more monstrous, because the very end of the state, of the organization of the nation, is to secure the individual in all his rights, and especialy to secure the rights of the weak. Here is the fundamental

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idea of political association. In an unorganized society, with no legislation, no tribunal, no umpire, rights have no security. Force predominates over right. This is the grand evil of what is called the state of nature. To repress this, to give right the ascendency over force, this is the grand idea and end of government, of country, of political constitutions. And yet we are taught that it depends on the law of a man's country, whether he shall have rights, and whether other states shall regard him as a man! When cast on a foreign shore, his country, and not his humanity, is to be inquired into, and the treatment he receives is to be proportioned to what he meets at home!

Men worship power, worship great organizations, and overlook the individual; and few things have depraved the moral sentiment of men more, or brought greater woes on the race. The state, or the ruler in whom the state is embodied, continues to be worshipped, notwithstanding the commission of crimes which would inspire horror in the private man. How insignificant are the robberies, murders, piracies, which the law makes capital, in comparison with an unjust or unnecessary war, dooming thousands, perhaps millions, of the innocent to the most torturing forms of deaths, or with the law of an autocrat or of a public body, depriving millions of all the rights of men! But these, because the acts of the state, escape the execrations of the world.

In consequence of this worship of governments, it is thought that their relations to one another are alone important. A government is too great to look at a stranger, except as he is incorporated with some state. It can have nothing to do but with political organizations like itself. But the humble stranger has a claim on it as sacred as another state. Standing alone, he yet has rights and to violate them is as criminal as to violate stipulations with a foreign power. In one view it is baser. It is as true of governments as of individuals, that it is base and unmanly to trample on the weak. He who invades the strong shows a courage which does something to redeem his violence; but to tread on the neck of a helpless friendless fellow-creature, is to add meanness to wrong.

If the doctrine be true, that the character impressed on a man at home follows him abroad, and that he is to be regarded not as a man, but as the local laws which he has left regard him, why shall not this apply to the peculiar advantages as well as disadvantages which a man enjoys in his own land? Why shall not he whom the laws invest with a right to universal homage at home, receive the same tribute abroad? Why shall not he whose rank exempts him from the ordinary restraints of law on his own shores, claim the same lawlessness elsewhere? Abroad these distinctions avail him nothing. The local law which makes him a kind of deity, deserts him the moment he takes a step beyond his country's borders; and why shall the disadvantages, the terrible wrongs, which that law inflicts, follow the poor sufferer to the end of the earth?

I repeat it, for the truth deserves reiteration, that all nations are bound to respect the rights of every human being. This is God's law as old as the world. No local law can touch it. No ordinance of a particular state, degrading a set of men to chattels, can absolve all nations from the obligation of regarding the injured beings as men, or bind them to send back the injured to their chains. The character of a slave attached to a man by a local government, is not and cannot be incorporated into his nature. It does not cling to him, go where he will. The scar of slavery on his back does not reach his soul. The arbitrary relation between him and his master cannot suspend the primitive, indestructible relation by which God binds him to his kind.

The idea that a particular state may fix, enduringly, this stigma on a human being, and can bind the most just and generous men to respect it, should be rejected with scorn and indignation. It reminds us of those horrible fictions, in which some demon is described as stamping an indelible mark of hell on his helpless victims. It was the horrible peculiarity of the world in the reign of Tiberius, that it had become one vast prison. The unhappy man on whom the blighting suspicion of the tyrant had fallen, could find no shelter or escape through the whole civilised regions of the globe. Everywhere his sentence followed him like fate. And can the law of a despot, or of a chamber of despots, extend now the same fearful doom to the ends of the earth? Can a little state at the south spread its web of cruel, wrongful legislation over both continents? Do all communities become spell-bound by a law in a single country creating slavery? Must they become the slave's jailers? Must they be less merciful than the storm which drives off the bondman from the detested shore of servitude, and casts him on the soil of freedom? Must even that soil become tainted by an ordinance passed, perhaps, in another hemisphere? Has oppression this terrible omnipresence? Must the whole earth register the slave-holders' decree? Then the earth is blighted indeed. Then, as some ancient sects taught, it is truly the empire of the Principle of Evil, of the Power of Darkness. Then God is dethroned here; for, where injustice and oppression are omnipotent, God has no empire.

SLAVE-TRADE IN TRIPOLI.

We insert below an interesting letter of Colonel Warrington, the British Consul at Tripoli, intended to turn the tribes in the interior of Africa away from the slave-trade, by drawing their attention to other articles of traffic within their reach.

From the *Malta Times*.

We are favoured with the following *Circular*, which, translated into *Arabic*, is to be circulated throughout the interior and along the coast of northern Africa. It does credit to the head and the heart of our worthy consul, Colonel Warrington. We are informed that the *Locust*, steam tender, left some few days ago for Tripoli, to convey thence the Colonel to the Syrtis, where it is expected that he will have an important meeting of the Arab chiefs, and confer with them upon the mode of immediately putting a stop to the importation of slaves from the interior to the coast.

CIRCULAR.

The benevolent and humane feeling of the people of England to better the condition of the black tribes of the interior of Africa, and the anxious desire of my august mistress, the Queen of England, to abolish the revolting traffic in the flesh and blood of our fellow-creatures, induce me to address these few words to every good man.

The object of the traffic in slaves is *gain*, and habit has reconciled it to those who trade therein, without considering the enormity of the crime of taking by force the infant from its mother—or separating the wife from her husband—and dragging the victims over the burning sands of the desert—where they often expire under the lash of the slave-driver!—towards the coast, to be exhibited in the public bazaar, and thence transported to a foreign land, where they are sold to gratify the avarice or the passions of man.

One great God rules over all, both the black and the white! And can we bring our minds to believe that He can sanction such abominable acts of cruelty to our fellow-creatures!

Believe me, No. His mercy, his forgiveness, his benevolence and justice, extend to all his creatures. The black and the white enjoy his almighty care.

It is evident that the object is *gain*. I, therefore, in the name of my sovereign, and common humanity, call your attention to a more honourable pursuit in commerce, where the profit and advantages will be ten or a hundred fold. Look to the natural resources of the interior, where the following articles invite you to trade therein:—gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, gum, skins, indigo, senna, &c. Abolish now this inhuman traffic in your fellow-creatures—open a communication with the natives of the interior—assure them that they can carry on trade in perfect security to life and property through those territories under your immediate control, and allow the few regular traders to pass by you unmolested, and assist their lawful traffic.

Then you will have done a humane and benevolent act, which God will approve, in thus diffusing plenty and happiness to millions of your fellow-creatures.

Your own consciences will then tell you that you have done well; you will become rich and happy by a commercial intercourse with the interior, and you will obtain the permanent friendship of England, who will not be unmindful of the great and noble act of your abolishing slavery, and promoting commerce and civilisation throughout Central Africa.

These objects are the cherished wish of my heart—and to see the regency of Tripoli the land of justice, prosperity riches and happiness, is my fervent prayer.

(Signed) H. WARRINGTON.

British Consulate, 26th March, 1842.

FRANCE.

[From a Correspondent in Paris.]

The French chamber has closed its session of 1842 in full re-action against emancipation. You remember that, during your stay in Paris, the chamber of Peers passed a law to re-establish the payment of debts by expropriation in the Antilles. This, which was adopted by a great majority, was carried to the chamber of deputies, and has there been abandoned by ministers.

Another law has been presented to the chamber of deputies, at the request of the colonial government, in order to withdraw from the colonial councils the electoral power, which they have abused since their formation in 1833, to create difficulties in the way of emancipation, and to oppress the coloured class. This measure was approved by the commission of the chamber, and, notwithstanding, M. Guizot himself abandoned it in the sitting of the 20th of May.

During one of the last parliamentary discussions, however, upon the right of search, on the 20th and 21st of May, speakers of all opinions said, that, while opposing this concession, they desired emancipation, as a more direct and efficient means of attaining the object.

If M. Guizot was really devoted to the cause of emancipation, he ought to have pressed this question in the chamber, and to have supported with firmness the two colonial laws; in short, he ought to have urged the commission presided over by the Duke of Broglie to terminate its labours, and to present its plan of emancipation.

Well: would you believe it! This commission is adjourned! So that the Duke de Broglie has been able to read only one-third of his report. Two plans are proposed as practicable. One is emancipation by the successive purchase of the children to be born; the other is emancipation, simultaneous, but with a period of apprenticeship of considerable length, and with a large indemnity, which the state of our finances, absorbed by the vote for railways, will not permit to be voted.

It is thus shown that our government only desires to gain time, in order to disembarrass itself of this question. If it would have signed the treaty of the 20th December, 1841, it had not, be assured, any interest in emancipation, but merely desired to enter into the European comity—to be a party to the treaty of five powers. This conviction has rendered the treaty odious to such a degree, that the French nation would expose themselves to a war rather than accede to it. If the government really wish to do anything for humanity, it must abandon the treaty, and work vigorously on the question of the abolition of slavery, on which it would have the national sympathy on its side.

The general elections will take place within a month; we are preparing ourselves for them. The rallying cry of the opposition will be *no right of search*; our cry will be *emancipation! emancipation!*

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 15TH.

THE attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has already been directed to preliminary measures, connected with the next Anti-Slavery Convention, which is to be held in June, 1843. The following circular was agreed on at their meeting on Monday last, and the note of preparation will, we doubt not, awaken many sympathetic feelings, not only in this country, but throughout the globe.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

At the close of the GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, held in London, on the 12th, and continued by adjournment to the 23rd inclusive, of June, 1840, it was unanimously resolved—

"That it be left to the discretion of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to decide, after consulting with the friends of the cause of abolition, the time and place of holding the said next convention."

In conformity with this resolution, and after having maturely weighed the great importance and probable beneficial influence of the step on the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade; after having also consulted with, and obtained the full concurrence of, friends of the Anti-slavery cause on both sides of the Atlantic, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have fixed the period for calling the Second General Convention of Abolitionists from all parts of the world, on Tuesday, the 13th of June, 1843, in London.

In transmitting this intimation, the Committee feel it to be their duty gratefully to record the success which attended the deliberations and suggestions of the first Convention, and would earnestly press the necessity and importance of a personal attendance of the friends of the cause at the second.

The Committee beg to remind all who may attend, that the principles to be strictly adhered to, as laid down in the proceedings of the first Convention, are—

"That, so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings—that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character;* and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

Where societies exist for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, or bodies, though not bearing that name, uniting in these great objects, the Committee trust that an effort will be made to secure, by specific appointment, the attendance of one or more gentlemen, as their representatives; and express provision will be made for the admission of gentlemen uniting in the objects and principles of this Society from foreign countries, where, from any circumstances, such associations do not exist.

Such gentlemen are, therefore, cordially invited to meet the representatives of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and those of kindred institutions in Great Britain and Ireland, on this important occasion.

As the Committee have not yet been able to prepare any document for the purpose of eliciting information in detail on the various topics that will be brought before the Convention, permit them, by way of anticipating it, to request that all the friends to the cause, will, as far as they can, collect facts and arrange information—on the extent and character of slavery and the slave-trade, in British India, and the settlements of this country in the east, in Egypt, the United States, and Texas, in Brazil, in the Spanish, French, Dutch, Danish and Swedish colonies, and in such of the South American republics as may still retain it, and the state of public opinion, and feeling relative thereto—on the results of emancipation in the several British colonies in the West Indies, South America, Africa, and the Indian ocean, in the free states of the American Union, Mexico, and such of the South American Republics as have finally terminated it—on the comparative cost of free and slave-labour—on the state of civilization, morals, and religion, in the countries where slavery exists—and on the nature and extent of the efforts which are now being made in any of these countries for its abolition, and the nature of the difficulties to be encountered and overcome.

The Committee feel great satisfaction in forwarding this invitation. The existence of slavery in any form, or however sanctioned, is abhorrent to the principles of justice, a daring outrage on our common humanity, and in direct violation of the sacred claims of religion; and as such will be reprobated by all who feel interested in the welfare and happiness of the human race, the establishment of freedom throughout the world, and the progress of righteousness and peace among the great family of mankind.

Signed in the name and on behalf of the Committee,

WILLIAM ALLEN, Chairman.

London, 27, New Broad Street, June 13, 1842.

WE are sorry to disappoint the expectation of such of our readers as may be looking for the evidence on the Jamaica immigration scheme. The apology we have to make is, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have, upon further examination of it, deemed it so important, that they have requested an interview with Lord Stanley on the subject before giving it to the world.

So great importance is attached at the present moment to the condition of British Guiana, and such strenuous—we might say suicidal—efforts are now making to represent it as in a state of absolute ruin, that we have devoted a considerable space to-day to an article from the *Guiana Gazette and Advertiser*, adapted to correct the exaggerations which are obtaining currency on this subject, and those of the *Guiana Times* in particular. This journal which, in obvious defiance of all honesty and candour, is evidently working for a party purpose, makes a loud complaint that the peasant proprietors of estates will not cultivate sugar. We say that the white proprietors will not let them cultivate it. Here is the matter:—

The purchasers of the *New Orange Nassau*, did immediately after that property fell into their hands, commence to pay every attention to three fields of canes, which were planted a very short time previous to their taking over the estate. From the attention bestowed by them on the canes, they promised a very fair return; they felt also encouraged by the luxuriant appearance of the cane fields to extend the cultivation; but, not having their own machineries, they thought it would be more prudent to ascertain how far the manager and part proprietor of the neighbouring estate would fulfil his promise to them, in permitting them to manufacture their sugar with his machineries, ere they attempted to extend their cane cultivation, which precaution proved very prudent, as will be evinced by the unhappy circumstance which I shall now relate. The time arrived when the canes were ripe and fit to cut, the breasts of their friends, who anticipated the pleasure of seeing the first hogshead of sugar produced by their lately emancipated brethren from their own plantation were transported with joy. But alas! their expectation, this time were only raised to be disappointed. The canes were cut, and three punts filled, to be taken over to the next estate; the manager and part proprietor of which had entered into an agreement to allow them to manufacture the same with his machineries: he however, in some shape or other, threw some insurmountable obstacles in their way. Ere the difficulties were removed the canes were spoiled. Aye, the time had not yet arrived in Demerara, when the negro's cane juice should pass from the engine into the boiling-house of a white proprietor. The consequence was, the canes from which they expected to realise at least a half hogshead of sugar, only yielded a puncheon of rum. Disgusted and disappointed, in seeing that the old feeling was not as yet eradicated from the breasts of their white brethren, and not being in a capacity to purchase their own machineries to manufacture their sugar, several of them came to the resolution of cutting the remaining canes and dispose of them the best way they could; and directing their attention to the "*single*" cultivation of plantains. Their prudent and persevering manager (a black man), however, overruled this resolution, and proposed to them the erection of a cattle-mill, and the purchasing of a few small coppers, till they were in a capacity to do better. His simple but sound philosophical remark to me was, "Sir, we must creep before we walk."

THE last mail brings a letter from Dr. Palmer to Mr. Sturge, dated April 12th, containing the following reference to the Christmas riots at Kingston:—

Even if no direct redress be obtained, the notice of the matter in England will act as a salutary check for the future. Such notice, in fact, is the only check we now have to keep the spirit of despotism within the bounds of moderation, as the rights and interests of the humbler classes are not at all represented by the press here.

I must correct one or two errors that occurred incidentally in my letter. I stated that the military, when called out, fired with blank cartridge. This was the general impression, even with those who were on the ground. This, however, was not the case; none but the police fired. Again, McLeod was represented to have been heard giving the orders to fire: this, though positively affirmed by one witness, is flatly denied by several others. The sub-inspector, Armstrong, is reported to have been the party who gave the dreadful order. I must also do justice to another part of the question. The commission of inquiry into the circumstances, as instituted by the executive, was most judiciously and fairly appointed. The three Chairmen of Quarter Sessions who conducted the investigation are, I believe, men of the strictest integrity and impartiality. Their report may be relied on.

You will perceive by the papers that the incidents connected with the disturbance have been brought before the legal tribunals, in the form of indictments, on the one hand against parties charged with rioting, and on the other against the police charged with the murder. You will be more pained than surprised to find, that the prediction I ventured to utter in my last on this head has turned out but too true. True bills have been found by the Grand jury against the rioters, but the bills against the murderers have been thrown out!

No large amount of immigration to the West Indies is going on at present, but the eagerness for it is not at all abated. We have been particularly struck with the intimations the papers contain, that the planters will have immigration, *although it be a slave-trade.* Thus, for example, we find in the Jamaica *Morning Journal* the following sentences:—

The opinion prevails, and is increasing, that the government ought to take the measure of African immigration into their own hands. *A meagre permission to take such Africans as are willing to come,* is less than the colonies have a right to expect at the hands of the government; and they

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ought to be pressed by those in England connected with Jamaica, to afford some more efficient aid in a measure of so much importance.

"Permission to take such Africans as are willing to come" is here denounced as a "meagre" measure, and "less than the colonies have a right to expect!" They must have Africans who are *not willing to come*—reluctant parties, brought by force, and this force employed by the government of Great Britain! In like manner we find a writer in the *Trinidad Standard*, in reviewing an English pamphlet, expressing himself as follows:—

An outcry has been raised, and will be continued, against African emigration, on the score of its being a VIRTUAL slave-dealing; but slave-dealing can scarcely be called a crime, if it rescue human beings from such a fate as described in the following extract:—

"In the year 1817, no less than 3000 slaves were immolated on the tomb of the king of Ashantee."

Here is nothing short of an avowal that the immigration coveted is to be a system of slave-dealing, with the impudent assertion appended, that it "can scarcely be called a crime!" Let the British public weigh these indications. Not only is it obvious to reflecting persons in this country that a systematic immigration from Africa must be a slave-trade, but it is clear that the planters know it will, and mean it should be so. Do the people of England mean to be parties to such a crime?

While Sir Charles Metcalfe is leaving Jamaica amidst large numbers of congratulating and flattering addresses, the sentiments of a large proportion of the population of this island towards him are expressed in the following extract from the *Baptist Herald*:—

We have no desire of denying to Sir Charles Metcalfe any honour he has merited during his residence in this island. That he has manifested towards all classes—especially the starving and dying immigrants—the loveliest of feelings we freely admit, and cheerfully award him that meed of praise which his benevolent conduct and sympathizing spirit demands. While, however, we feel it a duty to make these remarks, we must be allowed to reiterate the opinion so often expressed, that Sir Charles was never a fit person to represent government in this island. As a man of benevolent feeling we shall always admire him, but we shall ever regret that he was the governor of Jamaica. He has thrown impediments in the way of liberty's cause that will not soon be removed, and shown himself ever the tool of those who have opposed equal rights, and who have the love of oppression so deeply engraven on their hearts, that time, however lengthened it may be to them, will fail to wash it away.

As loyal and flattering addresses are being presented to Sir Charles from almost every parish, and as they are made to appear the addresses of the majority, we beg to inform our readers, both here and at home, that they are no such thing. The mass has had nothing to do with them, neither do they contain the sentiments of a fiftieth part of the population. They are, in fact, the addresses *of a certain class*, and as such Sir Charles must regard them.

WE have been startled by a cursory announcement in one of the American papers, that the governor of Canada has surrendered a fugitive slave to the executive of Arkansas. The *Liberator*, we are sorry to say, confirms this news, and supplies the following account of proceedings taken at Detroit, in the United States, on this important matter:—

EXTRAORDINARY CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNOR OF CANADA.

Detroit, February 28th, 1842.

On Monday evening, February 14, 1842, a large meeting of the coloured citizens of Detroit met at the second Baptist church, to take into consideration the situation of Nelson Hacket, now in prison in this city, having been surrendered by the governor of Canada to Lewis Davenport, on the requisition of the executive of Arkansas, as a fugitive from justice. Mr. Lightfoot, the chairman, stated, that this meeting had been called to raise funds to employ counsel, in order to ascertain if the papers sanctioning the surrender of the said Hacket were genuine, and to learn if it were possible to relieve him from his present confinement. Mr. Lightfoot said he had, in company with Messrs. Banks, Hall, and Bibbs, consulted with counsel, who gave it as their opinion, after examining the papers, that they were genuine and correctly made out; and there was no point or flaw in them on which they could institute a suit in his behalf. Mr. Munro then introduced the following resolution:—

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by this meeting to draw up a preamble and resolutions, setting forth the dangerous precedent of the government of Canada, in surrendering the said Hacket to the executive of Arkansas as a fugitive from justice, when at the same time he was a refugee from slavery.

Mr. Munro urged the adoption of this resolution after considerable discussion it was adopted. The meeting then adjourned. On Tuesday evening, February 22nd, a large meeting assembled at the same place. Mr. French fervently addressed the throne of grace. The committee who were appointed at the previous meeting reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas we have always viewed the British Province of Canada as an asylum for the unfortunate and oppressed slaves of the United States, and fondly believed the moment they touched those shores, that moment they were free; and whereas the Governor General did, on the 17th January, 1842, surrender one Nelson Hacket to Lewis Davenport, of the city of Detroit, state of Michigan, to be by him given up to the authorities of Arkansas as a fugitive from justice (the said Hacket having been confined several months in the jail of Sandwich, Western District, Upper Canada, and on the night of the 8th February, at a late hour, conveyed across the river, and lodged in prison in the city of Detroit); and whereas it is a settled principle in the slave code, that every slave who absconds from bondage is a fugitive from justice—a principle well understood by the British authorities, and, of course, familiar to His Excellency the Governor General; and whereas, the said Hacket was not demanded by the executive of Arkansas for the purpose of punishing him for larceny, but to punish and make an example of him for the unpardonable offence of absconding from slavery; therefore,

Resolved, That it is with sorrow we find the government of the British province of Canada countenancing and assuring the slaveholders and their abettors of the American confederacy, by seizing and confining in prison and returning to bondage individuals who had fled to that province for protection and liberty.

Resolved, That as there are no treaty stipulations binding the two governments to surrender fugitives from justice, we cannot believe the Governor General was justified in giving up the said Hacket, even admitting him to have been guilty of the charges preferred, viz., stealing a horse and a watch.

Resolved, That, if this precedent, this sort of courtesy, is established, then Canada will no longer be a safe asylum for our unfortunate brethren who are fleeing from bondage. They will be just as safe in the states of New York, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Maine.

Resolved, That we pray our brethren in Canada to give this subject immediate and serious attention. It is of vital importance to them; and, if possible, to find out what part certain officers and counsellors at Chatham and Sandwich had in this transaction, and publish the whole affair, and by all means endeavour to stop such nefarious proceedings.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Signal of Liberty*, in Ann Arbor; *Liberator*, in Boston; *Philanthropist*, in Cincinnati; *Emancipator*, in New York; and all papers friendly to the rights of man.

WILLIAM C. MUNRO, *Chairman*.

ROBERT BANKS, *Secretary*.

A COMMUNICATION from our Paris correspondent inserted in another column will be read with much pain. It is a matter of sincere regret, not only to all friends of humanity and freedom, but to all well-wishers to the colonies and general prosperity of France, that the government should shrink from its important and responsible position, and enter on a course of re-action in relation to slavery. We cannot express any satisfaction even with either of the propositions contained in the report of M. de Broglie, as expounded by our correspondent. If an immediate nominal emancipation, with a long apprenticeship (the best of the two alternatives) were offered, we have had experience enough of such a plan to be justified in pronouncing it most unsatisfactory and mischievous. Even this, however, must be clogged with a large indemnity, which cannot be thought of, because the government is spending so much money upon rail-roads! As to emancipation by the successive purchase of the children to be born after a certain date, we cannot consent to apply the name of emancipation to a measure which dooms to hopeless bondage the entire existing generation of slaves.

OUR attention has been directed to some extraordinary proceedings at the meeting of the St. John del Rey Mining Company, on the 27th ult., but we must defer our notice of them till our next.

IT is stated in the papers, apparently on good authority, that a proclamation has been issued at Prince Edward's Island, in the East Indies, finally abolishing slavery there. We hail this announcement with unfeigned pleasure, and the more so, since we may hope that a similar measure has been adopted in other oriental dependencies of the British crown.

COTTON.

We take from an American paper the following statement, which is certainly adapted to show that brother Jonathan's fears respecting the culture of cotton in India are not altogether chimerical.

Bags of cotton wool imported at Liverpool, London, and Glasgow, during the first three months of the years 1841 and 1842.

From the	1841.	1842.	Decrease.
United States,	235,756	230,921	4,835
Brazil and S. Am.,	29,954	23,121	6,833
West Indies,	1,600	447	1,153
Mediterranean,	14,312	6,239	8,073
Total,	281,662	260,728	20,894
			Increase.
East Indies,	35,433	83,587	48,154
Total,	317,055	344,315	27,260

Thus the imports from the United States decreased more than two per cent. in the first quarter of this year, and the imports from India increased nearly 136 per cent. The increase is equal to the addition of 192,616 bales of India cotton this year.

SLAVE-TRADE WARS.

(From the Rev. J. Beecham's *Ashantee and the Gold Coast.*)

[This narrative was written by Joseph Wright, a member of the Wesleyan society at Sierra Leone. He calls himself an Aku, the name by which natives of Eyeo, or Yarriba, are generally known. The document was received by the writer from the Rev. Thomas Edwards, a missionary of the Society, on his return from Sierra Leone; and no liberties have been taken with it, except to expunge a few redundant expressions, and to introduce such slight grammatical corrections as may serve to make the meaning more apparent.]

I was born of respectable parents; but they were not very rich. My father was a member of council, and he had two wives, besides those of his father, which he left to him at his death, according to the law of our country. My mother was the first wife my father had, and she bore five children unto my father. We were all boys except one, and we all were with our parents until this last tumultuous war, which is the cause of our separation. The war had been heard of long ago; but, at the time we heard of that war in a far distant land, we confidently thought they will not come to us; but alas! in space of about seven years after, they came

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to us unexpectedly, and besieged us round about. These people that raised up this war are not another nation. We are all one nation, speaking one language.

The war shut us up from all business; our enemies fighting us with all their strength, and we fighting against them with all our might, but not with hope of escape. In this miserable state we lived for about seven months, almost destitute of food. We had nothing to eat, in order to have strength to fight our enemies. In this hard case of ours we had no real god to go to for help, but wewere constantly sacrificing. There is a god which we call the public god; it is the god of man, and not of woman. No woman is ever allowed to go or pass by the mountain where they place that god The name of that god was Korowah. To this we were all looking for help; and to another, by name Turbretaru. This is woman's god; the females often killing pigeons, fowls and sometimes bullocks, as sacrifice for their god. And these were to overcome the war which had besieged our city, besides thousands of private gods which the people kept in their houses. At last famine overcame us, so that the chosen men of war could not forbear; and one night, about seven months after the war had besieged us, they consulted together to go to another place, in order to buy us some food, to preserve us children of the land. And so they did; and in this band were my father and mother. They went to get us some food too; for they pitied us, when they saw us perishing with hunger. At the time they left me and all my brethren, they knew not that they would never see us again in the flesh; or else they would never have left us, or they would have given us a final kiss, as dear children; but they knew not what would take place after they left us. Short time after they were gone, with all the mighty men of war. May be the enemies knew this; so they got ready to take the city, before the people who had gone for food should come back. The town had become very poor for want of people to fight; because the greater part of the people determined to go to seek food.

The city was in danger of being taken every day, because there remained but women, and young men, and boys, in town. In the night, before the city was taken, the people were trying to make their escape; and many did escape. When I heard of this I took my brethren with me, and we came to the gate of the city, to make our escape, if possible. The gate was quite crowded, so that the strong were treading upon the feeble. Doubtless there were many trodden upon to death; and had I and my brethren attempted to go over the wall, we should have been trodden upon, and we should have died, the wall builded round the city was so high and strong: and besides, there was a large and very deep ditch dug round behind the wall; so that there was no way to pass, except through the gate; and we obliged to come back to our father's house, there to remain to see what would take place in the morning.

O sorrowful, sorrowful morning! when the morning come, I and my brethren took a walk about in the town, to see what the people were doing. We found the city in sorrowful silence; for many had fled, and many of the aged men had put an end to their lives. Amongst these was one in our house—my father's near and very dear relation; he had put an end to his life too.

When this elderly relation of our father, whom we should have looked to for some guidance, had put an end to his life, of course, there remained no hope in ourselves. I brought my brethren back home. The enemy had fully taken the city. When I saw none of them pass by my father's house to take us for slaves, I then took my brethren with me. We came out into the street; and when we had walked about fifty fathoms from our house, we saw the city on fire, and before us were the enemies coming in the street. We met with them, and they caught us separately. They separated me from all my brethren, except one of my father's children, born to him by his second wife; I and this were caught together by one man. By the time we left the house of our father, I saw my father's mother pass the other gate: she and I had no hope of ever seeing her again in this flesh, because she was an old woman; doubtless, they would kill her. Many were killed. They killed our captain, Jargunor, by the river side. And they killed Barlah, in his gate. He was second to the king: he was a very high man in the city: nothing can be decided without his presence.

The city was taken about nine o'clock in the morning. There were two cities beside our own that those enemies had besieged. The same day our city was taken in the morning, and the other two were taken in the afternoon, about two o'clock.

The enemies satisfied themselves with little children, little girls, young men, and young women. They did not care for the elderly and old people: they killed them without mercy; and then father knew not the son, and the son knew not the father; pity had departed from the face of mothers. Abundant heaps of dead bodies were in the streets, and there was none to bury them; suckling babes crying at the point of death, and there was none to take them up; the mothers looked upon them with neglect. These three cities were consumed in one day, and many of the inhabitants were taken as slaves by the enemies. One of our chief men of war they punished severely; his name was Ofersapu. In this manner they punished him. They first cut him in tender parts; and then they dragged him about a quarter of a mile, and put an end to his life. They took revenge on him because he was valiant in fighting them. Very many of the chief men of war they punished more severely than I can mention.

I was brought, the same day the city was taken, to Imodo, the place which they make their residence. When I came to that place, the man who seized me in the city took me and made a present of me to the chief man of war, which commanded the band which he belong to; for the custom was, when any one of their company went with bands to war, if he catch slaves, half of the slaves he would give to his captain. I was with them in the camp about ten days; during the time they used to send me for firewood. In one of the cities they took the same day our own, there I saw some people burned in the streets.

While I was with these enemies in the camp I saw many wonderful instances, all of which I cannot now mention. I saw a child about eighteen months old, which was cast out of the camp because the child was too young, that nobody would buy him; and that poor orphan was there crying at the point of death for about two days, and none to pity or take him up. Another time I took a walk about in the camp, when I saw my own brother. I was not allowed to speak to him, although they knew him to be my own brother. Few days after this the person whom I then belonged to sent me home to his wife for sale; and I was with his wife one day and a half. She sent for a trade man to examine me. They stripped me naked. The man examined me all over. They then went aside from me to make a bargain, and in a few hours after that the man came again, and my mistress told me to go with the man and fetch some rum. Just as I went out of her sight, the man stripped me of my clothes, and sent them to my mistress. Then I knew that they only deceived me, by telling me to go with the man and fetch some rum.

Then I went with this man, who had just brought me from my mistress. The man tried to feed me, and make me clean as possible for the next market day; one day out of six is generally market day. One morning as the cock crew the man started me, for the following day would be market day; and, when we came to the village near the place where the market was to be held the day *after*, we there slept; it was then a late hour. Early in the morning we came to the market where many hundreds of slaves. We were put in rows, so that we all could be seen at one view by the buyers; and in about five hours another trade-man came and bought me, and put me in a canoe at once, and we were sailing all that night. Next morning we came to another slaves' market, by name Krodu, and there we remained the whole day; for they wanted to buy more slaves. At the time of the evening the canoe was *quite* loaded with slaves, and we sailed for his home directly; we arrived about twelve o'clock in the night. The town that we arrived at is Ikko by name, the place where the Portuguese traded.

Early in the morning we were brought to white Portuguese for sale; after strict examination, the white man put me and some others aside; after that, they then bargained how much he would take for each one of us. After they were well agreed, the white man sent us to the slave fold; and when we enter into it, the slaves shouted for joy for having seen another of their countrymen in the fold. The articles which the Portuguese paid for slaves were tobacco, rum, clothes, powder, guns, cutlasses, brass, iron-rod, and jaki—that is our country money.

The inhabitants of Ikko are very cruel people: they would even sell the children of their own bosom.

I was there in the fold for about two months, with a rope round my neck. All the young boys have ropes on their necks in a row; and all the men with chains in a long row, for about fifty persons in row; so that no one could make escape without the other. At once the town took fire, and about fifty slaves were consumed; because the entry was so crowded that these slaves could not get out. During the time I was in that cruel place, their king was very sick. Three days after his death, we came away over the river, to prepare for shipping: for their custom was, when the king died, to sacrifice about one thousand slaves for the celebration of the king's death; for we supposed at that time, if we still remained in that cruel town, and if the king's slaves should not be enough for the celebration of the king's death, doubtless, they would ask our master for some slaves to make up the number. We all believed this was what induced our master to bring us over the river in haste for shipping.

The place that they brought us to it is Igayi, and we were all naked, both men and women; so that we hardly had any rest in the night, for we were very cold. Next day, early in the morning, we were all brought down close to the salt water to be put in canoes. We all were heavy and sorrowful in heart.

IS JAMAICA STILL TO BE A SUGAR COLONY!

[From the *Baptist Herald.*]

Is Jamaica still to be a sugar colony?—is a question that remains to be definitely answered. Whether it is or not, depends upon the manner in which those who are professedly interested in the cultivation of the soil, proceed. A new state of society now exists, and it is folly to think of carrying on the cultivation of the soil with freemen, as with slaves. *Men* have now to be dealt with, and not *cattle*. Intellect, and not machinery of flesh and bones. It is preposterous to think of cultivating the soil to advantage by the old machinery of book-keepers, overseers, and attornies. That it may be carried on advantageously, estates must be rented, or leased for a period of seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years; and no doubt but there are many attornies and overseers, who would gladly lease them at a fair and equitable rental, thus securing to the land owners something more definite than they at present enjoy. Under the present system it is impossible to make the best of sugar estates. The attorney is cramped in his energies. He perceives, perhaps, that by the present outlay of a few hundred pounds he could materially benefit an estate under his management for years, but he dares not do it but at the risk of the displeasure of the proprietor. The overseer is crippled in his plans, and if he should deviate in the least from the orders of his superior even under some emergency, he stands a chance of being dismissed. Thus both the attorney and overseer, holding their situations upon such uncertain tenures cannot feel that interest, or do that justice to an estate, which they otherwise might, if one or the other held it for a term of years, and their own profits depended upon the return of the estate. Another evil under which some estates labour, is the irregularity of the payments made to the peasantry. It is an adage that "short reckonings make long friends." Where settlements between masters and servants take place with long intervals between, especially where one of the parties cannot keep written accounts, there is likely to be, and there are frequently, disputes about the accuracy of the work performed, or the amount of money due. We could name estates where the labourers have to wait for their money for the taking off the crop until a certain quantity of sugar be ready for shipping, and the bill of lading for shipment duly signed, and sent home prior to, or by the same packet that a bill of exchange is drawn upon the proprietor at home, for the payment of the labourers' hire. In all countries, as far as our knowledge extends, it is the general practice that the labourer should weekly, or at the furthest monthly, receive his wages; this is nothing more than reasonable and just.

In consequence of the cry of alarmists some time since, that no sugar would be made; that the peasantry were squatting, idle, and indisposed to work, the proprietors who received their compensation money in England, instead of investing their capital in the improvement of their estates in this country, have been employing it either in England, or in some other part of the world. The capital thus withheld from the colony, if properly applied might have been productive of vast good in the improvements of estates and system of agriculture.

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Within the last half century many improvements have taken place in agriculture in Great Britain, but nothing has been effected in Jamaica; it is true, we have agricultural societies, but they are not carried out with any spirit; indeed they could not be while absentee proprietors cannot feel an interest in them, and the attornies, and overseers, are in a manner forbidden to try any experiments upon the estates under their care, upon any extensive scale. We do not find that the Jamaica agriculturists pay any attention to the *rotation of crops*. Lands thrown up for the cultivation of cane, remain ruinate, it may be for several years, yet they probably might be planted to advantage, with either food, or cattle, or for man. As it regards *manures*, the same old plan is pursued, whether the soil is heavy, or light, hilly or upon a level, dry or wet. The improvement in *implements* or *machinery* goes on but at a slow rate, if at all. And the roads for which so much money is voted from time to time, are in many instances almost impassable, so that it is both difficult and expensive to convey the produce to the wharves to be shipped.

If attention be paid to the cultivation of the soil in a proper spirit and manner by the owners of estates, leasing them to industrious and honest men, we hesitate not to say that there is labour enough to be obtained, and that at a reasonable rate, to carry on the cultivation of sugar; and that instead of a diminution of the exports, an increase might be anticipated, and a general improvement in the productions of the soil take place: but if there be neglect, and no alteration made in the management of estates, it cannot be expected that the cultivation of sugar will be more extensive, but will decline.

ESCAPES FROM SLAVE COLONIES.

From M. Schœlcher's work on Slavery in the French Colonies.

Neither vigilance nor known perils can stop the slaves. The irrepressible desire of liberty which exists in man makes them dare all, and suggests to them admirable plans for the attainment of their object. The following fact presents a feature so original that it deserves to be recorded. It came to us from the mouth of an inhabitant.

Five negros of Guadeloupe formed a project of escaping from the coast adjacent to Antigua. Two of them failed at the hour of rendezvouz, and, on arriving at the spot, saw their three associates, who, fearing treachery, were already on the sea. Running with all haste to the house of M. X., their master, they cry "Master, see; three negros are escaping." M. X. gives a glass of rum to the faithful informers, throws himself with them into a boat, and with the force of oars pursues the fugitives; but, with every effort of the two rowers, they can only just keep the chase in sight. "Master, there are three against two." M. X. takes off his white vest, and applies himself also to the oar. At length they arrive at Antigua. The three negros land first; M. X. follows in his turn; and then his two negros exclaim, "Good master, we did not know how to rejoin the canoe which had failed us; you have brought us yourself: thanks!" and they fled from him. M. X. demanded redress, but found he could obtain none. The next day he was obliged, sorrowfully, to hire some people, in order to return to Guadeloupe.

For "connecting links between the man and the brute," the *ruse* was not a bad one.

COST OF MAKING SUGAR.

From the *Guiana Gazette and Advertizer*.

As the attempt to reduce the cost of the production of sugar in this colony, by reducing the wages of the labourers, must be considered to have wholly failed, it is time that those interested in the cultivation of sugar should look about for some other means of effecting that desirable object.

In the statement of the expenses of sixty sugar estates, appended to the Report of the 1st of December, according to which the average expense of producing a hogshead of sugar in this colony, is ninety-eight dollars eighty-one cents, those expenses are arranged under three principal heads, viz. labour, salaries, and other expenses; and the salaries and other expenses make up just about half of the total amount. As the attempt to make a reduction in that half of the expenses paid for labour has proved unsuccessful, the only remaining resource seems to be to reduce, if possible, the other half of the expenses.

As the Committee, from which emanated the Report of the 1st of December, have not given us the items which go to make up the gross amount, included under the general head "other expenses," we are left more in the dark than could be desired, and are deprived of a piece of colonial statistics which could not fail to be highly interesting and useful, and which would have been of great use as a guide towards the reductions which have become necessary, and might be practicable.

There are two points, however, upon which any body can see that a very considerable reduction of expenses might be effected without any injury to the cultivation.

The custom now is, that every sugar plantation keeps up its own drogher, for the transportation of its produce to town and its supplies back; a practice which not only involves a very considerable outlay in the original purchase of the boat, but which gives rise to endless expenses, in the way of repairs, and in the wages of the boat's people.

These people, as they have no interest in the boat, pay very little attention to her, and the sails and rigging, so liable to decay in all climates, and especially in this, annually become a great bill of expense; while the boats and their crew are a great part of the time idle.

When an estate made six or seven hundred hogsheads of sugar, as some estates formerly did, it might be good policy to keep a boat, for which ample employment was found in the transportation of produce and supplies; but, what business, we should like to know, has an estate making from 150 to 250 hogsheads of sugar with an expensive boat of its own, which it cannot keep half the time employed? While so many proprietors were lately putting up new cottages, employment was found for the estates' boats in the transportation of lumber; but, as the erection of new cottages has, in a great measure, ceased, that employment has ceased also.

Twenty years ago, if we are not misinformed, very few estates had their own boats, and the drogherage was done by boats owned in town. As the supply of these boats was in the hands of a few merchants, and as they could not always be had when wanted, the estates got into the way of having their own boats. Under the existing state of things, there would be no difficulty at any time in hiring drogherage at a reasonable price, and there cannot be a doubt, that the transportation for the several estates might be carried on in this way, far more economically than at present. Here then is a retrenchment which merits the attention of proprietors.

Another considerable saving might be made by combining the duties of attorney and manager, and thus saving a part of that very considerable sum, which, according to existing arrangements, in the case of all estates owned by non-residents, goes into the pocket of the attorney.

No man is fit to be the manager of an estate, who is not also fit to be attorney of it; and it would tend greatly to elevate the character of the managers, and to increase their exertions for the benefit of the estates in their charge, if they had a direct interest in increasing the amount of produce made, and if they were delivered from the humiliating thraldom in which they are too often held by the attorneys.

It is also worthy of serious consideration, whether much might not be done for the benefit of the estates, not by abolishing the office of overseers, as some have proposed, but by elevating that office into a more respectable rank than it now holds; protecting it, to a certain extent, from the caprice of the managers; giving the overseers a surer tenure of their offices; interesting them in the welfare of the estates; and making them, to a certain extent, checks on the manager and on each other.

The old system of the management of estates was a pure tyranny from beginning to end, and at least had the merit of simplicity. The attorney lorded it over the manager; the manager over the overseers; the overseers over the drivers; and the drivers over their fellow-slaves. As the two lower steps of this pyramid of tyranny have been overturned, there seems to be no advantage, but on the contrary, much disadvantage in retaining the other two; and we are perfectly satisfied, that in order to obtain from the labourers that "good work," that faithful performance of the labour which they undertake, to which so much importance is so justly ascribed, a very considerable change is necessary in the existing machinery of superintendence. It is in vain to expect the labourers to perform this good work, unless they are closely looked after; and it is in vain to expect the manager and overseers to look after them, unless they be furnished with some strong personal inducement for doing so.

Miscellanea.

SAVE ME FROM MY FRIENDS.—The *Colonial Gazette* is thus rebuked for its late remarks on the Anti-Slavery Society, by the *Morning Herald*.

"The society has detractors who, not content with taunting it with its own demerits, obscure its good points by charging against it matters over which it has no control, and other men's crotchets and absurdities. The late high prices of sugar, the scarcity of labour in the tropical colonies, the failure of the slave-trade treaties, the impossibility of putting down that infernal traffic by cruisers or the right of search, the Niger expedition, and the loss of human life caused thereby, are all heaped on the broad shoulders of this society by some of its foolishly vituperative opponents. For these results and events the Anti-Slavery Society is as little responsible as it is for the refusal of France to ratify the treaty of December last.

"The slave-trade treaties, and the exchange of the right of search, arose out of the sufficiency of the belligerent right of search, as exercised by England during the last European war, to suppress the African slave-trade. The English government, on the re-establishment of peace, seems to have concluded that the right of search, which had proved so efficacious to keep down the slave-trade during the war, would be equally powerful if exercised in time of peace. Hence the endeavour to procure the interchange by the nations of Christendom if that right became part of the policy of England, which has since the close of the war been incessantly acted on. Twenty-eight years of peace have practically demonstrated the insufficiency of this right of search during peace to keep down the slave-trade, though its exercise has cost England in that period not less than ten millions sterling, and is a great cause of the general dislike with which this country is regarded by foreign states. But to connect our treaties with other nations exchanging this right with the Anti-Slavery Society, as there is now a disposition to do, is to display an ignorance as profound as it is ridiculous; it is to convert an association of amiable, though frequently mistaken enthusiasts, and of sentimental philanthropists, into the government of the country, when it is notorious that this Society was in its old form one of the most determined and effective opponents of that government.

"It is an equally great, though perhaps a more excusable mistake, to attribute the Niger expedition to this Society; that scandalous and deplorable manslaughter originated with its rivals for popular applause and subscription. Sir Fowell Buxton and Sir George Stephen, and their adherents, are in opposition to the Anti-Slavery Society; they keep an opposition shop for the sale of an inferior description of philanthropy. The Committee of the Society took no part in promoting the Niger expedition, and individually, we are told, its members were quite opposed to that monstrous scheme of death."

DR. SPALDING, one of the greatest advocates of slavery in old times and of immigration now, is on his way to England. He is said to bear an address from the House of Assembly to the Queen, on the birth of the Prince of Wales; and also a recommendation from Sir C. Metcalfe *to be raised to a baronetcy*. A volume would not suffice to relate his recent oppressions and cruelties to the poor immigrants.

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.—A ship (the *Marlborough*) bringing African labourers, 104 adults, one girl, and five infants, arrived on Tuesday, in sixteen days from the river Gambia. On their arrival, his Excellency the Lieutenant-governor assembled the council, who advised the immediate appointment of an immigration agent, to act according to the provisions of the bill which lately passed the legislature, but has not yet become law.—*St. Vincent's Gazette*.

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THE IRISH ANTI-SLAVERY ADDRESS.—At a recent meeting in Dublin, Mr. James Haughton spoke as follows:—"The character of our country is, at this moment, in peril on this account. Many of you will, no doubt, recollect the address we sent out last Christmas to our countrymen and countrywomen in America on this important subject; it was signed by sixty or seventy thousand Irishmen and women, lovers of liberty, and all of them, I hope, haters of slavery. Some degenerate sons of Erin in America, forgetful of their duty as men, and forgetful of the honour of their country before the nations of the earth, have endeavoured to throw discredit on that noble, that affectionate address. It does not contain one unworthy sentiment, not a single sentiment which a *true* Irishman would not willingly adopt in any quarter of the earth. I will read it for you, and then you will judge for yourselves what a degraded being must that Irishman be who refuses to respond to such sentiments, and to glory in them too. The American Union, my friends, consists of twenty-six states, each independent of all the others; thirteen of these are slave, and thirteen of them free states; the free states have no authority to interfere in making laws in the slave states. Of course, we do not ask our countrymen in America to do anything in opposition to the constitution of their adopted country. We do not ask them to abolish slavery there by violence; we only beg of them to be true men, true lovers of liberty, and not to disgrace Ire'and, or their own human nature, by being false friends at the moment they are called upon to uphold the truth and the rights of humanity. Let us, my fellow-citizens, send our free voices across the Atlantic; let us make them sound gloriously in the ears of Irishmen and Irishwomen in America, who really love liberty, encouraging them in their noble efforts to gain freedom for every child of God in that land, and sounding as deep notes of reprobation in the ears of all who are false to its principles. These men, if men they deserve to be called, prate loudly of their love of fatherland; they have no love for it; they are a disgrace to us; their proffered sympathy injures us in our efforts to shake off oppression at home. We should reject it with *scorn*; it is only the sympathy of the bold and the *free* that we can receive and be grateful for. It is with such spirits, and with such spirits only, that we can unite for the carrying onward the work of improvement.

JAMAICA.—Extract of a letter from a late member of the House of Assembly, to Mr. Sturge, dated, Spanish Town, April 14th, 1842:—"We are all quiet now. There is little to complain of except the emigration; the scheme has been useless and ruinously expensive; the sufferings and death amongst the Europeans have been quite appalling. Some one must be properly chargeable with *guilt* on their account. There has been, and still is, much distress, both amongst planters and merchants, arising, merely, I *believe*, from the drought which nearly burnt up the crops of the two years that followed the abolition of the apprenticeship. The crop now being reaped will be the first from which a judgment can properly be formed of the results of the new system. On many estates it will be large, and generally, I believe, a good average crop. But you will find men here almost as much divided in opinion as they are in London; and just as obstinate and unmanageable. Distress generally makes men deaf to reason. The Jamaica planter is under peculiar disadvantages. One told me the other day, that, on a pretty good crop the taxes formed a charge of £8 currency, I believe, on each hogshead. Then, how much is to be put to the amount of absenteeship per hogshead? I have known estates that have been carried on for years by individuals in representative capacities at a great loss; but for these *tenants* readily offered. Again, is not the whole shipping a monopoly in the hands of merchants—mortgagees: and is not the homeward freight of £5 sterling per ton a heavier charge than burdens the sugars of any other sugar growing countries; Mr. Lloyd told me the other day, that, on the sugars of our neighbours the Cubans, it is not more than 40s. per ton from their island to the ports of the Mediterranean—a *longer* voyage than to England. The working of the estates by deputy and monopoly together, not forgetting our intolerable island taxation, are disabilities of far greater moment than the alleged exorbitant wages, and non-working of the negros. This has been absurdly, and in many cases wickedly, exaggerated.

HOW TO GET IMMIGRANTS.—A correspondent from Port Maria to the *Morning Journal* states, that twenty-five or thirty Africans (immigrants) lately landed for Wentworth estate, who are ready to swear that the agent who engaged them at Sierra Leone promised them that their wages should be four shillings per day, with feeding and cottages, and that they would not be required to work in the fields, as there was plenty of other work on the farms (estates). On being landed and sent to Wentworth, they are told they will get one shilling per day, and a little rice!

SLAVE TRADE.—The stigma of participating in the infernal slave traffic is, we regret to find, attached to what is said to be a British vessel. Captain Saunier, of the French *Paquette de Rio*, which has entered the Loire, from Senegal, reports, that on the 28th February, and in the River Gambia, he fell in with a three-masted English ship, of 400 tons burthen, on board of which he distinctly saw negros. There are two things it seems necessary to ascertain, first, whether the vessel in question rightly carried English colours; and secondly, if so, whether she had slaves on board.—*Morning Advertiser.*

Rio de Janeiro, February 12th, 1842.

A few days since, a large ship (a slaver) sailed from this port under American colours, for the African coast. An English frigate, which was lying in port, knew her destination, and determined to capture her. They met a few miles outside the harbour: the frigate sent her boat to board the American ship; the officer in command was told to keep off, or they would fire into him. The boat kept on, when the Yankee let loose a gun upon him. The commander of the *John Bull* frigate then hailed that he would fire into *him*, if he did not heave to. "Fire and be ——," was the reply, accompanied by a broadside from the well-trained guns of the Yankee, which carried away the fore and main yards of the frigate. The fellow crowded all sail, and was out of the range of the frigate's guns before he well knew what was the matter with him. I saw the frigate afterwards; her main yard was down, and they were in the act of sending down the fore, which I could see had been much damaged. The Englishman declares he will have the ship, if he loses his vessel in the undertaking.—*Baltimore Patriot.*

A letter from an officer of her Majesty's sloop *Fantome*, Captain Butterfield, dated the 14th of February, off Ambriz, states, that they had captured, on the 12th two slave vessels, one name unknown, with 505 slaves, and the other the *Diligencia*, with 410 slaves on board. This makes ten vessels captured, and 2261 slaves liberated, by that vessel in the twenty months she has been employed on the coast of Angola.—*Hants Telegraph.*

CAPTURE OF A SLAVE SHIP.—On Sunday the 6th of February, when in latitude twenty-six degrees twenty minutes S., and longitude forty-three degrees twenty-five minutes W., her Majesty's brig *Partridge*, Lieutenant Wm. Morris, commander, proceeding from the River Plate to Rio de Janeiro, with the mail, fell in with and captured a very fine brig of 240 tons, under Portuguese colours, and called the *St. Antonio*. The vessel had a slave deck laid, and was furnished with water and provisions for 600 slaves; she had left St. Sebastian only a few days previous to her capture, and was bound to Ambriz, where a full cargo of slaves was said to be ready for her.—*Ibid.*

SUSPECTED SLAVER.—We extract the following paragraph from a letter received from Mr. Trew, dated at sea, 15th March:—"On our entering the harbour of St. Thomas, an American brig, fitted out as a sort of steamer, having a propelling power, was just proceeding on her voyage, but nobody knew whither. It is said, that she receives slaves from vessels engaged in that trade on the coast of Cuba and Porto Rico, and carries them rapidly to their destination. One fact, however, affords strong suspicion of her being a slaver, namely, that some Jamaica gentlemen, who were seeking a passage from St. Thomas's to that island, offered the captain of the brig 1400 dollars to convey them to Port Royal (Jamaica), which he refused, demanding 2000 dollars for a service requiring only about three days to perform. The brig quitted the harbour without a passenger.—*Friend of Africa.*"

GREEK SLAVE-TRADE.—Patras, March 23, 1842.—Two vessels with slaves from the Barbary coast anchored at the port of Navarino lately—one under the Ottoman flag, and the other under that of Samos; the latter was in that port on the 12th instant, and was not molested by the Greek government! So much for the execution of the Greek law prohibiting the trade in slaves.

DOMESTIC SECURITY OF SLAVE-HOLDERS.—A Mississipppi paper gives an account of a whole family, in the village of Hainsville, by the name of Wilson, father, mother, sister, and infant child, killed with a broad-axe by a slave, in resentment for chastisement he had received. The *Knoxville* (Tennesse) *Register* informs us of the murder of Mr. Maham's wife and daughter, in McKew county, during his absence. Their heads were split open with a broad-axe by a slave. A little girl, just beginning to run alone, was found sitting on the dead body of her sister, apparently unconscious of the dreadful scene. The murderer has been taken. The *Savannah* (Georgia) *Republican* informs us that Robert Cunningham, Esq., of Jefferson county, was shot by one of his negros, while reading, and instantly expired. The slave was caught and confessed the deed.

Intelligence has been received of a formidable attempt at insurrection, which was made in the month of May last by the slaves belonging to the Spanish island of San Andreas. Providentially the plot exploded before it was altogether ripe, or the results might have been most fatal; the intention being to fire the public buildings and massacre every white male inhabitant of the island.

UNITED STATES.—THE DECISION IN THE SUPREME COURT.—A distinguished constitutional lawyer in Ohio, writes as follows:—"It seems to me that the decision of the Supreme Court, while it asserts a monstrous principle which in effect repeals the Habeas Corpus acts of all the states, and all other securities of personal freedom, *in effect* annihilates all practicable reclamation of fugitives from service. It sends the claimant after his slave without the protection of legal proofs, and he will find it hard to catch him, and, when caught, harder to get *him before* a United States judge, or out of the state. It legalizes trespasses, and the trespasser will be apt to find force repelled by force. Besides, it absolves the state governments from all obligation to legislate on the subject, and throws the whole burden of such legislation on congress. To congress, now, petitions for the jury trial must be addressed. This must introduce the *whole* subject of the relations of slavery to the general government into discussion. In these points of view, I regard the decision as a great gain to liberty."

AWFUL CASE OF REMORSE IN A SLAVE-HOLDER.—We learn from the letter of a friend, that Captain James Petit, residing near McNairs, in Polk county, Tennessee, committed suicide on the 19th of February, by blowing out his brains with a rifle. He placed the muzzle of the gun directly between his eyes, and discharged it by a string attached in some way to the trigger. He had no white family, nor was there any person on the premises except his negros—twenty-seven in number. A jury of inquest was summoned, and the manner in which the deceased came to his death settled; after which a portion of the jury took charge of his effects. They got his keys, and upon opening the first trunk found his will, written six days previous, by which two of the jury then present were appointed his executors. They also found in the same trunk, *ten thousand dollars* in gold and silver. The purport of the will was, that his negros should be freed, and all his personal effects, together with the cash on hand, divided amongst them.—*Highland (S. C.) Sentinel.*

LAWS AGAINST COLOUR.—A Bill has passed the House of Delegates of the Maryland legislature, which provides that any free negro or mulatto, who shall come into the state, after the passing of the act, may be arrested by any person, and shall be adjudged to be his slave. And any free negro, who shall leave the state and return to it, shall be liable to the same penalty—unless, in both cases, they are travelling as servants of a white person. The fact that they are in the state, to be prima facie evidence that they have come into it contrary to law. The rest of the Bill, which contains thirty-five sections, is in the same *liberal* spirit. Every delegate from Baltimore voted against it; it passed, however, and is now before the senate.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXVI. Vol. III. No. 13.] WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY.—SINGAPORE.

GOVERNMENT GENERAL ORDER.

Prince of Wales Island, Jan. 5.—The period having arrived for carrying into execution the humane, disinterested, and noble pledge of the slave-holders at Malacca, the governor deems it right to republish for general information, and in order to remove from the minds of the few slaves who may yet be in existence all apprehension or doubt of their right henceforth to be considered as free, and no longer subject to be treated as slaves under any denomination, colour, or pretence whatever, an authentic copy, subjoined, of the resolutions passed at the public meeting of the inhabitants of Malacca, held on the 28th November, 1829, and at their request conveyed to the governor through Mr. W. T. Lewis, who presided on the occasion.

The governor takes this opportunity of congratulating the European and other inhabitants of Malacca on the completion of their generous purpose, and the satisfaction which they cannot but feel, in having thus of their own free will come forward, and emancipated their fellow-men from the degraded condition of slavery. He is aware that the slaves in question were, generally speaking, born and bred up under their masters' roof; that they had for a series of years been supported with kind and considerate treatment; and that they came into the possession of their owners at a period, and under a government, when slavery was tolerated by law. The spontaneous emancipation, therefore, of their slaves by the inhabitants of Malacca, under such circumstances, cannot fail to be highly gratifying to, and warmly appreciated by, the British authorities, as well as the supreme government of British India; to which latter authority the governor will have great satisfaction in reporting, that the last remnant of slavery which existed in the British settlements in the Straits of Malacca, has been for ever abolished by the unanimous accord of the inhabitants themselves.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca.

BRITISH GUIANA, No. 1.

STATE OF INDUSTRY.

It is evident from the returns of produce exported from this colony during the two first years of freedom, as compared with corresponding periods during the time of slavery and apprenticeship, that there has been a considerable falling off. The question naturally arises, whether this is to be attributed to the indolence of the negros or to other causes? and, if so, whether those causes are likely to be removed? A careful examination of official reports, made to the Colonial Secretary by Governor Light, clearly shows that the decrease is to be attributed to the change of employment, occasioned by the transition from slavery to freedom; to the partial withdrawal of women from field-labour; to the small rate of wages offered the labourers; to the attempt of some of the planters to impose upon them a nine-hours' tariff for wages paid on other estates for seven-and-a-half hours' labour; to blending the questions of rent and wages together, and the ejectments consequent thereon; but especially to the prevalence of long and severe droughts, which prevailed in the colony during the years 1839 and 1840, as may be seen from the following official reports:—

Governor Light to the Marquis of Normanby, 26th April, 1839.

"I have the honour to transmit to your lordship the custom-house returns of produce shipped from this colony for the January quarter of the present year. There is a considerable falling off for the counties of Essequibo and Demerara; and there is far from a trifling decrease for Berbice.

"I beg your lordship to bear in mind, that the cane cultivation on most of the estates is distant, at extreme points, four, five, and sometimes eight miles from the works; that the cane fields are intersected by trenches leading into a main trench running the whole length of the cultivation. The trenches are just wide enough and deep enough to allow their being navigable for punts; and on the sufficiency of water in these trenches depends the feasibility of carrying away the canes, as they are reaped, to the mill. In ordinary seasons, the trenches are sufficiently supplied from creeks, savannahs, or lakes, with water to communicate freely with the works, by means of punts, dragged by mules, pacing the side-lines of the great trench. The season, which had been excessively favourable at the beginning of the year, and gave promise of large return, has not, for upwards of seventy-two days, had a respite from excessive drought; the consequence has been that the savannahs, creeks, or lakes, have been dried up; the trenches, having no supply, have been exhausted, and the canes have been left uncut, from the impossibility of conveyance to the works. This, then, is the chief cause of the failure during the last quarter, and not the idleness of the peasantry, to which some of the planters are disposed to ascribe it.

"The good feeling, not to say devotion, of the negros on many of the estates, has been evinced strongly within the last three or four weeks, in arresting the alarming progress of the conflagration of the woods and savannahs which form a belt round most of the estates, and are either separated from the cultivation by trenches or creeks. Upwards of seventy miles in Demerara alone are at this moment smoking, or in flames, or destroyed; two or three estates on the west coast of the river Demerara have suffered much from the progress of the fire. The same fires rage in other parts of the colony, but not to such extent."—*Parliamentary Papers*, No. 523, 1839, Part i. (5,) p. 275.

Governor Light to the Marquis of Normandy, 16th July 1839.

"I have the honour to transmit to your lordship the custom-house returns for the quarter ending the 5th of July; the decrease for Demerara continues, but several ships laden with colonial produce have cleared out between the 5th and the present day. There is an increase for Berbice; the lengthened drought of the last and beginning of the present quarter would have caused diminished crops in Essequibo and Demerara, under the most coerced system of labour. The coffee-berry is fixed, and a large harvest is anticipated."—*Parliamentary Papers*, No. 151, 1840, p. 13.

Governor Light to the Marquis of Normandy, Oct. 15th, 1839.

"It is a fact, that, from the unfavourable season during a portion of the year, the canes have yielded one-third less than usual; the last quarter of the year, considering the favourable season for the last month, is likely to give a much larger return. I shall be prepared to show, by the prices of the last twelve or fifteen years, that even supposing the exports of sugar for the year 1839, from this colony, only reach 35,000 hogsheads, the returns in money will be larger than when the produce was at its greatest extent."—*Ibid.* p. 25.

In a subsequent despatch, transmitting the quarterly returns, addressed to Lord John Russell, dated 22nd January, 1840, Governor Light observes, "when it is taken into consideration, that for *four months of the last year the canes did not yield half their accustomed liquor*, we have reason to be satisfied that the diminution is not more."—*Papers relative to the West Indies*, 1841. p. 94.

Governor Light to Lord John Russell, 15th June, 1840,

"I shall venture to introduce here a remark on Mr. Schomburg's work on British Guiana, a copy of which has been transmitted to me. He says that cultivation has diminished here in consequence of the indolence of the black labourer. He is mistaken; that diminution arises from the number of persons who have turned to more profitable or perhaps less laborious exertions; they are all eager to obtain money, and do that which in every free country exists, apply their industry to that which gives them best returns. Luckily they are no longer "adscripti"—they seek independence

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by the purchase of land—that of Orange Nassau, lately made, has added greatly to the labour of the neighbouring estates, by congregating persons together who are enabled to share their labour with those estates, and still carry on the cultivation on that which has been purchased. Emigration is not necessary on account of the indolence of the labourers, but to supply the place of those who have chosen the work which suits them best, and on that account, as well as to develope additional sources of revenue to the mother country, I trust that every facility will be given to immigration consistent with the policy of the mother country."—*Ibid.* p. 139.

The following table will show the comparative amount of staples exported from the colony during the years 1839 and 1840.

Colonial Produce Exported from this Colony in this Year 1840, as compared with the year 1839.

	Sugar.			Rum.			Molasses	Coffee.	Cotton
	Hhds.	Trs.	Brls.	Puns.	Hhds.	Brls	Casks.	lbs.	Bales
From Jan. 5, 1839, to Jan. 5, 1840	36,714	2,221	2,398	13,488	3,024	885	12,134	1,585,200	1,364
From Jan. 5, 1840 to Jan. 5, 1841	38,588	2,573	2,461	13,020	2,953	773	15,999	3,357,300	331
Increase ..	1,874	352	63	..	29	..	3,865	1,772,100	..
Decrease ..	..	..	..	859	..	112	..	..	1,033

Custom-House, Demerara, 9th January, 1841.

CHARLES ROBINSON, Collector.

In transmitting this statement, Governor Light remarked:—"There is a considerable excess of sugar, molasses, and coffee, but a decrease in the production of rum and cotton. The excess has occurred in the two last quarters; the season was excessively unfavourable in the two preceding ones; the predictions of greater decrease in this year than in 1839 have proved false—predictions have ceased."—*Ibid.* p. 216.

In addition to this general statement, there will be found in the Parliamentary papers continued references to the industry of the negros, or to the causes which had prevented its full development; and it may be safely stated in the language of Governor Light, that "wherever tact and moderation have been shown by managers and masters there has been a fair share of work performed." The latest despatch from his Excellency, dated the 16th of July, 1841, refers to emancipated negros in the following terms:—"Mr. Wolseley's (the circuit stipendiary magistrate's) report exhibits a very satisfactory picture of the general state of the counties, and is especially gratifying as showing the highly creditable manner in which those labourers who have become independent agricultural freeholders are conducting themselves in the new station which their industry has achieved;" and he adds, "the very numerous offers for sale to the labourers of small allotments of land by the old proprietary body, indicate a decided and rapid change of opinion in the upper class of colonial society as to the policy of converting the day labourer into a freeholder."—*Copy of Despatch*, 1841, p. 1.

SUMMARY of CROPS and WAGES on the several Plantations visited by Mr. Wollseley in June, 1841.

Plantations.	Hogsheads of Sugar made in 1840.	Hogsheads of Sugar expected in 1841.	Number on the Pay List.	Monthly Expenditure for Wages.	Average per Capita.	
				Dollars.	Doll	Cents
Belair . . .	152	152	120	900	7	50
Turkeyen . .	150	150	95	800	8	4½
Vryheid's Lust	203	190	150	1,000	6	66
Resouvenir . .	196	200	174	1,120	6	43
Annandale . .	500	400	220	1,700	7	73
Enterprise . .	500	500	298	2,000	6	71
Enmore . . .	545	545	280	2,100	7	50
Dochfour . .	200	250	160	1,000	6	25
Beehive . .	250	250	150	960	7	31
Greenfield . .	300	140	152	1,660	10	9½
Good Hope .	116	140	70	550	7	86
Helena . . .	360	360	250	1,300	5	20
The Farm . .	83	100	130	800	6	15
Fellowship . .	71	71	45	240	5	33
Profit . . .	22	60	70	500	7	15
Foulis . . .	216	200	170			
No. 17 . . .	50	450				
Waterloo . .	170 Tierces	140 Tierces	92	600	6	52
Blairmount . .	330	290	226	1,500	6	65
Baltbyock . .	200	340	280	1,100	3	93
Everton . . .	505	550	160	1,200	7	50
Highbury . .	375	300	140	1,000	7	15
The Friends .	240	200	130	1,000	8	45
Providence . .	440	470	184	1,400	7	60
Lochaber . .	310	200	175	900	5	15
Cane Fields .	580	580	180	1,400	7	78
Rose Hall . .	300	400	181	1,200	6	63
	Coffee in 1840.	Coffee expected 1841				
Base's Lust .	95,000 lbs	10,000 lbs	90			

Average 6 dollars 97 23-25ths cents. per month.

N. B.—The amount of wages varies according to the amount and to the description of work performed; where an excess appears, it arises from the performance of more than the ordinary amount of labour within the month, or from the work being of an expensive kind; and where the reverse occurs, accidents or alterations to the machinery may have impeded the crop, the people being then employed in weeding, &c., and generally in such cases doing more in their own grounds, and less in their employer's.

STATE OF CRIME.

The number of persons, of all classes, committed for trial during the year 1839,

To George Town jail, Demerara, was	1635
To Wakendam jail, Essequibo, was	138
To New Amsterdam jail, Berbice, was	194
Total	1967

—(*Papers Relative to the West Indies*, 1841, pp. 10—109.)

The number convicted before the inferior and superior criminal courts is not given in the returns. The greatest amount of committals were for trifling offences. In the absence of more specific information upon the point, the following extract from the Address of the Governor to the court of policy, delivered the 28th February, 1840, is particularly satisfactory:—

"Your colony is remarkable for a small amount of crime, and there are but few cases of an aggravated nature. Your peasantry are submissive, obey the law, and respect authority. At these latter qualities we may marvel (and my opinion will find its way to the mother-country), when we consider the bad example systematically set by those whose station in society ought to restrain them, and in whom reason ought to check the desire for personal influence amongst a small portion of the community, by reflecting that the mass in this colony neither sympathise with them nor can ever participate in their views."—(*Ibid.* p. 96.)

In the same address his Excellency takes occasion to observe, in connexion with the fact that "the proprietors exhibit no inclination to part with their properties," a striking proof of their confidence in the permanency of the advantages to be reaped under the free system, that he cannot advert to this "without bearing testimony to the conduct of the labouring population. That they are less constant in their industry than when coerced was to be expected; that they are so industrious is a subject of gratulation. Their cheerfulness and contentment dissipate the fears of many, and exceed the hopes of all. Men whose ambition is not limited to mere freedom from coercion, who aspire to become landholders, and who know that by industry they can obtain their object, will not be idle. We have convincing proofs that in the acquisition of land there has been no wish to quit the precincts of civilization."—(*Ibid.* p. 96.)

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

[From Buckingham's *Slave States of America*.]

The condition of the coloured population, slave and free, excited in me the liveliest interest, as I was anxious to see and judge for myself on this much contested point. Here, as at Charleston, the greatest anxiety seemed to be manifested on all sides as to my opinions on slavery. With some few I could safely venture to let these be known, as they were liberal enough to suppose that a man might, from conviction, be in favour of abolition, without designing any evil to the country; but with the great bulk of the white population here, the name of an abolitionist was more terrible than that of an incendiary, a rebel, or a murderer, and to such it would have been useless to make any observations on the subject.

From all I could perceive or learn, the condition of the domestic servants, or slaves of the household, was quite as comfortable as that of servants in the middle ranks of life in England. They are generally well-fed, well-dressed, attentive, orderly, respectful, and easy to be governed, but more by kindness than by severity.

If the slaves of America were confined to household attendants, I have no doubt that their condition would be very far from miserable; because the master and mistress of a family, and all the younger members of it, feel as natural a pride in having their personal attendants to look well in person and in dress, when slaves, as they do when their servants are free; for the same reason as ladies or gentlemen in England like to have their livery servants handsome and well-dressed, and their carriage-horses sleek, glossy, well-fed, and caparisoned with handsome harness. But when slaves are employed in field labour, as instruments of producing wealth, or when they are owned by one party, and hired out to another for wages to be received by the owner, then the case is very different, because the object is then, in each instance, to make as much money by them as possible, and turn them, as property, to the most profitable account; so that the least expense in food and clothing, compatible with keeping them alive and in working condition, leaves the largest amount of gain; and therefore their personal appearance is no more attended to than that of cart-horses or post-horses, as compared with the attention bestowed on the carriage-horses as a part of the family equipage.

We visited one of the rice plantations in the neighbourhood of Savannah, and saw the condition of the slaves on it with our own eyes. The estate was considered to be a valuable one, and under a fair condition of management, not among the best nor among the worst, but just such an average plantation as we wished to examine. The dwellings for the negros were built of wood, ranged in rows of great uniformity, raised a little above the ground, each building containing two or more rooms, with a fire-place for two. We saw also the nursery for the children, and the sick-room or hospital for those who were hurt or diseased, and we had communication with the overseer, and several of the people, from both of whom we learnt the following facts, as to their routine of labour, food, and treatment.

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The slaves are all up by daylight; and every one who is able to work, from eight or nine years old and upwards, repair to their several departments of field-labour. They do not return to their houses either to breakfast or dinner; but have their food cooked for them in the field, by negros appointed to that duty. They continue thus at work till dark, and then return to their dwellings. There is no holiday on Saturday afternoon, or any other time throughout the year, except a day or two at Christmas; but from daylight to dark, every day except Sunday, they are at their labour. Their allowance of food consists of a peck, or two gallons, of Indian corn per week, half that quantity for working boys and girls, and a quarter for little children. This corn they are obliged to grind themselves, after their hours of labour are over; and it is then boiled in water, and made into hominey, but without any thing to eat with it, neither bread, rice, fish, meat, potatoes, or butter; boiled corn and water only, and barley a sufficient quantity of this for subsistence.

Of clothes, the men and boys had a coarse woollen jacket and trousers once a-year, without shirt or any other garment. This was their winter dress; their summer apparel consists of a similar suit of jacket and trousers of the coarsest cotton cloth. Absence from work, or neglect of duty, was punished with stinted allowance, imprisonment, and flogging. A medical man visited the plantation occasionally, and medicines were administered by a negro woman called the sick-nurse. No instruction was allowed to be given in reading or writing, no games or recreations were provided, nor was there indeed any time to enjoy them if they were. Their lot was one of continued toil, from morning to night, uncheered even by the *hope* of any change, or prospect of improvement in condition.

In appearance, all the negros that we saw looked insufficiently fed, most wretchedly clad, and miserably accommodated in their dwellings; for though the exteriors of their cottages were neat and uniform, being all placed in regular order and whitewashed, yet nothing could be more dirty, gloomy, and wretched than their interiors; and we agreed that the criminals in all the state-prisons of the country that we had yet seen, were much better off in food, raiment, and accommodation, and much less severely worked than those men, whose only crime was that they were of a darker colour than the race that held them in bondage.

It is constantly alleged here, that the condition of the field slaves, though confessedly inferior to that of the domestic attendants, is not worse than that of the labouring population of England; but though this is much worse than it ought to be, it is still greatly above the condition of the slave, even in a physical point of view; while in a moral and intellectual one, the superiority is still more marked. The slave can never be instructed—the law forbids his being taught to read or write, under the severest penalties. He cannot, therefore, ever receive much of moral or intellectual culture, neither can he hope in any way to rise from his present dependent condition; but an English peasant, manufacturer, or artisan, may be taught any thing he has a disposition to learn, and may rise to independence at least, if not to opulence; while the *hope* of better days never abandons him, but sheds a ray of light on his path, and comfort around his heart, which the very condition of a slave renders it impossible that he should ever experience.

It is usual here also to say, that supposing the slaves were made free, they would be unable to maintain themselves, and would not work even for their own benefit, as they are incapable of voluntary exertion. Yet in the face of this often-repeated assertion, I learnt here the following facts, and from the same persons that so confidently insisted on the indolence and incapacity of the slaves—

A wealthy planter said to me, "I assure you that these negros are the laziest creatures in the world, and would never work but by compulsion. Now, I have a fellow on my plantation, who for fourteen or fifteen days past has been complaining of rheumatism, and could not be brought to work for an hour; he was so ill, as he said, as to be unable. On Sunday last, I was walking on the bay, looking down the river, when who should I see but my rheumatic rascal, pulling up in his boat with some things to sell on his own account, the fellow having rowed a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles for a market." I replied, "The reason is very plain: he was too ill to work for *you*, because he got nothing more by working than by being idle; but he was quite well enough to work for *himself*, because his labour was well rewarded." "Egad!" said the planter, "but you have hit it: that is no doubt the cause of the difference." I rejoined, "This is the whole solution of the question; no man will labour for another's profit with the same zeal that he will for his own; and the difference between the indolent apprentice toiling for his master, and the active journeyman working for himself, is just the difference between the exertions of the slave and the free." To this no reply was made.

I was further shown instances of coloured persons settled in the town, as carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, barbers, &c. who had acquired property in materials of trade and houses, and managed their affairs with so much prudence as even to be getting rich, merely because they received the whole of the profits of their labour, instead of its being handed over to a master, who, after maintaining them, pockets the surplus as his own lawful profit.

Instances of hiring out negros to work, not for their own benefit, but for that of their owners, are common; and I select, from among a hundred such cases that came every day before the public eye, the following, taken from a single column of a Charleston newspaper, in succession—

"To be hired, three able-bodied experienced boatmen. Inquire at this office."

"To be hired, a boy, a good house-servant, and capable of taking charge of horses. Apply at this office."

"To hire, a likely Mulatto boy, fifteen years old, accustomed to house work. Apply at this office."

"To hire, a boy accustomed to waiting about house. Inquire at 45, Beaufain-street, opposite Coming."

"To Master Tailors.—To hire by the year, at very low wages, a young fellow who has served six years at the tailoring business. Apply at 112, Queen-street."

"Nurse to hire. A young wench, of good disposition. Also two prime young wenches. Apply at this office."

These were all negros, or coloured people, belonging to owners who hired them out to others, and received a profit from their labour, as interest of the capital laid out on their purchase. In the Savannah papers the following appeared—

"*Negros Wanted.*—The contractors upon the Brunswick and Alatamaha Canal, are desirous to hire a number of Prime Negro Men, from the 1st October next, for fifteen months, until the 1st January, 1840, or for any term within these dates, not less than twelve months. They will pay at the rate of eighteen dollars per month for each prime hand. Payments to be made quarterly.

"These negros will be employed in the excavation of the canal. They will be provided with three and-a-half pounds of pork, or bacon, and ten quarts of gourd-seed corn per week; lodged in comfortable shantees, and attended constantly by a skilful physician.

"As the Contractors are now making their arrangements for the work of the next year, all those who will be disposed to hire negros for the coming season are requested to make immediate application, and obtain any further information that may be desired at the office of the contractors in Brunswick.

"J. H. COUPER,
"P. M. NIGHTINGALE."

It will be seen that there are two strong inducements offered here—high wages to tempt the owner to hire out his negros, and good living to tempt the men to go readily into such service, if their masters desired them. But it cannot fail to be also seen, that, if the men's labour is really worth the eighteen dollars per month, and their provisions besides, it is a positive robbery of their only natural wealth, the labour of their hands, to steal it from their pockets, and place it in that of their owners. It does not require the aid of reading and writing for the negros to discover this: and the greater part of them are no doubt quite conscious of the injustice thus done to them, though the remedy is beyond their reach. The only thing they can do is to run away, and try to get to some place where they can work for themselves, and enjoy the profit of their own toil. The following from a Savannah paper, as one of a hundred such announcements, abundantly proves this.

"One Hundred Dollars Reward will be given for my two fellows, Abram and Frank, who have absconded, or fifty dollars for either of them, to be put in some secure jail, so that I get them. Abram is a tall, likely black man; Frank, a yellow complected man; he stutters, and has a pleasing countenance; both likely active men. Abram has a wife at Colonel Stewart's in Liberty county, and a sister in Savannah at Captain Grovenstine's. Frank has a wife at Mr. Le Cont's, Liberty county, a mother at Thunderbolt, and a sister in Savannah. *They will, in all probability be at work on the wharves in Savannah, and on board of vessels.* All persons are cautioned not to harbour or employ them, as no expense will be spared in prosecuting, if proof can be had.

"WM. ROBARTS,
"Walthourville, Liberty County, January 5th, 1839."

This is an announcement dated from "*Liberty* county," and the object is to arrest and punish those who thought that liberty was better than slavery, and therefore sought the change. As a proof, however, that it was not indolence, or a dislike of labour, which prompted this step, their very owner publicly asserts the probability that they would "be found *working* on the wharves or on board ships," where they would enjoy the fruits of their own labour, instead of its being appropriated to enrich another.

SLAVERY AND FEUDALISM.

(From Abdy's *American Whites and Blacks.*)

While we maintain, with the most distinguished abolitionists of Europe and America, that man cannot justly hold property in man, we must draw a broad line of distinction between the feudal and the commercial slave—between that state of servitude which is found to prevail in the earliest stages of society, and that which attends its more advanced periods; a distinction not always borne in mind by the advocates of a scheme which would transform the one into the other, as a sort of preparatory transition to emancipation. The disproportion of territory to its inhabitants is characteristic of both; but the wants of the one are supplied by war, and of the other by robbery. The victims of each are deprived, for the benefit of others, of the faculties which nature gave them, in common with other animals, for their own; with this especial difference, that what was frequently in the former case, when substituted by policy for the slaughter of the prisoner, an act of mercy, involves universally, when inflicted by avarice, the accumulated guilt of cruelty and injustice. In barbarous times, the necessity of self-defence was both the motive and the excuse for that which can now prefer no such plea in its favour. Personal servitude was, in fact, one of the first steps from the hunter-state to that of the shepherd, and the tiller of the soil; when the sense of numerical weakness suggested to warlike tribes a milder treatment of captives, both from the dread of retaliation, and with the object of

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transferring their members from the task of providing food for the community to that of defending it against its enemies. With successive stages in the progress of civilization, the thrall became a serf, and the serf became a citizen. The struggles for political ascendancy between hostile factions raised the great mass of the people into importance. Personal freedom was the reward of services against a competitor; the emancipated obtained privileges; and the badge of slavery was lost in the better order of things that succeeded. It is far otherwise with the enslaved son of Africa. The peculiarities of his outward form, and the presumed inferiority of his intellect, have marked him out for oppression and contumely. All parties in the nation, which at once rejects and claims him, are opposed to his comforts and his hopes. Neither the owner who exercises an unrestricted power over him, nor the legislature which sanctions it, have any interest in his elevation. The strength of his arm, required against no foreign foe and no domestic rival, is turned against himself. The wealth he creates increases the pressure upon him. Superiority of mind adds to his misfortunes as a man, by adding to his value as property. He becomes more wretched as he becomes more valuable, and the chance of his redemption diminishes with his usefulness. To the black man the bitterness of his lot ceases not with his bondage. The Pariah remains when the Helot is gone. Freedom is a mockery to him who is an outlaw to the charities and courtesies of life; and the enfranchised, in obtaining the first hope of his existence, is miserable in finding it to be the last. In pursuing the contrast which these phases of society present, we find that the condition of the feudal serf is distinguished from that of the colonial slave by a less advanced state, both of agricultural skill and of political society. The one is connected with military services, the other with commercial speculation. The signior retains his land for the sake of his vassals; the planter buys human beings for the sake of his land. As the profits of agriculture rise, the one lightens the chain, and the other rivets it more closely; as the noble acquires power, the lord paramount protects the *villein* in order to protect himself; while the slave is crushed under the combined authority of the owner and of the government. Increase of national wealth brings the dependent nearer to the superior under the feudal relation, and drives them still further asunder under the commercial. Every accession to the population softens the lot of the serf, and renders that of the slave more unhappy. The one is wanted against foreign enemies; the other is dreaded as an enemy himself. Great, however, as this disparity of external circumstances may appear, and much as we are disposed to pity or despise the negro, it is not altogether impossible that the condition in which we now see our fellow-man so demoralized and degraded, may ultimately prove a better preparative for freedom of action, than that in which we know it to have been erected in most countries; and that the transition to social privileges might be neither so difficult nor so protracted as it proved to the European bondman. The conditions upon which human labour can be rendered most productive are now better understood; the deductions of economical science and the dictates of morality are found to coincide in favour of liberty; and the interest of those who possess the soil is seen to be identified with the welfare of those who cultivate it. These considerations are cheering to the friend of mankind, and will one day be felt by the objects both of his censure and of his solicitude. In the mean time, it cannot be expected that the gloom which now hangs over the North American continent, will be dispelled by the same expedients which gradually elicited the light of freedom from the darkness of our middle ages. Those who would borrow for the new world the policy of the old, and engraft the feudal tenure on the present system of slavery, are, I think, misled by false analogies and a partial view of things. The links that bind together the various ranks of European communities, are altogether wanting in the southern states of North America. The same industry which elevates a man on one side of the Atlantic debases him on the other. The idle rich, in transferring to the white labourer the infamy which attaches itself to the coloured slave, has given to the latter the employments he has taken from the former. The intended assimilation has increased the relative importance of the supposed inferior race. The short-sighted policy which has thus excluded those sub-divisions of society which exist elsewhere between the capitalist and the labourer, has conferred upon uncompensated labour the intelligence which can alone give it value, and will one day give it freedom. When we consider that, under the feudal polity, the arts of life which characterize the colonial system were unknown, it may be presumed that the working class will, in the latter, possess a much greater quantity of practical skill from its contact with a higher civilization, and that, whether it is to owe its emancipation to conquest or concession, it will be more prepared both to enjoy and to maintain it. These however are among the coming events, of which the shadows are invisible to thekeenest eye."

THE SLAVE TRADE.

RUSSIAN UKASE.

The Emperor has issued to the directing senate the following ukase, relative to the suppression of the slave-trade:—

"Our illustrious predecessor and dearly beloved brother of glorious memory, at the most memorable period of his ever glorious reign, when the Congress of Monarchs assembled in Vienna established the new basis for the political relations of the European powers, did then recognize, and, in accordance with his allies, solemnly declare, that the branch of commerce known by the name of the African slave-trade, had by the virtuous and enlightened of all times, been justly regarded as opposed to the principles of philanthropy and the laws of public morality; and that nothing but the peculiar circumstances under which this trade originated, and the difficulty of suppressing it without preparatory measures, could have served, in a certain degree, as an apology for the continuance of so odious a traffic. All the sovereigns of Europe who signed the treaty of Paris, May 18th (30), 1814, have thereby made it their duty to co-operate in common, and by all the means in their power for the suppression of this traffic on all points of the earth. Notwithstanding their earnest wish for the attainment of an object so important, they have, however, for the sake of the interests of their respective subjects, from deference to existing usages, and even to prejudices deeply rooted for centuries, refrained from attempting, by anticipation, to determine the time when each power would find it possible and convenient, formally to prohibit the slave-trade. It is better to leave the final fixation of that period to direct negociations between the courts.

"Since the issuing of this declaration, the slave-trade has been prohibited by almost all the nations of Europe and America; and at present a special treaty has been concluded between us and their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, and the King of the French, the Queen of Great Britain, and the King of Prussia, with respect to the most effectual measures to be adopted for preventing the secret prosecution of the said trade.

"By this treaty, it is determined not merely to prohibit (or to renew the prohibition) the respective subjects of the contracting powers from carrying on the slave-trade within the possessions, or under the flags, of the said powers, or by capitals or ships to participate therein, directly or indirectly, in any way whatever; but it is moreover provided, that every attempt for the renewal or prosecution of that trade shall be held equivalent to the crime of piracy, and that all vessels therein engaged shall forfeit every right of protection which the flags of any one of the contracting powers might otherwise secure to them. Having sanctioned all the dispositions of the said treaty, we order that henceforth every individual legally convicted of carrying on the slave-trade, or either directly or indirectly in any manner participating therein, shall be sent before the legal tribunal, and made liable to the punishment prescribed by our laws against piracy.

"The directing senate will take care to provide the necessary measures for the execution of this ukase.

"NICHOLAS.

"*St. Petersburg, March 26th (April 7)*, 1842."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 29TH.

WE mentioned in our last the intelligence brought by the papers that the British government had taken some measure in relation to slavery in our Oriental dependencies. We have the high gratification of inserting to-day the proclamation of Governor Bonham on this subject, copied from the *Singapore Gazette*. It was issued on the 5th January last, and declares slavery under every form and pretext to be absolutely unlawful. We give the present government full credit for this measure; by which, if (as we do not doubt) it shall be made effective, a large number of slaves will acquire their freedom, and an extensive slave-trade, carried on chiefly by the Malay pirates, to be brought to an end. As the proclamation relates to "the British settlements in the straits of Malacca," it comprehends, no doubt, Singapore, Malacca, Prince of Wales Island, province Wellesley, and Pulo Penang. It will not be long, we hope, before a similar measure shall be adopted with relation to the important island of Ceylon.

THE case of Nelson Hacket was referred to in the House of Commons on Monday evening, in a manner which calls for the most serious attention of all the friends of liberty. We take our report from the *Morning Herald*.

Mr. HAWES wished to ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for the Colonies, if it was true that, on the 17th of January last, a person of colour, named Nelson Hacket, was confined in Canada, was demanded back by the authorities of the United States as a fugitive from justice, it being well understood that a fugitive from justice meant nothing more than a runaway slave; and there being, as he was informed, no other charge against him, he was delivered up by the Canadian authorities, sent to Arkansas, lodged in the jail of Detroit, and sent back to the hands of his old master. He wished to know whether this statement was correct, and what was the policy which the government intended to pursue in such cases?

Lord STANLEY said the honourable gentleman's statement was not entirely correct. It was quite true that, in the course of this year an application was made by the American authorities to the government and executive council of Canada, to deliver up the person in question as a fugitive from justice, who was charged with burglary and robbery. There was an act in Canada which authorised the governor to deliver up to the American

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authorities fugitives from justice, charged with certain specified offence upon being furnished with a statement of the cause of the committal and the depositions against him, provided that the depositions were such as would authorise his committal if the offence were committed in Canada. On the first application these forms were wanting, and the application was therefore refused. A second application was made, accompanied by the proper documents, and from these it appeared that this person of colour, who was a slave, was charged with burglary and robbery. The question was brought under the consideration of the legislative council, who, finding the depositions to be such as would authorise his committal in Canada, complied with the provisions of the act, and gave him up to the authorities of Arkansas.

We read the answer of Lord Stanley to the question of Mr. Hawes with both surprise and alarm. As to being a fugitive *from justice*, that is the light in which the Americans of the south regard every fugitive slave; nor is there one of them against whom a charge of burglary may not be vamped up, supported by as long a tissue of false "depositions" as the most fastidious governor may require. If there be "an act" authorizing the government and executive council of Canada to deliver up fugitive slaves on such a pretext, the sooner it is repealed the better. We confess, however, that we should like to have proof of it; and especially that it authorizes the imprisonment of a free man—for *in Canada* the fugitive slave is free—for several months without any charge or depositions at all. Prompt and very serious notice must be taken of this matter; and we hope that Mr. Hawes will immediately follow up his question by moving for a copy of the act referred to, and all the papers connected with the case.

WE resume our notice of the proceedings of the St. John del Rey Mining Company, the twelfth annual general meeting of which was held at Tokenhouse-yard, on the 17th instant. Among other matters, the report (as condensed in the *Railway and Commercial Gazette*) contains the following statement:—"The number of negros belonging to the company is 414; viz., 275 men, 109 women, and 30 children; they continue to receive kind and careful treatment, and to deserve it. The annual report states, that they are 'orderly, contented, and happy,' and that they 'well deserve the best of treatment.'"

After the report had been read, the following proceedings, according to the paper above named, took place:—

Mr. BOWERS wished to have a little explanation on the subject of the slaves belonging to the company. It was stated at the last meeting that the company had purchased 73 slaves; the number of slaves in 1840 was 383, to which, if 73 were added, would make 456, but it appeared from the accounts at present submitted that there were only 414 blacks belonging to the company. The Chairman explained that thirty of the number purchased had arrived at the time of making up the accounts for 1840.

Mr. Bowers then inquired if the directors had any account of the number of deaths, as that item must necessarily add to the company's expense?—The Chairman then referred to the yearly account, which showed that ten males, four females, and twelve children had died in the course of the year, and that ten children had been born in the same period.*

In reply to a proprietor, Mr. Herring stated, that, from their *constantly purchasing negros*, it was impossible to get at the average number of the deaths, but he should suppose that 4 to 5 per cent. would be about it.

At a subsequent period of the meeting, we are told,

Some conversation ensued upon the treatment of the negros; during which it was stated that the negro children had no further instruction than the "Padre Nostre," which was taught them by the "padre," and that the whole body of negros attended church every Sunday. A proprietor expressed a wish that some means could be found by which the negros could have a chance of ultimate emancipation. The chairman stated that the blacks were much better off than the labourers in Europe, or the free native labourers in Brazil. Mr. Bowers could not get over a statement that was made in the last report, that there was a balance of £2763 in January, and that there was some foundation for the hope of receiving a dividend, instead of which a call of 10s. per share was made, and he thought the proprietors ought not to separate without guarding against a recurrence of the same. The call, made as that one was, without any explanation to the shareholders, had reduced the shares, so that, at last, they were worth next to nothing; they must provide against the directors making another call without first calling the shareholders together.—*Mr. Donaldson (a director) explained that the call was made to pay for the slaves.*

And to this explanation the chairman subsequently added, that "LAST YEAR THEY HAD FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS TO PAY FOR NEGROS."

There is nothing we more admire than the amiable candour and frankness of these gold-finding gentlemen. With what *naïveté* Mr. Herring stated that the company were "constantly purchasing negros;" and the chairman, J. D. Powles, Esq., that the directors really expended last year—that is, in the year of grace one thousand eight hundred and forty-one—no less a sum than five thousand pounds sterling in this illegal and wicked traffic! Did the honourable gentleman stammer in making this appalling statement! Not at a single syllable of it. Did he blush! Not by a single shade did his countenance approach to the fitting crimson. Did his brother directors deny it? Not a soul of them. Did the proprietors in whose presence it was made protest against it! Not an individual. Not even Mr. Bowers, whose wrath at having to pay so many calls was so vehement that he threatened to take, on that matter, legal advice. Yet this sensitive gentleman, and the whole body of shareholders present, acquiesce in becoming slave-holders and slave-traders, without breathing a syllable of rebuke or discontent! This barefaced contempt, alike for British law and common morality, is to the last degree astounding. For a British subject to buy a slave, or to be implicated in the purchase of one, is by British law a felony. Mr. Powles's statement, therefore, is the admission of a felony committed by the directors of the St. John del Rey Mining Company, and involving the shareholders. Could legal proof be obtained of the transaction, every one of these gentlemen might be subjected to a felon's punishment; and their only security against it, is their power of silencing the witnesses, and secreting the documents, from which the proof might be obtained. We confess we cannot understand, either how men otherwise honourable can bear to stand in a position so infamous, or how the government can allow such a fraud against justice to be perpetuated. Should a person proclaim to the world, "I have bought a stolen horse," every honest man would avoid him with disgust, and every legal functionary be on the alert for his punishment. Here, however, are gentlemen who declare, "we have bought stolen men; we laid out five thousand pounds last year in the felonious purchase:" but the British community hardly listens for a moment to the sound, and no law officer disturbs even a fibre of his wig.

* We cannot help noticing the instructive comment which this frightful mortality supplies on the alleged kind treatment and happiness of the slaves. In a population of 414 souls, only 12 are born in twelve-months. During the same period 26 die; so that this well-treated and happy population (!) are diminishing at the rate of more than three per cent pe. annum.

THE last American papers bring us condensed account of the Anniversaries of the Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States. The American Anti-Slavery Society takes up the case of Nelson Hacket, in the following terms:—

Whereas, it is reported that the government of Canada has, on the demand of the executive of the state of Arkansas, surrendered a fugitive slave, under pretence that he was a fugitive from justice; therefore,

Resolved,—That the executive committee be requested to inquire into the correctness of this report, and, if substantiated, to address Lord Aberdeen, and also those of the abolitionists of Great Britain, whom they shall deem necessary, on this subject; and communicate the following resolution:

Resolved,—That, with gratitude to God and deep admiration of the noble attitude of the British government in relation to slavery, we have seen her colonies on our borders afford an asylum to the slave hunted from our pretended republic; and we trust that, through the vigilance of British justice and philanthropy, no specious pretences will be allowed to render that protection a mere name; and that such attention will be given to this subject by Great Britain, as to preclude the possibility of such another mistake.

The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society adopted the following resolution, referring to abolitionists in other lands:—

That we have witnessed with delight and admiration the able, untiring, and influential labours of our brethren, in Great Britain, France, and other countries, to effect the downfall of the slave-trade and the system of slavery throughout the world; that we tender to them our zealous and hearty co-operation until the triumph of freedom over oppression, and liberty over slavery shall be complete and universal; and that when the time arrives for another conference of delegates, to consult upon the great topics connected with the enslavement and emancipation of our fellow-men, we trust that a full representation will go from this country to meet their brethren from various countries in London.

OUR readers will find much in our paper to-day in relation to British Guiana; but they will not find fault with us for adding the following extract of a letter lately received from a well-known correspondent at Demerara:—

Demerara, 14th May, 1842.

"I have just seen, and send to you by this mail, a copy of last night's *Guiana Times*—a paper remarkable for any thing rather than applauding, whether the character or behaviour of the black population, or for affection to the principles or influence of religion. When I read in the 'summary to go by the packet,' the prominent capitals '*Pros and Cons of the free system in British Guiana*,' I was fully prepared for the gloomiest picture that imagination might paint of the idleness and extravagance of the labourers, and the ruin of the country as the inevitable result, notwithstanding their boasted religious advantages whether among the establishment or the sectaries. But what was my agreeable surprise, when the first sentiment I read discovered a tacit acknowledgment of a former indulgence in 'extreme opinions' in regard to the results of slave emancipation, and an encomium passed on the population of 'new freemen,' which from the lips of any 'gentleman of the anti-slavery society' would have been pronounced 'extreme exaggeration,' evincing the grossest partiality. After admitting that the 'predictions' of the 'INVETERATELY PREJUDICED PLANTERS OF THE OLD SCHOOL' *have signally failed*, insomuch that '*the new freemen have not broken out into criminal excesses, degenerated into outrageous vices* OR DIED OFF FOR WANT OF BEING COMPELLED TO TAKE CARE OF THEIR PERSONS'; he illustrates this remarkable testimony as follows. If we are not entitled to judge the hearts and consciences of men, and to say that he community as a whole has improved in point of virtuous principle, this, at least, is not to be disputed, that the stride it has made in that external decorum, which is like the homage which vice pays to virtue, *must outstrip the highest conceptions of all but personal observers*. The degradation and inhumanity of a general system of licentiousness, the prevalence of the institution of marriage has everywhere rectified. The river no longer resounds on the peaceful sabbath-day with the FORCED MIRTH of the children of bondage, plying their unintermitted tasks; but every thoroughfare is crowded with well-dressed peasants, independently following the bent of pious inclinations, and thronging to places of divine worship. *Even among* the late owners of slave property to be immoral has become unfashionable, and to be profane is no longer accounted genteel. * * * Want, the tempter to so many deviations from propriety of conduct, is

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unknown to the greatest mass, while the indolence induced by the climate, indisposes them to the violent long sustained bursts of passion familiar to regions in which all the faculties of the mind are in a state of constant activity and energy. Lying, thieving, cunning, and other vices and defects, have ceased to characterise peculiarly the labourer in those parts, as he, ceasing to be the abject instrument of mother's will, has acquired self-respect, and learned fit notions of the value of a good reputation. *In respect of these and similar results of the passing of the Emancipation Act, we encounter few planters even hardy enough to pretend to doubt the happiness of the change which has been so suddenly accomplished!*" A testimony like this from such a quarter I doubt not you will account invaluable, inasmuch as no one can suspect its editor of being tainted with anti-slavery principles. Indeed you will find in the same article a caution administered to the 'gentlemen of the Anti-Slavery Society' in whose wisdom one would think, after bearing witness to the beneficial results of their detested emancipation scheme, all the great Wig's might rather teach 'the inveterately prejudiced planters of the old school' to confide. Although I have sent you the paper, I could not forbear to copy the above extracts, as furnishing a strong evidence of the successfulness of your labours and of those who have laboured with you; success of a character which you will appreciate as a reward worthy to be accounted rich above the ill-gotten wealth of both the Indies; and when, too, this testimony is given by an editor who not long ago wrote about blotting out the word 'EMANCIPATION' from the English vocabulary—given by him, not as in 'the age of extreme opinions in regard to the results of slave emancipation,'—written after grave consideration, and after coming to the conclusion that 'the discovery is being made that truth lies in a golden mean'—and therefore that this testimony is 'truth' and is not an extreme opinion; not only will you account it invaluable, but be encouraged to persevere in your philanthropic endeavours, until slavery and oppression shall unite to confess the omnipotence of right principles, while compelled thus to do homage to the God of righteousness and truth, of peace and love."

WE regret the insertion in our last of an extract from the *Morning Herald*, written in a spirit which, of course, we entirely condemn. It was obviously inserted for its bearing on an article in the *Colonial Gazette*, without the most remote intention of adopting its sentiments. This explanation is due to ourselves, and to those friends who might otherwise feel aggrieved by the appearance of that extract.

IN our pages to-day will be found an interesting extract from Mr. Abdy's pamphlet, noticed in a recent number. We have to acknowledge the kindness of that gentleman in acquainting the committee that the proceeds of the publication, after payment of expenses, will be placed at their disposal.

UNITED STATES.

The progress of the cause in the south is thus depicted by one of Gerrit Smith's correspondents, in a letter from East Tennessee, dated

April 16th, 1842.

An impression is becoming general at the south, that abolitionists are increasing very fast at the north. Some seem to suppose that most of the intelligent and influential men of the north are already abolitionists, or at least giving them countenance and aid. A man of intelligence, who was conversing with me recently on the subject, said that he believed Mr. Birney would be elected President of the United States at the second election for that office. This impression, which I would hope the facts are such as to justify, is having a favourable effect in various ways on the south. Those opposed to slavery are more bold—and openly so. As the north becomes united, the friends of the slave at the south will act more openly and more efficiently. In a late letter I informed you that the subject was debated by two societies in this county. The societies are formed for the purpose of diffusing useful knowledge by debating all subjects calculated to promote the design of the founders. The question before them was: "whether slavery or intemperance was the greater national evil." At ——— Rev. Mr. H—— and Mr. S—— took the affirmative as to slavery. Mr. H. is a clergyman in the Methodist Church. Mr. S. Clerk of the County Court, both reputable for talents.

The decision was, that slavery was the greater of the two evils. Next morning a slaveholder called on Mr. H. somewhat excited. He said, "I understand you have decided that intemperance is no national evil at all." Mr. H. "O no, sir, only that slavery is a greater evil." The slaveholder: "I think such a decision very improper, sir." H. "Well, sir, if you are dissatisfied we will have the matter tried over again, when you can have an opportunity of arguing the question." Slaveholder; "No, sir, I am no orator, sir."

Yesterday I met with a man who was a few years since a slaveholder. He said, "Mr. —— I understand you employ no slaves. That you are much opposed to slavery." I replied, "you are correct, Sir, I employ no slaves, and think slavery a great evil—ruinous to the country, and injurious to both master and slave." "You are right sir,—I respect you for your opinions—a few years since I had 22. It has ruined me and injured my family. It fostered habits which have made me completely insolvent. I am now going to apply for the benefit of the Bankrupt Law." Instances of this kind are not unfrequent. Bankruptcy is very frequent among the slaveholders. With them it is a calamity, for slavery has unfitted them for business by which they might hope to recover.

On the first week of this month the circuit court was held at ———. I met there with —— Esq., a very worthy man from ——— county. I had a conversation with him about the anti-slavery society there. He said it was prosperous—that they had frequent meetings, and apprehended no difficulty. The indications of public sentiment were so favourable in ——— county, that I had thought of proposing to my friends to form one—and should have done so but for an occurrence on Wednesday morning of the court week.

Last month when about to go to ———, our late county surveyor, a very worthy man, met with me, and requested me to do him a favour. He said his coloured man had run away about the Christmas holidays, and had since been lying out in the woods—that he had a wife *in* Jefferson county, and a mother 15 miles above. He wished me to call, as he thought it would be on my road, and see his mother, and if I could, the slave; and assure her and him, *if* I could meet with him, that if he would return, he should have no punishment, but as kind treatment as before; as a further inducement, that it was his intention to buy his wife, if circumstances should make it possible for him to do so; that he could live with his family. He added, you may assure him on your own responsibility, that he can rely on my promise, and if he has these assurances from you, he will, I think, return. I inquired as to the cause of his leaving. He said he was himself from home—that the slave became much intoxicated in the morning. His wife requested him to take care of the cattle—there was some disorder among them which required immediate attention. He gave her a flat contradiction, and went immediately away, he supposed through fear of punishment. During the few years he had owned him, he had never punished him; as this was the first offence, he and his wife would both forgive it—they supposed it owing to his intoxication—and that, I think he said, was the first instance. Soon after coming into this state I formed an acquaintance with his master—he is a man of an amiable disposition, kind to his slaves—I think he owns three—strictly regarding his word at all times. I told my friend that knowing his uniform kindness to his slaves—and, as there was so much benevolence in his request, I would call and see the slave's mother, and communicate the whole to her, and to the slave, if I saw him, but that, I could favour no coercive measures. He did *not* wish any. When on my way 10 miles above ———, I inquired for ———, the owner of his (the slaves) mother. I was told that he was a slave-dealer, then gone to the south-west with slaves. I determined to call as I came to his house. I introduced myself to his wife, told her the nature of my errand. She called the mother, a woman of about 50 years of age, to the front of the house. She had the appearance of being an intelligent well-bred old lady—I told her I was authorised to assure her son of the pardon of his master, and of kind treatment if he would return—that he had pledged himself to me that he should not be punished; but as a further inducement he would endeavour to buy his wife for him. Said she had not seen him for more than two years—if she should see him, she would advise him to return. She had no doubt Mr. ——— would keep his word, as he had stated to me. She said she had another son whose name was Jess. He was about to be sold with all his family—that it almost distracted him—he had left about the same time. She supposed they had met and gone together to the *free states*. This conjecture of the old lady is probably the true one. I dismissed the old lady and took a seat in the house. The inquiry was if I could learn any thing of him. I told the lady, that his mother thought that he had gone to a free state. She said, she supposed so, that there would be no use in following them. That her husband had two who had gone to Indiana, and that he had heard where they were. 'Does your husband intend going after them?" O God bless you, no; it would be more than his life is worth to go there after them. There was our neighbour, Mr. ———, who went to Pennsylvania after one, and they had to call out a regiment of soldiers to protect his life. The lawyers called him a southern bloodhound, that had came after his pound of flesh. The cause was decided against him, and he thought himself well off to get away *alive*—O no, when they are there they are safe—my husband will never go there to risk his life after them. One of them went to the river and pretended to be very drunk, and took the canoe to cross in the evening. Next morning he was missing. They found the canoe down stream with his hat and bottle, and supposing him to be drowned, raked the river for his body.

Almost in the same neighbourhood, there were two men by the name of ———, who went to Indiana after a runaway slave. They introduced themselves as *abolitionists*, and by that means found the runaway slave and attempted to bring him off. What occurred afterwards we do not know, only that they came away without him—and are glad that they are alive. The impression is becoming common with the slave-catchers that they take their lives in their hands when they go into the free states after slaves.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.

"Common sense and common decency forbid our following the writer before us into the subject of amalgamation—a bugbear not confined to Caucasian fastidiousness. Burckhardt was highly amused with the various expressions of astonishment his fair skin occasioned in Africa. A woman, whom he asked in jest, if she would accept him as her husband, gave vent to her indignation in words indicative of the utmost horror. The animated zeal of the uneducated pagan for the purity of her race, would have done honour to the most enlightened christian of Philadelphia. He no doubt appeared at the moment much the same in her eyes as an incarnation of the evil spirit, such as he exists in the imagination of those people whose superstition on this point is less irrational than ours; for, as bad men assume false colours before their enemies, and their own before their friends, the devil is black to white christians and white to black pagans. I have been assured by M. L'Instant, who obtained the Gregoire prize, that this antipathy is not uncommon in those parts of Hayti, where a Caucasian is as rare as a white-swan in New Holland. The aristocracy of the skin, it thus appears, is as much honoured in Africa as in America, with this difference, that the anti-amalgamation bug-bear has there, in extenuation of its folly, a low state of mental and moral cultivation, a thorough ignorance of the religion which enjoins humility and kindness, and want of familiarity with the inhabitants of other regions. Who is to settle these conflicting claims to superiority? Or must we bring the matter before a jury *de medietate coloris*? There is no impartial judge on earth; and, if we may judge from the book we profess to believe, there is no one in heaven that would pronounce sentence against either candidate for this singular distinction—a distinction which places the christians of North America, far in the scale of rational beings, below the Mohammedans of Turkey, who are so totally unacquainted with this phantasy, that the Turkish ambassador at Paris, some few years back, when asked if such a prejudice existed, among his co-religionists, was at first unable to comprehend the question. Human vanity must, one would think, be, at the same time, both extremely extravagant, and very easily gratified, when it can find matter for self-complacency in the *rete mucosum* of the skin. So unconscious are we of the influence this prejudice exercises over the understanding, that Dr. Julius, who was not long enough in America to imbibe its modes of thinking, praises the blacks of Cincinnati for displaying, during a procession, on a flag they carried, a preposterous distich, (I forget

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the doggrel lines,) implying that their hearts were white, though their skins were black. This disclaimer fully answered its purposes. The antithesis gratified the vanity of the whites, while it afforded the blacks an opportunity of enjoying a laugh at their expense,—a gratification of that taste for ridicule which is quite as prevalent in the one race, as the sources of its amusement in the other. No one who knows both can doubt which wrote or dictated the verses alluded to. Their purport is pretty much the same, as if Mungo Park had called out in the market-place of Timbuctoo,—"do not ye favourites of heaven despise me for my colour; my face truly is white, but my heart is as black as your own." Happy, indeed, would the white man be, while expiring under the burning rays of an African sun, to change skins with one of its natives. Though ignorant, perhaps, of the different powers for absorbing or radiating heat, inherent in different colours; yet something within tells him that his pride in one latitude is his destruction in another. When we meet in animal or in vegetable organization with any thing that apparently deviates from an established law, we search for the final cause, and never doubt that benevolent design exists in this, as in every other work of the Almighty hand. Man alone forms an exception to this general rule; and he may well blush for human nature, and feel ashamed of his complexion, when he finds that exception in his skin.—*Abdy's Whites and Blacks.*

SOUTHERN SENTIMENT.

It cannot be denied, that everywhere in the south there are abundant evidences of a retrograde movement in the state of public opinion, as to the desirableness and practicability of emancipation. Whenever the subject is talked of, the conversation is almost always sure to wind up with the assertion, that, but for the abolitionists of the north, something would, by this time, have been accomplished; but that, by reason of their intemperate zeal, the accomplishment of negro freedom has been thrown back for an indefinite period. The people of the south use this as the strongest ground of their objection to abolition movements; though the true reason of their hostility, no doubt, is, an unwillingness to part with what is to them productive property, and to some, indeed, their whole fortune, especially in Virginia, where the slaves being more numerous than they can find occupation for on their own plantations, they train them as artificers of various kinds, and hire them out to others for wages, a small portion of which subsists the slave, and the rest is gain to his master or mistress; for widows and maiden-ladies owning slaves, let them out in this way for gain. The rising progeny of these slaves are regarded as so much stock, to be fed, raised, and prepared for a market, to which they are all sent in due time, so that the surplus number is a constant source of addition to the regular gains from their labour. Still the very persons who do this, and live wholly by the income so obtained, profess to be very desirous of seeing something done, towards a safe plan of gradual emancipation, and say that, but for the hasty and intemperate zeal of the abolitionists, this would have been done long ago.

Some might imagine that additional cruelties were practised on the negros, in consequence of the efforts of the abolitionists, or that increase of suffering, and loss of life were produced by it. So far, however, is this from being true, that there never was a period in the history of America, when the negros were treated with so much of kindness and consideration as at present. Floggings, which were once so frequent, are now certainly very rare; and neither subordinate punishments, harsh language, or heavy labour, are inflicted on the slaves to half the extent that they were before the abolition movements began. This change, I believe to have been brought about by the influence of public opinion. It is now necessary that the slave-holders of the south should be able to repel the charges of cruel treatment, by more kindness than ever to their slaves; to lessen the inducements to absconding, by making their labour lighter; and to prevent the disgust and indignation of northern visitors, by being more liberal in their supplies of food and clothing, and less frequent in the use of the whip. All this is the result of the abolition agitation; and though it may perhaps have suspended or retained all legislative measures for the emancipation of the slaves for some years, it has made it more certain that this emancipation will be effected, and that the progress towards it will be smoothened, if not hastened, by the gradually milder treatment of the negros, so as to make them better able to bear the transition, and prevent the intoxication of a more violent oscillation from one extreme to another.

I feel persuaded, that the awakening the public mind to the danger that awaits the much longer continuance of slavery, is the only method of averting the catastrophe, in which, without some steps taken to avoid it, the question would make an issue for itself, by a general and successful insurrection. It is known, that the slaves increase at the rate of nearly 30,000 in each year; and that with all the pains taken to prevent their being instructed, they are nevertheless becoming more and more informed, by constant residence with the whites, and by what they hear and see around them. The example of Hayti, with a free government of blacks, is before them—the emancipation of all slaves in Mexico, is known to them—the example of England in the West India islands, is fresh and recent—and the exertions making for their abolition in their own northern states, are, of course, familiar to them all. It is impossible but that all this must every year increase the general *desire* to be free; and equally increase their physical and mental power, by augmented numbers, and improved information, to make themselves so. Should it ever come to that, the struggle would be dreadful, for it would be one of life and death to both parties; and neither would be willing to lay down their arms, till the other were exterminated. To avert this calamity, to which things are naturally tending every year, the humane, the patriotic, and the pious, ought to redouble their energies in favour of speedy emancipation, and the cause of "peace on earth and good will towards men," will be ultimately promoted by their success.—*Buckingham's Slave States.*

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.—Extract of a letter from the rev. W. Taylor, dated Madras, April 22nd, 1842.—"I have very little to state to you on East India slavery. I know it exists in the worst form on the opposite, or Malabar coast. Here, at Madras, slavery is not uncommon. People sell their children for slaves in time of famine. The Moor people, or Mousalman, buy a good many, circumcise them, and train them up Mahomedans. There is much obscure kidnapping of children, who are taken by sea no one knows where; but the slavery of the soil is very mild. They go with the land, till the land, and receive a settled portion of the produce."—*Patriot.*

Literary Notices.

[From a Correspondent.]

Des Colonies Françaises, Abolition immediate de l'esclavage. Par Victor Schœlcher. Paris: 1842.

The Colonies of France, Immediate Abolition of Slavery. By Victor Schœlcher. Paris: 1842.

In olden times, when the happy slave-holders were not troubled by the clamours of anti-slavery societies, it was customary for them to offer to their visitors the *patriarchal* spectacle of a slave whipped or tortured. Few missionaries of emancipation were then seen treading the soil of the undisturbed colonies, and the masters had nothing to fear from the indiscretion of their guests. Since, however, the appeals of abolitionists have been re-echoed in all corners of the civilized world, and all kinds of travellers have deemed it proper to explore the land of slavery, some as advocates of the system and others anxious for its overthrow, the policy of the masters has changed; and, as no traveller sets out for the West Indies on an anti-slavery tour without publicly announcing his intention, the masters, aware of the visit, make due preparation for it. The slaves receive a new suit of clothes for the occasion, and are commanded to appear joyful and happy; the masters themselves speak as thorough abolitionists, and, with their usual and chivalrous hospitality, give a hearty welcome to their visitor. They invite him to go into the huts of their negros, which are cleaned for the purpose, and they encourage him to question some of the slaves, who are instructed accordingly. They so well employ the traveller's time with dinner parties and other amusements, that he has not a minute to look at the other side of the picture. When all these are done, the visitor takes his leave, wondering how the masters could have been so maligned, and at their mild behaviour towards their slaves, whom they seem to look upon rather as friends. The slave-holder shakes hands with his credulous guest, and, laughing at his own ingenuity, sends him to proclaim that slavery is a blessing to the slaves, and that all the masters are abolitionists.

We fear that such was the position in which M. Schœlcher was more or less placed during the period of his sojourn in the West Indies; but we must first do this benevolent philanthropist the justice which he deserves. While some abolitionists in France were looking at the question of emancipation as a mere matter of fashion and speechifying, M. Schœlcher deemed it advisable to see for himself. He accordingly, at his own expense, made a voyage to the West Indies; and the volume before us is the result of his own observations, or of inquiries made on the spot.

We perceive throughout the whole work a laudable desire to be impartial; but the author seems too often to have seen with the master's eyes, and to have judged with the master's mind. In fact, it is difficult, on reading the first few chapters, at once to decide whether it is or is not an apology for the system, which he, nevertheless, throughout the entire work heartily condemns. It well illustrates the remarks made above on the policy of the masters. One object which M. Schœlcher appears to have had especially in view, was the reconciliation of the planters with the abolitionists, by convincing the former that the latter were not their personal enemies, but the enemies of slavery. The abolitionists never have been the planters' personal enemies. They have attacked with all their power a wicked institution, and have lamented the blindness of its supporters. The question of emancipation has ever been with them a question of principle, and of principle only—and this we believe (however much they may pretend to the contrary, for obvious reasons) is well known to the colonists generally. We very much doubt, notwithstanding M. Schœlcher's well intended efforts at reconciliation, if the masters will concede one jot or tittle of what they call their rights. But there is a consequence which may result from the perusal of this book, which M. Schœlcher has not, we believe, at all anticipated; namely, that it will impress on the minds of such of the advocates of emancipation in France as are not convinced of the necessity of *immediate* abolition, that slavery in the French colonies can be better regulated than abolished. M. Schœlcher, it is true, concludes decidedly in favour of *immediate emancipation*; but his readers will draw their own conclusions, and new laws and ordinances will be issued for the better administration of the slaves—laws and ordinances, which will be *as strictly observed* as all former onessent to the colonies with the same object. The work before us, is, however, full of interesting facts and acute observations, which, if judiciously used, may materially aid the cause of abolition in France.

The progress and results of Emancipation in the English West Indies. A lecture delivered before the Philomathian Society of New York. By John Jay. Published by request. New York: 1842.

This admirable pamphlet is another interesting and decisive illustration of the influence which the British act of emancipation is to exert upon the world.

It is matter of the highest gratification, and the richest promise, that the literary societies of the United States should select such a topic for public discourses, and that men so distinguished as the author of the present pamphlet should undertake the composition and delivery of them. Such things cannot be without their fruit. Mr. Jay has done ample justice to his subject. In the rapid view which we have necessarily taken, we have been struck much with the beauty of the composition, more with the nobleness of the sentiments, and most of all with the truth and fidelity of the history. We extract the concluding passage.

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This history teaches lessons of deep importance, both to the abolitionists and the slaveholders of America. Here we see the vast, the wonderful results that may be effected by persevering efforts; to this picture we may point those short-sighted philosophers who would fain persuade us that our philanthropy is dreamy, our schemes visionary, and our end impracticable. If the abolitionists of England had done naught but approve of abolition in the abstract, slavery in her West Indian colonies would still have been a sad reality. From their success should we derive additional confidence in the correctness of our principles and the sufficiency of our means for the attainment of the glorious end we have in view. *Magna est veritas*, and in the promulgation of truth we anticipate the triumph of justice: remembering that "every principle contains within itself the germ of a prophecy."

The slaveholder may here read at a single glance the guilt of slavery, the success of emancipation, and the inevitable progress of free principles.

The knell of slavery has begun to sound. The fiat has gone forth that consigns *it* to the tomb, and mightier than mortal man must be he that would reverse it. The spirit of the age, false as it is *in* much, is yet in this an echo of a voice from heaven—a voice of freedom, that *is* caroled by every bird of the forest, and wafted to the domain of slavery by every northern breeze. Heaven grant that they obey its warning, before it comes to them in the whirlwind of the tempest!

It is needless for me to enlarge upon the conclusive proofs afforded by this history of the perfect safety and practicability of immediate emancipation—both for the reason that the facts are so clear that they cannot be overlooked, and that I do not suppose you guilty of the impiety of reasoning upon *the expediency* of performing a plain duty, or of imagining that the righteous Ruler of the world ever imposes commands upon his creatures which it could be dangerous for them to obey. Such a doctrine, nevertheless, has been taught, and received by some of little faith; and to such this history will afford a rebuke to their doubts, and an answer to their fears, if indeed, after distrusting the promises of God, they will dare to believe the facts of an historian.

All arguments of the impracticability of immediate emancipation, and presages of murder and rapine, can have henceforth no force, if any weight is allowed to experience—and the duty of the southern master to our countrymen who are bowed beneath the yoke of slavery is now written as with a sun-beam, not only in the book of revelation, but on the page of History.

It was anciently said, "*justitiam injustitia parit*," injustice brings forth justice—and the sentiment has been verified in every age of the world, by the instinctive principle of resistance to oppression, implanted by the Creator in every breast. May we not venture to hope, in contemplation of this glorious picture, that, while the sentiment will ever continue true as of old, new instruments may be used for its fulfilment; and that in this land, dear to us as the place of our birth, and the home of our fathers, justice will triumph—not by insurrection among the slaves—but by the righteous efforts of those who, being themselves free, remember them that are in bonds as bound with them; that by their efforts, and the free act of the southern planters, the winged soul will be loosed from her chains, and from the prison-house of slavery come forth "the eagle spirit of the free;" that before another generation shall be swept from the verge of time, our country may assume a place among the free nations of the earth, our flag no longer wave at the pirate's mast, nor the staple product of our land bear to foreign climes the taint of oppression, and the stain of blood.

Miscellanea.

BRAZIL.—By the arrival of her Majesty's packet *Express*, from Rio de Janeiro, April 26th, we learn that "considerable excitement existed on the slave-question. It was believed that the British government had proffered to extend to Brazil the same measures she proposes to the Spanish government to adopt in the Spanish West India possessions. The daily press teemed with tirades against what is termed the pseudo-philanthropy of England. An address on the subject from the provisional legislature of Rio, also gave rise to a copious discharge of Brazilian bile. —*Morning Herald.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—Since the termination of the late strike, things in this colony have settled down into a very quiet state. Very loud complaints are made of "distress;" but fortunately this distress, instead of pervading the great mass of the community, as appears to be the case at home, is confined to a small number of proprietors and speculators; while the great mass of the working people are making rapid strides in wealth and comfort. In fact, a very large proportion of the colonial distress of British Guiana is felt not here, but at home, on the part of the non-resident proprietors;—nor does it appear likely that any amount of immigration, nor any thing else, will ever bring back the times, in which after paying all the multifarious charges on the management of an estate, a large surplus will be left for the non-resident proprietor. In certain particular instances, no doubt, and with regard to estates enjoying particular advantages, and those in the hands of great mercantile firms, this may continue to happen; but we apprehend that as a general rule, if proprietors wish to pay their expenses out of their estates, they must be content to live on them.

The present hard times, we have no doubt, will introduce many improvements in plantation management; and many curtailments of expenses hitherto supposed to be indispensable. Indeed, we hear already of several changes of this sort. An improved system of plantation management is one of the subjects to be investigated by Lord Stanley's West India committee—a subject, we hope, to which the committee will give its serious attention, since whatever else may be done for the West Indies, and whatever facilities may be given to the introduction of immigrants, we fear much that, without a radical change in the system of management, the proprietors cannot obtain any permanent and radical relief. —*Guiana Gazette and Advertiser.*

RISING AMONG THE BLACKS IN CUBA.—By the arrival of the schooner *Thomas Wyer*, from Manzanilla de Cuba, on Wednesday, we learn, that a report had obtained there of a conflict between the soldiery and the black peasantry, in which 50 of the latter had been killed. It was stated, that a number of runaway negros had established themselves among a range of hills about 15 or 20 miles from St. Jago de Cuba, where they formed a settlement somewhat similar to that established among the back woods of Trelawny, near Dromily, some years ago. It would appear, that as the existence of this community had not been known, until within a short period since, when the authorities directed an attack upon them by the military, which ended in the result we have stated above; the remainder of the fugitives had dispersed themselves, and from the communications which they had formed among the labourers upon the various estates, and the corresponding symptoms which were manifested by them, it was strongly apprehended that a general rising would ensue; considerable alarm had in consequence been excited, and all the inhabitants are represented as being on the *qui vive*, and the restrictions imposed upon black and coloured persons—particularly those from this island, were made more stringent than formerly.—*St. Christopher's Advertiser.*

The *Superior* sails to-day for Sierra Leone, taking with her about sixty Africans, children included, who are returning to their native shores. A few of these are immigrants recently brought here from Sierra Leone, but the greater part are Africans from the Bahamas, who came here during Sir James Carmichael Smyth's time. Several of them, we believe, have considerable money, which they wish to have the pleasure of spending at home.—*Guiana Gazette and Advertiser.*

HILL COOLIE EMIGRATION.—A quarterly General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock was held yesterday, at the East India House. The chairman said, that, in conformity with the resolution of the General court of the 23rd March last, certain papers relative to the emigration of natives of India to the Mauritius and other British settlements, which were then laid before the court, had been printed for the use of the proprietors, and the court was now made special, for the purpose of taking those papers into consideration. Mr. Weeding immediately rose and stated, that he was entirely opposed to the emigration of Indian labourers to the Mauritius or elsewhere. In spite of all precautions, the measure would open the door to a new species of slave-trade. He concluded by moving a string of resolutions, in accordance with these sentiments, and recommending to the Court of Directors to abstain from sanctioning the measure which is contemplated. Mr. C. F. Brown seconded the motion. The chairman having stated that he would give his most decided opposition to the motion, Mr. George Thompson said, that, as the chairman intended to give the motion of the Hon. proprietor a direct negative, he must enter his protest against such a course. He then made a powerful speech in support of the motion. The question was then put, and the chairman declared that the resolution was negatived. Mr. Weeding called for a division; and, tellers being appointed, the court was counted, and the numbers declared to be—for the resolution, 22; against it, 54; majority, 32.—*Patriot.*

COTTON.—An extract of a letter which we insert below, from Mr. Goodell, an American abolitionist, will shew how the aspect of the cotton trade is operating on the slave-holders of the south. The fact adverted to is that the south is calling for a high duty against the importation, both of raw cotton from India, and of manufactured cotton from England. Of this measure Mr. Goodell says:—

It is evidently adapted and designed to secure a union of the *cotton growers* of the south, and the *cotton manufacturers* of the north, for the purpose of excluding, at the same time, the raw cottons of the East Indies, and the cotton manufactured goods of Europe. By *this means, and by this means only*, can slavery be maintained at the south, for ten years more, and perhaps, if the plot could continue, for a half century longer.

Do we not know that this view has been held and proclaimed at the public meetings of planters in Alabama, where the plan of the "HOME LEAGUE" was first concocted and promulgated? Have we not witnessed the alarm of the south, at the importation of India cottons at Boston? Do not the slave-holders understand perfectly well, that they are destined to lose the English market, in the same way? And how *can* they maintain slavery unless the "*home*" market for cotton can be increased—doubled? And how is this to be done, without the exclusion of foreign manufactured cottons?

Let us not forget, that the *first* "protective tariff" was forced upon us by John C. Calhoun, with precisely this object. But finding that the industrious north thrived better under that system than the indolent south, and trusting to *retain* the English market, while he crushed northern manufactures, he subsequently demanded the abandonment of the policy. But circumstances have now changed. The English market is about to be lost to the southern planter, and India cottons are coming into Boston! It is found, too, that New England manufacturers can live, tariff or no tariff. And behold, the demand for a high tariff comes to us more early and more loudly from Alabama than from Massachusetts!

HORRIBLE.—By the presentment of the grand jury, we see that there is now in confinement in the police prison of the first municipality, a little mulatto girl, three or four years old, who was born in the jail, and who was never out of it. Her mother died some time ago, and the poor thing has never heard the voice of a human being, save that of her mother's jailor. Incapable of having committed any crime, this little creature is immured within the walls of a dungeon, and there is none to release or care for her. Such unnecessary cruelty as this is a stigma upon a civilized community.—*New Orleans American.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXVII. Vol. III. No. 14.] WEDNESDAY, JULY 13th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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JAMAICA.

PORTIONS OF EVIDENCE TAKEN BEFORE A COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL TO INQUIRE INTO THE WORKING OF IMMIGRATION,

His Honour the Attorney-general, Dowel O'Reilly, in the Chair.

Maria Paranesey.—Am a native of Baltimore in Maryland, arrived in Kingston in November, 1840—came as an immigrant—my husband, my father, my niece, and seven children of mine, immigrated with me, and an old man and his wife. I was received on my arrival by Dr. Paul; my husband survived only eight days after our arrival. I saw Dr. Ewart, and entered into arrangements with him for employment at the Pen*—the agreement was to keep the place clean and ready for the immigrants, and to assist in serving out rations. I was the only one employed in keeping the place in order. The ship *Robert Kerr* arrived about March. A Mrs. Quin was confined about the end of April under my care; she suffered under fever after child-birth; there was nothing given on account of her sickness, neither nourishment, candles, or soap, which I was obliged to find at my own expense.

The *Ethelred* was the next ship, about the 8th of May; the Scotch ship *Rob Roy* arrived about the 11th May, and the Africans in the *Commissioner Barclay*, 24th May; there were a good number of people in the *Ethelred*, also in the *Robert Kerr* and *Commissioner Barclay;* when these persons came, they were placed in the large house at the Admiral's Pen. There were no beds ready for them before they came; there never was any provision for beds made for them, except in the hospital, and these were shelving all round the room, but the people would not lie on it. There was not any division among the beds; the room was crowded as full as it could be. Nobody would stay in the hospital after two or three had died; those that had beds placed them round the room, those who had not a bed threw down their jackets; the beds I mean were the mattresses they had on board ship.† I heard they all had beds, but some had made away with them. As well as I could, I divided the single girls; and, as far as the rooms held out, I divided the married people, by putting so many in each room. I had not any curtains to place between the people. I divided them so that they would not be too much exposed one to another. The sickness broke out with these three cargoes, I think some time in June. I had not at that time any nurses to help me in attending the sick; the people got sick daily, until there was not a man able to stand. It was not until there was a complaint made as to the want of attendance, and as to the sufferings of the people, that Dr. Paul asked me to do the best I could, as there would be a row in the House of Assembly. I answered that I had been all along doing the best I could, and it would soon bring my children to beggary; my daughter at this time had returned from Mr. Cater's, and I told her to cook the nourishment for the sick—for about eight weeks I did not take off my clothes to go to bed; night and day I was attending the sick, and sometimes *they died before I could get from one to the other*—they had yellow and typhus fever—I never agreed with Dr. Ewart* for such attendance as nurse, nor did I intend it. I had never seen a case of yellow fever before. During the first eight weeks of the sickness there was not any other nurse but me.

During this time I recollect laying out ten corpses; there was not any thing but a coffin and a handful of shavings provided at the Pen, no shroud or linen to wrap the dead bodies in but what I provided, *and this was my own clothes*. There was a man who died of dysentery and black vomit, and who laid so long during his illness, without any one changing him, that he was in filth and dirt from want of attendance. I had no one to help me in washing him; the others would not put hands to him, he was in such a shocking state. I remember a woman whose husband and two children died at the Pen, she had been sick for three or four weeks when her husband died. * * * I was obliged to get the assistance of the wife to take him up and move him out of the place, and leave him out of sight until the coffin was ready; one of the children died within a week of the man.

There was a woman who died, named Kitty Degnum, and her two children died the day before her; she left a baby with me, with a dying request to keep it till its father came, and I got a Scotch woman to keep it quiet while I supported it. I gave it my children's clothes; this I told Dr. Paul, who said I could *not* keep it. I said I would do so till its father came for it. He told me it should *not* stay; he sent it to the rev. Mr. Gleeson, in Kingston. Mr. Gleeson sent it back that night, as he had no place for it. The next day, when Dr. Paul found I had the child again, he made William Hiatt take it to Stoney Hill, to its father, which he did, and returned the same day through the heat of the sun; on his return he was as yellow as gold, and sick as he could be. There being no convenience upstairs for him, he dragged himself down from decency to the garden-house, and I had great difficulty in getting him back, as he was in convulsions (he was a handsome and healthy young man); he died about three or four days after this occurred; when the doctor sent him to the hopistal, he died in about two or three hours.

I remember the case of a very prudent Irish girl, who had, at the wish of her mistress, without any fault of her own, as far as I know, left her employment; she was going to Kingston to get other employment, as she did not suit; on her return to her mistress for a character and her clothes, she fell sick, and called at the Pen to see me. I found she was very bad with fever; I made her lie down, kept her that night, and sat up with her; and in the morning, when the sub-agent, Dr. Paul, came, I informed him of it. He told me I must turn her out as quick as possible, "for suppose she should die at the Pen." I promised to send her away as quick as she could move. She remained a week and recovered, and is now doing well.

I knew a family named May: they consisted of the husband, and I believe six children and a brother-in-law; four of the elder children got employed, the husband was employed only about two days before he was taken sick, the wife was not employed; she was expecting her confinement daily; after her husband was employed she wanted to make arrangements for staying with me to attend upon her, she was not in a fit state to be removed—she was complaining at the time. It was not more than two days after his employment that the husband returned sick to the Pen; he came in and laid on his own bed; the doctor, when he came, sent him to the public hospital, he died in about a day after. Dr. Paul sent her also; she begged to remain with me; *she cried, and we all cried.* She died in about two days; one of her little boys, about nine or ten years old, died at the same time; the child of which she was confined has died since. I could have made proper arrangements for her if she had stayed at the Pen; she had lain on the floor, and complained that the boards injured her.

The evening previous to Mr. Jordon calling, a child of Mrs. Ready's died; Dr. Paul was there when the child died, and the next morning when he called I shewed him where the ants had eaten the child's eyes and face, and he said he expected Mr. Jordon to be out to inquire into the nature of their treatment, and said it would be a horrible spectacle to present, and bid me remove it into one of the end rooms. I had at this time taken one of my children's clothes to cover it, and I put it on a rug; the coffin was so long coming, that I had to go and shut the windows to prevent the *John Crows*† coming in—the mother of the child was at this

* Depot.

† Worthless slop things, containing little or nothing of stuffing; most of them were thrown overboard when they anchored.

* Agent-General. † Vultures.

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time lying sick. During the whole time of sickness the house was in a most horrid condition inside, from the smell occasioned by the sickness, and the great filth all about it, the *ordure* was thrown out at the window and round about the house.

There was a scarcity of water during the summer months.

There were a few young girls, more than a dozen, and a good many married young women, among the English, Scotch, and Irish. * * * * * * I spoke to the Africans about dressing themselves; they were in the habit of going about sometimes with nothing but a shirt, and sometimes a *handkerchief*, and walking about the house as if they were clothed. I kept my daughters from so indecent a sight.

I had expended a considerable sum of money, I may say all my wages, for the comfort of the sick. I am now left with seven children, nearly destitute. I have sold all my furniture to feed my little children. I brought this furniture with me; the freight of it cost eighteen dollars, which I paid by Dr. Paul's taking my largest boy to work out the money he advanced to me for this freight, as my husband was dead.

Memorandum:—

A re-examination took place by desire of Dr. Paul, in which the strictest cross-questioning was practised to shake her testimony, and to involve Mr. Daly in trouble for the part he had taken, but to no purpose.

Portions of the Evidence of R. SYDNEY LAMBERT, Esq., Stipendiary Magistrate.

The Admiral's Pen is one mile to the north of Kingston, and about a mile and-a-half from the sea; it is situated on the level ground.

In the second or third week of May, I went, at the request of Dr. Paul, to the Admiral's Pen; this was the only occasion I ever went there; there were a good many people there; I understood the majority had gone away; it was about ten in the morning that I went to the Pen. I have a faint recollection of having seen one immigrant on my way there; on my arrival, I went into the house; I looked at the well, it was out of order, and incapable of affording water; some immigrants represented they could not get water, and I examined the well. It appeared that no clean water could be got from it; they stated it had been cleaned, but so improperly it was of no service. It was suggested that some of the parties should clean it. I had been requested by Dr. Paul to go to the Pen, for the purpose of engaging some of the immigrants in the capacity of boatswains for the Kingston district prison. Dr. Paul recommended James Swallow as a proper and trust worthy person and adapted for that purpose. * * * * Dr. Paul was told by the attorney-general of the want of water as soon as he came. Dr. Paul said, the well had been repaired at a great expense, that the people had leave at that moment to get water from a Pen in the neighbourhood. It was stated to him that, where the people had been getting water, they were denied. Dr. Paul referred to some person as to the fact, but this person stated that the immigrants were getting water from another Pen, but had been denied a few days before at the particular Pen that Dr. Paul had mentioned.

* * * * *

In the large peuzza which runs round a portion of the east and south part of the building, there were four or five parties—there was not any division between the persons—there was no curtain there—there were men, women and children together. I did not see order, or regulation, or arrangement there. * * *

I pointed out to the attorney-general the women coming in with water uncovered, evidently very much heated, and without bonnets; this was between ten and eleven A.M. in the month of May. I remember some inquiry made as to two young women at the Pen; this was as to where they had been two nights previous; I think a reference was made to know whether they had rations; there was not any book of *rations* produced; they were stated to be daughters of a gentleman residing in the island, they came from Scotland; the elder girl I afterwards saw I have heard of Elgin in Scotland, they were stated to have been at school at Elgin, I heard they had received a very good education, the eldest was able to write to her sister in Kingston. I heard this from the person who had charge of her, Dr. Paul. The elder is now engaged conducting a school in St. Thomas in the East. A lengthened inquiry was made, to ascertain whether these girls had been at the Pen on the next preceding night, or when they came; but I am not aware whether the ration book was called for. I did not see any such book. The statement of a man named Duncan and his wife (immigrants) were relied on on the subject; they mentioned the circumstance of the elder girl having been taken out in a chaise by the captain of the vessel; I did not see any regulation for order which I should require if I had charge of the immigrants. I pointed out the difficulty I apprehended any person in charge of such an undertaking would have, in answering any inquiries which might be made into the expenditure, or general management of such an establishment; the only book I recollect to have seen was a book containing memorandums of contracts entered into.

Memorandum:—The rest of this gentleman's evidence related chiefly to the location of captured Africans who had been placed under his own charge.

Portions of the evidence of HENRY MORESBY, Esq., Stipendiary Magistrate.

Two or three times I took the opportunity of going to the Admiral's Pen, which is close to Kingston. I went there twice in the day time and once in the evening. Frequently the immigrants applied for support to the sitting magistrates in Kingston.

The first time I went there the people had just landed. I did not see the slightest preparation for beds made for them—there were a great many in the cargo—the house was filled—I presume there were between 150 and 200. I was there till dark, and was helping Dr. Paul to serve out rations, but he ordered us away—there was only himself and a man serving out the rations. Dr. Paul said he did not think my presence there correct, therefore I withdrew. I went there once with Mr. M'Neil about a month after; there were an immense number there that time. * * * I did not then see any beds, the beds appeared to consist of their clothes and mantles. There were only a few lying down, and those mostly of the sick. I did not see what could be called bed or bedding.

I remember some months after going with Mr. Daly in the evening. Mr. Daly said he was very much alarmed about a man who was sick, who had been in the habit of going to his Pen for milk, and he was afraid the man was very bad. Mr. Daly's servant said the man was ill, and that was the reason he had not come for his milk, and this Mr. Daly stated to be his reason for going to the Pen. I went with Mr. Daly, his servant carrying a lantern. Mr. Daly's paddock joins the Admiral's Pen. I went up with Mr. Daly's servant, who went to the wrong door. Mr. Daly opened the next door to it, and I saw a man lying on a stretcher. Mr. Daly shut the door instantly, and said it was a wrong room. I was smoking a cigar which I had lighted as the stench was dreadful; the next door was opened by Mr. Daly's servant, I would not go in on account of the effluvia. Mr. Daly and the servant went in, I begged them to leave the door open, and to open the windows. I went in afterwards, and saw the persons whom we went to see, on account of the sickness of the woman. Mr. Daly called my attention to the fact that there was no bed; upon this I examined the bed, Mr. Daly struck it with his stick, and the floor sounded, the bed appeared to consist of her own clothes. * * * * She was in a wretched state, and appeared to be dying; there was another woman and three children, one she was *nursing*—she was rocking herself and moaning. She appeared to be lying on the same description of bedding, but I did not sound it. I did not see any nurse attending them, there *might* have been *a nurse*, but they appeared quite deserted; the old man said he was unable to get any water. Mr. Daly's servant made an attempt to open a door below, to see a poor man who the servant stated was sick, and requested Mr. Daly to see him; the door was locked; the servant then knocked louder, and some female voice said, "you cannot come in, the door is locked." We then walked away directly. Mr. Daly asked if the party was better or not, and went away. I was anxious to get away from the pen, I could not bear to see such misery. The visits of the magistrates to the Pen, I am aware, have been strongly interdicted; my own personal knowledge extends only to the first evening of my being there; my other knowledge depends upon the information of others, and a notification in the newspaper.

Portions of the evidence of RICHARD DALY, Esq. Stipendiary Magistrate.

I am a native of the county of Galway, in Ireland. Many of these immigrants have come from the patrimonial estate of my family. I was interested in the well-being of these immigrants. On riding to the Admiral's Pen one evening, one of the immigrants took my horse at the door. * * * * He then said he had a certificate from young Mr. Daly, of Daly's Grove, in Ireland, stating the character of himself and other persons who came out with him. * * * * I saw it, and it was signed by my cousin, as a magistrate of the county of Galway. This man then introduced to me a family of the name of May, who also had a certificate of good character from my cousin; they struck me as being a remarkably respectable family, and appeared to consider themselves fortunate in having met with me. They asked my advice about the climate, &c. &c. * *

A few days after this the attorney-general asked me to accompany him to the Admiral's Pen; * * * when we arrived there this family of the Mays surrounded me. I called the attorney-general's attention to their very respectable appearance. I asked them if they had yet got employment; the father and mother informed me that the eldest daughter, about sixteen years of age, and the eldest son, about seventeen, were to be employed by Mr. Darrell, a merchant of Kingston, as servants. I advised them on no account to separate their daughter, or their son either, from themselves; that by looking for a situation in the cool mountains with a respectable family, they would be enabled to keep their children under their own eye, and not to engage with Mr. Darrell until I could hear from a gentleman in the mountains. * * * *

I rode over another evening at about half-past four o'clock to the Admiral's Pen. Dr. Paul arrived while I was there, he asked me if he could do any thing for me. I said, "No, I do not require immigrants, I have simply taken a ride over here." He appeared vexed and rude in his manner, this induced me to ask him if there was any particular objection to my visiting the Admiral's Pen; he said, "Yes, I object to you and others coming here without business." * * *

I then avoided the place until the arrival of Mr. Cocking from Ireland. * * * * *

On Mr. Cocking's arrival, he came to stay with me. He asked me to go to the Admiral's Pen with him, to see the family of the Mays. I expressed myself much disinclined to go there from

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the circumstances stated; when we arrived at the Pen, he went into the house, and I remained in the gig outside. * *
I went in and saw several sick, apparently in fever, lying principally on the boards, they appeared to be suffering very much. Mr. Cocking made several inquiries of a man named Kemp, regarding the attendance of nurses and medicine; this man appeared in charge of the place, a sort of clerk, he was a Scotchman, he told Mr. Cocking that he was not answerable for such a state of things. I saw nothing in the way of nourishment or medicine, nothing but dirty rags strewed about the place. The people were lying principally on the floor, some were without bed or bedding, others with a case of a palliasse, but not sufficient to keep them from the boards. Kemp said that he himself had just arrived, and did not know what was requisite for sick persons in this country, nor what attention they required. Mr. Cocking asked him if there were not nurses, he replied, "none." The sick and the dying appeared assisting one another as they best could. Mr. Cocking asked this man where the May's family then were; he replied, that Mr. May died in the public hospital the day before that; we then hurried away from the place. * *

The following morning we went to the hospital to inquire for Mrs. May, we found her a corpse, and her son, a boy about eight years of age, lying dead near her, and an infant she had given birth to; on the other side, her daughter a lovely girl, was embracing her mother and shrieking. I seized her by the arm, and dragged her away from the putrid body of her mother. I then went to the mayor of Kingston, and, understanding that he was chairman of the commissioners of accounts, I requested he would look into the miserable condition of the poor people at the Pen; he said that he had no control over the immigration agents. I then called upon Mr. Jordon, one of the commissioners, from whom I received a similar reply. I then addressed a letter to his Excellency the governor's secretary on the subject.

Mem. Here the witness was informed that the correspondence with the secretary must be produced, and the further examination of Mr. Daly was postponed.

Portions of the evidence of RALPH COCKING, Esq., Stipendiary Magistrate.

I was in Ireland in October, last year. I know a person of the name of Daly, he is proprietor of Daly's Grove, in this island; his place in Ireland is also called Daly's Grove, his son was acting as an agent of immigration, and he requested me particularly to inquire about a family of the name of May. I knew them to be a very respectable family, they were small shop-keepers in Ahascragh, in the county of Galway or Roscommon. I arrived in Kingston, I inquired about the Mays, found Mr. May had died a few days before I arrived, Mrs. May dead in the Kingston hospital, and a child about seven or eight years old also dead. I understood Mrs. May had come from the Admiral's Pen to the hospital to be confined, when I called at the Pen to inquire for them. I saw a poor woman whom I recognized at the Pen, with a child in her arms, looking very poorly; she was crying, and I asked her what she was crying about, she told me that her husband was very ill, and begged me to go up stairs to see the sick. I did so, and the first sight I met with was a man named Glyn, and his wife and child. Mrs. Glyn was lying on a sort of palliass, a portion was thinly stuffed, it was not a fit palliass for a sick person to lie on, it was scarcely softer than the board itself; it was very dirty. She had an extremely bad fever. Her son was lying on the bare boards with fever also. I thought he had a very hot fever. I have several children myself, and know their illness. I saw the husband Glyn, he was very weak, and worn out with fatigue from attending on his wife, &c.

I did not see any nurse, or any thing in the shape of medicine or nourishment. The room was very filthy. I never saw a room where sick were so dirty. * * Glyn mentioned that the family could not get any water during the night. I did not see any nurse, and I asked particularly if there was any attending those persons. I met a wooden legged man there; I thought him the person who was serving out rations. I asked him why he did not get the poor persons water, he said it was not his business. I understood him to say there was no nurse.

There were several others sick in different rooms. There was no comfort for the sick whatever. There was not any nurse in the different rooms. * * * * It was a great scene of distress, such as I never witnessed in slavery.

Examination of DANIEL W. KELLY, Esq.

I have been in the island since March, 1834—seven years. I have filled the situation of Inspector of Police, and been upwards of six years a Special and Stipendary Magistrate, my present district is Trelawney.

Q. State what you know concerning the immigrants lately arrived!

A. I saw one of the immigrants who were leaving the island, for whom the people of Falmouth subscribed to help them off. I recollect a cargo of immigrants coming out in the *Hopewell* in March, they arrived at Rio Bemo, some were located on Freemans Hall, some on Hyde Hall. About four weeks after they arrived I visited Freemans Hall, in company and at the request of Mr. Vermont the sub-agent. The cottages were not built for the immigrants at the time, and at this period they were all in the boiling house, there were about forty to fifty men, women, and children. They were lying on boards spread on the coppers, they had no beds at that time. They did not then complain, as Mr. King was building cottages for them. They stated they were deceived by the agents at home, who told them that they were to have cottages ready for them, and were to get good wages and plenty of provisions. On the 30th of November last, I visited Hyde Hall at the request of Mr. Vermont the sub-agent, to meet him there. Mr. Vermont stated to the overseer that he went there by the orders of the agent general, to inquire into the cause of so many deaths. He produced a list which was sent to the governor by Mr. Knibb, and in that, I think, it was stated, that up to the 14th November there were fourteen deaths. The overseer stated, that a few days before he was making out a list, and that fourteen had died, that fourteen had left the property, and that fourteen still remained. He stated that he was in the habit of giving the sick people wine and other nourishment. We then proceeded to one of the cottages, where we saw a girl of the name of Margaret Flannery. She was lying on a mattress on a bedstead, she appeared very much exhausted by illness. There was a pan of water and a piece of bread on a stool by her bed. She said she was dying from want and neglect, that for three days no one came to wash her sores; she begged us to look at the state her feet and legs were in, her toes had fallen off, her legs were full of sores, and there was no dressing whatever, when she lifted up the blanket the flies in numbers rose from the sores. Not having power to move, the girl was lying in her filth, wet and dirty. The smell was so offensive, that Mr. Vermont and myself ran out of the house. The sub-agent said he would be glad to surrender his pay to help these poor people to leave the island. There was a man named Thomas Richards and his wife to attend these people. I asked him the reason the people were so neglected, he said his wife was sick, and it was true the girl's sores had not been dressed. Mr. Vermont and myself thereupon employed two persons to attend the girl. She died on the 9th of December last. We then went to the old hospital, where we saw a man Patrick Meally, he was lying in a room dirty, and filthy, and miserable. He said he was an Englishman, and that he was dying from want and neglect. It was then after 12 o'clock, and up to that hour no one had looked after that man, and he had not up to that hour received any nourishment, he was quite unable to help himself—he said he had been sick upwards of a month, and had not received any wine whatever; and that when they got sick, their usual pay was stopped, and that the money given them by Mr. Schasmidt in advance was not sufficient. Dr. Mahoney, the medical attendant, came up at that time, and asked me if I had seen the state of misery these people were placed in! He said it was useless for him to attend the people, as they were not getting the nourishment he ordered, and that he attributed many of the deaths to want of proper care and attention. We then went to Etingdon and proceeded to the hothouse, where we saw a man named Hoff, he stated he had been sick since September, had had no nourishment, or nurse to attend him, but that he got a small piece of beef generally twice a week. In the same hospital there was a man of the name of Gore, his wife and two children, all of whom were sick; there was one child lying on a box, and two in bed with the mother. They stated the same as the others, that they were neglected, and had no nurse, they got some beef once or twice in the week, he produced to us what he got that day, which appeared to us quite insufficient as an allowance for three or four days, it appeared to us not sufficient even for one day; he was also receiving from Mr. Schasmidt ten shillings a-week, which was to support himself, wife, and five children. We also employed a nurse to attend that family. The whole scene was a picture of misery; in fact, I never saw any thing in any country to equal the misery I saw that day. We then proceeded to Glamorgan, where two families lived, one man had a wife and three children, the other man a wife and four children, they also complained that they were not getting attendance, and that during their sickness they were obliged to pay even for the water they required, not being able to bring it for themselves. They begged us to take some measures to get them home, as they were not getting the pay they expected; and complained of being sadly deceived by Mr. Hendrick before they came out. The day before I came up here, three men from Freeman's Hall came, and stated that they had gone down to the sub-agent finding him absent, they came to me and said the letters now given in evidence were intended for Mr. Vermont.—(See *Letters* 1 and 2). Names of emigrants from Freeman's Hall to complain: Hugh Gately, wife and eleven children; Patrick Bayne, wife and four children; John Glen, wife and nine children. They stated that they were not getting their pay—that since November he had only received 10s.—that he weekly got three pounds of sugar, for which he was charged 10d. per lb.—and also rum at 9d. per quart. He said he had applied for the money due to him, the overseer said he had none. Glen said he had nothing to support himself and family. Gately made the same statement, as did also Bayne.

Q. From what you have seen of the state of the immigrants in the neighbourhood of Falmouth, was the working of the system beneficial to the country, and to the immigrants themselves, or otherwise?

A. From what I saw generally, I should say it was not beneficial to the country, nor to the immigrants themselves, but quite the contrary. Dr. Mahoney and Dr. Stephens expressed their willingness to be examined; they stated that they would give in effect the same evidence, and something more.

Letters referred to in the above.

No. 1. HONOURED SIR,—I have taken the liberty of addressing your honour, to let you know about my poor family, this three weeks past starving to death, my poor wife is lying on her death-

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bed this four months past, and having four small children from ten to one year of age. Sometimes I must stop within from my work to help my poor wife out of her bed, and to wash her things and my poor babes also, now all my shifts and means are over—I have nothing else to do but die. I went to the new trustee, and the answer he made me was, that he would send nothing to the *whore* any more. As for provisions most of the family is starved to death. In Freeman's Hall the only means I had to support my poor children was one goat, and I was obliged to kill it to help my poor wife. Your honour knows that I could not support them for one and sixpence per day.

PATT. BAYNE.

Personally appeared before me, this 10th day of December, 1841, Patt. Bayne, who being duly sworn saith, that the above statement is correct and true.

his
DANIEL W. KELLY, J.P. PATT. ✕ BAYNE.
mark

Freemans Hall, December 9th, 1841.

No. 2. HONOURED SIR,—I have taken the liberty of writing to your honour, to let you know my poor way of living in Freemans Hall this two months, for want of provision for my poor family. All the emigrants of Freemans Hall went to Denn before the new trustee, and called to him for provisions and our wages, and the answer he made is, that he would send Mr. King a five hundred dollars check to pay us. Mr. King said he sent for the change to Montego Bay. Now to let your honour know our regulations and settlement with government, "to get twelve month's provisions in the store, and till our own provisions would bear." We were transported as white slaves to this cursed island, to our grief and sorrow. I have nine in family, and not one of them able to work but three. All the rest confined by sores, and restless every night. Now I hope your honour will shew us justice in this foreign country, to see one year ended as for provisions in the store. If your honour does not shew us our rights, we all of us will address the governor to let him know our wants. All the women and children is dying for want.

JOHN GLYNN.

John Gibbon and family, ten in family, some of them confined to their bed, and himself has sore feet. The last letter your honour send, Mr. Bliss said he did not care for your writing, that he would not give any mule to carry any provisions. Your honour advised me to end the twelve months in Freemans Hall; I hope you will now shew me right, as to make them keep provisions in the store for twelve months. Now to let your honour know that I will go to Falmouth some day; and hope your honour will send me and my family to my own country again.

JOHN GIBBON, Carpenter.

Personally appeared before me, on the 10th day of December, 1841, Hugh Gally, one of the immigrants located on Freeman's Hall; who being duly sworn saith, that the above statement is correct; and that himself, and his wife and children, in number eleven, are all suffering in the same manner.

his
DANIEL W. KELLY, J.P. HUGH ✕ GALLY.
mark.

Examination of WILLIAM HEWETT, Esq., Stipendary Justice.

Q. Were there any provisions produced before the magistracy, as samples of what had been supplied to the immigrants from Dr. Spalding's store at the Hermitage?

A. There were upon the 11th June.

Q. Were they proved to be the provisions given to the immigrants at the Hermitage?

A. The people stated that they were provisions furnished to them from Dr. Spalding's store at the Hermitage, and Mr. Hogg the overseer admitted it before the magistrates.

Q. What was the state of the fish?

A. It was unsound and not fit for use.

Q. What was the state of the coffee?

A. It was rotten.

Q. Did you examine the store books according to which the provisions were given out?

A. We did examine several books.

Q. Who did it appear was in the habit of making the entries in those books?

A. Mr. Hogg, or more generally a clerk named Campbell, in Dr. Spalding's employment.

Q. Did it appear to you from those books that the immigrants were supplied with good and sufficient provisions?

A. We were of opinion, on comparing the quantities of food issued with the dates of the issues, that the provisions were insufficient for the support of the persons to whom they were given.

Q. Did anything appear before the magistrates as to the conduct of Campbell the clerk towards the people?

A. The people were greatly exasperated against him for annoying them in a variety of petty matters, and more particularly for the disgraceful and disgusting mode in which he was in the habit of addressing them. One very offensive expression, which he did not deny having used, drew forth the strongest animadversion and reprobation from the sub-agent, on account of its brutality. Dr. Maxwell promised the people, that if they would return to their labour at Hermitage, he would faithfully pledge himself that Dr. Spalding would, on his representation, remove this Mr. Campbell from the property; and he further pledged himself that whatever grievances they complained of should be redressed—that he himself would visit the property for the purpose of examining into their wants. The magistrates joined Dr. Maxwell in urging the people to return, under the promises that Dr. Maxwell then made; but they refused to do so, stating that they had suffered too much ill-treatment already. This took place on the 10th June last. The contract was not annulled until the 24th June, to which day the court had been adjourned from the 10th, to give Dr. Spalding an opportunity of attending at Annatto Bay, at the request of Mr. Hogg and all parties.

Q. Is it consistent with your knowledge, whether Dr. Spalding refused to take back the people or not, upon the annulling of the contract?

A. Dr. Spalding did refuse to take them back, and said he would not employ them on any account whatever. The magistrates urged the sub-agent, Dr. Maxwell, to receive them back under his care, until they could provide themselves with situations. He did not say whether he would do so or not, but afterwards I ascertained he did not.

Q. What was the state of the people for a few days then?

A. They were living about in the small houses at Annatto Bay in great distress, depending upon the charity of the lower orders for food and lodging, until the churchwardens authorized Mr. Bond to attend to their wants, and to furnish them with what they required as necessaries of life. There was a woman I remember who was far advanced in pregnancy, and appeared to be very ill; I gave directions that an apartment should be hired for her, and a proper nurse provided at my expense. I also furnished her with wine and such other necessaries as she required, she had no family or relation to take care of her there.

Q. Did the magistrates examine into the refusal to work, and the withdrawing of the provisions. Which appeared to the magistrates to have been first done?

A. At the examination of the 10th June, Mr. Hogg stated that provisions had been withheld from the immigrants, but only because they had refused to work. The immigrants, however, proved very satisfactorily to the magistrates that their ceasing to labour was caused by their want of food, and their cessation from work did not take place until they had been driven in some instances to live on mangoes and other fruit for successive days. I examined the contract, and the rate at which provisions had been dealt out according to the books. The magistrates were unanimously of opinion, that the labourers could not subsist on the amount of wages which the contract secured to them.

Q. What do you think might be the effect of permitting the overseer to withdraw provisions from the immigrants when he thought proper?

A. It might produce starvation. In this case the nearest market is fourteen miles from the place where they are located. I have already stated that I consider the money wages insufficient; and if to their insufficiency of money be added the distance of the market, and the time necessary for the cultivation of their grounds be taken into consideration, the earnings of the immigrant would be totally insufficient to supply them with food; the man who had a family dependent upon him would be in a most deplorable condition.

Q. Do you recollect to whom the expressions of Neil Campbell, were addressed, and on what occasion?

A. I do not recollect the occasion, but I remember they were addressed to women, and were considered by the magistrates and Dr. Maxwell as obscene and disgusting.

Q. Did it appear to you that Dr. Maxwell considered a case of grievance as to provision had been made out by the immigrants.

A. I do consider that a case of grievance was made out to his satisfaction, otherwise he would not have promised to go up and see them redressed.

Q. Are you aware that the clerk of the peace or the magistrates who decided the case of the Maroneys have or have not admitted that the Maroneys were for some time kept in custody after the decision of their case?

A. The clerk of the peace, who is also clerk to the magistrates, informed me, that on the 17th of June the Maroneys were taken into custody by the police, but without any order from the magistrates. After the court had broken up, the police brought the Maroneys to him for a commitment, supposing they were to be sent to jail, upon which the clerk of the peace desired them to be dismissed.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 13TH.

IN relation to the evidence given before a Committee of the Council in Jamaica, on the results of immigration into that island, we are now in a condition to satisfy the impatience of our readers.

We have already stated that the immediate publication of the documents we have received, was prevented by a feeling on the

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part of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, that they ought in the first instance to communicate with the government on the subject. A letter was accordingly sent to Lord Stanley on the 11th of June, requesting to be permitted to wait upon him by deputation on the subject of immigration, when some important evidence which had been suppressed by the Jamaica council would be handed to his lordship, and a gentleman now in London, who had been an eye-witness of the sufferings of the immigrants, would give details of what he had seen. To this letter the following was received in reply.

"*Downing Street, June 16th*, 1842.

"SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, stating that you had been requested by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to apply on their behalf for an interview with his lordship, by deputation, for the purpose of communicating certain facts respecting the alleged suppression of evidence taken before the Council of Jamaica relative to emigration to that colony; and I am directed to request, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society would put into writing the facts which they have to allege, and whenever Lord Stanley may be in possession of such a statement, his lordship will answer the application for an interview. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. Scoble, Esq. &c. (Signed) "G. W. HOPE."

In consequence of this reply, the Committee forwarded to Lord Stanley a copy of the papers which had been transmitted to them, with the following note:—

"27, *New Broad Street, June* 18, 1842.

"MY LORD,—Agreeably to your lordship's wish, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society forward certain parts of the evidence relative to emigration, suppressed by the Jamaica council.

"The Committee would have felt pleased to have had a personal interview with your lordship on the subject, for the purpose of laying before your lordship, additional facts, showing the privations, sufferings, and mortality which emigrants have endured in Jamaica.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "JOHN SCOBLE."

Right Hon. Lord Stanley, &c., &c., &c.

The rejoinder of the colonial secretary to this communication, was as follows:—

"*Downing Street, 24th June*, 1842.

"SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, forwarding, by desire of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, certain parts of the evidence relative to emigrants stated to have been suppressed by the Council of Jamaica. And I am to request that you will acquaint the Committee, that his lordship would wish to be informed on what grounds it is alleged that the council of Jamaica suppressed the evidence of which a copy is transmitted in your letter, and how it appears that such evidence was ever given before the council.

"Lord Stanley would also wish to receive in writing the additional information relative to the emigrants, which you state the Committee to be desirous of laying before his lordship. With the utmost desire to investigate, and, as far as may be possible, to prevent abuses committed by any persons in authority in any of her majesty's colonies, Lord Stanley is of opinion that it is due to persons accused of any such misconduct, and to the interests of justice, that such accusations should be made in a form so precise as to enable the accused parties distinctly to meet the charge; and with such an avowal of the authority on which they are made, as to attach to the accuser the due responsibility for making the accusation.—I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "G. W. HOPE."

J. Scoble, Esq., &c.

To this letter the Committee returned the following answer:—

"27, *New Broad Street, June 28th*, 1842.

"MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge, on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, your lordship's communication of the 24th instant, and am instructed to reply thereto, as follows.

"1. That, in soliciting an interview for the purpose of laying before your lordship, as colonial secretary, copies of evidence alleged to have been suppressed by the committee of council in Jamaica on immigration, and also to introduce a gentleman recently from that island, who could, as an eye-witness of the sufferings of the immigrants, have added additional facts to the suppressed evidence, showing the frauds under which they had been induced to resort thither, and the sufferings and mortality they endured as a consequence of neglect and ill-treatment, the Anti-Slavery Committee conceived they were placing at the disposal of the government information deserving of the gravest consideration, the truth or falsehood of which your lordship would have had the best means of ascertaining, and of deciding what steps, if any, should be taken thereupon.

"2. The interview having been delayed, the Committee in compliance with your lordship's request, forwarded a copy of the evidence alleged to have been suppressed, reserving the additional facts which would have been given on the responsibility of the parties who submitted them. Not having had the interview solicited, and feeling that full justice cannot be done by a summary statement of the additional facts in writing, the Committee respectfully decline forwarding the same; they are, however, notorious in Jamaica, and cannot but be fully known to those in office there.

"3. The Committee venture to submit to your lordship, that, in the course they have taken to bring the matters referred to under the attention of Her Majesty's government, they have been actuated not less by respect for the office your lordship holds, than by principles of humanity towards the suffering immigrants in Jamaica. They beg to state also, that their simple object was to convey to your lordship information, not to bring accusations:—they have called your lordship's attention to circumstances which they fully believe to have taken place in Jamaica, and which they judged it important your lordship should know. The evidence alleged to have been suppressed, now before your lordship; (and that it has been suppressed is not attempted to be denied), speaks for itself, nor could it add to its value, were the Committee to append to it the source whence it was originally obtained, or the particular means by which it has come into their hands.

"4. Having in the first instance, as they felt bound to do, sought to place these matters before your lordship, the Committee beg to observe that they will now feel themselves at liberty to make such public use of the facts, as they deem the importance of the subject and the interests of justice and humanity require.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "JOHN SCOBLE."

Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley, &c. &c. &c.

The correspondence, thus concluded on the part of the Committee has been terminated on the part of the colonial secretary by the following note:—

"*Downing Street, July 9th*, 1842.

"SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult., further respecting the alleged suppression of evidence taken before the council of Jamaica relative to emigration to that colony.

"In reply I am to acquaint you, that Lord Stanley has referred the whole correspondence which has passed on this subject between this department and yourself, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to the Earl of Elgin, for his lordship's report.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) "G. W. HOPE."

J. Scoble, Esq., &c.

The Committee are not desirous of making any remarks upon this correspondence. What has occurred to them respecting it will be sufficiently obvious to their readers. Lord Stanley has undoubtedly taken the proper course in referring the papers to Lord Elgin, the present governor of Jamaica, for an official report upon them. In the mean time we proceed to lay them before the public, with a perfect confidence in the source from which we have received them. We have good reason to believe that the evidence we now publish was given before the committee of council in Jamaica, and that, on account of its dreadful tenor, it was determined not to send it home to the government—that is, to suppress it. We are quite aware of the grave delinquency implied in this statement, and of the strenuous attempts which will be made to prove it false. It seems to be fully admitted, however, by Lord Stanley himself, that no such evidence *has come home*; and the only question will be *whether it was given*. All we wish is, that *the truth should be told*; and if the truth is less dreadful than what we now publish, no parties will more sincerely rejoice than ourselves.

WE have received our files of West India papers, and have perused them, generally speaking, with much gratification. They fully bear out the following summary given by the *Morning Chronicle*.

Accounts from Jamaica and our other West India islands are very favourable as to the result of the crops, as also to the duty done by the negros. The master and the servant are becoming more reconciled, and though doubts were expressed as to the emancipated slave doing his duty, these fears are being dispelled by the telling facts that he is able to feel the relation of the servant to those to whom he owes authority, and that he needs not the lash to incite him to work faithfully; so that under these circumstances we may yet turn cheerfully to our West India possessions.

In British Guiana the Combined Court are in session, doing their utmost, it would seem, to create mischief. On a petition signed by 221 merchants and others, they are making large economical reductions, by striking off various items in the annual budget. With this, as a matter of general policy, we have no concern; but we regret to perceive indications that they are in this manner indulging the old planter-prejudice against the coloured classes. The measures of the Court have been promptly taken up by the Committee of the Guiana African Association, and made the occasion of an address to her Majesty, which was put into the hands of the governor for transmission on the 31st of May, and of which we have received a copy. They complain, first, that the Combined Court has struck off "21,600 dollars which had been placed on the civil list for the stipendiary justices;" an act which, the Committee say, tends to "deprive the great body of the population of that protection which every day's experience proves cannot be expected from the hands of their old task-masters, and to lessen their confidence in the administration of the government."

The African Association complain, secondly, that the Combined Court have struck off "the customary petty allowances to cate-

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chists, sextons, and beadles, with all church contingencies and assistant curates;" an act which, the committee allege, "evinces a disposition on the part of the planter-court, silently, insidiously, and gradually, to deprive the great body of the people of teachers and places of worship."

The Association complain, thirdly, that the Combined Court has struck off "the salaries for superintendents of rivers and creeks, and reduced the item for Indian schools from four thousand to two thousand four hundred dollars:" an act which the committee "view with alarm," because "the superintendents are most valuable magisterial officers, called into existence by the experience of the upright Sir James Carmichael Smyth, to guard against the rapacity and wickedness of the planter and woodcutter of the remote creeks, whose distance from salutary supervision was impunity to crime." The Committee add, that "the superintendents have achieved much against the evil, and that their removal would be the signal for the renewal of Indian slavery, and every dark deed of oppression."

The fourth topic of complaint is that the Combined Court have struck off "the salary of the inspector of police for the county of Demerary, an act which is construed by the community as a secret blow aimed at the colour of the present inspector." This being "the only valuable government office to which a coloured man has in this colony been appointed, and the appointment being the unsolicited gift of his excellency the governor, the present act of the Court tends to fan into flame those pernicious embers of distinction, which were gradually dying away."

The last ground of complaint is, that the "Combined Court has deprived the proprietors of the *Gazette* newspaper of the public printing," because of the course it pursued on occasion of the late strike in the colony.

To these specific complaints, the Committee of the Guiana African Association add the aggravating considerations, that the same Combined Court is at the same moment voting 100,000 dollars for the encouragement of immigration, and 23,000 dollars for the penal settlement "to coerce immigrants;" and that it "gave last year a gratuity of 2000 dollars, adding thereto this year a gratuity of 20,000 dollars, with an annual salary of 7000 dollars, to the private proprietors of the unseaworthy steamer, *Victoria*, these proprietors being the principal members of the Court itself."

On these matters of complaint, the Committee arrive at the following general conclusions:—that the Combined Court "takes every opportunity to keep the great body of the people in as abject a condition as possible;" that "the planters' scheme of immigration is but another name for slavery;" and that "the Combined Court, as at present constituted, is unworthy to be entrusted with the destiny of the ignorant and simple inhabitants of Asia and Africa." The prayer of the petition is that, under these circumstances, Her Majesty "would be graciously pleased to forbid all immigration from Asia and Africa into the colony" of British Guiana.

Such is the document which, if government officers do their duty, is now on its way to the hands of her Majesty. It is of unquestionable importance, as illustrating the feeling with which the acts of the colonial government are regarded by the coloured population. But we must reserve comments till our next.

The artful and dishonest manner in which the petition of the merchants endeavours to get up its case of ruin, is well exemplified in the following instance.

It has commonly been supposed that the banks of sand and shells by which the drainage of the plantations is occasionally interrupted or destroyed, are owing to natural causes, and are not to be ascribed to human agency. The petitioners to the combined court, seem, however, to regard this matter differently. They call particular attention to the actual abandonment of an extensive sugar estate in the immediate vicinity of George-town, considered not twelve months back of great value. The estate referred to is *Industry*. The estate has been temporarily abandoned, because the drainage has been totally interrupted by a moving bank of shells. The petitioners, however, seem to think that it is all owing to the emancipation, and the civil list, and that the way to open the trenches is to reduce salaries.—*Guiana Gazette.*

BY the last mail the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have received private communications from the West Indies of much importance, but we are not enabled to publish them in our present number.

WHILE the public are waiting, and with not a little solicitude, for the papers relating to Nelson Hacket which have been moved for by Mr. Hawes, and promised by Lord Stanley, we find in an American paper, the *Friend of Man*, an account of his adventures, which will be read with interest, although very liable to suspicion. It appears that he effected an escape from his two jailres, and was subsequently delivered up again by *an abolitionist!*

THE *Morning Chronicle* supplies the following intelligence from Cuba:—

There was great antipathy felt by the people of Havana against D. Turnbull, Esq., the late British consul, on account of his having taken such an active part in carrying out the views of his government in putting an end to the slave-trade, so much so, that he was obliged to take refuge on board of the *Rodney*. J. T. Crawford, Esq., the newly appointed British consul, had arrived and taken office.

Her Majesty's brig, *Curlew*, and the *Sparrow*, ketch, arrived in Rio harbour on April 21st. The latter was directed to prepare to convoy up a slave prize to the West Indies, having on board when captured by her Majesty's corvette, *Rose*, nearly 300 Africans. She was sent into Rio on the 18th of April.—*Hants Telegraph.*

TO HENRY SHIRLEY, Esq. M.P.,

Proprietor of Hyde Hall, Etingdon, and Glamorgan estates, in the parish of Trelawny, Jamaica.

SIR,—The short period of your sojourn in this island, devoted as it was to acts of benevolence, left a very favourable impression, not only on the minds of the people residing in the neighbourhood of your estates, but of the whole island, that you would not practice inhumanity yourself, nor suffer it to be practised by those under your control. Persuaded of this, I am satisfied that you have not been informed of the state of things on Hyde Hall; and I fear that very favourable reports have been transmitted to you of the condition of the Europeans whom you lately sent out. Your humanity will be shocked when you learn that of the fifty-one there are not ten now remaining on your estates; they have sickened—they have died, and the few whom disease had not reached have left this for their father-land. Want and neglect have been their portion. That you may receive that information which I am certain has been withheld by your agents, I will briefly state certain facts. European immigration has been brought under the notice of the legislature in consequence of the frequent and loud demands of the public for its prevention. A committee of inquiry was appointed, and although the principal officer of immigration, who receives a large emolument from this death-working scheme, and is therefore interested in its continuance, was permitted, contrary to parliamentary usage, to thrust himself on the committee, and to put forward witnesses to detail extraneous matter so as to divert the committee from its legitimate inquiry, yet they succeeded in obtaining evidence to prove that the system of European immigration was but another name for disease and death.

You will shudder when you learn, that Mr. Kelly, a stipendiary magistrate of great respectability, detailed scenes of horror and wretchedness which took place on *your estates*. You will also be surprised when you learn, that a member in his place presented to the house a list of the immigrants sent out to your estates, and which, out of the fifty-one, presented a number of but six effective, the rest *were sick, dying, and dead;* and this frightful mortality occasioned, not from natural causes, but from neglect and want on the part of your agents; and you will still further be surprised when you learn, that a premium has been given to the inhumanity of your agents, by awarding to you the sum of £380 sterling for importing fifty-one immigrants, not ten of whom are now alive to tell the sad tale of their misery. I will present you with the evidence of Daniel Winder Kelly, Esq., the magistrate already mentioned; and after you have perused it, you can best say whether you can in conscience receive the blood-money which has been awarded to you. Its correctness there is no disputing, and it is as follows:—

Question.—Do you consider these people (the immigrants) were such as were contemplated to be introduced into this island under the Immigration Act for agricultural purposes?

Answer.—I should wish to confine myself to what I saw on the 30th Nov. I visited Hyde Hall on the 30th November, in company with Mr. Vermont, the sub-agent, by his own request. The overseer, Mr. Meyler, stated that he was making out a list of the immigrants a few days previously, which was as follows, that 14 *had left the property*, 14 *had died*, and 14 *still remained sick*—that he was in the habit of giving them wine and nourishment. We then proceeded to a house where a girl named Margaret Flannery was lying; she appeared very much exhausted by sickness, and stated that she was dying from want and neglect. She had a pan of water and a small bit of bread on a stool close to the mattress, she stated that for three days no one came near her to dress her sores, or help her out of bed; she begged that we would look at her feet and legs, for which purpose she put down her hand and raised the blanket which covered her: I shall never forget what I saw; the toes of both her feet had fallen off, and there was no dressing on them, her legs were sore and there were thousands of flies eating them; she had not strength to move out of the bed, and she was lying in her own filth and dirt. She appeared to be about thirteen or fourteen years of age; she stated that she had never received any wine whatever from Mr. Meyler. I called Mr. Meyler, and requested him to hear her reply, as he had stated before that he had given her wine; he said he thought she had received it as he had given it out. There was a black man of the name of Richards and his wife employed to attend these people; I sent for the man to ask him why he neglected the girl, and he said that his wife had been sick for two or three days, and that the girl's statement was perfectly correct with regard to her not being attended to for two or three days. Mr. Vermont, who was present, stated that he had never beheld such a sight of misery before, and sometime after he stated that he would give his salary to these people to enable them to go off the island; that he would gladly do so. We employed two brown nurses to attend the girl, she died on the 9th December.

Question.—Had this girl any family, and were there no other immigrants on the property?

Answer.—I understood all her family had died with the exception of one boy. After seeing this girl we proceeded to the old hospital, where a man of the name of Patrick Mealley was lying sick, he said he was an Englishman, and *that he had come out to die from want and neglect;* he was lying in a very dirty and neglected state, the room was dirty and filthy; it was then after twelve o'clock, and up to that hour he had received no nourishment or attendance. I asked him if he had received any wine, he said never, although he had been sick for upwards of a month; he stated that when he got sick his usual pay was stopped, and that the advance given him by Mr. Schersmidt was not sufficient to support him during his illness. Thomas Richards said, that *Mr. Meyler never gave any wine;* that he, *Busha refused to give any.* Dr. Mahoney came up, and he asked me if I had witnessed the scene of misery, I replied yes, and he said the people are *dying from want and neglect, and that it was of no use for him to attend as they did not get the nourishment ordered for them—that he was ready to prove that many of the deaths on Hyde Hall were occasioned by neglect, and that this man could not*

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recover—he died on the following day, which made an addition of two to the list made out by Mr. Meyler. We then went up to Etingdon, where some of the 14 before mentioned had been removed We saw a man named Hogg at the old hospital, he said he had been ill for six weeks and had no one to attend him, he slept on a box, and the only nourishment he received was a small piece of beef once, and sometimes twice, a week—that he never received any wine from Mr. Meyler. In the inner room there was a man named Gore, his wife and five children all ill, except the man who was just recovering; there was one little child lying on a box, another lying in the bed with the mother, all of whom appeared very ill—in fact it was a picture of misery—the room was filthy and dirty, the window could not be opened to let in a little fresh air; they said that they never received any wine, but that they got some beef once or twice a week, he produced that day's allowance which was not enough to support the family for one day; it was a piece of bone with very little meat on it; he was getting 10s. a week from Mr. Scharsmidt. We employed a nurse to attend this family, and told her to get anything that was necessary, and that she would be paid for it. We then went to Glamorgan, another of Mr. Shirley's properties—in a cottage we found a man named M'Carthy, his wife and four children; there was another man of the same name, his wife, and three children, in the same cottage—they had been ill and were recovering, they complained that they had never received any nourishment except the beef which they produced, and which was insufficient; they said Mr. Scharsmidt was giving them 5*s.* a week in advance for each family, that during their sickness they must buy the water which they required, as they had no one to carry it for them; they said they had been sadly deceived by Mr. Hendricks, the secretary of the West Indian Emigration Society in London, when they were sent out here.

Question.—Have you assisted by pecuniary contribution to aid several immigrants in leaving this island?

Answer.—I did contribute to a subscription list which was handed me by Mr. Solomon, a magistrate of Falmouth, for the purpose of aiding some of the remaining people who had been sent out by Mr. Shirley of Hyde Hall to go off the country. I subscribed also to another list sent me by the Rev. Mr. Knibb for the same purpose.

Question.—In soliciting your contribution was any reason given—if so state it?

Answer.—The reason stated was that, from the bad treatment they had experienced in this country, they wished to return to their native land, where they received larger wages than they got in this country.

Now, Sir, will you permit your agents to persist in this course of infamy and fraud? Will you suffer yourself to be deceived any longer by their false representations to you? I am informed that it was understood in the committee, after they had heard Mr. Kelly's evidence, that you were not to receive any grant of money, in fact, that the agent-general, Mr. Ewart, had pledged himself that your agents should receive none after Mr. Kelly's horrible disclosures. But it was a pledge given but to be broken; for in the absence of these gentlemen of the committee, the friends of your attorney smuggled a money grant through the house of the sum already stated, and it was passed.

I leave these remarks to you, and to a British public. To you, that you may prevent the system of injustice from being again practised; and to the latter, that they may learn what little reliance is to be placed on a legislature, whose members are themselves officers and speculators in this scheme of wretchedness.

HUMANITAS.

Jamaica, 17th January, 1842.

EMIGRATION OF INDIAN LABOURERS TO MAURITIUS.

OUR sentiments have been so often and so fully expressed on this subject, that we have nothing new to add; but we make with pleasure the following extracts from two recent articles in the *Times*, strongly confirmatory of our views, and of much importance at the present moment. From the *Times*.

Our readers will doubtless recollect that, in the year 1840, on the introduction into parliament of the Colonial Passengers' Bill by the whig ministry, certain clauses were inserted into the bill for the purpose of legalizing, subject to certain regulations, the importation of free Indian labourers into the Mauritius. These clauses were vigorously opposed by the anti-slavery party, and on the third reading of the bill Dr. Lushington moved, as an amendment, the omission of the clauses in question. The amendment was opposed by the ministers, but carried on a division by a majority of 158 to 109; Sir R. Peel, Lord Stanley, and Sir J. Graham voting the majority.

A scheme has nevertheless been now brought forward, extremely different, as it is said, in its details from that of the late ministry, but professing the same object, viz., the free immigration of the Hill Coolies into the Mauritius, with the view of supplying the demand for labour occasioned by the Emancipation Bill; and with the further view, in case the experiment should be successful, of ascertaining how far the system may be likely to succeed if extended to the West Indies.

We would not only most decidedly condemn—as indeed would every Englishman—any system or traffic which really is identical in any essential point with the awful traffic in slaves, or which even in any degree resembles it—whether that trade be carried on with Africa or with India, contrary to law, or under its sanction—but we would also regard with some degree of jealousy an experiment like the present, which, though, as we believe it is, in the hands of wise, and practical, and experienced statesmen, will still require the very greatest care, lest it should degenerate after all into a specious fraud on the unhappy emigrants, very little better than the kidnapping sometimes practised on the coast of Africa. For what are the real facts and circumstances of the case? It is admitted on all hands that free, spontaneous, unbiassed emigration, where there is *bond fide* reason to believe that emigration will better the condition of the emigrant, is not only desirable, but that any legislative enactment to prevent it borders somewhat on the tyrannical. It is admitted, that there is the greatest demand for labour in the West Indian colonies and in the Mauritius—that the produce is decreasing in consequence of the deficient supply of labour, and that the foreign slave-trade is increasing—that wages are high in the Mauritius—and extremely low in India. All this, we say, is admitted; and the question is, whether the condition of the emigrants in the Mauritius, and on the voyage thither, supposing them willing to quit their native country on having sufficient inducement so to do, is really such as to warrant the government in sanctioning, in encouraging, in regulating the emigration. If false representations of the state of things in the Mauritius, or of the difficulties of the voyage, are, we do not say held out to the labourers, but suffered to be disseminated among them as inducements to emigrate, it is fraud; if on their arrival they find themselves compelled, or virtually compelled, to serve under a contract which places them at the absolute will and disposal of the contractor, or, at any rate, puts them upon terms which are nearly tantamount to this, and which they find to be altogether different from what they had been led to expect this we have no hesitation in saying is neither more nor less than slavery. We say nothing now about the horrors of the voyage, though we believe that they can be compared to nothing except the miseries of the middle passage, and the woes of the slave-trade. The simple questions are—1st, whether the condition of the labourers in the Mauritius is such that it can be safely said that they are, when there, *free* labourers, and not slaves; 2ndly, whether that condition, whatever it be, is *truly* represented to them before they leave their native country; 3rdly, whether the improvement in their condition, if any, which may be effected by the emigration, is sufficiently well established to justify government in inducing them to quit their native country for the sake of realizing it; and lastly, whether, supposing all these points satisfactorily settled, the voyage is deprived of those features which characterize the transportation of slaves. With respect to the first of these questions, we would call the attention of our readers to the following extract from a speech made by Dr. Lushington on the 4th of June, 1840—premising that it describes the state of things which existed, irrespectively of any measures proposed by the late or present government for the amelioration of the state of the labourers on their arrival at the Mauritius. We quote from the *Mirror of Parliament* of the above date:—

"With respect to the condition of the Hill Coolies, I will refer to a letter contained in the volume of papers now before the house. The writer, speaking of those imported into the Mauritius, says, that with very few exceptions, they are treated with great and unjust severity by overwork and by personal chastisement. Their lodgings and accommodations are either too confined and disgusting, or none whatever are provided for them; and in cases of sickness the most culpable neglect is evinced in withholding that accommodation, advice, and attendance, which the utter helplessness of the sufferers so urgently demands. Now, if you will find me a system which will provide against these evils—if you will give me independent agents to prevent the repetition of these evils, am I opposed to *voluntary* emigration to the Mauritius? No; quite the contrary. But how are the Hill Coolies treated? They are worked with police inspectors over them; they are in a state of coercion during the whole of their labour; they are, indeed, slaves to all *intents* and purposes; for they cannot even leave their particular plantations, after their hours of labour, without a ticket of leave. It is a mere farce to speak of them as free labourers."

This was the state of things independently of government enactments. How did Lord John Russell propose to obviate it? We believe that his bill legalizing the emigration of Hill Coolies provided no sufficient remedy for these evils. We believe that the state of the Hill Coolies in the Mauritius under Lord John Russell's bill, had it been allowed to pass, would have been one of virtual slavery. Lord Stanley, in stating the outlines of his own scheme, and in commenting upon that of Lord John Russell, in March last, after admitting "that great abuses had prevailed in the Mauritius;" that "many of the natives of India who had emigrated to that colony had suffered great hardships," though those hardships had been exaggerated, proceeded to observe, that under the plan of 1840, planters might have contracted for the services of labourers for five years, at a low rate of wages agreed upon in India; and that, in consequence, the emigrant, when he arrived, would have found himself confined to a state of *slavery* for five years, at wages much below those which he saw paid to those around him. "He found that he was, in fact, a *slave* for five years. He was deluded in India, and found that his labour was compulsory for a period of five years." Thus much for the condition of the labourers in the Mauritius before and under Lord John Russell's intended bill.

We proceed with our inquiry into the facts of the case, and having quoted some statements with respect to the condition of the labourers in the Mauritius, we next advert to the position and knowledge of the Hill Coolies in India with reference to the subject of emigration, and to state what we conceive to be the duty in this matter of a prudent and parental government. In the debate on the Colonial Passengers' Bill, on the 22nd of June, 1840, Mr. Hogg quoted the following resolution adopted at a public meeting in Calcutta, which was attended by some hundreds of the first people of that city, and at which the bishop was present. The resolution was this:—

"That while this meeting distinctly disavows any intention of interfering in the civil rights of any of her Majesty's subjects, or the slightest wish to press upon the adoption of the government any measure interfering with proper emigration, it feels bound solemnly to declare its deliberate conviction that the Hill Coolies, and other natives of India who are induced to emigrate, *do not understand, and that they are not capable of understanding*, the terms of the contract into which they are made to enter; and entertaining this conviction, the meeting further resolves, that it is expedient respectfully to petition the government to institute a full inquiry into the subject of this traffic, which inquiry must, in the opinion of this meeting, lead to its total suppression; and in the meantime that the exportation of the natives of India to any part of the world as labourers may be suspended."

Mr. Hogg further said, that he could state from his own personal knowledge, that "the Coolies were very difficult indeed to communicate with—that they were the most impervious and obtuse people on the face of the earth." "Take a Cooly," the honourable gentleman continued, "from the mountains—he never saw the sea—he never saw any water except perhaps a mountain rivulet—how can you make him understand the idea of the sea—of an island—of a voyage?" And on the 1st of March last, when the project of the present government was mentioned, the same gentleman stated his belief to be, that "*in the absence of fraud* no labourers could be procured from the Cooly race." Of those, too, who were induced to go, by far the greater number were men; the disparity of numbers between the emigrants of different sexes was almost incredible; Mr. Hogg stated that among 18,000 there were only 100 or 200 women, and Dr. Lushington declared that it was impossible to induce women to go. Now

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these facts were not denied—nor have they been. The answer which was made was, that to have free labour was absolutely necessary; that nothing could save the West Indies but a general and extensive system of immigration; and that the Mauritius was best suited for trying the experiment. The case made respecting the ignorance and simplicity of the Hill Coolies was admitted; but the advocates of the measure looked to the interests of the Mauritius and the West Indies. We shall have occasion hereafter to view the measure in this point of view—we confine ourselves at present to the question of the policy or justice of permitting emigration, when the emigrant is in total, blank, impenetrable ignorance of the state into which he is to enter, when it is the obvious interest of other parties to procure him to emigrate, and when the nominal permission accorded to him to act for himself is, in fact, nothing more than a delivery of him up to be a passive agent in the hands of others. To talk of according to him the rights of our own free constitution—of giving him the power, to which all subjects of Great Britain are naturally entitled—of bettering his own condition—is, under the circumstances and facts we have stated, a mere farce. It is the duty of government, we admit, to allow free action to a free agent; but it is *not* the duty of government to allow to one who is *not* a free agent, power, nominally to act, but really to be acted upon, to his own injury. No man should be encouraged to leave his native country except under the following circumstances:—a full knowledge on his part of the condition and mode of life into which he will be brought, and a deliberate conviction that such mode of life is one into which he is summoned either by the rules of duty, or the prospect of certain and real advantage. Nothing less than this, we think, can justify any government in holding out inducements to emigration; nothing less we are convinced, ought on any principles of right feeling or sound reason, to induce a man to abandon the home of his fathers. In the present case, to grant permission is to hold out encouragement; for should the permission be once accorded, representations or misrepresentations of the advantages of the proposed emigration will be sure to be supplied in abundance, though how much they are to be depended upon will be seen by the statements we have quoted. We confess, therefore, that we see nothing in this cuckoo cry for the equal rights and free agency of the Coolies: they are *not* free agents in this matter, nor ever would they be, though the permission to emigrate were accorded to them absolutely to-morrow. It is by protection, and by protection only, that they can be enabled to act freely and voluntarily on this point; and whether that protection is likely to be secured by Lord Stanley's regulations is the principal question to be answered.

NELSON HACKET: HIS ESCAPE, CAPTURE, AND RECAPTURE.

(From the *Peoria Register.*)

IN July last, Nelson Hacket, the slave of Alfred Wallace, living in Washington county, Arkansas, stole a horse valued at 300 dollars, a gold watch and chain valued at 200 dollars, with some minor articles, and fled towards Canada. Being well acquainted with the country for a hundred miles around, he pressed forward with comparative security; but on getting beyond that distance he was necessarily compelled to be more shy. He travelled only at night, and hiding through the day in the woods, subsisted on such fare as the desert afforded. On reaching the Mississippi river he luckily found the ferry tended by a negro, of whom it is believed he made a confidant, as the same negro subsequently denied all knowledge of the fugitive's passing that way. The friend thus gained doubtless furnished him with a supply of food, while by his advice he was probably enabled to proceed more boldly. Avoiding the thoroughfares, he made for Marion city on the Mississippi, where, from his appearance and the plausibility of his manners, he crossed into Illinois without being at all suspected by the ferryman.

Here he breathed freer, and ventured to pursue his journey in the day time. His appearance was greatly in his favour. He was handsomely formed, about thirty years old, of very prepossessing address, wore his hair nicely combed, was very genteelly clad, and was, in short, a negro dandy. As he journeyed he would sometimes represent himself as being a free man, living in some country before him, and at others, when he thought it would better answer his purpose, as a slave escaping from bondage. Thus he travelled through this state, Ohio, and Michigan, to the Canada lines, which he found no difficulty in crossing, and arrived in Sandwich in September, where he fancied himself secure.

During all this time, however, the officers of justice were in hot pursuit. The owner of the negro relinquished all claim to him, and he was followed with a warrant to arrest him on the criminal charges spoken of. No trace of him could be found till the officers reached Marion city, where, getting on the track, they were able to keep it till they came upon him at Sandwich, ten days after his arrival there. The horse and watch were found in his possession; and the owner of the former being one of the pursuers, it was surrendered up to him. The watch was retained till further evidence could be obtained, and Nelson was committed to jail, to await a requisition from the governor of Arkansas to the governor of Canada.

The requisition was received in February, whereupon Nelson was brought over to the United States, and delivered into the custody of Mr. Davenport, who committed him to the jail in Detroit, until the opening of navigation on the upper lakes. A few days previous to such opening Mr. Evans arrived from Arkansas, with full power from the civil authorities to take him in charge; and, engaging Mr. Davenport to accompany him, they left in one of the first vessels. Either while on the passage, or as they were about to leave Detroit, they casually fell in with four men from Western New York, bound to Iowa, for the purpose of examining the country with a view to their removal there. These men seemed to enter cordially into the interests of the conductors of the prisoner, and offered to relieve them in watching him, which service was readily accepted. The fugitive had been furnished with a pair of hobbles at Detroit, which he continued to wear throughout the journey.

The vessel arrived at Chicago, passages for seven were taken in Winter's stage for Peoria, and every thing went on well. On the third night all safely arrived at Princeton, Bureau county, the immediate conductors of the negro congratulating themselves that in one day more they would again be on a steam-boat, and in another day in a slave state, where their chief anxiety would be over. How far they were justified in indulging in these anticipations will soon appear.

Care was taken to keep Nelson as secluded from observation as possible, and he had no converse with a single person in Princeton. After supper the whole party were furnished with a room in the second story of the tavern, in which all retired to rest about nine o'clock. Every window was closed, and it was observed that they shut down very closely, and could not be raised without a considerable effort, attended with noise. All continued awake and in conversation till twelve o'clock, when they sunk into a profound sleep. One of the New Yorkers awaking at half-past three, and lighting a candle, discovered a window to be open, and on looking for Nelson, lo! he was gone! The alarm was instantly sounded—scouts were sent in every direction—and every possible means used to discover the fugitive; but all were unsuccessful. How he escaped defies all conjecture. How he could have freed himself from his irons without making a noise, or how he could have raised the window without being heard, or how he could have afterwards concealed himself so as to evade the minute search which followed, is altogether inexplicable. The jump from the window was by no means perilous, it being but ten or twelve feet from the ground, but every thing else connected with his escape is a mystery. It is possible that one of the New Yorkers may have proved treacherous, as he was alone with the negro the evening before, when the others were at supper; but, even if disposed, it is not seen how he could have helped him.

The four New Yorkers continued on to Peoria next day, whence they proceeded on their journey. Messrs. Davenport and Evans remained behind, continuing the search for Nelson, and did not reach here till the day after. They have offered a reward of 200 dollars for the apprehension and delivery of the fugitive to the jailer of St. Louis, or 100 dollars if delivered to the jailer of Detroit, which will be paid by either of those persons.

P.S. We learn that the negro has been taken, which welcome intelligence Messrs. Davenport and Evans received by a letter from Princeton on Saturday evening. It appears that he had wandered about for two days and nights through the prairie and timber, and, losing his way, was taken only seven miles from Princeton, by a man into whose house he went for the purpose of obtaining something to eat. His captor arrived having him in charge on Monday morning, just in time for the *Mermaid*, which was about hauling out for St. Louis, and was promptly paid the promised reward. We are informed that he is an abolitionist, but one who was determined to show, as he said, that abolitionists are not the men to connive at the escape of a criminal from merited punishment.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

	Donations. £	s.	d.	Subscrip. £	s.	d.
Evesham and Bengeworth Female Anti-slavery Association	10	10	0			
Mr. Scotland, 39, Regent Square	3	0	0			
Bristol—Edward Thomas				5	5	0
" From one who purchased twenty shares in the Imperial Brazilian Mines, without the knowledge of their being worked by slaves—in trust to be applied for the benefit of the slaves employed in the said mines (2nd donation)	30	0	0			
G. W. Alexander, Lombard Street	100	0	0	10	10	0
B. Wiffen, Wooburn	10	0	0			
T. C. per ditto	1	0	0			
Sophia Canning, Kensington				0	10	0
Downham-Market—James Doyle				1	0	0
Frenchay—P. D. Tuckett				1	1	0
" Elizabeth Tuckett				1	1	0
" Francis Tuckett				1	1	0
Darlington—Edward Pease	10	0	0			
Melksham—Thomas Jeffery				1	1	0
Chelsea—Robert Alsop, jun.	0	10	0	0	10	0
Brighton—Isaac Bass	10	0	0	1	1	0
Rushmere, near Ipswich—Thomas Fox				2	0	0
Charlbury—James Sessions				0	10	0
Bristol—Joseph Eaton	10	0	0	5	5	0
Macclesfield—Samuel Jasper				0	10	0
Birmingham—Joseph Sturge	100	0	0			
,, John Bottomley				1	0	0
Colchester—Thomas Catchpool	2	0	0			
Neath Abbey.—Joseph — T. Price				5	0	0
Whitehaven—John Spencer	5	0	0			
Stockton-on-Tees—Joseph Weatherall				1	0	0
Tokenhouse-yard—Joseph J. Lester				2	2	0
Yealand—Mary Pord	1	0	0			
Earls Colne—William Matthews				0	5	0
Colchester—William Cross	0	10	0			
Croydon—Philip Frith				5	5	0
Playford Hall—Thomas Clarkson	10	10	0			
" Mary Clarkson				1	1	0
Kendal—Ladies' Association	4	0	0			
Stoke Newington—Anonymous	5	0	0			
Hull—James Henwood	1	0	0			
" Thomas Priestman	1	0	0			
" Leonard West	0	10	0			
" Isabel Casson	0	10	0			
Roxton—James Metcalfe				1	1	0
Burncoose—John Williams	5	0	0	2	0	0
Falmouth—Elizabeth Fox				2	0	0
" G. C. Fox				2	0	0
" R. W. Fox				2	0	0
" Alfred Fox				0	10	0
Camborne—John Budge				1	0	0
Browns Town (Jamaica)—per John Clark	30	0	0			

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXVIII. Vol. III. No. 15.] WEDNESDAY, JULY 27th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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AMERICAN & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

In a new number of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, which we are truly happy to see revived, we have received the Report of this Society presented at the late annual meeting. We make from this document the following interesting extracts:—

General Progress of the Cause.

The history of another year has recorded new and remarkable triumphs of the doctrine that man cannot be the property of man. The mass of society is now rapidly on its way to an assured and living faith in that maxim, the full prevalence of which is so essential to its own well-being. No human ingenuity could have devised a series of events so powerful to deepen this salutary conviction, as those which Divine providence, during the past year, has sent down, like the vivid lightnings, upon this nation.

We have seen Cinque and his band, whom slavery had marked to die on Cuban gibbets as rebels against the principle of human chattelism, bidding adieu amidst congratulating thousands, and, with fire from heaven's altar, going back to their own land—going back in the sight of all the slave-holders in the world, with a distinct national recognition of their manhood and their immortality. We have seen another revolutionary chattel, bearing the name and the spirit of our own Washington, vindicating the manhood and achieving the liberty of his brethren upon the deck of a Richmond slaver, tempering the violence of an outraged man with the mercy of a true hero We have seen the rage of the long dominant slavocracy, intolerably provoked by this last and most significant insult, tamely succumbing before the calm approval of the civilized world. We have seen the sixth great congressional gag prove itself too small to stop the mouth of irrepressible discussion. We have seen the men who have carried their points for half a century by threatening to dissolve this union, thrown into the most fluttering trepidation at the prospect of being taken at their word. That once potent threat has lost its charm. We have seen a slavocratic conspiracy to crush the veteran champion of the right of petition and the freedom of speech laid bare, and their weapons hurled back, in "impetuous recoil," upon their own heads.

And we have seen their second attempt to strike down the freedom of debate no less signally foiled. These things have gone to show that the lion whose roar has frightened the free states from the straight path of duty is, after all, chained, and destitute of teeth and claws. We have also seen some cheering indications that American christianity is to be delivered from that "body of death," whose loathsome contact it has so long endured. In the light of these facts, we are constrained to say that the good cause of human freedom is even more rapidly advancing than when, as a society, we were doing more to promote it.

Mr. Sturge's Visit.

We have been much refreshed by the visits of one of the master spirits of British philanthropy. Mr. Sturge, while in this country, by his visits to distinguished men, and his calm and weighty appeals to different classes of the community, did much to destroy prejudice and advance our cause.

Case of the Creole.

To develop all the strong and cheering tendencies of this case of the *Creole* would far exceed the limits of this brief report. It has given birth to events and thrown light upon questions incalculably important. The southern task-masters, with their usual infatuation, cried out both for revenge and *indemnification*—threatening war if Great Britain would not deliver up the so-called murderers, and pay for the released slaves. At their bidding a northern secretary of state—one who from Plymouth rock denounced the foreign slave trade—has so utterly laid aside his northern principles and parted with his very intellect, as first to speak of the recovery of freedom on board a slaver as mutiny and murder, and then to pronounce the case of harbouring the criminals as one of indemnification! He instructs our minister at the court of St. James, to inform the government of her Britannic majesty, that the murderers of our citizens are not to be withheld from us unless we are well *paid* for it! To such monstrous absurdity is our government reduced, by confounding the broad and eternal distinction between men and things! But, though these minatory instructions were called before the senate, and valiantly spread before the world, the very next week brought the unanimous opinion of the legal authorities of the British house of lords, that neither the "mutineers" nor the "slaves" of the *Creole* could be given up; and our government clearly felt the necessity of retreating from the position it had so gallantly assumed. At the present moment, there seems to be no more probability that Mr. Webster's instructions will lead to a war, than that they will add any glory to his fame. As our government never "submits to anything which is *wrong*," we shall certainly have its testimony in this case, that the slaves are *men* and not *property*; and that they have a right to vindicate their liberty, at whatever hazard to their masters. It will take but a few such examples to make the domestic slave trade as unprofitable as it is nefarious.

Attempted censure on Mr. Adams.

Twice within the year, at the special and the present session of Congress, the right of petition has been stricken down by rules of order. It was the expectation of many that, when the present administration came into power, the right of petition would rise from its grave. There was a show of resurrection at the outset, but it was only a dumb show. The odious twenty-first rule was not then revived, but it was conceded that all petitions on subjects not referred to in the President's message should be excluded, *for the expedition of business!* At the regular session the old gag was renewed. But the slavocracy has had to resort to other measures to avoid discussion. Let us see how they have succeeded. Among the multitude of petitions confided to the venerable champion of the right of petition, John Quincy Adams, was one from Haverhill, Massachusetts, respectably signed, praying that Congress would take measures to dissolve this union. He thought it his duty, as well as his right, to present it, and to move that it be referred to a special committee, with instructions to report reasons why the prayer should not be granted. The slave-holders thought assuredly now was their time to crush the hated advocate of freedom. But, in their great mercy, they concluded not to expel him at once, but to adopt resolutions pronouncing him a traitor to his country, and worthy of the deepest condemnation. Such resolutions were introduced, and advocated with the highest eloquence the south could furnish. Pending the resolutions Mr. Adams obtained the floor, and entered upon a defence which caused his accusers soon to cry enough. The resolutions, by a decisive majority, were laid on the table for ever! Here was a triumph over a power before which northern representatives had succumbed or met defeat for half a century! We can hardly overrate the honour which is due to such a victory. Its consequences cannot but be good. The north will never again be frightened from the performance of its most sacred duties by threats of dissolution from the south. Southern statesmen themselves begin to proclaim, that the strength which they derive from their union with the free states is essential to the existence of their "peculiar institution." The words of judge Underwood, of Kentucky, and Mr. Arnold, of Tennessee, are worthy of being studied and remembered. In warning his southern brethren against their usual bluster on this subject, judge Underwood used the following language in his place in the house of representatives:

"To dissolve the union, and separate the different states composing this confederacy, making the Ohio river the line, and Mason and Dixon's line the boundary line, he knew as soon as that was done, *slavery was done* in Kentucky, Maryland, and a large portion of Virginia, and it would extend to all the states south of this line. *The dissolution of the union was the dissolution of slavery.* It had been the common practice for southern men to get up on this floor and say, touch this subject and we will dissolve this union as a remedy. Their remedy was the destruction of the thing they wished to save, and any sensible man could see it. If the union were dissolved into two parts, the slave would cross the line, and then turn round and curse his master from the other shore."

In the same debate, Mr. Arnold, of Tennessee, said:

"He would ask his southern friends what the south had to rely on, if the union was dissolved! Suppose the dissolution could be peaceably effected? (if that did not involve a contradiction in terms), what had the south to depend upon? All the crowned heads were against her. *A million of slaves were ready to rise and strike for freedom at the first tap of the drum.* If they were cut loose from their friends at the north (friends that ought to be, and without them the south had no friends), whither were they to look for protection? How were they to sustain an assault from England or France, with that cancer at our vitals? The more the south reflected, the more clearly she must see that she has a deep and vital interest in maintaining the union."

We quote these opinions, not as proofs that slavery could not exist after the severance of the union, still less that a direct movement towards the dissolution is our true course; but as showing the tenacity with which the south is likely to cling to the union.

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The onset upon Mr. Adams may be regarded as the *death grasp* of the slave-holders upon the union for support. Hence it appears, that the free states may exert all their constitutional power against slavery without the least danger to the union. If that should be ineffectual, they may then say, and it will be soon enough to say it, as the permanence of slavery was not contemplated when the union was established, we insist that it shall be abolished as the condition of our remaining in the union, and the slave-holders will hardly have courage to resist the argument. We believe that the free states have to take but one resolute step in an anti-slavery direction to accomplish the object. Apart from slavery the union is desirable to all sections and parties, and is not yet to be despaired of; but, to suppose that the vigorous and flourishing free states will *always* submit to be bound hand and foot to impoverished and imbecile slave states, is to suppose that a living body will submit to be bound to a putrefying corpse.

FLORIDA AND TEXAS.

The Florida war, which has already cost the country so many millions of dollars, not to speak of the many lives that might have been more honourably expended, is still waged at an expense of more than 5,000,000 dollars per annum. For what? Simply to recover a few fugitive slaves—to secure property in human flesh against spontaneous evaporation! Nearly the whole of this immense yearly sum is wrested from the hard industry of the free states in these times of cruel depression, to sustain the *very cause* which has spread ruin through the land! And at this moment the slave-holders are seeking to lay the foundation of a far mightier Florida war, by procuring the annexation of Texas. That country, with its vast forests, peopled only with Indians more ferocious than those of Florida, presents greater facilities than Florida for the escape of slaves. If it should be annexed, we should doubtless soon have a call for our *spare* millions to prevent its "*peculiar*" property from running away. Are the people of the north so much pleased with the economy of the Florida war that they are anxious to invest larger sums in various similar operations in Texas? If so, they have only patiently to sit still, and they may be gratified. They may have the task of clearing all Mexico of its aboriginal inhabitants.

The new census and apportionment of representatives alarms the south. Her political power is rapidly waning. She will redouble her efforts to restore the balance by the annexation of Texas. In this, one of her leading representatives, Hon. J. M. Botts, seems not to be very sanguine of her success, for he offers, if the north will give up her abolition societies, the south shall give up Texas. But we can tell the south of a way in which she can more easily both recover her balance, and put down the abolitionists. *Let her abolish slavery.* That is her shortest road to power, and the only one by which she can escape the anti-slavery scourge.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

A great advance has evidently taken place in the state of public opinion in relation to fugitives from slavery. This we say, notwithstanding the adverse decision of the supreme court of the United States, or rather its *obiter dictum*, against all interference of state laws between the claimant and the fugitive. This doctrine, by which free-born citizens are liable to be hurried into hopeless slavery, proclaimed in so high a quarter, is leading men to reflect. If it be consonant with the constitution, then its framers covenanted to do *what neither they nor we can possibly have a right to do, or to suffer to be done.* From such laws as hold our southern brethren in bondage, it must be the duty of any human being to escape with all possible speed. And when one is in the act of escaping, it cannot but be the duty of every good man to aid him as effectually as possible. To make freemen the active agents in re-imposing the chains, is a most monstrous perversion of the very principles on which the constitution was expressly founded. It makes the instrument self-contradictory. When "we the people" of the United States, "in order to secure the blessings of liberty" to ourselves and our posterity, establish a constitution and swear to maintain it, do we swear to help *some persons* to enslave *other* "*persons*"—to help one part of the people to make goods and chattels of another part of the people? No. We swear to no such absurdity. If, in refusing to restore the fugitive, we violate one clause of the constitution, we charge the enslaver with violating the express purpose of the whole. Which is worse, to lay the axe at the root of the goodly tree, or to lop a single poisonous bough which has been wickedly engrafted on? *If*, we say, *if* the constitution contains the doctrine which the supreme court has attributed to it, then it is so far forth not only a contradictory instrument, but a covenant with death, which deserves to be faithfully and pertinaciously violated till it can be amended. We have gone quite far enough in the nineteenth century of the christian era, under a compact to do the meanest and wickedest of all deeds—deeds of which even a fiend would be ashamed.

IMPRISONED ABOLITIONISTS.

A more grievous violation of the rights of citizens of the free states has occurred in the state of Missouri, and one which has by no means excited the interest it deserves, even among abolitionists. It is the imprisonment of three excellent young men in the penitentiary of Missouri, for a praise-worthy act, not even declared a crime by the slave-holding laws of that state. Work, Burr, and Thompson, three citizens of Illinois, were found to have given some aid to men desiring to escape from slavery in Missouri, and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment in the penitentiary at Palmyra. They had violated no law which could expose them to such a punishment. And if there had been such a law, it is a question whether it would have been constitutional. It certainly cannot be constitutional to punish a citizen who has violated no law, unless we live under an unmitigated despotism. These noble young men should not be forgotten. They are as worthy martyrs in the cause of liberty, as though they had been imprisoned in Constantinople for siding the Greeks. The temper in which they have met their savage sentence is that of Daniel in the den of lions. Shall slavery last till those twelve years roll away?

MOB IN CINCINNATI.

Slavery has once more, during the year, expressed its hatred and fear of the press, by demolishing the office of the *Philanthropist*, at Cincinnati, Ohio. A most brutal and murderous assault was made upon the harmless people of colour; and for three days the city was under the control of a mob openly instigated by citizens of Kentucky. This outrage proved of manifest service to the cause, by stimulating the abolitionists of Ohio to greater exertions to sustain their brave and unflinching organ. It also greatly increased their numbers. For the first time last winter the right of petition was vindicated in the Ohio legislature, and the gag was cast out by a large majority, obviously in deference to a strong liberty convention then in session at Columbus.

STATE OF LIBERIA.

From the *Liberia Herald*, November 20th, 1841.

AT this time, as it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty, it may be proper to conjecture what course the society at home will adopt to revive the drooping interests of the colony. That the colony is in a feeble state, no one, not even its warmest and most enthusiastic friends, will deny. But that its condition is worse than might years ago have been predicted, had the bearing and relation of events and circumstances been foreseen and taken into account, admits of a question. The present depressed state of the colony, is the legitimate result of natural and moral deficiencies and evils inherent in the system, whose combined negative (if we may so speak) and positive effect has engendered our misery. In the early stage of our colony, the liberal benefactions of the society to all classes in need of help, or who choose to appeal to her charity, the fat donations of private benevolists, the profuse allowance to emigrants, and the occasional arrival of one who would jingle a dollar in his pocket, served to keep up a kind of excitement, and stare absolute poverty out of countenance. Trade, at that time, though not larger in amount with the natives, was engrossed entirely with the colonists. No foreigner thought of bartering with the natives. Merchandize, to large amounts, was readily credited to the settlers, for barter with the aborigines, and to be paid for at an accommodating time. Profits then were high; and the trade being almost exclusively in the hands of the settlers they were enabled to keep prices steady and firm. But the times are changed. The little fondling, supposed to have attained the state of adolescence, no longer enjoys the smiles of its soothing foster parent, and the lullaby of liberal donations to all who may ask, or really need, is no longer thrust into its mouth, to stop its piteous wailing. The subject of the colony having now become trite, and no longer able to excite, many of its early and ardent friends have turned to new sources of phrensy. Others, equal in inconsistency, and differing only in their mode of procedure, disappointed in their expectation that the colony would at once attain the stature and strength of manhood, have turned away in despair. Men of pecuniary and moral worth have ceased to come out. The competition of foreigners in the native trade, has annihilated us almost to a unit. They press closely upon us on every side; and wherever a tooth of ivory, a kentle of camwood, or a knoo of oil is to be found, there you will find the foreigner ready to barter for it in exchange for merchandize, at a shade less in price than he would sell them to us. To this there are some honourable exceptions. A few captains, regarding our condition, refuse to sell to the natives at prices less than we have established. Others, again, boast of their superiority in this respect, and openly avow their intention to break us down, by running the trade. The extent of this evil can only be realised by those who know that the price, once reduced, can never be raised. The natives understand *less* in the price of their purchases, but *more*, by no course of reasoning, no alleged combination of circumstances, can you bring them to comprehend. What, then, is to be done! is the question frequently asked. Keep out foreigners, says one, and hold the trade in our own hands. But are we able to keep them out; will not a seizure and confiscation of property involve us in a dispute! And are we able to contend with any but ourselves! We have been a whole year fighting a few refractory spirits in our midst. We have conquered them it is true; but it is to be apprehended that, Phœnix-like, they will spring from their own ashes, and force us again into the field. There are no people on earth with whom we can contend, with even a mimic hope of success, but these dastardly deys around us, who not unfrequently run from the report of their own fire. Then betake yourselves to the soil, says the ignorant speculator. There is the source, sure, unfailing source of competence and independence; and this he commands with all the assurance and complacency of an oracle. We are not, however, so ignorant of political economy as not to know this fact. The difficulty does not consist in ignorance, but in weakness and poverty. Let the people one and all, immediately turn themselves to farming. What can they raise! Coffee. This is at least a triennial crop; and, to say nothing of the necessity of a capital to carry it on successfully, which of our farmers is able to subsist himself the third of three years while the crop is maturing! Can they raise sugar! Inquire at the colonial store what the society's sugar, manufactured from the last crop of cane, cost a pound. Shall they resort to cotton! A larger capital, and still more attention, are required to make a business of this. But they can raise potatoes, cassadas, pumpkins, &c. This will at least be going back to the state of nature; for as each would raise his own roots, and all cultivate the same, there would be no room for exchange, and commerce must die at its root. But can man live on these dry farinaceous roots alone! Must he not be clothed, and housed, and nurtured when sick! Where are these extras to come from! Not from foreigners; because we have nothing to give them in exchange.

Those who know nothing of the matter, may indulge in speculation. They may hurl the imputations of laziness, and want of enterprise; and they may direct us, for example, to the foresters of newly settled tracts in America. They may tell us how the axe resounds under the lusty hand, and the trees fall, and the wilderness melts away before the face of the American pioneer, and how soon the heavy waggon is seen groaning under the load of ripened sheaves and full-eared grain, rolling to the market. All this is well enough as examples; and all this we will do, if the same facilities are afforded to us.

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In America, wherever in the depth of the forest a few hardy and enterprising spirits pitch their tents, there is almost instantly to be seen a little mercantile establishment, furnished with every thing necessary to comfort, and auxiliary to manual occupation. In proportion to the avails of the coming harvest, each labourer is furnished in advance with the conveniences of life. Clothing, tools, and even provisions, should he need them, are given on credit, to be paid for when he gathers in his harvest! and his attention is not distracted, nor his time mispent upon a variety of objects; and thus he is enabled to be eating his fruits while he is yet sowing the seed. Were it not for these facilities, they could not farm any more than we; and afford them to us, and we will farm as well as they.

In America capital follows in the wake of population. It seeks employment. Here, there is none to follow—none to be employed. There government in its various improvements gives employment to thousands of labourers and mechanics, who in their turn encourage the agriculturist and husbandman. Here the government employs (we may almost say) none. There all can find constant lucrative employment. Here the days of labour—such as in its remuneration supplies motive to energy and encouragement to hope, are few and far between. There men are paid for their labour, in what has an intrinsic value, and will command its equivalent anywhere. Here, they are paid in cloth and tobacco, which will command—potatoes and cassados. If this is not a distinction with a difference, then we despair of ever finding one.

What then do we want? Encouragement for men who are willing to earn an honest subsistence by their labour, and facilities to till the earth; and it behoves us to be looking for some source that can supply these desiderata.

Some are so short-sighted as to suppose the operations of missionary bodies can supply them. While we admit freely that they have done good, and are calculated to do more good, we as freely and openly declare they can do evil. With a few exceptions, missionary employment has rather injured the colony. The building of the saw-mill was of advantage, because it gave employment to a number of operatives; and, were it not for evils which it might hereafter be made to pour out, it should be encouraged. But can any one suppose that the employment of the covey or half-made missionaries, squatting about in the bush, is of real utility to the colony? To say nothing of the spirit of servility and dependence, and indisposition to labour, which your men (and they are all nearly such) must contract, what do they produce? In the course of a year, they may, by constant and iterated inculcation, teach a little naked native to say his bla or menmems, or convince him that a circular line on paper, enclosing a few unintelligible marks, represents the globe. All these teachers are consumers—what do they produce? We are far from condemning effort to enlighten the minds of our people, or the natives; we rejoice in the march of intellect, and the spread of knowledge. But the best thing can be abused, and the best system advanced at an improper rate. Having said this much, we must be permitted to say further, that there is no place on earth where the population bears so small a proportion to the number of teachers, nor is it to be found anywhere in a community so poor as this, in which there are so great a number of grown up scholars. But the cause most probably is laid open in what we have already alleged—namely, the want of profitable employment; and making the best of a bad subject, this may be regarded an extenuation of evil, for allowing so many to feed upon the missionary crib.

We end where we commenced. We know not what course of policy the society will pursue. Something must be done, either by them or by us, or we must set our house in order, and prepare for national death.

STATE OF SURINAM.

From the *Guiana Gazette*.

WE call the particular attention of our readers to the following translation, with which we have been kindly favoured, of an extract from a letter just received by a gentleman of this town from a resident in Surinam. It will show our Combined Court that even slave-holding communities sometimes feel pressures; and it will show them too, that the Dutch of Surinam have ideas on the subject of immigration far beyond any they have ever arrived at.

As to the remarks in the letter about the "low grade of the Surinam negros in the scale of civilization," and that if set free "they will do nothing but sleep," that is the common cant of all slave-holders, and would no doubt prove quite as true in the case of the Surinam people as it did in the case of our own labourers:—

Paramaribo, May, 1842.

Our colony is going to the —— as fast as possible; business is very slack; sugar too cheap in the home market; and the slaves are grumbling.

The prospects of Demerara are very bad, but those of Surinam are, if possible, worse, although we still have slaves; and it is beyond any doubt that our colony, if not supported by the home government, must inevitably go to ruin. There is not one plantation (be the cultivation sugar or coffee), which made good its expenses last year, though they are trifling in comparison with those of Demerara, as most of our labourers are slaves, who of course, are not allowed much.

It is generally admitted that nothing but immigration can save the colony. Some planters of the old school maintain that nothing short of an importation of a few hundred cargoes of black African cattle will answer; but the greater part of the colonists are of opinion that the best, nay the only remedy for the present distress, and to save the colony, is Doctor Hostman's plan to introduce *German immigrants* into our country.

A Dutch-German society has been formed to carry that plan into effect. Our governor has held out the most flattering hopes to Doctor Hostman that his plan to colonize the country will be vigorously supported by the government of Holland. Our projected scheme of immigration is, of course, founded on principles totally different from those adopted in Demerara.

We set aside for the immigrants large tracts of fertile and cultivated land, ready planted with rice, plantains, and bananas; we erect comfortable cottages in groups of from 100 to 200, with mills, bakeries, blacksmiths shops, &c., with school-houses and chapels, so that each group will form a neat village; and we introduce German parsons. Thus the immigrants will find on their arrival a comfortable *home*, far superior to that he left in Germany. There will be no separation of families and friends, but our new villages will be ready to receive them all; they will have chapels to have their own divine service, and their own parsons to speak to them in their own language.

Each will get his lot of land, (a few acres) in cultivation and full bearing, and will thus have plenty wherewith to live for the first few months, till they become acclimatized, without being obliged to work hard to gain their daily bread. They will also be supplied, at the expense of the colony, with fresh and salt pork, and with flour twice a week, for the first two or three months. As soon as they are accustomed to our country and agriculture, they will pay a certain rent for their houses and land, and form a fine body of peasants, or lessee labourers.

This is our plan! We shall be ruined if it do not succeed, for the negros, when free, are sure not to work any longer in the fields; they are on the lowest step of the scale of mental cultivation—far inferior to the Demerara negros—without ambition, and with but few wants, which they can easily satisfy. Their "summum bonum" is sleep, which they will have ample leisure to obtain.

If the negros be not very shortly emancipated, they are sure to emancipate themselves; for it is pretty generally known amongst them that the black people of Demerara are free. A few days since there came fifty negros to town to put the question to the governor, previous to his departure to Holland, at what time they should be emancipated? They received an answer written in red ink—with a few hundred lashes on their backs. But what next? If they came in thousands to put that question, we could then give no such answer, and would, in all probability, get the lashes ourselves; O du lieber himmel! One hundred lashes each! A pleasant prospect indeed!

RESULT OF THE SLAVE-HOLDERS' CONVENTION IN MARYLAND.

THE holding of this convention will be in the recollection of our readers. The following statement of its issue, and the accompanying remarks on the general question, are from the pen of the reverend Dr. Breckenridge, well known in this country as a pro-slavery advocate. The *Emancipator*, in quoting them from a magazine, entitled, the *Spirit of the Nineteenth Century*, justly adds:—"These remarks, published at Baltimore, and coming from so decided an anti-abolitionist as Dr. Breckenridge, are themselves convincing proof of their own truth, and a guarantee for the fulfilment of their own predictions."

In our number for March, the reader may remember, we published a remonstrance against the petition of the Slave-holders' Convention, referred to above; and gave a syllabus of the plan dictated by that Convention to the legislature of Maryland, for the perpetuation of slavery in this commonwealth, and for the total ruin of its 62,000 and more free blacks. The bill which was brought into the popular branch of the legislature by a large and influential committee of the house, was far worse than the project of the Convention; and exhibited a system of injustice and inexpediency the most indefensible that was ever, in our knowledge, seriously proposed to the people of this state, by any party, on any subject. We add with deep regret, that this bill, somewhat amended, but yet retaining its main features, passed the house of delegates by a majority of ten or eleven votes, out of some eighty odd that constitute the body.

No serious alarm was felt by the public generally that the legislature would lend itself to such proceedings, until the bill actually passed the lower house; and then only about twelve days remained, before the Assembly would be compelled by the constitution to adjourn. An immediate and overwhelming burst of public indignation was heard in nearly every part of the state; and in some portions of it, as in the city of Baltimore, the opposition to the bill was apparently almost unanimous. The result was, that the senate rejected the bill, by a vote, as we understood, of fifteen to six. And so the matter stood for the present.

We have reason to believe that this movement in Maryland, is not by any means isolated and unpremeditated; but that it is part of a concerted plan covering all the border slave states, if not the entire slave interest; and that it will be renewed from time to time, here and elsewhere, in various forms and under various pretexts, as the ambition of party leaders, or the reckless folly of heated partisans, may suggest. Let the friends of public order and peace, of moderate councils of the progress of civilization, and of the union of the states, consider the signs of the times, and what their duty calls them to do.

There can be no doubt, that throughout all the slave-holding country a state of sound, thoughtful, and enlightened sentiment, upon this whole subject, is far more extensive than superficial observers have any idea of.

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We have watched this subject for above twenty years, with deep interest and fixed attention, and with no ordinary opportunities of making up a true judgment. And we unhesitatingly assert, that in our opinion the violent proceedings, counsels, and opinions, uttered by newspapers, politicians and loafers, do not express the views of the great mass of the people in the slave-holding states. The people are not in favour of cruel, violent, or unreasonable measures or principles. We appeal to the recent developments of public sentiment in Kentucky and Maryland, in proof and illustration of what we say.

It is a great element of truth for all practical purposes connected with this whole subject, and which no man, and especially no man who loves the union, can overlook, that the political condition of the question, as a general case, is shifting every day, and with ceaseless and irresistible force; wherefore all standing still, much less all going back, is not only impossible in the nature of the case, but it is too ridiculous to be thought of by men with cool heads and large views. The thing cannot happen, in the nature of the case; it is therefore supremely idle to attempt to force it by means which only defeat themselves. When South Carolina was as strong as the whole state of New York, she had one position; when she is hardly as strong as the city of New York, she has another. When Maryland ranked with Pennsylvania, she was what she was; when she falls behind Illionis, she is what she is. When the slave states were twelve-thirteenths of the Union, as they were when the federal constitution was adopted, the slave interest was quite another thing from what it now is, when its physical and political power is as one-third, or as it will be at the next census, when it will be perhaps one-fifth. This is the silent, certain, irrepressible result of causes which abolitionists never had any thing to do with, which pro-slavery men are utterly powerless in resisting, and which, whatever we may think of them, have been working, are working, and will go on to work their own end, by their own inherent force.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 27TH.

THE long expected discussion of the clause in the Colonial Passengers' Bill, which is intended to facilitate the exportation of Indian labourers to Mauritius, came on in the House of Commons last night; and we regret to say it was carried, against Mr. Hawes's amendment, by a majority of 118 to 24.

WE have the pleasure of presenting to our readers to-day some interesting extracts from the Report of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery society, together with the petition of the committee of the African Association in British Guiana, to which we referred in our last. We beg to direct attention also to the articles relating to Liberia and Surinam.

WE mentioned in our last that a petition signed by 221 merchants and others had been presented to the Combined Court of British Guiana, complaining in the usual tone of the ruin of the colony.

Bearing on the subject of this petition, and the resolutions which it evidently was got up for the purpose of introducing into the Combined Court, the *Gazette* of the 14th, publishes the following letter from a correspondent in the colony :—

"Sir,—As you appear to recommend so strongly the residence of proprietors on the West India estates, I beg to submit a statement, exhibited to me this day by an agent of two properties who is on the eve of leaving the colony, wherein he shews that sugar and rum, per cask, has been grown and manufactured by him, in labour wages, at the low sum of 4*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* per cask.

"The statement exhibits that on the two properties there were made, between the 1st July, 1839, and the 10th instant, the following produce, for the money wages set opposite to each :—

"No. 1 estate, May 10, 1842—Made from 1st July, 1839, to date—1241 hhds. sugar, 111,245 gallons rum, 37 over proof, or 974 puncheons; 9554*l.* wages paid.

"Making each cask 4*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* in labourers' wages.

"No. 2 estate, May 10—Made from 1st July, 1839, to date—1517 hhds. sugar, 108,652 gallons rum, 37 over proof, or 986 puncheons: 11,070*l.* wages paid.

"Making each cask 4*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* in labourers' wages.

"I fear, Mr. Editor, you will produce but few instances where the resident proprietors have done better than this; the latter property, during twenty months ending 31st December, having realized a net revenue of 24,000*l.* as by documents in the agent's hands.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A FRIEND TO THE PRACTICAL AGENTS.

"14th May, 1842."

This communication, the *Gazette* says, "comes from an authentic source," and it takes the two estates referred to "to be *Lusignan* and *Annandale*." On this document we copy the following judicious, but searching remarks from the *Barbados Liberal*.

It would, perhaps, be as unfair to judge of the capability of all the estates in the colony and the general cost of cultivation by these two, as it is to compare, in the way the Combined Court and its petitioners have done, the production of a confessedly bad year (1841) with that of 1837, the best which the colony had for a long period experienced, and infer certain ruin from the result. But, without resorting to so clearly unfair a procedure, and looking at the statement here given by the correspondent of the *Gazette* merely as particular facts having a general bearing on the subject, is it possible to suppose, with any reasonableness, that in the same colony at the same time, and under the influence of the same seasons, so great a disparity could exist, and be attributable solely to costof labour, as is shown between those two estates and the sixty-two, *fairly* selected on account of their diversity of situation, &c., for the report of the public meeting in December last? The writer here makes the average cost of labour, on one estate, for the past three years, 4*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* sterling, equal to 20 dollars 74 cents, per hogshead, and on the other estate, for the same period, 4*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* sterling, or 21 dollars 62 cents per hogshead. The report made the average of entire cost on 62 estates, *fairly selected*, 98 dollars some cents per hogshead, while sugar was selling at somewhere over eighty dollars per hogshead, and attributed this ruinous production to the excessive wages paid to the labourers. Upon these two estates, on the average of the last three years, the labourers' proportion of the hogshead of sugar was 21 dollars 14 cents, or (at the average market price of sugar) about one-fifth part.

These two estates may be of superior fertility to the general run of estates in the colony, they may be under a better system of management, and cultivated with more skill. Granted; but after all reasonable allowance shall be made for these and other possible advantages, the estimate of the report, and its inferences, and the tremendous clamour which to this moment is founded upon them, will be nothing better for it; to establish the accuracy of the reporters' estimate of cost of production, they must fairly make shipwreck of their honesty of purpose and mode of proceeding. For they profess to have made fair selection of 62 estates diversely situated as regards locality and capability, &c.; and, giving us plainly to understand that these may be taken as a fair standard of the whole, they expressly attribute the excessive cost of production, not to inferior fertility, bad system of management, unskilful cultivation, adverse seasons, or any thing of that sort, but solely to the enormous wages paid to the labourers, and the slovenly work performed by them for those wages. And, in fact, the remedy which they demand for the evil would show plainly, even in the absence of such express declaration, that these and these only are its source. They seek not the means of fertilizing their lands to render them more fruitful; they think not of changing their system of management for a better, nor of recommending other modes of cultivation; and not a prayer is sent up to heaven for more favourable seasons. Their only aim and object is immigration—labour in greater abundance and cheaper, and on this object their whole mind is intent, and all their energies are concentrated. This is the panacea for all their ills, political and commercial. Give them but this, and the sixty-two estates, fairly selected as aforesaid, would then be as productive as any, and might be quoted in evidence of the prosperity of the colony as they now are of its completely ruined state.

WE have seen various references to the case of the "three imprisoned abolitionists" in the United States, but none until now from which we could gather a clear account of it. The following, from the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*, is intelligible, and will engage a lively sympathy in this country with the incarcerated brethren.

Some of our readers doubtless know that three young men, students of the Mission Institute, Illinois, were seized in Missouri, tried, condemned, and sent to the penitentiary for twelve years, on a charge of enticing slaves to leave their masters. Their names are ALANSON WORK, JAMES E. BURR, and GEORGE THOMPSON. They were natives of Connecticut, New York and Ohio, all of unimpeachable character, and were preparing for the missionary service. They crossed over into Missouri, and, moved by compassion, agreed to afford facilities to certain slaves who had expressed a desire to be free. While prosecuting this work they were betrayed by some whom they were endeavouring to aid. It is asserted that they violated no law of Missouri, except constructively, as was admitted on the trial. The court instructed the jury, that the agreement to meet the slaves for the purpose of aiding them in obtaining their freedom, and their meeting under such agreement, constituted a *taking*. No appeal of the case was allowed. A statement has been published, prepared by a committee friendly to the imprisoned youth, of the whole transaction, and letters from the young men themselves, breathing a meek, resigned, and christian spirit. "Is there a man," asks a writer, "with a soul so debased as not to recognize in their act a sublimer daring than in that of the heroes of Olmutz? May the Lord be with them in their prison! Let them be of good cheer—twelve years hence there will not be left one stone upon another of the great bastile of slavery." These three young men refused to serve the gods and worship the image which the slave-holders have set up in this land; and, like the heroic Jewish youth have been cast into the midst, not indeed of a fiery furnace, but of a loathsome jail. They too, like SHADRACH MESHACH and ABEDNEGO, may say, "Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us. He will deliver us." Let the friends of the oppressed, and of those who suffer for righteousness' sake, remember these young ministers at the throne of grace.

PETITION OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE GUIANA AFRICAN ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Demerara, 31st May, 1842.

SIR,—I am directed by the Committee of the Guiana African Association to forward you a copy of a petition, which was this day presented to His Excellency Henry Light, Esquire, Governor, to be transmitted by the present packet to her most gracious Majesty, the Queen.

The Association is as yet in its infancy, and owes its origin to the petty vexations which are secretly accumulating over the heads of the coloured people, which have forced them to combine for their mutual protection.

You will perceive that the reasons urged in the petition against immigration are confined entirely to recent acts of the Combined Court. We hope soon to take more enlarged views of our present position, being prepared to refute the calumnious aspersions against us as a body, and to prove to the world, that, until the planter policy be reformed, and the present system pursued on plantations radically changed, immigration to British Guiana will be, as stated in the petition, but another name for slavery, continuing the disabilities under which the descendants of Africa labour.

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With an earnest prayer to Almighty God for the success of your philanthropic exertions on behalf of the oppressed, and thereby degraded African race,

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
N. BELGRAVE.

To Her Most Excellent Majesty, Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, Defender of the Faith, Sovereign of the Orders of the Garter, Thistle, Bath, and St. Patrick, &c., &c.

The Petition of the Committee of the African Association of British Guiana,

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your Majesty's petitioners are a Committee of a society, termed the African Association, composed of members of all creeds and complexions in the colony of British Guiana, for the improvement and advancement of the great body of the colonial population.

That, expressing the sentiments of this great body of your Majesty's loyal subjects of Guiana, your Majesty's petitioners humbly desire to lay at your royal feet, the burden of their grievances.

That the present acts of the Combined Court of the colony, now sitting in assembly at George Town, are prejudicial and injurious to the great body of your Majesty's subjects, and to the character of the colony.

That, in support of these allegations, your Majesty's petitioners would humbly submit an analysis of a few of the principal acts alluded to, as follows:—

Act I. The Combined Court has "struck off" the sum of twenty-one thousand six hundred dollars; which had been placed on the civil list for the stipendiary justices of the peace. An act on the part of the court, most disreputable, and which would not be tolerated in private life; inasmuch as the same is a breach of faith, being a public violation of a contract entered into by the said Court, with your Majesty's lieutenant, Sir Henry M'Leod, by which contract the court became possessed of the whole of your Majesty's colonial revenues. An act, by which your petitioners are also deeply aggrieved, since it is thus attempted by the Combined Court, or old slave owners, to deprive the great body of the population of that protection, which every day's experience proves cannot be expected from the hands of these old task masters. An act, which greatly tends to lessen the confidence of the great body of the people in the administration of your Majesty's colonial government, a tendency which is justly deprecated by your Majesty's petitioners.

Act II. The Combined Court has "struck off" the customary petty allowances to catechists, sextons, and beadles, all church contingencies and assistant curates. An act against which your petitioners cannot too strongly protest, as the act evinces a disposition on the part of the planter Court, silently and insidiously and gradually to deprive the great body of the people of the teachers and places of worship; not because the said Court has any objection to the connexion between church and state, but because it would impede the moral progress of the people; and, for this end the Court would retain so much of the establishment as would be useful only to the rich, and oppressive to the poor.

Act III. The Combined Court has "struck off" the salaries for superintendents of rivers and creeks, and reduced the item for Indian schools from two thousand to four hundred dollars. An act justly viewed with alarm by your Majesty's petitioners; for the superintendents are three most valuable magisterial officers, called into existence by the planter experience of the upright Sir James Carmichael Smyth, to guard against the rapacity and wickedness of the planter and woodcutter of the remote creeks, whose distance from the salutary supervision of the stern eye of justice was impunity to crime. These superintendents have achieved much against the evil, and their removal would be the signal for the renewal of Indian slavery and every dark deed of oppression.

Act IV. The Combined Court has "struck off" the item of salary for inspector of police for the county of Demerara. That this act of the Court is construed by the community as a secret blow aimed at the colour and politics of the present inspector, is an assertion made by the liberal public press of the county. Indeed, it is an act, against which men of all shades of mind or body loudly and indignantly exclaim; and being the only valuable government office to which a coloured man has in this colony been appointed, and the appointment being the unsolicited gift of his Excellency the governor, the present act of the Court tends to fan into a flame those pernicious embers of distinction which were gradually dying away.

That moreover your Majesty's petitioners affirm, that, although the name may be changed, the office of inspector of police for the county of Demerara cannot be abolished, so long as the present force and distribution of the police exist in the colony. The members of the Combined Court were conscious that, in the first instance, during the quarterly and extraordinary tours of the inspector-general to the counties of Essequibo and Berbice, the duties of the general legally devolved on the inspector of Demerara, the only supervising authority for the police of the county of Demerara, even when the general is at head-quarters; and next, while the counties of Essequibo and Berbice, with only thirty privates each, have an inspector for each county, and Berbice a sergeant-major also, it was evidently folly, if not revenge and prejudice, in the Combined Court to strike off the inspector of Demerara from a county containing one hundred and twenty privates of police, nine rural police stations, and a capital (Georgetown) containing as many inhabitants as are in the whole county of Berbice.

Lastly, your Majesty's petitioners consider that the withholding all salary from the coloured inspector of Demerara, is not only prejudicial and impolitic, hurtful to the feelings of the great body of the people, and offensive to the executive, but a direct violation of an ordinance of the Court of Policy, confirmed by your gracious Majesty.

Act V. The Combined Court has deprived the proprietors of the *Gazette* newspaper of the public printing, because that journal had the independency to prove to the satisfaction of the community, that, had the governor, in the recent plantation strikes, followed the advice of the planters to eject the labourers by an armed force, and that without appeal to any stipendiary justice, British Guiana would have been a field of blood. Against this attempt of the Combined Court against free discussion by the press, your Majesty's petitioners solemnly protest.

That now your Majesty's petitioners would lay before your Majesty the erroneous assumptions on which the Court vainly bases all its acts of injustice.

First, it is assumed by the Court that the produce of the land produces the bulk of the taxes; and secondly, that the average price of sugar for the past year is only £18 per hogshead.

Whereas, it is on the face of the records of the Court, that while the amount of taxes raised in 1841 is one million one hundred and forty-four thousand, five hundred and nine dollars, fifty-three cents, the planter's produce tax is only three hundred and twenty-nine thousand, one hundred and eleven dollars, or one-fourth of the taxes.*

Also, that the average price of a hogshead of sugar, for 1841, is not £18, but £30; for in June, sugar sold in London for £37, and in December for £25 per hogshead, exclusive of duty.

That extravagance and not economy, is really the order of the Court. Your Majesty's petitioners will now submit the following extravagant items among many.

	Dollars.
Raised in 1841 by Taxes, sinking fund for Immigration	53,250
Ditto ditto Machinery to reduce wages . .	15,000
For Immigration and Agents cash spent from the sitting of the Court last year to the present time . . .	254,732
Reserve Immigration Fund raised by Taxes . .	140,000
Purchase of Immigration Steamer, *Venezuela* . .	40,000
Immigration Estimate 1842, additional . . .	100,000
Penal Settlement to coerce Immigrants already spent	27,000
To be raised this year for the settlement . . .	23,000
	661,882†

Thus it appears that the Combined Court squanders for immigration alone, the enormous sum of six hundred and sixty-one thousand eight hundred eighty-two dollars, a sum more than double the amount of the produce tax of 1841.

That it is apparent to your Majesty's petitioners, that while the Court lavishes more than half a million of dollars for immigration, it refuses to make any adequate provision for the moral advancement of the great body of the people, and for the equal and just administration of the law, but on the contrary, descends to the cutting off of beadles and sextons, whose annual salary is only one hundred and ten dollars.

That it appears also, that while the Combined Court lavishes this extravagant sum (in which every extravagant item is not included,) for the importation of uncivilized barbarous tribes, the court takes every opportunity to keep the great body of the people in as abject a condition as possible.

That the great body of your Majesty's loyal subjects of Guiana, being thus trampled upon, scorned, and destitute of protection,—by and in the Combined Court, your Majesty's petitioners have arrived at the conclusion that the planter's scheme of immigration is but another name for slavery.

That, finally, your Majesty's petitioners cannot but consider that the Combined Court, as at present constituted, is unworthy to be entrusted with the destiny of the ignorant and simple inhabitants of Asia and Africa; for, while the Court proceeds to deprive the coloured beadles and sextons of the annual pittance of one hundred and ten dollars, and the coloured inspector for the county of Demerara of the annual salary of one thousand eight hundred and sixty six dollars, it gave last year a gratuity of two thousand dollars, adding thereto this year, an additional gratuity of twenty thousand dollars, with an annual salary of seven thousand dollars, to the private proprietors of the unseaworthy steamer *Victoria*, these proprietors being the principal members of the court itself.

Your Majesty's petitioners, in the name of the great body of the loyal inhabitants of British Guiana, do therefore most humbly pray, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to forbid all immigration from Asia and Africa to this colony, until the grievances of which your petitioners complain shall have been redressed; and your Majesty's petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c., &c., &c.

GEORGE M'FARLANE,
President of the Guiana African Association.
N. BELGRAVE, *Secretary*.

British Guiana, 31st May, 1842.

* Vide Finanical Estimates—Ways and Means, 1841.

† Extract from Finanical Estimates and Accounts.

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ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

A MEETING of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association of Stoke Newington was held at that place, in the Friends' Meeting House, on the 5th of this month, George William Alexander in the chair. Among the persons present were Dr. Rolph, from Canada, Captain Brown, lately resident in Jamaica, Isaac Collins, from the United States, Cornelius Hanbury, J. Scoble, James Carlile, independent minister, F. Homan and many of the female friends of the negro resident in that vicinity.

The report was read by Mr. Scoble, and, among other interesting matter, makes the following pointed appeal to the females in the neighbourhood. "With those of their own sex the committee would especially plead in behalf of their oppressed and suffering sisters. Their condition is indeed affecting. All the social relations which here are found to be the charm of this life, with them are violated. The wife, the mother, the daughter, the sister, are never secure in the enjoyment of these relationships; all these at any time may be snapped asunder at the will of him, who owns as his property those who are thus connected; and when in this manner bereaved and desolate, how few of these hapless daughters of misery know any thing of hope beyond the grave to sustain the mind. Thus on the female slave, as emphatically 'the weaker vessel,' the yoke presses more heavily, 'the iron enters more deeply into her soul,' borne down to the earth by intolerable labour, debased by ignominious punishments, without moral cultivation to elevate her, behold this victim of oppression, and let her happier sisters arise to her help, use their influence to assert her rights, to redress her wrongs, and, while rescuing her from her physical degradation, aim to train her up 'to glory, honour, and immortality.'" The following is the financial statement:—

"The subscriptions and donations amount to £98 13s. 4d., of which £90 have been paid to the Parent Society, and £7 17s. 2d. expended in printing, *Anti-Slavery Reporters*, &c., leaving a balance in hand of 16s. 2d."

James Carlile and Francis Homan expressed in just terms their sense of the iniquity of slavery, and the duty of seeking with earnestness its entire and universal abolition.

John Scoble dwelt particularly on the extent and cruelty of East Indian slavery. He alluded to the former ignorance of English abolitionists on this important subject, and the light which had been thrown upon it within the last few years in parliamentary and other documents. He also referred to the meritorious attempt of the ministry of Earl Grey to effect its termination, and the manner in which their intention was frustrated by an important alteration in the clause relating to this subject in the India bill of 1834, when submitted to the House of Lords. A duty was, however, still imposed upon the East India Company to take measures for the amelioration of slavery in Hindostan, and its abolition so soon as this should be deemed prudent. It was stated, that the East India Company had neglected the duty which thus devolved upon them, during a period of eight years that had since elapsed, having done little or nothing in reference to the amelioration or abolition of slavery, except giving liberty to about 1100 slaves belonging to themselves, in the Coorg district, in 1836. The late Governor-general of India had, however, recently forwarded a report on the subject of East Indian slavery; and J. Scoble stated, that it was the intention of the present government to do more than that document recommended in loosening or destroying the bonds of the slave. Nothing, however, could, or ought to be considered satisfactory, short of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in India—a measure approved by some of our most enlightened countrymen in that land, and desired by a portion of the Hindoos. It was further stated, that slavery had been recently abolished in the settlements belonging to Great Britain in the Indian seas, for which due credit was given to government; and a confident expectation was expressed that this measure would be shortly followed by the abolition of slavery in the beautiful island of Ceylon.

Dr. Rolph noticed the interesting fact that Canada now contains sixteen thousand persons who have escaped from the house of bondage, the southern portion of the American republic. He adverted to the high character given to these interesting emigrants resident in Toronto by an eminent Canadian judge, and their general good conduct in their new country, notwithstanding the highly unfavourable circumstances in which they had been placed, in a land polluted with slavery; and where the elements of knowledge are placed beyond their reach by revolting and sanguinary laws. He related the dreadful sufferings inflicted upon slaves who are retaken while attempting to escape, which are of so savage a character as to resemble more the acts of demons than of human beings. Dr. Rolph expressed his earnest hope that the loyal and valuable coloured citizens of Canada would be effectually protected by the British government, as was at once its bounden duty and true policy.

Captain Brown gave a cheering account of the good conduct and industry of the emancipated negros of Jamaica, founded upon personal experience. He had long had a pecuniary interest in an estate in Jamaica, on which, during the time of slavery, the population had been dreadfully lessened by that murderous system, the original number of five hundred having been reduced more than one-half, or below two hundred and fifty. The produce had fallen off also in an equal proportion. On the introduction of the great measure of emancipation Captain Brown was on the island, and thought that if the labour of the new freemen could be obtained at a rate less than that paid during slavery for hire, either to jobbing gangs, or to the apprentice in his own time, the arrangement would be satisfactory and beneficial for the employer. The wages thus paid had been 1s. 8d. sterling for a good field hand, besides some allowances. Captain Brown now offered 1s. 6d., which was gladly accepted, and in a week after the establishment of freedom, his labourers, without solicitation, resumed their tasks, and many new ones gladly came to him. That the other estates in the same parish, St. Thomas in the East, were not equally well off, arose from the determination of the managers (few proprietors are resident there) to give employment only on such terms as they chose to dictate, and which were generally extremely unjust, if judged by the criterion of value which has been given. In one instance, the terms offered by a manager of extensive properties, who lives in great splendour upon the gains of West Indian estates, was sixpence sterling per diem. This information was given to Captain Brown by a special magistrate, and was greatly at variance with the declaration of the manager, who had the hardihood to state, that he had unavailingly made very liberal offers to the negros. Captain Brown had recently visited Cuba, where slavery exists in its worst form. The mortality among the slaves in the mines on that island amounts to 20 per cent. per annum. While at Cuba, he saw several English vessels laden with the copper thus obtained, and about to sail for England.

Isaac Collins in the course of an interesting speech, gave an account of a waiter at an inn, whom he had met with in the southern states of America, who had been sold away from his family, and thus separated for life from those to whom he was attached by the nearest ties of nature and affection. He alluded to that which he regarded as the worst feature connected with American slavery—the internal slave-trade—and expressed his opinion that Great Britain has the power to abolish slavery universally, by establishing a tariff now, or prospectively, according to which the produce of free countries shall be admitted on more favourable terms than that imported from countries in which slavery is allowed. He also expressed his confidence, that the joint efforts of British and American abolitionists would, ere long, produce a great change in some of those regions in which a cruel bondage at present exists.

The Chairman, in concluding the meeting at a somewhat late hour, expressed the gratification afforded him by the conduct of the female friends of the slave in Stoke Newington, who had rendered very useful assistance to the Parent Society by their zeal and contributions. He hoped that they would be encouraged to persevere, and that their numbers would be augmented. He stated his opinion, that the encouragement given to slave-grown produce by its consumption, to which his friend Isaac Collins had alluded, deserved the serious consideration of the friends of the negro. He thought that those who clothed themselves with an article which in its raw state is obtained by forced and uncompensated labour, or who made use of other articles similarly obtained, thus involved themselves in a participation in the crime of the slave-holder. At the same time, he was aware of the difficulties with which the subject was encompassed, especially in the present period of deep distress. Still the principle of not doing evil that good may come, appeared to him applicable in this instance. He agreed with Isaac Collins in the belief that, if abolitionists did their duty, the system of slavery, which would be a disgrace even to a barbarous and heathen country, would not be much longer tolerated in those which profess christianity. He described slavery as a system every way baneful in the highest degree, whether as respects its influence on human happiness, or on the mental, moral, and religious condition of its victims, and consequently, that it is the duty of every humane man, and especially of every good man, to labour for its abolition.

LUNSFORD LANE: AN INTERESTING FACT.

From the *New York Evangelist*.

AT a meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on Thursday morning, May 11th, a committee of forty made a report on the state of the cause, and the encouragement for renewed efforts in view of the increased readiness of the people to hear. The report proposed that 50,000 dollars should be raised for the executive committee the coming year. This was warmly advocated by some, and opposed by others.

Among its opposers was a quaker from Long Island. He spoke moderately, and his speech excited little interest; but he had uttered only two or three sentences, when the house rang with enthusiastic applause. On looking at the door, we perceived a middle-aged, noble-looking, keen-eyed man, coming in with a child in his arms—accompanied by his wife, who carried a still younger child, and his mother, who seemed in the prime of life, and a group of bright looking children. Room was soon made for them on the platform, where they seated themselves, in a very modest and quiet manner. It was Lunsford Lane, with his emancipated family.

A host of inquiring eyes were turned towards them, and many seemed ready to say, Who are these? It was proposed that the motion before the meeting should be withdrawn, that this curiosity might be gratified. "No, it need not be withdrawn," said Mr. Collins, "Lunsford Lane will be the best advocate for the resolution." The state of the question was then explained to Mr. Lane, and he stepped forward to the front of the platform, and with the gracefulness of nature's true eloquence, related his story, as follows:—

Mr. Chairman: It is a source of great rejoicing to my heart to present to this meeting, these, in whom my life consists. I have for twelve months been going from house to house, and from place of business to place of business, to tell my story, and ask for help, so that my history is known to you and many others.

In 1836, I made a bargain with the man who held my wife and children,

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to pay him twenty-five hundred dollars for their freedom. After I had raised 620 dollars, and paid it, very severe laws were passed, forbidding coloured people to remain in the state. I received a notice from two justices of the peace, requiring me to leave within twenty days. It prostrated my hopes. My money was lost, my bright expectations were lost—my family was lost, and I was lost of course.

I went round among my friends (for I had some friends there), and asked their advice. Mr. Manly, a lawyer, my tried friend though he is a slave-holder, advised me to get up a petition, praying the legislature to allow me to remain. They were to convene in about three months.

[" Where did you live?" said a voice in the crowd. " You have not told us that yet."]

At Raleigh, N. C. It took me nearly three months to get my petition ready, and get it signed by the leading men in the place. When the legislature met, I called on the members. I went from boarding-house to boarding-house with my petition, and stood upon the steps of the state-house, to meet them when they came in. While they read the petition, I talked and cried; and for what? For those in whom my life was hid. After reading my petition, many of them told me it would have been better for me if I had remained a slave. Then, said they, you could not have been ordered to leave the state, and be separated from your wife and children.

[It should be remembered that Mr. Lane had paid 1000 dollars for himself before he could begin to purchase the freedom of his family. This fact he modestly kept out of sight, till it was stated by another.]

After a while, my petition was brought before the legislature, but they drove it out of the house. I was then taken into court, to see if I could not be made a slave, for staying in the state, against the law. It so happened that those who were trying to get me into slavery were not ready to meet the case; and I succeeded, by the help of my friend Mr. Manly, in getting it put off three months.

When that time was nearly gone, Mr. Manly told me, that, as the others were not ready before, he could so manage it that I should not be ready. He did so by ——— but I need not tell you how. The case was again put off three months, and I began to hope that I should escape, and not again be entangled with the yoke of bondage. But at length the time for the trial drew near. Mr. Manly told me it would certainly go against me, and that I had better leave the state. It was hard to leave my family, but I dared not stay. I took one of my little girls, and fled, on the night of the 18th of May, a year ago. I went to Massachusetts, and placed my daughter in Boston, where, on the 14th April, I left her. I had placed her in *school*, to which I never in my life had the honour of carrying a pitcher of water to the scholars. My story was told, and many, who never saw me, heard of it, and sent their money. I raised 1400 dollars. I wanted but 1380 dollars, and I raised 1400, yes, 1500 dollars. I then did not wish to get into danger if I could help it. So I wrote to Mr. Smith, who held my family, asking him to get a writing from the governor, permitting me to come into the state to pay the money and take them away. My letter was dated the 5th of April, and on the 12th, an answer was received. It stated that the governor said he had no authority for granting me a written permission to come into the state; but he authorised Mr. Smith to write that I might come and remain twenty days with perfect safety. On the 11th of April, I left Boston, and arrived at Raleigh on the 23rd. I had no expectation of staying twenty days, and did not fear any danger; but I was disappointed. Two constables came at night, and took me from the house, and carried me to the State-House. On the way they told me I had been giving anti-slavery lectures in Massachusetts. They said they had full proof of it, and that I need not deny it. I was taken before Mr. Loring, editor of the *Standard*, who was the police judge. He read the writ, and then said: " Have you been giving anti-slavery lectures in Massachusetts?" I don't know, I replied; but, if your honour will permit, I will tell you what I did do. He gave me leave. and I said: 'Mr. Loring, it is not hid from you how I was driven from Raleigh. I stayed here many months after it was tried to drive me away, and I paid money, more than once, that I might have a longer time to stop. They found I could not be run off: and why did I so cling to this spot? It was because of those in whom my life is hid. At length, when I could no longer tarry, I took one child, my little ewe lamb, and went away. When I reached Boston I made known my story. The people drank it in as the fat of the land. I found they felt for my family; so I went from house to house, and from store to store, and from church to church, and told the people a true story of what my heart felt. I said more than I would have said here. Now, Mr. Loring, have I delivered anti-slavery lectures?' Mr. Loring said he did not see as I had done wrong. I looked about on the people, and nearly every face looked bright towards me. The richest man in the place stood forth in my defence. There was Mr. Boylan, who owns 300 slaves, and Mr. Manly, and many others who owned fifty slaves or more, who befriended me; but there were many who did not own the hair of a slave, who were ready to crush me to the earth. A crowd of them was gathered around the house, so that Mr. Loring advised me not to go out alone. You had better finish your business as soon as you can, said he, and leave town to-morrow, which would be the 26th of April.

No, I will leave to-day, I said.

" But your business will not be in a proper state," said Mr. Loring.

No matter, " proper state" or not, I will leave town to-day, if the cars will carry me. Every body knows me here, and if they want to kill me, they can do it. I will go, and will not stop till I get to Philadelphia, for freedom is *all over* that place. My friends furnished me with a guard, and I went to the cars. There I met the governor. He shook hands with me, and, as he gave me his right hand, his left went into his pocket, and he gave me a three dollar bill. He said he should be glad to grant my request, if it had been in his power, and would now serve me in any way he could. A crowd was then gathering around the cars, and the conductors became excited, and told me I should not go with them; that if I was on the cars they would not start, though they had the mail to carry. So I was left behind, and the crowd soon took me into their own hands, and said they would go with me and search my trunks. Some of them said I had two trunks, and some said I had three, though I had but one; they opened that, and turned over all my old rags that were in it. They took up one thing after another, and shook it, but they found only one paper. They seized that, two or three of them taking it at once; but they could not make out any thing against me from it, and most of them left me. My friends then advised me to go to jail as the only place of safety, and they would come in the night, and let me out, so that I could go among my friends, finish my business, and leave the place. They came as they agreed, when all seemed quiet. I had scarcely gone thirty yards from the jail, when I was suddenly surrounded by an innumerable company, who rushed upon me, and raised me from the ground, and carried me on their shoulders. Then I was indeed high and lifted up. Thus I was carried, as in a whirlwind, towards the gallows. Then my heart sunk within me. I thought all was gone. But I perceived they went by the gallows, to the bank of a little creek, on the borders of the town. There they let me down, and permitted me to walk through the water. My coat and boots had been pulled off in the crowd. From the creek the crowd accompanied me up a small hill about half a mile, to the woods. On the way one of the men struck me, because I did not go fast enough. Then they told me to tell them all about those anti-slavery lectures. I asked them if they heard what I said in the court-house. " Yes," said one of them, " but now I want to hear the truth."

I am glad you want to know the truth, I told them, for the truth is what I have always lived by. I always took delight in telling the truth. I then told the same story I had told them before. They said that was not the truth. I told them I was not in possession of any other truth on the subject, and of course I could not give it to them.

I then looked anxiously about me, expecting to see the rope and the gallows; for I thought they were going to hang me, but had not dared to do it at the common gallows. While I was looking about I saw a bucket, and wondered what it was for. Soon a pillow was brought, and then I perceived the bucket was full of tar. They stripped off the remainder of my clothes, and covered me with tar almost from my head to my heels. Then opening the pillow, they covered me liberally with the equipment of an anti-slavery lecturer. (Laughter and cheers.) I never professed that my heart was full of abolition, but I now stand on this platform and say, that if any man ought to be an anti-slavery lecturer, Lunsford Lane is the man. [Here Mr. Lane offered to read some interesting letters, forgetting that he had not stated how he escaped from his tormentors. How did you get away? said a voice in the crowd.]

I was set at liberty by the people, who said, " Now we have done what we wished to do. Now go home, and be not afraid. You may do what business you please, and you shall not be hurt. We merely wished to let the aristocracy know that they should not have their own way."

I then went home, and there all was confusion, and almost death. My wife and family were in mourning and sackcloth, expecting to hear that I was hung.

When I entered the house, though I was so strangely dressed, my wife embraced me with cheerfulness, and commenced taking off my coat of tar and feathers. She had scarcely commenced, when the house was darkened by those who put it on. They asked me when I expected to leave town. To-morrow, I replied. I suppose you have business to do, they remarked. If so, go and do it, and don't feel embarrassed. A guard was stationed around the house, to defend me; but I dared not trust myself to sleep in the house, or hardly out of it. I slept at the house of Mr. Smith, the man of whom I bought my family. The next morning I went to see Mrs. Hayward, the owner of my mother.

To my great joy, she told me she had concluded to let my mother go free, as I was her only child, and it would almost kill her to part with me. She said, if I ever felt able to pay her 200 dollars, I might do it. My friends, Mr. Boylan and Mr. Manly, then assisted me to get money for my certificates of deposite. I paid it over to Mr. Smith, and took his bill of sale. It was then near 12 o'clock, and there was a great crowd gathering in the public streets. There was not so great a crowd when Lafayette went through Raleigh.

From the free remarks that were made as they moved towards the depot, Mr. Loring judged that it was not safe for me to go there. I was therefore put into a carriage, and taken by a roundabout way to a spot on the railroad, about a mile and a half distant. My family were all put aboard at the usual place, and the crowd were looking anxiously for me, but they knew not where I was. An arrangement was made with the conductor to stop when I gave him a signal. He did so, and I jumped aboard. This was Tuesday morning, and I stopped not, till, on Thursday morning, I stepped my foot on the free land of Philadelphia. It was on the 26th of April, about nine o'clock, I had the happiness to imagine I heard the shackles fall from those who are dearer to me than life. He here referred to the time when he paid the money.

The bill of sale was then read to the meeting by Mr. Spear. It was like a bill for selling any other property. It stated that Mr. Smith sold to Lunsford Lane a dark mulatto woman, and then mentioned the children by name. One was called Alex, in the bill. " I named him Alexander," said Lane quickly, " I want all that belongs to us."

As the children were mentioned one after another, they rose or were raised up before the meeting, exhibiting the bright countenances of young immortals, such as the people of this nation buy and sell as they do swine.

Now, said he, as he concluded his story, I have not a dollar in my pocket; yet I think there is not one here who feels richer or happier than I.

Literary Notices.

Who is to blame? or a Cursory Review of American Apology for American accession to Negro Slavery. By James Grahame, Esq. London: 1842.

Mr. Grahame, who has long been not only a man of distinguished literary standing, but a high authority in matters of American history, has done excellent service to the general cause of freedom, and to the specific interests of abolition in the United States, by the publication before us. It is devoted to a refutation of that particular excuse for American slavery, which alleges that it was forced on the several states by their parent England against many entreaties, and entailed upon them as an affliction which they never ceased to bewail. More especially the author treats this representation as he finds it set forth in a pamphlet published in London in 1836, entitled *A letter to Lord Brougham on the subject of American Slavery*, by an American. To this writer Mr. Grahame administers a just and severe castigation; and, in doing so, he sets the whole subject in a most convincing and satisfactory light,

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The work is beautifully written, and is as noble in sentiment as it is captivating in style. It will, we hope, have a wide circulation in the United States, where it cannot but produce a salutary impression. It is, in any case, a valuable addition to the mass of anti-slavery literature, and just such as a benevolent man might have wished to bequeath to a world which he was on the verge of quitting for ever. The distinguished author has within a few days expired in the neighbourhood of Paris. We enrich our columns by extracting the following account of the actual introduction of slavery into the states of the American union.

The first cargo of negro slaves imported into North America, was conveyed by a Dutch vessel in 1620 to Virginia, where they were readily purchased by the planters, without the permission, or even the knowledge of the British government. Indeed this government did not then nor till several years after, exercise the political administration of Virginia, which was originally confided to a numerous society of English gentlemen established at London. Moreover, the first of the British *statutes of Navigation* was not enacted till the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660: and the slave-trade was not comprehended within the scope and operation of the commercial policy of the British government till the reign of Queen Anne—*prior to which* negro slavery was established in every one of the American provinces that finally revolted from Britain—of course with the exception of Georgia, which was not planted till the year 1733. The number of slaves in every province was regulated by its soil, climate, and other physical circumstances, and not by the degree of its subjection to British control. The puritan colonists of New England, at a time when their provincial government was practically independent of Great Britain, reduced to slavery the captives whom they took in their wars with the Indians. Maryland and the Carolinas acquired negro slaves while they were subject not to the British crown, but to *proprietary* dominion: and, undeterred by the threats and remonstrances of the British proprietaries to whom they owed allegiance, the Carolinian planters adopted and long persisted in the practice of kidnapping and enslaving the unoffending Indians who had the misfortune to be their neighbours. Slavery was established in the territory of New York and New Jersey, before this territory ceased to be a province of Holland. The British government was far stronger in New York, after it became a British province, than in Virginia, Maryland, or the Carolinas: yet in each of these last mentioned states, the slave population far exceeded that of New York. The Quaker colonists of Pennsylvania became slave-holders while they depended not on the crown but on a Quaker proprietary, and before the British government had extended the grasp of its commercial policy to the slave-trade: and the Quaker assembly of this province and of the Swedish plantation of Delaware with which it was then united, flatly rejected the overture of their proprietary William Penn to alleviate by legal ordinance the bondage of their negro slaves? Maryland and Pennsylvania were allowed to retain their proprietary constitutions as long as their colonial relation to Britain endured; yet, while the first swarmed with slaves, the other never possessed more than a very small number. In Virginia and Carolina, the government finally became completely regal, and the slave population was always large. Precisely the same change of government took place in Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and yet there, the slave-population was always insignificant? Connecticut and Rhode Island, escaping the fate of their New England sisters, were enabled to retain their pristine peculiarity of exemption from British control. Yet slaves, about as rare in Connecticut as in Massachusetts, were more numerous in Rhode Island than in any of the other states of New England; and the merchants of Rhode Island were long notorious for the avidity with which they pursued the slave-trade.—p.p. 23, 26.

When the plantation of Georgia was commenced in the year 1733, the administration of political authority over its territory was committed by royal charter, not to any branch or department of the British government, but to a board of trustees composed of those generous philanthropists by whom the colonial project had been devised and digested. It was by this board that General Oglethorpe, one of its own members, was appointed to preside over the colony: and it was during the subsistence of its authority, that Oglethorpe was finally recalled to England in 1743,—ten years after the foundation of the settlement, nine years before a single negro slave did or could enter its territory, and for reasons that had no connection whatever either with negro slavery or with any affair or concernment of the colony. One of the earliest acts of the Board of Trustees, after the first band of emigrants had been transported to the colony, was to frame and publish a code of fundamental laws and constitutions for the infant society, by which *negro slavery was absolutely prohibited in Georgia*. No sooner was this ordinance promulgated, than it excited the most violent and general discontent among the colonists, who were chiefly composed of a class of unfortunate men very ill adapted to a scene of rough labour and patient poverty, and whose complaints of the privation of negro aid in their toils were provoked by the example and abetted by the counsel of their neighbours, the planters of South Carolina. Accepting the invitation of these counsellors to share with them the envied privilege of possessing negro slaves, so many of the Georgian colonists abandoned their colonial soil, that fears began to be entertained of the total desertion of the young province; and in the year 1737, a general meeting of the remanent planters, in a petition and remonstrance to the Board of Trustees, protested vehemently that this catastrophe was inevitable unless the prohibition of negro slavery were repealed. From this claim of the Georgian colonists to be indulged with the possession of slaves, the only dissenters were a handful of Scottish Highlanders who had recently resorted to the province, and some German members of the Moravian brotherhood, who, in spite of the protection of the trustees, were soon after expelled from the province by the jealousy and persecution of their fellow-planters. The trustees refused to hearken to the desire of the petitioners, or to suffer a single slave to enter Georgia; and firmly persisted in this refusal till the year 1752, when, disgusted with the languishing condition and incurable murmurs and discontent of their people, they gladly surrendered their chartered authority to the crown. Then, and not till then, did the crown, in accordance with the earnest and general importunities of the colonists, bestow on them a constitution precisely similar to that of South Carolina, and including, among other more worthy but not more coveted boons, the privilege of acquiring and employing negro slaves. But, as the British government, though it might permit, could not force its colonial subjects to buy negros, so, though it might encourage, it could not force its merchants to sell them; and little effect was produced in Georgia by her altered constitution till after the peace of Paris in 1763, when beginning to flourish under the improved husbandry which she owed to the example and direction of the British Governor, Sir James Wright, her planters acquired sufficient wealth and credit to invite the resort of slave merchants and stock their territory with a numerous servile population. This was but two years before the commencement of the revolutionary quarrel between Britain and her American colonies. Of petitions presented in the brief interim, or at any other period, by the Georgians to the British government for the withdrawment or restriction of the boon they had so long and earnestly solicited, I believe that no traces are extant, except in the imagination of the writer who has hazarded so incredible an assertion.—pp. 34,37

Not a Labourer wanted for Jamaica: to which is added an account of the newly erected villages by the peasantry there, and their beneficial results; and of the consequences of re-opening a new slave-trade as it relates to Africa, and the honour of the British government in breaking her treaties with foreign powers: in a letter addressed to a Member of Parliament appointed to sit on the West India Committee. By Thomas Clarkson. London: 1842.

The lengthened title of this pamphlet, which we have copied above, will furnish our readers with a sufficient account of its contents. As an effort of the pen of Thomas Clarkson, at his very advanced age and amidst his many infirmities, it is a most remarkable production; and it will be found, not only to breathe the same intense interest in the great subject of abolition which the venerable author has so long displayed, but to be distinguished by his characteristic force of thought and expression. Making no unimportant contribution to the cause of human happiness, it will also augment the affectionate reverence already so strongly felt towards its author.

Occasional Addresses to Sunday School Children. By David Cato Macrae. London, 1842.

This little volume—it is two hundred pages in 12mo.—comes under our notice as containing one address of an anti-slavery character, page 31. It is entitled *Slavery and the Anti-Slavery Convention*, and is enlivened with a wood-cut of the Convention, taken from Mr. Haydon's painting. The address exhibits in a few pages the principal facts connected with slavery and the slave-trade, in a manner well adapted to engage the sympathy of the young. So far as we have heard, it is the first instance of the introduction of this topic into Sunday-school instruction; but we think that it may very properly find a place in this department, and that Mr. Macrae is entitled to thanks for this pleasing specimen of the manner in which it may be treated.

MENDI MISSION.—Intelligence as late as April 20th has been received from the Rev. Messrs. Steele and Raymond, the missionaries who accompanied the Africans of the *Amistad* to Sierra Leone. This intelligence is not so flattering as many have anticipated. Mr. Steele's health is so much impaired as to render it necessary for him to return to this country as soon as practicable. Several of the Africans had left the missionaries, though the larger part of them still remained with Mr. Raymond at York, attending to study and agriculture.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

ANOTHER NEGRO BURNED.—We learn from the clerk of the *Highlander*, that, while wooding a short distance below the mouth of the Red River, they were invited to stop a short time and see another negro burned. They were informed that the fellow who was prepared for the exhibition was another of the gang recently mentioned as having committed enormities, and fled to the swamp, one of whom was burned, as already published. The last fellow, it was ascertained, had killed a man, and carried off women, one of whom he had violated; and for this they had him well chained, and the faggots ready, with a view of giving him a foretaste of his inevitable ultimate fate."—*New Orleans Bulletin.*

CAPE DE VERDS.—The brig *Frances Ann* arrived here on Saturday from the Cape de Verds, having left at Bonavista, H. B. M. steamer *Pluto*, for England, from the coast of Africa. The *Pluto* reports that she burnt the slave factories at Bullom, took a vessel of Carlanos at Bossos, and destroyed many factories in that neighbourhood.—*American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

MACHINERY IN SUGAR-MAKING.—Mr. Lockhart has devised an improvement in the construction and hanging of coppers, which "reduces manual labour by the adoption of practical machinery." An experiment lately tried before the governor of Jamaica and a distinguished party was highly successful and satisfactory.—*Falmouth Post.* This is much better than immigration.

Advertisements.

Just Published, Price Three-pence.

NOT A LABOURER WANTED FOR JAMAICA; to which is added an Account of the Newly Erected Villages by the Peasantry there, and their beneficial results; and of the consequences of re-opening a new Slave-trade as it relates to Africa, and the honour of the British Government in breaking her treaties with Foreign Powers: in a Letter addressed to a Member of Parliament appointed to sit on the West India Committee. By THOMAS CLARKSON.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster Row; and to be had at the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street.

Just Published.

WHO IS TO BLAME! or, CURSORY REVIEW of "American Apology for American Accession to Negro Slavery." By JAMES GRAHAME, Esq.—London: Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXIX. Vol. III. No. 16.] WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10TH, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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REPORT OF THE WEST INDIA COMMITTEE.

The committee appointed by the House of Commons on the West India colonies have at length presented their report. It is very short, a mere prefix indeed to a series of resolutions, thirteen in number, which follow it, and which embody the general conclusions at which the committee appear, though not unanimously, to have arrived. In the absence of the evidence on which the report and resolutions are founded, we shall offer no opinions of our own, but simply confine ourselves to an abstract of them, and to such general remarks as will prepare our readers for a fuller examination when that evidence shall be published.

The first two resolutions assert the results of emancipation to be most gratifying, as it respects the condition and character of the negro population, and bear ample testimony to their rapid improvement in civilization, morals, and religion. The next two resolutions affirm the existence of distress in the West India colonies, but especially in Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, arising from diminished production. The succeeding four resolutions assert the causes of the distress to be the difficulty of obtaining steady and continuous labour, and the high rate of wages paid for such labour as can be obtained. This they attribute to the fact that some of the former slaves have betaken themselves to more profitable occupations than field labour—to the ease with which they can live in comfort and acquire wealth—to the competition for labour among the planters—but principally to the easy terms upon which the use of land has been obtainable by the negros. The remedies proposed by the committee are three-fold: first, that the planters should introduce "moderate and prudent changes in the system which they have hitherto adopted;" secondly, that there should be an "immigration of a fresh labouring population, to such an extent as to create competition for employment;" and, thirdly, "that the laws which regulate the relations between employers and labourers in the different colonies, should undergo early and careful revision by the respective legislatures."

Our remarks on the various topics suggested by the committee in their report and resolutions shall be brief. If the "moderate and prudent changes in the system hitherto adopted" by the planters, mean the withdrawal of the provision grounds from the labouring population—and we have reason for believing it does mean this, and nothing else—then we recommend the labouring population to render themselves independent of such grounds as early as possible, by the purchase of freeholds and the formation of free villages. But we are satisfied that the planters, as a body, cannot resort to this mode of coercing labour, for the moment they did so wages must rise. The fact is, the system of provision grounds is as necessary to the economical management of an estate, as it is for the general supply of the colonies with food. The second remedy is immigration. Our opinions on this important subject are already known, nor shall we alter them until it be clearly proved, that, under judicious arrangements and fair and honourable treatment, the labouring population of the colonies are insufficient to keep up the cultivation of the estates. It is admitted that the population is rapidly increasing by natural means—that labour is becoming more abundant—that the crops are increasing in quantity—that the relations of employer and labourer are better understood, and that the duties arising out of them are better fulfilled, and yet we have gigantic schemes of immigration set on foot, the tendency of which can only be to waste the remaining capital of the colonies, and to overwhelm them with taxation. To free emigration to the British colonies we have no objection. Let the planters from their own resources, if they please, add to the labouring population on their estates; but we think it an act of injustice to the colonists generally, and more especially to the labouring population, to tax them heavily for the purpose of bringing large masses of foreign labourers into competition with themselves. With respect to the third remedy, legislation, we think it would be in the highest degree perilous to make the laws regulating the relation between masters and servants more stringent than they are at present. We have reason to believe that this is a favourite idea with some of the committee; the government, however, are, we hope, too well instructed on this point to adopt it. Nevertheless, the friends of the emancipated classes, in the colonies especially, must make it their business to watch the course of legislation, and to guard them against their being brought again "under the yoke of bondage."

Though not included in the resolutions, it is admitted in the report, that the evidence taken before the committee, both as to the extent and the causes of the distress which is said to exist in the West Indies, was conflicting. There were those examined who "believe that the great advantages which have resulted from emancipation have been unchecked and unalloyed by consequent evils," and that the distress, such as it is, is temporary in its character. In summing up they remark, "In recommending those resolutions and the evidence to the attention of the house, your committee feel bound to state, in conclusion, that they cannot regard the present state of the West Indian colonies, unsatisfactory as it is, *with any feeling of despair*."

CUBA.

We have the pleasure of presenting to our readers the following extracts of a letter from our correspondent in this island

Havana, July 1st, 1842.

Sir,—I am anxious to guard you against the great error of supposing that the Cuba slave-trade is at an end,—that the traffickers have repented of their crimes, or that the importation of slaves has ceased to be profitable. A check has no doubt been given to it; the effect of which, I venture to assure you, will last no longer than the necessity which gave rise to it. The negociation with Spain, which was opened in 1840, in pursuance of the plan of suppression developed by Mr. Turnbull, in his work on this island, has produced, as you are aware, a vast amount of discussion; and if no other good should ever come of it, this discussion has at least demonstrated what was previously well known to the more intelligent of the slave-holders, that their personal interests were directly opposed to the continuance of the current of importation.

But other advantages I am happy to say are already in progress from this discussion, and the *contre-coup* begins to reach us from the seat of government in Madrid. The copy of a correspondence between her Majesty's minister, Mr. Aston, and the Spanish minister for foreign affairs, Mr. Gonzales, has recently arrived in the Havana, in which it is assumed that the landed proprietors of this island are sufficiently instructed in their true interests, and that the slave-trade is forced upon them for the purpose of strengthening and prolonging the supremacy of the mother-country, and of excluding the native inhabitants from all share in the management of their own concerns. The papers which appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in the course of the last year, have doubtless been instrumental in producing the conviction on the part of her Majesty's government, thus indicated in the correspondence of Mr. Aston; and I, therefore, take the liberty of entreating your continued attention to this subject, because it is not by motives like yours, which have only for their object the welfare of your fellow-creatures, but by considerations of a political or a sordid character, that men who have been born and bred in the atmosphere of slavery, are to be taught that humanity and self-interest are not always incompatible with each other.

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At the commencement of this negociation, which I take it for granted is still pending at Madrid, you will see by the draft of the treaty, published in the parliamentary papers, Class B. for 1840, that Lord Palmerston went the entire length, recommended by your great Convention of that year, of demanding that the whole of the slaves introduced into the Spanish West Indies, since the time that the treaty of 1817 came into operation, should now be recognized as free. It is generally understood, that the adoption of this principle would emancipate from 50 to 60 per cent. of the slave population of this island, and a still larger proportion of that of Porto Rico * * *.

It is not to be supposed, that her Majesty's ministers are to abandon the ground they have taken. Having asserted the right to their freedom of the Africans imported into the Spanish West Indies since the treaty of 1817 came into operation, the only subject of regret is, that the greater part of two years has already been consumed in the dilatory system of negociation, from which Spanish diplomacy is so deservedly renowned.

The Spanish government pretends that the sudden emancipation of some three hundred thousand of the slaves of this island would lead, if not to anarchy and confusion, at least to revolution and separation from the mother-country. The basis of this argument is of course to be found in the assumption, that when the landed proprietors of the island shall have been deprived of the compulsory labour of the greater part of the slaves, they will no longer be either able or willing to bear the enormous load of taxation which the government of the mother-country now throws upon them; and will thus be driven to the policy of emancipating the rest of their slaves, in order to make common cause with them as a united people against the oppression of a foreign government, already sufficiently odious.

It will be a great calamity, however, to the island of Cuba, to its social advancement, as well as to its material prosperity, if the British government were now to halt in its career, and were to abandon any part of the ground now covered by the draft of the convention of 1840. Mr. Aston has truly stated to Mr. Gonzales, that sound principles and a correct view of human rights are rapidly establishing themselves among the native inhabitants of this island; and he might have added, that these inhabitants, in all that relates to intelligence and civilization, would not lose in the comparison, either with the dominant race of the Peninsula, or with the other Europeans with whom they come in contact.

But not only will Cuba suffer if Great Britain recedes, the whole continent of Africa will feel the influence of the abandonment of the system of slave-trade suppression proposed in this treaty; and I am sure I need not say much to convince you, that there is nothing like sincerity in the professions which are still made by the Spanish authorities, of their desire to co-operate with us in the suppression of the trade.

Since the seizure of the *Aurelia Felix*, a few weeks ago, and the degradation of the slaves on board to the well known rank of emancipados, several other slavers have been suffered to land their cargoes on the coast with impunity. The last arrival is the notorious *Trueno*, of whose former success you have already heard so much. After landing her victims on the coast, she entered this port as formerly with flying colours; the captain and his officers making it their boast that after they had made sail from the coast of Africa with their human cargo on board, they had been chased by a British cruizer, who from the lightness of the wind had not been able to come up with her, and having sent a strong detachment in boats to take possession of the *Trueno*, she had succeeded in beating them off, sinking two of the boats, at a loss, it is said, of not less than forty men. This part of the sad story is doubtless already known in England, and when it is combined with the fact, that the pirate captain and his crew are now at large in the Havana, making a public boast of their success, it will serve, I trust, not only to engage the sympathies of the English people, but to nerve the arm of the English government in enforcing such measures as will serve to prevent the renewal of similar atrocities.

Besides the *Trueno*, two other slavers have recently entered the port, after landing their cargoes on the coast; the one a Portuguese brigantine, called the *Trobao*, the other a schooner with a variety of names, the property of the notorious Pedro Blanco. I ought to add, that there are four others laid up in ordinary at the wharfs of the Cassa Blanca, on the other side of the bay, unwilling, it may be supposed, to abandon the hope of returning to their criminal pursuits as soon as the object of the Captain-General, in the part he is now acting, shall have been accomplished to their mutual satisfaction.

It is also true that some of the slave-captains who habitually resort to the Havana, are availing themselves of the present aspect of their affairs, with what sincerity I shall not pretend to decide, to manifest some symptoms of a tardy repentance. In general, they are men possessing such qualities as ought to have made them useful members of society, because without activity and firmness, without a strong spirit of enterprise, and I shall add also, without the power of inspiring others with confidence in that probity, which may, it is said, have place "among thieves," it would not be possible for such men to acquire the command of ships, and of capital, to the large amount required in these criminal pursuits. I have not yet heard of any single individual who has hitherto definitively abandoned the traffic since the *quasi* interruption of it, of which you have heard; and as soon as their hopes shall revive, either by the great demand for labour or by the relaxation of the all but nominal prohibition of the captain-general they will return to their sanguinary career like so many famished wolves, deprived for a season of their prey.

If it were necessary to prove to you the hollowness and insincerity of the Spanish government, on the subject of the execution of existing treaties, it would be sufficient for me to point to the condition of the emancipados, whose sad fate I have so often had occasion to expose. Of the many thousands who are known to be held in the most abject state of slavery, a small proportion, not more than two hundred, have obtained within the last twelve months, the practical recognition of their freedom, through the untiring and determined efforts of the only British functionary, who up to the present moment has thought it his duty to give himself any trouble in their behalf.

By the last numbers of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* which have reached this island, I observe that your readers are already informed of the change which has taken place in the Havana consulate, as well as of the causes which have served to produce it. Ever since the nomination of Mr. Turnbull, not yet two years ago, a dead set was made upon him, not only by the Spanish authorities, but by all who saw, or fancied they saw, danger to the sources of their prosperity in the assertion by the representative of the British government of principles of a generous or liberal character. It is long since the personal friends of Mr. Turnbull have foreseen, that it would not be convenient for the British government to maintain him in his consular post, in defiance of the remonstrances of successive Captains-General in Cuba, supported as they have been by successive ministries in Madrid. Up to the present moment, no conclusive opinion has been formed as to the views of Mr. Turnbull's successor with regard to the most interesting and I shall add the most important branch of his functions. As yet Mr. Crawford has manifested no distrust of those professions, which the Spanish authorities are in the habit of addressing to every British functionary, with whom they have occasion to deal. As yet, so far as I know Mr. Crawford has not thought it necessary to denounce the infractions of the slave-trade treaties which have already taken place, within the few days that have elapsed since his arrival. In thus abstaining from any premature interference, we have every hope that he is only pursuing a more cautious course than his predecessor; that the infractions which are thus taking place in the face of day, have nevertheless been duly reported to her Majesty's government; and that through this more circuitous channel, due effect will be given to them in the course of the negociations for the suppression of the slave-trade, which no British minister will neglect as long as the existing treaties are so grossly and notoriously violated.

In one of the paragraphs which have lately appeared in the *Anti-slavery Reporter* on the subject of the change in this consulate, I observe that you congratulate your readers on the fact, such as you know it in London, that Mr. Turnbull remains at the Havana to perform the duty of "protector of liberated Africans." In making this announcement you do not seem to be aware that this separate office, however important that it should be filled by a man of sound principles, is not one that is recognised by the Spanish government or the Spanish authorities; so that if Mr. Turnbull were now to address himself to the Captain-General on any subject connected with the infraction of the slave-trade treaties, he would be told that his Excellency did not know him, and that he refused to receive any such communications.

The office of superintendent of liberated Africans is in fact little better than a sinecure; and, for that reason, it is not at all suited to the active business-habits of the present incumbent. Besides, even when Consul, he was constantly exposed to the dangers which are inseparable from the free expression of humane opinions in this hot-bed of slavery and the slave-trade; and after losing the protection which naturally attaches to the office of representative of the British government, it would have been madness in Mr. Turnbull, according to the opinion of all his friends, to have remained on shore at the Havana. He did well, therefore, in retiring on board her Majesty's ship *Romney*, where he has been ever since the arrival of Mr. Crawford, his successor in the consulate, and where he will no doubt remain as long as he retains the office of superintendent, in order to receive the Africans on their arrival, and provide for their removal to a British colony.

Mr. Turnbull's danger, I assure you, is any thing but imaginary; and although the Captain-General, from his high personal character, would doubtless do all in his power to protect a British officer, although not recognized by the Spanish government, from the knives of the slave-traders; I must be allowed to say, that it is more than doubtful whether the subordinate functionaries on whom the superintendent's safety more immediately depends, would do any thing either to protect the victim, or to punish the assassin. The exasperation of the minor officers of the government, at the present temporary interruption of the trade, is only inferior to that of the traders themselves; and their views on the subject are expressed with so little disguise, that I even question the prudence of Mr. Turnbull remaining where he now is. It was but the other evening, in one of the theatres, that the magistrate who presides there at all public entertainments, was addressed where he sat, in his box, by a lawyer named Sacarra, who came there according to the custom of the place, to pay his respects during *entr' acte*, and in the hearing of a crowd of persons, declared that in his opinion it would

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be doing a public service to rid the country of Mr. Turnbull; because he had shown himself to be the enemy of its trade, its prosperity, and all its institutions. Mr. Villaverde, to whom his observations were addressed, thought it necessary to administer of some gentle reproof to Mr. Sacarra, but, after a great deal of animated discussion, this judicial dignitary, who is also one of the Captain-General's assessors, did not blush to declare, that although he would do nothing to take away the life of Mr. Turnbull, since it would be useless to remove one Englishman, seeing there were so many more of his countrymen who entertained the same opinions, yet he, Mr. Villaverde, if called upon to try Mr. Turnbull's assassin, would not scruple to acquit him, no matter what the evidence might be by which the charge was supported.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

COLONIAL PASSENGERS' BILL.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 26TH.

On the question that the bill do pass,

Mr. HAWES deprecated the wholesale deportation of that class of persons which this bill was intended to effect from their native country, to places where they were consigned to a state partaking more of slavery than of freedom. On that ground he objected to the measure. He was astonished that after the report of the committee on this question, this measure should have been so soon brought in by the government. It ought to have been delayed for the present. The hon. member expressed his conviction that the report of the committee on this subject demonstrated that the West Indian colonies required no aid from the legislature in the way of importation of labour.

Mr. G. BANKS said, as one of the members of that committee, he must declare his opinion to be decidedly the reverse of that just stated. (Hear, hear). He believed the only resource of the West Indian colonies was in the East Indies, and, on the authority of Sir C. Metcalfe, ventured to assert that the importation of labour, at least into Jamaica, might be permitted without any danger at all, provided the passage were sufficiently taken care of. (Hear).

Mr. V. SMITH said, he thought the report of the committee would prove as useless for purposes of legislation, as any one of the "blue books," which the noble secretary for the colonies was in the habit of mercilessly ridiculing. (Hear). His reason for voting with the noble lord was this, that he thought the experiment proposed to be tried by the bill was one which ought not to be left untried. Considering the bill merely in the light of a measure for facilitating the transfer of the surplus population of India to the island of Mauritius, he should vote for it; at the same time he must observe, that the noble lord did not, in the manner in which he brought forward this bill, show that consideration for the house which he was sure the noble lord would upon reflection feel that he ought to have shown. He must further add, it was with great reluctance he agreed to any measure which invested any minister of the crown with such large discretionary powers; and yet, if any one were to be so entrusted, he thought that the noble lord opposite, the secretary for the colonies, ought to be that person, when it was recollected that it was he who introduced and conducted through the House of Commons that measure by which the abolition of slavery in the West Indies was effected.

Sir A. GRANT vindicated the West India body from the charge of undue bias as regarded the emancipated slaves. They would do those persons justice as fairly and as impartially as they would show to any other persons living.

Mr. HAWES, in explanation, said that he had not imputed any unjust disposition to the body of West India proprietors.

Mr. W. BARING, who spoke in a very low tone, was understood to approve of the principle of the bill, and to contend that under the proposed system the Hill Coolies would stand a better chance of obtaining a livelihood in the Mauritius than in their own country. There was no particular wish on the part of the government to encourage the migration of Hill Coolies to the Mauritius—they would rather prevent it. But how was that to be done? Must they have a police force and custom-house regulations for the purpose? The only way to keep these labourers from going to the Mauritius was to give them higher wages in India; and of yet seeing that done he did not despair.

Mr. MANGLES did not mean to advocate the interests of those in the Mauritius, but he thought it would be as unjust to deprive the planters of the opportunity of obtaining labourers, as it would be to prevent the Hill Coolies from carrying their labour to any market where they could get adequately paid for it. The system was most beneficial to that race; for if they went to the Mauritius monkeys, experience proved that they returned to India men. From the report of Mr. Grant, it appeared that the Hill Coolies returned to India much improved, both physically and morally, having acquired habits of prudence, frugality, and industry, and with sums of money saved from their earnings which to them were little fortunes.

Mr. HOGG opposed the bill. The hon. member complained that the noble lord the secretary for the colonies carried out his intentions by means of an order in council, and then came down to the house and asked its sanction for a measure, without giving sufficient time for its consideration. The noble lord appeared to treat British India as if that country was a part and parcel of the colonies under the management of the colonial secretary. In the Court of Directors the measure had his decided opposition, and in that house he would also oppose it. The late government had declared, that they would not take any step in the matter until they had obtained the opinion of the house on the subject. He thought that the present government ought to have respected the pledge of the late government, more particularly as it had been extorted from them by themselves. He felt sorry to oppose any measure emanating from those with whom it was usually his pleasure to act, but in that before the house the noble lord the secretary for the colonies had shown great inconsistency; and if the right hon. baronet the secretary for the home department should favour the house with his sentiments that evening, he had no doubt he would altogether repudiate the defence attempted to be set up for him by his noble friend. Ever since he had had the honour of a seat in that house, he had shown by his votes that he had no confidence in the political conduct of the late ministry; but when the great interests of benevolence and humanity were concerned, he placed the most implicit confidence in the late noble secretary for the colonies (Lord J. Russell) and his colleagues. (Hear, hear). Much speculation and ingenious hypothesis had been raised upon the fact of the report being signed by only three of the commissioners: now, were honourable gentlemen aware, that a separate one had been made by Mr. Dowse? And what did he say? He had been largely engaged in the trade himself, but its horrors were so great that he employed an agent to go up the country and explain fully to the Coolies in what position they would be placed in the Mauritius—he offered them then the same terms as others had got, and he did not succeed in engaging one Cooly, while the crimps engaged by others succeeded in obtaining as many as in former years. (Hear, hear). It was a fact that they had no statistical information relating to the subject upon which they could rely. True, Mr. Anderson in his report admitted, that up to 1839, 25,000 Coolies had been imported, and that at that date only 18,000 remained. What had become of the other 7,000? It was said they had either returned to India, or had died, but literally they knew nothing respecting them. The provisions in the bill of the noble lord with respect to the treatment of the Coolies at the Mauritius, and during the passage, he admitted were good, and, with some suggestions which he would make, might be rendered perfect. The bill provided that the labourers should be allowed forty-eight hours for consideration before they entered into a contract. This was an advantage, but he thought the period should have been somewhat extended, in order that the Coolies might have ample time to inform themselves as to the nature of the employment in which they would be engaged, and the rate of remuneration they would receive. It was desirable also, he thought, that some provision should have been made by the bill for effecting an improvement in the lodgings and accommodation afforded to the Coolies. At present these labourers were, in case of illness, dependent for medical aid on private hospitals. He considered that district hospitals should have been established, in which the Coolies might have received proper care and attention during sickness. The noble lord contended that voluntary emigration would supply the demand for labour which existed in the Mauritius and in the West Indies. If this demand could be supplied by voluntary emigration, and if he (Mr. Hogg), was satisfied that the emigration was really voluntary, he would not oppose any measures for its promotion. He regretted that some provision had not been made for enabling the Coolies to return to India, if after emigrating they were dissatisfied with the employment in which they were engaged, or with the treatment they received. He did not find any provision of this nature in the bill now before the house. He would now proceed to state the suggestions which he would venture to make to the noble lord on this subject. He would, in the first place, recommend the adoption of measures to prevent the crimps who now infested India, defrauding and deceiving the people, from pursuing their vocation. The European authorities ought, he conceived, to be empowered to give notice that free emigration to the Mauritius or to the West Indies would be permitted, specifying the wages which would be given, and pointing out the probable advantages which would accrue to the emigrants; but not a single labourer ought to be allowed to leave the country until he had appeared before European officers, and had expressed his willingness to emigrate, and had also been fully informed as to the nature of the employment and the terms of the contract into which he might be required to enter. Some observations had been made as to the disparity in the number of female emigrants, as compared with the males. He was aware that if the men were prevented from emigrating, unless they were accompanied by their families, such a regulation would be equivalent to an entire prohibition of emigration; but, without making it imperative on the Coolies to take their families with them, he thought every facility and inducement ought to be held out for the emigration of their families. He would also suggest that the most ample means should be afforded to the Cooly labourers in the Mauritius for corresponding with their families in India; and measures should be adopted for enabling the Coolies to remit to their families a portion of their wages. If such a step was adopted, the misery which appeared from the despatches to have prevailed so extensively in India would, in a great measure, be relieved. He thought, also, that the time at which the ships took their passage should be limited to the period when the monsoon prevailed. The ordinary time occupied by the voyage during the monsoon was about two months; while it had been stated in evidence that, at other periods, the voyage had in some instances been protracted to six months. He considered that if the legislature of this country sanctioned the recommencement of this traffic, we could not hope that the remonstrances we were now making with foreign powers on the subject of the slave-trade would be regarded as sincere. The motives by which this country was actuated in urging those remonstrances had already been subjected to undue suspicion on the part of some foreign states which were unwilling to co-operate with us in suppressing the traffic; and he hoped that house would not afford any ground for the imputation that on the continent of India we sanctioned the prosecution of a trade very nearly resembling that which had, unhappily, prevailed so extensively on the continent of Africa. If the bill now before the house became the law of the land, he sincerely hoped that the beneficial effects anticipated by some honourable gentlemen would result from it; but if they had eventually to lament its failure, it would be consolatory to him that he had given it his opposition.

Lord STANLEY thought it was desirable that the house should fully understand the state of the case on which they were now about to legislate. Soon after the passing of the Slave Emancipation Act, in 1835, some merchants of the Mauritius, finding that a great diminution of labour took place, partly in consequence of the unwillingness of the negros to work, contemplated, and carried into effect, a plan for enlisting in their employment, by means of private agents, a number of the natives of India. He did not hesitate to express his belief, that in many instances these Indians were led by fraudulent pretences and promises to go to the Mauritius, where they were induced to enter into agreements to serve certain masters for a period of five years. This system gave rise to extensive abuses; and in 1837 it was found necessary by the Indian government to adopt measures for regulating the deportation of these labourers. In 1838 it was deemed requisite absolutely to prohibit the departure of labourers from India to the Mauritius, or the West Indian colonies; and it was this law which the hon. gentleman was desirous of pepetuating,

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while the object of the present bill was to permit the emigration of labourers under certain restrictions. In 1838, the year in which the law to which he had just referred was adopted, a commission was appointed by the Governor-General of India in council to inquire into the abuses alleged to exist with respect to the exportation of Hill Coolies and labourers from Bengal to the Mauritius. In 1840 the noble lord the late secretary of state for the colonies called upon the house to rescind the prohibitory law, and to permit the exportation of Indian labourers to the Mauritius. He (Lord S.) gave his vote silently, though reluctantly, against that proposal. A right hon. friend of his, who also voted against the proposal, stated that the grounds on which he rested his opposition were these; that a commission had been appointed to inquire into the subject, and that before that house was called upon to legislate, the report of this commission ought to be placed in their hands; and he also suggested that the government should communicate with the governor-general, and consider during the recess the adoption of measures which might remedy the grievances complained of. These were the grounds, also, on which he (Lord Stanley) had given his vote on the occasion to which he alluded. Now, however, the house was in possession of ample information on the subject, and a plan maturely considered was submitted to the judgment of parliament. The government had proceeded to legislate by order in council, which had been sent out to India, to regulate the passage of the Hill Coolies to the Mauritius, and now they came to that house to regulate the trade between India and the Mauritius. He wished to take up this case not for the benefit of the Mauritius alone. He knew that without the importation of Hill Coolies, their sugar-growing would fall off, and there would be much distress; but, with all the advantage of this importation of labour to the Mauritius, he would not bring forward this bill if he were not satisfied that the importation of Hill Coolies would not only be beneficial to the Mauritius, but that it would be also for the permanent advantage of India itself. He called on the house, then, not from a species of indolent humanity to say, "there are abuses in the system of exportation of labour from India which we have not time to see into, and the Indians shall, therefore, not improve their circumstances, nor shall that country relieve itself of its starving population." If he proved that remedies had been applied to these abuses, he trusted that the house would not continue longer a bill which violated all the principles of sound policy and legislation. The alleged grievances of the exportation of Hill Coolies might be comprised under the following heads:—First, that the Coolies were deceived, and entered into engagements of which they knew nothing. Next, that they were kidnapped at Calcutta; that there were great frauds by advancing money to them, and getting them into debt and into the power of those who supported them; that the contracts they entered into were disadvantageous to them; and that their families were left unprovided for. This system arose from individual merchants having paid agents, to whom they gave so much per head for inducing the Coolies to enter into these contracts. The committee appointed to inquire into this subject reported on the operation of the bill to prevent the exportation of Hill Coolies, "that this law, not content with getting rid of the whole of the abuses complained of, imposes strange and servile restrictions on the liberty and means of livelihood of many of the Indian people." "The only abuse of moment related to the people getting under contracts to serve for a term; but this law prohibits all persons going of their own accord, unfettered by any contract, to other portions of the empire where their labour may be advantageous. That to justify such a law a case of necessity must be made out there needs no argument." Mr. Grant stated, "No such case of necessity can be made out. I have never heard it seriously argued that any evil could arise from the spontaneous emigration of labourers from India unfettered, by any contract. The kidnapping arose from individuals paying so much a head for labourers, and getting them to work under contracts." But that system had already been done away with. The present system gave no benefit to any individual by the introduction of any exclusive labour. No individual planter was empowered to send out to collect labourers, but the colony was empowered to vote a sum of money to pay the expenses of the emigration of the labourers, and when those emigrants arrived, they were free to choose masters and go where they pleased; but they had the advantage of having their passage paid free, and they might then compete for wages with the freest men there.—The whole system was altered from the very root, the moment they substituted a public grant for individual speculation. The temptation for kidnapping ceased at once. What was the language of the committee on the system of money advances to the Coolies, and getting them into debt? The system of nominal allowances to the Coolies was one of fraudulent gain, and it is certain, if advances were prohibited, the main stay of the Hill Cooly trade, as carried on heretofore, would certainly be at once removed. All advances were positively prohibited by the system now brought into operation, and in the most certain manner, for there was now no means of recovering a debt so lent. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Hogg) said the Coolies were kidnapped—they were couped up in houses, false passports were given them, they were placed under the control of the police, there was no security against their being changed and shipped off for the benefit of the exporting merchant. All this was altered. They were now placed under a government agent, whose duty it was to muster them, and deliver them their passports, and keep a descriptive catalogue of each person, and no one was permitted to emigrate till the government agent had explained to him the condition into which he was going, and the life he was to lead. It was again said that as the vessel dropped down the river other persons were taken on board, and that there was no protection against this. The protection taken was this: the shipper was paid for the safe import of so many persons, checked by the government agent at the Mauritius; and if he brought one more than his complement, he was fined £5.; and if in any particular he had altered, changed, or increased the number beyond this, he forfeited the whole of his freight. (Hear, hear). It was then said the contracts were unfavourable. He knew they were. Under the contract system, the net wages of the Hill Cooly at 8s. a month amounted to £4. 16s. per annum, whilst the wages of the free negro at half a dollar a-day amounted to £36. 10s. The honourable member for Beverley said this system had been unaltered; but that was not the case. The Hill Cooly was now capable of earning £36. 10s. per annum, that being a sum some hundred times as much as he could ever by possibility earn by his labour in his own country. The only difficulty the Hill Cooly would have would be to choose amongst his employers, and how he should most advantageously sell his services. Many persons under the late contract system had returned to India with considerable sums of money. The hon. member said they were but decoy ducks, but at any rate they had earned that money under all the disadvantages of the contract system. They must not talk of the Cooly being unable to take care of himself. The chief inconveniences of the old system arose from the Coolies perpetually making frivolous complaints in order to break their contracts, because they saw free men earning double and treble their wages. No doubt, in some cases under the former system they had been treated as slaves, but under the present system the labourer, being bound by no tie or contract, would leave the master who ill-used him, and find a hundred others ready to take him. Nay, more, by a short-sighted policy, some of the masters were constantly endeavouring, by offering higher wages, to induce the labourers to break through their engagements and go over to them. In the event of the Hill Cooly becoming dissatisfied, there was nothing to interfere with his return, for, by common industry, he might, in the course of a year, earn fifty rupees, a sum amply sufficient to enable him to return to his native country. The right honourable gentleman the member for Northampton, he (Lord Stanley) believed, on a former night, when this bill was under discussion, objected to the protection of the Hill Coolies being left to the superintendence of the special magistrates; but what said Sir Lionel Smith—no mean authority—on that subject? Sir Lionel Smith, in the Mauritius, said,—"Let the Governor-general of India make such protective regulations that the labourer may emigrate, and I will undertake to provide for their full and efficient protection here." Now he (Lord Stanley) had no wish to speak in disparagement of the late Sir Lionel Smith, but he would say there was no man in whom more implicit reliance could be placed than in Sir W. Gomm, the present governor of the Mauritius. (Hear, hear). Upon his high and honourable feeling the house and the country might safely rely for a vigorous and impartial administration of justice. (Hear, hear). But again, other objections which had been urged, were met by the provisions which this bill contained for the services of medical attendants, and to enable the emigrant Hill Coolies to remit to their wives and families such portions of their earnings as they could spare; and, if any emigrant desired to take his wife and family with him, the ship-owner or his agent was bound to take them, and the colony was bound to pay for their passage out. On the whole, this measure in all its details had received, notwithstanding the opposition of the honourable and learned member for Beverley, the sanction of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and that decision had been affirmed by the Court of Proprietors, on a division, he believed, of 54 to 22. Thus the sanction of the popular body had been added to that of the governing body. The refusal to assent to the particular clause which had been referred to would indicate on the part of the house a disapprobation of this measure, which he (Lord Stanley) should deeply regret, and though he could not anticipate the house would sanction the permanent continuance of so injurious a law against the opinions of the Court of Directors, of the Court of Proprietors, and of the Governor-general of India, he had now boldly and plainly stated the whole case, and he confidently left it in the hands of the house. (Hear, hear.)

After a few words from Mr. HOGG and Lord STANLEY in explanation,

Mr. HASTIE inquired whether (as we understood) the bill contained any provision for the maintenance of the wife and family of the Hill Cooly during his absence in the Mauritius?

Lord STANLEY replied that, as he had already stated, the governor-general would have power to compel the ship-owners or their agents to take out the wives and families of such emigrants as desired to accompany the husbands. He (Lord Stanley) by this bill did not profess to make any provision for the wives and families that remained in India, more than already existed with regard to the families of Hill Coolies who came from the country, and engaged for three or four years with a master in Calcutta.

Mr. HASTIE observed, that, when a man engaged as a servant in Calcutta, he had means of transmitting his savings for the support of his wife and family; but if he were transported to the Mauritius, a considerable time must elapse before he could remit anything to those he had left in his native country. With regard to the provision to enable the wife to accompany the husband, he thought it would be useless, for it was well known that, sooner than go to the Mauritius, or anywhere else, the women would rather drown themselves in the Ganges, and think they were going to heaven; while if they went to sea they would be of opinion they were going in a contrary direction. ("Hear," and a laugh).

Sir R. H. INGLIS could not but regard with suspicion the export of labour which he could not consider to be free. On this question, therefore, he could not give that support to the Government which he usually afforded.

Mr. HUME said, that the principle of the bill was one which the house were every day allowing to be carried out, with reference, not only to the colonies, but to this country, and therefore he did not see why an exception should be made in the case of the Mauritius. He supported the bill on the general principle of free trade in labour, and he thought that the objections to it equally applied to the system of emigration which had been so long acted on in this country.

Mr. BROWNRIGG supported the bill.

The house then divided—

For the clause - - - - - -	118
For the amendment - - - - - -	24
Majority for retaining the clause -	—94

The bill was then read a third time and passed.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The great length at which this paper is exclusively enabled to report the speech of Lord Brougham on British Slave-trade, has crowded out several important articles which had been designed for our present number.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

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Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 10TH.

ANY of our friends who may happen to possess a copy of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, Nos. 4 and 13, would greatly oblige by forwarding them to the office of the Society, at 27, New Broad Street, London.

SINCE our last publication, Lord Brougham has again brought before the public, through the medium of the House of Lords, the extensive implication of British subjects in the slave-trade. Having given previous notice of a motion on the subject, he introduced it to the attention of their lordships on the 2nd instant, in a speech, characterized—it is enough to say—by his usual eloquence and power. The motion with which he concluded, was to the effect that the "government should take the existing state of the slave-trade into consideration, with a view to its abolition. 'The duke of Wellington, who fully admitted the necessity of a remedy, suggested that Lord Brougham should himself mature a bill for the purpose during the recess, and tendered to the House "an engagement, on the part of Her Majesty's government, that they would take his measure into their consideration at an early period of the next session, with the view of giving it their support and assistance." After an ineffectual attempt to induce the government to undertake the preparation of the measure, the noble lord withdrew his motion; but we most sincerely hope, not without an intention of accepting the duty devolved upon him by the House. We most entirely concur in the sentiment expressed by the earl of Ripon, that "his great knowledge of the subject, and the part he has taken in the drawing up of similar bills, eminently qualify him for the task," and in the wish that he "would seriously apply his mind to the subject."

In the meantime we trust that all parties practically interested in this question will, as Lord Brougham observed, take the present proceedings "as a warning" of that which is to follow, and begin at once to make arrangements for a change. As to half-pay officers in the British service, the duke of Wellington observed "that was a part of the evil for which he could have no difficulty in providing a remedy;" and the manner in which this intimation was received by the House warrants the expectation that something more will be heard of it. It is time also, that the share-holders of the mining companies, and other implicated parties, should begin to stir themselves. They will mind, it seems, nothing but the law; and now the law will soon be upon them.

WE had merely time to announce in our last that the clause in the Colonial Passengers' Bill, by which the sanction of parliament is given to the renewed exportation of Indian labourers to Mauritius, was affirmed by the House of Commons on the 26th ult. From the proceedings which we have inserted at length to-day, it will be seen, that Mr. Hawes rendered good service to the cause of humanity by persisting in his opposition to the clause, and dividing the house upon it. Mr. Hogg spoke at considerable length, and adduced what appear to us to be, not only strong, but unanswerable arguments on the same side. In closing his speech he used the following language:—

He considered that, if the legislature of this country sanctioned the recommencement of this traffic, we could not hope that the remonstrances we were now making with foreign powers on the subject of the slave-trade would be regarded as sincere. The motives by which this country was actuated in urging those remonstrances had already been subjected to undue suspicion, on the part of some foreign states which were unwilling to co-operate with us in suppressing the traffic; and he hoped that house would not afford any ground for the imputation that on the continent, of India, we sanctioned the prosecution of a trade very nearly resembling that which had, unhappily, prevailed so extensively on the continent of Africa.

The speech of Lord Stanley exhibited nothing but an endeavour to correct, by a multiplicity of arrangements the very proposal of which admits the entire mass of previous abuses, evils which we believe to be incapable of eradication. But, in the crowded state of our columns to-day, we omit all further remarks of our own, in order to insert a well written article from the *Times*, a journal which will not be suspected of pseudo-philanthropy.

On Thursday, the 4th instant, an important conversation took place in the House of Lords, on the bringing up of the report of the Colonial Passengers' Bill, between Lord Brougham and the president of the board of control, Lord Fitzgerald, in reference to the export of Coolies from India to Mauritius, the particulars of which, although not reported in the papers, we hope to be able to give in our next.

WE need scarcely refer our readers to another most important letter from our correspondent at Havana, which appears in the columns of our present number. We are strongly tempted to recapitulate its principal topics, but, throughout it is so interesting that we can scarcely effect this in any moderate limits. Our friends must read it. We must animadvert however, on the statement, that, "up to the present moment, "Mr. Turnbull's successor in the British consulate at Havana, has given no opportunity for forming "a conclusive opinion" as to his views in reference to the slave-trade. We are not unwilling to concur for the present in the suggestion of our correspondent, that this may indicate only caution; but we must express our earnest hope that caution may not degenerate into treachery. Should Mr. Crawford fail to act a vigorous and uncompromising part in relation to the slave-trade, he will do deep dishonour to his character as a British functionary, and fearfully betray the interests of humanity and freedom.

THE correspondence between the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society and Mr. Grantley Berkeley, has attracted the attention of the coloured classes in British Guiana. We insert below a letter from the committee of the Guiana African Association, expressing the "honest indignation" of the peasantry at the gross misrepresentations of that gentleman, who, by the way (if what we hear is correct), notwithstanding the "utter ruin" of the "magnificent colony," is bidding for a sugar estate (*Scoonoord*) now offered for sale there. The letter is as follows.

George Town, Demerara, 14th June, 1842.

SIR,—The Committee of the Guiana African Association have much pleasure in conveying to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society a resolution, passed with acclamation at a special general meeting, held on Monday the 6th instant in this town, at which, they are happy to state, a number of the peasantry personally, and others by delegation, took a zealous and active part, their honest indignation at the calumnies of Mr. Berkeley placing in a strong point of view, their growing self-respect. The resolution is as follows:—

That this meeting considers the letter of Grantley Fitzhardinge Berkeley, of the 14th April, 1842, addressed to the secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to be a tissue of gross misrepresentation and monstrous falsehood; and therefore requests that the Committee of the Association will convey to the secretary of the Anti-slavery Society the thanks of the Guiana African Association, for the able manner in which the mistatements made in that letter have been refuted.

With the highest consideration, I have the honour to be, Sir, on behalf of the committee,

Your very obedient servant,
N. BELGRAVE, Secretary.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

IMPLICATION OF BRITISH SUBJECTS IN THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF LORDS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 2ND.

LORD BROUGHAM.—Half-a-century has now elapsed since the parliament of England, acting as a grand inquest, not for this country alone but for the world, presented to the indignation of mankind that execrable traffic which had for three hundred years been the scourge of Africa and the disgrace of christian Europe. To this righteous act, in which our counsels were guided by all the genius of the age, sustained by its virtue, and animated by its pious zeal, a long and criminal delay succeeded, for which parliament was alone to blame. The enormity though denounced was protected; universally condemned, it continued to flourish, even to increase; till at length that sentence was recorded by the legislature, which the public voice had pronounced, and the traffic was prohibited, though by laws of no stringent force. But, now that it was forbidden and declared illegal, the execution of more complete justice became comparatively easy; and I had the good fortune to obtain the unanimous assent of all the branches of the legislature, as well as of the country at large, to the act which no longer treating it as a trade, visited it as a crime, and subjected those who perpetrated it to the punishment suffered by felons far less guilty than they. How then comes it to pass, that full thirty years after this great consummation, I still am standing here to complain of slave-trading, to point against it the indignation of parliament, and to ask for its suppression, new laws, or laws declaring and enforcing the old? That now, instead of only complaining against foreign nations over whom we have no control, or of our authority not being employed with those over whom our influence extends, since they have only existed under our protection and at our pleasure, I am here to denounce those over whom our power is complete, subjects of the British crown and the British law—yet engaged in a flagrant violation of their duty to both? I proceed at once to demonstrate the existence of this painful case, and, by plain facts, to show your lordships that I am not occupied in preferring vague, unsubstantial charges, and bring no railing accusation; nor do I think it will be necessary to detain you long, while I show, that by the stimulus of British speculation, with the accession of British agents, through the employment of British capital, the foreign slave-traffic is in great part perpetrated and protected. I will go at once to those facts which lead, irremutably lead to the presumption whence the capital is drawn that the traffic requires. Your lordships know—I say you know, because the papers presented by the crown to parliament and the correspondence of the government with our foreign agents, which these papers contain, prove it—you may know that in Cuba (I confine myself to Cuba and Brazil, the great slave-trading countries), there has of late years been an extraordinary increase in the cultivation. Between 1829 and 1836, the produce more than doubled; the amount of sugar exported from the island having risen from 164 to 370 millions of pounds. From the same official sources, it appears, that between 1827 and 1831, the number of slaves had increased 32,000, which, added to the 91,000 required for supplying the annual loss of 8½ per cent., the excess of deaths over births, gives 123,000 imported in these four years, or above 30,000 yearly. Into the Havana, 142 vessels imported 52,000 slaves in the years 1837 and 1838; and the price having risen from £60 to £85, two millions and a quarter sterling were thus required for that importation alone. But taking the lowest estimate that has ever been made of the whole Cuba importation, it cannot be calculated at less than 50,000 yearly, requiring the annual expenditure of four millions; while the whole exports of the island did not amount to three during the same period; a clear proof that the capital which upheld this enormous expenditure on one of the charges of cultivation, could not come from the resources of the island itself. If from Cuba, we turn our eye towards the Brazils, we are met with the same state of things. There came to the neighbourhood of Rio in three years ending 1839, 244 vessels laden with 109,000 slaves; and taking the same low estimate for

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the whole importation, as I took for that of Cuba, the amount cannot be less then 70,000, which, at the cost of £80 given in the very useful work of a meritorious and efficient public servant in my noble friend's department (Lord Aberdeen). I mean Mr. Bandinel, makes the yearly expenditure upon the purchase of slaves 5¼ millions, or about 17 millions in no longer a period than three years. It is needless to ask if Brazil and Cuba could furnish themselves those millions of money? The thing is inconceivable. The aid of foreign treasures must have been obtained; and in looking around to the quarters from whence the supplies must have come, we must needs adopt the painful conclusion, that in great part at least such an ample amount of capital as was required, must have belonged to the rich men of this country. But though warranted in adopting the general presumption to which these facts lead, I mean not to rest it upon that foundation. Particular facts and circumstances, equally show that there is no escaping from the general inference at which we have arrived by another route. But giving me credit for afterwards showing that British subjects are in fact mixed up with speculations in Brazil, for conducting which the purchase of slaves from time to time is required; let me ask your lordships to consider for a moment, whether those who are interested in such concerns can possibly be ignorant of the means by which the negros they buy are brought to the markets they frequent? In the first place they have the recorded declaration of an honourable man in the senate of Brazil, that the law abolishing the slave-trade, was notoriously a dead letter, having fallen entirely into disuse. They have in the next place a petition or memorial from the provincial assembly of Bahia to the senate, urging a repeal of the law, not that they gave themselves any trouble about the prohibition—with that they could easily deal, by wholly disregarding it; but the provision that all slaves imported after 1831, the date of the law, should be free—embarrassed the operations of the purchaser, and made it very inconvenient to hold recently imported negros. Therefore the provincial assembly desires a repeal of this inconvenient enactment; and upon grounds of which it is not easy to find any parallel. "Brazil," say they, "accustomed for nearly three centuries to employ slaves, and to *be supplied* with them, as *an annual provision from Africa, paid little attention* to the *encouragement of their progressive increase by reproduction*, in the view that *from this increase* such *annual supply might be dispensed with*, and by such means, whilst the free trade in slaves continued, the country *should never want hands to keep up and feed the husbandry of the soil*." They then admit the existence of the contraband slave-trade, in defiance of the law, and of the treaty with England, and they urge its abrogation on the ground *"that a transgression so immoral and deceitful, may be obviated, an evil which Providence alone, whom we supplicate, can in some measure lessen."* They urge the repeal with great earnestness, as the prosperity of the province depends on the culture of the sugar cane, which mainly constitutes its richness and opulence, and from which the state draws great revenues. (Class B. 1840, p. 294.) In other words, the crime must not be punished by law, but permitted, for fear the criminal should add to his guilt, the offence of violating the prohibition of the law; to prevent his iniquities, recourse must be had, not to penal enactments, but to prayers for his conversion. I find another provincial assembly, that of Minas Geraes, urging the same suit on the like grounds. After dwelling upon the dangers resulting to the country from the want of new negros, the memorial adds, "above all as the worst of all these perils, the immorality which is the result of our citizens being accustomed to violate the laws under the very eyes of the administrators thereof." *Dispatch, 22nd February*, 1840, papers A. 294.) I verily believe, that the whole history of human effrontery presents no passage to match this—no second example of equal audacity. We have here a provincial legislature coming forward on behalf of pirates—for ever since March, 1831, slave-trading is piracy by the law of Brazil—on behalf of pirates and their accomplices, the planters who profit by the piracy, purchasing its fruits; on behalf of these great criminals urging a repeal of the law which they openly avow is continually broken by them, and which they declare they will continue to set at nought, as long as it continues unrepealed; but demanding its repeal upon the ground, that while it remains, they being resolved to break it, are thus under the necessity of committing the additional immorality of breaking it under the eye of the judges sworn to enforce it. Such are the notorious facts, notorious to all who lived in Brazil; and proving to those engaged in promoting and profiting by the agriculture of that country, be they resident there or here at home, that their capital must be used to promote slave-trading in a country where the African trade continues to flourish in defiance of a merely nominal prohibition. But your lordships must not suppose, that my charge against British capitalists of employing in the promotion of this guilty commerce the wealth bestowed by providence as a blessing on their *honest* industry, rests upon mere general probability or natural inference. I have certain specific facts to which I can refer and which unfortunately leave no doubt upon the subject. On the 14th of July 1838, (I am obliged to give the date that there may be no doubt of my authority,) the English commissioners at Rio wrote to Lord Palmerston, "The various undertakings going on in this country and every day multiplying, are for the most part the result of British enterprize." But neither is it on so general a statement as this that the case rests, although coming from a quarter every way entitled to respectful attention; for though we can but seldom trace the course which such speculations take; though we can with difficulty follow and unravel the shifts, the subtle contrivances by which the law is evaded; there come to light now and then matters which leave no doubt as to the transactions that are going on, and show in what way the investment of capital takes place, and what are the practices resorted to for driving and for screening the traffic. A year or two ago, a vessel bearing Russian colours was seized. She was released on the ground of an objection taken to the jurisdiction, an unsound one as I conceive. Being released, however, she was sold here and her name was changed. She was purchased, where? In the city. By whom? By a merchant, established for twenty years in the city, naturalised I believe in this country, and to all intents and purposes a British trader. She was purchased for whom? A Spaniard, a notorious slave trader. With what capital? I care not whether the purchase was made with the merchant's own capital, with the capital of the Spaniard for whom he might have acted as agent or with that of the English master who was on board the vessel. As soon as she was purchased, her name being changed from Russian to English, she was sent forth on her voyage of depredation. She first touched at Cadiz; and, from that circumstance, the voyage might be represented as a perfectly innocent one from the Thames to the Mediterranean. She was thence dispatched to the African coast, and the pretence no doubt is, that the former voyage from London was an entirely separate and unconnected transaction—that she suddenly changed her character on arriving in Spain, and became all at once a slaver from having been an innocent ship. Such of your lordships as can bring your minds to believe this tale, must be endowed with a strength of faith, with powers of belief far exceeding the measure of my credulity. From Cadiz, then, she fared forth to Africa, and was seized on the slave coast, close to a notorious slave mart, having such a cargo and such correspondence on board with slave-traders, and consigned to persons so notorious as slave traders, that she was without difficulty condemned under the consolidated slave trade act for aiding and abetting in the traffic. The master on board, an English subject, was the pretended owner; there was, however, every reason to believe that she belonged to a notorious slave-trader of Cuba, and had been purchased for him by his London agent. This happened early last year.—Another instance occurred not much longer ago: a vessel, American built, but British owned, sailed from Liverpool, and the names of her owners, which I need not mention, are given in the papers on your table. The articles signed by the seamen, were for a voyage to the Brazils, and back again to some port in the United Kingdom. But no sooner did she reach her port of destination, Bahia, than she was fitted out for the slave coast; the crew refused to go, as this was contrary to their articles; and seven left her, whose places were supplied by others embarked in Brazil. This is certified by the English vice-consul, under the consular seal. The charterer was a noted slave trader; the consignees were slave-traders; the destination was Lagos, a notorious slaving port; and she was condemned for aiding in the slave-trade.—But a little while before this seizure, Captain Smith, of H. M. S. *Grecian*, captured a vessel under Brazilian colours, off the coast of Brazil, having seventy or eighty slaves on board, and bound with them to the plantation of a British subject, settled in Brazil—That they came from the African coast, I am not prepared to affirm; but I am ready to declare my opinion, which I have before stated in this place, that such a traffic is punishable as felony in a British subject under the provision of the Consolidated Act, whether the slaves purchased be brought from the coast of Africa or from any other place—the exceptions in that act do not protect it—they only protect purchasing and carrying coastwise in the dominions of the crown. Not to multiply instances, a case lately came before the privy council upon the claim of a Brazilian vessel condemned for slave-trading. My noble friend, the Lord President, may recollect it; he sat with us upon the appeal. The ship had been sent out upon a slaving voyage; and the consignee of the cargo was a very well known slave trader; but among other evidence which he produced, to avert the condemnation, was the certificate of twenty or thirty mercantile houses established in Brazil, all testifying to his high character for respectability and honour. Of these houses about one-half were British firms. These men scrupled not to join in bearing this testimony to the character of a person whose slave-trading must be as well known upon the 'Change of Rio, as the name he is called by, slave-trading having been by the law of Brazil treated as piracy for the last ten years and upwards. Of the British houses that so certified, I will say nothing, however, except that three of them are represented to me by persons upon whose information I think reliance may be placed, as having lost together £12,000 by some late condemnations of vessels for slave-trading; and I know, that the despatch of the commissioners to the secretary of state, dated 14th July, 1838, to which I have already referred, distinctly, states, "British capital to have suffered severely in this city (Rio) from recent captures." But if our merchants settled in Brazil thus vouch for the character of Brazilian slave-traders, see how mutual the voucher is; how freely the Brazilian slave-trader bears his testimony reciprocally to the character of the British merchant! In a journal believed to be under the patronage, and known to speak the sentiments of a celebrated Brazilian minister, connected with the slave-trading party, I find this panegyric upon our countrymen. "We declare, that we have a great respect for the English merchants of Rio, not only for their conduct in our internal concerns, but principally for the *way in which they contribute to the ransom of captive blacks in Africa*, whether by ordering goods fit to be employed *in this work of humanity*—whether by lending their money to the adventurer, or whether, as is said, by insuring vessels destined for the coast."—"We greatly respect the English merchants for their conduct in our *internal* concerns.!" Whether the part of their conduct thus so greatly respected is their bearing judicial testimony to the honour of pirates, or only their importing from seventy to eighty negro slaves, in breach of the laws of England, I am not prepared to say. But the principal ground of respect is their conduct towards Africa, "the way in which they there contribute to ransom the captive blacks by ordering goods fit for being employed in this work of humanity."—Whether the goods so humanely used are the coast guns, as they used to be called, which being bought for twelve or fifteen pence, burst in the hands of the negros, the second or third time they are fired, or whether the allusion may be to the shackles, the manacles, the iron weights that form part of the cargo in this voyage of humanity, or whether the whips and goads invested are more darkly shadowed out under the tender phrases, I will not take upon me to decide. But on the next topic of praise there can be little doubt; 'the lending their money to the adventurer,' the humane adventurer, and 'insuring as is said, (I make do doubt most truly said,) the vessels destined for the slave coast.'—No doubt the insuring such vessels is naturally a matter of eulogy to the affectionate lovers of the unhappy African race, eagerly celebrating the praise of those engaged in their ransom. Such vessels for instance, as were lately seized by Captain Denman, who, shedding a new lustre on the great name he bears, and equalling the exertions of the most gallant and zealous of his brethren in arms on that station, if, indeed, he does not surpass them all, has been waging a constant, an implacable, an interminable, and I rejoice to add, a successful warfare with the miscreant felons who ravage the coast, pollute the sea, and disgrace the name of sailor and of trader. The praise is bestowed on the humane British insurer of such vessels as he lately took—in one of which, horrid to relate, of forty-seven tons burthen, three hundred and seventy wretched Africans were found concealed. Think of that! If you can bring yourselves to the dreadful contemplation, think of that! Eight persons to a ton, being five times as many as were permitted by our slave-carrying acts at a time when, if we did not encourage, we at least protected the traffic! Exaggeration is always to be condemned; both as unfair, and therefore wrong, it is to be condemned; and as utterly inexpe-

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dient, it is to be rejected. I have often complained of it on both grounds before your lordships, and have reminded those who foolishly, as well as blameably, had recourse to such a practice, that it counteracts their own intentions, like some optic glass, which in unskilful hands diminishes objects instead of magnifying them. But here it would be as impossible, as it is unjust and as it is foolish, to exaggerate; for I defy any man's fancy to go beyond the fact, or any thing to be conceived more horrible than the bare statement of 370 wretched beings thrust into a vessel no larger than a Thames barge—there to endure what would be unbearable torment in a passage up or down the river, that washes these walls—to endure it on the voyage across the Atlantic ocean. Nor let us exaggerate the blame of those who by their speculations give the impulse to such cruel deeds. I do not mean to hold them answerable for things of which they may be ignorant, as they have never themselves witnessed those scenes of horror. But they are most clearly accessories before the fact, in so far as their capital drives the trade, or their demand for its produce causes it to be driven; and they are sharers in the guilty profits of the transaction so far as they carry on their concerns of planting or of mining by purchasing those victims of the slave-trader's avarice, whom he tears from Africa that he may sell to them. Many persons of otherwise excellent character, nay, even of dispositions generally humane, are, some without reflection, others in ignorance of the details, embarked on such speculations. With these I would only remonstrate; I would beseech them in all kindness of spirit, to reflect more fully, to examine more closely the consequences of thus employing their capital in foreign slave colonies. If their eyes are opened to the inevitable consequences; if they are aroused to a distinct view of the facts; surely they will awaken to a sense of what their duty demands of them, unless they would, after notice, make themselves wilful partakers of the crime. Let us take the case of mining companies,—the affairs of these are chiefly in the hands of British shareholders; the seat of some companies is in the city of London itself. At a late meeting of one company a call upon the shares being proposed, the ground of the demand was openly declared to be the expenses incurred by the recent purchases of slaves required to keep up the stock for working the mine. £5000 was stated to be the sum thus expended in one year, and seventy-three negros were alleged to have been bought. Many holders of those shares are without doubt, honourable and excellent persons, who have never considered the subject as it deserves. It is with them I make my friendly and respectful remonstrance, hoping—I had well nigh said, expecting—that they will upon inquiry feel the necessity of abandoning such speculations, and acting at once upon that feeling, invest otherwise, the wealth with which providence has blessed them for far worthier ends. Of their agents in Brazil, I cannot speak in any such measured terms—they must know that they are directly abetting the traffic. If they say that the slaves they purchase for their employers are creoles and not imported; if they contend that it is lawful to buy slaves in a foreign country where slavery is still suffered by the law; passing over the objections to this position which I have ever urged upon the most plain construction of our abolition acts, which make such dealing felony, every where except in a British settlement, I say that, granting the law to be as they erroneously read it, their statement of fact cannot avail to screen them. It is quite inconceivable that they should be ignorant of the slaves whom they purchase, having been lately, nay, but the day before, landed from the hold of the slave-ship. No person in Brazil—no person who has been there a month, can pretend ignorance of a negro being newly imported the instant he sees him. But if the mere sight should not prove decisive, could any man affect to doubt after hearing the unhappy creature speak? Nay, suppose even that test to fail, does not the price paid at once convict the purchaser? When £65 or £70 only is demanded for the new negro, and £120 or £130 is the price of a creole, of a seasoned slave, do you require more evidence to prove the guilty knowledge of the buyer, than his paying only half price? Let me see the man who has bought a jewel at half its value, and I shall have my doubts of his honesty, even if the seller was not a suspicious character. But show me the man who has paid half price to a suspected person, and I shall have no doubt at all, that the one is a receiver, and the other a thief. This is not more clear than that the man who pays for a slave half the sum which a seasoned negro costs, knows that he is buying a slave newly brought from Africa. In fact the market cannot be supplied regularly with creoles—with healthy and serviceable creoles hardly at all. Those brought to sale are either maimed, or afflicted with some bodily illness, or some mental incapacity, or of habits dissolute and rebellious. Whoever would buy a large number cannot either take slaves of that description, or trust to the chances of some unforeseen disaster, occasioning a sale and the purchaser not keeping the slave, though it is difficult to see how any one can carry on the plantation without the slaves. Those who conduct the mines must, therefore, know, that it is the African market from whence they are supplied with new hands. Some of those agents, and bearing, I grieve to say, her Majesty's commission, half-pay officers in the army and the navy, have been heard to avow openly, that they purchased newly imported slaves in preference, doubtless because they cost less. But it required no such avowal to convince any one who reflected on the nature of the commerce, that such must be the case. The course of the traffic is well-known. A vessel arrives from Africa, and not venturing to land her cargo in Rio, from fear of the British commissioners, rather than apprehension that the Brazil authorities will do their duty, she hovers off the bar, below the town, and conveys the negros to some convenient landing place, from whence they are conducted to a barracoon, or slave barrack, in the woods, and at only a few miles distance from the city. I asked of my informants how it happened that as many as 700 or 800, the number frequently landed from one slaver, could be conveyed through the country without danger of their escaping, or rising to resist their keepers. Alas, I little knew the condition in which these hapless creatures reached the new world! I was told that if I had ever witnessed the state in which they were carried on shore, emaciated, exhausted, and crippled, barely capable of crawling along, I should have seen that the least movement towards flight, or the raising a hand in resistance, was an absolute, a physical impossibility. Thus passively taken to the barracoon, they are there seen and purchased by the mine agent, or the planters' agent. Can he muster up assurance enough to deny that he knows he is dealing for negros newly landed? Nay, if he only repairs to the city, and is there waited upon by a slave captain, or his super-cargo, can he pretend to deny that he is aware of the article he is buying—yea just as certainly as if he had seen the poor negro landed, whom he is about to drive up the country to delve in the mine, or hoe in the cane piece? Such men are not to be in any respect whatever, distinguished from slave-traders. In the African slave-trade they are directly concerned—slave-traders in the ordinary acceptation of the term. A broad distinction is to be taken between their guilt and that of the capitalist who employs and hires them; he does not actually see the criminal traffic; he does not go down to the slave-ship, with her freight of misery and of crime—her lading of wretches, and her felon crew. Nevertheless, it is impossible to hold him blameless when his hired agent is covered with guilt; the agent whom he sets on as the accomplice of piracy, by whose acts he profits, the result of whose wrong doing all goes to enrich him. If he be not an accessory to the felony, his money procures it—his wealth is increased by it—without his aid it could not be perpetrated. Whoever they be that instigate such iniquities, by their speculation, and support them with their money, let them be well assured that their capital is the very spring which sets in motion the whole machinery of crime, as certainly as the main spring of that clock moves the hand which tells me how long, how much longer than was necessary, I have been detaining you to dwell over these painful scenes. But men, especially when engaged in evil courses, are prone to discover minute differences; and self-love, the great source of all blindness, is itself very quick-sighted to descry nice distinctions, that may screen us from the stern judge whom providence has appointed within the breast. The capitalists to whom I have alluded, are apt to say, possibly to think, they are little to blame, because they see nothing of all the suffering they occasion, and all the vice by which they profit; and many who would shrink from doing the deed with their own hands, or even shudder to view it with their own eyes, have but little qualm that others should do it for them, and out of sight. I remember an eastern tale in which some tyrant is represented as minded to put two of his family to death; but even his relentless nature flew back from witnessing the murder he ordered to be committed, according to the accustomed solecism of arbitrary power, as Lord Bacon calls it, desiring the end but disliking the means. The officer whom he commissioned to do the deed, shared in the same scruples; and thinking he could divide the guilt by dividing the instrumentality, employed one ignorant of the criminal purpose. This unsuspecting agent, was taken to a cave where a rope that entered the ground was made fast to an iron ring; and he was bid to sever it with a hatchet; the rope disappeared with great force on the blow being struck; and being carried to the adjoining palace he saw two persons crushed to death by the descent of a marble canopy under which they had been sleeping. His base conductor and his royal employer, would have recoiled from the sight of the slaughter which they had no scruple thus to perpetrate; and of which each was as guilty as if he had dared to plunge his dagger into the victims and been sprinkled with their blood. But it is not more certain that the blow of the hatchet which severed the rope, dealt destruction to those who reposed under the block which it had suspended, than it is certain that the capital of British speculators invested in the mines of Brazil, and the plantations of Cuba, kindles the wars, and stimulates the murders, and instigates the tortures, and sheds the desolation with which the slave-traffic has for ages ravaged the regions of Africa, to glut the cruel avarice of nations, the most ostentatious devotees to the religion of charity and peace. I hear it indeed whispered that these are not times for interfering with the employment of capital; that in the present embarrassment under which our commerce is labouring, we should be slow to stop up any channel in which capital may find employment. I can listen to no such argument; I protest utterly against its application to this question; and your lordships, above all men, can give it no quarter! What course have you been holding, and only yesterday holding? Regardless of the plea that trade was labouring, you have increased its burthen, where the plain interests of decorum and of morals demanded an addition to the load. But having overruled that plea when indecency was counterpleaded, you must not show yourselves more patient of crime. Sworn enemies to practices of an immoral tendency, will you be the protectors of actual guilt? Unscrupulous in dealing with private rights, when they warred with purity of conduct, can you harbour a preposterous delicacy towards piracy and murder, to screen from justice the gains of the felon or his accomplice? The more gloomy our prospects may be under a temporary visitation, the closer we should cling to our principles, that holding fast our integrity we may earn the blessing of brighter fortunes. Let us wash out the most vile pollution that defiles our honest trade, and tarnishes their name who drive it. Cease to protect the slave-monger, by whatever name he may call himself, or his accomplice, under what mask soever he may lurk. Zealous in extirpating vice, and immorality, and intemperance at home, do not patronize and propagate them abroad—anywhere abroad. Neither in the east, neither in the west, neither towards the rising sun nor towards his going down, wage execrable wars with human happiness and virtue, for the lucre of gain,—wars against millions, feeble as they are unoffending,—wars such as those of the most sordid prince who ever filled that throne, and which his immortal historian, likened to some base metal, glittering like steel, but really of brass,—monstrous wars, redeemed by no one virtue, nor graced by any triumph, save the triumph over public principle and national honour, in which victory shorn of its glories leads on peace stripped of its wonted blessings, nay, clothed in a double curse—in them that give it, whom it stains with the disgrace of guilty profits—in them that receive it, whom it corrupts with intemperance and cripples with disease! But a curse yet more heavy lies on the gains of African slavery and war,—whether they swell the stores of the trader or replenish the coffers of the state—Surely, surely this country never can forget the maxim of her greatest poet and none the least of her patriots, that it is her high prerogative to teach the nations how to live. And not her policy alone, but her industry must be kept pure, and above forming a partnership with violence and slavery. It is with peace, and with freedom that the commerce of England naturally maintains her holy alliance. She is the offspring of that liberty—but the support of her parent—by a charity above all Greek or Roman charities; the nurse of her parent—and you, my lords, calling down upon her and yourselves the blessings of heaven by pursuing the course which I, in all humility, but with all earnestness urge you to take, will add to your own fame an honour of which you stand little in need—but afford me, who want it much, the only consolation I can ever now enjoy, by helping me to discharge a sacred public duty. "I move you to resolve that this House will, with all practicable expedition take such measures as may be most effectual for preventing the employment of British capital in promoting or maintaining the slave trade."

The Duke of WELLINGTON said, that after the attention which he was sure their lordships had paid to the admirable speech of his noble and

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learned friend, he was convinced they must all be anxious to have some means brought under their consideration which should be effectual in putting an end to those evils which his noble and learned friend had so eloquently represented as existing, and of giving effect to the resolution which he had just submitted to the house. He certainly felt that, if the house adopted this motion, it would be absolutely necessary for the government to bring in a measure founded upon it, in order, if possible, to prevent the continuance of the evils of the slave-trade. His noble and learned friend had mentioned that some persons bearing her Majesty's commission were involved in the transactions of which he had spoken—that was a part of the evil for which he could have no difficulty in finding a remedy (hear, hear), but after having attended most patiently and anxiously to the speech which they had just heard, he could not discover in it anything like a road to measures which would have the effect of putting an end to the evils which it described. What he would propose would be this—that his noble and learned friend should himself bring forward a measure which would have the effect of putting an end to the perpetration of these crimes, and which would relieve the country from the dread of its continuance. He now submitted to his noble and learned friend, and to their lordships, an engagement on the part of her Majesty's government, that they would take his measure into their consideration at an early period of the next session of parliament, with the view of giving it their support and assistance, in order to render it a perfect measure of legislation, and suited to attain the end sought to be accomplished (hear, hear).

Lord BROUGHAM said, that if he were asked what would probably be the measure most calculated to effect the end he had in view, he should answer for the present—an act declaratory of the true intent of the act of Geo. IV. Doubts had been raised in different countries respecting the construction to be put upon the terms of that act. There was no doubt as to the real intentions of the framers of the measure, which was drawn up by his most distinguished and excellent friend Dr. Lushington, who had taken so deep an interest in the suppression of the slave-trade. He, therefore, considered, that the most effectual course would be to adopt a declaratory act, solving all those doubts, and declaring the true intent of the enactment in question. In case of the adoption of such an act, it would be for the wisdom of parliament to consider how long a time should be granted to persons implicated, to remove themselves from the position in which the law would then place them. But if such a measure should be carried, he trusted that what had passed in the house that night would be taken more as a warning than as an accusation, and he trusted that after that night no new transactions in connexion with the slave-trade—no new speculations would receive any countenance or protection from the British public. He should consent to withdraw his motion on the understanding that the government were pledged to a measure upon the subject.

Lord WHARNCLIFFE: Let us understand to what we are said to be pledged.

Lord BROUGHAM said, that he understood government to be pledged to take the subject of capital embarked in the slave-trade into immediate consideration, with a view to its prevention.

Lord WHARNCLIFFE understood the pledge to be an engagement to support a measure for the purpose to be brought forward by the noble lord.

The Duke of WELLINGTON explained that he meant that government should take into consideration, with a view to giving it their cordial support, both in this and the other house, a measure which the noble and learned lord should introduce.

The Earl of RIPON wished the noble and learned lord to undertake the framing of the measure in question, as his great knowledge of the subject, and the part he had taken in the introduction of similar bills, eminently qualified him for the task. The difficulty was to frame an act which should reach the parties; and as the transactions took place in another country, from which they could not easily command evidence, it would require great experience in the tortuosities of the subject to frame an efficient measure, and he trusted that his noble and learned friend would apply his mind speedily to the subject.

After a few words from Lord BROUGHAM, the motion was withdrawn.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

WE give from the *Morning Chronicle*, the following abstract of a conversation on the subject of slavery in British India, which took place in the House of Commons on Friday, the 5th instant. The reply of Mr. Baring to the question of Mr. Villiers is imperfectly reported; the papers promised by the former gentleman, however, will fully explain the measures about to be adopted in India, in reference to this very important subject. Of course, as soon as they are published, we shall put our friends in possession of their contents.

Mr. VILLIERS put a question to the government of which he had given notice, respecting slavery in British India; he wished to know if any steps had been taken for carrying the intentions of the British legislature into effect, or whether any measures were contemplated for terminating the system of slavery which existed in that part of the British empire? [Mr. Villiers here read the provision in the East India Charter Act, which provided for the extinction of slavery;] and he wished especially to know what steps had been taken for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, which had been proved to exist without the sanction of law in the British settlements of Penang, Province Wellesley, and Singapore?

Mr. B. BARING said that legislation on the subject must be initiated in India. Orders had been sent out in November last to Singapore and Penang, directing the governors of those provinces to transmit without delay a project of law for the immediate abolition of slavery in those provinces. With respect to India, the governor-general at the beginning of the present year had transmitted drafts of projects of law for the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery, for the consideration of the Court of Directors, and the Court of Directors and the government had signified their desire to accede to all the propositions of the Governor-general on that subject. The subject would be best understood from the papers that would be presented to the house. In the first place, they gave every security to individuals in enacting that no one should be dispossessed of his property on the ground that his predecessors, having been slaves, had no right to acquire it. They also prohibited the selling of children into slavery in periods of scarcity. The papers would be laid on the table of the house before the prorogation.

CASE OF THE CREOLE.

BY the American papers we learn something of the proceedings at Nassau, connected with the liberation of Madison Washington and his companions. The chief justice said, "No British court could try a foreigner for an offence committed against another foreigner on the high seas, except for the crime of piracy," and thus took the ground of Judge Thompson with respect to the *Amistad* Africans. He then undertook to show that Madison Washington and his associates had not been guilty of piracy. Piracy is larceny committed on the sea. Larceny consists in the taking and conveying away the property of another, with the intention o defrauding the owner of it, and of converting it to the use of thf taker—applying it to the profit of the thief. "If," said the judge "a man takes a horse from a stable and rides it a certain distance and then abandons it, this is no larceny," as he took the horse mainly for the purpose of conveyance, and did not subsequently convert it to his own use. The judge stated that it was notorious to every one at Nassau, that the protests of the officers of the *Creole* made at New Orleans, contained "gross mis-statements of facts." In concluding the decision of the court, he addressed the liberated men, and said, "It has pleased God to set you free from the bonds of slavery—may you hereafter live the lives of good and faithful subjects of Her Majesty's government." The men were then set at liberty by proclamation.

ST. CHRISTOPHERS.—The House of assembly have rejected the Marriage Bill, remitted by the home government for amendment. Nine-tenths of the marriages in this island have been celebrated by dissenting ministers, and the object of the bill was to legalise these. Most wantonly and mischievously is this refused.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

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,, Albright, Nicholas				1	0	0
Bristol—Thomas, George	30	0	0			
Poole—Binns, William				1	1	0
Ross—Morgan, Nathaniel				1	1	0
Modbury—Prideaux, George				0	10	0
Guisboro'—Coning, Ann				1	0	0
York—Fletcher, Martha				2	0	0
Carlton—Jowitt, Benjamin				2	0	0
,, Walker, Samuel				0	10	0
Anonymous—(Two Friends)	0	5	0			
Wisbeach—Peckover, William	10	0	0			
,, Peckover, Algernon	5	0	0			
Perran—Fox, Charles (two years)	1	0	0	2	2	0
Malton—Hopkins, John	1	0	0			
,, Pickering, Tabitha	0	10	0	0	10	0
,, Priestman, Samuel				1	0	0
,, Priestman, A. E.	0	10	0	0	10	0
,, Sewell, Abraham	0	10	0	0	10	0
Wereham—Sewell, Philip	5	0	0			
Edinburgh—Napier, Mrs.	0	2	6			
,, Walker, Captain	0	2	6			
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Truro—Tweedy, William (two years)				4	4	0
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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXX. Vol. III. No. 17.] WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 24th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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REPORT OF THE WEST AFRICAN COMMITTEE.

The parliamentary Committee whose report is before us, was appointed for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, their bearing on the slave-trade, and how far a free emigration could be thence obtained to supply the want of labour said to exist in the West Indies. We do not propose to examine the correctness of the conclusions at which the committee have arrived, because the evidence on which they are based has not yet been published; but simply to lay before our readers a short abstract of such parts of the report as bear on the anti-slavery question.

The committee state that they have based their investigations on the report of Dr. Madden relative to the British settlements on the west coast of Africa, and it is obvious from the allusions made to that document, and the care with which it has been kept from the public eye, that its revelations are somewhat startling. Indeed, we have reason for believing that this report has been submittted privately to the parties implicated in the charge of neglect of duty, or of aiding and abetting the slave-trade, for examination and reply, instead of being made the occasion of placing them before the tribunals of their country, where their guilt or innocence would have been made apparent by a solemn judicial decision. It will now be made public, overlaid with all manner of evidence, and with the comments of the committee thereupon.

Having finished their general remarks, the committee proceed to give their conclusions in reference to the British forts on the Gold coast. These they represent to have exercised "a very wholesome influence over a coast not much less than one hundred and fifty miles in extent, and to a considerable range inland; preventing within that range external slave-trade," and otherwise benefiting the native tribes: yet, within the jurisdiction of the principal settlement, Cape Coast, under the very eye and with the knowledge of the Governor, the Spanish slaver has been supplied by the British merchant with goods "requisite for carrying on her unlawful traffic;" and thus the slave-trade has been stimulated in the districts surrounding the settlements by the means afforded within them. The committee propose that henceforth these settlements, viz. Dixcore, Cape Coast, Annamaboe, and British Accra, should be entirely under the control of the government, and not under the authority of a committee of African merchants, as at present; that several abandoned forts, such as Apollonia, Winnebah, and Whydah, should be re-occupied, and that there should be established, either at Fernando Po or Ascension, a supreme judicial officer, whose duty it should be to visit the "trading stations" on the coast, for the settlement of disputes with the natives, which (it is found) "occasionally lead to consequences injurious to the British character and to the interests of commerce." They recommend also that the military should be somewhat increased in number, and their condition improved.

The settlement on the Gambia is deemed by the committee to "possess advantages far beyond those of any other British settlement on the coast of Africa." On this river they recommend the employment of steamers, for the double purpose of suppressing the slave-trade, and for keeping up official and commercial intercourse with Macarthy's island. They also recommend the re-establishment of the former British settlement on the island of Bulama, "both for checking the slave-trade at Bissao belonging to the Portuguese, and promoting legitimate commerce." They further suggest "the erection of small block-houses, whether up the Gambia itself, or along the coast, as at Cestos and the Gallinas," to "protect the lawful trade, and prevent the re-appearance of the slave-trade where it has been extinguished, or is dying away."

In reference to Sierra Leone, the committee are of opinion that the Courts of Mixed Commission for the adjudication of prizes taken in the slave-trade had better be removed to "Ascension, or one of the Portuguese islands," as being more convenient to the Bights of Biafra and Benin, if this can be done with the concurrence of foreign powers in treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade.

In reference to the natives in the neighbourhoods of the British forts, the committee recommend that "their relation to the British crown should be, not the allegiance of subjects, * * * * * but the deference of weaker powers to a stronger and more enlightened neighbour, whose protection and counsel they seek, and to whom they are bound by certain definite obligations." These they would make the subject of treaties, to "be varied and extended from time to time," and always to include the abolition of the *external* slave-trade, human sacrifices, and kidnapping.

The committee suggest that the settlements on the Gambia and the Gold Coast should be separated altogether from the government of Sierra Leone, and be entirely independent of each other; and that the various measures necessary to carry this recommendation into effect, should be adopted by the home authorities.

This then appears to be the sum of the committee's recommendations, that the forts and settlements, at present occupied, should be put on a better footing, both as regards their civil and military establishments; that abandoned forts on different parts of the coast should be re-occupied—that block-houses should be erected at Cestos and Gallinas—that steamers should be employed as well for the suppression of the slave-trade as the protection of legitimate commerce—that treaties should be formed with the native chiefs, having among other objects, the extinction of the slave-trade—and that the Courts of Mixed Commission, now existing at Sierra Leone, should be removed to Ascension, or some other point contiguous to the Bights of Benin and Biafra. As to the subject of slavery in Africa, and its modification, known by the name of "Pawns," existing around the British settlements, the committee give no recommendation, but are content to leave it to wear itself out by the lapse of time, and the general influence of the means taken for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The committee next proceed to consider the question of emigration to the West India colonies. They take two points as proved:—first, that there is a deficiency of labour in the emancipated colonies; and, secondly, that the diminished supply of sugar consequent upon emancipation has given an extraordinary stimulus to the slave-trade for the supply of Cuba and Brazil." They conclude that the best way to prevent this in future, is to produce "sugar by free labour in the British colonies on lower terms" than it can be raised by the labour of slaves in those countries. The points taken for granted by the committee are matters in dispute, and if this were the place for arguing the question, it might be shown that there is no real want of labour in the British colonies, but a want of capital to secure it; and that the decrease in the productions of these colonies cannot have given the stimulus to the slave-trade asserted, inasmuch as neither Cuba nor Brazil have had access to the British markets for the sale of their produce. But to return to the subject of emigration: the committee state, "that on the Gold coast few materials for a perfectly free emigration, or for emigration of any kind, appear to exist." Between Cape Palmas and Cape Mount, however, they find "a very singular race of men," the Kroos, much given, though not exclusively, to maritime pursuits." These they state to be free, although "it seems doubtful whether permission for large numbers to leave their shores could be obtained without some present to their chiefs." At the settlement on the Gambia they find "about fifteen hundred liberated Africans," from whom, of course, "not much emigration could be expected; though some, for they have little employment there." Besides these, there are "two tribes of Serawoolies and Tilliebunkies, who come in numbers to do all the severe labour of the settlement," and who

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are represented as "*apparently* free to come and go, without restraint or obligation of any kind."

At Sierra Leone, however, they find from 40,000 to 50,000 liberated Africans and their descendants, a body of Kroomen from 1000 to 5000, and a mixed population between 1000 and 2000, who, like the Kroomen, have come into the colony of their own accord.

From these sources it is proposed that emigrants to the West Indies should be drawn, and from these only. Now, as to the probable number that may be induced to emigrate, it is quite clear that from the Gold Coast none can be obtained, from the Gambia few, (if any,) and from Sierra Leone certainly not more than a few thousands, especially if it should be decided that the Mixed Commission Courts should be removed thence to some other place. To the Kroomen, the Serawoolies, and Tilliebunkies then must the committee look for the chief supply. The Kroos will not be able to emigrate in considerable numbers without the permission of their chiefs, who must be propitiated with presents, in other words, paid, for allowing them to leave their homes. How this delicate affair is to be managed, the committee do not say. It is not improbable that the chiefs of the Serawoolies and Tilliebunkies will require to be paid also; and if so, how are we to secure free emigration!

On the question of a due proportion of the sexes emigrating the committee say nothing, probably from the conviction that it would be impossible to secure it. The Kroomen, they know, migrate without their families, who, not improbably, are prevented by the chiefs from going with them, that thereby they may secure their return after a lapse of two or three years; and, so far as anything appears, the Serawoolies and Tilliebunkies do not bring their wives with them to the Gambia. Under such circumstances, can the committee seriously advise the emigration of masses of men to the British colonies! Yet it appears they do, because they apprehend the condition of the African would be improved by a sojourn for a limited time in the West Indies; in proof of which, they adduce the wages paid to the labourers there, and the moral and religious advantages to be enjoyed. Now it may be doubted, looking at the price of provisions in Jamaica, Guiana, and Trinidad, whether the wages obtained at Sierra Leone, for instance, will not be equal to those obtained in these colonies. But then the committee maintain that Africa would be benefited by such an emigration of her sons, many of whom, they say, "would probably return to her soil, enriched with civil and religious knowledge, and bringing back with them wealth and the means of civilization." This is not likely to be the case, however much it might be desired.

In reference to the future disposal of captured Africans, the committee observe, "To the homeless African, newly liberated, the option should be given of settling at once in the West Indies, if he please, with permission to return hereafter at his own cost, or of removing to Sierra Leone, or of remaining in it on the first adjudication, if he undertake for his own maintenance, or can find friends or relations who will undertake it for him." Considering the circumstances under which these wretched and deeply injured creatures are brought to Sierra Leone, their utter destitution and friendlessness, their probable want of health, and ignorance of the best mode of gaining a livelihood, we think this recommendation of the committee to be far from humane; and are at a loss to conceive how these Africans can be considered free emigrants if removed to the British colonies after this manner.

In closing their report the committee enter into a rather lengthened discussion of the legality of the British merchants selling goods to slavers or to slave dealers at their factories, for the purpose of being employed in the guilty traffic, and the best means, if any, for preventing the same. The committee find the subject environed with difficulties; and, as far as we can gather, offer no suggestions to remedy so crying an evil: on the contrary they rather place difficulties in the way of a solution of the question how it may be prevented. On this and several other important points the report is extremely unsatisfactory; and we fear will prove mischievous to a cause it is intended to serve.

FORMATION OF AN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AT MALTA.

ON the 30th of July, a meeting of the friends of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade was held in the island of Malta, for the purpose of forming an association auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. His Excellency the governor presided at the meeting, and opened it as follows:—

"Gentlemen, the object of this meeting as set forth, in the invitation by means of which we have been drawn together, is that of forming an *Anglo-Maltese Auxiliary Association* of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the furtherance of the abolition of the slave-trade; *an object in itself so laudable and so much in unison with every good and noble feeling of our nature, and which comes so directly home to our hearts,* that I feel it would be superfluous in me to expatiate upon the subject, or to do more than express my satisfaction at finding myself associated for such a purpose with so respectable an assemblage as that which I have now the honour to address. I shall proceed to read the resolutions, in which I hope to meet with your concurrence."

After the first three resolutions were read by his Excellency, Major Studholme Hodgson, of the 19th regiment, addressed the meeting thus:—

May it please your Excellency,—Gentlemen, although I cannot but feel that it may appear presumptuous in so humble an individual as myself to address the present meeting, yet having been particularly invited to attend this day, owing probably to it having transpired that I, at an early period of my life, and in another hemisphere, had been induced to take rather an active part in a measure framed upon principles similar to those contained in the resolutions which I have just read by his Excellency's desire, I trust the meeting will permit me to express my cordial concurrence in the resolutions in question, and my admiration of the tone and spirit which pervade them, and that it will further bear with me, while I offer a few general observations upon the subject which has called us together.

It has been my lot, gentlemen, to be an eye-witness of the horrors of slavery: and although I admit that I did not see them in their fullest extent and sin, as the period in which I was led among them was that when our glorious country, listening to the voice of the great majority of her sons, had resolved at a costly sacrifice to extend her protecting arm to those miserable beings languishing as slaves in the colonies, and, consequently, atrocities were each day becoming rarer—still I witnessed things on the very threshold of liberty, as I may call it, at which the mind of man recoils, and the remembrance of which, even at this distant day, chills my frame with horror. It is however unnecessary that I should expatiate upon these things, as doing so would serve no particular purpose, and some parties might be exasperated at my reverting to things gone by. If I have touched upon them at all, it has been solely with the view to impress upon the minds of this meeting, that, if abominations were practised in colonies over which England ruled, and at the moment too when it required but one last gentle stroke of the hammer to strike off immediately and for ever the fetters of the bondsman—that, if the individuals guilty of the abominations alluded to were sons, unworthy ones it is true, but still sons of the most civilized country on the surface of the earth, that though not practisers, they were still professors of the most pure and blessed creed which has ever been vouchsafed to the erring children of man—if, I repeat, iniquities took place under these circumstances, what must be the frightful mass of horrors and sin existing in places contiguous to these shores, where on the subject of slavery there is no public opinion to deter, no laws to punish, and above all, no holy and unadulterated creed to restrain! I will therefore confine myself to the consideration of the slave-trade as carried on in places in the more immediate proximity of this island; for, although the principles recommended to the consideration of this meeting in the resolutions which his Excellency the governor has been pleased to submit, apply to emancipation at large, and to the extirpation of slavery in every part of the globe, yet, situated as Malta is, it is absolutely necessary in the first instance at least, that you should apply all your energies to the lands referred to; for, if you adopt only general views, having no immediate tangible and specific aim, you may, it is true, gentlemen, form the most plausible theories, and frame the most eloquent resolutions, but you will utterly fail to accomplish any real or permanent good. I wish, gentlemen, it were in my power to submit to you certain statistical details, connected with slavery in the countries glanced at; you might have listened perhaps with interest to a description of the number of slaves which have been imported and exported within a certain number of years, and it might have been curious to speculate upon the ultimate effect produced upon the morality and population of the countries from whence the victims have been ravished, as well as upon those of the countries into which they were conveyed; but, as I have not, in the few hours since I was informed of this meeting, been able to master all the details and ramifications of the subject, and as moreover I might be led into detaining you too long, I think it more advisable to confine myself to a rapid general sketch, and to prove to you, in contradiction to those who assert that the slaves in those countries are well treated household servants—in reality they are perhaps worse off than were formerly even the slaves in the West India colonies. Certain am I, gentlemen, that you will declare the system not to admit of the slightest palliation.

I believe you are all aware that the slave trade is being carried on within a few days' sail of these shores, with relentless rigour, without relaxation from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same, and from the setting to the rising. I demand whether it is possible for the traffic to exist without the accompaniments of violence and bloodshed. Examine how it is conducted in those parts. Large or organized parties are constantly prowling about in search of victims. In the dead of night these pirates stained with a thousand murders pour themselves into the valleys and peaceful villages, spreading havoc and destruction at every step, and carrying off as slaves, men, women, and children. The frightful occurrences during the struggles, the butchery of age and sex, are sufficiently revolting; but they are as nothing compared with the sufferings which the more miserable survivors are yet destined to encounter. When crossing the desert, care and attention are exhibited only to those who are likely to bring gold to the coffers of these fiends—they will be shown to the strong whose sinews betoken the qualifications proper for a field labourer—or to the lovely, whose charms may be expected to fetch a price in the mart of prostitution. The others are either butchered at once, or, if unable to keep up with the horses of their capturer, are left to expire in the desert under all the tortures of despair, thirst, and famine. *Under no circumstances whatever do more than two-thirds reach the goal.* And

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what is their lot! The maiden just torn from her parents is quickly sold to the sensualist, and compelled to feign rapture when her heart strings are bursting with agony, and the murdered forms of the authors of her being are yet flitting before her. The female infant, severed roughly from its mother's breast, and steeped in its mother's gore, is sent off immediately to be trained up in a school for sin, and at a proper age, like an animal brought to the shambles for slaughter, is led out to slake the lust of some powerful or wealthy miscreant. The fate of the male infant is even more revolting and degrading—but why dwell longer on these frightful facts? I ask you gentlemen of Malta, whether these victims are to be less pitied than the former slaves in the colonies? Shall no attempt be made by you to check the crying sin! Shall it go on in the immediate vicinity of this happy island, without an arm or a voice being raised against it?

Gentlemen, if the attempt is ever to be made with any chance of success, it is only by its being made in Malta that success can be expected. Situated as this island is, you have advantages for proceeding to the important labour, utterly unattainable by the mother country. First and foremost is the proximity of your shores to the spots where these accursed deeds are performed; then comes the similarity of your dialects; and afterwards, from travellers between Malta and some of the spots in question being so numerous, and so numerous being the connexions and friends of Maltese ever residing in those parts, that it will be easy for you to keep up an incessant correspondence, and to receive almost daily communications respecting the object you have at heart. The Maltese must consider that to them belong the means of very materially mitigating the lot of the hopeless victims of avarice and of lust, and of perhaps eventually destroying this traffic in human blood. their powers to this effect are far superior to any that can ever be possessed by any purely English residents. These are only temporarily among you, gentlemen; they are constantly changing; one moment may remove its leading members, and may scatter to the wind the most powerful society they can establish in Malta,—whereas the Maltese, living permanently in their own land, may form a compact and lasting association, and, though on them will fall the chief part of the labour, so to them will accrue all the honour and the glory. And believe me, gentlemen of Malta, you have a task before you worthy of the country which gave you birth, one not inferior in lustre to any of those mighty deeds which have rendered your island so famous. Malta has ever been a bulwark, placing at defiance every barbarian who has dared to assail her: Malta too in every age has offered refuge and hospitality to all victims flying from tyranny. Act up then, gentlemen, to the spirit of your fathers, let the first blow against the pirates be hurled from Malta, from the only spot whence a blow can be given with effect, from the only spot in the Mediterranean where liberty is known. Let the inhabitants of Malta, in accordance with the resolutions proposed by his Excellency the governor, immediately prepare petitions to our sovereign to pray her Majesty's gracious influence with the powers who have the means of staying this traffic. Do you also, gentlemen, form associations in every part of the Mediterranean, and establish branch societies in every spot where you have a friend, or can find a correspondent.

All here in this room, and in this island, are essentially English—and whatever the difference of our languages, however much opposed we may be on general political subjects or particular local ones, we are still essentially English:—more than that, we all belong to the same holy brotherhood, we are all of us Christians—we worship the same God—we hope for salvation in the same Saviour. Let us then wave all minor differences, let us join heart and soul to put down a traffic disgraceful to the human race, accursed in the sight of the deity, and condemned by every precept of the gospel. But once again I repeat, and it cannot be too often impressed upon your minds, on you, gentlemen of Malta, the success of this mighty scheme chiefly depends! I cannot believe that it will fall to the ground through any lukewarmness on your parts. On the contrary, I feel that the friends of humanity in every part of our earth are destined to number the Maltese among the foremost and most zealous in the god-like fight. Certain am I that the Maltese will prove that they have not degenerated from their sires, and that England will have still greater reason to be proud of her adopted sons.

Sir Ignatius Bonavita followed in their support. He said, he felt assured that the Maltese, one and all, heartily concurred in the philanthropic objects of the association—that the resolutions embodying the principles of the association should be translated into the *Italian* language, which would immediately bring the object of the association within the knowledge of all the inhabitants of Malta, and success would certainly ensue. He had great pleasure in seconding the resolutions.

The last three resolutions being proposed, the Hon. Mr. Aspinall, Lieut. Brown R. N., and Mr. Ensign Gatt, R. M. F., spoke in their support.

The meeting was well attended, especially by the Maltese. The greatest harmony and good feeling prevailed; his Excellency seemed happy to meet so large and respectable an assembly of the principal inhabitants of the island congregated together for such a philanthropic object; and there is every prospect of the association succeeding, not only in advancing the cause of humanity in Africa and on the shores of the Mediterranean, but also reflecting honour upon the Maltese people and the British administration.

[The resolutions adopted on this interesting occasion in our next.]

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

On the 28th of December, 1841, M. Vaultier de Moyencourt, a colonist of Guadeloupe, was brought before the royal court of correctional police in that island, charged with having shut up two of his slaves in a dungeon, and with having confined a young slave of thirteen years of age in a stable, attached by a chain weighing eight kilogrammes to a mill-stone.

The first of these slaves, Noel, aged about sixty years, was confined during many months. He had been suffering from disease previously to his incarceration, from which he was only relieved to enter a hospital, where he died about a month afterwards. The second, Joachim, aged twenty-five years, was confined from the beginning of May till the end of July, 1841, in the same dungeon, the air of which was poisoned with filth which no care was taken to remove. In the third case the weight and friction of the chain occasioned disease in both legs of the victim.

The register read from the minutes a description of the dungeon of plantation Lubeth:—"This dungeon, in masonry, is in the form of a family vault; it is closed by a double door of wood, each an inch in thickness. The wall is two feet in thickness between the two doors. The daylight and the air penetrate with difficulty through the cracks in the doors On the north side there is a passage for the air obliquely cut in the wall, one foot in height, by three inches in breadth, and another passage of the same dimensions on the western side. This dungeon is six feet six inches long, six feet broad, and six feet in height. The floor is of masonry, raised about two feet from the ground."

The first witness was Joachim, a muleteer, whom the magistrates found on the 22nd July in the dungeon. His statement was as follows:—M. Vaultier (the accused) had lost several mules, while Noel (my brother) had the charge of them: he was arrested and put into the dungeon. He remained there a long time, and left it sick to go to the hospital, where he died a short time afterwards. Towards the month of January last M. Vaultier again met with some losses, while the mules were under my care. Fearing lest I should be flogged, I ran away. I was taken at the commencement of the month of May by the manager, M. Laroche, and by order of my master placed in the dungeon of the plantation, where I remained until the magistrates came. Every evening they brought me flour and salt fish; they gave me only one bottle of water per day; I had not sufficient, but I feared to ask for more.

Q. Did you not sometimes leave the dungeon?

A. No. I asked Louisonne, the hospital man, for a vessel to satisfy my wants, but he replied that there was none for me. I was obliged to deposit my ordure in one corner of the dungeon, and, as it was never cleaned out, the stench prevented my eating.

The Advocate-general: It has been shown by an examination taken at the time of Joachim's removal from the dungeon, that it had not been cleaned for about a month.

Jean-Baptiste, aged 13, the slave of the accused, said, I was attached to a mill-stone in the stable of the plantation by an iron chain ten feet in length; it was secured to my right leg by means of an iron shackle. I chopped straw, which I gave to the horses. I cannot say how long a time I remained there. My master had once before put on the chain.

Q. Why did your master chain you?

A. Because I had run away in consequence of having been beaten.

Q. Did you not break open some negro huts in order to steal?

A. I once pushed open the door of Clerine's hut, which was unhung, and I took some flour and salt fish.

Q. Had you the *mal d'estomac* when you were first chained?

A. No: it was during my confinement that this malady came on.

Q. Could you walk when you left the stable?

A. I walked with difficulty; my legs were swollen.

Victoire, a driver, slave of the accused, confirmed the latter part of Joachim's statement relative to the state of the dungeon.

Louisonne, the hospital man, confirmed the statement relative to Noel, and also that Joachim had made application to him for a vessel, &c.

Charles Leroche, manager of the plantation Lubeth, said, that Joachim was incarcerated because he had been a long time suspected of poisoning the cattle. Five or six mules had died when Joachim ran away. Every one believed that the death of these animals was attributable to malpractices. A beautiful and well-conditioned mule was suddenly attacked with a trembling, and died almost instantaneously. I went every evening to give food to the prisoner. At first I took care to have the dungeon cleaned, but during the latter part of his detention I acknowledge myself guilty of neglect in this particular: I affirm that M. Vaultier recommended me to render this man every care which comported with his situation; he (M. Vaultier) is not at all responsible for my neglect. For the rest, if Joachim had allowed the slightest complaint to escape, I should have been eager to attend to it.

M. Le General Faujas de Saint Fond, mayor of the commune of Petit-Canal, came forward as a witness on the part of the accused, and pronounced a flattering eulogium on him. He related the losses which M. Vaultier had sustained. At the commencement of the year, eighteen or twenty slaves had quitted his estate to go marrooning; at the same time one of the buildings essential to his establishment became the prey of the flames. "M. de Moyencourt wrote to advise me of these serious disorders. Finding it impossible to arrest the guilty parties, I addressed myself to the governor, and informed him of what had taken place in my commune, and requested succours. The procureur-general, who was then making his tour, came to plantation Lubeth. M. Vaultier informed him of the rebellion among his slaves, mentioning particularly his inquietude respecting Joachim (who had just then been arrested), and expressed his desire that this slave should be transported. The procureur-general replied that he would make his report to the governor; but in the mean time, he advised M. Vaultier not to forego the right which he had, in his quality of master, of confining his slave. M. Vaultier, re-assured by these words, wrote to inform me that Joachim would be confined in the dungeon of the plantation until the decision of the governor. On these facts, criminal proceedings have been instituted against M. de Moyencourt. For myself, I have only in all this affair one thing to blame him for, and that is for having abdicated, so to speak, his rights as a master, when the law gives him an entire jurisdiction over his slaves."

Here the president informed M. Faujas that there was a great error in his last words; the law had never conferred on the master entire jurisdiction over his slaves.

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M. Faujas—I do not perhaps explain myself properly. I wished to say that M. Vaultier had no occasion to address himself to the authorities; that his authority as master was sufficient to restore order in his plantation.

The advocate-general then addressed the court. He pointed out the effect of such suicidal acts of tyranny as those which had been recently brought before the courts, committed at the very time that they were pleading with the mother country for the continuance of the institution of slavery, as the only social organization that could possibly exist in the colonies, in order to insure labour to the proprietor, and the well-being of the negro.

After analyzing the charges resulting from the evidence respecting Noel and Joachim, he continued:—"Observe the treatment which these two men have suffered. They were poisoners, you say. Ah! gentlemen, if it be true that mal-practices have ruined the estates, that the poisoners have destroyed the cattle and decimated the slave gangs, it is also true that vain terrors and deplorable prejudices have done much evil. There are some planters who do not believe in epizooty. With them, if an ox falls at his work he dies of poison. Is a mule found dead in the paddock? He has been the victim of mal-practices. Hence, chastisements often unjust—hence inevitable disorders on the plantations. But was it permitted to you to throw this sick man into a damp and narrow dungeon, from which he was only permitted an egress to prepare himself a winding sheet in a hospital? The law condemns and strikes, but it does not leave men to die. * * * With regard to Joachim, he was also suspected of poisoning. You addressed yourself to the governor—you demanded his transportation—you were authorised (you say) to make use of the dungeon of your plantation, whilst awaiting the result of your application. I do not deny this. But did you use a master's prudent care of your slave? Far from that, you inflicted upon him, by a culpable negligence, a punishment which no legislation would impose. You abandoned this man to a dungeon infected with filth, for which the negro has a natural antipathy. You have confined him in the midst of disgusting exhalations, which might have ruined his health. Is that, I demand, the legal exercise of your disciplinary right? The manager, Laroche, has assumed to himself all the responsibility of this crime. * * * It is easy to accuse oneself when one is not in the place of the accused. But the generous effort of the witness will not justify Vaultier de Moyencourt. When he directed his manager to weed a piece of canes, or to dig a piece of earth, did he not himself overlook the work which he had ordered? Is the life of a man then less precious than some feet of canes, or some furrows of the plough?"

The advocate-general passed to the third charge against the prisoner. "You speak, said he, of the vicious habits of this young slave. The evidence has proved that he has only used his liberty to free himself from oppression. We do not deny that the position of the accused with respect to this child was difficult; but can you justify all acts which a planter may commit with the object of restraining the disorders of his slaves? If the system of slavery in the colonies secures labour, prosperity, and riches to the colonist, it also entails upon him, as we well know, great embarrassments. It is for those who benefit by slavery to submit to its inconveniences." * * * * The Advocate-general concluded a long and energetic address, by moving "a fine of 2000 francs against the accused, in accordance with the terms of the ancient edicts."

M. Dain, counsel for the accused, briefly replied. He lamented what he called the "demolition piece by piece" of the colonial institutions; and suggested that it would be better to kill them by a single blow, by the total repeal of the ancient codes, than thus, day after day, by subtile interpretations to tear out a page from the colonial charter.

The court retired, and after two hours deliberation returned a verdict, which declared that on the first charge, M. Vaultier acted in accordance with the established custom; and with regard to the two others released him from the prosecutions directed against him.

M. Faugas de St. Fond smiled with a gesture of triumph. In anticipation he saw himself carrying M. Vaultier on his shoulders through the streets of Basse-Terre. His anticipation, however, was not realized; for, on the requisition of the public minister, the court, according to the terms of the last paragraph of article 322 of the code, believed it its duty to represent to the governor the necessity of causing the slave Joachim to be removed from the possession of M. Vaultier de Moyencourt, his master, against whom he had given evidence on the trial.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Thanks are respectfully returned to those friends who have kindly supplied the numbers of the *Reporter* asked for in our last.

C. T. and S. Bannister are respectfully declined.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 24TH.

WE have received the following letter:—

To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—In making selections from the public press, especially where the matter to which they refer involves disputed questions, it is not, perhaps, possible always to avoid giving offence, or wounding the feelings of some who may think themselves pointed at in such selections. I have been led to make this general remark, in consequence of its having come to my knowledge that several individuals who have laboured long and zealously in the anti-slavery cause, whose names are deservedly honoured, and who themselves are worthy to be honoured for their services and sacrifices in that cause, feel aggrieved at an article recently taken from the *Morning Herald*, and containing references of a most offensive and injurious nature, which I am persuaded, on reflection, you will as warmly condemn as myself.

I think it quite right, when the press or the public make the mistake of confounding the *African Civilization Society* with the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, that it should be corrected, because, although in one respect their object is the same—the extinction of the slave-trade—the means they pursue for its accomplishment are diverse; and because the latter, more comprehensive in its range than the former, embraces the abolition of slavery throughout the world, as well as the suppression of the slave-trade in Africa. In common with yourself, I am of opinion that it is vain to look for the extinction of the slave-trade until slavery itself be abolished, and that all our energies ought to be directed to that point. I am not so blinded, however, by my attachment to this principle, as to question either the intelligence or the motives of those who think the end to be gained may be best achieved by the working out of other principles, and who are as zealous, perhaps more so than myself, in their endeavours to seek that end.

These friendly strictures I hope will be received in good part by you, Mr. Editor, and lead to such explanations as may be satisfactory to all parties.

The enemies of the anti-slavery cause are numerous, and, I lament to say, are as powerful as they are numerous. They are pleased at any division that may appear in our ranks, and will take advantage of it to secure their base ends; they will attempt to defeat us in detail when it would be hopeless to overcome us by an attack on our principles. Incessant vigilance therefore is necessary on the part of abolitionists to maintain the ground they have already covered; and union, without compromise, is equally necessary to carry forward our triumphs, until slavery and the slave-trade shall be known no more throughout the earth.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

August 15th, 1842. PHILO-AFRICANUS.

The "friendly strictures" of our correspondent we receive (to use his own term) in perfectly "good part," and shall be very happy to furnish any explanations which may serve the purpose of relieving the minds of the long and deservedly honoured labourers in the anti-slavery cause whom, it appears, we have, unintentionally wounded. We may say, indeed, much more than unintentionally; for it has happened notwithstanding an intention most fervently cherished to the contrary. And we are the more happy to offer explanation, because we are quite sure that it needs nothing more than an understanding of the case as it really is to set the minds of our valued coadjutors entirely at rest. What has given them pain, of course, is, that they regard the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* as having adopted the language of the *Morning Herald*, reflecting on the supporters of the African Civilization Society. We have to assure them, therefore (and we do it with the most perfect truth and sincerity), that such an impression is altogether erroneous. The article was inserted *solely* as a well merited rebuke of the then recent impertinence of the *Colonial Gazette* towards the Anti-Slavery Society; and certainly without any idea that the abuse of either that Society or the Civilization Society, which were about equally favoured in this respect, would be painful to a single individual. Had the remotest apprehension of this been entertained, the article would have been instantly laid aside. A mis-understanding of it must have given it all its edge. The severest things *said by the Morning Herald* will not wound the feelings of Sir Fowell Buxton, or any of his friends, for a single moment. And neither he nor they will hesitate to accept our assurance that the sentiments of that journal are not ours; but that, on the contrary, we know no diminution of that high and cordial regard of which he has had, from the principal members of the Anti-Slavery Committee, many convincing proofs, and with which he will not, in them or their present coadjutors, find any real inconsistency.

THE publication of the reports of the two committees appointed by the House of Commons—the one on the West India Colonies, and the other on the West Coast of Africa—puts us in possession of the entire view taken by these bodies (and we presume by the government also) on the important subject of emigration from Africa to the British possessions in the Western Archipelago. The West India Committee affirm the desirableness of promoting "the immigration of a fresh labouring population, to such an extent as to create competition for employment;" while the West African Committee have discovered on that vast continent sundry "materials for emigration to the West Indies," which they opine, "would probably prove to be considerable." Some parties, we perceive, are indulging themselves in a tone of unbounded triumph on this occasion. Our contemporary of the *Colonial Gazette* in particular congratulates himself, with an amusing gravity, on two parliamentary committees having become his "docile and intelligent pupils;" while the anti-slavery press is, according to Sir Oracle, "to rail and to denounce," for the venting of its disappointment and despair.

Now we are quite ready to admit that we should have far more readily concurred in the series of admirable resolutions (generally speaking) proposed to the West India Committee by Mr. Hawes as the basis of their report, than in those which they ultimately adopted, and which, when the evidence taken by the committee is published, we shall have an opportunity of putting to the test. But that the ground taken by the West African Committee should be either very gratifying to the West India party, or very flattering to the *Colonial Gazette*, altogether surprises us. The cry of the planters has been for emigration *from Africa*, that is, from the whole coast without restriction, and by direct traffic with the parties who now carry on the slave-trade; and it is manifest from the language employed by the writer in the *Colonial Gazette*, that this is his desire also. The thing coveted has been a free access to "enormous masses of Africans," which are truly enough said by our contemporary to be "found for yearly export" by the slave-traders. The West African Committee, however, we are

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happy to say, have kept themselves quite aloof from any such scheme. They have confined themselves to what the *Gazette* significantly calls "a limited part of the territory," namely, to the British settlements; and from these they by no means recommend an indiscriminate emigration. The "materials for emigration" which they find are—not Africans generally—but, either the Kroomen, a well known free and hardy race on the coast, addicted to migration for lucrative employment for a few years; two supposed free tribes up the Gambia, migrating on a similar principle to the British settlement on that river; and the resident inhabitants of Sierra Leone, together with such slaves as may be liberated by the mixed commission there. And these are all! Why it would not satisfy the cravings of British Guiana alone, if the entire population so marked out were to be set down upon the shores of that "magnificent province." This is surely for the planters "a most lame and impotent conclusion."

As to the British settlements on the Gold Coast, the committee do not recommend any encouragement to emigration from thence. And the principal reason they assign for this we notice with peculiar pleasure: it is that "*all*, save the chiefs, and a few dwellers on the coast who have engaged in the various pursuits of commerce under the protection of the British, the Dutch, and the Danish settlements, *are slaves*." Hence the committee draw the just and inevitable conclusion, that there exist here "few materials for *a perfectly free emigration*." The principle thus laid down is one of vast importance, and we rejoice to have it so distinctly recognized. Where the inhabitants are "slaves," the committee tell us emigration cannot be "perfectly free;" and under these circumstances they do not recommend, and we trust no British government will ever afford any encouragement to it. The extent to which this just and most important principle will apply in Africa is all but universal. The exceptions to it discovered by this committee, whose business it was to look out for them, are quite insignificant; being only the Kroomen, whom all the world knew before, and the doubtful case of the Serawoolies and Tilliebunkies of whom no body yet knows any thing. With these trifling exceptions, the whole population of Western Africa is tabooed by the report of the committee to the longing West Indians. They are "slaves." Their emigration cannot be "perfectly free;" and no British government, therefore, will afford facilities for it

We may now estimate the value of that triumph which the *Gazette* appears to find in the opinion of the committee, that, under proper regulations, emigration from Africa may be encouraged without any danger "of creating a real, or plausible suspicion of a real, slave-trade under another name." To emigration restricted to free persons, and conducted within a British settlement, it was never contended that any suspicion of slave-trading could attach. All that has ever been said on this subject is, that the buying of Africans who were not free under the name of emigrants would inevitably become slave-trading. License to do this has been in so many words advocated and demanded, both in Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad; and the fact that the Committee have made no approach towards sanctioning it, must clearly be taken as confirming our view of it. Were we disposed to indulge in a luxurious paroxysm of self-complacency, we might, with fully as much justice as our contemporary, say, that one parliamentary committee at least "has proved itself our docile and intelligent pupil."

The language of the *Colonial Gazette* indicates clearly enough that the ground taken by the Committee is unsatisfactory to the West India party, and that a struggle will yet be made for the extension of it. Let our readers mark the following passage:—

> In one instance, the report is calculated to create an impression that the supply of emigrants from Africa is not likely to be so great as some persons have supposed. In the absence of the evidence, which is not yet ready for publication, we are unable to test the grounds for such an impression; but there are some very palpable and trustworthy reasons for concluding that a good system of emigration would find abundant supplies. In the first place, it may be considered that the slave-trade has tended to check that free approach to the coast which would obtain under a better state of things. Then, again, the efforts to suppress the slave-trade must have imposed a further check on the movements of the native tribes. The report too considers only a limited part of the territory—that occupied by our own settlements. The very statistics of the slave-trade prove that enormous masses of Africans are to be found for yearly export; for slaves are emigrants. The limit to the numbers consists in the obstacles to the traffic. The emigration recommended by the committee presupposes the substitution of attraction for compulsion—the inducing Africans to emigrate in the hope of benefit, instead of kidnapping them by force. If that change of motive could be effected, the numbers of the slave-trade might be transferred to the free migration, and multiplied by the removal of those checks which now limit the bad traffic, but with which no one would desire to limit a migration beneficial to all and injurious to none, except to the dealers in slaves: who would be sorry for *their* losses?

The meaning of this is abundantly plain. It breathes an insatiable longing to turn the vast export now effected by the slave-trade into the channel of a (so called) free migration to the British West Indies. The writer talks of achieving this by effecting a "change of motive" in the "enormous masses" exported, and of "inducing them to emigrate in the hope of benefit." This is pure nonsense. The parties exported have no opportunity whatever of listening to such persuasives, or of exercising their choice if they had. They are slaves, and are to be sold. The only conference to be entered into respecting them is with those who have them to sell; and the only question to be settled is the quantity of gold for which the atrocious merchandise shall be transferred.

We have great pleasure in laying before our readers a report (taken from the *Malta Times* of the 30th July) of the formation of the Anglo-Maltese Anti-Slavery Society, in connexion with the Anti-Slavery Society existing in this country. The establishment of such an association under the highest auspices, for the noble purpose of promoting the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, affords matter for sincere congratulation to the friends of humanity every where. We presume that the labours of the committee will be principally directed to the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade in Northern Africa, Egypt, and Turkey, a vast and most important field of operation. We sincerely thank the gentlemen who have undertaken this good and great work, and trust that the same amount of spirit, liberality, and zeal, which has originated the association, will mark and crown all its future proceedings.

To Major Studholme Hodgson, whose eloquent speech we give in connexion with the proceedings which took place at the formation of the Anglo-Maltese Anti-Slavery Society, the anti-slavery cause is much indebted for his able work entitled *Truths from the West Indies*, in which we know not whether most to admire, the enlightened zeal it manifests in the cause of suffering humanity, or the moral courage it displays in laying bare the evils of colonial society. We thank him for this new contribution in behalf of the oppressed, and trust it will stimulate many in the Mediterranean to follow a similar course. The new society will have under their early consideration a proposal to get up a Mediterranean petition to the queen of England, to confer with the European powers who were parties to the late settlement of the Eastern question, on a united endeavour to persuade the Sublime Porte to prohibit the exportation of slaves from Northern Africa.

We have given another case to-day, illustrative of the atrocities of slavery in the French colonies. We hope the attention of our French friends is directed to the same quarter, and that they will not be slow to take the hint so broadly given by the advocate-general in Guadeloupe. "Every one of your faults," said he, "is an argument against you; every one of your errors a stone which you yourselves remove from our colonial edifice." These cruelties, although the mere incidents of slavery, form a powerful leaver for overthrowing the system.

In the scarcity of authentic accounts from Mauritius, we are happy to lay before our readers a letter from that island by a correspondent of our contemporary, the *Friend of Africa*.

We direct attention to-day to the article from the *Times* on the Colonial Passengers' Act, which was crowded out of our last.

MAURITIUS AND THE SEYCHELLES.

(From a Correspondent of the *Friend of Africa.*)

The results of emancipation in the Mauritius have been less satisfactory than in the West Indies, nor is this at all surprising. While the former was almost without religious instruction for the slaves, the latter enjoyed the benefit of numerous missionary establishments, and numbered thousands of christians among the labouring classes. These knew the worth of the gospel, and contributed largely to the erection of chapels and the support of ministers, as soon as their freedom enabled them to do so. They knew the blessings of education, and not only strove to snatch a few hours from their labour in order to procure instruction, but readily devoted their little savings to the purchase of books and the payment of teachers. Mauritius had none of these advantages. We do not believe that at the complete emancipation of her labourers, twenty adults could be found among them who had any just ideas of religion. They knew not its value; how then could they be expected to make any sacrifice to obtain it! They knew not the advantages of knowledge, and therefore had but little desire to obtain it, either for themselves or for their offspring.

Happy had it been for the labourers of Mauritius had the effects of their ignorance stopped here. Having no religious feeling, no moral sentiment, no guide but their mere animal feelings, most of them devote the high wages they obtain to the purchase of intoxicating liquor, which naturally leads to every species of vice. The planters in general paying a high price for their work, and not being able to urge it forward, as formerly, by the whip, ply the labourers with spirits to a terrible extent, in order to induce them to greater exertions. It is shocking to contemplate the effect which this system must produce. So terrible, so gigantic is this evil, that nothing short of the prohibition of distillation on the island would prove an adequate remedy. This may be looked upon as a great sacrifice; but it is infinitely less than the magnitude of the evil would warrant. Not only are the blacks, who have been used to intoxicating drink, deeply injured by it, but the coolies, sober as they are in India, speedily acquire the habit of drunkenness; and the Malagasy (natives of Madagascar,) who in their own country are remarkably mild and docile, become quarrelsome and discontented. Ramandrianasan, the intelligent and conscientious interpreter at the police-office at Port Louis, most deeply deplores this evil. There is another source of immense mischief, the disproportion of the sexes. Nearly or quite forty thousand East Indians have been introduced, with less than three hundred women among them, and five or six thousand Malagasy without a single one! The consequence of this is, not

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only great depravity, but a recklessness naturally arising from the want of domestic cares and domestic society. The best of the Indians, who would be of great value to the colony, save their money and return to India; by which means their services are lost, and so much capital is abstracted from circulation. Besides, how is a labouring population to be kept up? There is not only the most revolting depravity, but a continual and enormous expense to the colony, in order to import that labour which ought to be supplied from the country itself.

Notwithstanding the melancholy picture we have here given, there is still much to please the philanthropist in the contrast between the past and present order of things. Formerly there were but two classes—the rich and the poor. Now a third class is rapidly springing up, in spite of the disadvantages amid which it grows, and small freeholders are increasing daily. These are all from the emancipated slaves. Those of that class who behave as they ought to do, earn very good wages; their expenses are small, and they soon save enough to purchase a piece of ground. On it they erect a cottage, plant a garden, and live by its produce and the sale of the surplus. The result of this has already been to moderate the excessive price of fruit and vegetables in Port Louis; and we have no doubt whatever that, in a few years, those articles will become as cheap there as in other places. The high roads every where give proof of the comfort derived by the industrious part of the labouring population from the abolition of slavery. Where, a few years ago, not a house was to be met with for miles, and nothing was to be seen on either side but jungle, or the lordly wild cane, the road is now bordered by cottages and gardens, the general neatness of which gives testimony to the industry of their inhabitants. Unmingled licentiousness was formerly the condition of the lower class: now great numbers of them are married; and many of those females who, from the various causes induced by a state of slavery, had no children during its continuance, are now bearing families. Many of these children are receiving christian education in the schools of the Mico charity, and those under the government, as well as in several established by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and one by the Ladies' Negro Society. When these institutions shall have had time to produce the effects that may reasonably be expected from them, a state of things infinitely preferable to the present must ensue. The pupils in these schools manifest quite as much intelligence as children in England; and great numbers of them now take delight in the study of that sacred volume which is "able to make them wise unto salvation."

In the Seychelles islands, where the civil commissioner, Mr. Mylius, takes a very lively interest in the moral as well as physical condition of those under his jurisdiction, the most pleasing results are already evident. More marriages have taken place there within the last three years, than in any preceding seven; and many of the black population are rearing their children with much care, and take the greatest pleasure in seeing them reputably married. During the last two years, in those islands, there have not been so many prisoners as in any one year before; and we confidently believe that the condition of the inhabitants of those islands will go on improving, under the fostering care of a gentleman who has ever been distinguished as the friend of the negro race. The enemies of the negro say that he is deficient in gratitude. In the present day it is almost futile to notice a charge that has been so amply disproved; nevertheless, we would ask what had they to be grateful for to the larger number of their masters! We have seen one estate, that has ever been as an oasis amid the surrounding desert, where there certainly was cause for gratitude to the manager. And what was the result! While neighbouring planters were complaining of the incorrigible dishonesty of their negros, at Beau Marguier there was scarcely an instance of theft in a year. Others were constantly annoyed and inconvenienced by their best hands being induced to leave them to work elsewhere. Here not one such case occurred; and one instance in particular, that took place during the apprenticeship, deserves to be recorded. The engineer, a remarkably clever man, was paid six dollars a month as gratuity; he was in every respect a most valuable servant. A neighbouring proprietor offered to purchase his term of service, and give him a high salary (I believe forty dollars a month) to work on his estate. He replied, "if my master had no need of my services, I would thankfully accept your terms; but while he wants me, no offer you can make shall induce me to leave him!" At the present time the mechanics on that estate, and they are all good ones, are working for lower wages than they could obtain on any of the surrounding properties, and they do so cheerfully and contentedly, because they gratefully remember how much better their situation was than that of others, when their master had more power over them.

Their attachment to the British nation, and their gratitude for the boon of freedom, are very strong. Their love to the person of our amiable sovereign is intense, and many have begged to come to England, no matter in what capacity, only to have the gratification of once seeing her to whom they consider themselves so deeply indebted.

We may confidently look forward to the time when the negro race will be among the most valuable of our colonists. Placed by nature in a spot where the absolute wants of life are few, and yet able to gain good wages, they will, as civilisation extends among them, spend more money in our manufactures than any other race; and we firmly believe that those who are most active as the friends of Africa will, at no distant period, be recognised as the best friends of England.

BRITISH GUIANA.

THE vehemently disputed question of the state of this colony has given rise to some animated proceedings in the Combined Court. On the 6th of June, Mr. Fox Young, the government secretary, made "a stirring speech" on the subject, "which (to use the words of our private correspondent) for eloquence called forth the admiration, but for sentiment and fact the indignation, of the colonial party. The members of the court seemed to be struck dumb, insomuch that the *Guiana Times* denominated them dumb dogs, and engaged to accomplish that refutation to which they seemed unequal."

The principal part of this address, we give below, from the *Guiana Times*. Mr. Young said:—

Undoubtedly, there would appear to be a most serious alteration in the condition of the agriculturist, from the admitted defalcation of late years in the crops. This, however, may, I think, be accounted for, in a very great degree, by the very mercurial temperament of the planters, which at one time raises their hopes and expectations to the highest pitch, and at the next sinks them into the lowest despondency, as at present. At the commencement of the apprenticeship there undoubtedly prevailed, judging from the language of the planters themselves, a feeling akin to despair, so that, to the manifest injury of future crops, every nerve was strung, every exertion was made, for the sole purpose of wringing from the soil the utmost quantity of sugar that could be raised during the short time in which alone, as they supposed, any dependence could be placed on the continuance of the labourers as sugar cultivators. The consequence was, at the termination of the apprenticeship, in addition to the effect produced by a great change in the relations of masters and servants, the free abourers, reduced in numbers naturally enough by the withdrawal from the field of mothers who had nursing and other domestic duties to attend to, were left to bestow their toil on a cultivation which had been most injudiciously managed—overcropped; and the high prices which prevailed soon after the termination of the apprenticeship, tempted the planter to a still longer continuance of this ruinous system of neglecting the permanent cultivation, by the prospect which those high prices afforded that diminished quantity would be compensated by augmented value. The deficiency of the crops has, however, to all appearance, reached its lowest point, and a reaction is taking place. The decrease is decreasing. It is acknowledged by the most experienced planters, that the work done in the field during the year 1841, was greater in quantity and better in quality than any agricultural labour which had been performed during the three previous years; and, notwithstanding the untoward events which paralysed the industry of the labourers during the first six weeks of the March quarter of the present year, the decrease, as compared with the corresponding quarter of the previous year, amounted, for the whole colony, to only 290 hogsheads, and this deficiency of sugar was more than compensated by an increase of 562,400 lbs. of coffee. In another point of view the prospects of the planter are also cheering. Not only has all apprehension of the labourers retiring to the back woods been dissipated; not only is there no chance of their leaving the haunts of civilized man; not only is here no danger, as there was once supposed to be, that the labourers would degenerate into nomadic habits, and that a disintegration of society would be the result of freedom; but I will affirm still further, that there exists not throughout the length and breadth of British Guiana, a settlement of freeholders who were formerly accustomed to plantation work, from which labour to be applied to sugar cultivation is not both procurable and procured. I am aware that a very respectable body of merchants in London have represented to the secretary of state, that labourers who acquire freeholds employ themselves wholly in the cultivation of their own lands. The passage to which I allude, is as follows:—"Owing to the industrious soon acquiring land, in the cultivation of which for their own maintenance they wholly employ themselves."—To this paragraph I oppose the statement I have just made. It may be disproved by special instances too numerous to be all cited. The freeholders in front of Den Amste work on that estate; the freeholders of Victoria do excellent work at John and Cove and other estates; the freeholders of Buxton, Queenstown, and Fear Not, work on the estates in their neighbourhood. Plantations Nonpareil, Albion, and Nos. 17 and 18, have all been recently planted in canes in the neighbourhood of freeholders, thus showing no mistrust of a supply of labour from this source: and plantation Port Mourant derives labour from a settlement of freeholders on the adjoining lands. I have heard of a resident proprietor who has taken great pains to establish, and has succeeded in establishing, a settlement of freeholders in the immediate vicinity of his sugar estate, to the number of 250, who not only readily obtains their labour on his estate, but what is further a direct contradiction of the statements of the London merchants, obtains their labour more continuously than he does that of the people who are located as day labourers on his own estate. But, sir, the most conclusive proof of all that the industrious labourers do not, when they acquire a freehold of their own, exclusively confine themselves to deriving a maintenance from it, is that, almost without exception, on every estate in British Guiana does the planter now freely offer land to his labourers for sale. Whence comes this change, but from a conviction that the conversion of the day labourer into a freeholder has not been, and is not likely to be, attended with the evil consequences which have been ascribed to it by such rash dogmatism of the London merchants connected with Demerara! I shall now request the attention of the court to another favourable point in the actual condition of the agriculturist, namely, the pecuniary terms on which labour is to be procured now-a-days as compared with its cost during the apprenticeship. In the months of April, May, and June, 1837, the high rate at which the services of apprenticed labourers were appraised attracted the attention of the Secretary of State, and Mr. Peter Rose recorded an opinion on the minutes of the Court of Policy, that those appraisements fell far short of the actual rate at which labour was then disposed of in the colony. The services of the labourer in April, May and June, 1837, were worth, in his opinion, in the several cases which the honourable gentlemen cited—cases, mark you! not of solitary individuals, but each embracing a number of individuals, the following sums respectively namely £1,100, £812, £1,050, £1,650, £1,650, 1,345, and £838; and, as an addition to such payments, the employer who purchased at these rates was bound to supply the labourer with food, clothing, lodging, medical

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aid and medicine, and provision grounds; and not to exact more than 7½ hours' labour per diem. It may safely be estimated that, according to this valuation of Mr. Rose, labour was then fully worth one dollar per diem. Now, at the present moment the customary rate does not exceed one guilder, or one-third of a dollar, and the greatest part, if not all, of the perquisites formerly gratuitously supplied have to be purchased by the labourer out of his wages. With respect to the estates which are mentioned in the memorial to this court of the merchants and others unconnected with agriculture, as having been abandoned or sold at remarkably low prices; I believe this to be the real explanation. That plantation Enfield was permitted to be sold for 1,700*l.* by mortagees who had claims to the amount of 15,000*l.*, is a most unequivocal proof of their thorough conviction that that estate could not, under any circumstances, be cultivated to advantage; that estates that might in former days of slavery have been barely kept in existence by means of forced labour, should be thrown out of cultivation on account of the ungrateful nature of their soil, is no argument against the industry of the labourer. I conclude that no one would venture to say that it is so desirable to maintain plantation Enfield in cultivation, that it ought to be done by the only means likely to be successful, viz., a restoration of a system of compulsory labour!—When in Berbice, I heard that there was every prospect of the labourers of Enfield bestowing their time in the cultivation of a neighbouring sugar or coffee estate. At plantation Port Mourant, the cultivation was greatly neglected, owing to the frequent dissensions of the various persons who had a control over it. The buildings were all in bad order. The cottages were as bad, if not worse than any I had seen in days of slavery, and the roads to it, even in dry weather, scarcely passable. The short period, too, at which the payments were to be made, no doubt operated towards its selling for a small sum. I am prepared to maintain that it was not from any despair of the industry of the labourers that it was thus sacrificed. The only other estate to which I believe the petition refers is plantation Industry, on the east sea-coast of Demerara. Sir! of the abandonment of this estate there is no one more competent to give information than the vice-president of the Financial Representatives, and he certainly could have informed the merchant petitioners unconnected with agriculture, that the disinclination of the labourers to cultivate sugar for wages was not in any degree the cause. The labourers are ready and willing to be so employed, and their labour is given to the neighbouring estates. The proprietors of the estate are, it is believed, not in a condition themselves to make the necessary advances for the cultivation, which, owing to the drainage having been interrupted for a length of time, requires an outlay without any immediate return, and the opinion of the general prospects of the colony is so unfavourable in quarters from whence in ordinary circumstances the requisite funds would be procured, that I believe, contrary to the opinion of the honourable gentleman himself, at all events contrary to the opinion of practical managers, and contrary to the wish of the labourers, the estate remains unworked. Sir, neither by reason of the acquisition of freeholds, nor from any other cause, is there any disinclination on the part of the labourers of this colony to employ themselves in sugar cultivation. I have heard of more than one estate on which more labour could be obtained than the owners are able to pay for. In one case the labourers could only be worked in spells; they were employed alternate weeks in equal divisions, the whole number not being employed during any one week. In another case the employer was about to discharge a very large number of his labourers, because of his inability to continue their wages, when some of the labourers advanced to him as much money as he thought he should require until the crops were reaped. On the east coast of Demerara, where there are most freeholders, there is most labour to be procured. As to the numerous bankruptcies and insolvencies to which the merchants unconnected with agriculture allude, I confess myself surprised, not that they should have been misinformed in regard to the causes which occasioned the abandonment of estates, but that in their own particular department they should have so grossly erred, as to attempt to connect in any way the fate of disappointed commercial speculators with the present condition of the colony, as affected by the act of emancipation. Why, sir, a grosser fallacy than this was never attempted to be palmed off on human credulity. As well might the failure of Troughton and Brothers be attributed to the Affghan war as to the act of emancipation. Those failures were the result of over-speculation, fostered by the high prices of colonial produce: facilitated in some measure by the too great readiness with which bank accommodations were procured; and, at least in one instance, aggravated by the unusual rigour with which his own liabilities, and those into which he had entered on behalf of others, were suddenly enforced against him. The decrease in the crop of 1841, was occasioned not only by the great attention which was paid to restore the cultivation, in preference to the improvident course of overcropping, but also by the very extensive prevalence of small-pox, which for a long while incapacitated the labourers from doing their usual work.

The view thus taken by Mr. Young of the substantial prosperity of the colony was naturally enough unpalatable to the party who have been using such unscrupulous means to generate a belief in its impending ruin; and, although they were struck dumb at the time, they made strenuous attempts at refutation afterwards. Mr. Rose, in particular (who, it must be said, was not present when the speech was delivered) came to the rescue. The principal point he made was in exposing an error into which Mr. Young had fallen, through mis-understanding a clumsy statistical statement in Montgomery Martin. As a matter of accommodation to our narrow limits we have not given in detail this part of the honourable secretary's speech, accompanied as it must have been by Mr. Rose's reply and Mr. Young's rejoinder, but we will endeavour to give in a few words the merits of the case.

As one of his points to shew the satisfactory state of the colony, Mr. Young asserted that estates now yielded larger profits than during slavery. To shew what the profits of estates were in the latter period, he quoted from Montgomery Martin a statement given by Mr. Rose to the parliamentary committee in 1832, by which he conceived it to appear that the net revenue (or profit) of his estate, valued at £120,000, and making 10,679 cwt. of sugar, and 58,334 galls. of rum, was fourteen shillings. He then contrasted this with a recent statement of Mr. Land, that a property which, from July 1st, 1839, to May 10th, 1842, had made 1517 hogsheads of sugar, and 980 puncheons of rum, had netted in thirty months £34,000.

Mr. Rose's reply to this was that Mr. Young had misunderstood Montgomery Martin's statement, which really showed nothing more than the cost of production, and had no relation to profits. And he gives the following statement, to shew what the profits of the estate really were.

Sugar		10,769 cwt.	
Rum		58,334 galls.	
Expenses in the colony to produce the above		£7,919	1 0
Expenses in England on 10,769 cwt. at 7*s* 6*d.* per cwt.		4,038	7 6
Total cost of production . . .		£11,957	8 6
Estimated value of the above produce—			
10,769 cwt. Sugar, at 28*s.* 2*d.* per cwt., being the average price by the London Gazette, free of duty, for the years 1828, 1829, and 1830, . .	£15,171 6 10		
58,334 galls. Rum, equal to 520 puns. at £6 per pun.	£3,120 0 0		
	£18,291 6 10		
Leaving a net revenue of . .		6,333	18 4
		£18,291	6 10

Now we will first take Mr. Rose at his own shewing, the question being whether profits were greater during slavery than now. The account for slavery is that an estate producing in 1830, 718 hogsheads of sugar, and 520 puncheons of rum netted £6,333 18*s.* 4*d.* The account for freedom is, that an estate producing on an average of three years, from 1839 to 1842, 506 hogsheads of sugar, and 320 puncheons of rum, netted on the like average, £13,600. According to this sample, the profits of estates in freedom are more than double those derived in slavery.

But we have not done with Mr. Rose. Before the select committee in the House of Commons in 1832, this gentleman, in answer to the question (1663), "What return estates made in Demerara?" said, "I cannot speak of this year; I can speak of 1830. One of the best estates in Demerara would not yield more than two and a quarter per cent. on the capital invested. I speak of my own estate." Now the capital invested, he informs us, was £120,000; and the profits of his estate in 1830, therefore, at 2¼ per cent., must have been £2700. To the Combined Court at Demerara, however, he states the profits of the estate that year to have been £6,333. 18*s.* 4*d.* Which of these statements is true? Or is there any mode by which it can be shewn that one of them is not false? We find materials in Mr. Rose's evidence before the parliamentary committee for some further inquiries; but we leave him at present to consider, and to answer if he pleases, the questions we have above propounded.

THE COLONIAL PASSENGERS' ACT: EXPORTATION OF LABOURERS FROM INDIA TO MAURITIUS.

From the *Times*.

We distrust the efficiency of this or any other measure on the subject whatsoever. It is a measure avowedly for the benefit of the Mauritius: we doubt whether it can be made compatible, after all that shall be done with the real prosperity and advantage of the Cooly; for the true question to be considered is, as we have already intimated, pretty nearly this—whether the transportation of these labourers can, by any artificial means, be brought within the acknowledged limits and principles of free, unbiassed, and beneficial emigration. We have already taken occasion to show, and it was admitted by Lord Stanley on Tuesday night, that the state of the Cooly in his native mountains is not such an one as would naturally, or without the application of extraneous inducements, tempt him to emigrate; and that the state of the labourer in the Mauritius is not, independently of very stringent artificial contrivances and regulations, by any means such as could, with good faith, be held out to the Cooly as an inducement to him to leave his country; and we adverted to the extreme injustice and iniquity of encouraging, nay, virtually entrapping into, a blind and headlong system of emigration, persons who might afterwards turn out to be, not improved, but most materially injured—nay, even virtually enslaved—by the change. If, then, matters stood simply thus, we should say without hesitation, that no consideration of the interests of the Mauritius or of the West Indies—no prospect of temporal prosperity or of worldly gain—could sanction so gross a violation of right. But it is said that adequate means will be provided to insure to the Cooly, in the first instance, the power of free agency, and afterwards comfort and independence. We repeat, therefore, that the real question is, whether Lord Stanley's measure sufficiently guarantees—first, that the change in the condition of the labourer shall be one really beneficial to him; and secondly, whether, admitting this to be the case, there shall, if possible, be secured to the Cooly a power of deliberation and choice with a full knowledge of the circumstances, on the question of his emigration.

If this be the case, then, and not till then, will we listen to arguments as to the desirableness and expediency of the measure, based upon the condition and necessities of the sugar colonies. If this be the case, then, and not till then, will we admit that the onus lies upon us to show the necessity of continuing the restrictions upon this system of deportation. Emigration, compelled by over-population and insufficiency of support, from the overstocked tract of country into the unpopulated and uncultivated one, we conceive to be right and natural. The direction of such emigration, in a more advanced state of society, into regions from temporary causes left

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uncultivated and deserted, and in danger of becoming unprofitable, we also hold to be right and natural; but to force or deceive into emigration, for the purpose of peopling such deserted and uncultivated lands, those who have no original inducement to emigration, is neither natural nor expedient: it is neither directing a natural impulse, nor supplying a natural deficiency; it is overlooking the advantage of one party for the sake of supplying the necessities of the other; it assumes the necessity of supplying the deficient population, but is regardless whether it finds or creates the means of doing so. This argument, then, from the expediency of supplying deficient cultivation by emigration, must first show the existence of that natural superabundance of population which generates emigration. If this cannot be, the scheme of emigration in question becomes, not the guidance and control of the natural course of things, but merely and simply artificial. In fact, it is not emigration, but *immigration:* the influx of population is regarded with respect to the necessities of the country which requires the new population, rather than of that from which that population has proceeded. It is the demand for more, rather than the disposal of the surplus. How, then, can it be said that, in prohibiting this system, a government is imposing artificial restrictions upon a natural right? We think, however, that this point was pretty well conceded by the advocates of the government measure on Tuesday. We heard nothing of the necessities or danger of the West Indies. The interest of the Cooly, it was admitted, was primarily to be secured, before the expediency of the proposed emigration could be discussed. We therefore proceed to examine how far the measure of Lord Stanley is calculated to insure that security.

The principal enactments of the scheme accord with the necessities of the case which we have above pointed out. They are framed to meet the difficulties attending in the first place the position of the labourer in India, in the second place the voyage, and in the third place his condition in the Mauritius. There is, besides, to be a vote of money by the Mauritius to promote free immigration. On this last provision Lord Stanley mainly relies, as striking at the root of all kidnapping. We hope it may prove so. The fact, however, of a public grant at once does away with the doctrine about free and spontaneous emigration, and by no means insures the Cooly against deception with respect to the advantages and disadvantages of such emigration, however it may shield him from private fraud. The principal regulations with respect to India appear to be the appointment to certain posts by the Governor-General, with a government agent, whose duty it shall be to ascertain that the emigrant is a voluntary emigrator—that he has not been deceived or deluded into quitting his native land—and to warn him against the step. Now, this sounds well; but we confess we doubt very much whether any agent, however honest and well-intentioned, however active, and however intelligent, could really ascertain all these points, if the agents from the Mauritius for procuring labourers should be determined upon deception. We may safely affirm it to be a moral impossibility. Again: the ships are to be inspected and a government agent at Port Louis is to see that the list of emigrant arrivals tallies with the account of the embarkations. Thus much for the voyage. The last point respects the Mauritius themselves; and in this we think that there is a deficiency. The magistrates, it seems, have power to cancel the agreements between the masters and labourers, and to leave them free to return, or to re-engage. "Several cases," Lord Stanley said in the debate in last March, "had occurred, in which this had been done, *and the labourers had agreed to remain.*" Of course they would; to return was not so easy. Was it *possible*, we ask, for them to have returned had they wished it? And in last Tuesday's debate Lord Stanley again relied on the easy possibility of the Cooly's return, as he might, *in the course of a year*, easily earn sufficient to enable him to return. Is it a common thing, we would ask, for a labourer to have the amount of a year's wages by him in case of such an emergency? And if not is he not somewhat at the mercy of his employer? But we wait till the working of the government measure shall have been proved in practice. The defence of Lord Stanley, when charged with inconsistency in bringing forward this measure now, after having opposed it in 1840, was this—that information on the subject in 1840 was wanting; that that information has since been obtained, and warrants the government in taking this step. It warrants, as we see, the appointment of inspectors and agents in India for the purpose of preventing that which we believe no agent or inspector can prevent. It thereby admits to the full the facts which we have stated with respect to the fraud and deception practised on the Cooly in India. It warrants the appointment of inspectors for the purpose of preventing those abuses on the voyage which we believe also it is next to impossible wholly to prevent. It thereby limits their existence also. It does not, as it seems, warrant any more stringent regulations in the Mauritius. Are we then to infer that the state of things there has changed since 1840, or that that state of things is satisfactory?

We hope that the working of Lord Stanley's bill may furnish a sufficient reply to these remarks.

WEST INDIES.

BRITISH GUIANA—[Extract of a letter to Mr. Sturge.]—The food and clothing, the productions and comforts, the very liberties the negros were wont to realize under slavery, are taxed under freedom, to minister, not to that leviathan sort of expense of immigration only, but that grasping assuming ecclesiastical establishment also, which is the bane rather than the blessing of a civilized community. The negros are chiefly not of the establishment, but dissenters and methodists; and yet, independently of their voluntary contribution to the support of religion they are mercilessly taxed to support the establishment by which they are in nowise benefited. A negro cannot now sell the smallest production of his ground without imminent danger to his person and liberties, unless he have an expensive license. For exposing a bunch of his plantains for sale he can be fined at a magistrate's discretion; and if he have not wherewith to pay the fine may be incarcerated in a prison. It was not thus hitherto—now it is so. And what those will do who have been mainly dependent on the production of their little grounds, I know not. Our legislators in thus "grinding the faces of the poor," have much to answer for—and if immigrants come hither, they should be prepared for the worst as well as the best. Not till this evening was I aware how it came to pass that the Portuguese were so soon able to open little hucksters shops, undersel all the natives, and realize such profits, that the planters continually exulted in these most undeniable proofs of liberal wages and easily acquired wealth. This mystery is no longer a mystery, being most satisfactorily explained in Mr. Young's speech as reported this evening. He read the following remarkable official document:—

ABSTRACT—PORTUGUESE RETAIL SHOPS.

"From the 1st of August, 1841, to 31st of March, 1842 inclusive, the number was forty-two—retail shops kept by others during the same period ninety-seven. Note, several respectable mercantile houses in Water-street have an interest or share in the Portuguese shops. One house alone is interested in no less than three of the latter. It cannot be denied that the Portuguese have been of great use to the Water-street gentry, and have tended to reduce very considerably the stock of goods which might otherwise have remained long on hand; they have also benefited the estates, though not as agriculturists

(Signed) "JOHN PAUL, Commissary of Taxation, District No. 6, Demerara, 27th May, 1842."

All immigrants cannot be so favoured, and consequently cannot be held up as examples of the sudden acquirement of wealth after arrival here, as many have been declared to have acquired, so as to go back to their masters in their own country with a flaming report of wealth Through all my intercourse with plantation labourers, the whole was a mystery till this disclosure. From a calculation made in the paper I herewith send you, you will be surprised to find that the taxes about to be levied on us for past years' services amount to the enormous sum of one million one hundred and three thousand dollars and upwards, being (calculating the population at 100,000,) above eleven dollars for every man, woman, and child in the colony! Non-residents, though owning three-fourths the property of the colony, yet contribute not one-twentieth part; and the whole of the planters interest not one-tenth. On whom then does the mighty incubus fall? If no other cause existed, is not this sufficient to hasten the verification of the antiquated cry of ruin?

SAINT LUCIA.—The *Palladium* of 2nd inst., furnishes the following "agricultural report for the month of May." It pretty plainly exposes one of the real causes of that "ruinous cultivation," which the planters are accustomed to put off on free labour.

"This month has been almost exclusively devoted by the planters to the continuance of sugar-making; and the crop may be now considered as somewhat advanced beyond one-half. The canes have given very satisfactory returns—the proportion of saccharine matter to a given quantity of cane-juice being unusually large, and the sugar manufactured being of a superior quality to that ordinarily produced before. It is evident, even now, that, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts being made by many of the planters, a very large proportion of the canes now ripe will remain uncut, owing to the existing disproportion between the greatly extended plantations and the means or power of manufacture. The instability of operations carried on with a wind-mill, and the uncertainty with which the probable execution of a water-mill can be calculated, with a difficult supply of water, ought to warn the planter against the injudicious sinking of capital and waste of labour in opening new land, and augmenting his plantations beyond the means he may possess of taking off his crop. Until, by the aid of the steam-engine, the planter may be enabled to command the operations of his manufacture, it were wise to check the existing cane-mania; otherwise, disappointment and serious loss cannot fail to attend the misdirected labours of those who sow but cannot reap."

It thus appears from this statement of the *Palladium*—a paper entirely devoted to the interests of the planters—that labour is prodigally expended in opening land and planting and weeding canes *which there is no sufficient mechanical power to manufacture into sugar.* The consequence is, that the sugar actually made has to bear, along with its own proper cost of production, the cost also of *all not made.* The whole amount of labour, &c., expended on the estate is set off against the actual sugar crop, and free labour, and the indolence of the negro blamed for the small profit, or no profit at all, which the state of the account shows. St. Lucia is not the only colony to which this statement would apply. The whole truth will leak out presently from all.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.—The planters on this island are complaining of high wages. As one cause of this evil the *Advertiser* adduces a harsh and imperious enforcement of a supposed feudal domination, which displays itself in stripping off the doors and windows from houses while labouring tenants or their families are actually present in their dwellings; and says "assuredly this system of wild revenge is not the best possible mode of persuading the labourer to be content with reduced wages. On the contrary it has driven many from the colony, it has forced multitudes continually to change their location, and obliged others in disgust to spurn all employment from planters, and to commence to labour on their own account. Moreover by the adoption of such harsh and violent measures, the perpetrator, in order to secure the portion of labour requisite on his own estate to ensure a crop, is usually driven to extraordinary concessions to decoy other labourers from his unoffending neighbours, who again in return are compelled to seek elsewhere for recruits to supply deficiencies occasioned by such desolating imprudence. Thus the whole fabric of mutual dependence and support between peasant and proprietor is shaken." As in other islands, so here the assembly has passed resolutions in a committee of the whole house, in favour of immigration. The *Advertizer* declares itself "directly opposed to the principle of the resolutions," and says, that "the committee have worked up a tale of tragic horror which wants *only the plain ingredient of fact.*" Our contemporary is wrong, however, in saying that "the anti-slavery party in England" concur in the scheme of shipping "labourers without stint" from Africa to the West Indies for the civilization of that continent.

The Spanish brig of war, *Lubano*, is stated to have captured another slaver, the schooner *Ælis*, under Portuguese colours, off the island of Porto Rico, having on board at the time 212 negros. The *Lubano* carried her prize into St. John's Porto Rico.—*Hants Telegraph.*

By the *Brisk* we learn that the *Madagascar* and *Waterwitch* had recently attacked and destroyed a settlement, or what is called a barracoon, at a place near Cabenda, and liberated 900 slaves.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXXI. VOL. III. No. 18.] WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7TH, 1842. [PRICE FOURPENCE.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. WILD, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. EVERETT, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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AFRICAN EMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.

WE are indebted to Mr. Macgregor Laird (under whatever misconception, either of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Committee, or of the sentiments of their correspondents, he has found the occasion) for the communication of his plan of emigration from Africa to the West Indies, which appears in the last number of the *Colonial Gazette*. Without at present vindicating our charity in any other direction, we may in the outset of our remarks assure him, that we have never viewed *his* intentions with suspicion; but that, on the contrary, we give him credit for unimpeachable benevolence.

The leading peculiarity of Mr. Laird's method is that it contemplates exclusively the benefit of Africa. We have been accustomed to hear this spoken of as a collateral result, but we do not recollect that any other gentleman has regarded it as the only one to be sought after. The West Indians have coveted immigrants because they wanted labourers, and emigrants from Africa, because these could labour longest within the tropics. If they said anything about the civilization which would thus be reflected on that continent, it was after the manner of a make weight—a consideration to satisfy the friends of humanity, and to silence objections which might otherwise be too loudly expressed. Had there been no object to be attained but the good of Africa, it may be justly doubted whether we should ever have witnessed such longings for its people in the British West Indies, or such large grants of money for their introduction. We should in all probability have been told on the contrary, how very little the natives could learn from semibarbarous relatives but just emancipated from slavery, and what afflictive hindrances a large and continual admixture of untaught savages must oppose to the improvement of the emancipated class.

Mr. Laird, therefore, can notbe fairly mixed up with "the advocates of African emigration. He neither pursues the same object with them, nor urges his plan by the same arguments. Were they to imbibe his views, they would relinquish the scheme of emigration altogether; and if they accept his help, it is only because they are regardless of consistency, and care not by what means they get the children of Africa into their toils. May we be permitted to ask Mr. Laird, whether he is really content to play into the hands of men who mean one thing while he means another, and to promote the crowding of sugar estates in Guiana with labourers under the name of a scheme for the *exclusive* civilization of Africa?

But we are quite willing to take Mr. Laird on his own shewing, and to consider the merits of his proposal (to use his own terms) "on African grounds alone." He lays as the basis of it the following propositions:

1st, That, owing to the unhealthy nature of the African climate, it is impossible to use European agency to any extent in Africa; that the agents employed to civilize and instruct the Africans there must be of their own race.

2nd, That the way to create such an African agency, on a scale sufficiently great to have any effect on the vast mass of people in Africa, is to bring numbers of them into contact with Europeans and civilized men of their own race.

3rd. That the British colonies in the West Indies are the only parts of the world where such a contact can take place on terms of mutual safety. Consequently,

That a free emigration to and from Africa and those colonies is the natural, the quickest, and the only way to bring such agency into play.

The first of these propositions is unhappily too true; but the second is by no means convincing. It seems to us that the "contact"—a singularly vague expression—spoken of is in a very small degree, if at all, adapted to the purpose it is expected to answer. If Mr. Laird means that natives of Africa should be grounded in the elements of general knowledge, made acquainted with the useful arts, and trained to estimable domestic and social habits—if this is the "contact" that he means, we are quite ready to admit that it might, if "numbers" could be subjected to it, contribute largely to the civilization and instruction of their country. But this is evidently not his meaning. By "contact" he clearly intends an admixture in the general community, either in the capacity of labourers on the soil, or in such other modes of industry as might offer. After three years of this *melée*, he proposes to offer them a free passage home. Now we ask, what will they then have learned that can fit them to be the civilizers of Africa? We answer without hesitation, Nothing: and if the contrary be alleged, we require to be shewn what. Nor shall we be satisfied with a general answer. The argument, if it have any strength in it, is capable of being easily opened out into particulars, and we are entitled to be incredulous until this is done. Of this we can entertain no doubt, that three years contact with such "Europeans and civilized men of their own race" as are to be found in some parts of the West Indies, would endow native Africans with many qualifications for rendering both themselves and their country a great deal more miserable than they are. The vast majority of them would be sure to learn European vices much more rapidly than either useful arts or good morals.

But, even if it were otherwise, and if it were to be allowed that native Africans, after three years residence as labourers in the West Indies, would be qualified to civilize and instruct their countrymen, it by no means follows that they would return for this purpose. As a general rule, they would not emigrate from Africa with any such object, but simply for the purpose of leaving a land where they were not happy for one of more felicitous circumstances. If they found themselves less happy in their new country than in the old, it is not likely they would try to bring back with them any tokens of its superiority; and if more so, it is not likely they would return at all. The acquisition of a taste for civilized life, the only element which could give them an adaptation to civilize Africa, is the very thing which would prevent their re-appearance on their native soil. A return for the purpose of promoting the civilization of barbarous tribes, implies a degree of benevolence, magnanimity, and self-denial, not found in one among a million of mankind. The notion of "emigration *to and from* Africa," and the West Indies, is to us an utter fallacy. The latter may, by various fostering means, be set on foot; but, if it be materially to the advantage of the emigrants (as Mr. Laird's plan assumes), few of them will voluntarily return.

The only other part of Mr. Laird's communication which we need notice, is that which relates to the number of emigrants to be obtained. On this point he writes as follows:—

I do not expect difficulty in procuring any amount of emigration from Africa, provided the home government is convinced that it should be done *on African grounds alone*, and undertake to carry it into effect. The first step to take, is to send out positive orders to all our settlements on the coast to receive and protect all comers, supporting them until the steamer is ready to take them to the West Indies: this should be made known by our men-of-war all along the coast, and any one once under the British flag should never be given up.

I have never yet seen a part of Africa where, for *food and protection*, any number of people might not be got; and I am convinced, when it becomes generally known, the natives from all parts would flock to our settlements for embarkation: always provided that the orders of the government were *honestly and heartily followed up by their officers*.

Several parts of this passage fall strangely on the ear. "I have never yet seen a part of Africa," says Mr. Laird, "where * * * any number of people *might not be got*." So the slave-traders tell us; but they get them for money. Not so Mr. Laird: he could get them "for food *and protection*." Protection

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from whom? and against what? We are guessing, we confess; but, in the very nearest approach we can make to the interpretation of this phrase, it seems to us to mean the protection of fugitive Africans from either their chiefs or their captors. In a *free* emigration, protection would be altogether out of place. Now, without saying that fugitive Africans should not be protected by British authorities, whenever they take refuge with them, we can hardly sanction a systematic invitation of such refugees *for the purpose of being shipped off to the West Indies*. This would be a nearer approach to slave-trading and kidnapping than, to Mr. Laird at least, could be acceptable.

But what does this gentleman mean by saying, "I do not expect any difficulty in procuring any amount of emigration from Africa, provided the home government is convinced it should be done *on African grounds alone*, and undertake to carry it into effect?" We have given the italics as marked by the writer, and we wish our readers to ponder the emphasis. As to encouraging emigration from Africa to the West Indies, "*on African grounds alone*," or (in plainer English,) solely with a view to the benefit of Africa, the home government have not the remotest idea of such a thing. Lord Stanley has never uttered a syllable but of fostering emigration from Africa *in order to supply the West Indies with labourers*, or (as Mr. Laird would say) on West Indian grounds. And *on these grounds*, let it be remembered by all parties, Mr. Laird does not say a single word in its favour.

It is remarkable that upon the government taking the view which they do not take, Mr. Laird suspends his entire hope of a copious emigration. There will be plenty of emigrants—this is his argument—*if it is understood to be only for the good of Africa*. You are not to tell the people that they will have to toil on sugar estates, or that they will be doomed to any other sort of hard labour. Let them be assured that they are to take a voyage for no other purpose than to acquire arts and habits which will enable them in three years to change their country into a paradise, and then they will flock in multitudes: "always provided that the orders of the government are *honestly and heartily followed out* by *their officers*." There, gentlemen of the West India interest; Mr Laird politely throws you overboard. He knows very well that if native Africans are told what you want them for, they will never come at your call.

BRUTAL TREATMENT OF AFRICAN EMIGRANTS TO JAMAICA.

The following important communication from Jamaica is taken from the *Times* of Friday last. Our readers will see that it confirms the statements which have from time to time appeared in this journal, in reference to the European emigrants. What we more particularly wish them to notice, however, is the atrocious conduct of the master of the ship *Kingston*, towards the liberated Africans whom he was conveying from St. Helena to the West Indies. Will the spirit of emigration long survive such treatment as this!

Kingston, July 22nd, 1842.

The spirit of immigration which has of late years sprung up in this island still continues unabated, and, although several thousand Europeans and Africans have been conveyed here at the expense of the local government, they have been found quite insufficient to satisfy the demands of the landowners and the planters. Many of the unfortunate British and Irish, who were induced to leave their native countries in the expectation of receiving high wages and constant employment, never lived to have their hopes fulfilled. The immigration scheme, as far as regards these and other individuals of the same class, is inhuman in the extreme; for it is decidedly absurd to suppose, that these persons, who have been subjected from their infancy to the chilly latitude of Great Britain and Ireland, can successfully withstand the relaxing and debilitating effects of a tropical sun. When the scheme was first attempted in Ireland, the poor peasantry of that country were well warned by the metropolitan and provincial press that Jamaica offered no prospect for them but a speedy and certain death, and fearfully and truly has that warning been fulfilled. In one ship (the *New Phœnix*), which arrived here towards the latter part of last year, upwards of 124 English and Irish emigrants were brought from London; and I have been told that at this moment there are scarcely two dozen of them in existence. It is, however, but fair to state, that in this dreadful mortality the insalubrity of the climate has been assisted by the nearly as fatal effects of new rum. But if these disadvantages are removed, the wages offered for good labourers, only 1s. 6d. a-day, is exceedingly paltry, and decidedly insufficient to induce any man of good character to break the ties of kindred, country, and of home.

With the African immigrants the matter is widely different. By natural constitution and similarity of climate with that to which they have always been accustomed, they can endure labour without any extraordinary depression of the animal powers, and it is, therefore, to the immigration of these people that the operations of the local government should be chiefly confined. Latterly they have been rather successful with the natives of Sierra Leone, and the captured Africans, who had been brought to St. Helena as prizes from the Portuguese. Within the last ten days two vessels have arrived, one at this port and the other at the north side of the island, with their full complement of passengers from each of the places mentioned. In one of these vessels (the *Kingston*), it has been alleged by the medical officer on board, that the master, Mr. Henry Sergeant, who is himself a man of colour, or what I would call a Creole and African Mulatto, was guilty of great cruelty to those unfortunate beings. His conduct has been made the subject of some very severe articles in the public newspapers, and an affidavit of the skipper's ill-treatment has been forwarded to his Excellency the Governor, for the institution of a public inquiry. The *Jamaica Standard*, an honest and conscientious conservative paper, has taken up the matter with great spirit, and describes his treatment of the Africans in the following extracts:—

"On the sixth day after the ship's departure from St. Helena, there were some half-dozen or more of the emigrants on the surgeon's sick list, labouring under *acute* dysentery—a disease, by the way, of very *frequent* occurrence with natives of Africa in general, but particularly so with those who have been packed in the unventilated and confined holds of small slavers; and during the temporary absence of the medical officer from the deck, these disease-stricken beings were, by the skipper's orders, plunged *into* a tub of cold sea-water!—and this, too, after the medical officer had, on a previous occasion, expressly desired that the sick should not be interfered with! The ravages of this most formidable complaint had produced such prostration of the physical powers, that the unfortunate creatures subjected to the immersion were scarcely able to crawl along the deck, without the assistance of either one of the sailors or some of their own relatives, when the latter could be induced to afford it. In addition to the disease already mentioned, they were labouring under the effects of a mercurial treatment, which the merest tiro in domestic medicine well knows would destroy the strongest constitution, if the most attentive care were not observed during its influence on the human system. The patients were of an immature and tender age; and who is there who cannot anticipate the result? We fancy that we can hear the general answer—'Inevitable death.' Most assuredly it was, and death in its most hideous and appalling character. But a few hours subsequently, one of them, a young lad about 14 years of age, who had previously been promising fairly for a safe recovery, was seized with violent inflammation of the lungs, and, despite the most active remedies that could be administered, he, on the 8th of June, the second morning after his cold immersion, found a sepulchre in the bosom of the ocean. The afternoon of the 13th saw another of them, a girl, sink beneath exhausted nature, for the vital powers not being able to rally from the effects of the cold water, the healing process of her salivated gums became effectually checked, and nature—ever active to repair an injury—was rudely interrupted in her beneficent design. The description which we have received of this child's death, the extent and intensity of her sufferings, and the loathsome spectacle which she presented during the last moments of her life, with more than half of her right cheek destroyed by mortification, is heart-rending in the extreme; but we have mercy on the tender feelings of our readers, and spare them the perusal of the painful details. But a few days followed when another, and *horribile dictu!* yet another, were released from a wretched existence, the strength of their constitutions having only served to prolong the period of their sufferings."

A variety of other charges have been preferred against him, for interfering with the sick while under the care of the surgeon, refusing to allow that officer to see the government instructions with regard to the emigrants dietary, withholding their proper allowance of provisions, and supplying them with black beans (such as cattle get in England), purchased out of a condemned slaver. It is worth mentioning, that they were so stuffed with salt herrings that the emigrants refused to take any more of them, and the master himself became so frightened at their violence that the ship's crew were placed under arms lest a mutiny should take place. These are all matters which require to be thoroughly investigated, and I am sure the noble secretary for the colonies, Lord Stanley, would never permit the government regulations to be so grossly violated. If conduct of such a heartless description were permitted to pass unnoticed the spirit of immigration would soon become extinct, for even the ignorant inhabitants of Africa would be suspicious of our treatment.

UNITED STATES—OUTRAGE AT PHILADELPHIA.

THE public have been informed through the papers of the pro-slavery riot by which the city of brotherly love has lately signalized itself. In a letter to Mr. Sturge, an extract from which will be found below, Mr. Whittier gives an account of this infamous proceeding, together with some gratifying hints of the general progress of the anti-slavery cause.

Amesbury, 12th Eighth Month, 1842.

Since the date of my last letter, another appalling proof of the correctness of thy statement relative to the bad pre-eminence of Philadelphia in respect to prejudice against the coloured man, has been offered. The poor coloured citizens who had enrolled themselves in Temperance Societies, undertook to celebrate the "1st of August"—the anniversary of West India Emancipation—by a festival over the Schuylkill river. Thither they were moving in an orderly and respectable procession, when they were assailed by a mob. Some resistance being offered to this brutal outrage, the assailants called in others to their aid, and broke up the procession and hunted its members to their houses, where they were also assailed, windows broken, furniture to a great amount destroyed, and several of the unfortunate inmates dreadfully beaten with clubs, iron-rods, and missiles. For two days no person with a coloured face was safe from violence in the city. Thousands left their little properties to the mercy of the mob, and fled into the woods of Jersey, across the Delaware. A large and beautiful hall nearly finished, erected by a wealthy coloured citizen for the use of his brethren, was burned down, as was also the coloured meeting house in St. Mary's-street. The city authorities as in the mob of 1838, did little or nothing to suppress the rioters. Some of the newspapers apologized for the conduct of the ruffians, and threw the blame upon the poor coloured people, for presuming to celebrate the 1st of August. Is it not dreadful?

Our cause nevertheless is onward. The wheels of our great reform move indeed slowly and heavily; but, as in the vision of Ezekiel, *there is "life"* within them. The slavery question now enters into every debate in congress. Our indefatigable friend, Joshua Leavitt, has presented a voluminous petition to congress, praying for something nearly equivalent to *free-trade* with Great Britain, in case of the abolition of your corn laws. It gives a history of the anti-corn law movement, &c. It was well received by many of our statesmen, and its prayer was only rejected by a party vote of the whigs, all the democrats in the senate voting for it. As the new Tariff Bill, to which Leavitt's proposition was an amendment, has been set aside by the veto of president Tyler, the subject will come up again; and the *next* congress will doubtless carry it into effect, as that can hardly fail of having a democratical majority. Great and excellent meetings of the liberty party have been held in Ohio, Maine, and Vermont. Our prospects are brightening in this department of our enterprize.

The subject of church action is engaging a good deal of attention. There has been a large convention of ministers and church members held in Vermont, in which strong anti-slavery addresses were adopted—addressed to the slave-holders and people of the north.

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MORAVIAN MISSIONARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

The following extract of a letter to Mr. Sturge, develops a very painful fact in relation to the missionary establishments of the United Brethren in the Danish islands of the West Indies. It is highly worthy of the attention of the ruling powers of that honoured and estimable society.

Off Turk's Island, July 30th, 1842.

While in St. Thomas's I visited one of the stations belonging to the Moravian missionaries; and with the most poignant grief I assure you that, for the first time in my life, I found *slaves* associated with a mission establishment, and I have every reason to believe that this is the case with nearly all their stations in the Danish islands. I do not think that this is generally known, but it ought to be. I know it will be said that the missionaries have not the power to set their slaves free, but certainly they have the power not to allow them to work for them as slaves. From what I could gather, there is a general anticipation among the slaves in the Danish colonies that they are soon to be set free, and my firm conviction is, that, if the Moravian mission would righteously, and at once, and at all risks, wash their hands of this infamous practice, the death-blow of Danish slavery would be struck. Deeply do I feel on this subject. Vain is it for us to hope to make a lasting impression upon the men of the world respecting the sin of slavery, while the missionaries of the cross are by it polluted, and the unrighteous enslaving of men forms a part of the missionary establishment. I do hope that the religious public will take up this matter. The huts in which the slaves belonging to the Moravian station, whom I saw, *live*, are by no means better than those in which the slaves resided in Jamaica; nor can the blessing of heaven rest upon such open violations of his righteous command, "Do unto others as you would wish others to do unto you."

My heart has yearned with the deepest sympathy over the state of the slaves in the islands visited in this voyage, and I hope my earnest desire for their temporal and eternal welfare has been increased; but never did slavery appear to me so foul, as when it entwined itself around the religious establishment of a mission, the devotion of whose agents, I have ever regarded as a model for missionary enterprize.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM KNIBB.

AMERICAN PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR IN CANADA.

To Dr. Thomas Rolph, Government Emigration Agent for Canada.

Toronto, 1st November, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—We owe it to your instrumentality, that in this country, the imperial government extends to us the protection of *political* refugees, and, in no small degree, that all the rights and privileges of naturalization have recently been placed within the reach of not a few of us. The first general petition ever drawn up on this subject in behalf of the coloured population was the fruit of your labours, and, believing that you have not forsaken the cause of humanity, we would bring under your consideration a series of facts, of daily occurrence, and at war with every feeling, which our recognition as British subjects and as men, has quickened in our breasts. Insult, outrage, and proscription, oppose themselves to us in all the channels of public circulation and entertainment. The steam-boat, the stage-coach, and the inn, deny to us the freedom of British subjects, and dedicate themselves as the sanctuaries of American prejudice. The power of the slave-driver is undisputed, and the appearance of a black man becomes the signal for the perpetration of atrocities, only equal to those which are committed in the southern states of the neighbouring republic.

But I will proceed to give the facts, by stating in the first place, the reason why they have of late come so repeatedly under my observation. You are aware that I hold the appointment from the government of the island of Jamaica, as agent of emigration, to procure the coloured people of Canada to emigrate to that island, a circumstance which places me under the necessity of travelling about in almost every direction in the province. I had no sooner entered upon my tour, than, on leaving Toronto about the 13th of July last, in the steam-boat *Britannia*, for Hamilton; on sitting down to dinner, one of the servants said, that he was ordered by the captain to *ask* me to leave the table. I refused to comply with so polite a request, and informed him, that I would not move but upon violence being used against me; to which the servant good naturedly replied, that no violence would be used, and left me without further interruption to finish my dinner.

From Hamilton I intended to have proceeded in the stage to Brantford, but it would seem that the Americans have entered into a compact to lose no opportunity of showing off that they are the "sovereign people" even in Canada, as may be seen by the toleration of their insults and outrages to the coloured people as often as we *cross the lines*, by placing ourselves in their stage-coaches, their inns, and their other *territories*—the steam-boats under their influence. Not willing to believe but that I am under the jurisdiction of the British government any where in Canada; having previously complied with the necessary rules, paying my fare to Davis, the stage proprietor at Hamilton, and being booked for Brantford, I was quietly awaiting the hour of departure,—the hour arrived, when Davis, taking me aside into the passage, informed me that several of the passengers had clubbed together and refused to ride with me in the stage, and that in consequence of this, and some *ex post facto* regulation, he had made on the occasion, I must either take the outside seat or not go at all. I chose the latter alternative, and came up to Ancaster on foot as you very well know; from whence, after enjoying the hospitality of Dr. Cragie, I continued on to Brantford, walking the whole distance, with the exception of five or six miles, and at the time suffering severely from bodily weakness. I have understood since, that Davis treated me in this brutal manner at the instigation of Hewitt, the innkeeper at London, or some other Yankee, as great a savage as himself.

* * * * *

It was between seven and eight o'clock before we got into London. We were driven up to the Mansion House, I was the only one of the party that put up there on this occasion. After learning from the bar-keeper that I could be accommodated in the house, I walked out, and during my absence, I met my friend Mr. Louis, a coloured man, who returned with me, and we supped together in the public dining-room. From the manner in which I was then treated I felt no reason to anticipate any insult or annoyance as long as I might choose to remain. At the ringing of the bell for breakfast, on the following morning, I went in and took my seat, and having been helped by Mr. Andrew Caldwell, the person who sat at the head of the table, I was proceeding very comfortably with my meal, when the bar-keeper came in and observed to me that my breakfast was not yet ready; but telling him that he need not trouble himself as I was very well satisfied, he withdrew without further remark. In about ten minutes afterwards, a ruffianly, blustering looking fellow entered the room and abruptly said that he wished to speak to me. I remarked that I would speak to him as soon as I had finished my breakfast. He insisted upon speaking to me immediately, and I returned him the same answer as before; whereupon he immediately seized hold of my chair, pulled it from under me, and prostrated me on the floor. I got up and demanded why he treated me in this manner! to which he replied, that he did not allow "*niggers*" any such privilege in his house, and thrusting his hand into my collar, he began to push me out backwards, when, coming upon some boxes that lay in the passage, he tumbled me over them and brought me down upon my back, endeavouring to hold me by the neck in this position. I contrived to loosen his grasp, and recovered my feet again; by this time he had arisen also, and I gave him a couple of blows with my fist, which both he and his physician, upon oath, stated to have broken his jaw-bone. I was then seized by the bar-keeper and some of the boarders and dragged out into the street.

To obtain redress for this abusive treatment, I called upon Mr. Lawrason, a magistrate, to get out a warrant against Hewitt, the innkeeper. His worship refused to grant me one, and remarked, that I had been properly enough treated; at the same time, delivering himself of the most violent denunciations against *amalgamation*, and evidently justifying any outrage which might have, arisen from apprehension of the least approach thereto.

Proceedings were instituted against me by Hewitt, for an assault, and I was convicted by the magistrates, Messrs. Lawrason, Douglas, and Smith, and sentenced to pay a fine of five pounds, or be imprisoned for a month. The case was heard at the general quarter sessions of the peace, of the London district. The evidence went to prove, as clearly as evidence could do, that two several assaults were committed upon my person before I made any resistance, and there can be no question in any unprejudiced mind, that the verdict of the jury which sustained the above conviction would have been quite different, had the defendant been of white rather than of black complexion. A few more decisions like that of the magistrates, Messrs. Lawrason, Smith, and Douglas, thus confirmed, will establish a precedent in legal proceedings with respect to the coloured people, which so far as the interests of humanity are concerned, will make it a matter of indifference whether Canada may not fall under the political as well as the moral subjugation of the United States.

Not having the money at the time to pay the fine imposed, I was cast into jail, and remained from Thursday night the 14th, until about eight o'clock on the following Saturday night, confined in one of the cells with two other persons convicted of theft; when Judge Allan of the district court, true to the feelings of a Briton, upon hearing of my condition, came forward and caused me to be released. The judge sat as a spectator amongst the magistrates before whom I was tried at the quarter sessions, and was a witness to the gross injustice done me in the verdict of a jury.

American prejudice has arrived at such a pitch in this country that we cannot but avail ourselves of every possible means for its suppression. Public sentiment in Great Britain, so jealous of the rights of the coloured people in the West Indies, will not tolerate their oppression in this country by the Americans. A Stanley, to whom belongs the honour of carrying the bill of emancipation, is Colonial Secretary, and surely it were but to give the finishing stroke to that glorious measure, to see that the principles of equal justice to the coloured population are not thwarted in their operation, any where on British soil. The philanthropists of England, solacing themselves with the idea, that in Canada the coloured man has found an inviolable asylum from the persecution of his relentless and unnatural enemies, will be disturbed from their repose on being informed, that here we are exposed to outrages and atrocities which they would hesitate not to go even beyond the bounds of the British empire to put an end to. And what must be the general indignation, when it shall be known in Great Britain and Ireland, that very recently, in the village of St. Catherine, a number of Americans, or other persons instigated by Americans, fell upon an unoffending black man and murdered him in a most cruel manner, in consequence of some vague rumour respecting a case of *amalgamation* that was said to be in contemplation; and that not stopping at this atrocity, a white person, having, under a deep sense of duty to God and his fellow-creatures, given evidence against one of the

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principals concerned, was murdered in a still more savage and fiendish manner. The details are horrible in the extreme, and it is surprising that the public press has observed so dead a silence upon this matter. Will nothing but the daggers of the Americans drawn across their own throats quicken their sensibilities? Will nothing convince this infatuated country, that, when the liberties of the coloured population shall have fallen a victim to American barbarity, a similar fate will overtake them! They render themselves easy in that artificial security afforded by the regular forces, every day diminishing from desertion, and are slow to persuade themselves that a more natural defence is to be found in the protection of their coloured population. In the event of an invasion, it will be disaffected British subjects that will oppose the greatest difficulties to us; what other policy then does the natural interest of this country dictate—that interest which in an individual we should call self-interest, but that our coloured population should receive every protection and encouragement! Will Canada do nothing for herself, but leave it altogether to a far removed mother-country, to devise such means as may, at the distance she is placed from us, occur to her as calculated to promote our advancement! If so, the Americans are to be excused for the contempt they entertain for our disgraceful puerility—excused for the wish to make us manly as themselves, by giving us institutions like their own, founded on bad faith and deceptive principles. But I will not despair. There is much of pure British feeling yet alive in this community, undazzled by the false glory of the Americans; and which will burn with all its natural lustre, undimmed by the moral humidity which is exhaled on every side. Many names might be enumerated, which will be held in no less universal admiration than other distinguished philanthropists and benefactors of the human race.

Feeling that the subject of my correspondence will receive your fullest attention, I have the honour to be, &c.

PETER GALLEGO.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 7TH.

WE have received several numbers of the *Malta Times*, from which it appears that the Anglo Maltese Anti-slavery Association is making gratifying progress. The resolutions adopted at its formation, which we publish to-day, will show the high patronage under which it commenced; and we have now to add that its early proceedings have been vigorous and promising. A second general meeting of the association was held on the 24th of August, when important resolutions were adopted with a view of obtaining the support both of the Anglican and Catholic clergy, and one (which we give below) expressive of the sentiments of the society towards the Bey of Tunis. This is as follows:—

That this meeting sees with unmixed satisfaction and unabated admiration the continued efforts of his highness the Muschir Bashaw, Bey of Tunis, to extirpate root and branch slavery and the slave-trade from his dominions, and especially applauds the late decrees promulgated by his highness, to the effect that any foreign slave who should set his foot upon the Tunisian territory should immediately become a freedman, and be protected as such by all the laws of the country.

At the same meeting the following address to the queen was adopted unanimously.

"TO HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

"May it please your Majesty, we, the undersigned, the residents and inhabitants of the countries within and around the Mediterranean seas, humbly approach your Majesty's throne, as the most illustrious and most puissant sovereign of the people who, more than any other, have devoted, through a long series of years, their substance, their labours, and their life, to the emancipation and civilization of the African race, and we humbly pray your Majesty—

"That your Majesty would be graciously pleased to confer and co-operate with your Majesty's most faithful allies, the august parties to the late and final settlement of the affairs of Turkey and the Levant, that is to say, their Majesties the King of the French, the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia, in order that your Majesty, together with those mighty sovereigns, may, in perfect harmony and effectively, persuade, and advise, and admonish their common Ally the Sublime Porte, to declare illegal and prohibit the inhuman traffic in negro slaves, which is now actively carried on in Tripoli of the West, and likewise to use all its efforts to stop the exportation of negro slaves, from the interior of Africa, through that Ottoman dependency; forasmuch as the prohibition and stoppage of such traffic (a traffic contrary to both human and divine law) will tend equally to the good order and liberty of the subjects of the Sublime Porte, to the benefit and civilization of Africa, and to the freedom and happiness of all mankind."

FROM the unusually voluminous papers on the slave-trade which are just printed, we have extracted a very interesting correspondence between the British and Spanish governments in reference to the consular appointment of Mr. Turnbull. The letter of Lord Palmerston does him the highest credit, and marks out distinctly the true policy to be pursued by this country. We may entertain, we trust, an entire confidence that a similar course has been pursued by the noble lord now at the head of the foreign department.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

12th January, 1842.

M. LAURENT CHATENAY, a planter at Martinique, aged 64 years, was brought before the Cour Royal on three several charges. From the first it appeared that M. Laurent Chatenay had pursued the slave Adée with his solicitations; that during the life of her mistress, the wife of M. Chatenay, Adée opposed to him a determined resistance; that this lady being dead, the accused renewed his attempts, and that finally Adée, in consequence of his menaces, had been constrained to run away. The second charge was that he had obliged his slave Gertrude to work on Sunday. The third, that he had caused his young slave Thomassine, aged nine years and two months, to be attached to four pickets fixed in the ground, and had inflicted a punishment which, considering the age of this child, was barbarous and inhuman.

The doctor who examined the person of Thomassine, stated that he found the cicatrices of twenty-five longitudinal wounds on the thighs and lower parts of the back; and that this examination led him to the conclusion, that the chastisement of Thomassine had been severe for her age *but it was nevertheless not excessive.*

The usher then introduced a child of tender age, frail and delicate. She appeared frightened at finding herself in the presence of the court, and scarcely dared to speak. She stated that her name was Thomassine, that she was the slave of M. Chatenay, that a female of the name of Nera had hired her from her master, and had sent her to sell syrup under the care of one Elliette, a slave of M. St. Mery, and that this woman had taken her money from her.

Q. When you arrived at Mdme. Nera's what did they do to you?

A. They whipped me, and afterwards, tying my hands behind my back, they sent me to my master. M. Chatenay made Nicole tie me to a post in the veranda, and give me about five blows with the whip; he then ordered Nicole to tie me before his door to four pickets fixed in the ground, where I received eleven blows with the same whip.

Q. Do you know this whip?

A. Yes, it is the same.

The usher here held up a whip about six feet long, fixed to a wooden handle.

Nicole stated that he had, by the orders of M. Chatenay, tied Thomassine to a post, and given her about five blows: but as she flinched behind the post to avoid the blows, my master observed to me that *his whip should be used*, and that I should fasten her to four pickets. I gave her in that position eleven more blows, making in all sixteen. Then, having cut a lemon in halves, I expressed the juice on the wounds.

Q. Did you strike hard?

A. Yes, my master told me to give the blows heavily.

Adée, former slave of M. Chatenay, who manumitted her on the preceding day, deposed as follows:—M. Chatenay, my master, a long time ago even in the lifetime of my mistress, harassed me with his solicitations. As I had much respect for my mistress, I would not listen to them, but told him that I could not accede to his desires till after her death: I only did this, however, to obtain tranquillity. In short, Madame being dead, M. Chatenay renewed his attempts to obtain the execution of the promise I had made him; he even ordered me to sleep in a chamber adjoining his. I feared to do this, and for my disobedience he gave me two blows with the stick on my shoulders, and was going to beat me with the supple-jack. Seeing the anger of my master, and knowing his character, I thought it best to run away.

Marie, slave of the accused corroborated the statement of the last witness.

It was proved that Gertrude had been worked on the Sundays for four years. The accused said it was in consequence of her being a bad character, and that she robbed the other negros, as well as the neighbours.

M. Havot, the counsel of M. Chatenay, said that with respect to Adée, the fact established was *neither a crime nor an offence*. That to pursue a slave with solicitations of this kind did not constitute a breach of any penal code, and that it was *at most* an action reproachable in the eyes of morality; and that, moreover, as an acknowledgment of the faithful services of Adée, and to recompense her unceasing care of her late mistress up to the last moment of her existence, M. Chatenay had given her her freedom, by a declaration made to the proper authority the day before.

The public prosecutor summed up in a long and very impressive speech. Referring to the treatment which Thomassine had suffered, he said to M. Chatenay: The pardon which even infancy solicited could not stay the arm of the executioner, who advised you that the punishment was excessive! that she had received sufficient!—Ah! poor child! thy cries pierce me to the heart!

After a reply on the part of the counsel for the defence, one of the witnesses for which, M. St. Louis Theureuin, stated that M. Chatenay was a good citizen, *but a little brutal*, the court condemned M. Chatenay to pay a fine of 200 francs (about £9.), and costs.

ANGLO-MALTESE ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

The resolutions passed at the formation of this society are as follows:—

I.—That a society be now formed to be called the Anglo-Maltese Auxiliary Association to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which is based on the following principles, and has in view the following objects; viz.—

PRINCIPLES.

First.—That so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this society in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

Secondly.—That a committee be formed consisting of a proportionate number of Maltese and English subscribers to the association.

OBJECTS.

First.—To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the whole subject by means of public meetings, periodical publications, tracts, &c.

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Secondly.—To open an active correspondence with the abolitionists of the United States, France, and other countries, and to promote the objects they have in view by all methods consistent with the principles of this society.

Thirdly.—To visit such countries as may be accessible, by deputations when desirable and necessary, for the purpose of advising and encouraging the friends of emancipation in the furtherance of their objects, and of obtaining such information as may be necessary for the general purposes of the society.

Fourthly.—To obtain the appointment of corresponding members with the parent society.

Fifthly.—To watch over the interests and liberties of the emancipated classes in the British colonies, to promote the repeal of all injurious laws, and the establishment of such as shall secure to them, in perpetuity the full measure of freedom to which they are entitled—to secure a pure administration of justice in those colonies—and to protect the friends of humanity and freedom, who may innocently suffer from the perversion of justice and of law, in maintaining the cause of the oppressed, and of all persons captured as slaves by Britain.

Sixthly.—To demonstrate the practicability and advantage of the entire abolition of slavery in the increased security of life and property, in the advancement of the cause of education and religion, in the increase of population, and in the general welfare and civilization of mankind.

Seventhly.—To address memorials and remonstrances to different religious and other bodies, in the United States and elsewhere, on the subject of slavery, as occasion may require and permit.

Eighthly.—To collect funds by donations and annual subscriptions, for carrying on the local and general operations of the society.

II.—That the following gentlemen be the committee and officers of this society, with power to add to their numbers viz.—

President—Lieut.-General Sir F. H. Bouverie, K.C.H., G.C.M.G. &c. &c. &c.

Vice-Presidents—Sir Hector Greig, K.C.M.G.; the Baron de Piro, K.C.M.G.; the Honourable Cavaliere A. Portelli, C.M.G.; the Honourable N. J. Aspinall, Esq.; Sir Ignatius Bonavita, K.C.M.G.; the Baron Azopardi, C.M.G.; Camillo dei Baroni Sceberras.

Treasurer—D. K. M'Dowall, Esq.

Secretary—Rev. E. Kitson.

Foreign Correspondent—Mr. James Richardson.

Malta Agent—Mr. George Muir.

Committee—The Hon. N. J. Aspinall; Capt. Burns, 19th regiment; Lieut. H. W. Brown, R.N.; Dr. L. de Caro; Mr. William Eynaud; Rev. S. Gobart; Major Studholme Hodgson, 19th regiment; Mr. Vincenzo Mamo; Mr. Gruseppe Montanaro; Mr. Charles M'Dowall; Mr. John Robinson; Dr. Sankey; Camillo dei Baroni Sceberras; the Marquess Dr. Andrea Testaferrata Olivier; Mr. Gaetano Trapani; Mr. Cesare Vassallo.

III.—That a subscription of one dollar per annum entitle a person to become a member of the association, and that the committee and officers be chosen annually by the members, at a general meeting of the subscribers.

That the surplus funds, after paying the local expenses, be remitted to the treasurer or secretary of the Parent Society, 27, New Broad Street, London.

N. B.—It is also desirable and necessary to appoint deputies to attend the Anti-slavery Conference it is proposed to hold in London, in June next.

IV.—That the thanks of this meeting are due and hereby presented to his Excellency Sir H. F. Bouverie, for his cordial acceptance of the office of president of the association, and for presiding at its formation; which, it is trusted, in addition to furthering the direct objects of the association, will tend towards the production of that perfect harmony and mutual co-operation between the Maltese and English residents, so essential to the general well-being of the island.

V.—That the thanks of this meeting be conveyed to Vice Admiral Sir Edward Owen, K.C.B., the naval commander-in-chief on this station, for his spontaneous subscription in support of the objects of the association; with a request that his Excellency will also be pleased to give every encouragement to the squadron in aid of subscription from the officers and men.

VI.—That the thanks of this meeting be conveyed to her Majesty's Consuls-General, Lieut. Col. Thomas Reade, at Tunis, and Lieut. Col. Warrington, at Tripoly, for their energetic and persevering efforts to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in Northern Africa.

MR. TURNBULL: CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND SPANISH GOVERNMENTS.

(Translation.) M. FERRER to MR. ASTON.

Madrid, February 16th, 1841.

SIR,—When I had the honour to transmit to you on the 30th of last November the regium exequatur, which you requested in your note of the 10th, in order that Mr. David Turnbull might be authorized to act as her Britannic Majesty's Consul at the Havana, subject to the conditions contained therein, and under which alone consular agents are admitted into the Spanish colonies, the regency was ignorant of some peculiarities attending that individual, which came subsequently to their knowledge, the confirmation of which, as I shall presently have the honour of stating, places him under the absolute impossibility of remaining in that appointment.

Her Majesty's government, when it received the first intimation of the said individual's proceedings, being desirous that such a contingency should not occur, as that the captain-general of the island of Cuba might make use of the unlimited powers with which he is invested (and which, you will have seen by the said exequatur, are quite clear and positive), with regard to the consul of a nation with which Spain is so intimately connected, wrote to General Alava on the 18th December of last year, in order that he might state verbally to Lord Palmerston the adviseableness of appointing to the Havana another consul, in the room of the person who has lately been favoured with that situation. No reply has hitherto been received, either from General Alava or Lord Palmerston, upon this subject; but, as the official reports from the Havana allow of no longer delay, I am obliged to call the attention of her Britannic Majesty's government to Mr. David Turnbull's proceedings, without concealing the surprise felt by the regency at perceiving that the choice should have fallen precisely upon a person who, without concealing it from the British government, was going to afford cause for serious offence or disagreeable controversy.

The result is, that, when Mr. Turnbull was named, he had just published in England a work entitled *Travels in the West*, with the intention of calling the attention of his government to the necessity of adopting a new plan for the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery in the island of Cuba.

In his work he describes the condition of the African race in that colony as suffering a *systematic martyrdom*, and he recommends a sort of inquisition directed by the mixed commissions.

You must be surely aware that no other name can be given to the tribunal the establishment of which is recommended by Mr. Turnbull, to *which the slaves might have the facility of applying for their freedom, whether entitled to it or not;* and he at once advises the British government to appoint to that island employés, who may be animated by a common feeling for the cessation of the trade and the abolition of slavery.

If these exaggerated projects of philanthropy were carried into effect, would it not be (as the *Westminster Review* says in its 66th number, in its criticisms upon that work) the very means most calculated to bring about a separation for ever between the mother-country and her transatlantic possessions?

These ideas of Mr. Turnbull being disseminated in Cuba, would it not appear to the eyes of the world as if he were a fanatical abolitionist, who would sacrifice the white race to his favourite black race? But let us for the present leave aside his work, allowing it to be nothing more than a simple publication against slave-trade and slavery, because her Majesty's government cannot believe, without deeply offending the honour and good sense of the British government, that there ever was a question of exacting that Spain should consent to the loss of her most precious jewel, or that foreign agents should be allowed to remain in her colonies, who openly and avowedly proceed in the most determined manner to disseminate ideas of emancipation, or, what is tantamount to it, to excite an insurrection, which would at the least, cause the ruin of millions of families, without, in the end, ensuring the happiness and prosperity of the negros, as it is proved by the example of St. Domingo, and even in Jamaica, where the condition of the emancipated negros is not the least better than that of the Cuba slaves

The principal authorities of the island of Cuba have become so alarmed at the arrival of Mr. David Turnbull, his ideas which he publishes being known, that they have one and all made a representation to the Metropolitan government, pointing out the dangers which menace that colony, from the presence of the new British consul, whose pernicious doctrines have already been disseminated amongst those peaceable inhabitants, and filled them with consternation because they are believed to be doctrines admitted by England, from the very fact of their author being sent to the Havana as consular agent, with a view to prepare public opinion before she countenances them openly and officially.

The regency is far from supposing that the British government has such views; but the strong remontrances addressed to them by the captain-general and the chief authorities of the Havana give them reason to fear an inevitable commotion in that island.

It being the duty of the regency to watch over the safety and tranquillity of the inhabitants, the first step which they are obliged to take, so much to their regret, is to request you to transmit to your court, as early as you can, a faithful report of the contents of this note, in order that your government may be convinced that it is not a vain fear which guides the Spanish government, but that it is founded upon documents and facts which admits of no doubt.

These are the grounds for imploring her Britannic Majesty to be pleased to recall Mr. David Turnbull, and to send in his place some other person who may not be qualified in so peculiar and dangerous a way with regard to the island of Cuba, where it is impossible that the present British Consul should remain.

To this effect I have been ordered by the Regency to address this reclamation to you, and, at the same time, I have the honour to declare to you that her Catholic Majesty's government is positively determined to leave no means untried in order to fulfil religiously and effectually the stipulations of the treaty entered into with England, in 1835, for the abolition of the slave-trade; for which end the most positive orders are this very day sent to the captains-general of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, (as you will perceive from the enclosed copy) to carry into effect, under their own responsibility, the resolution of the regency of the kingdom; and her Majesty's minister in London is also instructed to declare the same to Lord Palmerston.

These measures will prove to your court the loyalty with which the cabinet of Madrid proceeds in so important and momentous an affair, and that, if it does demand, with justice on its side, that the British government should adopt a resolution which, without any harm to itself, will promote the welfare of a friendly and allied country, the consequences of such a measure, far from being an opposition to the object which was had in view when the before-mentioned treaty of 1835 was signed, will undoubtedly contribute to render it more binding and complete.

I avail myself, &c.

(Signed) JOAQUIM M. DE FERRER.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO MR. ASTON.

Foreign Office, March 6th, 1841.

SIR,—I have received and laid before the Queen your despatch of the 23rd ultimo, enclosing copy of a note from Mr. Ferrer, complaining of the conduct of Mr. Turnbull, her Majesty's consul at the Havana, and requesting his immediate recall.

I have now to instruct you to present a note to the Spanish minister, stating that her Majesty's government has no wish to protect Mr. Turnbull, or any other British agent, if proof can be adduced that he has committed any act which justly renders him liable to dismissal from his post; but that, on the other hand, her Majesty's government is persuaded that the government of Spain is too just even to wish that any individual should be stigmatized by a removal from his appointment, unless some specific charge can be substantiated against him.

Now her Majesty's government cannot but remark that the note of M. Ferrer, applying for the removal of Mr. Turnbull, does not even allege any one single act done by him in his capacity of consul which

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could justify his removal; but that note founds the application which it contains solely and entirely upon a literary work which Mr. Turnbull has published, and upon opinions which he is supposed to entertain, that the slave-trade is a crime which ought to be severely punished, and effectually prevented; and that the condition of slavery is an evil which contaminates the social system of the country where it exists, which degrades the master as well as the slave, and which it is for the interest as well as for the honour of every nation among whom it exists to put an end to as soon as possible.

Now, in the first place, it cannot escape remark, that a demand for the expulsion or dismissal of a man, not for anything he has done, but for a book which he has published, and for opinions which he is supposed to hold, would have excited no surprise if proceeding from the minister of an absolute and despotic sovereign like Ferdinand VII., but could little have been expected from the minister of a constitutional Queen like Isabella II., who reigns over a country in which the liberty of the press, and freedom of thought and of speech, are established as fundamental principles of the social system, and as rights belonging even to the humblest man; and it was still less to be expected that such a doctrine should be acted upon by a Spanish ministry of the present day, because it is probable that there are not many among those who hold prominent office under Queen Isabella, who have not, either in their own persons or in that of some relation or friend, been made to feel the bitter injustice of this very doctrine during the reign of Ferdinand VII.

But, in the next place, her Majesty's government can assure the government of Spain, that the doctrines and opinions said to be entertained by Mr. Turnbull are so unanimously shared by the whole British nation, from the highest to the lowest, that it would be scarcely possible for her Majesty's government to find within the United Kingdom any person, who, by his education and attainments, was fitted for the post of consul at the Havana, who did not entertain, upon the slave-trade and upon slavery, the very same opinions which are ascribed to Mr. Turnbull.

But if the opinions of Mr. Turnbull, instead of being considered in this country as blameable, are in fact thought to be highly praiseworthy, do those opinions nevertheless disqualify him for the particular duties which he has been appointed to perform? So far was her Majesty's government from thinking that those opinions do render Mr. Turnbull unfit for the situations of consul and of superintendent of liberated Africans in Cuba, that it was precisely the book which he wrote, and the well-known sincerity and earnestness of his opinions, that pointed him out to her Majesty's government as a fit person to hold those appointments.

It has long been notorious to all the world that the treaty with Great Britain, and the law of Spain against the slave-trade, are a mere dead letter in Cuba. That the slave-trade is carried on by many persons established in that island, and is pursued by them openly and incessantly, and not only with impunity, but even with the sanction and under the positive protection of the governor and of all the subordinate authorities. It is well known that all the orders against slave-trade which have been sent to Cuba from Madrid, have been either set at defiance by the governor, or have been considered by him to be merely matters of form, issued for the sake of keeping up outward appearances, and such as he might safely disregard and disobey.

This state of things has long cast a deep stain upon the honour and good faith of the Spanish crown, and nothing could justify the British government in not pressing, even more strongly and more urgently than it has done, for a faithful and full execution of the engagements of the treaty of 1835, but a consideration for the internal embarrassments under which Spain has been labouring, by reason of the civil war.

But as the government of Madrid has shown itself unable to cause the local government of Cuba to observe the treaty, her Majesty's government has thought necessary to send to Cuba agents, whose zeal, courage, and activity would enable them to make head against all the local obstructions which they would meet with, and who in spite of difficulties, and in defiance of threats, would perform their duty to the British crown, and watch, and denounce, and as far as possible impede, the criminal proceedings of the Cuba slave-traders.

But no man could have energy enough to perform so arduous a task, who had not a strong feeling upon the subject to which his duties relate. For her Majesty's government well know that every impediment would be thrown in the way of the British agents; that every white man in the island, from the governor downwards, would do his utmost to prevent them from successfully performing their duties; that frivolous and unfounded complaints would be got up against them, and that every effort would be made to drive them away by disgust, or to obtain their recall by misrepresentation.

How then can the Spanish government expect that her Majesty's government should consent to recall Mr. Turnbull, for no better reason than that he is alleged by the governor of Cuba to possess the very qualities, which the British nation would declare render him peculiarly fit for his duties? The Spanish government cannot seriously imagine that her Majesty's government would consent to do so.

It is, however, undoubtedly true that the crown of Spain has a right to withdraw its exequatur from any foreign consul in the Spanish dominions, if it shall think fit to do so; but the present ministers of Spain are too enlightened to advise their sovereign to exercise that right arbitrarily, capriciously, or unjustly, and without being able to assert and prove that the consul against whom the measure was to be directed had misconducted himself in the performance of his duties.

But, if the exequatur were to be withdrawn from Mr. Turnbull as consul, he would nevertheless continue to hold his commission as superintendent of liberated Africans, an office which is not subject to any instrument of confirmation by the Spanish crown; and even if Mr. Turnbull were to be withdrawn from Cuba in both capacities, it would be the duty of her Majesty's government to select as his successor some other person holding the same opinions, and animated as nearly as possible with the same zeal and activity in the performance of his duties; so that nothing would be gained for the Cuba slave-traders by the removal of Mr. Turnbull.

But her Majesty's government cannot disguise from the government of Spain, that, if Mr. Turnbull's exequator should be withdrawn upon such grounds as those stated by Mr. Ferrer, her Majesty's government would be very little disposed to maintain any consular officers in Cuba, and might probably deem it right to consider, whether it would be proper to permit any Spanish consuls to continue to act in the possessions of her Majesty's crown.

Her Majesty's government, however, earnestly entreat the government of Spain to re-consider the whole of this matter, and her Majesty's government beg strongly to urge that the Spanish government, instead of allowing itself to be led into the course which the slave-traders of Cuba, and the colonial authorities who protect them, would wish to point out, should come to the honourable determination of compelling the governor and people of Cuba, to respect and to execute the treaties which Spain has concluded on these matters with England.

M. Ferrer indeed sends the copy of a despatch addressed to the governor of Cuba, and appeals to that despatch as a convincing proof of the resolution of the Spanish government to carry the treaty of 1835 into execution; but her majesty's government are obliged to say that they cannot consider that despatch in any degree satisfactory; such general injunctions have over and over again been sent to Cuba; and even if the governor for the time being has given himself the trouble to read them, he has never paid the slightest attention to their contents.

The same fate will inevitably attend the despatch in question. But, if the Spanish government wishes to afford convincing proof of its good faith in this matter, let it send orders that all the negros now in Cuba, who have been emancipated by sentence of the Mixed Commission, may at once be removed to a British colony, in order that they may be rescued from the real slavery under which they are suffering.

Let the Spanish government take effectual measures for restoring all the colonial British subjects who have been kidnapped, and who are detained in slavery in Cuba, in violation of the law of nations.

Let the laws of Spain be rigidly enforced against the numerous slave-traders in Cuba, whose occupation is as well and as publicly known as that of any man engaged in legitimate commerce.

And finally, let the Spanish government take steps for restoring to freedom all those negros who have been introduced into Cuba as slaves, in violation of the laws of Spain, and who, therefore, not being the legal property of any man, are *ipso facto* free by the law of the country itself.

If the Spanish government will pursue such a course, which is recommended as much by a consideration for the well understood interests of Cuba, as by a regard of the obligations of treaties, there will at once be an end to those disagreeable discussions which have so long been carried on between the two governments on this matter; and Spain will afford an honourable proof of its strict regard for its national engagements.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

PORTUGAL. In consequence of the completion of two commercial treaties with Portugal, it appears our cruizers are to be forbidden to interfere with vessels, presumed to be slavers, under Portuguese colours; and two acts of parliament have been passed, repealing the act of 2 & 3 Vic. c. 73, and another act of 3 Victoria, both entitled "An act for the suppression of the slave trade." We learn that the new position of things for the suppression of slavery will not be so conducive to that desirable end as the late law, in as much as the act of 1839 is a far better security for putting down the traffic in slaves under Portuguese colours than any treaty can be. The old law gave us the power of condemnation; the new law leaves the adjudication entirely in the Portuguese courts; and how clear the stream of justice runs in them can be easily imagined. Will such courts convict for piracy? The result will be, the slave-trade will be more rife than ever.—*Hants Telegraph.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—No. II.

PROSPERITY OF THE COLONY.

1.—With respect to revenue.

Governor LIGHT to the Marquis of NORMANBY, 16th July, 1839.

"It will be satisfactory to your lordship to know, that the balance in the colonial chest for Demerara and Essequibo, on the 13th of July, after all ordinary expenses paid to the 30th of June, is £43,666. 5s. 6d., and in that of Berbice upwards of £6000; that not one direct tax on income or produce has yet been included, therefore the finances of this colony have not suffered by emancipation. The excess of surplus customs between the 1st of January and 30th of June, in 1839, over the corresponding period of 1838, for Demerara and Essequibo, paid into the colonial chest, is £2,657. 10s. the total £6,171. 9s.; the rum duty for the first six months of this year netted £4,288. 15s. The import duty on British manufactures having ceased on the 1st of July, 1838, there is at present a diminution on this item. I have the honour of transmitting the return from the colonial receiver-general, in which items of minor account may be referred to."—*Parliamentary Papers relative to West Indies*, 1841, p. 18.

Governor LIGHT to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, 4th September, 1840.

"It will be, I trust, satisfactory to your lordship to be in possession of the enclosed statement of assets and disbursements of the colonial treasury, to the 22nd August. Your lordship will perceive, that on the 31st of December there was in the Treasury, including the fund set apart in 1839 for emigration purposes, the sum of 203,375 dollars; and that on the 22nd August, after paying every salary, every demand or debt due to individuals out of the treasury, there was still a balance of 222,795 dollars; and that, although from the 1st July to 31st December all taxes will have ceased, except the surplus customs, yet, according to the summary here given, there will be at least 62,000 dollars in the chest on 31st December, 1840.

"I ought to mention that, without being able to enter into detail, the Berbice treasury is proportionably unexhausted."—*Ibid.* p. 178.

2.—Increased value of property in George Town.

Governor LIGHT to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, 1st November, 1839.

"I have the honour to transmit the return of the new appraisement of George-town, showing an increase of the value of buildings and lots, in three years since the last appraisement of 1836, amounting to upwards of 600,000 dollars, or more than £120,000 sterling.

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Abstract Appraisements of George-town, showing the increase of the year 1839 over that made in 1836.

Districts.	1839.	1836.	Increase.
	Florins.	Florins.	Florins.
Charlestown	572,480	441,100	131,380
Werk en Rust	912,000	837,600	74,400
Stabroek	524,330	406,980	117,350
Newtown	711,500	656,000	55,500
Robbstown	1,449,100	1,171,300	277,800
Columbia	226,800	144,200	82,600
South Cumingsburg . . .	2,695,950	2,019,380	676,570
North Cumingsburg . . .	2,042,400	1,761,700	280,700
Kingston	847,000	694,810	152,190
	9,981,560	8,133,070	1,848,490

HOUGHTON, M. M. EUSTY, ROBERT BURNTHORN, } Sworn Appraisers of Lots and Buildings in George-town.

Ibid p. 52.

3.—Increased value of property in the rural districts.

Governor LIGHT to the MARQUIS of NORMANBY, 26th June, 1839.

A PERUSAL of the valuation of the under-mentioned estates since the 1st of August, will convince your lordship and her Majesty's government that emancipation has not diminished the prices of property, the best proof of the confidence in the steady prospects of the colony:—

Plantation ZEALANDIA, on Waakenhaam, Essequibo. £42,000 was offered to the proprietor, residing on the spot, was accepted, but the day following the proprietor begged to be permitted to recall his assent; 1839.

Plantation ALLNESS, Berbice, sold in 1839 for £28,000, its full value, undiminished by the emancipation of the labourers.

Plantation THOMAS, Demerara, sold seven or eight years ago for £9000; purchased since the emancipation for £20,000.

Plantation VROW ANNA, Leguan Island, Essequibo, sold in 1839 for £35,000; its full value undiminished by the emancipation.

Plantation ABERDEEN, Essequibo, sold for £20,000 in 1839, a larger price than was paid for it eight or nine years ago by the seller.

Plantation FRIENDSHIP, Demerara, £10,000,—cotton and plantains, sold in 1839 for a greater price than paid for it in 1833 or 1834.

Plantation WINDSOR FOREST, Demerara, for £42,000; the full value, undiminished by emancipation.

Plantation PROFIT, Demerara, £16,000; sold for its full value, undiminished by emancipation. In June or July 1838 he (Sir Michael M'Turk) was applied to, to appraise an estate called Profit; he fixed £8000 (which nobody would give) as its value; he purchased at that price; in the two years since the 1st of August he has cleared £4000 by the produce, and concluded a bargain with men." Glens, which I learnt from the younger brother, to sell the estate for £16,000; thus clearing in two years £12,000.—(*Parliamentary Papers* 1841, Part I (5) p. 317; *and Papers relative to the West Indies* 1841, p. 170.)

Goovernor LIGHT to LORD JOHN RUSSELL, 1st August, 1840.

In connection with the prosperous condition of the monetary system published by the directors of the British Guiana Bank, whose report I have had the honour of transmitting, I am induced to draw your lordship's attention to some late sales of estates here, which certainly do not indicate any want of confidence in the future agricultural prospects of the province.

Plantation Richmond in Essequibo was, or is to be, bought by the attorney and manager for £35,000 sterling. This person, in the beginning of 1839, sent me in a long calculation, which he was about to transmit to the proprietor in England, wherein he pretended to prove, that, according to expenses produce and sales, in three years from that period the estate must be abandoned.

Rome and Houston, two estates adjoining each other, were bought from the proprietor in England, Mr. Hyndman, under the impression that the colony was ruined, for £36,000, which was afterwards increased voluntarily by the purchaser to £40,000; had it been put up to sale here it would have brought £50,000, the present holder having been offered ten thousand pounds for his bargain. Under the present owner these estates will produce at least one thousand hogsheads of sugar, when for the last two years mismanagement had reduced the produce to at least one-half.

Plantations Montrose and Ogle, the joint property of Messrs. Shands of Liverpool and the heirs of a Mr. Simson, were yesterday sold at public vendue. The former estate, though, according to Mr. Arrindel its attorney, it was one that proved the ruin of the agricultural interest in the colony, was bought by Sir Michael M'Turk for £38,500, to be paid within the year, with interest from the day of sale, on bills at three, six, and nine months. Mr. Shand himself, the elder partner of the house, was present at the sale, declared that he would prove by his books that the estate last year had, notwithstanding the unfavourable season, cleared twelve and a half per cent. on its outlay, and he himself bid thirty-eight thousand pounds sterling, when it was knocked down to Sir Michael M'Turk.

Plantation Ogle, the latter estate, sold for £26,000, and was bought by the house of Anderson and Company, resident merchants, on the same terms of payment, which are considered ready money.

With such facts before your lordship, there is no reason to place entire confidence in the predictions of ruin.—*Ibid, p.* 169.

In a despatch from Governor Light to Lord John Russell, dated 16th November, 1840, the following estates, in addition to those enumerated, are stated to have been sold, viz.:—

Plantation Success, £30,000. Sold in London. Mr. Gladstone's. An offer of £35,000 was on its way from Demerara.

Plantation Kitty, £26,000. Sold in 1819, with slaves, for £22,000.

Plantation Wales and Vriedestein, £30,000. Mr. Gladstone's.

Plantation Vriedenhoop, £35,000. Mr. Gladstone's. Additional £4000 for services of Coolies.

Plantation Den Amstel, £5400.

Plantation The Lodge, £9000. A small coffee estate.

Plantation Malgré Font and Union, £36,000, a few days ago.

Plantation Belle Plaine, £22,000.

Plantation Bathsheba's Lust, £35,000.

Plantation Sparta, £18,000. Sold in 1834 for £11,700. Captain Warren was one-fourth proprietor at the time of the first purchase, and at the last sale.

Plantation Adelphi, £19,500.

Plantation Prospect, £18,000.—*Ibid,* p. 195.

It will thus be seen, that the twenty-three estates which have been sold since the 1st of August, 1838, have realized the enormous sum of £394,000 sterling; and it is also clear that a much larger amount would have been obtained, had the proprietors in England exercised due discretion in their sale. One fact must not be lost sight of, namely, that these estates "have been purchased, not by strangers, but by men long resident, and still present in the colony."—*Ibid.* p. 195.

4. Purchase of land by the emancipated classes.

The number of lots of land passed into the possession of the labourers in the counties of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, from the 1st of August, 1838, to the 31st of December, 1840, was 596. These lots comprise several estates, for which considerable sums have been paid, viz:—Orange Nassau, £10,416 13s. 4d; Beterver, Wagting, £4714 5s. 8d.; Victoria, £2142 17s. 1d. It is impossible to ascertain the entire amount of money which has been paid by the labourers for the land which has now come into their possession; but it appears that, for the three estates mentioned, and for lots of land purchased on ten other estates in various parts of the colony, the sum of £21,531. 6s. sterling was given.—*Copy of Despatch,* dated 16th July, 1841, p. 18.

Governor LIGHT to LORD JOHN RUSSELL, 18th Nov. 1839.

It may not be misplaced to mention here the enterprise of the lately emancipated class, six of whom have bought an abandoned sugar estate, named Northbrook, on the east coast, Demerara, for which they paid 30,000 guilders, upwards of £2000, two-thirds of which were in hard dollars, the remainder by a note of hand at three weeks. They are about to replant it with sugar. It is a convincing evidence of confidence in the industry of their brethren, and speaks volumes against the determined idleness of the negro, which a party here would assert; it is also a proof that a preference is shown to the cultivated parts of the colony, rather than retreat to the distant parts, where the same money would have procured three times the number of acres from the crown.—*Papers relative to West Indies,* 1841, p. 54.

In a subsequent despatch, dated 4th December, 1839, his Excellency forwarded a petition to her Majesty from the purchasers of the abandoned estate, Northbrook, praying that she would allow them henceforth to call it Victoria. From this petition that "it appears, the estate mentioned has been purchased by sixty-three persons, the greatest number of whom are headmen and mechanics in employment on the neighbouring estates, and has actually been paid for out of the wages received since the 1st August, 1838; they have purchased the estate, consisting of 500 acres, with the laudable view of having an independent home; and they will, no doubt, add to their numbers by sale of portions of the land not required for their own use; but I understand the rules they have drawn up for their community are so rigid, that none but the determinedly industrious and sober will be tempted to obtain a settlement amongst them."—*Ibid,* p. 63.

Governor LIGHT to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, 15th May, 1840.

"I have considered it right to make your lordship aware of the manner in which Orange Nassau plantation has been purchased, by forwarding copy of a letter from Stipendiary Magistrate Lyons, and a list of subscribers to the purchase (141 in number). The spirit of industry shown by these people is highly satisfactory; they rather over-calculated their wealth when the offer of purchase was made, and found they could only muster 28,000 dollars; the estate, at present in plantains and cotton, will enable them to keep up the cultivation by a small share of labour; the rest will be given to the adjoining estates; and they will accomplish the remaining payment with ease in the time fixed; after which they intend to be sugar growers also."—*Ibid,* p. 117.

In a communication of the Stipendary Justice of the district in which the estate is situated, dated 25th November, 1840, it is stated that "the last instalment of the purchase-money had that day been paid into the Guiana Bank, nearly three months before it was due." A convincing proof this of the industry and independence of the emancipated race.—*Ibid,* p. 208.

Governor LIGHT to LORD JOHN RUSSELL, 26th January, 1841.

'It will be satisfactory to your lordship to know that idleness has rarely followed the acquisition of property; and this province

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stands a chance of more speedily obtaining a race of wealthy cultivators of their own lands, and yet disposed to give their surplus labour to the staple commodities, than perhaps any other colony of the empire."—*Ibid*, p. 232.

From the Journal of Mr. WOLSELEY, enclosed in a despatch to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, 16th July, 1841.

After leaving Resouvenir, I made the best of my way to Plantation Better-ver-Wayting, the property of an association of labourers, 61 in number, formerly slaves belonging to different plantations in the neighbourhood, who had purchased the estate about fourteen months ago, for the sum of 22,000 dollars (say £4,714 5*s*. 8½*d*. sterling). This property was formerly a coffee estate, but at the time it was bought by the present proprietors not a vestige of its former cultivation remained; the land was entirely over-run with bush, the drainage choked in every direction, and both front and back dams threatening an inundation of the property, on one side from the sea, on the other from the bush-water. These, in particular, were formidable jobs to commence with, where it might reasonably be supposed that all they were possessed of had been sunk in the purchase; nevertheless the work has been done, and no debt incurred in accomplishing it; they have moreover planted about seventy acres of plantains to form the joint-stock estate, which, according to the ordinary estimate that an acre of plantains should give ten bunches per week, would give a return of 36,400 bunches per annum, or £2,500 money value.—(*Copy of Despatch*, &c. pp. 5, 6.)

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION CONTRASTED.

MR. LIVINGSTON bears the following important testimony, in a recent letter to the *New York Journal of Commerce*.—"Having recently arrived in this country from Jamaica, and purchased a farm in Ohio, with a view to spend the remainder of my days in this land, and finding the minds of the people so blinded as to the real state of slavery on the one hand, and the results of emancipation in the British colonies on the other, I feel it to be a duty I owe to God and to the slave, to publish to the world my knowledge of the effects of slavery, and to bear testimony to the happy results of emancipation in the West Indies. As I have resided thirty-one years in Jamaica and the island of Old Providence, during which time I was a slave-holder, it may be supposed that I can give a pretty accurate statement of the horrors of slavery. I was considered by my neighbours in Jamaica as *too indulgent* to my slaves. They said I spoiled them—made them lazy—and that thus they were a bad example to the other slaves around me. Yet my treatment of them was harsh and arbitrary in the extreme. I would often flog men and women without mercy, and without sufficient cause. I thank God that he has awakened me to a sense of my guilt in treating my fellow-men worse than the beasts of burthen. I have seen enough of slavery to convince me that it is a system that every christian should shudder at, and look upon as revolting to humanity, and contrary to the blessed precept of our Lord Jesus Christ, viz. "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

I can assert, without the fear of contradiction, that emancipation in the island of Jamaica has been a blessing to all classes of its inhabitants, and has had the effect of influencing the emancipated to be industrious, orderly, and useful members of society. So far as my knowledge goes, this is the case in all the British colonies. Having been a participator in the sin of holding my fellow-men in cruel bondage, I rejoice and thank God that the blacks in Jamaica are now the happiest class of peasantry, I believe, in the world. They are seizing with avidity the means which are employed to enlighten their minds and point them to the cross of Christ. Another pleasing feature in the character of this people is the desire they manifest to have their children educated; and I am happy in being able to affirm, that their children are as docile as any class of white children I ever saw. They are making rapid improvement in their studies. I have no other motive in thus coming before the public, than to give a simple and unvarnished statement of facts which I feel it incumbent on me to publish.

P. LIVINGSTON.

Miscellanea.

TRINIDAD.—The Governor and Council have enacted an ordinance to bind the liberated Africans out to service, under heavy penalties, for a term of one year. "The Ordinance," says the *Standard*, from which we extracted the notice, declares "that the Governor shall have the power of indenting the liberated Africans as he shall think fit, for one twelvemonth, and a schedule is attached to the indenture prescribing the wages and allowances to be given to the person hired. Power is given to the Stipendiary Magistrates to visit, and see the treatment observed towards the immigrants, and a penalty of £500 sterling is laid upon any person found enticing them to leave the island. There is also a penalty fixed at not less than £5 sterling, nor more than £40 sterling, for any person employing, harbouring or concealing the apprentice, during the period of his apprenticeship. It also appearing that several expenses have been incurred by the captain of the *Chieftain*, the payment of which does not come within the provisions of the Immigration Ordinance, his Excellency proposed that the parties obtaining the labourers should pay a premium for them. The Ordinance was carried through the several stages and passed, and ordered to come into immediate operation."

This early attempt at coercion, however it might take some of our readers by surprise, is nothing surprising to us. We have all along said that it would come to this.—*Barbados Liberal*.

LIBERIA.—The Rev. Mr. Harris, a coloured clergyman and missionary, from Liberia, was lately introduced by the Rev. Mr. Gurley, to a public meeting in Andover, Massachusetts, to show forth the transcendent excellence of colonization. We extract the following from the *Reverend* missionary's account of that eminently *christian* colony:—

"Farms are *beginning* to come on—it is *getting* more healthy. Wars are frequent. I have been in several. Rev. George Brown, formerly from Connecticut, resided at a mission house, and wished my wife to assist in teaching school. After some hesitation, we went; but I refused to remain unless he would get more *arms and ammunition*. He sent to Monrovia and got eight guns, and I procured 100 cartridges, fifteen of which I put into my own cartridge-box we also got a keg of powder, six pounds buck-shot, axes and cutlasses. During this time, we were having revivals—five and six converted at a meeting, and feel happy. One night, we kept up our meeting until past 12 o'clock, and the people were getting religious and becoming happy. I went home, after it was done, and my wife was sick; but I sat up reading the Bible. When the cry of war was heard, I caught my musket, and called Mr. Brown, and all the rest out to fight. We went at it. I fired the *first* musket, and put fifty-two buck shot into Grotio. He was a powerful enemy, everywhere feared. The people came hundreds of miles afterwards *to see his head and eyes*. I will close by saying that we must go to Africa to *do good*."

How the heart of humanity shudders at the recital of such deeds of darkness! And, alas, in solemn mockery such—we can not proceed, the soul grows sick.—*Anti-slavery (United States) Standard*.

UNITED STATES: FUGITIVE SLAVES. THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.—The Supreme Court of the United States, in their remarkable decision in favour of the right of recapture of fugitives from slavery, declared the act of congress of 1793 to be "clearly constitutional in all its leading provisions, and, with the exception of that part which confers authority upon state magistrates, free from reasonable doubt." And on that excepted point they say no difference of opinion is entertained by the court, "that state magistrates *may, if they choose*, exercise that authority, *unless prohibited* by state legislation." Chief Justice Taney dissented from that part of the opinion of the court which denies the *obligation* of the state authorities to protect the master," because, in that case, as he argues, "the fugitive can only be arrested according to the act of congress," and "by that law the power to seize is given to no one but the owner, his agent or attorney. And if the officers of the state are not justified in acting under the state laws, and cannot arrest the fugitive and detain him in prison without having first obtained an authority from the owner, the territory of the states must soon become an open pathway for the fugitives escaping from other states." Judge Taney could not prevail on his brethren to change the form of their decision on this point, but events have showed that he was *right* in predicting the practical result. Already the Marylanders have had reason to chasten their exultation at that decision. A few weeks ago, a half dozen men were seized in Harrisburg, by some official and venal man-hyena, under suspicion of being fugitives from slavery. Indeed it was said they did not *disguise* their condition. They were taken before a magistrate who happened to be acquainted with the decision of the supreme court, and as the kidnapper was neither the owner nor his agent, the upright justice saw that he had no right to detain them, and so they went their way.—*Free American*.

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.—At a meeting of several gentlemen, in New York, May 11th, 1842, to consider the subject of Anti-slavery Missions, Rev. S. S. Jocelyn in the Chair, Rev. A. G. Beman, Secretary. After discussion, the following resolutions were adopted.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the time has arrived when it is desirable that abolition Christians of all denominations, should select or provide anti-slavery channels, in which their contributions can flow for the conversion of heathen nations.

Resolved, That a committee of five persons, living in this city and vicinity, of different religious denominations, be appointed to act as a missionary committee, to receive and disburse such contributions as may be put into their hands, for the promotion of the missionary cause, without any alliance with slavery.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*.

The *Mobile Herald* of the 13th ultimo states, that the negros concerned in the murder of the late Walter R. English, were hung a day or two before, without trial. Mark—*without trial!!*

The *Rolla*, Commander C. Hall, arrived on Tuesday from the Gallinas, on the west coast of Africa, where she has been employed nearly three years in putting down the slave-trade; she has not been very successful in taking prizes, from her indifferent sailing, many large slavers having escaped from her. The *Rolla*, however, has assisted to liberate from the slave barracoons on shore, at the Gallinas and Pairly River, upwards of 1100 slaves, for which, as they were not taken afloat, she is not entitled to receive any head or bounty money. She has also assisted to destroy eleven large slave barracoons, belonging to the white piratical slave-dealers, that would contain upwards of 5000 slaves, with all their slave factories, buildings, &c., and an immense quantity of valuable property, viz. rum, tobacco, fire-arms, gunpowder, cloths, cottons, salt, provisions, rice, and various articles for purchase of slaves from the native chiefs. One of the slave barracoons at Madamar had seven guns mounted, and fired round and grape on the approach of the men of war boats.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXXII. Vol. III. No. 19.] WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21st, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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MR. M'GREGOR LAIRD AND THE COLONIAL GAZETTE.

A few words are called for from us, in reply to the observations of Mr. Laird and the *Colonial Gazette* on our recent remarks.

The latter sharply impugns our motives. According to it, we have no object in view but a prolongation of the "exciting pastimes" of the Anti-slavery Society; not only "the rescue of the West Indies from ruin, and of the British public from heavy loss," but "practical attacks on the slave-trade, and tangible measures to bring direct benefit to Africa," being "sacrificed at the shrine of that vain glory," and "shifting and tortuous means" being employed to attain it. We tender our thanks for the honour which our contemporary thus does, if not to ourselves, at least to our argument. It was, of course, because he could not answer that he reviled us.

Because we insisted on a leading point on which the West African Committee differ with him, he takes occasion to occupy nearly two columns with "propositions" in which they agree with him. This is no answer to us. As to "denying" to the two parliamentary committees "the merit of being his 'docile pupils'"—we did no such thing. We merely smiled at the expression, which we thought bordered on the ludicrous; and we think so still.

The writer then proceeds to defend Mr. Laird, *more suo*. He begins by accusing us of an "open hostility to *all free emigration*." This is equally without evidence and without truth. We are, and have always declared ourselves to be, friends to free emigration. Will our contemporary adduce any proof to the contrary? "Having *pretended*," he continues, "that the committees had sanctioned nothing"—we never "pretended," or intimated, any such thing; we only expressed our gratification that they have not sanctioned all that the West Indians demanded. But, at all events, we have used a "series of quibbling and special pleadings" in commenting on Mr. Laird's plan. Now comes the tug of war.

"For instance," says the *Gazette*, "there is an affectation of considering Mr. Laird apart from other advocates of free African emigration, because he says in one place that the subject must be regarded 'on African grounds alone;' and it is roundly asserted that he neither pursues the same object with them, nor urges his plan by the same arguments. *The assertion is untrue.*" Gently, Mr. Editor; do not be totally oblivious of controversial courtesy. We maintain, however, that the assertion is strictly accurate. On a careful review of the paper now in question, it is clear to us that he assigns no other reason why emigration from Africa to the West Indies should be encouraged, but that the benefit of Africa itself would be promoted by it. All that he states respecting the West Indies, is for the sole purpose of demonstrating "the *capability* of the British colonies to employ usefully and profitably a very large addition to their present population;" which is certainly a very different thing from arguing that, *for the sake* of such profit to the West Indies, emigration should be encouraged from Africa. So much for the charge of untruth. How absurd it is (as the *Gazette* alleges) to advocate African emigration exclusively on such a ground, must be demonstrated to Mr. Laird.

The writer goes on to say that "the West Indians will naturally deal with" the question of African emigration "on West Indian grounds." In relation to this "proposition" we are happy to rank ourselves among the "docile pupils" of the *Colonial Gazette;* and we happen to have in our hands a morsel cut from a recent number of the *Trinidad Standard*, affording conclusive evidence that we are both of us in the right. Noticing an article in the *Jamaica Morning Journal*, in which, as a plea for favouring that island with emigrants before Trinidad, the writer mentions its greater facilities for qualifying them to benefit their country, the *Standard* uses the following language—"All the writer says about educating the immigrants to send them back to enlighten Africa is just *twaddle*, and fit only for the old ladies of Peckham-Rye and Clapham Common. If, however, these same old ladies should insist upon anything of the sort, we rather think we shall be as competent as Jamaica to comply even with their demand, being better able to afford the expense of instruction." We hope this candid statement of the light in which the Trinidad planter (of whom we have heard the *Colonial Gazette* say very handsome things before now) regard the new scheme for the civilization of Africa, and of the assiduity with which they will promote it, will have its due effect, at least on the parties for whom it is intended. No doubt the Trinidadians will, nevertheless, hail Mr. Laird as a most praiseworthy auxiliary.

Our contemporary quotes, "as another instance of blind opposition to objects which should be dear to opponents of slavery," the passage in which we notice Mr. Laird's scheme of "protecting" all Africans who might come to British ports. He says, "the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, then, condemns the protecting of fugitives against 'either their chiefs or their captors:' it will not say that it so objects, but at all events it objects to their being *invited* to protection." We have objected to neither; but specifically to what Mr. Laird proposes, "a systematic invitation of refugees *for the purpose of being shipped off to the West Indies.*" That we are not wrong in this point may be shown (possibly to the satisfaction of our contemporary himself) by a reference to p. 740 of the evidence taken before the West African Committee, where Mr. Matthew Forster says—"Care must be taken not to make our settlements, or any other places from which we draw the emigrants, the common refuge for criminals or runaway slaves from the interior for the purpose of emigration; otherwise the native chiefs might put those places under the ban of all communication, and thereby prevent that free intercourse with British settlements on which so much depends."

The *Gazette* finds fault with us for saying that the African cannot "learn civilization in three years." Then he may stop longer, quoth our contemporary. We note it down, therefore, that, at the period when he is to be entitled to a free passage home, no party thinks the African emigrant will be adapted to benefit his country.

It is further alleged that we have "assumed that emigrants will never go, if they are to be told that they are to toil in sugar estates." Quite the contrary. What we have said, and proved is, that this is Mr. Laird's doctrine.

"They do go," says the *Gazette;* and cites the halting and uncertain emigration from Sierra Leone. Even if this were far more to the purpose than it is, it would be quite enough to reply, that the emigration of native Africans *from their homes* cannot be estimated by so widely different a case. "One might almost suppose," the *Gazette* continues, "that the anti-slavery *profession* [where is the gist of this new appellation?] desire to convert the West Indies into a 'fool's paradise' for the benefit of the black labourers." Our contemporary is quite wrong. We know that, if they go there, they must labour. We only think that their position as labourers will not be favourable to their becoming qualified in mass to civilize and enlighten their country.

We cannot take leave of the writer we have thus far had to do with, without saying that his mode of reply tends strongly to convince us of the conclusiveness of our own arguments. We scarcely remember in so small a space so many misconceptions, misrepresentations, and irrelevant replies. To truth (whatever may be gained by a party) no service is rendered by such writing as this. It is not long that we have met with it in the columns of the *Colonial Gazette;* and the continued appearance of it can scarcely fail to impair both the reputation and the power of that hitherto able and well conducted journal.

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We must say a few words ere we close in reply to the sensible and good-spirited letter of Mr. Laird. This gentleman falls into an error when he says that we expressed "great doubt that *any benefit* would arise from the contact of Africans with Europeans, and civilized men of their own race" in the West Indies. What we questioned was the attainment of *such an amount* of benefit as would qualify them to become the civilizers of Africa. This Mr. Laird's scheme implies, and this he was bound to show. What is his reply! They will acquire, he tells us, "some knowledge of tropical agriculture;" 2, "some knowledge of the law they live under;" 3, "some idea of the decencies of life;" and 4, "some notion of a purer faith than paganism." That these elements will be adequate to the regeneration of Africa he does not affirm; and we think he will hesitate long before he does affirm it. Till then our argument remains untouched.

In reply to our suspicions respecting the numbers of Africans, who "might be got for food and protection" Mr. Laird says:—

I will state a case which will show that in that unhappy country it is to be done. In June 1833, I was on the Niger a few miles below the confluence of the Tchadda. The Felatahs made a slaving excursion, and swept the West Bank of the Niger from Rabbah downwards. From the deck of my steamer, I counted six towns in flames at one time; the miserable inhabitants that escaped across the stream, there about 1200 yards wide, encamped under my guns on the eastern bank; the decks of my vessel were crowded with supplicants for "food and protection." Here was a case where I might have saved thousands of lives, if I could have offered them a permanent refuge. In the same year a chief on the Calabar river died: his war canoe was pulled by forty men: a few days after his death, the canoe came down the river with the skulls of those men placed on the thwarts where in life they had sat, the whole having been sacrificed at his funeral.

These are just such cases as we imagined. Not for a single moment should we deprecate the extension of British "protection" to such sufferers, and "food" follows of course. But what we have objected to is the offering of such protection *with the view of shipping off the parties to the West Indies*. If we could protect them in their homes, or if we had a home in Africa to offer them, we should have nothing to say against it: but to offer protection for the purpose of shipping off the parties to the West Indies, is only doing ourselves under the plea of kindness, what the slave-traders are doing by open hostility.

To our opinion that an extensive "re-emigration to Africa is a fallacy," Mr. Laird replies,—"Is he not aware that it has commenced?" And he quotes the return of "sixty-eight Africans, principally captured slaves, originally taken into the Bahamas, and afterwards removed to Demerara," together with that of "seventeen emancipated slaves," who "bought up the time of their apprenticeship" in the same colony. But these cases prove nothing to the purpose. Mr. Laird relies on the return of large numbers, and on large numbers of those who left their native shores, not *by force*, but voluntarily. That "mysterious sympathy in the mind of the negro with his country," which draws him back to it when he had been torn from it by violence, cannot surely be reckoned upon as existing powerfully in those who desert it from choice.

CASE OF NELSON HACKETT.

From the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

[Application having been made by Mr. Scoble, on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the FACTS in connection with this important case, which was the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, we lost no time in communicating such information as was at hand, promising to make further inquiry, and communicate the result. Charles H. Stewart, Esq., of Detroit, being on a visit to this city, and knowing he was in possession of the material facts, we immediately applied to him on the subject. He very promptly wrote out a narrative of the facts for publication, and we have great pleasure in laying it before our readers. Mr. Stewart is an Irishman by birth, is a lawyer of high respectability in Michigan, and President of the Anti-Slavery Society of that state. The most implicit confidence may be placed in his statements. The circumstances attending this case are of a most important character—Sir Charles Bagot has probably been most ingloriously imposed upon—and the British government will, we doubt not, provide against the recurrence of a similar event.]

Hackett was a slave in Arkansas. In the spring or summer of 1841, he was at a race course with his *legal* master, and was desired to take home a race-horse. The home was at a considerable distance, and Hackett, finding himself well mounted under circumstances that permitted absence, directed his course towards liberty—the incessant subject of solicitude with this unfortunate class. At this time he had in care the outside coat of the master, and he also had his gold watch: in what manner this last was obtained is not known. After many perils, he succeeded in finding and effecting his way through the long route intervening between Arkansas, in the remote south-west, and Canada, at its northern frontier: he passed through Detroit, in the state of Michigan, and took up his abode at London, or somewhere in the vicinity of Windsor, opposite to Detroit. In the course of the summer or fall he was followed. A person on behalf of his alleged owner consulted a lawyer of much respectability, Mr. George F. Porter, whether there was any mode by which Hackett could be recaptured into slavery. Mr. Porter, being an abolitionist, gave no encouragement. The application to him shows the governing motive of the master, and that he desired to repossess himself of the person of Hackett, not so much perhaps on account of his actual value, as that his reception, and the dreadful punishment that awaits the failing aspirant of liberty, might deter others from a like attempt.

The next thing known is that the agent went to Canada, and there had Hackett arrested for theft—stealing a coat, gold watch, and horse of A. B. (the master). Considerable interest was excited among the coloured people, by a proceeding which they well knew to be but a vindictive persecution for daring to assert self-liberty; but they found that Hackett was in custody, like any other alleged criminal upon informations sworn in Canada, and that he must abide the due trial of the charge at the ensuing assizes or circuit, to be held at Sandwich, in February or March, 1842. Nothing could be done until then, and Hackett and friends abided patiently the arrival of court.

The arrest was in the fall, probably October or November, 1841. It appears that Hackett was kept a very close prisoner—a lawyer, Mr. Baby, alone was permitted access to him during his confinement. After Hackett was thus arrested, his claimant had him indicted before a grand jury of Arkansas, for larceny; and procured from the governor of that state a demand on the governor of Canada for the surrender of Hackett. These papers were sent to the colonial government, and were received by Sir Charles Bagot about the time of his arrival in Canada. It is not known what kind of private applications or representations were made to Sir Charles, but it is probable, nay almost certain, that he was altogether imposed upon—that Hackett was represented as a great criminal, and that British sense of right was appealed to, to know if their government would screen villany, and reward with impunity the robber—that Hackett's colour, and the strongly extenuating circumstances of his case, were altogether suppressed. That misrepresentation was freely made I know, from the fact that his captors alleged in Detroit that Hackett had committed a rape, under aggravating circumstances, on his master's daughter—a charge not only without evidence of any kind, but which I ascertained to be false, and to have been suggested for the mere purpose of creating feeling against Hackett. Sufficient discredit is at once given to it, by the fact that it was not the subject of indictment. Had so aggravated an offence existed, it would readily have been seized on as the ground of demand on a foreign government not bound by treaty or usage to surrender, in place of the light one of larceny. It may also have been represented to Sir Charles, that, along the borders, the magistrates give up to each other those petty criminals who seek by flight across our dividing line an impunity from crime. Such is the fact. The surrender is unauthorized by law: it is the exercise of force—the exchange of neighbours' courtesy, and is winked at all round. There is a great difference between this border surrender of hen-roost pilferers, and the deliberate official action of the British nation, in its highest and most solemn sanction, forming a precedent in the usage of nations. The American slave-owner had also so managed as to secure the co-operation of those possessed of influence on the Canadian frontier, and poor Hackett became a miserable victim to combined power, skill, and wealth, while he lay a captive in British confinement, trusting with implicit confidence to the accused's sacred palladium—that boast of Britain's constitution—a trial by his peers. Neither himself nor a single friend were aware of the measures pursuing: they were prepared for trial, and for nothing else.

At any rate Sir Charles Bagot, deceived or not, ordered the surrender of Hackett, and gave warrant to the jailor at Sandwich to surrender him, and a letter to Colonel John Prince, of Sandwich, her Majesty's Consul (a kind of local attorney-general) and to all British authorities, to aid and assist in the delivery of Hackett to a man of the name of Davenport, who runs the ferry between Detroit and Windsor.

The mode of executing this warrant showed the parties' own consciousness of impropriety. It was not done in that open, fearless manner which imparts dignity to the law, and proclaims its sovereignty; but at nine or ten o'clock of a winter's night in the Canadas, when the severity of the season had housed every person and animal, during the month of February last, a party of men were collected, a boat was prepared, Hackett was seized without a moment's intimation, and hurried across the Detroit river amid masses of floating ice, and incarcerated in the Detroit gaol. Whether or not the demand on the Sandwich jailor had been previously made, is not known; but it probably was, and every arrangement had doubtless been leisurely made, though secretly.

In Detroit, Hackett was immured in a private cell. He was some days there before the fact was known, but it leaked out. I made application to see him: his being there at all was denied. I finally made application to our Supreme Court, and obtained a *habeas corpus*. I was then admitted to see Hackett, and shown the papers connected with his arrest. Hackett candidly avowed the fact, that he had used the horse as the means of procuring freedom. He had no way of restoring either it, watch, or coat; no demand was made for any of them. At his arrest he still had all of them, and *all were received and used by his captors*, as they admitted.

The papers then consisted only of the letter of Sir Charles Bagot's secretary, in official form, to Colonel Prince and other authorities, and an authenticated copy of the warrant of surrender. The indictment had been left with the colonial government, and its contents were stated to me by the agent and counsel of the captors. Sufficient evidence, however, was afforded, that the colonial government, whether rightly or discreetly, yet, in fact, had duly surrendered Hackett. The question then was—should we of Detroit contest the matter! We could have done so: a foreign warrant was of no validity with us. Hackett was illegally in

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custody, and being brought *by force* within our jurisdiction, the federal laws made for recapture of fugitives from justice, or from labour, were alike inoperative, inasmuch as they require *voluntary* residence as the ground of jurisdiction. On consultation, we deemed it improper to interfere. Great Britain had taken the lead in the assertion of human rights; she had struck the fetters from her own slaves, and was pioneer among the nations of the world in abolishing slavery. She had formally thought proper to surrender an alleged criminal; she had deemed the offence so serious as to justify the exercise of that prerogative about which nations are so jealous that they have oft refused the surrender of even murderers. She had done so on mature deliberation. Would it become us to assume a standard higher than hers? to become the patrons of a crime she had thus markedly denounced as atrocious? We thought not: we were trustees seeking to carry out a great and sacred principle confided to us, and were bound to do so wisely and discreetly. Had we interfered in this case, we would have fought the battle of liberty, not on its own sacred principles, but as protectors of crime; for the prisoner was in custody as a criminal, not as a slave; and that he was an aggravated criminal, Britain's unusual surrender nationally avowed. To fight this contest, then, would but have weakened us for those that await us on the broad platform of man's inalienable rights; have added to existing prejudices that which would have arisen from our asserting a standard of morals higher than that of Great Britain. In Detroit we had begun to turn public sympathy in favour of the fugitive slave, and we dared not to weaken that sympathy for the many unfortunates who need it, by an exertion in behalf of a single individual.

We therefore reluctantly and with grief crushed down our own feelings, and sorrowing committed the hapless Hackett to the dire fate that awaited him—a fate, not as Sir Charles Bagot doubtless anticipated to be measured by the impartial majesty of law—but to be doomed by an incensed master, an infuriated overseer, and the vindictive passion of a slave-ocracy, daily smarting under the assertion of their captive's right to freedom. What that fate was we shuddered to think. May humanity never learn it; but let ignorance shroud it, along with many a deed of kindred horror, beneath its impenetrable veil.

I only add, that the projectof recovering fugitive slaves, even from within the heretofore sacred palladium of British protection, by the cunning device of alleged crime, is becoming a matter of frequent occurrence, and is stimulated to increasing perfection by every successful issue. It is the duty of Great Britain, if she desires the protection of her national honour, to refuse the surrender, even of the petty foreign criminal, to that country which has denied to her the British murderer; and if she seeks consistency in her anti-slavery principles, she should avoid being deluded by a pretence of the slave interest that can procure larceny indictments for each fugitive, who, as a piece of locomotive property, commits a high theft in the eye of the slave-holding law, the moment he dares to steal himself from the tender mercies of avaricious power.

When Hackett was, as mentioned, rushed across the Detroit river under secret haste, and amid the darkness of a winter's night, the Canadian court which had cognizance of his offence was near at hand. What return was made of the informations, or what by the jailor of his charge, is not known. It will be recollected that Hackett was not at large, the legal subject of surrender by British authorities, but a prisoner under British law, for an offence it claimed to be in its jurisdiction, and the person of the alleged criminal was at the control only of that law. The justice who arrested Hackett was bound to have returned the informations to the court, and the jailor who had his custody was responsible for his person. The governor's warrant was controlled by the higher power of the law, and could have taken effect only when that law had performed its duty.

(Signed) C. H. STEWART,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law,
New York, August 9th, 1842. Detroit, State of Michigan.

REMARKS.

The writer of the above has carefully restricted his allegations within the bounds of stern fact, and excluded surmises, or aught that on inquiry might prove a mis-statement. There are however, we are assured, matters connected with the case, that aggravate its dark features. It is feared that Hackett was a victim of conspiracy among the Canadians and his pursuers. His restoration to captivity, and the recovery of the horse, watch and coat, were alone sufficient to stimulate cupidity, but the advantage of his capture from the very clutches of England was invaluable to men so affected by the escape of slaves, and who would thus be enabled to exhibit their power at overreaching even British protection. Their poor victims are too ignorant to understand the "*modus operandi*"—it is sufficient that they see within their masters' power one of themselves taken from soil heretofore deemed inaccessible to the slave-holder. This, of course, paralyzes all effort at escape, as proving that there is safety in no place. Thus the captors had every inducement to great exertion and pecuniary sacrifice. There is reason to fear that the whole proceeding was a concerted movement between the pursuers and the Canadian authorities, that the plan was arranged between them, that Hackett was to be arrested and held to bail until an indictment was found in Arkansas—a demand made, and the prisoner surrendered—that there never was any intention of trying the man in Canada—that the contrary was alleged only to deceive his friends, and blind them as to the movement in Toronto—that the frontier authorities were to use, and did use their influence with Sir Charles Bagot—that they were to be well paid provided the surrender was made. The names of several official and private individuals, who it is confidently believed were engaged in this dark plot, have been given to us. Of course, much that then took place sleeps in the parties own bosoms, and, however plausible or strong conjectures may bear to their guilt, it would be improper to make it a matter of direct charge. The jailor undoubtedly required the sanction of the crown presiding officer before he gave up a prisoner for whom he was responsible, and some curious considerations must have governed that officer in departing so very far from his duty, and the law of the British empire. If the governor be properly applied to on this subject, he will, we presume, disclose the representations made to him, and bring to light the amount of fees paid to subordinate officers in the matter. We trust that the never tiring vigilance of the Committee in London will so conduct the inquiry, that the British governor and all his subordinates will be made to feel their responsibility, and that quietude may be given to the thousands of coloured American citizens who have sought an asylum in her Britannic Majesty's dominions.

THE RIOT IN PHILADELPHIA.

From the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

On the 1st of August this city was disgraced by one of the most unprovoked and cruel outbreaks against the people of colour that has ever occurred in this country. The facts are substantially as follows:

The people of colour, especially the members of the coloured temperance societies, had made arrangements for the celebration of the 1st of August, the day when the shackles of slavery fell from 800,000 of their fellow men in the British West Indies, by a public procession, &c. We take the following account from the Philadelphia *Daily Chronicle* of August 2nd. After the procession had moved through several of the principal streets, and when it had reached Fourth and Plumb streets, in the district of Southwark, it was attacked by a volley of stones, thrown by the whites, and a white boy brutally attacked a coloured lad who was in the procession. A black man then struck the white boy over the head, when a general fight, in which thousands took part, ensued, and continued during the whole day. The blacks were seriously beaten at the onset, but rallied and thrashed the whites.

From Fourth and Plumb streets, the crowd of both colours ran to Fifth and Shippen, then up to Sixth and South, fighting with clubs, sticks, stones, brickbats, and whatever missiles they could obtain, until they reached the corner of Sixth and Lombard streets, within the precincts of the city. Some of the blacks took refuge in their own meeting houses in that neighbourhood, and their procession having been dispersed, the whites went to work and destroyed houses and property indiscriminately, so that they belonged to or were occupied by blacks.

During the fight we have attempted to describe, several persons engaged in it were very seriously hurt. One white man had his arm broken from a blow inflicted by a huge club in the hands of a black; another white man was stabbed with a knife or dirk in the eye: a black man named Metcalf had his right eye laid open by a blow from the weapon of a white, and some fifteen or twenty others were more or less seriously injured. The most desperate of the blacks was a deaf and dumb man, who did much mischief, and seriously injured several whites ere he was arrested by the police. The destruction of property was serious in several parts. In Lombard street below Sixth, a small court adjoining the African Wesleyan meeting house was filled with whites, who dashed bricks through the windows, smashing the glass, frame, and sashes of all in three or four houses. Other buildings in the same neighbourhood were treated in like manner. The frame house on the corner of South and Hirst-streets, presented the appearance of a fort after a fight with musketry; pieces of brick were sticking in the boards where they had been thrown by the whites, two of the window shutters were smashed in, the door broken, and windows shattered to atoms. In Mary-street, from Sixth to Eighth, a similar state of things was visible, as it was in most of the alleys and by-ways, in that section; so also in Bedford (Small) street. The police arrived on the ground during the skirmish, arrested several, and succeeded in restoring something like order, although thousands still remained standing about discussing the propriety of the farther destruction of property. All remained apparently quiet for two or three hours, the police having perfect mastery over the mob. About three o'clock, some few of the ringleaders (whites) had a skirmish with a small party of blacks, and the interference of the police was found necessary. One of the special constables in an attempt to arrest a lad, was mobbed, and a beautiful black cloth coat torn from his back. All this time there were several thousand people in Lombard- street, below Sixth, *looking at* the Wesleyan meeting house.

Being on the ground about four o'clock, we noticed the movements of some who appeared to be acting as ring-leaders, when a boy, certainly not over sixteen years old, set up a screeching howl, with waving of his hands to follow. In "less than no time" one-half the large crowd were imitating him, and off they started, running and howling like mad Indians, down Sixth to Mary street, discharging missiles at every house that had been inhabited by blacks (at this time most of them had moved off); through Mary street to Eighth, the mob continued their work of destruction, not increasing the damage much, however, as they had been all injured previously. The crowd now proceeded down Eighth to the county; they entered Bedford street, where all halted before some small frame houses, and shower upon shower of destructive missiles were hurled at them; the attention of the mob was then directed to a one-story meeting-house or school-room in the rear, the doors and windows of which were soon demolished; just at this moment, and when we were standing directly opposite the meeting house, a black discharged a loaded gun from one of the windows at the crowd, but did no damage. This added fuel to the flame, fences were torn down, the boards broken into strips, and a regular onslaught was made. A portion of the mob seeing the black who fired the

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gun escape into a house fronting on Shippen street, rushed around and mobbed it; some of them entered through the windows, and after a hard fight, in which the blood streamed in a perfect flood from the head of the poor black, dying his shirt a crimson hue, they succeeded in wresting from him the gun, also an old sword, and securing him a prisoner. He was conveyed thence to the Moyamensing watch-house, this fight being in that district. While on his way thither, we saw a strapping white fellow strike the prisoner two awful blows on the head from behind him. The gun and sword were taken to the hall police house.

In an adjoining house to the one above named, it was intimated that a black had fire arms concealed, for the purpose of use, and this belief was increased from a portion of the rioters, who were on the top of the house, exclaiming that they saw the muzzle of a gun coming up from the opening of the trap-door. The mob then rushed into the house and secured a black, whom the police conveyed to the hall for examination; and the gun was also discovered; it contained a load of nearly a foot deep, which led us to think that he who discharged it would be more likely to be injured than any one else. These two blacks having been secured in the Moyamensing police office, and the rioters feeling importance from their success, now made bold to attack any and every black they could find, and in all directions we saw them (the blacks) running, as if to save their lives. Nothing of particular importance appearing to satisfy the rioters in the county, they approached the city, and attacked any and every black they met with. In Lombard-street, in the neighbourhood of Sixth and Seventh, a stalwart black was attacked and seriously beaten; to protect himself he fired a pistol, the contents of which, some shot, lodged in the persons of three boys, two of whom were slightly hurt. This still more increased the rioters, and their work of destruction now found greater scope; they mobbed the black and beat him so severely that he was nearly killed, when the police rescued him from their hands. Some arrests were made, and the black taken to the lock-up house for protection, and afterwards to the hospital for medical aid. Another black was dreadfully beaten in a small alley or court. He was taken up nearly dead, and conveyed to the police office. One was nearly murdered in Lombard, below Seventh. After he had been beaten senseless, he was dragged by the rioters holding on to his heels, his head striking against the paving stones in the street. He was taken up lifeless, and conveyed to the police office. Another black was caught on the roof of a house, brought to the street, but not seriously hurt. During all the time that the incidents above were being enacted, there were in several parts of the rioting districts thousands of persons collected near the scenes of the morning's destruction; and riots of a less nature than those mentioned, have been going on. In fact, every part of the southern district, from Pine to Plumb, and from Fifth to Eighth-streets, was a scene of lawless confusion. Pursuing their course further up the city, the rioters attacked a black, corner of Locust and Sixth-streets, and beat him almost to death—he was taken to the police office for protection, and afterwards to the hospital. We conclude this much of our report, at half-past 6 o'clock evening.

SEVEN O'CLOCK.—There are at this time five blacks who were hurt in the affray lying on the floor of the lock-up-house, at the police office, corner of Sixth and Chesnut streets; persons are attending them with water, sponge, and restoratives. The office presents more the appearance of a hospital after a field of battle than anything else. The rioters are increasing in number; the mayor has just dispatched additional special police; there is every probability of serious destruction of property to-night. Eight o'clock—An order was issued to close all the public squares, the state house, and the public offices, at dark, and all are now shut up. A detachment of the police has just brought to the mayor's office six of the rioters, and they are to undergo an examination immediately. E. Woodruff, one of the special officers, in arresting one of the six above mentioned, was struck a blow on the forehead with a bludgeon, which laid it open about two inches. He is in Brown's drug store having the wound dressed. There are now in the hospital no less than eleven persons, who have been seriously injured in the fight. An order has been issued for a portion of the military (volunteers) to be in readiness at the armories by nine o'clock. General Cadwalader, who was called on, is to have command of them, if called out.

FIRE—BURNING OF THE HALL.

HALF-PAST NINE O'CLOCK.—We accompanied the sheriff to the scene of riot, and stood immediately at his side until after the firing of the hall. The crowd gathered gradually in the vicinity of Lombard and Seventh streets, from five o'clock. At about eight o'clock the streets were thronged with spectators anticipating the burning of the hall. The first attack upon the building, at about a quarter past eight o'clock, was by a few half-grown lads who threw a few bricks, but were immediately dispersed by some of the officers who accompanied the sheriff. In about twenty minutes afterwards, a body of the most ruffianly looking fellows we ever saw congregate together arrived, and renewed the attack with stones. The sheriff, attended by Judge Todd and a few citizens, with some four or five sheriff's officers, placed themselves in front of the hall, and called upon the mob to desist, which they did for a few moments. As soon as the stoning ceased, a gentleman mounted a lime box in front of the sheriff, and said that he wished the assemblage to understand that he was the master-builder of the hall, and that it was not intended for an abolition meeting-house, but for a place of public worship, and that Mr. Smith, for whom he was erecting it, had said to him that it was his intention to have no meeting there that the mayor disapproved of. The mob set up a hideous booting at this annunciation; amid which Judge Todd ascended the lime-box, and entreated the assemblage not to persist in their violence—that they could not throw stones without injuring some of their fellow citizens, and perhaps the sheriff—the son of Robert Morris—who was upon the ground, and that their acts would be such as many of them would be sorry for on the morrow. The Judge's advice had no other effect than to provoke another ebullition of yells and screams. The sheriff also called upon the mob to desist, but in vain—another shower of missiles rendered the retreat of all in front of the building necessary for their preservation. The sheriff and Judge Todd, however, remained on the pavement in front of the hall after the citizens had fled from it, at the risk of injury from the heavy missiles that fell upon every side of them. Indeed, both these gentlemen behaved in the most brave and praiseworthy manner.

During all this time no police appeared. The sheriff was called upon by several citizens to uphold the majesty of the law, who were informed in reply that his force was not adequate—his whole posse amounting to but twenty-five men. At nine o'clock the building was fired, and in about twenty minutes enveloped in one sheet of flame, presenting a spectacle at once grand and terrific. The Hall was fired by a man in the rear, who escaped over the fence. In twenty minutes after the fire broke out the side walls fell, and in about a quarter of an hour after that the front wall fell with a tremendous crash, the bricks striking the houses on the opposite side of the street. The houses on each side adjoining the hall were crushed by the falling of the walls. Some time after the fire broke out about two hundred special police made their appearance. The hall destroyed by fire was the property of a wealthy black, named Smith, who resides at Columbia, as we are informed. On a stone in the centre, above the second story, was a tablet bearing the date, and an inscription that it was a beneficial hall. The sheriff was absent from the city during the day, and until four o'clock in the afternoon, when, upon being apprised of the intention of the rioters, he made application to General Patterson for a volunteer force, but in consequence of the General's election being contested, he could not obtain aid from that source. General Cadwalader issued orders early in the evening for several companies to assemble at their armories, which they did with great promptitude, but not in time to render the necessary assistance. The carpenters and others who had been employed upon the hall, which was not quite finished, left off work in the morning, and carried with them all their tools; it having been intimated thus early that it would be fired after nightfall.

ANOTHER FIRE—BURNING OF THE CHURCH.

HALF-PAST TEN O'CLOCK.—A few minutes after ten o'clock, the Presbyterian church, belonging to and the place of worship for the blacks, in Mary-street, below Seventh, north side, was discovered to be on fire. The fire was within a stone's throw of the former, and like the hall, the church was entirely destroyed. We are glad to be able to state, that, though thousands of persons were in the neighbourhood of the fires at the time the walls fell, not an individual was hurt in the least.

ELEVEN O'CLOCK.—The meeting-house in Sixth-street, above Lombard, known as Allen's, is still filled with the blacks who took refuge there in the morning. Great fears were had that it would be fired, but it has escaped the torch, and the lives of the affrighted beings concealed there are preserved. The first regiment city volunteers are on duty now, to serve all night at their armories, fully equipped, awaiting orders; those on duty in the early part of the evening have been dismissed. A black man was arrested by some of the police officers, standing back of the hall; he held in his hand a large hatchet, which he said was to protect himself. He did not seem disposed for mischief. There has been no bloodshed that we could ascertain, since our last report.

TWELVE O'CLOCK.—We must go to press, but have the satisfaction of announcing the end of hostilities for the night. The mob in the disaffected districts have mostly dispersed; the fires are down, and but little damage was done to any but the buildings above mentioned. The firemen were not allowed to throw water on those houses, but very adroitly saved all the adjoining properties from every damage but a severe scorching. An extra police is on duty in all directions; the city is perfectly quiet for the night, and we trust for ever, from such daring outrages.

AUGUST 2nd.—A large number of coloured persons took refuge in the surrounding counties and states, and some took refuge at the city police office. The coal heavers and others on the wharves of the Schuylkill river quitted their work, and made an attack upon several coloured men, one of whom was cut and bruised. The sheriff's posse went out to arrest the rioters, but were driven off. There were several attacks made upon coloured persons in the south-west part of the city. A poor and aged coloured man, while sawing wood, was attacked by a mob, and cruelly beaten. Several arrests and commitments were made. The sheriff and mayor added largely to their forces by afternoon, and a brigade of troops were ordered out. The watchmen commenced lighting their lamps long before the usual time. The Lombard-street hall is an entire heap of ruins, and the bare walls of the church in St. Mary's-street are all that remain of that fabric. Mr. Smith has sued the county for the destruction of his building.

REMARKS.

Several causes might be assigned for these horrible outbreaks. *The people of colour have been the victims of temperance.* The honourable exertions they have made in this noble cause infuriated the white rum sellers, whose gains were greatly lessened by the abstinence of the coloured people, and the efforts some of them had made to purify the infected district where large bodies of them resided. Dr. Bias, a coloured physician in Philadelphia, has assured us that no less than 450 grogeries existed in that portion of the city, whose average receipts were formerly five dollars each, and that the efforts made to reclaim drunkards during the last year had reduced the average daily receipts to about fifty cents! The keepers of these dens of hell were accustomed to allure children into their employment, sending them out to beg and pilfer, giving them lodgings in their cellars, and paying them and their parents in rum! The temperance reform, produced in this part of the city chiefly by the instrumentality of coloured citizens, occasioned a loss of business and profits that exasperated those who profit by the vice and intemperance of their fellow-men. *These degraded whites, most of them low foreigners, could not endure that the black population should rise above them, and, therefore, they conspired to trample them into the dust.* This, doubtless, was a principal cause of the recent outbreak. In Philadelphia, more than in most of our cities, coloured men are employed as porters, drivers of coaches, draymen, &c., and, *the white labourers, especially the Irish, were resolved on rooting them out.* That class of the Philadelphia population who hate religion, temperance, and moral reform, thought it a fit opportunity to *vent their spite upon those who were disposed to respect God and themselves, and abstain from vice.* Add to the above, the *ever burning animosity felt by certain portions of the community against abolitionists*, and we have probably the principal causes of the late riots in Philadelphia.

EGYPTIAN SLAVE-HUNTS.

WE have received the following from Dr. Madden:—

To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*.

DEAR SIR—The enclosed may interest you. It is a communication I received from my German friend in Egypt, the same who gave the account of the slave hunts in Sennaar, published in your paper. It is evident that, ere long, the slave-hunts of Mohammed Ali will be carried into Abyssinia.

I am, &c., R. R. MADDEN.

Sloane Square, 10th September, 1842.

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Cairo, July 28th, 1842.

I am sorry to inform you that the Gasul or slave-hunting, is just as bad as it has been heretofore. You see, then, there is no dependence to be placed on Mohammed Ali's promises. He will grant audiences whenever they are demanded upon pressing occasions, or when importuned by diplomatic notes; but farther remonstrances go for little here. You must never believe that Mohammed Ali made any sacrifices out of regard for humanity, or that fewer slaves are carried away now than formerly. We lately made inquiries at the custom-house, and received the information that the toll on imported slaves will amount at the end of the year to the same sum as in former years. Were his interests to suffer, he certainly would not have given his word to stop the slave-hunts, or, if he did, would not have kept it.

Achmet Pacha, governor of Soudan, is supposed to have determined on advancing in a short time, with hostile intentions, either against Darfur, or, it may be, on the province of Amhara, in Abyssinia. He has lately formed two new regiments in Sennaar, and had from here (Cairo) reinforcements, in the shape of a cohort of marauders consisting of Arnauts and other rabble. The cruelties to be perpetrated by these brigands it is frightful to reflect on beforehand. I have been informed that the troops of Mohammed Ali have attacked Abyssinia on the side of Kalabat, and taken many christians into slavery. That Abyssinia should have been attacked is not extraordinary, as it was long ago known to be the intention of Mohammed Ali to do so. In the year 1837, the troops under Kurshid Pacha advanced as far as the frontier, and were only five days' march from Gondar, but he did not feel himself strong enough to adventure further. But there exists at this time a cause for this movement. I dare say you know that in the beginning of the present year Ras Ali was in a bad way. He was attacked on one side from Esbie on Tygre, whilst in the south he had the Galla tribes as enemies. Under these circumstances he sought for assistance from Achmet Pacha, which was at once given him, and then attacked the Galla. This, no doubt, was the cause of the entry of Mohammed Ali's troops into Abyssinia. At present we must wait for intelligence from that quarter, whether they will remain there or return; the result may be of great importance.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The list of subscriptions in our last from Cockermouth should have appeared thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Spencer, Jeremiah	5	0	0
Harris, Jonathan	0	5	0

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 21ST.

THE recent proceedings of the Council of government at Trinidad are of the greatest importance. It appears that, on learning the arrival off the coast of a vessel from St. Helena, (the *Chieftain*) with 233 liberated Africans on board, the governor assembled the Council, by special summons, at the unusual hour of eight in the morning, to propose the passing of an ordinance enabling him to interfere with their liberty by apprenticing them for twelve months. Accordingly the standing rules were suspended, and the ordinance passed with the utmost rapidity, as, (to use his Excellency's language,) "they could not land the immigrants till it was passed." The ordinance itself appears in a subsequent number of the *Trinidad Standard;* and a pretty fair judgment of it may be formed from the following summary in the same paper. "The ordinance declares that the governor shall have the power of indenting the liberated Africans, as he shall think fit, for one twelve-month, and a schedule is attached to the indenture prescribing the wages and allowances to be given to the person hired. Power is given to the stipendiary magistrate to visit and see the treatment observed towards the immigrants, and a penalty of £500 sterling is laid upon any person found enticing them to leave the island; there is also a penalty fixed at not less than £5 sterling, nor more than £40 sterling, for any person employing, harbouring, or concealing the apprentice during the period of his apprenticeship. It also appearing that several expenses have been incurred by the captain of the *Chieftain*, the payment of which does not come within the provisions of the immigration ordinance, his Excellency proposed that the parties obtaining labourers should pay a premium for them." The ordinance was brought into immediate bearing upon the unhappy victims for whom it was intended. Two hundred and thirty of the liberated (!) Africans brought by the *Chieftain*, we are told by the *Standard*, "were distributed to different planters by the government agent for immigration, under the form of indenture required by the government, and were all delivered within thirty-six hours after their arrival. To satisfy the applications made," the writer continues, "would have required more than 4000 labourers."

The proceedings of the Council on this occasion present some remarkable features. In introducing the measure, his Excellency said that "the Sierra Leone people were * * * quite capable of taking care of themselves, but that those from St. Helena, who had just been rescued by our cruizers, were in a savage state, and *ought to be protected!*" The attorney-general tells us that "the present ordinance is drawn so as to place every thing in the hands of the governor himself * * * who would make the contract with the parties *without being bound down by any particular rule with regard to wages.*" The solicitor-general made the considerate suggestion that "all who stood in relationship to each other, such as husband and wife, parent and child," should be included in the same indenture, and, "in case of the death of the party holding the indenture, should all be assigned over to one person;" but this was overruled. When the governor stated "there would be a premium paid on the Africans by the parties to whom they were indented," Mr. Peschier made the natural observation, "*Some people might say they bought them*"—to which his Excellency rejoined in the following somewhat undignified terms:—"He scouted the idea of buying these people; *it was some cant of some newspaper report of an anti-slavery meeting.* Let them not care for what the world said; let them fearlessly do their duty, and the world would see the benefits which would result."

No doubt of it. And the world will hear something—if not the governor himself, who it appears, has set out for England—of these remarkable sayings and doings of Sir Henry M'Leod. For our parts we are glad that the steam is up so soon, and that this audacious attempt at restoring the coercion of the olden time is made before the so called system of free emigration of African "savages" is further advanced. Will Mr. Laird tell us that Africans "might be got" in any quantity, knowingly to undergo the delights of a twelve months' apprenticeship to Trinidad sugar planters? In the hurry of their rail-road legislation, these gentlemen have forgotten the whip and the stocks; but the necessary clauses will be easily added hereafter.

Instead of pursuing our remarks further to-day, we shall insert the following observations from the *Barbados Liberal*:—

This early attempt at coercion, however it might take some of our readers by surprise, is nothing surprising to us. We have all along said that it would come to this—that the immigration of so-called *free* labourers, for which the planters of some of these colonies have so long and so loudly clamoured as the only means of averting ruin, and by which their new-born philanthropy professes to aim at nothing less than the regeneration of Africa, is really not meant to be anything other or better than a modified slavery—a re-introduction, for their special benefit, of all that a dearly-bought experience assures us are the inalienable attendants of that state. This is their real aim. This is what they mean by free immigration on a large scale from Africa, the unhappy scene and subject of their past cruelties; and left to themselves, if that immigration be permitted, this it would inevitably be made by their ingenious contrivances, until another age produce another Wilberforce to marshal public opinion for its destruction, or until patience, no longer able to endure, memorialize its sufferings and its decadency in a monument of blood.

The late slave-holders of these colonies, whatever their professions may testify to the contrary, have as a body no sympathy with freedom. They respect not—it would be wonderful if they did respect—the equal rights of that race in which for generations and generations past they were accustomed to see only their destined slaves. An act of parliament—the over-powering will of the British people—has severed the terrible yoke from the necks of these, and bid them be free; but this will was inoperative on the mind and disposition of the slaveholder. It not in the least influenced him. It found him with no common link of affection, binding him in sentiment with the negro as men having one and the same nature, and it left him precisely as it found him—or if in any respect different, exasperated at the impious interference which violated a decree of providence, and robbed him of his rightful property in the slave. And with this sentiment rankling at their hearts, and at times, in spite of all their caution, mounting up to their lips and forcing utterance in speech, these are the men who claim to be allowed the guardianship of the African, as a means of his social and moral advancement! These are they who are to civilize and evangelize Africa, by entering into full competition with the slave-trader, and transporting her purchased sons and daughters to their cane fields as free immigrant labourers! And in this enactment of the Trinidad Council we have a foretaste of the kind and amount of freedom which awaits them. Already, before the feet of the first batch have touched the shore, and whilst yet cooped up within the narrow limits of their ship, it has been discovered to be "necessary" to bind them down to a twelve months' servitude, under penalties ranging from *five* to *five hundred* pounds sterling. By and bye, with the light of experience, the necessity for extending the term of servitude, if not for these for new-comers, will doubtless be discovered; and then upon the back of this will naturally come the *other* discovery, that the half-savages require more stringent laws to govern them than existed heretofore. And the planter will then be in all his glory!

In directing the attention of our friends in Britain to this enactment of the Trinidad Council of government, we need not point out to them the complete inefficiency of the stipendiary magistrates as protectors of the rights and interests of the planters' bond-servants. We have seen something of this before, during the former system of apprenticeship. Even where the magistrate is not the bottle companion and mere tool of the planter—and few may claim a higher character—it is impossible that he should be able in every case even to apprehend the grievances to which, in the ordinary routine of plantation management, the complaining labourer may be daily subjected. In a multitude of conceivable cases, the complaint will for this reason appear frivolous, if not unfounded; and the planter will never be at a loss for a witness or witnesses, if necessary, to bear him out in his protestations of innocence. We are but referring here to experience of the past for evidence of what will probably be in future. The giving of "power to the stipendiary magistrates to visit and see the treatment observed towards the immigrants," must not blind the British public to the real state of things. Such power might as well not have been given for any actual protection which it can afford to the "immigrant," so long as the right to change his employment is denied him.

Of the amount of "wages and allowances" which the Council have prescribed as a fair remuneration for the services of the "immigrant," and the quantity of coerced labour which he is to render in return for these, we are not told, nor need we say anything in this place. These, with the purchase money paid by the planter under the new name of "premium," are circumstances about which we need not trouble ourselves, if the main object of the enactment is to be allowed. If the planters are to be indulged with a renewed negro slavery, we shall not quarrel with them for buying their slaves either from the native chiefs or from the Governor and Council, nor can we reasonably object to their treating the said slaves in every respect as slaves. How else should they treat them?

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THE particulars of the recent outrage at Philadelphia, which we have given to-day from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, will be read with inexpressible disgust. Alas! for the loud vaunts of liberty and human rights! But we restrain ourselves, in order to insert the following admirable letter of Mr. Whittier, from the *Emancipator and Free American*.

DEAR FRIEND ALDEN,—I have just finished reading an account of the late horrible outrages perpetrated by the whites of Philadelphia upon the coloured inhabitants of that city. It has made me sick at heart. I asked myself, is this really the nineteenth century? Is it all a dream that we have heard of bibles, and missions, and revivals? Have we been mocked all along by the shams and shadows of a merely nominal christianity, covering an atheism *in practice, which* neither fears God nor regards man? In all past history, blackened as its pages are by the record of wrong and injustice, I know of nothing more atrocious than this outrage. Nero turned loose the Roman rabble and the beasts of his bloody theatres upon the poor and wretched christians, but Nero professed nothing better than the most corrupt form of paganism. His "Most Christian Majesty" of Spain hunted the Jews and Musselmen *from* his dominions, but we no where learn that he ever endorsed the doctrine that "all men are created equal."

This dreadful outbreak is but a development of the deep, fixed, all-pervading national sin—PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.

The same cruel and cowardly hatred of the coloured man which has excluded him from the meeting houses and the communion tables of the different religious sects in Philadelphia, stimulated and urged on the infuriated populace to the destruction of his life and property. The sanctimonious "respecters of persons" in the church and pulpit, the blasphemers who pervert the holy scriptures to sanction their "partiality and hypocrisy," upon *them* rests the responsibility of this hateful persecution. Spurned from the "table of the Lord" by hands stained *with the outpourings* of the mystic symbol of the great sacrifice, what marvel that the miserable coloured man sinks under the clubs and brickbats of the mob without! If the professed followers of the meek and lowly Jesus could not endure his presence in the house of prayer, shall we wonder that their feeling is shared by the infidel and scorner in the street?

I know something of the coloured people of Philadelphia. Persecuted through every avenue of society—loaded down with grievous disabilities—as a class, their self-reliance, patience, and persevering efforts to acquire education and the means of subsistence for themselves and families, have called forth my admiration. Their whole existence has been one long struggle against the prejudices and oppressions of the white majority. They have been stripped of the rights of citizens by a deliberate enactment, and then taunted for their lack of enterprize and spirit. They have been shut out from academies and colleges, and then abused for their ignorance. Their oppressors have broken up their temperance processions, and then scoffed at them as drunken and vicious, sacked their houses and destroyed their property, and then made their poverty an excuse for farther outrage; driven them out from all the proud and stately churches of the city, and then burned down their own humble ones; made the very bible which should have comforted the afflicted in their sufferings, by torturing its precepts into a sanction of slavery and prejudice, an object of loathing and abhorrence, and then reproached them with irreverence and infidelity. Restiveness under such accumulated wrongs is negro insolence and insubordination. The slightest resistance, as in the case of the late mob, is a crime to be expiated by the murder of children, the outrage of women, the maiming and wounding of men, the plunder and destruction of dwellings, and the burning of the sanctuaries of the despised race, as an acceptable offering to the roused hatred of this christian "city of brotherly love."

The newspapers of the city are silent. No voice is lifted for the poor. The churches are silent—the pulpit will continue, as they have done, to foster or propitiate the monster of prejudice. We have heard there of nightly revivals of religion—we shall hear of more doubtless. Old and New Presbyterian, Baptists and Methodists, and Episcopalians will boast of their growing numbers. The *Te Deums* of their sectarian triumphs will rise above the low sobs of the negro mother by her desolate hearth stone. But God is not mocked. The spirit of Him who went about doing good has no fellowship with a religion without humanity.

And the press and the pulpit of New England—will they speak? Shall our political pro-slavery parties and sectarian associations "wrap up" this iniquity?

As a member of the Society of Friends, it is to me a painful consideration that, in Philadelphia, where that society has had in times past an almost controlling influence, and where, in point of numbers and wealth, it still holds an important position, the horrible prejudice against colour is stronger than in any other part of the United States. From the testimony of the coloured people themselves, and from my own observation, I cannot doubt that a portion of the heavy responsibility of this melancholy state of things rests upon Friends. As a body, I fear they have not rebuked by their own precept and example the unchristian feeling of the community, although many individuals among them have been and still are distinguished for their self-denying and zealous labours in behalf of their coloured brethren. To all who have neglected their duty in this respect, the late dreadful outrages, should be a solemn warning, bringing home to each one the serious inquiry whether the "inquisition for blood" will find you guiltless.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Amesbury, 6th Eighth Month, 1842.

There will be found in our columns to-day the account obtained by our American friends of the circumstances attending the surrender of Nelson Hackett, the fugitive slave, to the authorities of Arkansas. It now appears that Sir Charles Bagot is the party responsible for the act, and there are many probabilities that he was artfully imposed upon. However this may have been, the case is a very serious one, and must give rise to very serious discussion. We wait impatiently for the papers which, at the last hour, were laid on the table of the House of Commons in relation to it, but of which the printing and delivery are unaccountably delayed.

THE *Cerneen* of the 4th of April, contains a letter of Messrs. Irving and Barclay, the agents for Mauritius, dated the 21st of December, 1841, apprising their correspondents in that island of the intentions of Lord Stanley in relation to the exportation of labourers from India. The intelligence is said to have produced an indescribable "sensation;" and later papers inform us that a large sum of money was speedily voted, to carry the expected order in council into execution. The *Cerneen* is candid enough to admit that "the title of 'protector' [of immigrants] sounds *rather gratingly* on the ears of the colonists of Mauritius." We wish the thing, protection, may not be at least equally disagreeable.

THE NEW TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES.

THE treaty with the United States, which has just been negociated by Lord Ashburton, and ratified by the American senate amidst so many tokens of popular approbation, contains three clauses of a bearing more or less direct on the question of slavery, and we give them entire below. The last of them is by far the most important. Whether this stipulation for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice may, by either a natural or a forced construction, be extended to the case of fugitive slaves, remains to be seen. The best legal opinions on this point, will, of course, be taken by the friends of humanity on both sides of the water; and the most strenuous efforts to prevent so great an evil will be made on all hands, should they become necessary.

ARTICLE VIII.

The parties mutually stipulate that each shall prepare, equip, and maintain in service, on the coast of Africa, a sufficient and adequate squadron, or naval force of vessels, of suitable numbers and description, to carry in all not less than 80 guns, to enforce separately and respectively the laws, rights, and obligations of each of the two countries, for the suppression of the slave-trade; the said squadrons to be independent of each other, but the two governments stipulating, nevertheless, to give such orders to the officers commanding their respective forces as shall enable them most effectually to act in concert and co-operation, upon mutual consultation, as exigencies may arise, for the attainment of the true object of this article; copies of all such orders to be communicated by each government to the other respectively.

ARTICLE IX.

Whereas, notwithstanding all efforts which may be made on the coast of Africa for suppressing the slave-trade, the facilities for carrying on that traffic and avoiding the vigilance of cruisers by the fraudulent use of flags, and other means are so great, and the temptations for pursuing it, while a market can be found for slaves, so strong, as that the desired result may be long delayed, unless all markets be shut against the purchase of African negros; the parties to this treaty agree that they will unite in all becoming representations and remonstrances with any and all powers within whose dominions such markets are allowed to exist, and that they will urge upon all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets at once and for ever.

ARTICLE X.

It is agreed that the United States and her Britannic Majesty shall, upon mutual requisitions by them, or their ministers, officers, or authorities, respectively made, deliver up to justice all persons who, being charged with the crime of murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged papers, committed within the jurisdiction of either, shall seek an asylum, or shall be found, within the territories of the other; provided, that this shall only be done upon such evidence of criminality as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the crime or offence had there been committed; and the respective judges and other magistrates of the two governments shall have power, jurisdiction, and authority, upon complaint made under oath, to issue a warrant for the apprehension of the fugitive or person so charged, that he may be brought before such judges or other magistrates respectively, to the end that the evidence of criminality may be heard and considered; and if on such hearing the evidence be deemed sufficient to sustain the charge, it shall be the duty of the examining judge or magistrate to certify the same to the proper executive authority, that a warrant may issue for the surrender of such fugitive. The expense of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by the party who makes the requisition and receives the fugitive.

IMPORTANT PROCEEDINGS AT TRINIDAD.

COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT,

Monday, 27th June, 1842.

His Excellency the Governor, president.

The honorables the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Collector of Customs; Messrs. Peschier, Losch, Scott, and Philip.

The council met this morning at eight o'clock.

His EXCELLENCY stated that he had called the council together at a short summons, in consequence of the arrival of the *Chieftain* from St. Helena, with 233 liberated Africans. Immigrants arriving here were generally hired as labourers at once, and went where they pleased; but his opinion was, that people coming here, ignorant of the language, should be protected and placed out for a time. He had been directed by the secretary of state, in the event of any captured Africans arriving from St. Helena, to put them on the same footing as those which had arrived from Sierra Leone; but he had written home, stating that there was a great deal of difference between the two classes—that the Sierra Leone people understood English, and were in a great measure civilised, quite capable of taking care of themselves; but that those from St. Helena, who had been just rescued by our cruizers, were in a savage state, and therefore ought to be protected. The secretary of state agreed with him on the subject, and he (the governor) now proposed to indent them for twelve months. He was a strong friend to the African, and would do all he could for his welfare; but he thought it would be cruel to turn him loose on society. They would

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be bound for twelve months. He had directed a short ordinance to be prepared, authorising him to indent these Africans for one year; not only those from St. Helena, but should any be sent here by any of her Majesty's cruizers to be adjudicated, that they should likewise be indented.

[The Chief Justice and Mr. Ganteaume here entered and took their seats.]

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—In consequence of what had been announced by his Excellency, he would move the suspension of the standing rules, in order that he might bring in an ordinance "to make provision for, and promote the industry of, the liberated Africans recently introduced into this colony." His Excellency had explained the nature of the case, and he (the Attorney-General) would merely refer to an ordinance which had been passed for protecting Africans when a system of modified slavery existed (19th March, 1835), by which authority was given to indent them for three years. That ordinance it would be better now to repeal. The present ordinance was drawn so as to place everything in the hands of the governor himself. It was infinitely better that it should be dealt with by the executive, as he would make the contract with the parties without being bound down by any particular rule with regard to wages, which must always be left to the state of parties, and the circumstances of the colony.

The bill was read a first time.

Mr. LOSH.—It seemed to him that, in the title of the ordinance, the words "promoting the industry of the liberated Africans" would be better.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL had no objection to those words being inserted.

The ordinance was then read a second time, and the board went into committee.

Mr. LOSH.—It would be well for parties in the country to do away with allowances the latter part of the time.

His EXCELLENCY intended that in the last three months they should have no provisions allowed them, but that in lieu thereof they should have additional wages.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL then read the clauses.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL.—Would it not be well to include in the same indenture all who stood in relationship to each other, such as husband and wife, parent and child, &c., and that in case of the death of the party holding the indenture they should all be assigned over to one person?

His EXCELLENCY.—These people were of several different nations: there were only two women on board who had husbands: they did not any of them seem to be related.

The CHIEF JUSTICE thought it would be more convenient to havese parate indentures for each labourer.

Mr. LOSH.—Was it intended that on the death of the manager of an estate the indenture should cease?

Mr. SCOTT.—Or suppose the agent of an absent proprietor died, would the indenture cease?

His EXCELLENCY.—No! there would be another agent appointed. The governor would rebind to make up the twelve month.

Mr. SCOTT observed there was no provision made in case the labourer absconded. It was not enough that his allowances and wages should be stopped—some punishment should be added.

Dr. PHILIP thought that, as the facilities of going from one estate to another were so great, some provision should be made for punishing parties employing labourers, &c., knowing them to be indented labourers.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—That would be provided for.

The Attorney-General then read the bill. It provides that the governor shall have the authority to indent the Africans to such parties as he thinks fit for one year. The wages and allowances to be given are to be endorsed on the indentures—also the time to be allowed for religious instruction. Stipendiary magistrates to visit the parties, and the apprentices to be produced under penalty. Persons taking away these indented Africans from the colony to be liable to a penalty of £500 sterling, with or without twelve months' imprisonment. Persons harbouring or employing indented labourers to be liable to a penalty of £20 sterling, and also to an action of damages for one dollar per day for hiring such Africans, to be recovered in any competent court.

His EXCELLENCY.—It would be necessary to pass the ordinance, as they could not land the immigrants until it was passed. There would be a premium paid on them *by the parties* to whom they were indented.

Mr. PESCHIER.—Some people might say that they bought these people.

His EXCELLENCY.—They were called upon to pay an enormous sum for labourers, and he thought it only fair and right that those who benefited should pay part of these expenses. The sum of £170 had been charged for necessaries for these people, and they were not allowed by the superintendent at St. Helena to leave without these things were provided. The captain of the *Chieftain* knew that these people were wanted here, and very properly paid that sum. He scouted the idea of buying these people: it was some cant of some newspaper report of an anti-slavery meeting. Let them not care for what the world said—let them fearlessly do their duty, and the world would see the benefits which would result.

The CHIEF JUSTICE considered that a clause would be required, authorising the governor to apply that premium.

His EXCELLENCY.—They could say that a certain sum was paid—he did not care how they worded it. He was convinced they were doing good to the colony in placing these people out.

The CHIEF JUSTICE thought a difficulty might occur, if this clause was not inserted.

His EXCELLENCY.—He should not object to a fixed premium. He had already mentioned a sum to the agent-general.

Mr. SCOTT had not seen the captain of the *Chieftain*, but had heard that he was disposed to go back again for another cargo, if he had some sort of guarantee for the expenses.

His EXCELLENCY would pay the expense of immigrants arriving here, but he would not give any guarantee; the forty-five dollars were sufficient. If parties coming here with immigrants found it pay, they would go back again for more.

The ordinance was read a third time and passed.

The CHIEF JUSTICE moved that it do come into immediate operation.—Carried.

LIBERATED AFRICANS FROM RIO JANEIRO.

His EXCELLENCY would take this opportunity of telling the board that he expected some liberated Africans from Rio Janeiro. He had written to Lord Stanley on the subject, who had referred his application to Lord Aberdeen, and the result was, he was happy to say, that one-half should be sent to Trinidad, and the other half to Demerara. This was exceedingly liberal, as British Guiana was a much larger colony than Trinidad. Lord Aberdeen had written to Mr. H. Hamilton, at Rio, from whom he had received a letter, stating that he would see the greatest care taken that Trinidad should have an equal share. Of the 120 which had arrived in Demerara, Mr. Light had been directed to send sixty down here; but he had received a letter from Mr. Light, stating, that as these people had been distributed about the country, there would be great difficulty in collecting them, but as another cargo was expected, he would send it on here. He had written to Mr. Ouseley, attached to the British legation at Rio, that in future he would make the division himself there.

A BUILDING FOR THE RECEPTION OF IMMIGRANTS.

Dr. PHILIP would suggest to his Excellency and the board, that some place should be provided for the immigrants previous to their being placed out, as there were a large number expected.

His EXCELLENCY.—Dr. Philip's suggestion should be taken into consideration. There might be a difference of opinion on some future occasion between him and the planters, and he should not give way.

The clerk of council had never had occasion to hire a place for the Africans.

His EXCELLENCY.—He must recollect that they had a very different sort of people to deal with. The Sierra Leone people were capable of making their own bargains. They did not want a remarkably good house, but such a place as the people could be accommodated in. It would be well to appoint a committee to look out for a house, in case these people arrived here.

SUGAR CULTURE IN CUBA.

THE following article, from a recent number of the *Guiana Gazette*, is altogether too remarkable not to find a place in our columns; but we must be understood as giving it only as we find it, without expressing our concurrence in its statements. They may be all accurate; but some of them seem to demand inquiry and confirmation.

From the *Guiana Gazette*.

In the course of the late annual prosperity-ruin debate in the Combined Court, Mr. Croal, upon the ruin side of the question, stated it as his opinion, that to talk of free labour competing with slave labour in the production of sugar was perfectly idle and preposterous, the absurdest notion that ever entered into the head of a dreamer.

Now, by way of throwing a little light upon this subject, we beg leave to submit the following statement of the expenses and present produce of a sugar estate in Cuba, lately drawn up by a very intelligent gentleman, one of the most extensive proprietors and attorneys in that island; and communicated to a Demerara planter, who happened to be his fellow-passenger across the Atlantic. It will be seen that the circumstances under which it was drawn up do not leave it open to those suspicions of being framed to suit a particular purpose, to which the statements quoted in the prosperity-ruin debate are unquestionably open. For the sake of clearness, we have changed the order of the original memorandum; but all the items and all the figures remain precisely as given by the Cuba planter.

"Calculation of the expenses and income of a sugar estate in the island of Cuba, which cost 150,000 dollars, and which makes 1500 boxes of clayed sugar, of 400lbs. each, of three different qualities; viz., two-fifths white, and the remainder brown and moist. This estate consists of from 800 to 900 acres, having 330 acres in canes of all ages. Add one-third to the amount of clayed sugars, (according to the usual calculations,) and the produce is equal to 350 tons Muscovado sugar, or 466 hogsheads of 15 cwt. each, being a little over a ton to an acre. This estate is cultivated by 160 slaves.

Twelve slaves, at 400 dollars each, being an outlay of 4800 dollars, are required annually to keep up the population. Legal interest in Cuba, which, of course, runs upon debts incurred and remaining unpaid, is 12 per cent.

EXPENSES.

	dollars	
Manager	900	
1st Overseer	650	
2nd Ditto	380	
Director of the manufacture of sugar	750	
Engineers	700	
Clerk	360	
Doctor	300	
Carpenters	500	
Table for manager and overseers	800	
Total salaries	5340	
Food purchased in addition to vegetables raised on the estate	4000	
Clothing	800	
Repairs of engine, pans, &c.	1500	
Cattle, 100 oxen, requiring an annual purchase of 15	750	
Tiles, hose, cutlasses, tallow, oil, &c.	1800	
1500 sugar boxes	1880	
Nails, hides, &c.	400	
Lumber	400	
Transportation 1500 boxes	3000	
	19,870	say 20,000

PRODUCE.

1500 boxes, less 5 per cent for 75 Tythes or Taxes

1425—

Say 570 white, 9120 arobas (of 26lbs.) at 1 dollar	9120	
428 yellow, 6848 ditto, ditto, at 50 cents	3424	
427 moist, 6832 ditto, ditto, at 30 cents	2562	
1425 boxes, at 3 dollars 25 cents each	4631	
		19,737

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No rum or molasses, as it will not pay the expense of manufacture, hogsheads, and transport."

It will thus be seen that this estate does not pay its current expenses, without making any allowance for interest on capital invested, repairs, or for the 4800 dollars annually required to keep good the stock of labour.

Add this annual expense for keeping up the labour of the estate to the other current expenses, and the net average cost of each box of sugar (without any allowance for repairs or interest) is 18 dollars 66 cents; or taking four boxes to be equivalent to a hogshead, the sugar is produced at the expense of 74 dollars 64 cents per hogshead.

Now, who will undertake to say, that, with good management, economy, and retrenchment, even supposing no accession to our present stock of labour, sugar cannot be produced in this colony at less than 74 dollars 64 cents per hogshead? In point of fact, it is at this moment produced on several estates at a much less cost. We, therefore conclude, that the idea of free labour competing with slave labour in the production of sugar, is not so chimerical as Mr. Croal supposes. If we can compute with Cuba, there is no other slave colony of which we need be afraid.

The memorandum from which we copy, adds:—"The above prices are those ruling at present, but they are only one half of those lately received." This sentence conveys a most important hint to the British West Indies. Of late, when the price of Cuba sugar was high, the Cuba planters were seized with the immigration fever, and, in the course of three or four years, they introduced about 100,000 additional slaves into the island; in consequence of which the increase of produce has brought down the price, till three quarters of the estates are working at a loss, and the proprietors are on the point of ruin. It is only a few of the largest estates that pay their expenses. Q. Suppose the British West India planters could have their way, and could bring to their estates, in the course of three or four years, 100,000 immigrants from the coast of Africa, what would be the price of sugars in the English market four years hence? and even supposing the produce to be doubled, would not the planters be worse off than they are now? It would be all very well, if we alone could have immigrants; but, if we have them, Trinidad has them, Jamaica has them, Mauritius has them, St. Vincent, Tobago, St. Lucia, and Dominica have them; and, for aught we know, Honduras also. Seventy or eighty thousand hogsheads of sugar, or even fifty thousand, added to the present supply, would bring down the price of British plantation sugars to the Cuba level, being, in fact, just about the prices of the years 1827, 1830, and 1831. This immigration hobby, to say nothing of its cost, would thus appear but too likely to break the necks of its riders.

Literary Notice.

Emigration to the British West Indies. Liverpool: 1842.

The author of this tract (who is understood to be the rev. W. Bevan, of Liverpool) has, in the compass of fourteen pages, given a luminous and admirable summary of the facts relating to the important question he treats of. His general views may be gathered from the following paragraph.

Such projects must be promptly and earnestly refused. The necessity for them is not adequately proved. Their unrighteousness has been fearfully exhibited. Let justice be established in the colonies between the poor and the rich, the employed and the employers, and, if emigration be then needed, it will flow in. It has ceased to flow, only because these lands have groaned under aggravated miseries. And if it cease for this, is the British nation to become the minister of crime? the instrument of cruelty to involuntary victims?—p. 13.

Contemporary Press.

LORD ASHBURTON'S TREATY.

THIS treaty, termed "A Boundary Treaty," then goes on to speak of putting down the slave-trade. And in reference to putting down the slave trade it stipulates the extradition of the subjects of the respective governments taking refuge in the territory of the other—that is to say, *it ingrafts upon a proposition to put an end to the slave-trade, the surrender of the rights of England to free slaves that touch her soil!—Morning Herald.*

We find that the American slave-owners, and the journals devoted to what they deem their interest, regard these articles of the treaty as something very different from waste-paper. The following, from an American paper, indicates, we think, a deeper insight into the character and tendency of the stipulations than has been shown by our contemporary:—

"We enter on the subject with pain—it is one that we now would gladly avoid, but a great public measure is in question, and one on which the press is bound to speak according to its honest opinions.

"Let us suppose, then, that the British and American ministers resident at Rio Janeiro wait upon the minister of Foreign Affairs there, and, in obedience to the provisions of the 9th article of the treaty, remonstrate with him upon the existence there of a slave market. With the Englishman it would be tolerably plain sailing. He has a treaty with Brazil, extorted from her fears, and all he would have to do would be to insist on its execution. But our countryman must proceed on different grounds; for it would be absurd for him to insist on the execution of a treaty to which his country is not a party. He must base his remonstrance on general principles. He must talk of 'the great work of benevolence and humanity,' 'the diabolical traffic.' Well, when he has done, what would be more natural than for the Brazilian to say, 'Mr. Jonathan, you remonstrate with me on our slave market here; pray have you not one at home?' 'Oh yes! but it is only for slaves who have been born, or may be born in the country.' 'Indeed,' rejoins the Brazilian, 'but I can see no difference between buying a slave on the coast of Africa or one on the banks of the Mississippi, unless it be that the latter is less humane than the former, as your slave was born in a civilized land, and is alive to the kindly feelings of our nature. Whereas I buy a mere savage, scarce knowing aught of the ties from which I sever him.' What, we should like to know, could an Ameriaan diplomatist answer to this?

"It is thus that England works out her grand plan of general emancipation, now become a political necessity to her. It is by placing, step by step, countries holding slaves in such a position that they cannot extricate themselves from it without emancipation. It was not the guns of France she wanted to obtain by the quintuple treaty. It is not our guns she cares for in the Ashburton and Webster treaty. She has enough of them of her own. It is the flag of France, and our stripes and stars floating with the red cross, that she wishes to exhibit united, avowedly in the suppression of the African slave trade, knowing, as she does, that the display is the most palpable contradiction, the most bitter reproach, to the slave markets in the United States and the French colonies. And the time will come when she will tell us so. Can we then say, nay?"—*Morning Post.*

THE MENDI MISSION.

THE partial disappointment of the hopes entertained respecting the Mendians of the *Amistad* is candidly stated in the American papers, but the correspondence is too long for insertion in our columns. We make room, however, for the following extract of a letter from Mr. Steele, which will give a fair general idea of the case. Those remaining with Mr. Raymond are located within the limits of Sierra Leone. Mr. Steele says:—

"I have, in my letters to Mr. T., sometimes mentioned the ill conduct of the Mendians, and have thought he would think them worse than they are, or that we only looked upon the worst side. We have certainly been disappointed, and may be too much inclined to think of their ill conduct. But upon a full review, and learning, as I have, that some who have been taken home to England and educated have, on their return, gone back entirely to their old habits, I do not think our people have done worse than might be expected. The natural heart is selfish, and while these men were in the States, they found much in the attentions which their friends paid them to gratify this natural propensity. They had many things given them, and Cinque supposed that the missionaries and all the goods belonged to him. When he found out his mistake, he wished to be free from the promise he made Mr. Tappan on the steam-boat. He has left us and gone to try his own fortunes at trade. The people were regarded as objects of pity, and their own sins were lost sight of in the enormity of the sins of their oppressors. They were told that Jesus Christ had given them friends, had delivered them from bondage, had died to save them, and that they must love him, and they thought they did love him; but the whole of it was selfishness—they had no idea of practising that benevolence which the gospel requires. Still they were under great restraints, especially in America; they thought that if one did anything evil, it would be charged upon the whole; and this, with a desire to secure friends in a strange land, made them very watchful over each other; but it was manifest that they were not free from the influence of their instructions after they arrived in their own land. When at Bendo, I told Banna he might stay with his mother and other friends, but he said he would not forsake us, he would stay by us till we were settled. I repeatedly heard Fu-li at prayer while we were on our journey down the coast; and he not only repeated the Lord's Prayer, which he had learned, but would pray extempore. I hope there are others who have not forgotten what they have heard. Mr. Raymond informs me that the girls resisted the most pressing solicitations to return to the *country fashion.*"

BRITISH GUIANA. [From the *Guiana Gazette.*]—Though at the present moment there is a great depression in trade, and the planters are by no means in high spirits, yet we think that the future prospects of the colony are better than they have been for years. From the very commencement of the abolition agitation in 1820, or thereabout, down to the present moment, though the colony, together with some long periods of severe distress, enjoyed some shorter periods of apparent prosperity, yet the future was always exceedingly uncertain. In addition to the changing price of sugar, there were several other causes of fluctuation in value, and, during that whole period, the value of sugar properties was merely nominal and speculative. No prudent man would have paid cash for a plantation at anything like the nominal prices for which they were sold, and in nineteen cases out of twenty they were purchased by adventurers who hoped to make the estates pay for themselves, a hope in which, nineteen times out of twenty, they were sadly disappointed. Estates may now be expected to come down to a reasonable cash value, which, of course, must be far below the old prices. With respect to the mutual relations of the proprietors and the labourers, the four years that have passed have witnessed a very great improvement upon both sides. Both parties have learned much, and both are beginning to apprehend their true position. The ideas of both parties on the subject of economy and good management have greatly improved, and must presently lead to good results. We have heard of one resident proprietary house, which already this year has diminished its expenses twenty thousand dollars, though at the same time increasing its produce and extending its cultivation.

THE CORN LAWS.—(Extract of a letter to Mr. Sturge, dated Philadelphia, August 25, 1842.)—If your government would repeal the duty on our bread stuffs, upon condition of our admitting a like quantity of your manufactures free from duty, it would tend to bring about the extinction of slavery. Such an act of Great Britain would find so many warm advocates here, that it is probable a corresponding act could be procured from our government. In any event, the days of slavery are numbered. A high tariff may retard, but it cannot prevent the abolition of this "peculiar institution." Wheat and other bread stuffs will once more become our staple of exports—the free labour of India will exclude our slave raised cotton from your market. Is it not clearly *to the interest* of Great Britain to admit our bread stuffs free from duty? It will enable us to buy (and to pay for) so much more of your manufactures. The wants of the people in this new country, with a continually increasing population, are such, that we will buy all that the soil of our produce will pay for.

LORD ASHBURTON'S TREATY—THE CREOLE.—(Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New York, to Mr. Sturge.)—The *Creole* case is not concluded! Those violent men in this country who asserted, that adherence to the ground taken by the British government would be a just cause of war, have lowered their crests.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXXIII. Vol. III. No. 20.] WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

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ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN PORTUGUESE INDIA.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Portuguese Consulate-General,
Bristol, Sept. 17th, 1842; 31, *Park Street*.

Sir,—As a man actuated by feelings of humanity towards his fellow-man, I have witnessed with much gratification the exertions of your admirable Society for the extinction of slavery. I read your publications with great pleasure; and, as all information is useful in the furtherance of the great object to which you have dedicated your pages, I hope you will hold me excused in transmitting you the speech and law-project of the noble Viscount Sá da Bandeira, which I have extracted from the Portuguese papers, and which I beg you will do me the favour of inserting in the *Reporter* at an early opportunity.

Wishing every success to the cause which you so ably and fearlessly advocate, I beg to assure you that any service which I can render it, either in my public or individual capacity, I shall at all times feel a pride and pleasure to do.—I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
Chevalier de Mascarenhas, Consul-General.

Brief extract of the speech of the Viscount Sá da Bandeira, given with the law-project for the abolition of slavery in Portuguese India.

He said, that, for many years, men of true philanthropy had occupied themselves in searching for a means of extinguishing the state of slavery, in which a great portion of mankind existed—a state opposed to civilization, to morals, and to religion; that, notwithstanding great difficulties, civilization had gained ground, and we could conceive hopes that at no distant period slavery would become entirely extinct, at least in the countries which had communication with civilized nations; that, in the middle of the last century, the king Don Joseph, by a law, gave liberty to the black population of the Asores and Madeira Islands, and he had the glory of being the first king who abolished slavery in the colonies; that Great Britain in this century had given the great example, and the most generous which has yet been given, of emancipating eight hundred thousand negros; that France had prepared the means of giving freedom to the slaves within her colonies; that therefore Portugal, which gave the first example in this great work of humanity and policy, should not be the last to take advantage of the road which had been opened. He said that the measure which he proposed was not complete, but he limited it in this manner as he wished to remove all objections to it; that in India the black slaves were objects of luxury, therefore it could not be urged as an argument that there was a necessity of hands for labour, as there was already a superabundance for that purpose; that, according to information, it appeared that a commerce in slaves existed among the Benares merchants resident in Dio, who bought the negros on the coast of Africa, and transported them by the river Indus, and the other modes of conveyance, into the interior; and that the proposal tended to terminate at once the infractions of the decree of the 10th December, 1836. He said, that the project did not attack the right of property in the owners of the slaves, an idea that any one might form in respect of such right, because the existing slaves would continue in servitude until (within fifteen years) they were emancipated with a compensation to the proprietors; that he made no mention of the mode in which this would be done, because, in the districts which form the government of Portuguese India, the means could not be homogeneous. In the meantime, the children born after the publication of the law would be free by the effect of it. He said, that, as to the objection of want of hands and the attack on the right of property, he did not see in this case any which could be urged against the proposed measure, which had in its favour the experiments in Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira, without any inconvenience, and with the happiest result. In adopting the measure, we should take a great step towards facilitating the grand work of the total abolition of slavery in Portuguese India, and with perseverance should ultimately obtain it. As favourable to this final and so desirable result, it was pleasing to state that the example of the emancipation of the slave by his master was not rare in the Portuguese colonies; and that even a few months before, according to the information of one of the rich proprietors, one of the island St. Nicolai, in Cape Verd, M. Dias, gave liberty to the whole of his slaves, solely from a sp t of benevolence. He hoped the chamber would, by a favourable vote, testify their approbation of the proposed measure.

N.B. The project has passed the second reading, and been sent into committee.

LAW PROJECT.

Article I.—The Alvares, with force of law, of the 19th September, 1761, and of the 16th January, 1773, which abolished entirely the existence of slavery in the kingdom of Portugal, will be put in force from the publication of this law in that part of the Portuguese monarchy which forms the general government of the states of India, and comprehends the territories of Goa, Salsette, Bardez, Damao, Dio, Macau, and the Timor and the Solar islands, with the respective dependencies of this territory, without any exception.

Article II.—The government will organize the regulations for the above Alvares, with the force of law, which will be effectively executed in the above-mentioned territories, and communicate to the Cortes, in the next legislative session, what it has determined in this respect.

Article III.—The government will propose to the Cortes in one of the next legislative sessions, the measures which it conceives most convenient for the successive emancipation of all individuals in the same territories, who, after the publication of this law, continue there in the state of slavery, so as that, after the term of fifteen years from the date of this law, the state of slavery in these territories shall have ceased.

Article IV.—All the laws now existing to the contrary will be abrogated,

Chamber of Peers.—16th August, 1842.

(Signed)
Sá da Bandeira—Conde de Lavradio.

INTERVIEW OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE WITH LORD ASHBURTON.

(From the *Liberator*.)

The executive committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, apprehending that the tenth article of the treaty lately concluded between the British minister and our government might be used to the injury of fugitive slaves escaping into Canada, appointed a deputation to solicit an interview with Lord Ashburton just before his departure for England, to lay before him facts in relation to the subject which might be communicated to his government. He very readily complied with the request, and appointed ten o'clock A. M., September 3rd, for the interview at his lodgings at the Astor House. The committee consisted of Messrs. S. S. Jocelyn, Leonard Gibbs, La Roy Sunderland, and Lewis Tappan. Mr. Gerritt Smith, being present, was invited to accompany the delegation. The delegation was courteously received by Mr. Mildway, secretary of the special mission of H. B. M., and by him introduced to Lord Ashburton, who invited them to be seated, expressed much satisfaction at seeing them, and entered into a frank and full conversation on the subject for which the interview was requested. The delegation, after congratulating the British envoy on the successful termination of his mission, informed him of the particulars of the case of Nelson Hackett, a slave who fled from Arkansas to Canada; where his pursuers overtook him, had him arrested on a charge of stealing a coat, gold watch, and horse, of his master. Hackett was imprisoned, and

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meantime a grand jury in Arkansas indicted him. A demand was forwarded from the governor of Arkansas to the governor-general of Canada, for his surrender. Sir Charles Bagot complied, and Hackett was taken back to Arkansas. The delegation stated to Lord Ashburton their apprehensions that such a course occurring without any treaty stipulation, there was great cause of apprehension that under the tenth article of the treaty, which provides for the mutual surrender of all persons charged with certain special crimes, no fugitive slave would be safe in Canada, especially when it is notorious that slave-holders allege crimes against fugitive slaves, as one expedient for their reclamation.

Lord Ashburton went into an explanation of the tenth article, and mentioned several particulars of the discussion that took place, both on that topic and others relating to slaves. He said that it was very desirable to have an article in the treaty to meet cases similar to that of Holmes, who fled from Canada into Vermont, and the cases that would frequently arise, considering the extent of the bordering lines, and the temptation for criminals to flee across the lines in hope of securing themselves from arrest and punishment. The governor of Canada was anxious that deserters should be included, but as Lord Ashburton learned that claim would be put in for the delivering up of fugitive slaves, he abandoned the question of deserters from H. B. M.'s possessions. He was also very desirous to secure the delivery of mutineers, but did not press it, lest it should involve, on the part of his government, the delivery of slaves situated as were those on board the *Creole*. With regard to the case of the slave Hackett, he did not know all the facts. Sir Charles Bagot was known to him, and he did not believe he would do any thing intentionally wrong. But he had just entered upon his duties, and was probably desirous, at that juncture, of promoting good feeling with his great neighbour. The fact that the slave had taken his master's watch, was a circumstance that probably went against him. "Had he only taken the horse," said Lord Ashburton, (looking at Gerritt Smith significantly, though he could not be supposed ever to have read the advice of that gentleman to fugitive slaves), "he would not probably have been surrendered, for you know the horse was necessary for his escape." Lord Ashburton said, that in framing the tenth article, great care had been taken to provide that inferior magistrates in Canada should have no authority to surrender fugitives, as had been urged by the other party, and that only the governor himself could perform an act of so great importance. Great care would be taken, he had no doubt, to protect the innocent, and that the taking of any article necessary to effect an escape would not be considered felonious. If, said he, the operation of the tenth article proves injurious, he had no doubt the British government would put an end to it, agreeably to another provision of the treaty, viz. "The tenth article shall continue in force until one or the other party shall signify its wish to terminate it, and no longer." Lord Ashburton said, that when the delegation came to read his correspondence with Mr. Webster, they would see that he had taken all possible care to prevent any injury being done to the people of colour; that if he had even been willing to introduce an article including cases similar to that of the *Creole*, his government would never have ratified it, as they will adhere to the great principles they have so long avowed and maintained; and that the friends of the slave in England would be very watchful to see that no wrong practice took place under the tenth article.

The delegation now rose, and after thanking Lord Ashburton for the candid and satisfactory manner in which he had received their communications, and answered their inquiries—wishing the divine blessing for the part he had taken in perpetuating peace between the respective countries, and protecting the rights of the oppressed, and a safe and speedy return to his native land—took their leave, highly gratified with the courtesy, frankness, intelligence, and philanthropy of this distinguished nobleman. Believing the above statement will be interesting to your readers, especially to those who labour and pray for the slave—for the poor fugitive particularly—that it will tend to quiet the fears of the twelve thousand coloured inhabitants of Canada, most of whom have fled from southern slavery, and their numerous friends on both sides the lines; and that there will be found an additional occasion for thankfulness to God that he has, through the American and British ministers, brought about a peace that will, it is hoped, be lasting. I remain, very respectfully yours,

LEWIS TAPPAN.

FREE EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—In the report of "the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa," there are various recommendations on the subject of emigration to the British West India colonies; but none deserve more attention than those who respect the "Tilliebunkies and Serawoolies," which resort to the settlements on the Gambia during the dry season to labour at the wood-cutting establishments, and the inhabitants of the Kroo country, lying to the north of Liberia, who go to Sierra Leone for employment, or engage themselves to trading and other vessels on the coast, for limited periods of time. From these African tribes, the Committee give it as their opinion, emigrants may be obtained. The Kroomen, they represent as "neither taken as slaves themselves, nor making slaves of others," in other words, they are freemen. This statement, however, must be received with great abatement, as appears by the evidence. Tom Coffee, a Krooman examined, states distinctly, in reply to the questions put to him, that his countrymen cannot leave their homes without the permission of their chiefs or headmen. (*Q.* 2785) "Are you obliged," demanded the chairman, "to ask your father (chief) to let you go; do you give your father money to let you go? Yes." (*Q.* 2786) "Suppose a ship come, and you say 'I will go;' and your father says, 'I will not let you go, till you give me money;' are you obliged to give him money first? I cannot go without father." (*Q.* 2787) "Suppose you go on board a ship, and you get money and things, and you go on shore, are you obliged to give all to your father? Yes." And the testimony of Coffee is borne out by that of Tom Prince. (*Q.* 10,726) "Do you think that many of your people would be willing to go to the West Indies, and cultivate sugar? My countrymen would go." (*Q.* 10,727) "How many do you think would go? If you go and talk to the king, and the king agrees to it, 200 men would be disposed to go." (*Q.* 10,728) "Would you have to give the king some present to let the people go? *If the king has a small dash or present of some rum and tobacco, and some other things, the king will then consent to let the people go.*"

It will thus be seen from the testimony of these Kroomen, and it is fully corroborated by the general evidence of officers commanding vessels, both in the naval and mercantile service, on the coast of Africa, that they are not free to dispose of their services when and wheresoever they please; and that, if they do not in general make slaves of the prisoners they take in war, it is not because of any repugnance to do so, but for other reasons, which are thus given by Jack Davis, another Krooman, in answer to questions proposed by the chairman. (*Q.* 10,758) "Do they ever make slaves in your country when they make war? Suppose you catch prisoners what do you do with them? We kill them. If they are not killed, they go back again. If they do not kill them *they keep them for work;* they do not sell them." (*Q.* 10,675) "Suppose a Spaniard came there, and wanted to buy the men that you had caught as prisoners in war, would you sell them? No, we would sooner kill them than sell them as slaves, *for if a man-of-war knows of it they make plenty of palaver.*"

This Krooman further stated, that it was their practice to kill the women and children taken in their wars; to use his own language, "they cut the women and children into two pieces;" and the reason alleged for this barbarous practice is, that the women may escape to their own country and give birth to children, who may grow up and avenge the injuries done to their tribe, and so likewise with the children that fall into their hands.

It is also to be observed, as another proof that the Kroomen are not free, that they are not permitted to take their wives and families with them, the reasons for which are thus stated by Tom Prince. On his expressing his willingness to go to Demerara for two years, he was asked, (*Q.* 10,739) "Would you take your wife with you? I could not take her; my father and mother would not allow her to go." (*Q.* 10,742) "Supposing you could persuade your father and mother to go with you, would the king object to your father and mother, and wife, and all going with you after the first time? *I think the king would not let them go.*" (*Q.* 10,743) "You think the king would not like the women to go? No." The reason for this refusal on the part of the king is sufficiently obvious; if they were allowed, without restriction, to go whithersoever they pleased, taking their wives and families with them, they might become settlers, and he would lose of course the advantages which he at present enjoys from the fruits of their enterprise and labour. The wives are retained as guarantees for the return of their husbands. In corroboration of this statement the fact may be mentioned, that of the large number of Kroomen who have gone to Sierra Leone and remained there for two or more years, not one is known to have taken his wife with him.

Although the Kroomen it appears, do not sell slaves, they have no objection to aid the slave-traders in their nefarious transactions. In reply to a question whether the Kroomen and Fishmen make inroads on neighbouring tribes, in order to procure slaves, (*Q.* 6970) the Hon. Captain Denman said, "I do not think the Fishmen or Kroomen are in the habit of collecting slaves at all; but they are very willing to lend themselves out to slave-factories, to assist them in carrying on the traffic in every way." Indeed they prefer this employment to all others; (*Q.* 6973) "because," says Captain D., "they are better paid for it than any thing else."

From the evidence of H. W. Macauley, Esq., it appears the Kroomen are pagans, and so tenacious of their opinions, and of their desire finally to settle in their own country, that "there never was an instance known of a Krooman being converted" to christianity.

From the general evidence given with reference to this class of people, as well as from the admissions of the Kroomen themselves before the committee, the height of their ambition is to gratify their taste for polygamy and war. (*Q.* 10,792, addressed to Capt. Midgley) "After each successful voyage, is it not their custom to buy a wife! They generally buy one after each voyage," whom they employ in cutting wood, making salt, cultivating rice, preparing the ground for cassada, &c. Jack Davis, in reply to the question what he would do with all the money he might obtain by going to Demerara, (*Q.* 10,753) replied, "I would buy cloth, and a gun and other things." (*Q.* 10,754) "What would you do with those things? If I got a gun I would keep the gun to make war with another town;" the cloth he would wear himself, or distribute among his wives.

These are the people whom it is proposed by the West African Committee to send to the West India colonies, and in favour of whom it is recommended to relax the requisitions of the emigration laws which require that at least one-third portion of the African immigrants shall be females. Their term of absence from their country, the witnesses generally recommend should not be more than two years. Mr. Macauley thinks that the means of return to their own homes should be afforded them every year. I enter not into the morality and economy of this kind of emigration—I state the facts as they appear in evidence, and leave your readers to draw their own conclusions.

The next class of Africans whom the Committee presume to be free, and from whom they suppose emigrants to the West Indies may be obtained, are the Serrawoolies and Tilliebunkies, or Bamburies. These resort to the Gambia for employment, and appear to be exclusively occupied, whilst there, at the wood-cutting establishments. From the evidence of Mr. Finden, it appears that

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these people come down from the interior, a distance of five or six hundred miles, "to seek for work," and hence he derives the conviction that they would be "willing to go over to the West Indies to seek for work." He thinks that four or five thousand would go there. In religion he states them to be pagans (*Q.* 7597—7613). Mr. John Hughes informed the Committee that five or six hundred of the Serrawoolies come down annually to be employed at the different wood factories. He knows not whether they belong to a larger tribe, but thinks that with some trouble some hundreds of them might be induced to emigrate; at the same time, he could "hold out no hope of their ever being able to get thousands from that place." He states, however, a fact of great importance, which in my judgment is not only conclusive as to the cause which brings them to the Gambia for employment, but, taken in connexion with another fact laid before the Committee by Mr. Finden, clearly demonstrates that a *free emigration* of these people is not to be expected. Mr. Hughes states that he has observed no improvement in these people by their resort to the Gambia; "there seems to be a sameness among them;" and he adds, "it is my opinion that the *same people seldom or ever come back;* they work for six or seven months, which enables them to get a couple of muskets and some ammunition, and a few beads, and they return to the country and *there they remain.*" In reply to the question, "Is there any supply of slaves from the countries from which they come?" Mr. Finden said "Yes," and, in answer to another, "Is the slave-trade carried on in those countries?" he observed "Yes, I think it is in all the interior of Africa." Now it strikes me, from these two facts, first, that as these people seldom visit the Gambia more than once, and that for the purpose of furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition; and, secondly, that the slave-trade is carried on in the country whence they come, that they can be viewed in no other light than marauders who find the means of facilitating their operations by a resort to the Gambia. If this supposition be true, it is not unlikely that a supply of labourers for the West Indies might be obtained from the Serrawoollies and the Tilliebunkies, but certainly not by fair and honourable means. (*Q.* 7597—7614—8024—8033—and 8057).

Whether it would be necessary to make arrangements with the chiefs of these tribes previously to their *emigrating* to the West Indies, and whether their wives and families would be permitted to accompany them thither, are questions the witnesses were not competent to answer; and, indeed, whether these people, supposing them free, would emigrate at all, was mere matter of surmise; yet upon such flimsy evidence the Committee intimate that these people, as well as the Kroomen, offer "materials for a temporary emigration in the first instance, though possibly hereafter, on further experience, for one of a more permanent character."

From the Jaloofs and Mandingoes, in the immediate neighbourhood of the British settlements on the Gambia, it is clear no emigrants to the West Indies can be secured, nor from any of the tribes surrounding our settlements on the Gold Coast, nor from the Timmannees in the vicinity of Sierra Leone; and I submit, that no grounds have been furnished by the Committee to warrant the supposition, that, from either of the two sources which they point out, a really free emigration can be had.—I am, Sir, your's respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE.

ASHBURTON TREATY—THE TENTH ARTICLE.

(From a letter of Captain Charles Stuart to a Member of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee.)

WHEN I observe the pro-slavery tone of the Colonial Secretary's department, in relation to the insane and cruel plan of the late slave-holding party for getting labourers from Africa, and read the late proceedings in Trinidad, together with the sentiments broached in Jamaica, I feel astounded at the mighty stride already made towards the renewal by us of the African slave-trade, on pretences still more flimsy and criminal than were even those of the accomplished pirate, Sir John Hawkins, in Elizabeth's time; and with double force, I feel the sacred value of your organization. But the present climax of the evil, appears to me to be the tenth article of Lord Ashburton's treaty. It contains plainly a pledge from us to make ourselves runaway slave-catchers for the United States. The United States, boasting of liberty and religion, yet keeping slaves under the vilest system of legalized oppression which disgraces the earth; and Great Britain, with her eyes open, and the pretence of honour and virtue on her lips, binding herself to be their blood-hound, in catching and forcing back to slavery their poor fugitives who had escaped to our arms for protection! Every body knows, or ought to know, that, as the American slave-holders have legislated their slaves out of the pale of humanity into the circle of goods and chattels, so they have, towards their poor slaves, none of the compunctions of man towards man; but do towards them, with perfect honour in a legal and national sense, what they would be the first to condemn as the greatest villany, if done towards each other. A jury of slave-holders will always glory in any act or art by which they can recover fugitives; and ship loads of legal affidavits could always be supplied by them, affirming one or all of the crimes specified in the treaty against every slave who should escape. This article of the treaty, besides its inherent turpitude and cruelty, is monstrously unequal. The Americans only pledge themselves to do towards us what the divine law sanctions, and what all humanity approves; that is helping to bring real criminals to justice. But we pledge ourselves to them, on every affidavit which conscience, in this respect utterly seared to religion, humanity, and truth, can make, to trample upon the Divine law—to commit the last outrage upon suffering and persecuted humanity—to stultify our understanding—to disgrace our freedom—and to make our country the pander of the most consummate and atrocious villany. I have felt myself honoured by being a British subject; should this article be confirmed, I shall feel myself disgraced, as far as the action of power abused can disgrace a man who abhors the abuse. At an enormous cost of honour and of virtue should we purchase (if thus purchased) the friendship of the tyrant republic, the pro-slavery government of a nation transforming liberty into licentiousness, as does the United States; and that pro-slavery government itself will be the first to despise us for our shallowness or our pusillanimity. It will applaud and despise us, as the seducer applauds and despises the instruments of his villany.

But can anything be done to prevent or to rectify this intolerable crime and infamy? Lay it to heart, beloved brethren. It would be a pity—a burning, bleeding, pity—if thus the last secure asylum on earth of the outraged slave should be demolished, and Britain, instead of securing to every man his liberty who landed on her shores, should stand pledged to turn slave-catcher for the worst of tyrants, and to pervert all her power, whenever legally called upon by men the most accomplished of all men in legal villany, to deprive the escaped slave of his newly recovered manhood, and to force him back to bonds and the scourge, and the fierce cowardice of maddened oppression. If anything, which Christian men could devise or do can be done, do it, and do it speedily!"

UNITED STATES.

SOME interesting glimpses of "things as they are" in some of the slave-states of the Union, appear in the following extracts of letters from the rev. Dr. Nelson, inserted in the last number of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

Quincy, Illinois, January 20th, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND.—I have recently felt a desire to notice the condition of the Africans in Kentucky, and compare that condition with what it was ten or twelve years past. There is a visible alteration; whether it is for the *better or not* I am unable to say. This change is more visible in that northern half of the state which is bordered by the Ohio river. In village and city (especially) the slaves appear to be less humble, more noisy, and more indulged than they were a few years since. They dress finer and laugh louder; but seem to be as ignorant as in years that are past, (or more so). Two causes appear to unite in producing this result. First, some by indulging their slaves to a certain extent, quiet their consciences, and hope to hold their slaves and to reach on to heaven. Secondly, others remember that slaves if more indulged, will not so certainly run for Canada. A number have been crossing the Ohio river; but they love the place of their nativity, and would not seek a colder clime for any thing short of freedom. A family of slaves (a man, wife and two children) recently ran from the centre of Kentucky, and made their entire escape. That which more than astonished me, when I first heard the case (I was in the neighbourhood the week before last), was, that they ran off in the public stage. But on inquiry I learnt the particulars of the case, which is becoming common. They were so white that, a few miles from their master's plantation, they were never suspected of being of African descent. They went fashionably, and without interruption. They may stop (if they choose it) on this side of Canada, and intermarry with the families of those who fear (or say they fear) amalgamation. Those who could not be suspected of African descent whilst travelling in the Kentucky stage, cannot be distinguished where they now are; and thousands on thousands are becoming whiter and whiter still. One individual near where I was a few weeks since freed his blacks (*it seems*) *without feeling* any compassion or pity, but as if merely to harass his neighbours. He died, and freed (the number I think was about twenty), and gave them his land. He mocked all that is holy. But if his motives were ever so revengeful, instead of compassionate, we still hope that the liberated immortals may hereafter begin to think of the worth of their souls. Two masters who lived near to where I have recently been, emancipated, better than a year since, about thirty slaves, each on the bed of death. Those who begin to wade that river often begin to *think* on slavery with more seriousness. One lady has, in the same way, not long since, emancipated about twenty.

This kind of work goes on too slowly. But both together, and we can see that something is accomplished. If *many* more slaves should start for Canada, a gradual emancipation law would (we think) be passed in the frontier slave states. As soon as a gradual emancipation law is enacted in any state, the subject of slavery may be discussed in that state. The state next to that would soon begin to feel. It *does* appear to those who travel through Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri and Kentucky, that free discussion from the press, or from the pulpit, would soon call into action the cause of justice and of compassion. If a law should be enacted ordering the slaves to be freed at almost any age, then the *truth* may be published to any *extent*. The slaves then will be quiet and never attempt to run away till they are free. This free discussion would then begin to be introduced somewhat in more distant states of the south. The blacks thus to be emancipated in a coming year, would not run themselves, but could help on others, such as they would tell of Canada. The wedge in the log of oppression could not be withdrawn, or prevented from opening *slowly* but surely.

There is a minister of the gospel in East Tennessee whose intimate friends love him very devotedly. He and I commenced trying to preach the gospel, standing side by side. My attachment for him has been unceasing. He emancipated some twenty of his slaves. These slaves waited upon me whilst enjoying their master's hospitality, in days when neither of us understood that it was wrong to make our fellow-creatures work for nothing. They came to this state (and this country) last fall. I was called to commence a winter's journey; but near to this there is a township where the inhabitants are so singular as to pity the *homeless*, the *friendless*, and the *sorrowful*. These professors agreed that the

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afflicted (afflicted when freed! because the statute laws of most of our western states refused them a home) might breathe a part of the atmosphere of their village, and might live in some quiet cottage, where their children might read the bible. The spirit of satanic mobism began to growl through thousands of gritting teeth, and to threaten much; but the people at and near Fairfield are not easily frightened from a disposition to compassionate the *wandering*. These Africans are now living there in peace. Sabbath schools are held there. Some whose skins are dark are beginning to read about our great salvation. This is thought by some, to be exceedingly horrible. But the scholars go on, and some begin to speak of Calvary with feeling voice. I conversed recently with one of these emancipated immortals. She is the mother of a considerable family; her eye flashes with intelligence and with joy. It seems that she became attached to the individual who is her husband some ten or fifteen years since. Her master purchased her because he owned her husband. He began to send his blacks to Sabbath-school, and she was almost ready to read when blacks were forbidden to be taught; and the privilege has never since been revived. She had a great desire to read about her Saviour, but to allow the African to read would be thought amiss, even in East Tennessee. She is now beginning to make the second effort in the company of her children. It is because of the singularity of her case that I mention her especially. The singularity consists in the fact, she had obtained a hope in Christ whilst youthful and whilst a slave. Slaves do not commonly listen (humbly) to those who whip them, when the Redeemer is mentioned. Even our ministers would be listened to by us with less interest if their hands had *lashed*. But this young slave, having heard of the kindness, the wonderful kindness, of our Lord, asked him to pardon her sins, and in some way, or at some time, to have her liberated. She hopes that she really did love him; she hoped that she would always remain the Lord's if left in slavery, but she still prayed for freedom. Brother R—— bought her (I believe in compassion to her husband), and afterwards thought over the subject of slavery. He *thought it over* about the time when we were all forbidden to think about oppression, or the condition of the enslaved. As soon as we were all forbidden to compassionate, he began to pity! Husband, and wife, and children are now free, and hope to live happily here, and to live together hereafter. She told me that those who never had been in slavery, and who never had looked upon a little son or a little daughter in slavery, could never fancy how blissful freedom is. I hope to have it in my power to write many pleasing facts concerning these families to him who was their master, and who wishes to shake hands with them on high. Since my return from the east, I have been told by some of the intelligent that a sentiment against slavery has been growing through the winter. May the stream of mercy flow on! Some who live in the west begin to read, and to notice the incidents observable in our national assembly; some begin to say that slavery will continue to be spoken of. They begin to think that utter silence respecting the *crime of crimes* cannot be forced upon us. If the controversy should continue, even the enemies of pity expect that truth will have its way, and justice have at last its victory. Some begin to understand, that, if they should arrest a fugitive slave, and restore him to his chains again, they might thereby prevent the conversion of an immortal soul. They might be called to an account for the value of one ruined soul. O may professors of the east consider "what am I doing for the souls of the three millions of the oppressed?" The twenty liberated slaves we have mentioned seem as though they are now called upon to think of their hereafter. So it has been with almost all the liberated with whom I am acquainted. But the time was when the hand that whipped, or the voice that ordered, could not influence the oppressed. "I do not wish to be in heaven with those who scourge me," is felt by more than those who speak it aloud. Dear brothers and sisters of the free states, do you hate the cruelty of slavery? We are glad when you avow it. But you *do not* speak loud enough. You are not heard a mile from you. You do not write (kindly) in some paper and send it to the oppressors. You do not petition our legislators. Do you disapprove of our measures? Then what measures do you love or follow? What are you doing against slavery?

Some do not even pray against it in the sanctuary!

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 5TH.

THE proceedings at Trinidad reported in our last have, we rejoice to find, produced a deep sensation throughout the country. Our friends will learn with pleasure that the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee have resolved on presenting a memorial to Lord Stanley on the subject of the obnoxious ordinance, and on making the most strenuous efforts to secure the immediate disallowance of it by the Queen in Council.

In our view the ordinance is destitute, not only of any just reason, but of any plausible pretext. The preamble states that "it is expedient to make provision for the protection of, and the promoting the industry of, Africans recently liberated from a state of slavery, who may be introduced into the colony." How a bond of servitude (for any term) is to contribute to the *protection* of these hapless beings, we are quite at a loss to perceive. The completest security against ill treatment is clearly to be found in being under bondage to no man; but, if you have that to offer which is worth money, in being at liberty to offer it day by day to the kindest and best employer. That these liberated Africans have something to offer which is worth money is evident from the fact, that, besides food and wages, the fortunate masters are willing to pay a premium for their services. It is obvious, therefore, that the only protection they needed lay in the watchful and just administration of the laws. In every other respect the assumptions on which the ordinance is based demonstrate that they are well able to take care of themselves. Or if it be not so, and the released Africans really do need protection, old slave-masters are the very last persons at whose hands it can be expected, and a state of coerced servitude is the very last condition in which such an expectation can be realised. As slaves their employers of necessity will treat them, not only through the power of inveterate habit, but also through the force of present circumstances. Food and wages are to be given to the Africans whether they are industrious or not; so that the masters will not be able to employ these natural rewards of labour as inducements to it, but will be obliged to have recourse to some of the various methods of compulsion by which the state of slavery was so frightfully characterized. That they will freely resort to these there can be no doubt; and, when hereafter we hear of the renewed application of the whip and the stocks, we shall find them saying, "Why, the ordinance left us no other means of getting the people to work." The law makes the masters pay the money, whether they get effective labour or not; and they will be obliged to use coercion in order to get back their money's worth.

Nor will they have to get back from the liberated African the worth of that money only which is expended upon himself. The planter has paid a premium for him to the governor, and therefore he has to recover the value of that also. This it is plain he must do, either by giving the new servant so much less than his labour is worth, or by making his toil so much the more severe. In either case it is doing the labourer injustice, and making the master rob him of a part of the fruits of his toil.

Supposing the planter, therefore, to act only under the legitimate influence of his position, he is of necessity a bad master. But there is no reason to think that he will stop here. The extraordinary eagerness with which the liberated Africans were sought after, shews that the planters expected to make some extraordinary gain by them. They calculated either on inducing the governor to fix an allowance of food and wages unduly small, or upon driving the Africans by coercive means to an unusual amount of labour, or upon the cherished indulgences attached to even a short season of irresponsible power. For some reason or other it is plain that they like servants under indenture better than they do free persons; and, whatever this reason may be, it will be indisputably to the disadvantage of the indentured labourer.

To expect protection for the liberated Africans from such parties in such circumstances, is to expect it from their natural and inevitable oppressors, and is to the last degree preposterous. They are the parties against whom the hapless beings need protection. What else, indeed, could have been the idea of the governor himself, in giving by this ordinance a right of inspection and inquiry to the stipendiary magistrates!

If protectors of liberated Africans were really desired, they are readily to be found among the emancipated slaves. For the most part, some or other of them possess a knowledge of the language of the new comer; large numbers of them have kindred habits and sympathies; and almost all of them much of the milk of human kindness and compassion.

The second professed object of the ordinance is to promote the industry of the liberated Africans. Now we affirm that the provisions of the ordinance are absurd, even if the design of it were to make the Africans do an *extraordinary* amount of labour. The natural rewards of toil are its most effectual stimulants. But, if the design of the ordinance be (as we must assume) only to secure the ordinary measure of industry, then we say, that it was altogether unnecessary. Universal testimony establishes the fact, that there is no difficulty whatever in leading the liberated Africans to industrious pursuits. The assumption of such a difficulty is not merely wholly gratuitous, but contradicted by numerous examples. This, indeed, must have been the previous conviction of the Trinidad gentlemen themselves; for they have been crying out for immigrants from Africa, and vowing before the whole world that they would welcome them, in any quantity, without any indenture at all. Now emigrants from Africa could not differ in any material respect from the liberated Africans contemplated by the ordinance. If the one are "savages" so are the other, and the one as much as the other in need of coercion. Do the Trinidadians mean now to eat up their own words, and to tell the world that, having allured the sons of Africa by the name of freemen, they mean upon their arrival to throw them into bonds!

Destitute as the ordinance is of any just or plausible grounds, it can be regarded in no other light than as a convulsive effort towards the restoration of a system of compulsory labour and irresponsible power. It shows the friends of humanity that their will is not done, even in the West Indies; and that, if freedom is safe there, it is not because the hearts of quondam slave-holders have learned to love it, but only because the eagle eye of British philanthropy watches it with an incessant jealousy.

WE perceive that the prevailing opinion of our contemporaries is, that the tenth article of Lord Ashburton's treaty involves the surrender by the British authorities of slaves escaping from the United States to Canada. We insert a fervid appeal of our friend, Captain Stuart on this subject, with which, if this fearful bearing of the article is established, we shall entirely sympathize. Our readers will see with pleasure, that the Committee of the American

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and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have been alive to the question, and have had an interview with Lord Ashburton in relation to it. His lordship clearly says, that the tenth article was *not intended* to include fugitive slaves. It does not follow from this, however, that it will not be made to include them.

We direct attention to an important article on the question of free emigration from Africa.

We insert with great pleasure a communication which we have received from the Chevalier de Mascarenhas, the Portuguese consul-general in this country, announcing the gratifying fact that the Viscount Sà da Bandeira has introduced into the Portuguese Chambers a project of law for the extinction of slavery in those parts of India which are subject to the crown of Portugal. Of the details of the proposed measure we express no opinion at present; but it is most gratifying that such a movement has taken place, and well adapted to supply a stimulus to the slumbering philanthropy of British statesmen. Nor is it Portugal alone who seems disposed to quicken us. If she, on the one hand, beckons us onward by a noble example, our French neighbours are applying the whip to our tardiness. Let us hear, for instance, the following admonition from a recent number of the *National*.

Slavery is no doubt an abominable thing—this truth cannot be too frequently repeated; but it is abominable every where. It is no matter whether slaves be black or white, and England should commence reforming herself before she reforms others. Slavery pollutes her territory, and she ought to get rid of it.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The *Morning Herald* of the 30th ultimo, gives the following as "from a Malta paper."

We are extremely glad to hear that his lordship, the Bishop of Malta, is preparing a pastoral letter to exhort the humane part of the community, and especially the clergy, to come forward in the noble cause of liberating the poor slaves, and of rescuing Africa from her present degradation. The foreign correspondent of the association has received a letter from Mr. Fraser, chief secretary of the Ionian government, promising to circulate the address to the Queen through the Ionian islands. We recommend our friends the Maltese, to take care that they are not outstripped in the great cause by their neighbours. The Ionian government has always shown itself exceedingly vigilant in the capture of slavers in the Mediterranean. Many cases have occurred within our knowledge. And it is probable that a very vigorous anti-slavery society will be formed in the course of the winter at Corfu, to have branches in the other islands, in sympathy with the honourable and philanthropic efforts of government. A gentleman expressed his astonishment the other day, how it was possible that a slaver could pass, not many weeks ago, within cannon-shot of the forts of Malta, with one hundred and twenty slaves on board (!) bound for the Levant, without molestation from her majesty's ships in port! It appears that it is a crime to capture slaves and transport them across the sea on the south-western coast of Africa, but no crime whatever on the northern coast. This miserable principle of action and policy reminds us of the perplexing fact, that to cut a man's throat in England or France may be murder, but in New Zealand it is merely satisfying the cravings of hunger.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Gozo, September 8th, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 2nd instant, accompanying the papers connected with the Anglo-Maltese Anti-slavery Association, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that several of the principal clergy and gentry of this island assembled this morning at my office, in Rabato, all of whom signed the petition to her Majesty, and have also enrolled themselves as members of the society. As these two documents are in course of signature, I shall not be able to transmit them to you for a few days more, as they will have to be forwarded to the several casals.

I beg also to inform you that Dr. Fortunato Mizzi has been selected at this meeting for the office of assistant-secretary at Gozo, with power to receive subscriptions and donations; and I shall be always ready to render my services in aiding the views of the society. I remain, dear sir, yours very truly,

C. A. BAYLEY.

To G. Trapani, Esq., &c.

Literary Notice.

Letters on the Slave-trade, Slavery, and Emancipation, with a Reply to Objections made to the liberation of the slaves in the Spanish Colonies; addressed to Friends on the continent of Europe, during a visit to Spain and Portugal. By G. W. Alexander. London: 1842.

MR. ALEXANDER is well known to have made repeated visits to the continent, for the purpose of promoting the great cause of emancipation. In relation to this subject he found, of course, a great dearth of information, and of the means of obtaining it; and in order to remedy these evils he was naturally led, not merely into extended conversation with parties whom he visited, but into subsequent correspondence with them. The little volume now before us has arisen out of these useful and important efforts. Since the writer's return to England, the letters which were originally written have been revised and enlarged, until they have been wrought up into a form highly "worthy (to use the author's phrase) of public acceptance." The subject is systematically treated. The first letter is on the abolition of the slave-trade; the second on the abolition of slavery in foreign states; the third on the progress of the anti-slavery cause in England; the fourth on the apprenticeship; the fifth on the results of emancipation; the sixth on the present state of slavery and the slave-trade in foreign countries; the seventh on the state and prospects of the anti-slavery cause; and the eighth on objections to the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish colonies. It is but just to the author to say, that he has shewn a most praise-worthy spirit of research and regard to accuracy; and that the result of his labours, which must have cost him much patient effort, is a volume eminently adapted to advance the cause he has at heart. It will, we hope, be translated into several of the continental languages.

JUDICIAL MOB-LAW IN PHILADELPHIA.

As an appendage to the atrocities perpetrated by the populace, as detailed in our last, we find in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* an account of a proceeding on the part of the public authorities, we must not say equally, but far more astounding. The facts are thus narrated:—

The better part of the coloured people of Philadelphia have been, for some time past, engaged in efforts to redeem their brethren from the ignorance and vices which have debased them. Beneficial and other societies have been formed, and a rigorous reform commenced, with promise of great success, on the subject of temperance. Meetings and concerted action were indispensable for these movements, and it became necessary to secure a building for that purpose. The hall in question was erected to supply this want.

Their proceedings excited the resentment of the various proprietors of groggeries in the vicinity. The progress of the reform thus advocated diminished the sale of the poison vended in the neighbouring dram-shops; and all those who derived a revenue from the vices of the blacks, regarded with a sinister jealousy the attempt to suppress those vices. How far these feelings imparted ferocity to the recent riots we cannot say; but it seems that, immediately after the recent outrages, which all the virtuous classes of our community unite to condemn, this jealousy induced the judicial action which took place in relation to the hall. The proceedings were, as we learn, in this wise;—

An address, signed by various citizens residing or owning property in the neighbourhood of the building referred to, was presented to the court of general sessions, representing that there was well-grounded apprehension that the hall would be burned by the mob; that, if so burned, it might spread the conflagration to the contiguous houses, and was *therefore* (!) a nuisance. Judge Doran, the judge presiding at the present term, and the only judge present, instead of rebuking this application, recognised the legal propriety of its requisitions, and gave the matter in charge to the grand jury, directing them to visit the premises, and to make presentment as to the facts alleged. The grand jury obeyed the order of the judge, visited the property, and made presentment that it was a nuisance.

Now the property was *not of itself* exceptionable. It was a new, secure, brick building. It was untouched by the riot; there were no tottering walls to menace the neighbour or the passer by. If a nuisance at all, it must have been from extraneous facts. It will be denied by almost every reasonable man that such extraneous facts would or could render it a nuisance. But if they could have that effect, if, from any circumstances, the fury of a mob directed against a building would make it *ipso facto* a nuisance, it should be remembered that such circumstances were here not proved. There was indeed no proof—no attempt to prove anything. Notwithstanding, the grand jury *did* make presentment; the court *accepted* that presentment, thus recognising and sanctioning its authority; and, under these proceedings, the commissioners demolished the building.

It is a principle of law, old as the law, that no man shall be dispossessed of his property without a hearing, and a verdict by a jury. Still more sacred is the principle, that no man shall be convicted of a criminal offence (and if this building were a nuisance, the proprietors were guilty of a criminal offence) without a trial. In the present instance there has been *no charge, no hearing, no proof, no trial, no verdict, no judgment, no power of appeal to the executive.* A *rescript* has been issued by a number of Moyamensing groggeries: that rescript has been acknowledged, and that rescript has been actually enforced, even to the demolition by the authorities of a valuable property.

We are at a loss how to enter upon the consideration of such a proceeding. It is against all law, against all *legal pretext*; and to demonstrate that it was wrong, we must demonstrate that the constitution and laws ought to have, at least upon the authorities, some binding force. Have we arrived at that point that it is necessary to make such an argument, and convince the public that the constitution and laws have a binding force? If so, we have already reached the *ultima thule* of anarchy. If so, nothing is right, nothing is wrong: every man may do as he pleases; and all restraint, whether religious, moral, or legal, is discarded. Opinions of this lawless character cannot be adopted *by authority*, without making our city a *Phlegethon*, smoking and hot with blood—a *Pandemonium*, to which Paris, in the worst horrors of the revolution, was a heaven of purity and peace.

Upon this case Judge Conrad, in charging the grand jury at Philadelphia, used the following language:—

A doctrine born in and shaped from the vapours of these eruptions, has been asserted and acted upon, which deserves notice. It is assumed that the wrath of a mob consecrates to destruction whatsoever it touches, and that the protection of the law is withdrawn from that which is thus devoted; that when a large band of incendiaries and plunderers mark a property as their prey, the complaisant spirit of the law takes part with them, and considers that property a nuisance; and that, when there is an apprehension that a crime will be committed which may be attended with consequential evils, it is the duty of the authorities to anticipate the axe and torch of the incendiary and commit the wrong, lest it be committed by others. Against a doctrine so revolting it is my duty, as a minister of the

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law to protest. I know nothing in law, morals, or common sense, to sanction it. The worst code of the worst age has no place for so wicked, so terrible an absurdity; and to no act which may have taken place under this unhappy delusion, will I lend even the sanction which might be implied from an omission to rebuke it.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

From the Parliamentary Papers.

HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS AT SIERRA LEONE TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

Sierra Leone, December 31st, 1840.

MY LORD,—We have the honour to enclose herewith a list of all the cases adjudicated during the year 1840, in the British and Portuguese, and British and Brazilian courts of Mixed Commission, and in the British and Spanish mixed court of justice established in this colony.

No case came before the British and Netherlands mixed court of justice during the period.

The number of vessels adjudicated was twenty-nine, one having been tried in the British and Portuguese court, twenty in the British and Spanish court, and eight in the British and Brazilian court; all of which proved cases of condemnation, with one exception, that of the Spanish brig *Republicano*, the proceedings against which vessel were withdrawn at the request of the parties concerned, and by the permission of the court, the captor being unable to prove the charge he had preferred.

Seven hundred and twenty slaves were emancipated during the year, of whom all but three, who died before their descriptions could be taken, were registered here.

The total number of vessels adjudged by the mixed commissions since their establishment in this colony in June, 1819, up to the present date, is 425, of which number twenty-two were cases of restoration to the claimants. From the vessels so condemned there have been emancipated 59,351 slaves, 51,871 of whom only have been registered here.

Of the twenty-nine vessels which came before the mixed courts during this year, one was the *Republicano*, a condemned Brazilian prize, bought, fitted out under the Spanish flag, and seized in this harbour, and eventually restored by consent of the parties, as previously mentioned. The remaining twenty-eight were respectively engaged in the Spanish and Brazilian slave-trade, twenty vessels being employed for the island of Cuba, and eight for the ports of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia.

Of the twenty vessels employed in the Cuba trade, fifteen sailed from the port of Havana, four only of which bore the flag of Spain, whilst four carried that of Portugal, and seven the colours of the United States. Of the remaining five in the Cuba trade, two sailed under Spanish colours from St. Jago de Cuba, one from Matanzas, and two from the port of Cadiz, with the same flag.

Five of the eight vessels engaged in the Brazilian slave-trade sailed from Rio de Janeiro, two only of which carried the imperial flag, whilst two bore the colours of Portugal, and one those of Monte Video. The remaining three of the eight sailed from Bahia, and were Brazilian vessels.

The destinations on this coast of the twenty vessels in the Cuba slave-trade were, eleven for the ports lying between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas, four to the Bight of Benin, and five to the Bight of Biafra.

The eight vessels in the Brazilian slave-trade were, when seized, proceeding as follows: four to the Bight of Benin, one to the river Gaboon, and three to the slaving-ports south of the Equator.

From these facts we think it will appear, that the opinion lately published that the slave-trade in the Bights of Benin and Biafra had been withdrawn to the Portuguese settlements south of the Equator, and that lawful commerce is now carried on in its place, is unfortunately ill-founded. For of the twenty-eight vessels seized and condemned by this mixed commission, we observe that no less than thirteen of them were destined for the ports in the Bights, whilst only three seizures have been effected to the southward of the Equator.

Any check which the slave-trade generally in the Bights may have received the British cruizers deserve a great deal, if not the whole credit of; whilst they are certainly fairly entitled to the entire merit of the reduction which that trade has suffered at Lagos and Whydah, where lawful commerce is almost unknown. During this year three vessels have visited those places from this colony, laden chiefly with prize-goods adapted to those markets, and each returned hither with scarce any thing on board but specie, which with slaves form the staples of those ports.

To the southward of the Equator, although the seizures have not been so numerous as might have been hoped for from the very vigilant cruizing which has prevailed there for some months past, still we have lately received satisfactory accounts from that quarter of the result of the exertions of the squadron.

On the 15th of this month, it appears the notorious slaving-port of Ambriz had then been under blockade for three months, during which time the trade could not be carried on; and one of the consequences of this system has been to cause the slaves collected in the barracoons there to amount to 2000. This very large number of negros is therefore now being idly maintained, at a ruinous cost to their owners.

Besides the three vessels seized to the southward of the line and sent hither for trial, there had also been some detentions under the Portuguese flag, which vessels had gone for adjudication to the vice-admiralty courts at St. Helena or the Cape of Good Hope.

The slave-trade has, we hear also, received a decided check for a time at least, at the island of Corisco, in the mouth of the river Danger, by the destruction of the slave factories on that island, in consequence of the foreigners concerned in them having made a most unwarrantable hostile attack on the boats of her Majesty's sloop *Wolverine*, when they were quietly entering that river on duty.

With respect to the state of the slave-trade from the southern boundary of this colony to Sesters, we are enabled to lay before your lordship some important particulars, through the kindness of the commander of her Majesty's sloop *Wanderer*, the honourable Joseph Denman, who has charge of the small squadron kept on the Sierra Leone station. The strict blockade which this active and zealous officer has maintained along that part of the coast above mentioned since the month of May last, enables him to afford an exact account of the number of vessels engaged in the traffic, and the results of their voyages.

From commander Denman's communication, we learn that, in the eight months during which he has thus blockaded the Gallinas and its neighbourhood, twenty-one vessels came thither to carry off human cargoes, of which number only five had escaped. These five vessels, however, took away 1560 slaves. Of the remainder, fifteen had been captured by British cruisers, two of which were condemned in the vice-admiralty court here, and eleven in the mixed commission courts, and two are yet for trial in the latter courts. The remaining vessel of the twenty-one, the *Courtenay*, after having been chased off the coast by the *Wanderer*, was brought by the crew into this port, where they denounced her to the authorities as a Spanish slave-trader, and she was subsequently seized for being found illegally equipped in British waters, and prosecuted to condemnation in the vice-admiralty court. Upwards of three-fourths of the vessels employed in the slave-trade of the Gallinas and its neighbourhood for the last eight months have therefore been lost to those engaged in it, and must, we hope, have created for them ruinous losses.

Great, however, as the good effects of this blockading system may appear, we have yet to communicate to your lordship what we consider a much more important feature in the history of the Gallinas slave-trade, which is the total destruction of the eight slave-factories established there, and the emancipation of 841 slaves, who were on that occasion given up by the native king Seacca to Captain Denman; and by him conveyed to this colony, and placed in the hands of the government. It is stated that the foreign slave-dealers at the Gallinas lost on this occasion a very large amount of property, variously estimated at between £100,000 and £500,000 sterling, as well as their claims on the natives for no less than 13,000 slaves, the price of whom they had advanced from time to time in the course of trade. These measures of hostility towards the slave-dealers were, as we are informed, conducted by the native chiefs, between whom and the slave-dealers, we think, there is now so serious a feud established as to render impossible, at least for a considerable time to come, the re-establishment there of slave-factories. And if, in the mean while, the Sierra Leone squadron shall be enabled to continue its effective blockade of this part of the coast, and thus keep the natives from the temptations of the slave-trade for such a length of time that, their acquired wants being unsupplied, they may be stimulated to exertions for the establishment of legitimate trade, the result must be, we anticipate, pleasing to the friends of humanity and beneficial to Africa.

The panic which the destruction of this stronghold of slavery has created is very great; and the foreigners have quitted the Gallinas in the greatest alarm, in the belief that their lives were no longer safe there, from the ill disposition manifested by the natives.

We earnestly hope, that the good thus effected will be followed up in that manner which will secure for the cause of Africa all the advantages which prompt and judicious measures would obtain; and that we may not now be doomed to witness the revival of the odious traffic at the Gallinas, as was the case in the river Sherbro, after the total destruction of the trade there in the years 1825 and 1826, by the late lamented Governor Turner; when the re-establishment there of that trade might, by a comparatively small and well-applied expenditure, have been prevented, thereby giving to Sierra Leone for lawful trade one of the most fertile districts on this part of the coast; and which trade would, by this time, no doubt, have increased to an amount of considerable importance.

Captain Denman was also so obliging as to place in our hands some Spanish letters and books which had fallen into his possession at the time of the destruction of the Gallinas factories, from which we learned that at Dombocorrow, the establishment belonging to the firm of Pedro Martinez and company, and which was lately conducted by Pablo Alvarez, the number of slaves purchased between the 1st of August, 1839, and 19th of October, 1840, (fourteen and a-half months), was 1465, giving a yearly average of 1212; and that the number of slaves shipped in that period was 1710, part of that amount being on freight for the account of Louis Lemaignere of Seabar and others. The tone of several of these letters from the Gallinas to the Havana, dated in September and October last, is most desponding; the writers declare that their prospects have been nearly ruined by the vigilance of the British squadron. The subsequent measures previously referred to have, we hope, had the effect of putting a final stop to the Gallinas slave-trade, which, from the papers and information furnished to us by Commander Denman, may be fairly estimated at between 9000 and 10,000 slaves annually.

In addition to the slaves emancipated at the Gallinas through

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the influence of commander Denman, there have likewise arrived here 104 slaves from the factory of Theodore Canot at New Sestos, who was induced to grant the freedom of these persons at the instance of the commander of her Majesty's brigantine *Termagant*, Lieutenant Seagram, which cruizer has lately been engaged in the blockade of that part of the coast. Lieutenant Seagrain's activity on the occasion we cannot but consider extremely commendable. It has had the immediate effect of inducing Canot to promise to renounce the slave-trade; and thus depriving the still more notorious Pedro Blanco of one of his most active, vigilant, and courageous agents.

Respecting the slave-trade in the rivers between this colony and the Gambia, we are enabled to offer some remarks from the communications of our old and obliging correspondent residing to windward.

That gentleman informs us that the Rio Nunez has not been visited for three years by a slave-vessel, but has nevertheless suffered from the influence of a very active slave-trade carried on at Bissão, whence agents are dispatched to the Nunez to collect slaves, whom they send round to Bissão by every convenient opportunity. The notorious Cayetano Nozzolini (Kyetan) of Bissão has had his full share in this traffic; and employed in the Nunez at one time two European agents, besides the coloured people in his service, to collect slaves.

The estimated annual export of slaves, chiefly to Cuba, from Bissão is upwards of 2000.

The report which has been circulated to windward of the intention of her Majesty's government to re-occupy the British island of Bulama, has struck terror into all connected with the slave-trade of Bissão and Cacheo, and created bright prospects of success for those engaged in the prosecution of lawful commerce in that quarter.

We sincerely hope that the unfounded claim of the Portuguese government to this island, urged, it is alleged, through the influence and for the benefit of those engaged in the odious traffic in slaves carried on at the Portuguese settlements, will have by this time been disposed of; and that British merchants may find themselves at liberty to establish factories on that island, to carry on a peaceable commerce with the natives.

During the present year, it appears that the Rio Pongas has been visited by fewer slaving-vessels than for many years past; not, however, from any falling off in the activity of the foreigners engaged in that traffic, but from the fact of several of their vessels having been, within the last two years, exposed to the ill treatment of the slaves of the late king of the river, Mungo Yangey, who on his demise declared their independence, and have since set at defiance all the authorities of the place. These negros, on the arrival of a slave-vessel, have been in the habit of possessing themselves of the cargo, for which very liberal promises of early payment of the full value were at once tendered; but, after a delay of many months, the slavers have been obliged to depart with only a third, or perhaps a fourth, of the return cargo which had been agreed upon. Such a mode of carrying on business even the enormous profits of the slave-traffic will not bear; and hence the decrease of that traffic in the Rio Pongas during this year.

On the death of the notorious slave-dealer, John Ormond, his numerous slaves followed the example of the late king's negros, and declared themselves free. They withdrew at once from the late John Ormond's town of Bangalang, in the Pongas, and established themselves in a village of their own on the confines of the Foulah country, and have entrenched themselves within a strong stockade. These acts of self-emancipation on the part of large bodies of negros in the Pongas, must, we think, speedily so change the state of affairs in that river as to lead to the hope that, by timely and judicious interference on the part of the friends of Africa, the slave-trade might be there eradicated.

Taking a review of the present state of the slave-trade along the coast from the Gambia to Cape Palmas, excepting of course the Portuguese colonies, we are of opinion it may be pronounced to be so far reduced, that, if the principal marts could be permanently blockaded, and thus keep off the slave-dealers, at the same time adopting suitable measures for bringing the attention of the natives to the lawful productions of the country, the total eradication of the slave-trade might be looked for in a few years.

We have lately received intelligence on which we can depend, that the notorious Edward Jousiffe, who made his escape from the gaol of this colony after his conviction as a British subject for slave-dealing, died not very long since at the Rio Pongas.

We beg leave to mention, as a result of the measures adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade during this year, that there have been ten vessels bearing the flag of Portugal, condemned in the vice-admiralty court of this colony, for being equipped for that trade, under the provisions of the 2nd and 3rd Victoria, cap. 73.

We have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN JEREMIE.
WALTER W. LEWIS.

FRENCH SLAVER.—The *Bonetta*, brigantine, Lieutenant Commander Edward Gray, on the African coast, chased a two topsail schooner for two days, and came up with her on the evening of the 2nd of July. She proved to be a Frenchman, fully equipped as a slaver; but the officer commanding the *Bonetta* not being furnished with a warrant from the French government to detain or search their vessels, she was necessarily allowed to proceed.—*Hants Telegraph.*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE LATE SIR JOHN JEREMIE, GOVERNOR OF SIERRA LEONE.

(Extracted from Mr. Duncan's *History of Guernsey.*)

SIR JOHN JEREMIE, son of the late Mr. John Jeremie, a distinguished advocate of the Royal Court of Guernsey, was born in the year 1795. After having completed a course of legal study at Dijon in France, he was admitted to the Guernsey bar, where his career was marked by uniform and eminent success. His eloquence and abilities having been brought before the notice of the government, he was appointed, in 1824, first president of the Royal Court of St. Lucia, in the West Indies. In this office he was called upon to revise and report on the slave laws then preparing for that island. He was thus led to direct his attention to a subject to which the entire energies of his mind were subsequently devoted. The more extensive his inquiries became, the more deeply was he impressed with a conviction of the enormous evils of the existing system; and, on his return to Europe, he published *Four Essays on Colonial Slavery*, pointing out with admirable clearness the general features of slave communities, the ameliorations introduced in St. Lucia, and the practical steps to be taken, in order to effect the final annihilation of slavery. This tract, which contained the results of personal experience honestly and fearlessly declared, produced a great sensation on the public mind, and doubtless contributed in no unimportant degree to promote that great measure of emancipation which has shed an imperishable lustre on the name of England.

In the year 1832, he was selected for the office of procureur and advocate-general of the island of Mauritius. Our limits will not allow us to enter into the detail of the various and harassing difficulties which he experienced in that disturbed colony. He had to contend against powerful interests, against deep-rooted prejudices, against national antipathies, against fierce and angry passions. Those difficulties he has described in an ample vindication of his conduct, entitled *Recent events at Mauritius*, published in 1835. The following extract from that pamphlet contains a brief summary of the services which he rendered to the cause of humanity and enlightened government:—

"Within the last three years he has traversed fifty thousand miles, and encountered the assassin on shore, and the pirate at sea; for ten years it has been his fate to face, in the service of the crown, every peril to which life is subject, whether from the ocean, from climate, or the hand of man.

"Nor have these exertions been unsuccessful, or bestowed on unworthy objects.

"Among the multitude of regulations and enactments introduced in colonies in either hemisphere, not one can be pointed out which has failed in accomplishing its purpose; not one evil or abuse contended against that has not been remedied; not one where it was requisite to return twice to the subject; yet even these, sufficient alone in number and importance for the life of many public servants, he is content to pass over in silence.

"Two purposes of greater magnitude have been accomplished, on which he would rest his claims to a fair, an impartial judgment. He asks no more.

"Ten years ago, a legal distinction, broad and galling, existed between the free classes throughout our negro colonies, the distinction of colour. It was said to be interwoven with the whole framework of society, and inexpugnable. It seemed to him a fertile source of weakness, and, should it continue to endure until emancipation were granted, likely to shake to its foundation that part of our empire: as a grievance it was politically more pregnant with danger than slavery itself; yet had it drawn comparatively little attention, and, though occasionally a voice had been raised against it, nothing had been practically effected.

"It was after four years' experience, and having well weighed and witnessed the consequences, that Mr. Jeremie drew up and submitted to Sir George Murray an argument in which this grave colonial question was treated in all its bearings. This at once caught the clear and quick eye of that eminent statesman. It met with his approbation, and, without a struggle or a murmur, the curse of Ham disappeared from the western world.

"Sir George Murray commenced with St. Lucia, and within six months not one British West Indian colony persisted in this mistaken and outrageous policy. Deep-rooted as it was said to be, it met its deserved fate, and men only wonder, and continue to wonder, how, for two centuries, their prejudices could have rendered them so blind to their true interests.

"Next, with regard to emancipation. Here he would not, nor could, with propriety, allude to any popular effort of his; but his labours, exclusively official, and transmitted to and conducted by desire of the colonial office on this single subject, might almost, without a metaphor, be measured by the yard, or weighed by the load. But to refer to recent times. On his last visit to this country it became his duty to draw up, by command, and transmit from the first port he arrived at, a full and matured plan for the practical consummation of this most interesting and magnificent experiment, which need only be compared with the measure as adopted, to show that it was not without its use. That others of unquestioned ability must have laboured long and assiduously at that important work, none can deny; but that an ample outline, and all the principles and leading features of the system, as now at work, will be found distinctly traced in these papers, will, he is convinced, be admitted."

These exertions and sacrifices were justly appreciated and acknowledged. In the year 1836, he was appointed puisne judge

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of the supreme court of Ceylon; and at the same time he was presented by the Anti-slavery Society with a valuable piece of plate, bearing an inscription which testified, in the most gratifying terms, their sense of his important services:—

To
The Honourable JOHN JERMIE,
one of his Majesty's justices of the Supreme
Court of the Island of Ceylon,
&c. &c.,
By whose inflexible adherence to
right principle under circumstances
of unparalleled difficulty,
while discharging high official duties
in the colonies of either hemisphere,
and by whose disinterested, able, and energetic
exertions in most critical and painful
situations, both at
home and abroad,
Negro Freedom has been largely
advanced, and the Negro character raised
to its just standard in public estimation,
This tribute of affectionate respect
is given
by his coadjutors in the
Anti-slavery cause,
27th July, 1836.

At no time did he lose sight of the question on which his thoughts had now for many years been ardently fixed. In June, 1840, he published *A Letter to Sir T. Fowell Buxton, on Negro Emancipation and African Civilization*. It consisted of practical recommendations to the government, with a view to improve the moral condition of Africa; to draw forth her vast, but neglected resources; to introduce order, industry, and contentment, into scenes of unexampled misery and crime, and gradually to effect, by a series of wise and comprehensive measures, the total extirpation of the most awful scourge that ever afflicted mankind.

It was from the same anxiety for the amelioration of the negro race, increased, no doubt, by the appalling fact, which had been lately and forcibly urged, that no less than half a million of human beings are still annually reduced to bondage or destroyed, that, reckless of personal danger, undeterred by the most discouraging circumstances, he accepted in October, 1840, the high but ill-fated office of captain-general and governor of Sierra Leone and its dependencies. On this occasion he received the honour of knighthood. His friends, while they respected and admired his intrepid courage, could not but reflect with deep emotions of regret and pain, that he had gone to that fearful climate where youth and strength are no protection against wasting disease and premature death.

Their melancholy apprehensions were too soon realized. Four months had scarcely elapsed since his arrival in Africa, before he fell a victim to the fever prevalent at Port Lago, to which his arduous duties had recently called him. He expired on the 23rd of April, 1841, at the age of forty-six. His death, afflicting to all the friends of humanity, is peculiarly so to his surviving relatives. Their only consolation is that he has left behind him an honourable name, as one who, gifted with great talents, devoted those talents to justice and mercy, and who, in various employments in the four quarters of the globe, laboured with unwearied perseverance and zeal to spread the blessings of civilization, and to promote the best interests of man.

IRISHMEN IN AMERICA.

AT a recent meeting at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, Mr. R. Allen said—It falls to my lot to-night to dwell on a painful subject—the delinquency of Irishmen in America to the anti-slavery cause. You all recollect our anti-slavery address to our brethren in America—our pleasing toil of collecting the 60,000 names to it, our lively anticipations of the effects it would have, when it reached America, in forwarding the cause of freedom, in which we felt so deeply interested. You remember too the gratifying news which reached us, that that address had been read in the Great Hall of Liberty, in Boston, to an assembly of 8000, of whom one-third were Irishmen—that our countrymen nobly responded to our call, —that, when asked by a speaker "would they ever return the runaway slave?" an enthusiastic shout of "no, no," burst from their lips; that when queried would they not support the abolitionists, they answered, "we will! we will!" Yes, my friends, this was noble; it was a spontaneous outbreak of the Irish heart; but deeply do I grieve to tell you that this high ground has not been upheld. It is to me cause of extreme pain to have to state that our countrymen in America are rapidly going wrong on the anti-slavery question,—that they have, in a vast number of instances, sided with slave-holders. I know there are honourable exceptions. I do not for a moment assert that this dereliction from principle of the large number is the result of any organization; but all our late letters from America mourn over their false position; and I need not tell you it has been a source of deep regret to us. But yet when I consider how matters stand, I feel there is not much ground for surprise. So strong do I consider the pro-slavery influence to be, even in the free states, that, were I going to America, I almost think I should utter the words on first landing, so loud that many should hear them—"I am an abolitionist," in order that, by at once committing myself, I should as it were have put myself out of the way of temptation—have at once nailed my colours to the mast. It is, therefore, no great marvel to me, that our countrymen, going out ignorant and uninformed of the nature of slavery, should speedily be entrapped in the toils of the pro-slavery party; because, if they allude to abolition—if you or I on landing in America alluded to the evils of slavery, they would at once be admitted; but it would be said—"The slaves are utterly unfit for freedom: they are a brutalized, savage, lying, uneducated set, liberty would be to them licentiousness; if they were freed, the civil institutions of the country would be overturned. We should have anarchy, war, and bloodshed." And little marvel if such language, coming from those who might be supposed to have full knowledge of the state of things, has deceived the unwary—that the timid were scared into the pro-slavery ranks; still more so when it is recollected the barbarous prejudice which exists in America against colour, so arbitrary that a white and coloured man could scarcely be seen walking together without being mobbed or insulted (hear). But I feel it to be extremely important that we should be rightly informed on the subject; and, for that purpose, let us turn to our West India colonies. Fifty years ago, it may be less or more, the English crusade against slavery began. An abolition society was formed in London. Its object was to abolish the slave-trade, and gradually to abolish slavery. But what did half a century teach? That it was impossible to abolish the slave-trade while slavery remained, and that amelioration of slavery was equally impossible; that the slave-holders were to be the ameliorators, and that they were thoroughly aware that the only hold they could have on their victims was by keeping them in brutal ignorance. But mankind grew wiser, and now the position is taken that slavery is a sin against God; that it is wrong for man to hold his fellow-man for a single hour in slavery—"immediate, unconditional, universal emancipation," is the watchword of every true abolitionist (hear). Yes, my friends, I remember when that watchword was first broached. It was by a woman—to the honour of the sex be it told—and though the idea was denounced as utopian—though some of the best friends of abolition denounced the view as ultra—it spread, and no man who for a moment pretends to abolition but holds that the slave should be immediately set free. And let me tell you, that this word "immediate" abolition sped the cause gloriously onward. 'Tis true the American and West Indian slave-holder gnashed their teeth, and predicted ruin, and bloodshed, and insurrection amongst their slaves: but what is the result? The West Indian slaves are free!! Did they rise in rebellion? No! They were found, on the night before emancipation dawned, on their bended knees in songs of gratitude to the Almighty, and I fearlessly assert that the highest civilized nations may take a lesson of order, religion, and general good conduct from the emancipated slaves of the West Indies. So that their conduct, then, is a triumphant refutation of the libel that slaves are unfit for freedom. Should not every one of our countrymen be well schooled in those stubborn facts, in order that they may fling back the wicked excuse in the faces of the American slave-holders?—*Dublin Freeman's Journal*.

GUADELOUPE.—Two venerable priests have been driven from Guadeloupe. These are the curés of the two parishes of Basse Terre, M. M. Lamarche and Kennedi. They were truly fathers to the slaves, which gave great offence to the slave-holders, and to governor Goubeyre. These ecclesiastics have been very ill received by M. Galos, the new director of the colonies.

Fugitives are flying in all directions from the South, and they meet, we rejoice to say, with more facilities than heretofore. Very few persons now, except the hired kidnapper, will refuse aid to those who are struggling for liberty.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*.

From a Paris paper we learn that two Africans, M. M. Boilat and Fridoil (natives of Senegal), lately celebrated mass in the funeral chapel of the palace of Neuilly.

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The following Subscriptions have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXXIV. Vol. III. No. 21.] WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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AFRICAN EMIGRATION—THE TRINIDAD ORDINANCE.

[From a letter of Mr. Prescod to Mr. Sturge.]

Barbados, August 15th, 1842.

Of the probable result of the parliamentay inquiry nothing, of course, can be known here as yet; although it is rumoured that the planters have so far failed to make out their case of deficient labour and exorbitant wages as the causes of existing distress, from short crops and other causes, having appeared in the course of inquiry. *Let the truth be told, and they must fail.* Their own too selfish policy, protracted drought—the punishment perhaps, of their persevering iniquitousness—and the want of capital and credit, which their pet cry of ruin, which, in as far as it is real, is of their own begetting, has frightened from the colonies, would appear (were the truth told) the actual causes of all with which they lyingly saddle the "indolence and extortion" of the free negro—the victim of their past cruelties, and of their present overreaching at every turn.

With a fair tenantry system, which, leaving the labourer to dispose of his labour to the best advantage, would place him beyond the reach of the daily cheating and petty tyrannies that now vex his spirit and disable him for full exertion—with just laws, honestly administered for his protection equally with that of others—and with sufficient capital (as in other undertakings) to sustain industry—labour enough would at this moment be found in the colonies to render them, with fair seasons, far more productive than they have ever been. This may be said to be mere assertion; but does it not consist with reason? What more than assertion do our opponents advance? And will the government and people of Britain give into *their* inconsiderate measures—reproduce in our fair gardens the evil weeds which, at immense cost, themselves have rooted up—give a fresh impetus to crimes, at the bare thought of which the soul sickens, and strengthen the hands of the slave-holder and the bonds of the slave—in a word, permit African immigration, for which avarice clamours—until at least so reasonable, so inexpensive, so innocuous, and in itself so altogether unobjectionable a scheme as honest dealing towards the labourers already existing in the colonies shall have been fairly and fully tried? Shall we overlook a safe medicine within our reach—one which, if it do no good, cannot possibly do any harm to the system—to swallow poison? Is it customary to administer desperate remedies except in cases of extremity, and *after* the more simple and safe have been tried and found inefficacious? Let the planters *try fair dealing first*, and see how and with what benefit it operates. Let them carry out in good faith the act of emancipation to the full; abandon their costly, vexatious, demoralizing, debilitating establishments, in which the antagonistic elements of freedom and of slavery are stupidly blended; permanently settle down the labouring population on the system which is everywhere else found to work most steadily, most harmoniously, and with the greatest mutual advantage both to employer and employed; provide sufficient means to stimulate industry and reward its exertions, just laws for its security, and honest magistrates to administer them; and see what effect these will have on production. Heaven in its turn will doubtless be propitious (for when men turn from the evil of their ways, and do that which is lawful and right in the sight of God, he will in nowise withhold his blessing); the early and the latter rain will descend upon the earth, and it will give forth its increase in due season. If with these, with prudent moderation in using "their own," with fair dealing and justice, and propitious seasons, the planters have reason to complain of deficient labour and short crops produced at a ruinous cost, it will then be time enough to look around for more potent remedies, and consider of resorting to the desperate one of immigration on a large scale from Africa. Until then the proposal should be spurned for its extreme impudence, if for nothing else. The dishonest shopkeeper who should call upon his cheated neighbourhood to contribute towards an indemnity for his losses in trade, and to enable him to carry on a more extensive and profitable business, and who should appeal to parliament to bear him out in his demand, would reasonably enough be considered an eligible candidate for Bedlam. But let the same man be a West Indian proprietor—let him voluntarily, in preference to a fairer and more equitable system, retain the labouring peasantry around him in that condition which gives him most power over them, and subjects them to constant impositions, frauds, annoyances, and feverish apprehensiveness; and then let him come before parliament and the country with a petition to be allowed to indemnify himself for short crops and losses in his business caused by deficiency of labour, by importing large bodies of immigrants, *with taxes raised in great part among that ill-used peasantry*, to glut the labour market, and reduce the amount of *their* earnings—and his complaint shall be deemed reasonable, and his demand a just one; and christian senators, and statesmen laying claim to high principles, and of unquestionable sanity, shall give it serious consideration, and lend themselves to further it! Yet wherein does this demand differ in principle from that of the shopkeeper?

If parliament do consent to this immigration scheme of the planters, it is at least to be hoped that this body will not be allowed to carry it out by a general tax on the public, including the labouring population; but that they will be made to bear the entire cost themselves, either by a special tax on land, or by voluntary contribution. The plainest principles of christian morality dictate this.

But what *do* the planters want, when they ask to be allowed to import large bodies of immigrants from Africa! Does the parliament, do the people of Britain rightly understand what it really is they seek! They tell us it is free labour. The African is to exchange his barbarous clime, with all its religious destitution and moral degradation, his ignorance, and privations and slavery, for the christian civilization, and knowledge, and freedom of these colonies, with plenty to eat, and to drink, and to wear, if he will but work for it. And he is to work as a freeman—entirely free. A slave to his chief in his native country, it will be necessary to purchase (not *him*—oh, no!) "the consent of the chief to his emigration;" but whilst, on the one hand, there is no fear, not the least, that this new demand for "hands to emigrate" will give additional stimulus to the internal slave-trade and its atrocities, there can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the emigration will be entirely voluntary and unconstrained on the part of the emigrant, as the chief, although a savage, would be too honourable and humane to punish his slave for disappointing him, by refusing to go, of the expected price of his consent! The immigrant will have come freely, voluntarily; and he will be perfectly free when here! So the planters tell us, so their advocates repeat, until the repetition would convince, if repetition could. Let us see if, in their haste to enjoy the boon before it is granted, they have not furnished *better* evidence of what it is they seek and hope to obtain.

You have doubtless seen ere this an ordinance passed by the governor and council of Trinidad, "*to make provision for the protection of, and the promoting the industry of, recently liberated Africans introduced into this colony.*" It provides a twelve months bondage, at the option of the governor, for these "*free* immigrants." The spirit in which this optional power will be exercised, and the gross hypocrisy of the condition on which it is to be exercised (namely, "wherever the governor shall be satis-

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fied that it would be for the benefit of any African)," will plainly appear from the observations and sentiments delivered by his Excellency at the council board so early as the 7th March, and reported in the *Standard* of the 10th. On that occasion, his Excellency is reported to have said, that "he was formerly averse to contracts for service, but he had seen reason to change his opinion. *He thought it would be a very happy thing* if a labourer would contract to serve for six or twelve months. Their habits would become more settled, instead of constantly roving about." There is no mistaking this. He had received orders from government to treat the immigrants who might arrive from St. Helena "in the same manner as those from Sierra Leone," and he "could not act contrary to his instructions;" but, actuated by his peculiar notion of negro happiness, he tells us that "he had asked for leave to bind these immigrants to their employers for one year, under agreements to be entered into before the emigration agent." And the representations (as you will presently see) made to the secretary of state to bear out the prayer of this petition were, not that his Excellency "thought it would be a very happy thing if a labourer would contract to serve for six or twelve months," but that "there was a great deal of difference between the two classes (the immigrants from Sierra Leone and those from St. Helena)—that the Sierra Leone people understood English, and were in a great measure civilized, quite capable of taking care of themselves; but that those from St. Helena, who had been just rescued by our cruizers were *in* a savage state, and therefore ought to be protected."

You cannot doubt that his Excellency will, in every case, find it a very easy matter to "be satisfied that it would be for the benefit of the African" to indent him for twelve months, and even to renew that indenture at the end of every twelve months, if the ordinance had given such power. Even the Sierra Leone people, notwithstanding the "great difference" of education and civilization in their favour, would be benefited, according to his Excellency's notion, by such indenting. "It would be a very happy thing." Let me call your attention to the following extract from the reported proceedings of the council of government on the 27th of June, the day on which the ordinance was passed. The *Chieftain* had just arrived, with her cargo of 233 emigrants; and as his Excellency did not wish that a single one of them should miss the happiness he intended for them, he specially convened the Council that they might land under the full protection of the ordinance. They could not, he said, be landed without it. "His Excellency stated that he had called the Council together at a short summons, in consequence of the arrival of the *Chieftain* from St. Helena with 233 liberated Africans. Immigrants arriving here were generally hired as labourers at once, and went where they pleased; but his opinion was, that people coming here ignorant of the language should be protected and placed out for a time. He had been directed by the secretary of state in the event of any captured Africans arriving from St. Helena, to put them on the same footing as those which had arrived from Sierra Leone; but he had written home, stating that there was a considerable difference between the two classes—that the Sierra Leone people understood English, and were in a great measure civilized, quite capable of taking care of themselves; but those from St. Helena, who had been just liberated by our cruizers, were in a savage state, and therefore ought to be protected. The secretary of state agreed with him on the subject, and he (the governor) now proposed to indent them for twelvemonths. He was a strong friend to the African, and would do all he could for his welfare; but he thought it would be cruel to turn him loose on society. They would be bound for twelvemonths. He had directed a short ordinance to be prepared, authorizing him to indent these Africans for one year; not only those from St. Helena, but, should any be sent here by any of her Majesty's cruizers to be adjudicated, that they should likewise be indented."

Here, then, we have the beginning of "free African immigration," the immigration for which the planters are clamouring as an indemnity for the losses they have sustained under the emancipation act; and a pretty plain beginning you must confess it is. Will the people of Britain fail to understand it—to comprehend the full bearing and import of it! I have been terribly abused by the *Trinidad Standard*, and my perverted judgment all but pitied by the *Port of Spain Gazette*, for presuming to see in this measure a modified slavery. But let that pass for the present, whilst we briefly examine the reasons given for the measure, and the professed purpose which it is to serve. These will be found in the extract before us. The savage state of these immigrants, and their ignorance of the language of the colony, are stated as reasons why they should be protected. "It would be cruel," his Excellency thought, "to turn them loose on society," and the object of the ordinance was to afford them protection. You will bear in mind as we proceed, that some of these people have been imported into Jamaica, and others into British Guiana, without its having yet been discovered that this sort of protection is necessary; with the assistance, doubtless, of their friends and their country people, they seem to have got on very well without it. But what is proper and necessary for their welfare in Trinidad, must be equally proper and necessary for their welfare in these other colonies; and, if allowed in the one, it cannot with any show of reason be denied in the others. The question, therefore, may fairly be considered in reference to African immigration into all the colonies; for, although the measure before us is at present limited in its operation to Trinidad, it cannot reasonably be confined to that colony, but, if permitted there, will be made to extend to all the rest. You must not forget this.

Now the reasons given (as we have seen) for the necessity of protecting these immigrants, are their savage state and their ignorance of English, which render them by implication "incapable of taking care of themselves." Will not these reasons operate to the full as powerfully with regard to the entire population of those tribes and nations from which emigration, with the purchased consent of the native chiefs, is expected to flow in full stream into the colonies, by permission of parliament! Are not the general communities of those tribes and nations of Africa—the tribes and nations of these captured slaves—quite as savage, and in every respect as ignorant of the language and usages of these colonies, as these individuals—as the few members of those communities who are sold into transatlantic slavery, and have the good fortune to be captured by our cruizers! And if the savage ignorance of these need protection, and they cannot be allowed to get along without it; if *they* are incapable of taking care of themselves, and must be taken care of in the manner we have seen; if "it would be cruel to turn *them* loose on society"—*will it not be quite as cruel to turn loose any who may emigrate from those communities?* Will not *their* savage ignorance as much need protection! Will *they* not be every way as "incapable of taking care of themselves," and requiring to be taken care of! In a word, will not the measure provided as proper and necessary for the people imported from St. Helena, and for those sent in by her Majesty's cruizers for adjudication, be quite as proper and necessary for all those of the same nations and tribes who may emigrate, by the purchased permission of their native chiefs, directly from Africa! This appears to me not an unreasonable view of the question; and, methinks it deserves the serious consideration of the British people. The planters demand immigration upon a large scale, full, free, and unrestricted immigration, from Africa; and they are moving heaven and earth to effect it. They point to the numerous tribes and nations scattered about the coast and in the interior, and allege their very savageness and ignorance, and constant exposure to all the horrors of the slave-trade, as reasons that they should be permitted to emigrate *as free* labourers to the West Indies, where so many advantages, moral and physical, await them. Whilst their requisition is yet under consideration, and on the eve, as they hope, of a favourable issue, fortune throws into their hands a few captured slaves of these same savage and ignorant tribes; and the very important discovery is quickly made and proclaimed, that they are too ignorant and too savage to be "capable of taking care of themselves" any where but in their own country, and that "it would be cruel to turn them loose on society" in these colonies, without the special protection of a legal enactment, binding them, without their consent, to a twelvemonths servitude, in which a given quantity of work may be wrung from their unwilling sinews by fine and imprisonment, and from which they may not escape under heavy penalties (ranging from £5 to £500 sterling to be inflicted on any who shall harbour or employ, or entice and remove them away, or aid and abet them in removing—even back to their own country, where they might take care of themselves, if once again there. This is the kind and amount of protection offered to these people in the colonies—the best, we must believe, which the colonies can afford; and the absolute necessity for such protection in their ignorant savage state is maintained with such earnestness of asseveration and promptness of action, that we are not at liberty to doubt it. We must needs take the parties at their word. But what then, we repeat, as regards the thousands and tens of thousands of these same ignorant savage people, who, with the sanction of parliament, and the purchased permission of their native chiefs, shall be induced by the planters to emigrate to the colonies! Will the protection which they must equally need be denied them! Will their ignorant savageness be exposed in the colonies to all the evils which the planters in a few masterly touches have so fully and forcibly depicted; or will they too be inducted into a twelvemonths' servitude, with all its protective privileges and advantages, to escape those evils! Of course, I do not pretend to answer the question, or to divine in what way the matter will eventually be determined in the proper quarter; but I do think, as I before said, that it deserves the serious consideration of the British people.

I call this involuntary servitude—this indenting to service without the free, unconstrained consent, *with knowledge*, of the indented party—for whatever reasons, and to whatever end such indenture be effected, A MODIFIED SLAVERY—more or less modified, as the provisions secure to the slaves privileges greater or less in number and importance, and define and restrict more or less the power of the master; but still SLAVERY, *real, palpable, undisguised, undoubted* SLAVERY. Is this what the people of Britain desire for these colonies, and are willing to permit! Is this what they understand by free "immigration on a large scale from Africa!" They should satisfy themselves on this point, and speedily.

With regard to the particular provisions of the Trinidad ordinance, I need say little. I would here notice with particular comment, only that provision which places the indented immigrant under the immediate protection of the stipendiary magistrate, and empowers the latter to visit and inspect, as often as he shall see fit, such immigrant, with a view to ascertain his condition and treatment. Great stress is laid on this provision by the Trinidad journals; and there can be no doubt that they would have it appear that this authorized supervision of the stipendiary magis-

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trate, not only effectually secures the indented immigrant against his master's abuse of actual power, but entirely nullifies the objectionable principle of the whole measure, and preserves him a perfectly free man in the midst of his servitude. Now I need not point out to you how utterly insignificant this protection of the magistrate, could it even be guaranteed to the full in perfect good faith, necessarily is, as a substitute for, and in the absence of, the power to quit service and seek employment elsewhere. It is scarcely possible—I maintain that it is morally impossible, that the magistrate, with any amount and sincerity of supervision, should be able to take cognizance of, and comprehend, and fairly adjudicate, all the grievances of which the labourer might have to complain. A thousand petty abuses and annoyances may be practised to his certain discomfort, which the magistrate could scarcely be made to understand, and would not know how to prevent, if he did understand them. But there is little hope that even this protection, such as it is, will be faithfully afforded the immigrant—that the supervision of the magistrate will be honestly exercised to the extent he may, and his authority be brought to bear in behalf of the immigrant, in opposition to the supposed interests of the planter. From the known relative positions of the parties, and the state of moral sentiment in these colonies, your own common sense and experience in the world would satisfy you on this point. But you have evidence in the past for what in all probability will be in future. The apprenticeship system and its special magistrates, and the conduct of the magistrates generally—the wrongs which they could not prevent, or which they lent themselves and their office to perpetrate or to shelter, are things of too recent date to be forgotten, or for their warning to be despised. The stipendiary magistrate, where not a planter himself, or connected with planting and having an interest in it, is the associate, the friend, often the obliged friend and bottle-companion of the planter, and seldom unwilling to be made his tool. The indented immigrant cannot expect, and be assured he will not receive, more efficient protection and greater justice at the hands of these gentry, than the apprenticed labourer did; and that was, in general, little and worthless enough.

UNITED STATES—THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

We are sure our readers will be gratified with the following communication, not only on account of the cheering aspect in which it represents the anti-slavery cause in the United States, but on account also of the interesting and characteristic note of Thomas Clarkson, whose glow and energy in this cause evidently set old age and growing infirmities at defiance.

Playford Hall, October 10th, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND, JOHN BEAUMONT,—I now send you a letter from my dear friend ———. It ought, if it can with propriety, to be made known to the public, but more particularly to all abolitionists, as it will rejoice their hearts to hear it. It appears that, when the slave states in the southern parts of the United States have been in distress, they have borrowed money of their northern neighbours; and that, when they wanted new slaves for the plantations, they went to the same quarter to get money to purchase them. Hence the northern states have been the chief, indeed the only, supporters of slavery. In this state of the northerners (as they are called in their mortgages), the southerners could not pay them; and hence a universal bankruptcy took place in America. Now, what will be the consequence? The northern people, all of them crippled, and many of them ruined for ever, can no longer lend money to get the planters out of difficulty, or to enable them to purchase new slaves. Hence breeding must be immediately stopped, and a totally new system be adopted on the plantations; which, being that of amelioration, eventually may lead to freedom. What precious prospects are these for our contemplation! I have sent you this letter for the perusal of your (may I not say, *our?*) Committee, and I shall write to ———, to ask his permission to have it printed in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Now for other good news. Joseph Sturge wrote to me lately, to say that, in consequence of this bankruptcy in the United States, slaves had fallen from one thousand dollars each to three hundred, and that breeding of slaves would be probably stopped. But, since his letter, I collect from Garrison's paper which I received last, that the slave has now fallen to one hundred dollars only, instead of one thousand. I send you a little bit cut out of his paper, as my warrant for this assertion. There is another most precious piece of news collected from the same paper, namely, from Louisiana, the great mart for slaves, where new plantations are almost daily opening. I shall cut also a bit out of this paper containing this precious intelligence and send you. You will be pleased, after copying them, to return them to me.

Now, if ——— will give me leave to print his letter (without name), I think that, if you were to print it in the *Reporter*, and add to it the news from Louisiana, and then add to this the account of slaves falling in value to one hundred dollars, you would be giving to the readers of the *Reporter* such a treat as they have never yet had with respect to slavery and the slave-trade. From, my dear Friend, yours affectionately,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

P. S.—I hope you will answer this letter, and tell me whether it has not filled your soul with joy, as it has mine.

THE letter which Mr. Clarkson's note thus introduces to the attention of the reader, is as follows:—

Ninth Month 17th, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND, THOMAS CLARKSON,—When I last had the pleasure of seeing thee at Playford Hall, we were conversing a little on American slavery and its evils; and how it seemed likely to follow that all who were participators in the crime would partake of the punishment which, though long delayed, the retributive justice of Him who is true and righteous altogether, would at length inevitably bring upon the guilty, whether individuals or nations. I observed that America has already begun to feel the baneful effects of this great national sin—so true it is that our backslidings correct, and our iniquities punish us. The failure of the United States bank, the stock of which is fallen to 6½ per cent, and which has made an assignment of all its effects to a board of trustees for the purpose of winding up its concerns, may be chiefly attributed to this cause. The slave states are nearly all in the same situation, hopelessly, and irretrievably bankrupt. And they are bankrupts in character as well as in cash. The northern merchants will trust them no longer. The great commercial collapse of 1837, when every bank in the United States suspended specie payments, has been clearly traced to slavery. It is computed that the southern states owe the northern upwards of 500,000,000 dollars, not 10 per cent of which will ever be realized.

I have extracted this information from a letter written by a friend in the United States. He thinks that the whole of the derangement of their monetary affairs is attributable to the vast extent of accommodation they have afforded to the planters on long credit, in order to enable them to purchase slaves, and otherwise to enrich themselves by this unrighteous system. He further goes on to say that a favourable change has taken place in the sentiments of the citizens of the United States. The abolitionists are increasing at a wonderful rate. Last election the liberty party had but 7000 votes out of upwards of 1,000,000; at the recent state elections they have increased in several instances five fold, and there seems a fair probability of securing an abolition president at the next general election in 1844. Thousands of slaves escape every year to Canada and the northern states. The free states now grant them a jury trial,* which is equivalent to giving them their freedom, since in no place can twelve men be found willing to agree in a verdict that one man can rightly be the property of another. Nearly all the free states now refuse to allow slaveholders to bring their slaves with them, when on a visit to the north. The prejudice against colour seems to be gradually dying away.

From this view of the subject, I am inclined to hope that the cause is gaining ground in the United States. May it proceed to its consummation, till there be not one bondman in that otherwise free country, is the ardent desire of

Thy affectionate Friend.

To this letter we add the following confirmatory extracts from recent American papers:—

State of things in Louisiana.—A gentleman direct from the state of Louisiana informs us, that the pecuniary condition of that state is becoming truly deplorable. It appears that the banks in that state have been in the habit of letting out their money for eight years, to be paid in instalments, and that the last instalment on the immense sums of money loaned to the planters is about coming due, all the preceding instalments remaining unpaid also, not even the interest, he says, having been paid. As a consequence, universal ruin is anticipated, as the banks, in their present condition, will be compelled to wind up their affairs immediately. The planters, he says, owe these banks for the money with which their negros were bought, and that too when negros were worth 800 or 1000 dollars each, while at the present time they would scarcely fetch 250 dollars each. The sugar planters seem to be reduced to a most desperate condition. He mentioned an instance in which a sugar planter shipped thirty hogsheads of sugar to New Orleans, and sold it for one cent a pound, and all that he realized over the cost of transportation, was *thirty-eight dollars*—and it was a lot of very good sugar.—*Detroit Times.*

A falling off.—A New Orleans paper says that an able bodied negro, who would have brought 1000 dollars in the "palmy days" of slavery, was sold the other day at the arcade for 100 dollars.—*Liberator.*

Southern Financiering—The Exchange Bank at New Orleans, which was once noted for performing miracles surpassing the wildest dreams of the alchemists of old, making wealth out of nothing, has been sold by the sheriff for debt, it having in its generous purpose of enriching other people, entirely overlooked its own necessities. The announcement of the public sale drew quite a crowd, and the bidding was quite animated until it reached 2500 dollars, when the "dead weight" principle was plainly visible—not another cent could be obtained on the institution, and down it went—nine years' lease, vault, specie boxes, counter, drawers, furniture, and other "fixins."—*Liberator.*

A New Orleans paper says, "We are told by a gentleman conversant with the business of the city, that stores were sold yesterday for four, five, six, and seven thousand dollars, which three years ago brought twenty thousand dollars each."—*Emancipator.*

* The late decision of the supreme court has modified the case in this particular.—*Ed. Rep.*

ASHBURTON TREATY—THE TENTH ARTICLE.

We insert another letter which Captain Stuart has written on this deeply interesting subject to a member of the Anti-slavery Committee. A remark or two of our own will be found elsewhere.

"*Redruth, October 5th*, 1842.

"My Dear Friend,—The Tenth Article of Lord Ashburton's Treaty, appears more and more horrible to me, as repeated consideration seems to develope its character. My reasons are as follows:—

"In all slave states of the United States, and in one at least of the free

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(Ohio), the coloured, whether enslaved or free, have no evidence in law. When accused, therefore, no evidence except that of free white persons can be legally received in their favour; but, whenever the contest is with free white persons, you see at once, how hopeless to them, generally speaking, such a defence must be. Was Lord Ashburton aware of this? Or is there one amongst us, who, excluded entirely from those of his own class, could be content to repose the question of his honour, his liberty, or his life, upon the testimony and judgment of his deliberate and exasperated enemies?

"Now, suppose a free coloured subject of the United States is reclaimed from our government with the legal affidavits, as a fugitive criminal. By the treaty, as I read it, we are bound to give him up; but to what do we give him up? To a fair trial? This must have been Lord Ashburton's idea. To a fair trial? Possibly; but certainly not once in a hundred times. To a fair trial? No; but to the power of a law system which has already deprived him of almost all possibility of proving his innocence, if innocent; and which leaves his acquittal or condemnation to a judiciary, outrageously at war with his safety, his honour, and his happiness. The ninety-nine probabilities out of a hundred are that he will be judged with fearfully partial severity. Yet, if he belong to the free states, there is still a mitigation—a sacred mitigation in his case. After undergoing the awarded punishment, he will be free—he will be restored to his manhood. But should he belong to the slave-states, his crime, by the laws of the state in question, may direct or sanction his being sold into slavery, either immediately, or after he has undergone some other dreadful penalty.

"I am not willing to believe that Lord Ashburton contemplated this; nor, as long as it is possible to doubt, will I believe, that our government will sanction the article in question, without expressly and effectually providing against such results.

"But a still worse evil is involved in the *treaty*. The slave, whoever he is, wherever he comes from, as soon as he touches British ground, *is free*. Glorious feature of our country! Well, a slave from Arkansas; we will say (Nelson Hackett will serve for a complete illustration), accused of theft, escapes to Canada, and from the moment that he arrives there is a free man. British law, in this particular executing the divine, restores to him his inherent manhood and the Ægis of British power is nobly spread over him. But he is accused of theft, and the United States government, supplying the legal certificates, reclaims him for trial—Lord Ashburton doubtless presumed, for a fair trial by his peers. By his peers! Alas! he has none, but the cattle which graze his master's field, or the furniture which adorns his master's habitation! For a fair trial? What! a fair trial with no evidence admissible by law in his favour except the evidence of exasperated enemies! What! a fair trial of a runaway slave by indignant slave-masters! And, after all, when he has been tried for theft, when, of course, he has been found guilty, and when he has undergone the worst rigours of the law—what, ah! what, becomes of him if he survives? Will his liberty, which God had restored to him by British instrumentality, be given back by the slave-holder, exulting in the recovery of the runaway slave, and in the fearful example which he has made him to his fellows against similar transgressions of slave-laws? Will he be at liberty to return openly and without impediment to Canada? Alas! he is in Arkansas—he is in the fangs of his tyrants; he was long ago legislated by them into a thing, and all his fair claims to equal manhood have of old been spurned with infinite indignation. And how would the coward pride and the tyrant selfishness of the slave-system quail and writhe in every nerve at the departing glories of slavery, should a slave's claim to the common and inalienable manhood with which God has endowed every man, and to its fair and equal rights, be thus publicly acknowledged!

"Lord Ashburton meant, I presume, that criminals on both sides should be equitably restored, in a friendly manner, to fair trial and judgment; and so far, every honest mind will applaud and support him.

"Nelson Hackett's case affords a fine opportunity of testing the question. If the Americans be honest in the treaty, they will scrupulously restore him to Canada, should he survive, after undergoing the punishment they may award him for theft; and how would my soul exult with thanksgiving should they do so! But, if he perish, or, if they retain him in slavery, and we be consenting to it, how criminal, debased, and dastardly will be our posture—how daringly shall we again begin to violate the Divine commandments, Deut. xxiii. 15, 16, and James v. 1—4, &c. My heart's prayer is, that the Sovereign Mercy which so long spared us amidst all the abominations of our own recent slave system, and which so graciously led us out of it in peace, may here again preserve us, nor suffer us to make ourselves kidnappers of freemen—for let us always remember that, once on British ground, the slave is restored to his liberty by British laws, as he always was entitled to it by Divine—nor suffer us, I say, to make ourselves kidnappers of freemen, out of regard to a supremely hypocritical power, the tyrant republic, which will be the first to detect our shallowness and to despise our pusillanimity, whilst it boasts of our brotherhood in corruption, and superciliously smiles upon our tame subserviency to its idol guilt.

"CHARLES STUART."

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 19TH.

THE British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee waited upon Lord Palmerston yesterday, at his residence in Carlton House Terrace, by appointment, in order to present an address from that body, expressive of their high sense of the services which he rendered, while in office, to the anti-slavery cause. The members present were Messrs. G. Stacey, Robert Forster, Josiah Conder, J. Beaumont, H. Tuckett, J. Soul; Dr. Madden; the revs. J. H. Hinton, M. A., and James Carlile: with the secretary, Mr. Scoble. His lordship received the Committee with much courtesy, and entered freely into conversation with them on several subjects connected with the object of the interview. The address of the Committee, and Lord Palmerston's reply, will be found in another column.

WE have the pleasure of informing our readers that the vacancy in the secretaryship of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, occasioned by the decease of the late lamented Mr. Tredgold, has been filled up by the appointment of Mr. Scoble to that office. We are sure that the unanimity and cordiality with which this step has been taken by the Committee, will be universally participated in by the friends of the Society, at home and abroad.

WE have the pleasure of advertising to-day the Third Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. The Report, which was read at the Annual Meeting at Exeter Hall in May last, is accompanied by an Appendix full of important and most interesting matter, not only in relation to the proceedings of the Society, but in relation also to the state of slavery and the slave-trade in all parts of the world. We must defer a more detailed notice till our next.

LORD STANLEY being absent from town, no day has yet been appointed for receiving the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee on the subject of the Trinidad ordinance. The memorial of the Committee, however, has been transmitted to him, so that the subject is brought under his serious consideration.

ANOTHER letter from our friend, Captain Stuart, appears in our columns to-day, on the tenth article of Lord Ashburton's treaty. A communication on the same subject has also been received by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee from the committee of the Leeds Auxiliary. We are happy to see the attention of our friends drawn to the bearings of this dangerous stipulation, and assure them that no efforts shall be spared which may be found either necessary or adapted to avert the evils so much to be apprehended. Happily, the British public will have an opportunity of exerting a salutary and decisive influence. The tenth article can be of no effect on British territory, until an act of parliament has been passed in conformity with it. The matter, therefore, must pass deliberately through both houses of parliament, and all necessary pains may—and doubtless will be taken there, to make the phraseology of the law what it ought to be.

We have inserted several articles to-day, illustrative of the tenacity with which many of the planters in the West Indies are still, by a system of abitrary rent-charges, endeavouring to coerce labour. The case we have given in detail from the court of appeal in Barbados is worth an attentive perusal. It is stated in the *Liberal* that the appellant in this case had, a few weeks previously, left Spring Garden estate and found employment elsewhere, and that this charge of *rent for two years* was made subsequently to her leaving—doubtless as a piece of petty revenge. Our contemporary adds—

To show to what extent the labourer is exposed to fraud under this system, and with what reasonableness he complains of it and is dissatisfied, we would briefly state here, that, a few days ago four women from *Baker's* in St. Peter's parish came to take our advice on a charge of rent, for which their wages had been stopped. The charge was made for their children, who with a single exception were at school; but the attorney and manager thought they would be better in the estate working. One of these children resided from the estate with her father, the others came home after school to their mothers; and these mothers were charged at the rate of a bit a week for lodging each child in her house, and the same charge was made for the one who did not lodge on the estate! The declared object was to induce these poor women to take the children from school to work on the estate—some of the planter-folks having a decided aversion to little negros being taught to read and make a shirt. Week after week for months had this bit for each child been "held back" from the "hire" of these poor mothers, before they thought of resisting the villanous exaction against which they murmured.

This is not a solitary instance in which parents are made to pay lodging for their children at school, or engaged, it may be, in tending an infant at home, whilst the parent is labouring to obtain the means of subsistence for herself and them. The thing is of frequent occurrence.

THE *Guiana Gazette* publishes a letter signed *Berbiciano*, gravely proposing the formation of a society to be called the British Guiana Anti-slavery Society, the object of which should be "to purchase slaves" in slave-colonies, and transport them to Guiana as freemen. To this plan, which the editor of the *Gazette* seriously commends, and sustains by many reasons, there is this trifling objection, that, for a British subject to purchase a slave, or to become a party to such purchase, is by the law of England a felony. In the eulogy of our contemporary on this philanthropic design, one passage strikes us so powerfully that we cannot help quoting it. "This scheme," says he, "seems to us in every respect more feasible than Mr. Burnley's famous scheme of purchasing slaves on the coast of Africa to be converted into immigrants—*a scheme, it is said, of which certain persons in this colony have attempted to make a practical application.*" Pray who are these persons! And what is the nature and extent of that "practical application" of the "scheme of purchasing slaves on the coast of Africa," which is said to be in progress! Would the *Gazette* oblige us with an answer to these questions!

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MR. TURNBULL.

By the *Royal Gazette and Bahama Advertizer* of the 21st of August, we find that Mr. Turnbull was at that period at Nassau, having left Cuba, as appears, in circumstances of considerable peril. The Bahama and Grants Town Friendly Societies presented him an address not less honourable to themselves than to Mr. Turnbull. This document, with the reply, we extract with much pleasure, and we rejoice especially that the visit of this high principled functionary to Nassau is likely to turn to so good an account as the closing sentence announces.

ADDRESS TO DAVID TURNBULL ESQ., LATE HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL AT HAVANA, SUPERINTENDENT AND PROTECTOR OF LIBERATED AFRICANS.

Nassau, New Providence, 29th August, 1842.

SIR,—We, the Friendly Societies of this town, take the liberty —a liberty which we trust you will excuse, of signifying to you the pleasure we felt on learning of your arrival at Nassau, and your escape from dangers imminent and alarming.

Through the medium of the press we have been made acquainted with some of the services which you have rendered, both in your private and official capacity, to the great and sacred cause of justice and humanity; and sorry are we that you could not continue to adorn that station and magnify that office which you held under our gracious sovereign the Queen, and thus fulfil the wishes of a people the most intelligent, the most mighty, and the most humane under the whole heaven.

That your manly and emphatic assertion of the just and inalienable rights of others, especially of the sons and daughters of Africa; your unbending firmness; your unswerving integrity; your uncompromising policy; your fearless denunciation, on all fitting occasions, of an evil the most foul and demoralizing that ever cursed the earth; and your benevolent endeavours to lessen the misery, and mitigate the hard condition, of a long oppressed, maligned, and down-trodden people, who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh—that you should, sir, by such a line of conduct, have kindled the opposition of men devoid of all sense of justice, of all regard for the claims of humanity, and whose gains are acquired by trafficking in blood as genuinely and as purely human, and therefore as precious, as their own, is not at all surprising. But decry and traduce who may, the sympathies of the humane and the good are with you, and the blessings of the injured gather thickly upon you.

We trust, sir, that you will derive consolation from the assurance that your philanthropic efforts have been, and still are, appreciated; and that you will continue to enjoy that keen satisfaction which springs from doing justice and showing mercy.

We are thankful to that Almighty preserver who has effectually shielded you in the day of peril. And fervently do we desire that He may long spare your life to plead the cause of the helpless, and to prove a friend to the victims of lawless power, and base cupidity.

Further, allow us to assure you of the unfeigned sorrow we feel on account of the illness of your excellent lady, and of the anxious hope we entertain that her visit to this place may eminently conduce to the restoration of her health.

It ill becomes us to remind you of the truth, while we rejoice in it, that whom the great disposer of all things afflicts He dealeth with as with sons.

We have the honour to be, Sir, with fervent gratitude and a deep sense of respect, on behalf of our respective societies.

[WILLIAM BUTLER, President of the Bahama F. S.
EDWARD BUTLER, President of the Grants Town F. S.

MR. TURNBULL'S REPLY TO THE FRIENDLY SOCIETIES AT NASSAU.

Nassau, New Providence, 29th August, 1842.

My good and kind friends,—I thank you with all my heart for this affectionate address. If I have been able to render any service to the interests of justice and humanity in the course of my residence in a land where that sacred cause is systematically trampled under foot, I feel that I am amply rewarded by the approbation of the friendly societies of Nassau; who, breathing the atmosphere of freedom in the near neighbourhood of the scenes of oppression which it has been my misfortune to witness, and my duty to endeavour to mitigate, are necessarily better qualified than other men to judge of the magnitude of the evils which are here so eloquently denounced, as well as to appreciate the value of that emancipation, of which the noble sentiments of this address are the direct and legitimate offspring.

I have looked with the greatest satisfaction into the constitutions of the societies you so worthily represent; and I congratulate you most sincerely on the brotherly, benevolent, and independent spirit which so happily distinguishes these admirable institutions.

The estimate you have formed of my humble efforts and my willing sacrifices in the cause of freedom, afford a faithful measure of the kindness of your own hearts; and, although you have greatly overrated my personal merits, you have taught me how to acquire the sympathy of the humane and the good, while you offer me the strongest encouragement to persevere in the course which has met your approbation.

When I left Havana just a fortnight ago, my attention was so entirely absorbed by the domestic affliction to which you have so feelingly alluded, that I little thought of the path of usefulness which was about to open to me in the island of New Providence. My wife desires me to convey to you her grateful acknowledgments for the good wishes you express, and to assure you of her confidence that, with the Divine blessing, the air of freedom she now breathes, will speedily restore her to that health and strength which she rejoices in devoting to the cause of humanity.

I cannot part with you on this occasion without entreating your active co-operation in the new field of usefulness to which I have just alluded.

It must be known to many of the members of your several societies that a vast number of British born subjects, from this very colony, as well entitled as ourselves to the enjoyment of their freedom, are at this moment the bondsmen and the bondswomen of the Spaniard and the American.

Since my arrival in Nassau, I have found my way to evidence sufficient, I trust, to establish the birthright of several hundreds of such persons. I need not tell you that it is my earnest desire to make that evidence so complete, as that not a single subject of her Majesty may be left in this western world to deplore the bondage, which, thanks to the great nation to which we belong, has for ever disappeared throughout the British portion of your fair Archipelago.

In this new effort I ask your friendly assistance. I beg of you to let it be known in your several societies that I am ready to receive any farther evidence that may be offered, and in the form most agreeable to the parties in whose possession such evidence may be.

Believe me, my dear and kind friends, with great truth and esteem,—Your faithful servant,

D. TURNBULL.

THE RENT-COERCION SYSTEM.

ASSISTANT COURT OF APPEAL, BARBADOS. AUGUST 26TH.

Mary Bowen, (labourer).....*Appellant.*
Mr. Joseph Greaves (manager Spring Garden)..*Respondent.*

This was an appeal from the decision of Mr. Morris. The appellant was warranted for the sum of thirteen dollars eighty cents for house rent, and judgment given against her for that sum.

Respondent (to appellant.) Have you not a house and land on the estate?

Appellant.—Yes, I have.

Respondent.—Did not the superintendent acquaint you that I should require two bits per week rent for them?

Appellant.—He told us that, when we left the estate to work elsewhere, we would have to pay two bits per week.

Respondent.—Do you not know that I have received two bits per week rent from others?

Appellant.—If you warranted any one else, and made them pay it, it was not right, because you made no agreement of the kind.

Justice Tinling.—Before the magistrate, were you told for what time you were charged rent?

Appellant.—No, I was not.

Justice Tinling.—In the proceedings it does not appear for how many days the charge was made.

Respondent was sworn, and handed in a copy of the account with which he had furnished Mr. Morris—to the best of his belief it was a true copy. The account included from June 1840, to June 1842, from which a deduction was made of seven dollars for thirty-five weeks' sickness, leaving the balance of thirteen dollars and eighty cents warranted for. Respondent had told the labourers that, if they left the estate's work, they would have to pay rent.

Justice Cuppage.—Did you consider her a renter?

Respondent.—I never made any point blank agreement with her. I first of all wrote on the boiling-house door, that all who stood away from the work of the estate should pay one bit per day; but finding that they absented themselves so frequently, I altered it, and made it a permanent rent of two bits per week.

Justice Tinling.—Then if she rented the house at two bits per week, she ought to have been at liberty to work where she pleased. If, on the other hand, the house was given in consideration of her labouring for the estate, when she worked the rent ought not to have been charged.

Justice Cuppage.—You must make some arrangement with the people.

Respondent.—I wrote it on the boiling-house.

Justice Cuppage.—But the appellant can't read.

Justice Tinling.—How did you expect to be paid?

Respondent.—Why, if she had paid weekly, I should have taken it.

Justice Hamilton.—Did you pay them their wages weekly?

Respondent.—Sometimes.

Justice Tinling.—How much a day do you give them?

Respondent.—Two bits.

Justice Tinling.—And yet you made them pay two bits for their house and land? I think that is too much like the old system.

Respondent.—What must I do?—Suppose I make them pay a bit a day?

Justice Cuppage.—You certainly have a right to make what stipulations you please on your estate; but you must make the people understand them. You have allowed your debt to run on for two years, until it amounts to a sum which the woman is unable to pay—where is a woman in her situation to obtain that amount from?

Respondent.—She owes it.

Justice Cuppage.—On your own showing, you employ labour on the estate below the general price. You deduct half a bit from their wages, and then charge them two bits a week for house and land!

Justice Tinling.—The appellant must have been at liberty to take her labour where she pleased.

Justice Cuppage (to Respondent).—Did you expect her to give her labour on the estate?

Respondent.—It was the agreement.

Justice Cuppage.—You said just now that there was no agreement between you.

Respondent.—I first of all wrote on the door, that the labourer who missed a day would have to pay one bit for it; but I soon afterwards altered it, because I could not make out a just account of the number of

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absent days, and I charged them two bits per week. I explained the paper to the superintendent, and desired him to do so to the labourers.

Justice Tinling.—When was the first regulation written?

Respondent.—I cannot tell the exact time.

Justice Cuppage.—When was the other written?

Respondent.—I cannot recollect.

Justice Tinling.—You only say when you began to charge the appellant, but not when either of the regulations was made.

Albert (superintendent) sworn.—An agreement which the respondent some time last year made with the labourers had since been rescinded, and the labourers were charged two bits per week for their houses and land. The appellant had often been absent from the estate's work.

Justice Tinling.—How long after the first agreement had been made was it altered for the other?

Deponent.—I cannot say.

Justice Cuppage.—Did you communicate the stipulation to the labourers?

Deponent.—Yes, I told them of it.

Justice Cuppage.—Was appellant present?

Deponent.—Yes.

Justice Tinling.—I wish to know when the second agreement was made, because the appellant is charged under it from June 1840; but it does not appear that the first agreement was made until January last year. The second must have been made after that.

Justice Cuppage.—What steps did you take to acquaint the people with the agreement?

Deponent.—I went to their doors and called out to them, and told them of it. Appellant was in her house.

Justice Cuppage.—Now try, and recollect the time.

Deponent.—I cannot well recollect. I know the first was made before Easter.

Respondent.—Have you not seen me call on the labourers repeatedly for rent?

Deponent.—Yes, I have.

Benjamin Bailey sworn.—The sum was justly due the respondent by appellant, according to an agreement he had heard respondent enter into with the labourers, and entered up by deponent in the estate's books. In 1839 they were in the field, when the respondent told them they should pay one bit for each day they were absent from work. In April, 1840, respondent sent deponent to measure off land for the labourers, when he saw written on the boiling house a second agreement. Respondent told de ponent to remember that all the labourers who did not work five days on the estate should be charged two bits per week for their houses and land.

Justice Cuppage.—Do you swear that appellant heard the agreement?

Deponent.—The whole gang heard it.

Justice Cuppage.—I ask as to her individually? She is the only person whose case we are now trying.

Deponent.—I cannot swear that she particularly was there: the whole gang heard it.

Justice Cuppage.—Did appellant comply with the regulation, by giving five days' labour to the estate?

Deponent.—No, she did not.

Justice Hamilton.—Can you swear to how many weeks she was absent?

Deponent.—No, I cannot.

Justice Cuppage.—You swore before Mr. Morris, and you have confirmed your deposition in this court, that the account was a correct one—how can you reconcile that with the reply you have now given to the question of the court?

Deponent.—Why, if the account was made out strictly correct—if all the time that she was absent was included—it would be found to amount to much more than it is.

Justice Cuppage.—The only deduction which you have made is for sickness?

Deponent.—Sickness *et cetera*.

Justice Hamilton.—And what does the *et cetera* comprise?

Deponent.—Days that we have cut off, when there was no work on the estate.

Justice Cuppage.—Has any money been received from the labourers on this agreement?

Deponent.—Yes, about ten or twelve months ago.

The court after a brief consultation, came to the following decision. In the proceedings received from the magistrate, it did not appear for what time rent was charged; nor had it been stated in court. The only information to be had on the subject was a written memorandum presented by the respondent, in which the appellant was charged with rent for 10½ weeks, or from June 1840 to June 1842. By the testimony of Albert, it appeared that the agreement was not drawn up until last year; had the appellant consented to it, she would therefore have been under obligation to pay rent only from April 1841. Bailey had deposed that the agreement was conditional—that the two bits were to be exacted only if they did not give five days' labour on the estate; but this witness could not tell the exact number of days that the appellant was absent. Had the court deemed it necessary, they should have sent the case back to the magistrate for the hearing of the appellant's witnesses; but, for the foregoing reasons, and from the vague and indefinite nature of the evidence altogether, the court thought proper to reverse the magistrate's decision, and direct the respondent to pay the costs of appeal, amounting to thirteen shillings.

TRINIDAD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(From a Correspondent of the *Barbados Liberal*.)

THE Trinidad auxiliary anti-slavery society celebrated the fourth anniversary of freedom on the evening of the 1st of August, by a soirée at the Theatre in Henry-street, Port of Spain. About seven o'clock the large room in which the party assembled was completely filled, and in some degree crowded; but the most orderly and decorous conduct, we are happy to state, was observed throughout the proceedings of the evening. Time was, even in the memory of some of our youngest ones, when such an assembly as was then congregated would have been thought to require the presence of all the local militia, and a company or two of the regulars, to keep the peace. But now, thanks to freedom, not even a single constable was in attendance.

The platform was well supplied with speakers of most liberal and independent sentiments. Mr. George Cowan, of the Mico Charity, was called on to preside; and around him were, the Rev. Alexander Kennedy (a talented and indefatigable friend of freedom) and the Rev. George Brodie, both of the Presbyterian church; Mr. Hamilton, of the Wesleyan society; Messrs. O'Brein, Peltier, Paull, H Anderson, Robertson, Ireland, Hobson, Knighn, Scotland, Fraser, &c.&c. The report of the society for the past year having been read, thefollowing resolutions were then put and carried.

1.—Moved by Mr. Paull, seconded by Mr. Hamilton—That the report read be adopted, and that it be printed and circulated under the superintendence of the committee.

2.—Moved by Mr. Hobson, seconded by Mr. Scotland, and supported by Rev. A. Kennedy—That this meeting rejoice that the righteous act of emancipation has, in this colony, realized all, and even more than all, that the friends of humanity could have expected.

3.—Moved by Mr. O'Brien, seconded by Mr. Knighn—That this meeting deeply sympathise with their brethren in bondage, and sincerely and earnestly desire their speedy deliverance.

4.—Moved by Mr. H. Anderson, seconded by Mr. Peltier, and supported by the Rev. G. Brodie—That this meeting deprecate the proposition of lowering the duty on slave-sugar; they anxiously long for the day when all slave produce will be regarded and treated as illegally acquired property.

5.—Moved by Mr. Robertson, seconded by Mr. Ireland, and supported by Mr. Fraser—That this meeting desire to encourage by all lawful and just means the voluntary immigration of the sons and daughters of Africa into the British colonies; but they cannot approve of pecuniary or other inducements being held out to the African chiefs to expatriate their subjects.*

* Here was a fair opportunity, of their own seeking, to give us their opinion of the "Twelvemonths Bondage Ordinance"—Do they "approve" of that? or were they afraid to condemn it?—*Editor of the Liberal.*

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, &c. &c.

MY LORD,—It is with unusual satisfaction that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society (widely as they have differed from your lordship on some not unimportant questions) feel themselves called upon publicly to record their high sense of the eminent services you have rendered to the anti-slavery cause, when occupying the distinguished office of foreign secretary under the late government; and to tender to you, in behalf of the great body of abolitionists they represent, and of the suffering millions of the human race now held in bondage, the tribute of their sincere respect and gratitude.

Amidst the exciting conflicts of party, and the laborious engagements of your high office, your lordship was not unmindful of the wrongs of Africa, nor of the claim which her enslaved children have on the sympathy and assistance of this great country. The recent papers relative to the slave-trade presented to both houses of parliament by her Majesty's command, are a monument of the great ability, the untiring industry, and the generous zeal displayed by you in the cause of human freedom and happiness.

From those papers, the Committee learn that your lordship recognised and affirmed the great principle, that no British functionary of any class, residing in countries where slavery and the slave-trade exist, should either hold or hire slaves for any purpose whatever; and, that, in order to secure the practical operation of this principle, a circular despatch was addressed by your lordship to all such functionaries, intimating it to be the wish of her Majesty's government that they should act in strict accordance with this principle. The issuing of such instructions, and the attitude of British functionaries acting agreeably to them, must exert a powerful moral influence, and operate as a standing testimony, on the part of Great Britain, against the atrocious system of slavery wherever it exists. How necessary those instructions were, and how beneficial they have been in their results, may be evinced by an extract from a communication addressed to your lordship by her Majesty's late Consul at Havana, dated the 1st of December, 1840. "I cannot close this despatch without the respectful tender of my heartfelt congratulations on the vast amount of good already achieved by the simple expression of the wishes of the government. In your lordship's hands the sentiments expressed by the general anti-slavery convention have not been barren or unfruitful. At the period of my arrival in this country, a few weeks ago, it is a matter of notoriety that there was not a single officer holding an appointment under the British crown, and resident in the island, who was entirely free from the charge of countenancing the practice of slavery. A week had not elapsed after the arrival of your lordship's circular despatch, when a series of advertisements appeared in the public papers, in the name of one of the commissioners, offering specific wages to servants of free condition, and at this moment, I rejoice to say, there is not a single British officer residing within my consular jurisdiction, who either has not relinquished, or is not at least, preparing to relinquish this odious practice."

Nor has your lordship confined the application of this principle to British functionaries. In another circular to her Majesty's representatives at foreign courts, you have instructed them to urge upon the governments to which they are accredited, its adoption by their agents abroad; and the Committee are gratified to find that this measure has been attended with great success. The combined action of the powers of Europe, thus brought to bear through the medium of their representatives, upon the institution of slavery, must have a direct and important influence on the governments which yet sanction it and its fearful adjunct, the slave-trade. Whilst the Committee are gratified generally with the terms in which those of her Majesty's allies who have given

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in their adhesion to the principle advocated by your lordship, have expressed themselves; they are particularly so with the views of the Mexican government, communicated to the British minister at Mexico, on the 16th August, 1841—"You may assure her Majesty's government, that his Excellency the President of the republic, before whom I have laid your note, entirely agreeing with their sentiments, and influenced by a full conviction that the unjust and barbarous traffic in slaves is as repugnant to morality as it is scandalous to humanity and civilization, has not contented himself with merely accepting and following up their invitation, by causing instructions similar to those contained in the above-mentioned circular to be addressed to our agents abroad; but has also thought it expedient to extend its effects as far as is in his power, by directing that such agents, whenever the occasion presents itself, shall use their advocacy with the governments and authorities of the countries where they reside, with the same zeal in behalf of the slaves as they would for their countrymen, in fulfilment of their duty, and in as far as is compatible with the exercise of their functions."

The Committee also observe that, your lordship recognised and affirmed the principle, that British functionaries in slave-holding countries should represent the well-known views and feelings of the government and people of this country on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade. In the discussions with the Spanish government, relative to the removal of the late Consul in Cuba, on the ground of his anti-slavery principles, you not only intimated to the Spanish minister, "that the doctrines and opinions said to be entertained by Mr. Turnbull are so unanimously shared by the whole British nation, from the highest to the lowest, that it would be scarcely possible for her Majesty's government to find within the United Kingdom any person who, by his education and attainments, was fitted for the post of Consul at the Havana, who did not entertain upon the slave-trade and upon slavery the very same opinions which are ascribed to Mr. Turnbull;" but, referring to Mr. Turnbull's work on the Spanish colonies, against which the Spanish government had taken exception, you said: "So far was her Majesty's government from thinking that those opinions do render Mr. Turnbull unfit for the situations of Consul and superintendent of liberated Africans in Cuba, that it was precisely the book he wrote, and the well known sincerity and earnestness of his opinions, that pointed him out to her Majesty's government as a fit person to hold those appointments." But your lordship was not content with these intimations of the motives which influenced the government in the appointment of that gentleman. You further stated, that "if the exequatur were to be withdrawn from Mr. Turnbull as Consul, he would nevertheless continue to hold his commission as superintendant of liberated Africans, an office which is not subject to any instrument of confirmation by the Spanish crown, and even if Mr. Turnbull were to be withdrawn from Cuba in both capacities, it would be the duty of her Majesty's government to select as his successor some other person holding the same opinions, and animated as nearly as possible with the same zeal and activity in the performance of his duties; so that nothing would be gained for the Cuba slave-traders by the removal of Mr. Turnbull." Your lordship thus identified the anti-slavery cause with the policy of the government, and showed to the world that a British statesman is as tenacious of the dignity and honour of his country where the general interests of humanity and freedom are concerned, as he is jealous of them in its own peculiar relations with foreign states.

The Committee further perceive, that previously to quitting office you not only took a deep interest in the freedom of the *emancipados* in Cuba, but adopted a plan for securing to these unhappy persons the rights secured to them by the Spanish laws, and by the slave-trade treaties under which they had been liberated from bondage, but (as is well known) only to be enslaved to gratify the cupidity of the Spanish authorities, and to demonstrate (if additional proof were necessary) the bad faith of the Spanish government. Recognising the right of these deeply injured people to the protection of the British government; you instructed her Majesty's minister at Madrid thus to address the Spanish cabinet: "You will in conclusion state, that the British government demand as a right from the Spanish government, the immediate freedom of all the negros who have been emancipated in Cuba by sentence of the Mixed Commission, since the treaty of 1817, but who appear hitherto to have been retained in practical slavery by the authorities of Cuba, in direct violation of solemn engagements with the British crown." Your lordship added: "Her Majesty's government cannot allow themselves to believe that, when the cabinet of Madrid shall see, as is proposed by this correspondence, that the treaty with Great Britain has in this matter been set at naught; that the faith of the Spanish crown has been broken; that its engagements have been deliberately and systematically, and during a long course of time, violated; and that this has been done for the illegal profit of those public officers whose duty it was to have carried the treaty into execution: her Majesty's government cannot doubt that, when the cabinet of Madrid shall see all this, it will hasten to redeem the honour of the Spanish crown by immediately putting an end to these monstrous abuses. As it is evident," you further observe, "that these emancipated negros cannot hope for security from oppression, so long as they remain in Cuba; her Majesty's government therefore demand that they shall be brought before the Mixed Commission, according to the lists deposited in the archives of the commission, and that they shall then, if they wish it, be handed over to the superintendent of liberated Africans, to be by him sent to a British colony, where they would by law as well as by treaty be free." Thus did your lordship, the Committee trust, lay the foundation for securing the future liberty and prosperity of a class of Africans, whose hard fate has long excited the commiseration of the abolitionists of this country.

But, my lord, eminent as are the services you rendered to the sacred cause of freedom in the particulars to which reference has been made, it is chiefly to the course which you pursued in relation to the multitudes of wretched Africans who have been illicitly introduced into Brazil and the Spanish colonies, contrary to the municipal laws of these countries, and the faith of treaties with the British government that the Committee now refer. That course is worthy of the country to which we belong, and is sanctioned alike by the principles of justice, humanity, and religion, the laws and institutions of Spain and Brazil, and the solemn obligations of treaties. Your lordship demanded in the name of the British government and nation, the liberation from slavery of all Africans who have been unlawfully introduced into the Spanish colonies, in contravention both of law and treaty; and instructed the British minister at Madrid, to negociate a treaty for the constitution of a proper tribunal for carrying the requisition into effect. It is sufficient to refer to the draft of the treaty to show that it is as comprehensive in detail, as it is just in principle. What its ultimate effect may be will greatly depend on the firmness of your lordship's successor in office, who, they trust, animated by the same spirit, will complete the great work which you have so nobly begun. Referring to the steps you were reported to have taken, the commissioners at Havana, in a dispatch, dated 15th September, 1841, thus announce the effect produced by them:—"A very considerable excitement has prevailed here during the past month, in consequence of information received that your lordship had demanded of the Spanish government the liberation of all slaves introduced into the island since the year 1820. So *righteous a measure* must be hailed with the utmost gratification by all who wish the happiness of the human race, and would go far to efface slavery itself from this country. The proposition has roused every individual here to a sense of the evil consequences attending the further prosecution of the trade; and, if it has no other effect than that of stopping those continued malpractices, we should *receive it with the utmost satisfaction.*"

Nor is this all. Anxious to extend the blessings of freedom in whatever countries the government of England may be supposed to possess influence, you instructed her Majesty's representatives at the Persian and Ottoman courts to exert themselves to secure this great end. In your communication to the British minister in Persia, you say: "You will accordingly take an early opportunity of expressing to the Shah of Persia the strong desire which is felt in this matter by her Majesty's government, and you will represent to him that he would be doing a thing extremely acceptable to the British government and nation, if he would issue a decree prohibiting the future importation of slaves of any kind into Persia, and making it penal for a Persian to purchase slaves." These instructions, my lord, whilst they do you honour and cannot fail to be acceptable to all classes of your countrymen, are in perfect accordance with the Mussulman law; and, if followed up with "steady perseverance, and by never omitting to take advantage of favourable opportunities to press upon Mohammedan rulers the wishes of the British government on these points," as your lordship so strongly recommends, cannot fail, under the Divine blessing, of being ultimately successful in securing liberty to the slave population of the East.

In what your lordship has thus done to promote that great cause to which the Committee are devoted, they find the justification of the step they have now taken, in respectfully presenting to you their cordial thanks for the great principles you have enunciated, and the course you have pursued in your official intercourse with foreign states. And they express their earnest hope, that, whether in or out of office, your lordship's great abilities and influence will continue to be exerted in the overthrow of slavery, the establishment of freedom, and the promotion of the civilization and happiness of every portion of mankind.

Signed on behalf of the Committee, JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary.*

27, *New Broad Street, 30th September*, 1842.

LORD PALMERSTON'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,—I feel highly gratified and flattered by the address which you have done me the honour to present to me; and this proof of your good opinion is the more valuable to me, because it comes at a time when I have ceased to have any official power to assist you in the attainment of those great ends, which form the object of the association of which you are the organ.

You do me but justice in believing, that I take the deepest interest in everything that can tend finally to extinguish the slave-trade, and to abolish all over the world, the condition of slavery.

The official situation which I lately filled, and which I held for ten years, gave me great means for labouring to promote the abolition of the slave-trade. I employed those means to the best of my ability; and although during the whole of the period that I was secretary of state, I was engaged in conjunction with foreign governments in political transactions of great moment, requiring intense application, and the most assiduous devotion of time and attention; yet I never lost sight of those important matters which you have so much at heart.

I am afraid that it is impossible to hope that the slave-trade can be entirely, or at least permanently abolished, until the condition of slavery shall itself have ceased to exist, because so long as

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slavery anywhere prevails, there will be a great temptation held out to unprincipled men to carry on that criminal traffic. But, nevertheless, if all the governments of christendom would sincerely combine to hinder their own subjects and citizens from carrying on the slave-trade, and would also agree to an interchange of assistance to prevent their respective laws against slave-trade from being violated, I verily believe, that the slave-trade might be reduced to an amount infinitely small as compared with its present extent; and that so long as due vigilance was executed by land, and an active police was maintained on the sea, that trade would be almost entirely suppressed.

It was therefore an object of unceasing solicitude on the part of the government to which I had the honour to belong, to multiply as much as possible, treaties with foreign states, for the concession of a mutual right of search for the suppression of the slave-trade; and we had the great satisfaction of being able to conclude a considerable number of fresh treaties of that kind; and to introduce into those treaties such amended stipulations as experience had shown to be essential for the attainment of their object.

It is no doubt true, as has been asserted by some, that the very measures which have been adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade, have aggravated the sufferings of those negros, who, in spite of all our endeavours have annually been carried off from the coast of Africa; because our measures have driven the slave-traders to resort to all those contrivances for dispatch and concealment, which necessarily belong to an illicit trade, and those contrivances inevitably increase the misery of those wretched Africans who are the victims of them. But this circumstance, so far from being a reason for relaxing our efforts, ought rather to stimulate us to increase them, because if we could altogether prevent the trade, these sufferings would altogether cease with it. Now, there can be no doubt, that the measures which Great Britain has, for many years past taken, for the abolition of her own slave-trade, and for the extirpation of the slave-trade of other nations, have greatly narrowed the extent to which the slave-trade would otherwise have been carried.

It is possible, as some persons have thought, that the number of negros, now annually carried across the Atlantic, may be equal to the number that were so carried, at the time when Great Britain first took this great matter in hand; but to judge of the effect of our preventive efforts, we must compare the number of slaves now clandestinely carried over, in spite of all the vigilance and efforts of our cruizers, with the number that would be so carried if no obstruction were offered to the trade, and if, on the contrary, it were a permitted trade and free. And we must likewise compare the limited demand for slaves now arising from Cuba and Brazil, with the demand which would have existed at this time, if all the colonies of Great Britain, of France, of Holland, and Denmark, together with Brazil and Cuba had continued to import without impediment or restraint an unlimited supply of slaves.

Therefore, gentlemen, I see in the present state of things no reason whatever for discontinuing or relaxing our exertions; but on the contrary we have every motive for a strenuous and persevering continuance of our efforts.

Much has already been accomplished, and much more may I trust be looked for. The Brazilians, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese are the great offenders, but all these nations are bound by the solemn engagements of treaties to abstain entirely from the slave-trade; and if they could be persuaded to act in this matter with good faith, and honestly and punctually to fulfil their engagements to us, our object as far as the slave-trade is concerned, would in a great measure be accomplished.

Now the power and influence of England is great, greater perhaps than many persons in this country are aware of.

If that power and influence are steadily and vigorously exerted by the executive government, as I am sure that in this matter they will be; and if the executive government is well backed up and supported by public opinion and national feeling, of which in this case there can be no doubt, I am convinced that the unanimous determination of the British government and British nation to obtain from foreign powers a faithful and complete execution of the engagements which those powers have entered into with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade, will in the end be crowned with success.

But for this purpose we must be firm and decided; we must not mind if we give offence to the guilty parties whose crimes we are endeavouring to punish or prevent; and we must not be stopped by clamour raised against us by those who are interested in the perpetration of those enormities which we are striving to put down. But above all, we must not recede and go back in our course, for any symptoms of faultering on our part would give new courage and fresh hopes to the miscreants who commit these crimes.

Gentlemen, I beg again to thank you most gratefully for the honour which you have done me this day; and I can assure you that I shall always consider it as one of my first duties as a public man, to do all that may lie in my power to promote the attainment of those great ends for the accomplishment of which your association has been formed.

JOHN SCOBLE, ESQ.—We are glad to hear that this very zealous, able, and eloquent friend of the negro, who so materially contributed to the abolition of the apprenticeship, and who has visited in person the West India colonies, has been appointed Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in the room of the late Mr. Tredgold.—*Leeds Mercury.*

BRITISH GUIANA,—(From the *Guiana Gazette.*)—Since the last homeward packet the most important thing that has occurred in the colony has been the explosion of the new constitution, of the attempts towards the formation of which we gave some account in our last review. We did not on that occasion augur very favourably of this essay towards self-government; and, in fact, the new constitution exploded, or rather was extinguished, before it was half finished. The framers of this new form of government, though, in fixing the franchise, they had conferred the right of voting upon a multitude of Portuguese hucksters and shop-keepers, very recent immigrants to the colony—the majority of whom can hardly speak English, and whose sole object seems to be to make a little money and quit the colony as soon as possible—yet, for reasons of which we must confess we have never seen any very clear exposition, took care to exclude from the right of voting the great body of the native freeholders, who, in companies of from fifty to a hundred, had purchased estates of the value of fifty and eighty thousand dollars, and whose stake in the colony would appear to be far greater and more permanent than that of a travelling huckster from Madeira, whose great object is to get together a little money and go home again. These freeholders, perceiving that they were thus strangely overlooked, took occasion to remind the constitution-makers of their existence, by coming to town in a body to attend the adjourned meeting at which the constitution was to be discussed. Finding themselves a decided majority, they took the liberty to annul all the proceedings of the former meeting, and, in place of the proposed draft of a new constitution, to substitute a petition to the Queen to alter the form of administration according to her wisdom, so as better to accommodate it to the altered condition of the colony. All this was done in a very quiet, orderly, and decent manner; still, on the part of the friends of the new constitution, it was considered a horrid piece of impertinence.

DINNER TO SIR MICHAEL M'TURK.—(From the *Guiana Gazette*).—Yesterday being the fourth anniversary of complete emancipation, a large number of the labourers on Montrose, Felicity, and other estates in that neighbourhood, gave a dinner to SIR MICHAEL M'TURK. The dinner took place at Felicity, and was attended by most of the proprietors, managers, and professional gentlemen in that vicinity. About five-and-twenty gentlemen sat down at one table, and about a hundred labourers at another.

The Combined Court in British Guiana have passed a new immigration ordinance, in conformity with the recommendations of Lord Stanley.—*Guiana Gazette.*

IMMIGRANTS.—The ship *Mary Hurtley* arrived in our harbour on Tuesday morning from St. Helena, with 311 captured Africans. The people are mostly young, and appear to be in fine health and spirits.—*Guiana Gazette.*

HAYTI.—A meeting of the justices, vestrymen, and inhabitants of the parish of St. Andrew, Jamaica, was held on the 10th of August, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Queen to remove the restrictions on the trade of Jamaica with Hayti. An address was adopted, and referred to a committee to amend and forward to its destination.—*Jamaica Standard.*

TEXAS.—The eagerness of the Americans to invade Mexico is damped for the present. President Houston has vetoed the bill passed with this object, and the Texan army is disbanded. The Yankee expectants are getting back again as they may.

EMIGRATION FROM THE GAMBIA.—The brig *Spheroid* returned from the Gambia to St. Vincent's, with only twenty-six immigrants on board.—*St. Vincent's Gazette.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXXV. Vol. III. No. 22.] WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2nd, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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WEST COAST OF AFRICA: DR. MADDEN'S REPORT.

This important and deeply interesting document, of which so much has been said during its concealment from the public eye, has at length made its appearance in the Appendix to the Report of the West African Committee. We should qualify our statement that Dr. Madden's Report has appeared, however, by adding that *certain parts* of it have appeared; since the occurrence (not unfrequently) of sundry ominous lines of stars in the blue book, intimates that various omissions have been deemed expedient by the colonial secretary; and, for any thing we know to the contrary, these omissions may be both large and important—nay, they may consist of by far the most important and astounding passages in the whole document. It cannot yet be said, therefore, that we know what Dr. Madden's Report contains; and the public will have still to feel that some matter of critical interest is withheld from them. Whether by any means they may hereafter be made acquainted with what is now concealed we know not.

The Report as published is voluminous, and has reference to a variety of matters not relevant to the columns of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. We may make, however, one general observation. The document, instead of being printed continuously, is divided into five or six portions, each portion being followed by a variety of papers relating to the same locality, and many of them commenting on, and even contradicting, the statements of Dr. Madden. It may be said, no doubt, that this arrangement is designed to facilitate the consideration of the subjects to which the Report refers; but it may be said too that, if it had been intended to smother the Report, and to nullify its influence, a more effectual plan could not have been pursued. Such certainly is the effect; and indications are not wanting to justify a suspicion that such was the design.

Although the Report contains much that does not relate immediately to the anti-slavery question, and something even on that question which is not in harmony with our principles, it contains a great deal of matter directly relevant to our object, of the greatest importance, and of the most painful interest. We shall endeavour to bring forth these matters from time to time, as we may be able. We premise only the general observation, that, in pursuing his inquiries, and in stating their results, Dr. Madden has shewn a keen sensibility to injustice and oppression, an honest love of freedom, an independence of judgment, and a straight-forwardness of purpose and conduct, entitling him to the highest praise.

The subject to which we now proceed to direct particular attention, is the extent to which British merchants are implicated in the support of the African slave-trade. On this point, Dr. Madden does not scruple to make the sweeping and astounding assertion, that this traffic is supported mainly by British capital; that is to say, that the goods necessary for carrying it on are furnished to the slavers principally by British merchants. We must do both the Doctor and our readers the justice to lay before them the following extract from his Report on this painful topic.

CASE OF THE DOS AMIGOS.

The practice of aiding and abetting the slave-traders at the foreign settlements on this coast has not ceased, and a recent instance of supplying a foreign slave-trade vessel called the *Dos Amigos*, at Cape Coast Castle, with those goods which are required by the slave-traders for the purchase of slaves, has shown that facilities have been given, up to a very late period, at our settlements on this coast, to the foreigners engaged in this commerce to enable them to carry on their illegal trade. The *Dos Amigos*, a Portuguese vessel evidently and obviously fitted out for the slave-trade, had anchored under the guns of Cape Coast Castle; it is the custom for the governor to send an officer on board of every vessel that anchors there, to examine her register, and, on being assured of her being engaged in legal commerce, to certify the same, and to permit her to remain.

A merchant of Cape Coast, and a magistrate of the place, made a sale of one hundred and thirteen guns, and sixteen barrels of gunpowder, to the captain of the *Dos Amigos;* the slave vessel then proceeded to Anamaboe and Accra, and at both places anchored, and was permitted to remain by the commandants, and to trade, at the one place for beads, &c., and at the other for provisions. The vessel was subsequently seized, carried to Sierra Leone, and condemned; and, on examining her papers, documentary evidence was found of the trade she had carried on at our settlement. The government, on being apprised of this circumstance, called on the president of the council at Cape Coast to institute criminal proceedings against the merchant. Captain Maclean replied, that he had brought the matter before the council, "and they had passed a series of resolutions, disclaiming all connivance with the slave-trade, recommending the governor to take measures to prevent all vessels of this description, or even *suspected of being* such, from being permitted to anchor in the roads, but at the same time that the president was not in possession of any legal grounds to take even the initiatory steps towards such a prosecution." Captain Maclean further states, in his letter to Lord John Russell, "that he should be able to establish the fact of the merchant's *having* sold certain articles of merchandise to the master or supercargo of a vessel called the *Dos Amigos*, but nothing beyond that fact. The merchant (he states) would naturally reply that such a person had certainly entered his warehouse and purchased these articles, payable on delivery, but that he neither knew, nor was bound to know, that this man was a dealer in slaves. And it would be quite impossible for him (Captain Maclean) to prove a guilty knowledge against the person, or even to adduce a legal proof that the vessel to which the purchaser of the goods belonged was in effect intended or fitted out for the slave-trade."

On these grounds Captain Maclean declined to institute any proceedings against the merchant, and at the same time stated, "that in point of fact, if he had exposed himself to legal punishment by his conduct in the instance referred to, he knew of no merchant in the whole colony, including of course, the members of council themselves, who had not in many instances rendered himself liable to similar criminal proceedings taken against him." "Nor is it pretended to be denied, in a general sense, that all these merchants knew or suspected that such vessels as the *Dos Amigos* were connected directly or indirectly with the slave-trade; at least he had never seen a Spanish, Portuguese, or Brazilian vessel on this coast, (and he had seen hundreds), that was not so engaged. But they (the merchants) had always considered themselves justified as merchants in selling their merchandise to any person who might come to their warehouse prepared to pay them money or other equivalent for their goods, nor had he ever imagined for a moment that he could legally interfere with such traffic."

Things were in this state when I arrived at the Gold Coast, and commenced an inquiry into the subject. One of the leading members of council admitted that there was not one of the merchants who had not done what this merchant had been accused of doing, and he maintained the right of every merchant trading with any vessel which, after due examination by the governor, had been permitted to remain in the roads; that this circumstance gave any vessel on arriving there a legal character, and consequently they were at liberty to trade with her. I must confess there seemed to me a great deal of plausibility, if not of reason, in this argument; and further inquiries left no doubt whatever on my mind that a merchant could not possibly have been in ignorance of the destination of this vessel, and of the purpose for which these goods were purchased from him. I knew not how to call on the president of the council to prosecute a person for a crime which the president himself, it appeared to me, had rendered himself responsible for, by permitting her to remain in the roads, and suffering her to assume, by this official recognition of her legal character, the appearance of a vessel employed in lawful trade. The melancholy state of this person's mental and bodily health at the only interview I had with him, and during the whole period of my residence on the Gold Coast, precluded the possibility of my entering into any explanation with him on this subject; and the extreme illness under which he laboured, independently of any other reasons for abstaining from recommending the institution of proceedings against him, was sufficient to induce me to leave this matter to some other mode of preventing the recurrence of its mischief. I can by no means, however, agree with Captain Maclean that the frequency of the occurrence

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of this evil is an argument for its impunity, nor that the merchant neither knew, "nor was bound to know, that this man (the captain of the *Dos Amigos*) was a dealer in slaves." There can be no doubt but that he was bound to know whether, in selling these goods, he was contravening the law or not, and whether, in dealing with the captain of a Spanish or Portuguese vessel, such as Captain Maclean, in "all his experience, had never known engaged in legal trade on this coast," he was not aiding and abetting a slave-trader in his pursuits, or was only prosecuting a lawful trade. Surely this argument would not be admitted for a buyer of suspected goods to set up, that he was not bound to know the character of a reputed thief; and *vice versâ*, that it was not incumbent on the seller of goods adapted for the slave-trade to make any inquiry as to the objects of the purchaser, which, if known or suspected even to be illegal, it would be a breach of the law for him to promote.

It is admitted by Captain Maclean, that vessels of the character of the *Dos Amigos* have "in many instances" been permitted to enter these roads, and the merchants and members of council have traded with them. "Nor is it pretended to be denied that, in a general sense, such vessels as the *Dos Amigos* were connected, directly or indirectly, with the slave-trade;"—then why were those vessels allowed to enter? And did not the knowledge, in a general sense, of the real character of these vessels, which was not denied by the magistrates and members of council who traded with them, amount to a guilty knowledge of their pursuits, which might have furnished legal grounds for the initiatory step towards a prosecution of them?

CASE OF THE ROBERT HEDDELL.

The case of this vessel, under the British flag, commanded by a British subject, and belonging to London owners, trading with a notorious slave dealer of the name of De Souza, at Whydah, has brought the question of the legality of British subjects supplying the slave factories with the goods and stores they require for their nefarious trade to an issue. It appeared to me desirable that it should be set at rest without further delay. I was informed by the president of the council that a British vessel was then in the roads, having recently arrived from Whydah, where she had traded with Mr. De Souza. This information was given to me in reference to the subject of the *Dos Amigos* case, and as a proof of the general opinion that was acted on at every place on the coast, that, so long as a British merchant or trader sold his goods to any description of persons there, provided he received money or produce in return, his trade was legal. My opinion being different on this subject, I strongly recommended Captain Maclean, if proofs could be obtained of the commander of the vessel's having been trading with De Souza, to seize her and send her to Sierra Leone; Captain Maclean did not think it expedient to do so, and, the question of damages lying against him for a seizure under similar circumstances appearing to influence his determination, I endeavoured to obviate that difficulty, but without effect. I then called on Captain Maclean to examine the papers of Captain Groves, and expressed a desire to see him; and the following day he called on me. At this interview the captain appeared extremely hurt at the imputation thrown on Mr. De Souza's character of being implicated in the slave trade; that he, Mr. De Souza, had been basely calumniated, and had never dealt in slaves to his certain knowledge, during all the time that he had been acquainted with Whydah. This extraordinary vindication of the character of the most notorious slave dealer that ever infested the coast of Africa, I replied to by reading an extract from the Act of Parliament, 5 Geo. 4, and informing the commander I considered his trading with De Souza came within the full meaning of the terms "aiding and abetting the slave-trade;" and I explained to him what the penalty was of this offence. He then gave up the vindication of Mr. De Souza's character, and informed me that, previously to his going to Whydah, he had asked the opinion of Captain Maclean, and likewise of Lieutenant Levings, of the *Buzzard*, and his going to Whydah to trade with De Souza was with the express sanction of both these gentlemen.

I questioned the former of them at Cape Coast on this subject, and the latter at Whydah, where I happened to fall in with his vessel on my passage to the Bight of Benin and Prince's Island; and both of these gentlemen positively denied that any such sanction had ever been given by them. In the meantime the captain took his departure for Accra, and immediately after, her Majesty's ship *Wolverine* fortunately arriving at Cape Coast, I addressed the letter, of which the following is a copy, to Captain Tucker, the commander of that vessel, and the superior officer of our squadron on that coast:—

"*Cape Coast Castle, 22nd March*, 1841.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that some weeks ago a British barque called the *Robert Heddell* anchored in these roads, and it came to my knowledge that the said vessel had just arrived from Whydah, where my informant, Captain Maclean, gave me to understand the captain of the said barque had been trading with Mr. De Souza, the celebrated slave dealer and factor resident at that place.

"I requested Captain Maclean immediately to send on board this vessel for her papers, to ascertain the nature of her trading at Whydah; and in the event of there being any evidence against the captain of trading with De Souza, to seize his vessel and send him to Sierra Leone for trial. Captain Maclean did not approve of this step; I then proposed to bear all the responsibility of any damages that might lie against the captor in case of her acquittal.

"I now requested Captain Maclean to send for the master of the vessel, and he waited on me the following day. I read him an extract from the consolidated slave act, showing the illegality of trading with a notorious slave dealer, and supplying him with British fabrics adapted for the trade, and without which the traffic cannot be carried on. He acknowledged that he had been trading with De Souza at Whydah, while the *Buzzard* was off the coast firing upon the factory of De Souza, but maintained that his was a legal trade; that he sold British goods to De Souza, and got hard dollars in return: that the amount of his dealing was about 10,000 or 15,000 dollars, for which he must go back to Whydah; he said that he had himself a factory at Whydah, but that the proceedings of the *Buzzard* had upset everything. He said that the British government and British cruisers were altogether under a mistake about the character of De Souza; that he was no slave trader, but the viceroy of the king of Dahomey at Whydah, and had nothing whatever to do with slave dealing. He, moreover, stated to me that he did not go into Whydah to trade with De Souza, without first getting the sanction of Mr. President Maclean, and then of the captain of the *Buzzard*, who said there was no objection whatever to his going to Whydah to trade with De Souza; that it was his duty to encourage, not to impede the legal trade of British ships.

"The above facts I am ready to substantiate, if necessary, on oath.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "R. R. MADDEN,

"Commissioner of Inquiry on the Western Coast of Africa.

"To Captain Tucker, Commander of the Squadron
on the Western Coast of Africa."

Captain Tucker immediately proceeded to Accra in search of the vessel, and found her there. On examining the books and papers of the captain, no doubt was left on his mind of the trading carried on between the captain and De Souza, and at the time too when her Majesty's ship *Buzzard* was engaged in hostile proceedings against the slave dealer De Souza; in fact, at the very period the British vessel of war was firing on the factory, the British merchant vessel was trading with its owner. The captain made a full admission of his having traded to a considerable extent with De Souza, that he had had the management of a factory himself at Whydah for several years, and was the agent of a house whose vessel he then commanded. He expressed great alarm as to his state of health (being then ill of fever), if sent to Sierra Leone, and begged of Captain Tucker, in consideration of the general nature of the practice, and the ignorance of its illegality that had hitherto existed, that he would not detain his vessel; and, on his giving a solemn undertaking under his hand to abstain in future from all manner of trading with such notorious slave dealers as De Souza and Zangroni of Whydah, Captain Tucker released his vessel.

The declaration formally made and presented to Captain Tucker, was to the following effect:—

"*Barque* ———, *Accra Roads, 23rd March*, 1841.

"Sir,—I hereby most solemnly promise that I will not carry, or convey, or cause to be carried or conveyed, or in any way assist in the conveyance of any cargo or cargoes, goods or merchandise, or permit any goods or merchandises consigned to me to be carried or conveyed, to Mr. De Souza, Zangroni, or to any other slave-merchant at Whydah, or any other slave-trading places on the Western Coast of Africa; that I will arrange and wind up my mercantile transactions there with De Souza so soon as possible; and that I will not in any way carry on any trade there again, until the opinion of the government law officers be obtained.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ———,

"Master of the ——, and agent to ——,

"To captain William Tucker, her Majesty's ship *Wolverine*,
senior officer on the Western Coast of Africa.

"Signed in the presence of

"HENRY DUMARESQ, Lieutenant.

"JOHN F. CHARLETON, Acting Surgeon."

Captain Tucker, on his return to Accra, informed me of his proceedings in this case, and his reasons for releasing her. He stated to me that, besides the declaration made by the master, he had received another communication from him, stating that the goods he had sold to De Souza consisted of guns, powder, and cotton goods, to the amount of several thousand dollars; that these goods were the property of others, and that he was the agent of them; that he either carries out these goods with him, or they are consigned to him on the coast, and come out in other British ships to him; that he had a factory at Whydah for ten or twelve years past belonging to others; that the first agent he appointed there was a Mr. ——, and that his present agent is a son of Mr. De Souza.

The matter is further brought home to the owners of this vessel by the testimony of Lieutenant Levinge, of her Majesty's ship *Buzzard*, who was blockading the entrance to Whydah at the period in question, and in open hostility with the slave-dealer De Souza.

He informed me on board the *Wolverine*, then off Whydah, where the *Buzzard* was stationed, that he had entered the river when this vessel and another merchant ship belonging to the same house were at anchor there; that he went on board the *Sea Witch* to make some inquiry about a slaver which had recently sailed from Whydah, and the master of the latter declined to give him any information on the subject. That on seeing the cargo of this vessel consisted of American planks, he applied to the master to sell him a certain number of pieces of them for the use of his vessel, but the master refused to do so, stating that the cargo had been brought there for the sole use of Mr. De Souza, and had been already sold to him.

This vessel was consigned to the master of the former one, and had been sent to America for the planks sold to De Souza; and there cannot be a shadow of doubt of the use for which they were intended by De Souza, namely, for the temporary decks of the slave-ships. These circumstances I requested Lieutenant Levinge to communicate in writing to Captain Tucker, and the official statement of them is now in his hands. I cannot help repeating that the Spaniards and Portuguese have certainly great reason to think they are dealt with strangely, when they find our merchant vessels supplying the slave-trade factories with those very goods and stores which we seize and condemn their vessels for conveying to the same places.

There are two arguments advanced by the advocates of the persons employed in aiding and abetting the slave-trade, against interfering with what they call the innocent commerce carried on by British traders, at the foreign slave-dealing factories: the one is, that they are promoting the abolition of the slave-trade by supplying these places with British goods; and the other is, that they are extending the trade of Great Britain by making these factories markets for our merchandize.

These arguments are loudly and boldly set forth by the persons implicated in similar proceedings. With respect to the first argument, it is difficult to believe they can convince us of the truth of their assertion, that the supplying of these factories, on our parts, is calculated to hurt the interests or hinder the proceedings of the slave-dealers.

The plain fact is, these slave-trade factories could not subsist without the supplies they receive from our merchant vessels, and the assistance they derive from our merchants in the various British settlements on the coast. They are mainly instrumental in keeping up the slave-trade, and for the paltry amount of trade which is done with them, but which is sufficient to enrich a few houses which monopolise this trade, the vast resources of Africa are prevented from being called forth by the continuance of the slave-trade; and the general interests of English commerce are completely swamped by about half a dozen of individuals, who are the suppliers of this illegal trade in Africa with goods and stores, at the same time setting them-

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selves up as the supporters and defenders of the great and general commercial interests of this country. But these never can be promoted by legal commerce to the extent they ought to be, while the average profit on the slave-trade continues to be 180 per cent.; and the efforts of our squadron to crush this traffic are neutralised by the support which their factories receive from our own fellow subjects. It is impossible to have visited Africa along a line of coast of some 2000 miles, and extended one's observations even ten miles from the coast, and not have considered the vast resources that might be developed in that country. This country is one which, if its climate were better, ought to become a new East Indies in the hands of England. There are hardly any products which we receive from India that are not to be found in Africa without cultivation. But the hands that are needed for cultivation the country is deprived of by the slave-trade, and the aliment which is essential to the existence of it is derived from the vessels and establishments of three or four commercial houses, who happen to have nearly the whole trade of the Gold Coast in their hands, and by whose proceedings the existence of the slave-trade is prolonged. What keeps slavery alive and flourishing in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Brazils, but the power of obtaining fresh slaves as fast as they wear down the health and strength of those they hold?

The vigilance of our cruisers has nearly put an end to the conveyance of goods from Cuba and the Brazils to the coast of Africa. The factories there find a new resource in British commerce, and all the exertions of our squadron at so enormous a cost of life and money, year after year, to the extent of upwards of half a million sterling (the estimated annual cost of our anti-slave-trade efforts), to prevent these factories from receiving their supplies and exporting the inhabitants, inasmuch as these exportations depending on such supplies, are defeated by those vessels under the British flag, and those traders in our settlements who afford the ships and factories of the slave-dealers whatever they require. And yet their aiders and abettors talk of promoting the abolition of the slave-trade by trading with them, of beating the Spanish and Portuguese dealers out of the field; but for what purpose are the goods which the English traders sell purchased at the factories? Why, for bartering for slaves. And to whom are the goods sold? Why, to the Spanish and Portuguese dealers on the coast. And what description of goods are they which are chiefly disposed of to them? Why, guns and gunpowder; rum and tobacco, and Manchester goods of the coarsest kind. But, as far as the mere carrying of the goods from Cuba and the Brazils to the factories in Africa, the foreigners have been already beaten out of the field by the vigilance of the cruisers, though it matters very little to the merchants in Cuba or the Brazils how they are supplied with them, provided they continue to receive them on the coast.

The London house to which the *Robert Heddell* belonged is that of Forster and Smith, Mr. Forster being himself a member of the West African Committee of inquiry.

ASHBURTON TREATY: THE TENTH ARTICLE.

Playford Hall, October 24th, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND, JOHN BEAUMONT,—I have looked into the tenth article of the late treaty with the United States, and I will now give you the result of my thoughts upon it. It was necessary for the American government, considering the great extent of the boundary line, and the number of American *white* ruffians who had taken advantage of it to escape the punishment due to their crimes by flying beyond it—it was necessary, I repeat, to have an article of this sort; and I believe therefore that the American government, and Lord Ashburton too, had no other object in view than to cause the surrender of such of its white subjects as were criminals: but I am decidedly of opinion that the American slave holders will take advantage of this article, not only to go into Canada with their claims as before, but to go more frequently—for the article says, that the proper authorities on both sides (British and American) shall *deliver up all persons* who, being charged with *certain crimes*, shall seek an asylum in the territories of each other. Now the words "*all persons*," evidently include the black (*slave*) as well as the white population. The words are qualified however, or restricted in their meaning, by their being made to relate only to those fugitives who have committed *certain crimes*. There is no article in the treaty which allows a fugitive slave to be given up *merely* for *running away*. Running away is *no crime*, according to the treaty, unless *actual crime* is the cause of it. Let us now see what those crimes are for which a criminal may be surrendered. They are six in number. 1. Murder. 2. Assault with intent to commit murder. 3. Arson. 4. Piracy. 5. Robbery. 6. Forgery. Now I think it is evident by this catalogue of crimes that the American president has in view the *white population* only, for I never heard of arson, piracy (according to our definition of it), or forgery being committed by slaves. Indeed they cannot commit *forgery* because there is only here and there a slave who can read or write. I wish it may be that this was the design of the American president, for then things will remain, with respect to Canada, as they were before the treaty; and it becomes our government, or Lord Ashburton, to inquire whether the American president views the treaty in this light. If it is meant to include the *slave* population, then the treaty will be most disastrous; for though the slaves do not commit some of the crimes specified, yet they are guilty of *petty thefts*. Now, does the word *robbery* include petty thefts? If it does, then the door is open to claims without end—to thousands of applications. I am of opinion then, if the treaty takes in the slave population, that the slave owners, encouraged by the case of Nelson Hackett, and having *now* a *legal right* to make claims, which they had not before, will pester our government in Canada with *thousands* of applications (considering that the fugitives now in Canada amount to 12,000 souls): indeed that they will not be able to get through the business without establishing a special court for the purpose of trying the cases which will be brought before them. And such a court, if established, would have many and great difficulties to contend with. Lies without end would be told without scruple by the pursuers of the fugitive, to get him into their possession. Ask a Canadian who lives on the British borders of Canada, what he thinks of these claims as far as they have come within his own knowledge, and he will tell you that he will not believe a word of what these pursuers have to say. The crimes with which they charge the fugitives are mostly fabricated. It may be that a fugitive is now and then a criminal, but ninety-nine in a hundred run away *solely* to gain their liberty and avoid oppression.

I come now to the way in which the reputed criminal is to be dealt with. He is to be brought before a judge or other magistrate of the territory in which said reputed criminal shall be found, who shall have power, jurisdiction, and authority, upon complaint made under oath, to issue a warrant for the apprehension of the fugitive or person "charged with crime, to the end that the evidence against him may be heard and considered; and if it be found that the evidence of criminality be such as would justify his apprehension and commitment," he is to certify the same to the executive, that a warrant may issue for the surrender of such fugitive. The expense of apprehension and delivery to be defrayed by the pursuers.

Now, if it should be that the slave-population is included in the treaty (which our government ought to know before parliament meets), it becomes them to take measures to render the treaty innocuous, as far as the unhappy fugitives who have fled to our territories for protection are concerned, considering the dreadful punishment which awaits a runaway slave. Woe be to that poor creature who is given up to an enraged master! It becomes Lord Ashburton (and I think as a just and humane man he would be pleased to do it) to persuade our government, who sent him out to make the treaty, to do all they can to frustrate the designs of these hunters after blood. 1st, It strikes me, that applications for the restoration of fugitives will be so numerous, seeing that there are nearly three millions of slaves in the United States, all ready to run away as opportunity offers, that, to get through the business of a just adjudication, our government should establish a special court of justice for these trials. 2nd, That they should sit once in every month. 3rd, That they should appoint counsel *to defend the fugitive*. 4th, That the latter should be allowed to tell his own tale throughout, as evidence against his pursuers. 5th, That particular instructions should be given to get a satisfactory proof of the *identity* of person, seeing so many black people are alike. 6th, To have a clear understanding with the president, and this immediately, what is to be understood by the word "*robbery*." Should it include every *petty theft*, it *ought to be altered* or abolished, and it may *be altered* on the *soundest principles of law*. No civilized man would desire that crimes of a serious nature should go unpunished, or that the offender who committed them should not be delivered up to justice; but all wise and virtuous legislators have proportioned the punishment to the offence. Now what would be the punishment of a fugitive slave for petty theft, if given up to an exasperated master, who has arbitrary power to punish in his own hands, and who would add to the crime committed the *crime* of running away! He may torture him to death; he may starve him to death in a dungeon; he may whip him to death, *as has been frequently done*; he may cut off a limb with an axe, as *has been actually done* before; and, if he were brought to trial before a public court of slave-holders, they might sentence him to be burnt alive, and there *is no remedy against any such punishment*. The tortures which slaves have undergone for *merely running away* are too shocking to be described, and would not be believed unless there was such evidence as it would be impossible to doubt. The liability therefore to such punishments for petty thefts, to which would be always added the crime of running away, ought not to be admitted into the treaty, and this may *consistently with justice* be *got rid of*, on the *principle* acknowledged by all legislators, that these *punishments are not proportioned to the offence*; and I hope, when the treaty comes before parliament for ratification, that parliament will not sanction it as it now stands, unless there should be some previous understanding from the president himself that the treaty was never intended *to include in it slaves*. Perhaps they may think it right to do away the tenth article altogether.

I will now give you a very short history of this little colony, to show you that the poor people it contains, are worthy both of our sympathy and protection. Some years ago, a few poor slaves fled from the cruelty of their masters in the United States, not knowing whither they were going; but it turned out, after much wandering, that they found themselves in Canada; and being received with kindness by the inhabitants, they settled there. This circumstance at length became known to other slaves in the southern states of America, and there was of course a desire in them to repair to the same spot for the same purpose. Several attempted the journey, many of whom perished in the woods, for they dared not travel by the common roads for fear of being seen, others (for all of them were pursued) were taken, and carried back to their masters, by whose order they were punished in a most cruel manner, to deter others from following their example. I will not wound your feelings by any account of what they suffered in the perilous attempt to escape—hunger and thirst, and sickness and death, on their route. Such an account would be most heart-rending. Suffice it to say, that, after a given time, as many as five or six thousand found their way to this asylum of liberty, and, being in such numbers, they sent a deputation to our government, to entreat that they might be suffered to remain in Canada. I was in London when the deputation arrived, and I

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understood from them that their prayer was granted. Since that time (their numbers still increasing by the addition of fresh fugitives), they have built huts or cottages, cultivated the land, erected a place of worship, and established schools; and they had been so industrious, honest, and sober, and in short had conducted themselves in such an orderly and peaceable manner, as to have gained the good will, and respect, and esteem of all their neighbours. They sent deputations again, twice in the last eight or nine years, to London, not to trouble the government, but to try to raise contributions in England for schoolmasters for their children. I know this, because I myself contributed twice to their funds for this purpose. I may now add that, at this time, their number amounts to about 12,000, and it is believed that full that number have been lost, either by being taken or perishing in their attempt to escape. These people then, were living comfortably, and happily, and without the fear of ever being restored to slavery, when in the present year, certain persons from the United States came within the boundaries of Canada, to demand the restoration of Nelson Hackett to the authorities of Arkansas, being an alleged fugitive from justice. The persons who came upon this errand brought with them regular papers, having the appearance of being correctly made out, and presented them to the authorities in Canada, the consequence of which was, that the governor-general did, on the 17th of January, 1842, surrender the said Nelson Hackett to be delivered up to the executive of Arkansas. This step created a great sensation in that part of Canada where it took place. The poor fugitives settled there were seized with terror lest it should be their turn next, after all their sufferings, to be delivered up to their blood-thirsty masters, and the heads of the population of the place were so interested in their behalf, that they met together and passed resolutions to be presented to the governor-general, to prevent for the future, as they say, "such wicked and dangerous proceedings."

And now, my dear friend, if the tenth article should include the slave as well as the free population, and if it should be ratified by parliament, you may depend upon it that one poor fugitive after another will be picked out by the slave hunters of the United States, and claimed; and thus this noble colony of poor, but industrious and honest men, will be frittered away by degrees, and lost to this country for ever. And is it of no consequence to our national character, as well as our interests, that such a colony should be broken up! that their chapels, schools, and cottages should be left to go to ruin, and that their little farms and gardens, put into cultivation with so much labour, should become a wilderness again! This colony amounts already to 12,000 souls, and in a few years would probably double its numbers, and, if I may credit my last letters from America, treble it. They already consume our manufactures, and would consume them to a greater extent as they increased in numbers by fresh fugitives, and by births. Is this a matter of no consideration to us! Is it not again of some consequence, amidst the disaffection which prevails in Canada, to have a little colony attached to this country by gratitude, which would show their loyalty to us, and go through fire and water to serve us! But I will say no more on this subject than *fiat justitia, ruat cœlum*. It was a law of Moses by the divine command, that a fugitive slave should not be returned to his master. "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee."—(Exodus xxiii. 15). I am sure that Lord Ashburton would not be easy in his mind if this little colony should be broken up, and the inhabitants of it, by his own act, should be delivered again into slavery.

I remain, my dear Friend, yours affectionately,
(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 2ND.

OUR readers will see that the application made to Lord Stanley by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, for an interview in relation to the Trinidad ordinance has not been successful. His lordship "is waiting," Mr. Stephen says, "for further explanation on the subject of it from the legal authorities of the colony." In the meanwhile, "the signification of the Queen's pleasure will be deferred:" but *the obnoxious ordinance nevertheless will be in operation.*

NEITHER time nor space was afforded us in our last to do more than notice in general terms the courtesy with which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee were received by Lord Palmerston. In now reverting to his reply to the address of that body, we may express our unfeigned satisfaction at the evident warmth and honesty of his hostility to the slave-trade. For him it was perhaps not unnatural to dwell largely on the value of armed efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade. It can scarcely be necessary to say that, in his views on this point, the Committee do not sympathize. It is their principle to seek the extinction of the slave-trade by the abolition of slavery; and to seek the abolition both of slavery and the slave-trade exclusively by pacific means. Undoubtedly it would have afforded them very great pleasure had they found the sentiments of Lord Palmerston coincident with their own. His lordship, indeed, makes a near approach to them, when he admits that "the slave-trade cannot be *permanently* abolished until the condition of slavery shall have ceased to exist; because, so long as slavery any where prevails, there will be a great temptation held out to unprincipled men to carry on that criminal traffic." It is, of course, the *permanent* extinction of the slave-trade which is to be desired; and not merely its coerced reduction to a state of inaction from which it would spring into life again the moment that force should be removed.

We cannot suffer this matter to pass away, without one word in relation to the very remarkable degree of attention which the public press has directed to it. Little could it have been supposed that so simple and customary a proceeding as the presentation of an address to a person who, as a public functionary, had rendered important service to a cause which the parties held dear, would have attracted so much regard. In so far the purpose of the Committee has been effectively promoted, for their proceeding has been well advertized. If the excitement produced by it may be taken as a measure, either of the interest associated in the public mind with questions of slavery and slave-trade, or of the importance attached to the operations of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, we shall find it an additional source of gratification.

PUBLIC attention has been much excited by a despatch which Lord Aberdeen has addressed to the lords of the admiralty, conveying the opinion of the Queen's advocate, "that the blockading rivers, landing and destroying buildings, and carrying off persons held in slavery, in countries with which Great Britain is not at war, cannot be considered as sanctioned by the law of nations, or by the provisions of any existing treaties." These practices will of course be discontinued, and the system of armed suppression of the slave-trade, ineffectual always, become still more ineffectual. *We* are very little concerned in this matter; inasmuch as the method of armed intervention is altogether repudiated by us. The only observation we have to offer is, that every demonstration of the inefficiency of coercive modes of putting down the slave-trade, attaches increasing value and importance to the use of those which—in the words of the constitution of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society—are "moral, religious, and pacific."

WE are sorry to see a portion of the public press lend itself to the accusations which interested parties have long been bringing against one of the most faithful and disinterested functionaries ever found in the service of his country. Mr. Turnbull, the *Times* assures us, "has been tampering with the Spanish slaves" in the island of Cuba, "with intemperate zeal, and unauthorized interference." It is of course, beyond our power to enter into details in a matter in which even the grounds of accusation are not laid open, nor need we fear that Mr. Turnbull will not be well able to vindicate himself. At the present moment, however, quite enough is known to show by what means this gentleman may have provoked the hostility of the Spanish authorities, without having done anything for which an Englishman should blame him. In his reply to the address presented to him at Nassau, as reported in our last, he says that "a vast number of British born subjects are at this moment the bondsmen and the bondswomen of the Spaniard. Since my arrival in Nassau," he adds, "I have found my way to evidence, sufficient, I trust, to establish the birth-right of several hundreds of such persons." It is, no doubt, the inquiries by which British subjects held in bondage in Cuba have been discovered and identified, which the Cuban planters denounce as tampering with their slaves; and *they* will naturally quarrel with the authority, and disapprove of the zeal, of any functionary who may pursue such a course. But are Englishmen going to load him with reproach, or is the British government going to rebuke him for this! Is it henceforth to be a crime for a British functionary to sympathise with British subjects illegally held as slaves, and as much entitled to their freedom as ourselves! According to the *Times* it is to be so; and we are to abandon our fellow subjects to so horrible a fate, because the planters of Cuba say—"Oh! don't pick out British subjects from our estates, for, if you do, we shall have an insurrection!" There would be no insurrection in Cuba, if Spaniards would "do justly and love mercy."

THE American papers announce the decease of the Rev. W. Channing, D.D., on the 2nd of October, at Bennington, Vermont. Although never identified with the abolitionists in the United States, he has for several years rendered most important service to the anti-slavery cause, by repeated productions of his eloquent and vigorous pen. Clear thought, noble sentiment, and high integrity, strikingly characterized him; and his life acquired for him a large measure of social and public influence. His last effort in the cause of human freedom was an extemporaneous, but much admired address on the results of British emancipation, delivered at a meeting held on the 1st of August last. His memory will be honoured by all friends of liberty and justice.

WE scarcely need direct attention to a letter on the tenth article of our recent treaty with the United States from the pen of Thomas Clarkson. It is an admirable letter, both for head and heart, and will well repay perusal.

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THE *Trinidad Standard* states that the number of immigrants introduced into that island is equal to that of its labouring population at the date of freedom; but that the number of hands employed in agricultural labour is not greater than it was then. Assuming this to be a correct statement, it would yet require to be known what proportion of the old and new peasantry respectively have eschewed field labour, before any satisfactory inference could be drawn from it. One of our contemporaries (the *Colonial Gazette*) deems it "a lesson on the necessity of auxiliary measures, to insure full effect to immigration;" that is to say, an evidence that immigration alone will not answer the purpose of the planters. Perhaps so; we ourselves have had suspicions of this sort. He demands restrictions on the purchase of land, and a more stringent vagrancy law. The Trinidadians meanwhile are preparing for our apprenticeship. Let the *free* immigrants look well to what is before them.

THE TRINIDAD ORDINANCE.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD STANLEY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, &c. &c.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society venture respectfully to call your lordship's attention to the following statement of facts, connected with the recent enactment of an ordinance in Trinidad, having reference to the introduction of liberated Africans from St. Helena into that colony, and to express the conviction they entertain of its evil character and tendency.

On the 7th September, 1838, a royal order in council, regulating contracts in the crown colonies, was, after long and mature consideration, issued by the government, and was designed not only to correct the great abuses which then existed, but to serve two important purposes; viz. first, to secure to all labourers who might be induced to emigrate to them complete freedom in the selection of their employments, on arrival; and, secondly, to protect them from fraud and violence under such contracts as they might enter into with employers of their own choice. It was also intended that this order in council should be the model for legislation on the same point in the chartered colonies, and as such it was transmitted to them by the government for their guidance.

In calling your lordship's attention to the foregoing facts, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society advert, neither to the tardy and inefficient manner in which the chartered colonies have adopted the provisions of the model ordinance (some indeed have wholly refused or neglected to do so), nor to the consequences, which have resulted therefrom; nor, to the suspension of the ordinance in so far as skilled labourers or artizans from this country are concerned, in order to meet the wishes of the planters; but to the very alarming deviation from, or rather supercession of, its wise and humane enactments, by the ordinance recently passed by the governor and legislative council of Trinidad.

On Sunday, the 26th June last, there arrived at Port of Spain the barque *Chieftain*, from St. Helena, having on board 233 liberated Africans. The immigration ordinance of Trinidad not having contemplated a supply of this class of labourers from that island, no provision had been made to cover the expenses of their voyage, and as a remuneration to their importer, as from Sierra Leone and other places. Availing himself of this circumstance, his Excellency the governor caused an ordinance to be framed forthwith, not, as might have been naturally expected, for the purpose of placing St. Helena on the same footing as Sierra Leone, but to bring the newly arrived Africans under a system of compulsory contracts, in which they are allowed no choice, either of employment, employer, or locality; and by which they are placed for twelve months at the disposal of such planters as will consent to pay a stipulated premium per head to the government, for the privilege of having them. As to the amount of wages, the form of payment, whether in money or otherwise, the kind and amount of labour to be exacted, or the mode in which that labour is to be enforced, the Committee can form no judgment from the ordinance. It is evident, however, that whatever premium may be paid to the government by the planters will be deducted from any sum they might have earned during their state of bondage; and thus a double wrong will be inflicted on them, first in virtually depriving them of the privilege of a free passage, which is accorded to all immigrants under the emigration ordinance; and, secondly, in depriving them of their freedom, which is guaranteed by the royal order in council of 1838.

The eager haste, with which this ordinance was passed by the governor and legislative council of Trinidad, aggravates, in the judgment of the Committee, so unjust and injudicious a law. In whatever light it may be regarded, it is wholly unnecessary as it relates to the African immigrant; while it is equally unwise in view of emigration from the British settlements in Africa, so much coveted at the present time. It is impossible to conceive that the people and legislature of this country will ever consent to the re-establishment of a system of involuntary and coerced labour, for any period, however limited, or under any pretext, however plausible, in the West India colonies; and the Committee trust that your lordship will firmly resist this odious attempt to deprive the liberated Africans of their freedom, while they are helpless and friendless, and subjected by circumstances over which they had no control to the power of the government. Up to the passing of his Trinidad ordinance, the Committee would remark, no law of the kind was found necessary in any of the colonies to which this class had been introduced; and the idea of their coming to them less free than others, was wholly repudiated. If immigration is to be free, it must not only be spontaneous and unbought in the regions from whence it flows, but the immigrants must be unrestricted, both in law and in fact, in the British colonies; otherwise it never can be tolerated by a humane and righteous government.

But, my lord, it is not only on the ground of the glaring injustice inflicted on the body of Africans subjected to the operation of the Trinidad ordinance that the Committee deprecate its enactment, but as affording a vicious precedent, which will certainly be followed by the other colonies of the British crown wanting this class of immigrants; and they have little doubt that, if this ordinance receive the sanction of the crown, pretexts will not be wanting for extending the period of compulsory contracts beyond the year, and for bringing every class of immigrants, and even the emancipated classes, under similar obligations. There will thus be insidiously revived the detestable system of slavery, to remedy the will of which it has been proved no legislation is adequate, short of its utter extinction.

Holding these views, the result of a long experience of colonial law and practice, and looking to the future, and to the force which the example of England in legislating for her colonies must necessarily exert on foreign powers, the Committee feel it to be their solemn duty to enter their decided and emphatic protest against the Trinidad ordinance. They would respectfully call upon your lordship to recommend to her Majesty the immediate disallowance of it, to preserve, in all its integrity, the royal order in council of the 7th September, 1838, regulating contracts, and to oppose with the whole weight of government every departure therefrom; and, further, to make it an imperative rule, that in future no immigration law, passed by any of the chartered colonies, shall receive the sanction of the crown without previous provision having been made that the said order in council shall become the law of such colonies.

On behalf of the Committee,
(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary*.
27, *New Broad Street, 5th October*, 1842.

REPLY.

Colonial Office, 25th, October, 1842.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th inst., stating that you are requested by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to forward to his lordship the copy of a memorial on the Trinidad Ordinance recently passed relative to the liberated Africans introduced into the colony, and which they are anxious to present to his lordship by deputation; and I am to request that you will acquaint the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society that the ordinance to which they advert has been received at this department, and that his lordship is waiting for a further explanation on the subject of it from the legal authorities of the colony.

I am also desired to state, that in the meanwhile the signification of the Queen's pleasure will be deferred.

I am Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) JAMES STEPHEN.

J. SCOBLE, ESQ.

THE THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WE briefly referred to this document in our last, and we beg now to repeat our earnest recommendation of it. The Appendix consists of about one hundred and fifty pages, closely printed, and contains very varied but most interesting matter, not only for permanent record, but for immediate perusal. We hope that subscribers to the society will make good use of the copies to which they are entitled, and that all persons interested in the general subject of slavery and the slave-trade will avail themselves of the opportunity of acquiring so large a mass of valuable materials for the small sum of one shilling and sixpence. The following extract at once relates to an important subject, and exhibits a sample of the luminous and effective method in which the various topics are treated.

PERU.

On the 5th June, 1837, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the confederation of Peru-Bolivia, the 14th article of which contained the following stipulation:—"The government of the Peru-Bolivian confederation engages to co-operate with his Britannic Majesty for the total abolition of the slave-trade, and to prohibit all persons inhabiting within the territories of the Peru-Bolivian confederation, and subject to their jurisdiction, in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any share in such trade."

Since Peru separated from Bolivia, the British agent in the former has been directed to open a negociation for a treaty with that republic, on the basis of the treaty of 1835 with Spain; but the Peruvian government, alleging that the constitution of Peru does not authorise treaties with any other states than those of America, declined to enter into the proposed negociation. The true reason, however, for refusing to negociate the treaty will be found in the following extract of a letter from Mr. Wilson, consul-general in Peru, to Viscount Palmerston, dated Lima, January 11th, 1840.

"I profited by this opportunity to invoke the serious attention of the government of his Excellency General Gamarra to the circumstance, not only of the injurious moral effect upon the national character of Peru, but also of the general impolicy and fruitlessness of attempting, by legislative or other means, to encourage a trade in slaves from New Grenada or the

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Brazils; it being notorious that, to promote that traffic, the congress of Huancayo had omitted to introduce into the new political constitution thereby issued, the customary constitutional guarantee 'that nobody can enter Peru without immediately becoming free.'

"At the time of sending in this note I waited upon Mr. Ferreiros, for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent his government was prepared to encourage the traffic in slaves; and he, Mr. Ferreiros, made no hesitation in stating to me that the import of slaves from the Brazils, or any other country but Africa, would be favoured by his government; who with this object was fully resolved, upon the arrival of the first cargo of slaves in Peru, to repeal the decree issued on the 24th November, 1821, by General San Martin, declaring that 'any slave arriving from that date in Peru should become free by the mere act of setting his foot upon the Peruvian territory.'

"Subsequent to this interview with Mr. Ferreiros, I, in common with every individual who has perused the law, and who is possessed of a particle of humanity, have been scandalised by the publication of a law issued by the congress of Huancayo on the 27th November, declaring that the children of slaves declared free by the decree of the 12th August, 1821, shall remain under the protection of the owners of their fathers until they shall attain the age of fifty years; and authorising the masters to cede their so-called patronage to a third party, by any of the means sanctioned by the law for the transmission of rights.

"This law robs of their birthright men declared by law to be born free, and dooms them to a state of continuous slavery, until the period of their lives at which, in the debilitating and unhealthy climate of Peru, manual labour can no longer be available to a task-master, and when life itself, in these unfortunate men, is generally but disease and wretchedness.

"By a supreme decree, dated 24th November, 1821, it is enacted, that as a just remuneration of the expenses incurred by the master in the maintenance and education of their freed men, particularly in their infancy, these are obliged to serve their patrons till the age to be thereafter determined by law—namely, twenty-one years.

"The so-called patrons have, however, universally neglected to perform this their duty imposed by law towards their freed men, whom, on the contrary, they have kept in an unmitigated state of slavery; nevertheless, in the second article of the preamble of the law under discussion, it is set forth as a justification for retaining these freed men in slavery till the age of fifty years, that they have neglected to procure education for their children under the protection of their former masters—that is, under the protection of men who with impunity have set at defiance the law which imposed upon them the duty of educating these very freed men, in whom it is thus denounced as a crime that they have omitted to procure an education for their children from patrons who have withheld it from themselves.

"It is a lamentable fact, that the congress of Huancayo, by consenting to the before mentioned omission in the constitution of the usual guarantee prohibiting the import of slaves into Peru, and by the promulgation of the law above referred to, has been induced to set at defiance a vital principle of universal morality, and of Peruvian national policy—namely, the complete extirpation of the traffic in slaves, and of slavery itself, in Peru, out of deference alone to the personal interests of three large slave-holders, political partisans of the actual government.

"The curse of slavery is, therefore, another of the many evils inflicted upon Peru by the overthrow therein, by the arms of Chili, of the honest and enlightened government of his Excellency General Santa Cruz, which stood formally pledged to conclude with Great Britain a treaty for the entire suppression of the slave-trade, and for declaring the crime of slave-trade piracy." (Slave-trade Papers, Class D, 1840, pp. 34, 35.)

The British government have remonstrated in strong language against the course taken by the Peruvian authorities, and hold them bound by the Peru-Bolivian treaty of 1837, to prohibit the slave-trade in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws. (Bandinel, pp. 259, 260.)

ANGLO-MALTESE ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

(From the *Malta Times*).

WE received with gratitude and delight the signature of the address to her Majesty the Queen, for the abolition of the slave-trade in the Mediterranean, *by the British residents of Alexandria*. We offer to Colonel Barnett our warmest thanks. We look upon Egypt as the second source of this infamous traffic in the Mediterranean, Tripoli being the first. We admire the courage of our countrymen, who, whether the Queen's immediate officers or not, boldly put their signature and seal against the diabolical traffic in the bodies and souls of men. We are very sanguine in hoping that Mehemet Ali will prefer the honest fame of Europe, and the gratitude of all mankind, to the miserable and blood-stained gains of bartering in human flesh. His highness is not insensible to the applause of the Christian princes of Europe: why then should he hesitate to do an act which will render him respected by all the philanthropists of the world!

Bengasi, 13th September, 1842.

"DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in acknowledging your favour of the 3rd instant, enclosing, at the request of the Anglo-Maltese Association for the abolition of slavery, a memorial addressed to her Majesty the Queen of England in behalf of these poor unfortunate people, which I return herewith, it having been signed most readily by every European residing here, much to their honour and credit.

"Owing to the untimely end of poor Abgelleel, I fear that the abolition of this inhuman traffic in the flesh and blood of our fellow-creatures will be delayed yet a while. Nevertheless I am induced to hope, in consequence of the strenuous efforts which are continued to be made by your noble institution at Malta, supported by our government at home, that their exertions in the end will be crowned with complete success. I need not say it will at all times afford me the highest gratification and satisfaction, to know that any thing I could do here would benefit their cause. Indeed, the course that has now been adopted seems well calculated to accomplish the object in view; for unless the Sultan can be prevailed on to denounce this traffic as illicit in these parts, and punishable by law, I doubt much that great difficulty will be experienced. It is to be hoped, however, that these energetic appeals to his highness will not be made in vain, if he can only be brought to consult his own interest and that of humanity in general. Believe me, dear Sir, yours very truly,

"J. WOOD.

"P. S.—During the present year about 1400 slaves have been shipped at this port for Smyrna, Constantinople, and other parts of the Levant. The average exportation is not generally so great; the increase may therefore be attributed to the fear the slave-holders are still labouring under of seeing the traffic abolished on this coast, which they seem to expect will sooner or later be the case.

"The other day two caravans arrived here, one from Fezzan and the other from Wadai, bringing with them about one hundred and fifty of these suffering people, who will also be shipped off as quick as possible. They are conveyed in Turkish vessels, the trade, as in Tripoli, being now entirely confined to that flag.

"J. WOOD."

LORD STANLEY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

WE copy the following article, without comment, from a French paper, *Le Siecle*. It was communicated by M. Schœlcher.

The Marquess of Normanby, then colonial secretary, was informed in 1839 that a Spanish slave-trader, *Los dos Amigos*, had been admitted to free trade at Cape Coast, an English establishment on the Gold Coast. The last whig ministry sent, after this information, Dr. Richard Madden to the western coast of Africa, to examine if English commerce, in the English, Spanish, or Portuguese establishments, participated in the slave-trade. The result of the mission was that the slave-trade was kept up by English commerce and English money. Dr. Madden found that the slavers took in provisions at the English establishments, and that the English gave to the slave factories clothes and ammunition necessary for this infamous trade. He found besides that slavery existed in several of the possessions of England on the Gold Coast. Dr. Madden made a report in consequence. Amongst other things he recommended a suit in law against one of the great London houses, Messrs. Forster and Smith, as having assisted the slave-trade, and having employed one of its vessels, the *Robert Heddle*, in furnishing special merchandise for the trade to a man of the name of Souza, a known slave trader, established at Whydah. The whig ministry highly approved of this, and seemed disposed to enter into a suit against the house of Forster and Smith. Things were at this point when the tory ministry was formed. Lord Stanley, having been made colonial secretary, took into consideration the report of Dr. Madden, and then named a committee of inquest upon the state of the English possessions on the western coast of Africa. This commission was evidently formed to destroy the effect of the report of Dr. Madden. It was composed, with few exceptions, of the political friends of the ministry, and amongst them was the very man, Mr. Forster, against whom Dr. Madden had spoken. The report of this committee and its depositions have been printed; Mr. Forster has been the principal interrogator of Dr. Madden upon the criminal act of which he accuses the house of Forster and Smith. It is needless to say that the report of the parliamentary committee is a complete apology of the English merchants. Dr. Madden persists in his report of the relations of this house with the trade; the committee has absolved them, and Lord Stanley has already revoked the orders given by the last ministry, which were that the cruisers should seize all English vessels trafficking with the slavers or their purveyors. The Colonial-office, instead of opposing the cupidity of the speculators, takes upon itself to protect a trade declared illegal, only because the toleration procures gain to the manufacturers and ship-owners of Great Britain. Lord Stanley has become a traitor to the cause which he formerly supported, in order to avoid embarrassments caused by the discontent of the merchants. It is but too true; the cabinet of St. James's has abandoned the cause of the negros; the friends of humanity ought to be afflicted by this change of feeling towards them; for England thus deprives herself of all moral force for completing the destruction of slavery, which it had so energetically begun. What authority can England preserve, when it brings the negros by force into their colonies, and there condemns them to an engagement of a year, at least? What authority could it have to prevent others from following the trade? Violence alone could practise a charity of this kind. The question is, will France allow England to exercise such violence? It is to be hoped that the press will league against this weakness; the honour of the country and humanity command it to act. France and Great Britain are bound by formal conventions for the abolition of the trade; therefore it is an injury to France to wish to revive this infamous traffic under any name whatever. Besides, France, by opposing it, will but obey the old and generous traditions which have always made it the protector of the weak. M. Guizot's ministry may shake off its fear of England; it would the more easily obtain redress from the cabinet of St. James's, because it is in opposition to public opinion. Let us take care not to confound the English nation, which desires the abolition of slavery with its government, which wishes, at any price, to give men to its transatlantic colonies."

Papers from the Mauritius have been received to the 6th of May.—The despatch of Lord Stanley for raising the interdict by which the introduction and employment of Indian labourers was prohibited till further orders and consideration, had been received with great satisfaction. A communication was forthwith drawn up and addressed to the Governor-General of India, soliciting his consent and co-operation in conformity for the emigration of Indian labourers, and advising him that the island legislature had already allocated funds to the extent of £25,000 as provision for the object.—*Morning Herald.*

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GERMANY.

A LONDON correspondent of the *Leipzic Gazette* has written as follows to the editor of that journal, in reference to the recent pamphlet of Mr. Abdy, entitled *American Whites and Blacks*.

"It is flattering to us that the opinions entertained in Germany on the negro question are not viewed with indifference in England; for, though confined to European matters from want of colonial relations, we can have no direct interest in the practical result of this discussion, it would not have been singular if the English had cared nothing how we considered their philanthropy, if political combinations, attached to the right of search had not given more immediate importance to such sentiments. A pamphlet, just published here on the coloured people, in answer to the *Conversations Lexicon*, &c., is, however, exempt entirely from these last considerations and confined in its view to the subject matter. We would wish it translated into German, as it is calculated to excite discussion, and may lead to the determination of points in dispute, relative not only to the blacks, but to the position in which the different races of mankind stand to one another. The author, well known in England by a work on the United States, observes very justly, that it is very desirable this question should be thoroughly understood in Germany, as the influence of its press is commensurate with the extension of its language, and is free from that suspicion of partiality which colonial interests attach to most other countries in Europe. Though the author is modest enough to hope the cause will find a more able advocate yet it may be asserted that English philanthropy could not easily have sent a more vigorous combatant into the field. With an extensive knowledge of the subject and appropriate wit, he has succeeded in striking some hard blows against his adversary. He is free too from many narrow-minded prejudices, being decidedly opposed to the African colonization theory, though naturally attached to his own. He is equally uninfluenced by political considerations, for he looks upon the measures of his government for the suppression of the slave-trade as inoperative. The pamphlet is very well written; it is clear, however, that the writer does not rise above certain generalizations of no great depth, more especially when he extends his views on negro slavery to those influences which the coloured race may be supposed to have on the past and future destinies of the human family. Are these tribes wild, but capable of civilization? Or are they degenerated and irreclaimable? Our philanthropists here are at no loss for an answer. They put all colours, white, black, &c., into the same crucible. They imagine universally that the mental state of the coloured tribes is the same with that of our German and English ancestors in the early ages, and is therefore equally susceptible of improvement, the whites being responsible for their present imperfections. Many an English philanthropist sees in his enthusiastic visions some future Bacon or Shakspeare on the banks of the Niger, as he once appeared on the banks of the Thames. Such inconsiderate kinds of assimilation and juxtaposition lead to very singular conclusions, as we see in the present production; the author of which is led so far by the inductions of his expansive humanity, as to combat the sympathy which Europe has shown for the Poles and Circassians. The favourite idea among many of these philanthropists is a general amalgamation of races and nationalities, collected, as it were, into one vast establishment, to be governed by some frosty quakerism, or some deadly despotism. According to them, all distinctions arise from human prejudice. Such views are not without practical value, in great as well as in small matters. Had not the philanthropists, for the sake of the African barbarians, treated most unjustly, both by word and pen, their white brethren in Natal, these latter would not have been so exasperated as we find by trustworthy accounts they are against the English. Exaggerations often lead to the reverse of what was intended; and it is not unlikely that this philanthropic fraternisation *(gleichmacherei)* may at last fail, by forcing on the question whether the coloured are really destined by providence to perfect equality with the whites. This question is not to be decided by any favourite generalisation of philanthropy. A higher degree of science can alone offer a solution, as Martins has evinced in his opinion on the North American Indians; and so far we may perfectly agree with the author, that these matters should be thoroughly investigated in Germany."

This last sentence is genuine Germanism, and the whole effusion is as creditable to the writer's modesty, as to his knowledge of English feelings and English literature.

Miscellanea.

JAMAICA.—Since our last advices, the *West Indian*, Captain Hodnett, has arrived at Port Morant, with 179 Africans from Sierra Leone. It will be recollected that the *Kingston*, Capt. Sergeant, was the last vessel from that place, leaving but a few Africans behind, most of whom were shortly after put on board a Demerara ship. At this period the *West Indian* had but a few stragglers on board. Fortunately, however, two vessels of war arrived with 800 people, taken a few days before from the barracoons at the Ambrys, which enabled the *West Indian* to complete her complement, and sail for Jamaica. Most of the people by this vessel are boys. About the same time the *Traveller*, which left this island sometime in the month of March for St. Helena, arrived at Lucea with 99 Africans—all males—the females having refused to come. It is contemplated, we believe, to despatch another vessel to St. Helena.—*Falmouth Post.*

THE FIRST OF AUGUST.—Among the resolutions adopted at the various public meetings in Jamaica, on the 1st of August, we find the following in the *Baptist Herald*; the one referring to Mr. Sturge and the other to Mr. Clarkson.

That, on the return of another festival of our freedom we desire that the renowned philanthropist, Joseph Sturge, Esq., whom it is our own pleasure to denominate the indefatigable and universal friend of the oppressed and degraded slave, should know, that he and his fellow-labourers, the members and supporters of the Anti-slavery Committee, possess an eminent place in our hearts; and, whilst we cherish a lively impression of their exertions in uprooting and demolishing slavery from the face of the habitable globe, we shall make it our constant endeavour to apply the best of our energies, physically, morally and practically, to prove that British freedom has conferred a boon upon us that shall redound to the glory and honour of himself and co-workers, in destroying slavery throughout the world; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Joseph Sturge, Esq., and to the secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

That, in celebrating another anniversary of enfranchisement from British West India slavery, our reflections are led back to the difficulties, trials, and persecutions of those whose glory it was to bear the heat of the battle, in forming and founding an association for the destruction of such laws, customs, and practices, as bound down the soul and energies of man to the will and caprice of his fellow-creature; and in the remembrance of these noble and virtuous characters, it is our happiness to record that God in his mercy has prolonged the life of one of the foremost of these, the venerable Thomas Clarkson, to see the fruits of his labour.

Fifty-seven years ago the heart of this honoured man became the depository of the sacred truth, that "IT WAS NOT RIGHT TO MAKE SLAVES OF OTHERS AGAINST THEIR WILL;" and, from that period to the latest moment of his unbounded zeal and efforts in the great cause of humanity, he has laboured to establish the principle upon which he based the whole structure of his valuable public life.

It now becomes our duty, and we feel it to be our privilege, enjoying as we do the rights and liberties of free British subjects, to present this testimony of our gratitude to the only living forerunner and coadjutor who assisted in making and swelling the torrent which swept away the slave-trade and slavery from out of the dominions of the British monarch; and in requesting our pastor, the Rev. Walter Dendy, to present this tribute of our esteem and veneration of the virtues of this benefactor and friend of the African race; he will also be pleased to convey to him that we shall make it a religious duty to present our petitions at a throne of grace, that in his declining years he may be permitted to enjoy that peace and rest on earth, in fore-knowledge of the peace and rest in the eternity of his heavenly Father's mansions.

LORDS ST. VINCENT AND SEAFORD have ordered the whole of their estates in Jamaica to be sold immediately.—*Falmouth Post.*

THE CROPS in Jamaica are so large, that, after having loaded all the vessels there, it was necessary to send to other islands for more ships to bring produce to England.

IRREGULAR PAY *versus* CONTINUOUS LABOUR.—The *Baptist Herald*, adverting to the loud complaints made by the planters of the want of continuous labour, says—"If labourers could but write for the press, they would say on their parts they had much reason to complain for the want of *continuous pay*. If we are rightly informed, there is on the southside a parish, where, on one estate, the people have had no pay since February, yet they continue to work on the estate, going to other places occasionally for the purpose of seeking subsistence as the labourers have not as yet learnt the art of living entirely upon air. On another estate the people received a dollar each in March, with a promise that after crop, sugar should be sold purposely to pay them, but this was never done. On a third estate, the plan pursued is to pay only in goods, and in nothing but goods from the store that is kept on the estate, and one day's labour is exacted from every individual in a family who is able to labour for rent. On the fourth, fifth, and sixth estates, the people are paid, not in money, but in sugar and rum; for the former article, sugar, they are said to be charged at ten dollars for 100 lbs.; and, when the labourers dispose of it by retail, they do it at a loss of two dollars on the barrel. On the seventh estate, which is said to be in an improving condition, the labourers are paid in money after the rate of a shilling a day out of crop, and one shilling and sixpence during crop, but have not to pay rent for their houses and grounds. If these then be facts (and we have no reason to doubt the correctness of the information obtained), is it to be a matter of surprise that several although they continued to reside for a considerable time after the change upon the estates to which they are attached, are now removing, and locating themselves upon small freeholds? Before there be a fresh importation of immigrants, it would be well to inquire if there would be any deficiency of labourers, if money were forthcoming to give them *continuous pay* for continuous labour, and if it be intended to pay in money those who may be brought hither."

A FACT FOR EMIGRATION COMMITTEES.—At Cacoon Pen, Hanover, (a property belonging to Sir Simon H. Clark), the labourers had to wait more than six months for their wages—most have left—and only five persons now work on the Pen.—*Baptist Herald.*

The House of Assembly in Saint Christopher's have rejected a proposition for the encouragement of immigration.—*St. Christopher's Advertiser.*

BARBADOS.—Except the iniquitous exaction of the absent-days, pretty generally practised by the planters, and in other cases lodging-rent extorted for children at school, things generally are going on well between the planters and labourers here; and, had we a more honest magistracy than we can boast of, on the whole there would be little to complain of but what time can cure. Trade is still very much depressed, and the pecuniary distress general and bitter, particularly among the more respectable middle classes of our community—persons heretofore accustomed to the comforts of life, and just possessed of the competence to obtain them. The crops have been more abundant this year than they were the last, by (it is thought) 5000 hogsheads. More than 3000 of this excess have already been shipped. The drought which afflicted us, in common with the other colonies, through 1839, 1840, and 1841, gave indications of quitting in the early part of this year, but again showed itself in the last two or three months, and threatened all our sanguine hopes with blight. The country has again suffered very much in that short time; and, whilst the canes for the next year's crop are being withered, our native provisions have

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increased in price over 60 per cent in consequence. For the last ten or twelve days, however, we have had copious showers almost daily, and there is every appearance of continuance. On the whole, we have had more rain this week than for any month within the last three years. A fourth year of drought, with short crops, dear provisions, little money, and a smothered trade, would, I firmly believe, consummate the ruin of thousands who have barely made shift to bear up under it to the present time.—*Mr. Prescod.*

THE RENT-COERCION SYSTEM. [From the *Barbados Liberal.*]—Let us for a moment take a nearer view of this system. The labourer receives ("rent-free," it is said) a cottage and (except in this island generally) provision grounds from the estate, as in slavery; and in consideration of these he is to give his labour for a certain number of days, at a stipulated hire (somewhat less than the market rate of wages), to the estate, under penalty of a rent-fine at the option of the employer for every absent day, or instant ejectment. This rent-fine ranges in this island generally from half the value of a day's wages to the whole—that is, from fivepence to tenpence sterling; and every and all the labouring members of the family are alike subject to it, although the hut and bit of land which they occupy may not be worth, for the rent of a whole week, what *each one* of them is liable to pay for a single day. If the labourer is at any time too ill to work, it is not enough that his wages are stopt until he gets better and begins to work again; he must make his illness, *its* extent, and probable cause known to the manager or the driver, as in slavery, and satisfying him that it is real and not pretended, get permission to lie up—subject all the time, as in slavery, to the most impertinently annoying surveillance, and taunts of indolent "make-believe," and liable to be dragged from his home, under dread of the rent-fine or ejectment (the latter as powerful an instrument of tyranny as the cart-whip of slavery), whenever the manager or his satellite driver pleases to consider that he has been long enough ill. He may not take a day without the passport of the manager's permission, which may or may not be granted, to visit a sick friend or relation, or to attend the funeral of that friend or relation, though it be a brother or a sister, or a parent or a child, without incurring the said penalty of fine or ejectment. He may not shelter a friend in his house, or lodge wife, or child, or aged parent, contrary to the manager's desire, but at risk of the same penalty. And after submitting to all this and more, he cannot flatter himself with having ensured a permanent settlement; as he knows that he may, any day, and for any thing, at the whim of his tormentors, be thrown upon the road with all his family and household goods. This is the system as it exists in this island—differing probably in a few particulars from the practice of some other colonies, especially those in which labour is in great demand, but essentially and for the most part the same in all. Is it conceivable that harmony, that kind feeling, that healthy confidence, that cheerful, steady, effective industry and contentment, can spring up and flourish under such a system?

ST. LUCIA.—(From the *Independent Press.*)—The manifest improvement in the mode of cultivating our cane fields, and the yearly increase in the quantity of land brought under cultivation, and successfully in all its results, as is proved by the increasing quantity of produce shipped, adds confidence to the conviction we have always entertained of the superiority of free labour over slave labour; and that, however much the *number* of hands now employed in cultivating our fields may have been diminished, an improved system of agriculture, and more zeal and activity on the part of the work-people, has compensated the loss, and that with favourable seasons, in two years more, St. Lucia will furnish the markets of the mother-country, with as great a quantity of sugar as was ever produced in the most active periods of slave labour. We now repeat what we have before stated, when treating the subject of immigration, (that monstrous infatuation which has already dried up the resources and the credit of Demerara, and which *is* rapidly doing the same for our sister-colony of Trinidad), we want not to glut the labour market with strangers and savages, to take the bread out of the mouths of our native peasantry, but we wish to see skilful agriculturists come amongst them as teachers, to show them how to make one pair of hands do the work of two pairs of hands, and thereby add to their own gains, as much as to their employers profit and comfort.

TRINIDAD.—The barque *Harvest Home* has brought to this island 170 liberated Africans from St. Helena, most of them young children.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR AT NEW YORK.—(From the *Journal of Commerce.*)—Recently a venerable coloured gentleman, named Mons. George, from Port au Prince, arrived in this city with three young countrymen, one of them being his nephew and secretary. M. George is a wealthy planter, an ex-senator, and was formerly Commissary-General under President Boyer. He came to this country with a view to make some investments, and particularly to purchase some steam-engines for his sugar estates. He found it very difficult to obtain lodgings at our hotels and boarding-houses, and at length took rooms at a French hotel. Returning from Philadelphia after a short visit to that city, he was thrust into the *loafer's* car, where he took a very severe cold, that confined him several days. He was refused a passage in the cabin of one of our packet ships for England; but was told by the agents of another line, that he should be accommodated well if he could remain a week or two. But he was impatient to leave the country, and took passage for France in the barque *Alexandre*, being courteously treated by the agent and captain, who saw the visage of this polished old gentleman in his mind. Our hotel keepers, and rail-road agents, and packet agents, should understand that he has carried nearly all his *doubloons* with him to Europe, to expend there. M. George had letters to one or two eminent men in this country, from the celebrated M. Inginac, Secretary of State to President Boyer, speaking of him as a gentleman of wealth and respectability, and as his personal friend.

RUNAWAY SLAVES.—Three slaves arrived at Boston, on the Worcester railroad. They had deserted from their master, who belonged to Georgia, but had kept track of them, and was waiting at the depôt when they arrived. Two of them were secured; but, while the irons were being fixed upon them, the third, a powerful man, prostrated his master by a blow, and rushed through the crowd of spectators. He went down to Salem in the eastern cars, and was followed in the next train by his master. He was secreted in Salem by some abolitionist during the Sabbath, and on Monday came to this town, where he was secreted until the latter part of the week. The master of an eastern coaster having declined to take him on board, he was finally taken to Portsmouth, and put on board the steamboat *Huntress* for St. Johns.—*Newburyport Herald.*

STEALING NEGROS.—The *Missouri Sentinel*, in remarking upon the number of negro slaves stolen, says there is a secret combination, extending from the east bank of the Mississippi through Illinois to Michigan, by means of which slaves are transported clandestinely to any place whither they desire to go.

AMERICAN INDIAN SLAVE-HOLDERS.—The Indian tribes on the Mexican frontier hold slaves; one of these people, a wealthy man, has one hundred. The United States government, which has located them there, has no objection to this, as it turns their inclinations more to Texas than to Mexico.

STATE OF THE FRENCH COLONIES.—The *Antigua Herald* contains the following:—"The governor called together the colonial council of Guadeloupe on the 23rd ultimo, and began his speech with the following melancholy picture of the state of the country.

"GENTLEMEN,—The commercial crisis which afflicts the colonies at this moment will leave profound traces of its passage through Guadeloupe. Credit exists no longer; bankruptcy threatens the most established houses; the planter, deceived in his hopes unable to meet his engagements, draws scarcely from his depreciated produce the means of supporting his family. Such is the present situation of our unfortunate country—such is the state of the population of our colonies."' On this the *Barbados Liberal* remarks:—"Our neighbours in the foreign colonies, although surrounded by all the inestimable blessings of slavery—whips, chains, dungeons, and, of course, labour in abundance and as cheap as they please—do not seem to be a jot the better for it in these hard times. They are feeling the pinch of the money crisis, and suffering from it apparently even more than the 'victims of abolition experiments' in the British colonies."

THE WEST AFRICAN REPORT—We may affirm without exaggeration, that no report of a Parliamentary Committee has ever been concocted under circumstances so suspicious and unsatisfactory. On the accession of Lord Stanley to office, interest having been made by the influential house of Forster and Smith with the colonial department, a committee was appointed, evidently for the purpose of throwing discredit on Dr. Madden's report; and the witnesses were selected, strange to say, for the most part from Messrs. Forster's friends and servants. After looking over the *list*, we believe we are correct in saying that a considerable majority of them comes under this designation; including captains of their vessels, to whom the imputations cast upon their masters must equally apply, merchants engaged in a similar description of traffic, and agents or *employés* of their house. Not content with a court thus packed with his own friends and dependents, Mr. Forster assumes the office of standing counsel for the pro-slavery merchants whom it is the object of this one-sided inquest to whitewash. He accordingly proposes the majority of the inquiries, and cross-questions and browbeats the few witnesses who, like Dr. Madden, and Captains Denman, Hill, and Broadhead, are not members of his clique, in the most insulting and impertinent manner. The whole of the evidence of the Forster witnesses seems to have had for its object to extenunte the conduct of such African merchants as have been notorious abettors of the slave-trade. But is it fair or honest that a firm which it was resolved by the late government to prosecute for carrying on a trade promotive of slave-dealing, should have been allowed to assume the task of marshalling the witnesses, and by leading questions instructing them what to say? Had a commonly honest investigation been instituted, Messrs. Forster and Co. were the last persons in the world who should have been allowed to interfere in the matter.—*United Service Gazette.*

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXXVI. Vol. III. No. 23.] WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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NOTICE OF REMARKS ON THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGROS IN SURINAM, CONTAINED IN THE NIEUWE AMSTERDAMSCHE COURANT, OCTOBER 21, 1842.

We have read with feelings of no dissatisfaction, as regards the prospects of the anti-slavery cause in Holland, the pro-slavery article which we are about to present to our readers in an English dress, with some comments.

We intend to give a translation of the entire document, but shall divide it into parts, in order to insert in the most convenient manner, the observations which we think are called for by the statements it contains. The remarks are in the form of a letter, and commence as follows.

"I have read with peculiar satisfaction the letter of V. P., inserted in the *Arnhem Courant* of the 2nd, 8th, and 9th of October. It is at the present moment of great importance for a proprietor of estates in Surinam, that persons who are really well informed respecting the state of things in the colony should raise their voice against the pretensions of a coterie, whose conduct has the appearance of an attempt to rescue oppressed innocence from a grievous yoke to which it is subjected.

"The superficial observer will doubtless applaud the efforts of the so called philanthropists, for those who are not acquainted with the natural character of the negro, and the internal state of the colony, imagine but too easily that the negros lead there a hard and miserable life.

"It therefore becomes the duty of all who have an interest in the colony to enlighten their fellow-citizens, and to convince them by facts, that the fiery and zealous abolitionists act in ignorance, or what is worse, are urged on by motives, which, although concealed under the mask of benevolence, can have no other object than that of gaining themselves a name, or in some other way of promoting their own advantage."

On the above observations we remark, that it is indeed very natural for persons who have no supposed or real pecuniary interest in the maintenance of slavery to imagine, that, in seeking its abolition they are engaged in a work the tendency of which is "to rescue oppressed innocence from a grievous yoke." Neither is it at all surprising, that many who are not acquainted with the internal state of the colony of Surinam should entertain the opinion that the slaves there, and especially those on the plantations, "lead a hard and miserable life." The slave owner would, doubtless, in most instances, be glad to persuade his fellow-citizens that these things are not so; but it is our conviction that, in proportion as the real character of slavery, whether in Surinam or elsewhere, is understood, it will be found to be a system which is attended with dreadful abuse and suffering to its victims. No person of unprejudiced mind, who has considered the nature of slavery, or who is acquainted with its history, is ignorant (to use the words of Lord Goderich, now Earl of Ripon, when secretary to the colonies, in answer to those who were then British slave-holders) "that unrestrained power must and will be abused," and "that the law which makes one man the proprietor and another the property, and which delegates to the proprietary body all powers, legislative, judicial, magisterial, and domestic, cannot but be the fertile source of abuses."

We have, however, information supplied by one who was well acquainted with the internal state of the colony of Surinam, and not ignorant of the negro character, which may be expected to place the subject of slavery in its true light. We refer to the statements contained in a work, entitled *Reschouving der Surinamsche Plantagieslaven (Description of the situation of Plantation slaves in Surinam)*, by F. A. Kuhn, M.D., Amsterdam, 1828. The situation of the author as a medical man at Surinam, must have afforded him large opportunities of knowing the manner in which the slaves are treated; while a regard to his own interest and character would, we may fairly presume, have prevented him from exaggerating the actual deformities of the slave system.

We shall endeavour to present a faithful analysis of the most important information respecting the cruelties of slavery contained in this volume; but we recommend to all our readers who wish to possess an intimate knowledge of the state of slavery in Surinam, to peruse the original document.

We are informed by Dr. Kuhn, that instances are not wanting in which the slaves are unprovided by their masters with a single article of clothing during the space of two or three years; that the negro houses are in general of a wretched description, and do not protect their inmates from the cold night air and rain; that the food supplied is sometimes greatly deficient in quantity, and often bad and unwholesome; that the labour exacted is almost universally excessive on sugar plantations, and, combined with a want of needful rest at night, is the cause of a large mortality; that women on some estates are far from receiving that consideration which they require, in consequence of which miscarriages not unfrequently occur; that mothers are compelled to neglect their infants in order to perform field-labour, and that many children perish at a tender age from improper exposure; that the sick in numerous instances do not receive proper medical care, in some cases from the consideration that the sufferer, if cured, would not repay the expense incurred; that marriage is generally neglected, owing to the insecurity of connubial rights, and the liability to separation between parents and children; and that among the managers too many are to be met with destitute of any sense of decency, addicted to continual intemperance, and guilty of the most revolting cruelty towards those who are entrusted to their charge. Finally, we learn from the same authority, that the excess of deaths over births, is no less than from two to three per cent. annually throughout the colony, a fact in itself sufficient to prove the unnatural, cruel, and impolitic character of slavery in Surinam, and which should procure for it a merited reprobation.*

"But it will perhaps be replied, that this (the charge brought against the motives of the abolitionists) may be true; but it is no less true that the abolition of slavery is a desirable event. However well the words abolition of slavery may sound, results are already apparent to furnish arguments against this fine theory; and when that which has taken place in the English colonies since the abolition of slavery is closely observed, and the results examined without prejudice, it will be discovered that the planters are become poorer, and the negros are more unhappy. Were these the objects of the sincere abolitionists? We may have doubts on the subject; but the object of the English nation in the preparation of the Emancipation Act, and the compensation connected with it, was certainly to better the lot of the slave without injury to the interests of the proprietor. Is this object at present attained? No, the results of emancipation in the English colonies have been most fatal—the proprietors of plantations are ruined—the trade with the colonies decreases fearfully, and the negro, that object of blind prejudice, is more idle and dissolute than ever—once freed he will no more acknowledge any authority—no more perform any work, for with him freedom is not to work.

"It will not be needful to prove how the produce of the English colonies has decreased since emancipation; the official returns of the English government are printed—every one can convince himself by reading their contents.

"The abolitionist cannot contradict this: he will perhaps grant it, but will probably add to this admission, that the negros are now much improved in morals, and much happier than formerly. Even this is untrue. Read the official reports of the English government, and it will be found by their contents that the negro is now much more immoral and consequently much more unhappy

* By some authorities the annual excess of deaths over births is estimated at from four to five per cent. annually.

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than formerly. Take and read with attention a little book entitled *The Island of Trinidad*, and the most decided partizan of emancipation will be compelled to acknowledge that the negros were not prepared for emancipation. Read in this work the evidence given in Trinidad, independently of that of the planters, and pay attention only to that of the clergy and magistrates, and you will there find that all which the negros earn they throw away in foolish gratifications, that they no longer cultivate grounds on their own account, that gambling and drunkenness have enormously increased, and that a small number of them can scarcely be found who will give continuous labour. Did I not fear to be tedious, I should be able to prove from evidence given before the magistrates of the island by persons of every description, that the emancipated slaves have there degenerated into a state of unrestrained licentiousness. The pamphlet can however be obtained by every one, and it is therefore needless to proceed further."

It appears from the above extract, that the act of emancipation *à priori* commends itself to the common sense of justice and feeling of humanity among men, for it is in this manner that we must account for the agreeable emotion produced by the words abolition of slavery. The results of emancipation in the British colonies are, however, said to prove that the imagined benefits of this measure are a delusion, and that the planters are poorer and the negros more miserable than during the period of slavery.

It is not very difficult to discover, that it is the planters' interest which is principally considered by the correspondent of the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*, and we shall first reply to that part of the statement in which he is principally concerned.

On this subject we shall give, in the words of Lord Stanley, the present secretary for the colonies, in his place in parliament, an account of the amount and value of exports from the British West Indies, during a few years before and since the abolition of slavery, which is as follows :—

"When he looked to the average quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom from the West Indies, he found, that during the six years preceding the apprenticeship it was 3,905,034 cwts. ; that during the four years of apprenticeship, it fell to 3,486,225 cwts. ; that during the first year of freedom, 1839, it fell to 2,824,106 cwts. ; and that during the second year of freedom, 1840, it fell to 2,210,226 cwts. If the house would permit him to state this case fully and fairly, they would find that the deficiency of the quantity had been made up by the increased value of the produce in the different intervals. For instance, the average value of sugar for the six years preceding the apprenticeship was £5,320,021 ; and for the four years of the apprenticeship, it was £6,217,801. In the first year of freedom the amount was £5,530,000, and in the next year £5,424,000 ; and, although in this year there would be a large reduction, still there would be a fair remuneration for what was lost by the diminution of produce." We may add, that, during the past year, the export of sugar from the British West India colonies was 2,151,217 cwts., making an average of 2,395,151 cwts. since the introduction of freedom, being nearly two-thirds of the amount exported during the period of slavery. In the present year, the exports are expected to exceed those of the last, by from 200,000 to 300,000 cwts.

The decrease which has taken place in the exportation of sugar is doubtless considerable, and although it has been made good to a great extent, if not altogether, by the rise in price of the article, it may be worth while to examine how far it is chargeable on emancipation ; and particularly whether it be attributable to a want of industry on the part of the negros.

We therefore proceed to state a few of the actual causes of this decrease. Among these is the large diminution of the labouring population, arising from the small number of births, compared with the dreadful mortality during slavery and the apprenticeship, which amounted to nearly, or quite, 100,000, as compared with the census of the population taken in 1817 ; the discontinuance of that excessive labour during the day, and often throughout the night, to which a large part of this mortality was ascribable ; the extensive withdrawal from field labour of mothers of families in order to attend to domestic duties, and of children who are no longer condemned to hopeless ignorance ; the refusal to allow fair wages to the emancipated labourers during the early period of freedom, the criterion of value being the statements made on this subject by the planters themselves during the apprenticeship, and the practice during slavery and the apprenticeship where wages were given ; excessive charges for houses and grounds, which have led to an extensive abstraction of labour in the erection of cottages, and the clearance and cultivation of new land, by the emancipated population ; and, lastly, not to mention others which might be named, which reflect no discredit on emancipation or on the new freeman, the unusual prevalence of excessive droughts in some of the principal British colonies, including particularly Jamaica, Guiana, and Barbados.

The facts to which we have alluded are in general of an indisputable character, and some confirmation of their accuracy, should any doubt respecting them exist in the mind of the reader, will be found in the quotations we shall hereafter make from parliamentary papers relative to the West Indies, or other documents of high credit. For further satisfaction and evidence on all the points noticed, we refer to the papers we have named, and debates in parliament which have reference to the past and present state of the emancipated colonies.

It will be seen that the causes of decrease which have been stated are traceable to the latent evils of slavery ; the discontinuance of its abuses, in the amount of labour and the persons by whom it is performed ; the faults of managers and proprietors ; and the failure of seasons ; circumstances which appear to have been entirely overlooked by the correspondent of the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*.

It may however be supposed, from the statement that "the trade with the colonies decreases fearfully," that not only have the exports decreased, but that there has been a great falling off in the extent and value of imports into the British West Indies since the abolition of slavery. Such is indeed the fair meaning of the words used, and they might even be thought to imply that the internal trade of the colonies has considerably lessened. Such a state of things must indeed have resulted from the conduct attributed to the negro, had it been true.

On this subject we again quote the language of Lord Stanley. "The average value of the exports from this country to the West India colonies in the six years preceding emancipation was £2,783,000. The average during the four years of the apprenticeship, 1835 to 1838, was £3,573,000. The amount during the first year of freedom, 1839, was £4,002,000, and during the second year of freedom, the amount was £3,492,734."

We shall next examine the accuracy of the bold assertion respecting the superior happiness and morality of the negro in a state of slavery, as compared with his present situation. In order to ascertain the truth or falsehood of this proposition, it will be needful to shew what was the character of British West India bondage, and what are the circumstances and conduct of the emancipated population in our colonies. We shall again have occasion to quote Lord Stanley on both these subjects, and shall first extract some passages from the speech made by him on bringing in the bill for the abolition of slavery. In this justly celebrated speech, Lord Stanley not only described, in just, and therefore very dark colours, the cruel evils of slavery, but shewed that it is vain indeed to hope that they will be removed, except by the abolition of the system. In the course of his observations, Lord Stanley dwelt particularly on the features of slavery in British Guiana, a colony which has many points of resemblance with Surinam, and which was probably, at the time at which this speech was delivered, an almost exact counterpart of the present state of that colony.

"The colony of Demerara afforded a frightful proof of the destructive effects which the amount of labour compelled from the slaves had on its population. In that colony, the quantity of sugar exported during the three periods (from June 1823 to June 1826 ; from June 1826 to June 1829 ; and from June 1829 to June 1832) was respectively, 652,336 cwts., 662,655 cwts., and 806, 120 cwts. Now what was the effect of the increased labour on the slave-population during these three periods! In the first the number was 72,722, in the second 71,005, and in the third only 67,741.

"Thus in the last period 67,741 slaves produced 806,120 cwts. of sugar, while in the first 72,722 slaves were required to produce 652,336 cwts. ; showing a decrease of the producers to the amount of 4981.

"In Berbice the slave population amounted in the first period to 22,074, in the second to 21,246, and in the third it had decreased to 20,831 ; while the exportation of sugar during the corresponding periods amounted to 58,655 cwts., 64,230 cwts., and 94,312 cwts., showing a frightful increase in the production compared with the amount of the population.

"He could not refrain from reading to the house another statement with respect to Demerara, which pointed out more particularly that class which appeared to be the peculiar sufferers, because in that class was found the greatest diminution of human life. The statement to which he alluded pointed out the age, quality, and physical strength of the slaves, on whom this great mortality had fallen. He might perhaps be told, that the decrease which had taken place in the slave population might in some degree be accounted for by the effects, not yet wholly surmounted, of the stoppage of the slave-trade, and the unequal supply of the sexes. But he found in this document that there was a decrease in the number of children under ten years of age, which could only be accounted for in one frightful way—the increased labour and diminished productiveness of the parents.

"As compared with 1817 there was a decrease in the number of slaves under forty of 23,644 ; and between the ages of thirty and forty, the time at which labour was most severe, the present population, as compared with its amount in the same year, had experienced a diminution of 11,653 ; while, upon the other hand, in every ten years, from forty to fifty, from fifty to sixty, from sixty to seventy, and from seventy to eighty years of age and upwards, among those who were past labour, or unequal to great exertion, there was a proportionate increase at the very time there was a manifest decrease of human life among those upon whom the full labour fell. Need he add any thing to this ? If he went further into detail he should weary the house. He would therefore make such statements only as should be important and instructive. He had some further returns from Demerara, which he had most carefully examined, and in which the various descriptions of labour were classed under different heads, showing the relative decrease of human life on cattle farms to be 2 per cent., among unattached slaves 1½ per cent. on coffee farms 3 $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent., and on sugar plantations 5½ per cent. On cotton plantations there had been no decrease, but an increase of 1 $\frac{6}{10}$ per cent.

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"He had thus shown that increased production of sugar was accompanied by decreased population; that the decrease of population fell heaviest on those classes from whom the severest labour was exacted; and he now came to the last statement, as to the mode in which this labour was exacted by increased severity. His authority would be the *Records of Punishments;* and he thought if there was no other advantage in those records, and in the services of the protectors of slaves, than to give plain and palpable proof of the manner in which the present system produces loss of life by labour, and the mode in which that labour was exacted, this alone would be sufficient to justify the introduction of protectors of slaves into all the crown colonies, and would fully warrant parliament to insist upon their introduction, and on the same system of recording punishments, in the chartered colonies. In the year 1829, the recorded number of separate punishments in Demerara, when the prædial slave population amounted to 60,500, was 17,359. In 1830, the numbers had decreased to 59,547, while the production of sugar had increased, and the number of separate punishments had also increased to 18,324, the number of lashes inflicted in that year being no less than 194,744. In 1831, the prædial population had still further decreased to 58,404, but the punishments had increased to 21,656, and the number of lashes amounted to 199,507. Now let the house bear in mind that this was the official record of punishments, not including the punishments inflicted by judicial authority, or on a reference to magistrates, because there existed no return of this latter sort, but inflicted by planters in one of the crown colonies, under the improved system, and under the check of the record. It was the official return given by the masters of the slaves themselves, of the extent of domestic and irresponsible punishments inflicted, under the sanction of the law, by their own authority, amounting in one year to nearly 200,000 lashes. Without imputing any cruelty to the planters more than that which arose from a perversion of moral feeling, or imputing any want of the ordinary feelings of humanity, further than that they were perverted by prejudice and rendered callous by custom and habit, he called upon the house to consider, where the punishments were unrecorded, where there was no legal authority, and where there was no efficient protection afforded to the slave, what must be the amount of punishment. What must be the system, the curse, the degradation of the system, if such was the extent and severity of the punishments in a comparatively ameliorated state! What in such cases must be the amount of unredressed injustice, of bitter oppression, and of hopeless wrong!"

Lord Stanley subsequently replies to the common sophistries of slave-holders, and describes the degraded and demoralized condition of the slaves, which he justly attributed to the vices of the slave system, and the conduct of those by whom it was administered. We should do injustice to those of our readers who may not have had the opportunity of perusing these important observations, did we not give at least a portion of them a place in our pages. We extract the following:—"They were told that under any system—except that which he had described—that under any other system it was impossible to produce industry in the slaves. They were taunted in this country with legislating on mistaken notions, and told that they were absolutely ignorant of what gentlemen were pleased to call the negro character. He conscientiously believed that any man who chose to take the pains of informing himself on the subject might form a better and clearer idea, because a more unprejudiced one, of the 'negro character' than those men who had passed their lives in the West Indies. The latter individuals made this wide and palpable mistake; they attributed to the character of the negro those faults which necessarily resulted from the moral degradation of slavery. He believed that it might be proved, that the negro, under proper inducements to free-labour, would be found neither less inclined to be industrious or to accumulate property, nor less anxious to better himself in the world, than those whose lot it was to do free-labour. But they were told with an air of triumph to look only at the manumitted negro; and they were asked to point out, if they could, twenty instances of manumitted slaves engaged in field labour. In reply to this objection, he would ask another question; were they able to produce him twenty instances of field negro slaves who had been manumitted! The fact was that the manumitted slaves mostly belonged to one class, and that not the class of field labourers. Within a period of ten years, commencing in 1817, there had been 14,163 slaves manumitted. Did they consist of field labourers! Hardly an instance could be produced of a field negro among the number; two-thirds, if not three-fourths, were females,—a fact which spoke for itself; for it was not difficult to understand to what class of females they belonged, and what inducement the planters had to liberate them, and in many instances the children of those females.

"They were told, that at the present moment the slaves were unfit for freedom, because they had no domestic ties, no habits of industry, and that they would be unable to provide for their wants, and be utterly ruined, if they were thrown upon the world to act for themselves. Therefore continue them in slavery, it was said, until they become fit for freedom. His answer was—you keep them unfit for freedom by retaining them in slavery. The state of slavery absolutely debarred them from acquiring those habits of industry; it left them no end to labour for, for they had no incentive to industrious habits; it debarred them from the ties of family and domestic enjoyment, and yet it was said that they were ignorant of family duties. It was said also that they had no religious knowledge; that they were utterly ignorant, brutal in their minds, degraded, and unfit for participation in the blessings of freedom. If they were ignorant, upon whom did the guilt fall! Upon those who had kept their minds, and still keep them in that state. Upon whom did the charge fall that they were still ignorant, if indeed they were ignorant; that they were open to the accusation of petty theft; that they disregarded truth; that they lacked industry; that they had no respect for marriage and the duties of social life? It was upon those who, from childhood to the grave, and from generation to generation, kept the negros in a state of chattel property, and looked upon them as mere labouring animals, and took no pains, and used no efforts to enlighten their minds or raise their moral feelings. Nay, more, and he spoke it to the shame of a christian age and a professing christian country, they were actually debarred of the means of religious instruction, because it was feared to be incompatible with the maintenance of a state of slavery. Was this house, then, and this country, to draw the conclusion, that, assuming that religious instruction was inconsistent with the continuance of slavery, they were to debar the slave population from the light of gospel truth, and shut out religious instruction, and stifle education, and, at all hazards and risks, preserve inviolate the system of slavery!"

We now turn from the affecting picture of the dreadful physical and moral evils of slavery, to contemplate the results of emancipation, as it affects the welfare and conduct of those who have emerged from so great a depth of suffering and degradation. Lord Stanley, who again, after an interval of some years, fills the office of colonial secretary, has thus described them in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, on the 22nd of March last. "Considering how deeply he was interested in the subject, and what anxiety he must have felt when returning to the same situation which he held nine years ago, as to the result of the great experiment in which he took so active a part, the house, he was sure, would grant him some little indulgence. As regarded that result, he was happy to be able to state that the emancipation of the negro population of the West Indies had, in the benefits which were derived from it, exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the most ardent advocates of the measure. In every one of the islands, the physical condition and prosperity of the labouring classes had reached to an extent far greater than had been anticipated; and, what was still more gratifying, the improvement in their physical condition was accompanied by a corresponding improvement in their social and moral habits. Religious instruction had produced its anticipated effects, inducing greater purity in domestic life, and creating a stronger desire for education. This he considered to be a result infinitely more important than any improvement in their physical condition. To show that he did not exaggerate the vast improvement which had taken place in the habits and condition of the West Indian labourers, he would read to the house an extract from an official document which he had a short time since addressed to a foreign power, in answer to a statement in which the great experiment of emancipation was alluded to as having proved a failure. The words were these:—

"'It will be found, that the British emancipation took place without the occurrence of a single instance of tumult or disturbance; that the joy of the negros on the 1st of August, 1838, was orderly, sober, and religious; that, since emancipation, the negros have been thriving and contented; that they have varied their manner of living, and multiplied their comforts and enjoyments; that their offences against the laws have become more and more light and unfrequent; that their morals have improved; that marriage has become more and more substituted for concubinage; that they are eager for education, rapidly advancing in knowledge, and powerfully influenced by the ministers of religion. Such are among the results of emancipation which are plain and indisputable, and these results constitute, in the estimation of her Majesty's government and the people of England, the complete success of the British emancipation, in so far as relates to the primary and paramount object of that act.'"

Lord Stanley afterwards read extracts at considerable length from the correspondence of Sir Charles Metcalfe, late governor of Jamaica, from a stipendiary magistrate of that island, and from Mr. Light, governor of Guiana, the result of which is summed up in these words:—"These statements showed, he thought, this, that, as far as the labourers were concerned in Jamaica and Demerara (and, though varying in degree, they were a sample of the whole of our colonies) the experiment had been not only successful in placing them in a situation of great physical enjoyment, beyond the anticipations of their boldest friends, but they also proved that they had learned to turn to advantage their newly acquired gift of freedom in accumulating property, the product of their industry, and cultivating habits worthy of freemen."

The only drawbacks to the prosperity of the colonies mentioned by Lord Stanley are, a deficiency of labour applicable to the cultivation of sugar, and a high rate of wages. The former circumstance is stated by Lord Stanley to arise "from the abstraction of labour in consequence of the industrious application of the labourers to their own farms, and from their having become possessors of property, instead of mere cultivators of the soil." We do not agree with Lord Stanley in the statement that the planters have been "compelled to pay exorbitant and enormous wages," because, at the most, they have only amounted to the value set upon them by the planters themselves, previously to the introduction of complete freedom, while in

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many instances they have fallen greatly below this standard. This will be apparent from the following statement of wages paid at different periods. The price of hired labour in the principal British West India colonies was, in the time of slavery from half-a-dollar to one dollar per diem, or from two shillings to four shillings. During the apprenticeship the apprentices received for work performed in their own time, when this was not unfairly taken from them, about the same amount. On the commencement of freedom, the average price of labour was, in Jamaica 10*d.*; in Barbados 10*d.*; in British Guiana 1*s.* 4½*d.*; in Trinidad 1*s.* 9*d.*; and in Antigua 8*d.* By the latest published accounts from the same colonies, the average rate of wages was, in Jamaica 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem; in Barbados 10*d.*; in British Guiana 1*s.* 4½*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.*; in Trinidad 1*s.* 9*d.* to 2*s.* 1*d.*; and in Antigua 10*d.* per diem. The above sums are estimated in English sterling money.

Were it, however, true that a high rate of wages is paid in some of the British colonies in which the population is very scanty as compared with the extent of land capable of cultivation, or actually devoted to the production of valuable agricultural produce, such a circumstance would only be in accordance with that which takes place generally in free communities thus circumstanced, and does not furnish the shadow of an argument against emancipation. It may indeed show the impolicy of continuing that unjust and cruel system, by which the population had been so greatly reduced, a truth which was thus acknowledged by Mr. Burnley, a large West India planter, and author of *The island of Trinidad*, when under examination before a select committee of the House of Commons, on East India produce, in 1840, said:—"We, (the planters,) committed the error of suffering the existence of slavery when the slave trade was abolished. The system was continued after the supply was cut off, by which the colonies were paralyzed."

We have now replied to the general statements relative to the results of emancipation, and the circumstances and conduct of the new freemen in the British colonies. The island of Trinidad, in which the number of liberated slaves amounted to little more than 20,000, or about one-fortieth part of the emancipated population in the British dependencies, is, however specially adduced as evidence of the baneful effects of freedom generally, and in support of statements which reflect deeply upon the negro character. We shall therefore, although the premises, if they were correct, would not warrant the conclusion, bestow some attention upon this part of the great field in which emancipation has taken place. We think it will be found that Trinidad presents no exception to the immense benefits which have resulted to the British colonies generally from this righteous measure. We must however defer our remarks on this subject, and further extracts from the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*, to a future number.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We hope in our next to notice Mr. Dickens's interesting volumes, *American Notes for General Circulation.*

We thank Mr. Martin for his note. A correction of the misrepresentation he refers to was sent to the *Times*, and insertion refused.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 16TH.

IN another part of the *Reporter* will be found extracts from the colonial papers received by the last mail, from which it appears that the sugar crops are likely to prove much larger than they were last year. Though we have no specific information from Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad, we are informed that equally favourable accounts have been received from these colonies, and this, coupled with the following information from India, will show that we are likely to have a large stock of sugar on hand at the close of the year. It is as follows:—

SUGAR.—A very active demand has been experienced since our last for all descriptions; and, the bazaar having been well supplied, the shipments for the past month to Great Britain reached 258,896 bazaar maunds, or about 9,500 tons, and in this month they continue on a liberal scale, being from the 1st to the 7th inclusive 44,953 bazaar maunds. Notwithstanding these heavy shipments at this period, we are still of opinion that the total exports to Great Britain, from the 1st of May, 1842, to the 30th of April, 1843, will not reach, or at all events, exceed 70,000 tons. Prices have not varied much since our last; there has, however, been a slight decline on the middling and lower qualities, whilst for the fine kinds there is no change. All accounts from the country agree in stating that the next crop (now growing) will be short, owing to the very severe weather that has been experienced, and also to short cultivation, caused by the low prices which ruled here in March and April, the best months for planting cane.

The stock of sugar on hand on Wednesday, the 9th November last, was reported to be,

West India . .	24,815 Hhds.
Mauritius . .	26,608 Bags
Bengal . . .	75,926 do.
Foreign . . .	33,400 Chests

The price of West India sugar varying from 56*s.* to 69*s.* 6*d* per cwt.

WE earnestly direct attention to the important articles in our present number on Dutch Slavery, and the late West India Committee. From Dr. Madden's Report we have taken as long an extract as the state of our columns would permit, exhibiting the existence and prevalence of slavery itself in the British settlements on the Gold Coast. We share with that gentleman in his surprise at the facts which he discovered there; and find it hard to understand by what kind of oversight the British settlements on the coast of Africa can have been omitted from distinct contemplation, either by the government or by the philanthropists of this country, when emancipation was enacted. We hope to detail in our next, the proceedings of the lamented Sir John Jeremie in this matter.

WE beg to introduce to the favour of our readers a new and improved edition of an interesting little work with which, of course, they are all familiar—*An Epitome of Anti-Slavery Information.* In comparing it with the former, we perceive that the statistics are brought up to the latest period, and that, in some of the pages, the matter is altogether new.

THE WEST INDIA COMMITTEE.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

SIR,—The West India party are strenuously exerting themselves both with the government and through the medium of the public press, to achieve their great object—emigration from Africa to the British colonies; and did they confine themselves to a fair exhibition of their case, and abstain from misrepresenting the views and motives of the anti-slavery body in this country, I should, as one of that body, be content merely to watch their proceedings, and interpose only when circumstances appeared to render it imperatively necessary. But, sir, as they have not scrupled grossly to exaggerate their case, and to vilify the Anti-slavery Society, I propose in a series of short articles, to review the evidence on which they attempt to sustain it, for the double purpose of justifying the ground taken by the Society, and of showing how little foundation they have on which to base their claims to be assisted by the British parliament and the British public. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ARGUS.

London, 10th November, 1842.

On the 22nd March, 1842, Lord Stanley, colonial secretary, moved the House of Commons for a "select committee to inquire into the state of the different West India colonies, in reference to the existing relations between employers and labourers, the rate of wages, the supply of labour, the system and expense of cultivation, and the general state of their rural and agricultural economy." In doing this, his lordship paid a just tribute of praise to the general good conduct, industry, and freedom from crime of the emancipated classes, and dwelt with evident satisfaction on their improved physical and moral condition. But in stating the case of the planters, he greatly deplored the reverse that they had sustained in their circumstances by the abolition of slavery, and urged the necessity which existed for affording them relief. His panacea, as well as theirs, was such an influx of labourers as should at once have the effect of supplying them with a full amount of available labour for agricultural purposes, and of reducing the wages of labour to the minimum point; and his lordship evidently looked towards Africa as the source whence that supply was to be drawn. Were this the place it might be easily shown that the foundation of the noble lord's recommendation was not composed of solid facts, but of general opinions and false statements which he had been led to adopt, principally on West Indian authority. Take, for instance, the losses said to have been sustained in the year 1841, by sixty-two estates in British Guiana. The noble lord said,—"He had a report of sixty-two sugar estates from the 1st January to the 31st October, 1841, in which period the expenditure was 1,091,000 dollars, while the return was 217,000 dollars, making a gross loss upon the whole estates of 874,000 dollars; and to December, the same committee stated the expense to be 1,295,000 dollars, and the total revenue 312,000, the loss being 963,000 dollars." The noble lord was misled by the tabular statement forwarded to him by the planters; they omitted to inform him, that these estates yielded, on their own showing, during the year, 10,649 hogsheads of sugar, of at least 16 cwt. each, and that not one farthing of the amount derived from their sale had been carried to the account! So much for the loss sustained. The effect of this, and other statements of the noble lord, was the appointment of the select committee of inquiry.

The committee appointed to conduct the inquiry was as follows:—the Lords Stanley, Howick, and Chelsea, Sirs Eardly Wilmot and Charles Douglas, and Messrs. Pakington, Godson, Charles Howard, Vernon Smith, Emmerson Tennent, Grantley Berkeley, Hawes, Bankes, Villiers Stuart, and Barclay. Among these the only parties qualified for the discharge of their duties, by previous knowledge of colonial affairs, were the Lords Stanley and Howick and Mr. Vernon Smith, with the exception of Messrs. Godson and Barclay—gentlemen deeply interested in West Indian estates. The remainder, independently of Mr. Hawes, whose business-like habits and industry made up in great measure for the want of previous information, were ignorant of West Indian affairs. Mr. Pakington was appointed chairman of the committee, and it was evident that he, and indeed most of the members of the committee, acted upon a foregone conclusion, (the correctness of which they no doubt believed), throughout the whole of the examinations.

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From first to last the honorable gentleman was in communication with the West Indians; from them he received the questions to be put to their witnesses ready drafted; and, when discrepancies appeared in their testimony, he allowed them ample opportunity to amend their answers; whilst the few witnesses allowed to be examined on the opposite side were subject to as rigorous an examination as his powers would enable him to carry on. The consequence was, that many points of the utmost importance to a just decision on the questions submitted to the committee were either slurred over, omitted, or overlaid. Take, for example, the question of the legal relations which have existed between the employers and the labourers, and the mischiefs which have arisen therefrom, since the complete emancipation of the slaves in August, 1838—that was too tender a point to touch upon, and the little that does appear upon the minutes of evidence relative thereto, may be said to have been forced on the committee. Had this important branch of the subject, however, been thoroughly investigated, it would have been found to have gone far to account for the loss of produce complained of by the planters during the first two years of freedom; and would have demonstrated the necessity for a thorough revision of the laws, especially of the chartered colonies, to bring them into harmony with the spirit and design of the abolition act, and the enactments of the orders in council which were issued in 1838, for the regulation of contracts, and the prevention of vagrancy in the crown colonies.

On the system and expense of cultivation, the committee rose from their labours as wise as when they commenced them; but this, as well as the rate of wages, and the supply of labour available for agricultural purposes in the British colonies, will properly come under consideration when we examine the nature, and test the quality of the evidence submitted to the committee.

On the general state of the colonies the opinions of the West Indians were accumulated to a most disproportionate extent. Their past state was declared deplorable, their present state worse, and their future as presenting nothing but absolute ruin, without the aid of the government and a large amount of African immigration, whilst the actual state of the rural and agricultural economy of the colonies was almost entirely overlooked.

In looking for the cure of the evils which were said to exist, one influential member was anxious to give additional stringency to the laws regulating labour; another honourable member was for laying a heavy tax on the land purchased by the labourers, and returning it to the planters in the shape of a bounty on exported produce; others were for giving an artificial value to the lands at present purchaseable by the labourers; others were for taking from them their provision grounds, and throwing them more completely on the money wages they might receive from their employers than they now are; others were for preventing them altogether from occupying the unemployed lands of the colonies; and of course the members entertaining projects like these were generally anxious to elicit from the witnesses opinions in their favour. Full proof of this statement will be found in the report, and in the questions put to the gentlemen who gave evidence before the committee.

From the circumstances before alluded to there was not, and could not be a searching examination of the witnesses. The only member of the committee who attempted to draw the witnesses beyond the line of examination marked out by the West Indians, except for the purposes mentioned, or occasionally in compliance with suggestions from those who were permitted to be present, was Mr. Hawes; but, unfortunately, that gentleman was compelled to be absent during one half of the sittings of the committee, by attendance on the Lyme Regis election or the corrupt compromise committees, or a body of most useful information would have been placed on record.

The committee commenced their sittings on the 25th April, and terminated them on the 14th July following, having met in all twenty-four times. Lord Howick was present at eighteen of the examinations, but did not take that prominent part in them which his accurate knowledge enabled him to do. Mr. Vernon Smith was present on twelve occasions, but rarely did more than elicit an occasional expression of opinion, or an explanation of the evidence already given, and generally appeared to take but little interest in the progress of the inquiry. Lord Stanley was present thrice, and in the little he did, showed how much might have been done by him, could he have commanded the time to have been always present. We have specifically alluded to these three honourable members, because having each filled important offices in the colonial department, they were competent to have secured such a body of facts, as would have guided the House of Commons to a just decision on the points most required to be understood, in order to legislative, or such other measures as the case might require. As it is, we have, as the result of the inquiry, a bulky folio volume of nearly nine hundred pages, of little practical value, presenting, for the most part, an exaggerated and one-sided view of the questions submitted to the committee for solution, and which, should it be allowed to sway the judgment of the government, will entail vast expenses on the already over-taxed colonists to serve the purposes of the planters, who form but a small portion of the community, without securing even to them the benefits, purely selfish, which they anticipate. The attendance of the other members of the committee, during the inquiry was as follows: Mr. Tennant six times only, the proceedings of the Belfast election committee having no doubt prevented the honourable gentleman from attending more frequently; Mr. V. Stuart nine times; Messrs. Godson and Bankes, eleven times each, the former gentleman absent on circuit; Mr. Hawes, twelve, Mr. C Howard, thirteen, Mr. G. Berkeley, fifteen, Lord Chelsea, sixteen, Mr. Barclay, seventeen, and Sir C. Douglas twenty times. The chairman, Mr. Pakington, was of course present at all the meetings of the committee, but was sometimes driven hard to form a quorum, so few honourable members attended regularly, or continued, after they were assembled, to the close of the proceedings. This fact is mentioned to show how little interest was felt generally in the result of the inquiry; and will prove also how little reliance can be placed in the decisions of committees so constituted and so worked. The fact is, any result that may be desired can be obtained from such tribunals. However imposing therefore their name and their sanction, they are unsafe guides on all great public questions.

DR. MADDEN'S REPORT: SLAVERY ON THE GOLD COAST.

IN our last paper we took from this important document a passage exhibiting the frightful implication of British merchants in the support of the slave-trade. We select one to-day announcing the existence of slavery itself in the British settlements on the coast of Africa, and displaying the most marvellous tenacity with which it is clung to, both by British subjects and British authorities.

Slavery on the Gold Coast prevails to a greater extent among the natives than on any other part of the coast which I have visited. Like all slaves, however, which are chiefly for domestic service and not for prædial labour, the treatment is mild, and the slaves comparatively happy. The Fantees make no wars now to obtain their slaves; those which they hold are either born in bondage, and are what are called "slaves of the house," and are more leniently treated than others; or they are purchased in the neighbouring countries where the slave-trade is still carried on; or they are taken in "pawn," either for the debts of others, or themselves; and, not being able to pay these debts, they lapse into slavery.

The original injustice done, however, by their capture, and the mischief of the violence which accompanies it, is still the same, however they are treated in slavery; and all the evil effects of the habits of indolence, pride, and domestic tyranny which slavery induces, are notable enough, even in this species of mitigated bondage. I was not aware, however, that slavery existed in any part of the British empire, or of its settlements, except in India, Ceylon, and St. Helena, which were specially exempted from the operation of the general Act of Emancipation of 1834, till I visited the Gold Coast. There I found English subjects holding slaves and pawns; buying, selling, and disposing of them as property at their deaths, and the official sanction of the authorities even given to this system. This was the first matter to which I called the attention of the president of the council, and strongly expressed my surprise that slavery should be suffered to exist on the part of Englishmen in a British settlement. I called on Captain Maclean to take steps to put it down; and, as he had previously issued a proclamation prohibiting British subjects from aiding and abetting slave-trading, I suggested that he should immediately put forth another proclamation, forbidding British subjects in these settlements from buying, selling, or holding slaves. Captain Maclean did not think it necessary or advisable to do so. He informed me he had put the government in possession of all the circumstances of the case, shortly after the passing of the act of emancipation, and he had received no instructions on the subject of the abolition of slavery on the Gold Coast from that period to this from the colonial office. Therefore he inferred that the existence of slavery there was known to, and recognised by the British government. The letter, however, in which Captain Maclean's intimation of the existence of slavery in that settlement was given to the colonial secretary of state, it seemed to me, was rather a statement of difficulties standing in the way of abolition, than the disclosure of a system whose evils required the earliest possible removal. I found it impossible to move Captain Maclean from the opinion he entertained, that the government was aware of the existence of slavery there, and was not disposed to meddle with it. Having had more recent opportunities of knowing the opinions now entertained on this subject in England than Captain Maclean, I endeavoured, though fruitlessly, to change his opinion, and to convince him that whatever apathy in former times might have been felt with respect to the existence of slavery in British settlements, the deepest interest was now taken in the question of emancipation; and wherever it was connived at and suffered to exist, the moment its existence was known the authorities would surely be instructed to prosecute the parties who were engaged in it. In the course of three or four weeks subsequent to this application to Captain Maclean, I received a communication from Sir John Jeremie, the governor of Sierra Leone, on the subject I had taken up of the abolition of slavery in our settlements on the Gold Coast, to the following effect; that by the Act 5, of Geo. 4., all dealing in slaves whatever was prohibited, except in certain cases mentioned in that Act. And that by 3 and 4, Will. 4, c. 73, sec. 12, "It was further enacted, that from and after the 1st of August, 1834, slavery shall be, and is hereby utterly and for ever abolished, and declared to be unlawful through the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad," with only the exceptions set forth in the 64th section of said act, namely, "India, Ceylon, and St. Helena." That the law should be immediately proclaimed in the settlement, and in the meantime, that I should ascertain if it were alleged the negros in question were free, their true condition, the amount of wages they received, and whether they were bought, or sold, or bequeathed, or pawned for debts. And that I should take what other steps were required to prevent the law from being evaded. To enable me to effect these objects, Sir John Jeremie transmitted to me a justice of the peace's appointment, which might avail, if I found it necessary, in any of the dependencies of Sierra Leone; and also copies of his proclamation prohibiting slavery, under severe penalties, on the part of British subjects in any of our settlements on the coast. These proclamations I lost no time in having posted, by my servant, in all public places in the town, on the gates of the castle, and the church-door, and the trees of assemblage in the market-place. I explained the necessity of obeying the law to such of the people as were British subjects, and some of these persons of colour immediately consented to give up their slaves. But the effect produced on the white inhabitants was such as could hardly have been expected to be occa-

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sioned by the proclamation or any measure which was not one of life and death. The following day a general meeting of the magistrates, members of council, and merchants, was called, to take into consideration the proclamation which I had made public, and also to inquire into the several cases of the prisoners in the gaol, which I had called for an examination of before the magistrates. The president of the council had previously left Cape Coast Castle for Accra, and his place was on this occasion filled by one of the members of council. A great many objections were taken to the proclamation in question. I was informed, if it was attempted to be carried into execution the natives would rise in rebellion; there would be an end to all subordination in the country; the Ashantees would come down with fire and sword to reclaim their fugitive slaves; the Dutch at Elmina would make war on us for theirs; moreover, slavery had never been abolished in our settlements on the Gold Coast, because there was no mention of our African settlements in the Emancipation Act of 3 and 4, Will. 4; and, because they never had received any compensation for the slaves. I replied to these arguments and reasons for upholding slavery—that I believed they might dismiss all their fears with respect to the natives at once, that the proclamation was never intended to apply to them. That where we had no territorial rights, it never could be imagined our laws were to be enforced or carried into effect. That the proclamation applied solely to British subjects living in British settlements, and not beyond the soil belonging to them; and that the Dutch at Elmina would no more think of any hostile movement at Cape Coast, in the possible event of a fugitive slave seeking shelter in our settlements, than they would in Demerara, where similar occurrences happen every day; and that, as for the Ashantees suffering their slaves to escape in any considerable number, or finding it worth their while to engage in a war with us, in the present state of their affairs, to recover a few runaway captives, hundreds of miles from their own country, the thing was improbable in the highest degree, and could not for a moment give the slightest apprehension to any person who remembered the result of our last war with them, and the impression it made on them. I stated, that, if no mention was made of the settlements on the Gold Coast in the emancipation act, the words of that law were sufficiently comprehensive to embrace them all: "Slavery shall be, and is hereby utterly, and for ever, abolished, and declared to be abolished throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad." And the three exceptions to it were distinctly specified. And with respect to their not having received compensation on the Gold Coast for their slaves, if they neglected to apply for it, they were not privileged notwithstanding to continue to hold the slaves after the illegality of so doing had been once declared by the emancipation act. I found it impossible to get rid of the plea on which it was determined the proclamation was to be resisted, namely, that it applied to the natives of the whole country in which our settlements were established; and that to enforce the law on them would be to drive the whole country into hostility with our forts. I was asked if the proclamation was not intended to be enforced in these towns under the guns of the forts? I replied that the question of our jurisdiction over these towns immediately under the guns of our forts was one which there was some difference of opinion about, but that my view of the proclamation was that the law was solely to be enforced on British subjects, who were entitled as such to the protection of our forts; or the white inhabitants, and the superior class of Mulattoes in those places, who claimed to be British subjects, and were considered as such in all their relations with the authorities of our forts.

After I had left the meeting, the magistrates proceeded to enter a formal protest against the step that had been taken for the abolition of slavery in these settlements, and the protest was signed by the whole body of the merchants of Cape Coast Castle, the magistrates and members of council, and the commandant of Anamaboe, with the solitary exception of one gentleman, Captain Stanley, a merchant of Cape Coast, who, to his honour, refused to put his name to the protest. In this document, the persons who protest against the abolition of slavery and the system of pawning set out by declaring, "They heartily concur in the intentions of government, as far as regards the European population;" but nevertheless, on account of the natives, as the proclamation they state is applicable to that class, and can only be carried into effect by force, "that attempt would be immediately resisted as an attack upon their dearest interest." They denounce the proclamation altogether as an unsafe and impolitic proceeding, and they finish with a proposal "to leave the work of emancipation to the safer and surer methods of time and civilisation."

I fear these methods of abolishing slavery would be slower in their operation in Africa than the longest lives of the slaves in these British settlements would ever suffice to see brought to a conclusion.

The whole plea for suspending the execution of the proclamation is founded on an interpretation of it which it does not admit of, namely, the applicability of it to the natives, over whom they have no right whatever to exercise any jurisdiction, and on the assumption of their being called on to employ force against people who are not British subjects, and not amenable to British law.

It is necessary to notice the expression of their hearty concurrence in the intentions of government, "as far as regards the European population." Connexions are formed very generally in these places, which are called "country marriages." These women are usually possessed of slaves; whatever property they acquire is usually invested in slaves and houses, and very frequently whatever property they inherit is in slaves. In many instances the household slaves of Europeans are held in their names; and in an instance which came to my own knowledge, when the proclamation against slavery was promulgated, slaves that would have been purchased by a British subject as his property, it was arranged were to be bought and held in the name of one of the native women I have alluded to. This circumstance it is very essential to bear in mind, in issuing any new act or ordinance to prohibit slavery in these settlements.

When this protest was communicated to me by two of the magistrates, I felt it to be my duty to inform them, that I considered it was the interest of the class of persons I have alluded to which this document was calculated to defend, and not the interest of the native slaves, which the proclamation, rightly interpreted, did not meddle with at all. I likewise thought it my duty to inform a considerable number of the slaves who applied to me for an explanation of the law, which had been made known to them by means of the proclamation, that no British subject was entitled to their services as slaves, and that they had a right to seek redress from the governor where their liberty was still illegally withheld. One of these applications was from the pawns of one of the principal British authorities; their letter has the names of ten of these people affixed to it.

Up to the period of my departure, none of the Europeans had complied with the terms of the proclamation; but slavery, as a system, I think has received its death-blow at this settlement, and the knowledge of the illegality of slavery which the slaves now have, will render it very difficult to get them to give their unpaid services to their owners much longer. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to take some further steps, to prevent the possibility of the continuance of the system here.

With respect to the informations which Sir John Jeremie requested me to obtain respecting the condition, treatment, and maintenance of slaves, and whether they were bought, sold, and bequeathed as property by Europeans, I am fully sensible of the importance of them. When the question of abolition was first stated at Cape Coast, there was no consideration then for the "dearest interests" of the natives, or fears of provoking resistance on their parts; all the fears I heard expressed were for their own property in slaves, and the cruelty and injustice of depriving them of them without remuneration. There was a frequent bartering going on between the Europeans and the natives, for the supply of the establishments of the former with slave-servants, and pawns, and servants, and labourers, for their boats or wharfs. These slaves were either fed in the house, or allowed a certain quantity of goods monthly for their support. This was the whole of their allowance; and it is to be borne in mind that, when their masters frequently boast of paying their slaves for labour, as they have often done to me, it came out on inquiry, that the amount which was said to be "the earnings of their labour" was in reality the miserable allowance for their support, which was barely sufficient to keep life and soul together. Altogether, though the slaves in the hands of the Europeans in these settlements are not treated with signal severity, and on the whole are very lightly worked, I must say I never knew slaves in any country worse provided with the necessaries of life, or reduced to live on a barer supply of them. There is no kindly feeling; moreover, between the slaves and the European owners; there is a mutual animosity on account of difference of religion, of manners, and modes of life, and a mutual distrust in their intentions towards each other, growing out of the temporary nature of the interests of the transient merchant in the welfare of the slave, and the barbarism of the slave, in a country where barbarity is the rule, and civilisation the exception, to the prevailing habits and practices of the people.

With respect to pawning, it has become so mixed up with their modes of doing business at these settlements, that they are extremely averse to have the system in any respect altered, or even known or inquired into. The system of giving credit, to the amount often of several hundred pounds of goods, to natives without any property, who carry these goods into the interior, and retail them there, is very mischievous to the people, and injurious to the general commerce of the place. The great competition that exists, and the superabundance of goods which the London merchants force upon their mercantile agents on the coast, cause the latter to have recourse to those native hawkers and pedlars who carry their goods into the interior. They generally stipulate to return by a certain period, and in some instances they leave their children or dependents at the disposal of their creditors, to become their pawns in the event of their failing to return by the appointed time, or to pay the debts they incurred for them.

It often happens that these hawkers and pedlars get "panyared," as they term it, in the countries through which they pass, for the debts of others of their nation, and are mulcted in goods or money for the debts of strangers who happen to be their countrymen; or they sell these goods to some king or chief, who takes his leisure in the settlement of his accounts, and, at the expiration of five or six weeks, or months perhaps, pays a part of his debt, or the whole of it, in his own commodities, and at his own value; and on the return of the hawkers they are not able to make their obligations good, and their pawns are laid hold of, or they themselves are seized and thrown into the gaol at Cape Coast, where I found so considerable a number of these debtors—fifty of them, some of them confined four years, and others two and three; and in one instance of pawning and imprisoning on the part of a man of colour, I strongly, but ineffectually, called on the magistrates to prosecute this person, whose debtor he then had in confinement at Cape Coast Castle, and the man's wife and child, seized on after his imprisonment, detained in his hands as pawns at Dixcove.

Some of the magistrates admitted the scandalousness of this infamous proceeding, and the presiding member of council undertook to inquire into it. But I am sorry to have to observe, that he strenuously resisted my application for the man's release, on the grounds of the rights of the man of colour above adverted to, and the largeness of the sum due to him, some sixteen ounces of gold; but the wrongs of the native, and the length of the time of his imprisonment, were not of sufficient moment; and, when I quitted the Gold Coast, the man was in his dungeon, and his wife and child in the hard hands of this grasping creditor.

This mode of administering the laws and of governing these settlements, surely cannot go on without great disgrace to the national character and permanent injury to the general commerce of Great Britain; for, though the president of the council has a character with the negros for the patience with which he listens to their "palavers," and the fairness with which he decides on their disputes, the government itself is held in contempt and extreme dislike by the natives, alike by chiefs and people.

Literary Notice.

Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy, late a slave in the United States of America. Published and Sold for the benefit of his relations still in Slavery. London: 1842. 12mo.

Anything more touching than this little work could scarcely have issued from the press. Moses Grandy, from whose lips the narrative was taken, was born in North Carolina, nearly, as he thinks, sixty years ago. After strenuous efforts and repeated disappointments, he has succeeded in purchasing his own freedom, and subsequently that of his wife and some of his children. In this labour abolitionists and philanthropists of America have kindly and extensively assisted him; and, with ample testimo-

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nials to his veracity and respectability, he solicits in England further help. The extensive sale of this narrative will aid him most materially, and, in aiding him, will promote the anti-slavery cause. The glimpses which it affords of slavery in the United States are most affecting, as well as instructive. At the same time the entire narrative has been thrown into language of beautiful simplicity and purity, so that it can minister no offence to the nicest taste. To this we may add that the book itself is so beautifully got up as to be well entitled to a place in the drawing-room table, among the elegancies of the season.

WEST INDIES: THE SUGAR CROPS.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Most of the sugar estates have either commenced or are about to commence sugar making, and the prospect is that this year's crop, at all events, will not fall short of last year's.—*Gazette, 17th September*, 1842.

BARBADOS.—This is the fifteenth day of August, and yet, we are informed, the sugar crop has not been entirely reaped. The mills on some *few estates continue to* work, amidst the dangers of the hurricane season, which has fairly set in. Although this circumstance may in a few cases be attributed to the want of foresight and judgment on the part of persons in charge of the properties, it is more generally to be accounted for by the rains which fell at the early part of the year, and which produced a new spring in the growing canes. Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather with which we have been visited, it is gratifying to remark that the crop *will considerably exceed that of last year. Already* do the sugar and molasses *shipped* show an increase in the amount of the *total quantity* to December, 1841; and there are some four or five London and Liverpool vessels now receiving their cargoes.

The following tables will prove our assertion:—

Amount of produce shipped to 31st December, 1841:—

"Sugar—16,711 hogsheads, 1461 tierces, 1013¼ barrels. Molasses—2221 puncheons, 154 hogsheads, 75 barrels. *Arrowroot—103* packages. Ginger—192 packages. Cotton—114 bales Aloes—1360 gourds."

Amount of produce shipped to 12th August, 1842:—

"Sugar—10,963 hogsheads, 1382 tierces, 556 barrels. Molasses—3277 puncheons, 296 hogsheads, 55 barrels. Arrowroot—352 packages. Ginger—139 packages. Cotton—184 bales. Aloes—295 gourds. Rum—6 casks."—*West Indian.*

ST. LUCIA.—The sugar crop will soon be brought to a close, many estates leaving large fields of canes uncut, as was the case also last year. Notwithstanding the many contrarieties experienced by the planters in the out-districts being compelled by the absence of rain to suspend the manufacture of sugar, and the consequent obligation to leave on the ground a great proportion of their best canes, still the crop of this year will be good, and our island shipments will show a considerable increase on the quantity embarked last year, which also exceeds the crop of 1840. Many of the estates have doubled the produce of last year—few but have increased—none have fallen short.

Several transient vessels have already sailed with the produce of this crop, independently of our regular traders, most of the latter being daily expected from England to load for their second voyage, and there is yet in the country a large quantity of sugar ready for shipment.

The quantity of sugar shipped from this port, from the commencement of the year to the end of July, was:

In 1841—2649 hhds., 319 trs., 844 brls.
In 1842—3388 " 327 " 1389 "

showing in favour of this crop, 739 hogsheads, 8 tierces, 545 barrels.—*Palladium, August 4.*

DOMINICA.—The gathering in of the sugar crop has been much retarded this year. We have now entered the hurricane months, and still see the blue smoke of undried mogass circling the chimnies of some estates. We are not informed of the cause whence has arisen this tardiness in taking off the crop. We know that several estates have made much more sugar this than last year; but, taking into account the favourable weather had for making sugar throughout the season, we do not see why, when no change had taken place in the working of the labourers, the crop was not gathered in time, the 1st June. The consequences will be that the canes for next year will be prematurely cut, and the crop much delayed; for that attention which ought to have been paid them last month and this has been given to the finishing of crop. We have several ships loading at the port, which ought to be away before the 1st August, so as to save a double insurance; but there they are still, perhaps for three weeks again. From a calculation made recently the crop will be about 4000 hogsheads, nearly 800 hogsheads more than last year.—*Dominican, 27th July.*

In the address of his honour, the lieutenant-governor, E. D. Baynes, Esq. after congratulating the House of Assembly on the results of the present year's crop, thus alludes to the good conduct of the labouring population:—I am happy to have it in my power to congratulate you on the continued orderly and industrious habits of your agricultural population, the strength and nerve of a country; and also on the perceptible decay of the fallacious spirit of migration amongst them.—*Ibid.*

WEST INDIES: IMMIGRATION.

JAMAICA.—The *West Indian*, Captain Honnett, has arrived at Port-Morant with Africans from St. Helena. This vessel, our readers will remember, was taken up in London at the instance of the agent for Jamaica, at the same time as the *Kingston*, Captain Serjeant, and was at St. Helena when this latter vessel sailed. We learn by a private communication from this island, that a Demerara vessel took what Africans remained after the *Kingston* left, and sailed on the 4th June, with 148 males, and 133 females—in all 281. At this time the *West Indian* had only a few stragglers on board, and the captain quite despaired of procuring any thing like the number he could accommodate. Just, however, before the Demerara ship sailed, but after she had procured the complement, a vessel of war arrived with 400 fine people, part of 800 that had been taken a few days before by the squadron from the barracoons at the Ambrys; and from this 400, Captain Hodnett completed his number. A vessel from Berbice, called the *Mary Hartley*, arrived the same day with a vessel of war, which brought the remaining 400 Africans alluded to, and obtained 280 of them, all fine healthy valuable people. We understand that, upon the departure of the vessel named, there would remain at St. Helena about 900 Africans; and it was expected that two or three hundred more would arrive from the coast, also taken from the barracoons before these places were destroyed, according to a treaty entered into by the native prince on that part of the coast.

The Cape folk, says our informant, do not appear to care about having any more of the Africans, being in favour of procuring English or European labourers as more suitable to their climate, &c. It is not known what the Isle of France is likely to do. The inhabitants of this place appeared, about twelve months ago, to be desirous of getting African labourers, and entered into a sort of arrangement for carrying their desire into effect; up to the period, however, of the *West Indian's* sailing, nothing had been heard from them, and it was thought at St. Helena, that the future outlet for the Africans brought there would be the West Indies and British Guiana. The current opinion at the island mentioned was, that the supply would be kept up. As the Demerara ship had not sailed when the news of the last accession to the number of Africans at St. Helena arrived, it was confidently expected that vessel would return immediately; and it is very probable that the *Mary Hartley* would also return for another batch for Berbice. This latter was to leave St. Helena on the 13th June, having 280 Africans on board. The *Traveller* from this island, we hope, has arrived, and secured her complement out of the 900 that remain. Whether the agent-general of immigration will feel himself justified in dispatching another vessel for St. Helena is doubtful. There seems, from the intelligence which has reached us, some chance, and considering the importance of obtaining as many of this class of labourers as can be procured, we don't think he ought to demur to the risk. Nothing venturred nothing gained, is a remark which we may make with propriety here. It is worth while incurring the risk, and particularly as there is Sierra Leone to fall back on in case of a failure. However, this is a matter which he must determine. We have thrown out the hint, perhaps quite unnecessarily and that is all we can do.—*Morning Journal, August 2.*

ST. KITTS.—In the House of Assembly in this island the bill to encourage immigration was, on the motion for the second reading, which took place on the 18th of August last, rejected by a large majority. To Mr. Woodcock the *Advertiser* gives the praise of having, in a speech of great ability, set this matter at rest.—*Ibid, 17th September.*

TOBAGO.—The Tobago papers contain a despatch from the governor-general to the lieutenant-governor. His Excellency is confident that the lieutenant-governor "will not allow the government to be implicated *in any enterprize for the importation of African labourers, during* the suspension of the bill for the encouragement of immigration which awaits the decision of her Majesty in council;" but, for the information and guidance of private parties who may fit out vessels to the coast of Africa, he considers it desirable to be generally understood, that, by the provisions of the treaty between her Majesty and the republic of Venezuela, and the act of parliament for carrying the treaty into effect, the ships of war of the republic may exercise the right of search on British merchant vessels within certain latitudes of the coast; and, in the event of capture under certain suspicious circumstances, the burden of proving that the vessel was engaged in a lawful pursuit will rest with the master or owners. Satisfactory proof to this effect would entitle to damages against the captors, "but much inconvenience might be sustained by the master and owners, and there does not appear to be any provision in the act of parliament for making compensation in such cases out of British funds." We quote the concluding paragraph as follows:—"I have no wish to discourage any lawful enterprise, nor any ground or reason to suppose that her Majesty's ministers are at all adverse to the free migration of labourers from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. My own opinions are in favour of it: but, unless with the assent of her Majesty it should be otherwise provided by some legislative act, it will be the duty of your Excellency and myself to prevent the government from being so committed, as to give to parties engaged in the importation of African labourers the slightest reason to expect, at the hands of the government, any compensation for losses which they may incur, or any other than the usual and general protection which all British subjects are well aware they are sure to receive from her Majesty, in all their lawful undertakings."

TRINIDAD.—The barque *Harvest Home* had arrived on the 9th, from St. Helena, with 170 Africans. "With this batch, however," says the *Standard*, "we much fear we must close our hopes as to this source of supply. But few liberated Africans now remain on the island, as will be seen on reference to an article in our West India intelligence; and the greater facility of taking them away possessed by the Cape of Good Hope, will not leave either this or any other West India colony much chance of obtaining any portion of those who may hereafter be carried in there by our cruisers. The present cargo consists principally of children, of an age, however, fitted for light work, such as that of mule, crook, and pasture boys, and being much required, will be exceedingly valuable to the colony." The writer adds:—"We regret to state that on their passage hither, the dysentary made its appearance in the vessel, and carried off altogether twenty of the number. This is to be attributed to the condition in which they were found and received on board at St. Helena—a condition to which it becomes us to call the attention of the home government. We are credibly informed, that at St. Helena the liberated Africans, when landed, are placed in encampments under canvas tents, there to remain until they are carried away by some emigrant vessel calling for them; that there is neither agent nor other superintendent having any special charge over them, beyond that of seeing that they get a daily ration of food; and that, at the time the *Harvest Home* called there, they were suffering severely from the cold weather common to this quarter of the year at that island. We say we have every reason to believe this statement to be correct, and we consider, it only requires to be brought properly under notice in order to have it remedied."

We learn from the same paper, that a delegate, sent out in May by certain of the coloured inhabitants of Sierra Leone, to visit Trinidad, and report on the actual prospects held out to immigrants, had performed his mission very much to his own satisfaction, and left in the *Chieftain* to return to Sierra Leone. He had brought a letter from three of the inhabitants of the latter colony in behalf of their friends, recommending him to the protection and kind offices of the governor of Trinidad; and to this letter he took back an answer, "setting forth in plain language all the information asked for."—*Barbados Liberal, 14th Sept.*

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BRITISH GUIANA.—Some hopes are created in the minds of the planters by the favourable reports of the two parliamentary committees. A vessel from Sierra Leone, with about 150 immigrants, arrived a day or two since; but the circumstances attending that voyage were not such as to offer the prospect of a very large or speedy flow of immigration from that quarter. We are afraid the voyage must have resulted in serious pecuniary loss to the enterprising commercial house by which it was undertaken. There are now in the colony somewhat more than *two thousand* Africans, partly immigrants from Sierra Leone, but principally captured slaves. They have given much better satisfaction than any other class of immigrants, and appear themselves to be better satisfied than any other class. They are much better adapted to the climate of the colony, from which they do not appear to suffer at all, and the change to them in point of diet, lodging, and wages, is decidedly a change for the better. They therefore suffer little or nothing from that home sickness and disappointment by which many of the other immigrants have been affected, and which has induced so many of them to leave the colony again, the moment they could scrape together the means of doing so.—*Guiana Gazette.*

The Brigantine *Maria* arrived on Monday evening, in twenty-seven days from Rio, having on board 130 captured Africans, the remainder of the cargo, a part of which arrived here some time since. The delay was owing to the difficulty of obtaining a conveyance; and at last the emigration agent was obliged to purchase, for the benefit of the colony, the brig by which these people were brought. This brig, which is a fine vessel, is now offered for sale. The Africans, immediately after their arrival, here distributed in companies of ten or fifteen among several plantations, as follows:—

Plantation Zeelandia—William Arrindell, Esq.
Plantation De Kinderen—Colin Simson, Esq. q. q.
Plantation Good Intent—William Davison, Esq.
Plantation Henrietta—Adam Pearson, Esq.
Plantation Success—R. M. Jones, Esq.
Plantation Enterprise—A. Macrae, Esq.
Plantation Windsor Castle—William Lyng, Esq. q. q.
Plantation Devonshire Castle—W. Davison, Esq. q. q.
Plantation Met-en-Meerzory—W. Bennett, Esq.
Plantation Schoonord—J. Beete, Esq.
Plantation Kitty—G. Robertson, Esq.

The *Maria* was conveyed hither by H. B. majesty's steamer, *Ardent*, Russell, commander, attached to the south American station. The steamer will take back the officers and crew of the *Maria*.—*Ibid*, 22*nd August*, 1842.

The Barque *Superior* arrived to-day in twenty-six days from Sierra Leone, having on board 149 immigrants, which is not much more than half her full complement.

We are sorry to learn that considerable sickness prevails on board; the doctor, mate, and three or four of the crew, as well as several of the immigrants, being down with fever, of a somewhat peculiar type. Many more had been sick, but were now convalescent. We hope that all proper care will be taken to prevent the introduction into the colony of any African fevers of an infectious type. We have quite enough of our own. The recent history of immigration is not without some important lessons on this point. The scarlet fever, carried about three years ago to the island of Jamaica by some immigrants from Ireland, though unknown there for many years, spread through all parts of the island, and was attended with great mortality.—*Ibid*, 15*th September*, 1842.

STATE OF THE WEATHER IN THE COLONIES.—By the last mail we learn that many of the windward colonies have been visited with severe weather, which has done an incredible amount of damage. Antigua appears to have suffered most. A gentleman who has the charge of several estates told us that the expense of repairing the injury to the land, where possible, would be enormous; and a correspondent on the north gives the following account:—

"As far as my knowledge goes, the damage has been most extensive. Entire fields of canes have been washed out of the ground, tracts of cane pieces carried away, many fields almost denuded of their vegetable mould, the roads in this division absolutely destroyed. From this estate I cannot get in any direction by cart, or any other carriage, and even on horseback it is difficult and dangerous. The road to our shipping place is so utterly destroyed, that I do not think it possible to repair it. I cannot get round the estate with safety; but I am aware that some estates have been fortunate enough to escape almost uninjured. I believe the number is small."—*Antigua Herald.*

St. Lucia appears to have suffered from an opposite cause. The *Palladium* of the 4th August furnishes the following agricultural report of the state of that island for the past month:—

The weather during the past month has been oppressively hot and sultry. No rain fell until towards the end of the month, and even then only partially—the windward parts of the island and the plains of Vieuxfort and Laborie are still suffering from the continued severe drought. Castries and the estates in its immediate neighbourhood have been refreshed by several heavy falls of rain; but this blessing has not extended many miles round. The Cape estate, a fine sugar property, situated only eight miles from this town, is completely parched up, and the cattle upon it are dying in numbers from the want of water. The same is the case in the quarter of Vieuxfort, where the loss of live stock has already been very considerable. Most of the water-mills and several of the steam-engines have been arrested in their operations by the deficiency of water; and it is only in the deep and fertile valleys—such as Grand-Cul-de Sac and Roseau—that the operations of the crop have progressed uninterruptedly. Soufriere has not suffered to such a degree as the neighbouring quarters; but rain there would facilitate the work of the planter, and brighten his prospects for the future.

From the *Tobago Chronicle*, we take the following extract:—"We regret to have to say, that, although some showers have fallen during the past week, the weather is by no means so auspicious as might at this season have been expected. Sandy Point is beginning to suffer much from the continued drought, and in the middle and windward districts, although the canes have not begun to be burnt, still their growth, especially in ratoons, has been seriously checked. We look for rain as the moon wanes. Estate work, we are glad to say, is more forward than it has heretofore been at this period since emancipation."

HOW IT STRIKES THE WEST INDIANS.

IT is well known that the planters in the West Indies have been expecting that the labours of the West African Committee would immediately open a large current of emigration in their favour. The last mail puts us in possession of the sentiments of some of them on the report of the committee. We give below an extract from the *Gazette of British Guiana*, in which the tone of disappointment is sufficiently obvious:—

The report seems to have been prepared with much care and labour, and throws a good deal of light upon the condition of the natives upon that coast. It recommends that emigration from the several British settlements and ports should be freely allowed, but it does not appear to hold out any prospect of a sudden large amount of emigration from that quarter. From the Gold Coast, we are told, few, if any emigrants are to be expected. We have already had a year's trial of Sierra Leone, and have no reason to anticipate any great amount of labourers from that quarter. Rather more encouraging prospects are held out as regards Gambia, but nothing very definitive. Indeed it would seem that the West Coast of Africa, generally speaking, is far from being a populous country. It has been depopulated by the wars and the slave-trade of three centuries. The greater numbers of slaves purchased by the slave-traders are not natives of the coast, but have been brought from the distant interior by the native slave-merchants.

One suggestion in the report is, that, in order to prevent rivalries and other ill consequences, no emigration agents for particular colonies should be allowed, but that the home government should take the matter entirely into its own hands, and appoint agents of its own to superintend the embarkation of the emigrants, and to distribute them in a suitable proportion among the several colonies inclined to pay the expense of their passage. Some advantages, no doubt, might be derived from this plan. Thus we learn that the *Superior*, on her late trip to Sierra Leone, had, a few days after her arrival, upwards of 250 emigrants on her list; but before the people were embarked, a vessel arrived from Jamaica and the agent for that colony offered six dollars a head to all who would go in her, and in this way the people who had put down their names for Demerara were induced to go to Jamaica. The plan of the committee would prevent evils of this sort; but, with the little inclination to emigrate that seems at present to exist on the African coast, and the want of any inducement to exert themselves, we are afraid the office of agents would prove almost a sinecure.

BRAZIL.—We were furnished by the officers of H. B. M. steamer *Ardent*, with a number of Rio papers of the month of July, from which it appears that the price of clayed sugars in that market, calculated according to the current rate of exchange on London, was as follows:

White—12s. 2½d. per cwt.
Yellow—10s. 11½d. "
Brown—7s. 10½d. "

If any confirmation of this statement were needed, we might refer to a letter from a house in the Brazilian trade, contained in the papers which came by the last packet, and which was re-published in the *Guiana Times*, stating that they were ready to deliver, in any British port, Brazilian sugars of good quality at 15s. per cwt. As the freight and commissions would hardly fall short of 7s. per cwt., this would leave the producers some 8s. or at the rate of about £6 the hhd. The Brazilians make no rum, and they have no market for molasses. These prices are about one-fourth of the prices of four years ago, and must be perfectly ruinous to the planters. The prices of coffee are hardly more remunerative, being *from* 11s. 7d. to 22s. per cwt. With these prices, the Brazilian, like the Cuban, slave-trade, is likely to die a natural death—the planters being destitute of means to purchase.

The British planters ought always to bear in mind, that the only barrier between them and the prices above detailed, is the short supply. If the British market were glutted with British sugars—and an additional supply of from fifty to seventy thousand hhds. would produce such a glut—the prices would come down to the Brazilian level, and the whole crop would sell for far less money than it produces now. This leads us to look at the loudly called for immigration with no little doubt. If carried beyond a certain point, the remedy will prove worse than the disease.—*Guiana Gazette*, 1*st Sept.* 1842.

ABYSSINIA.—The most cruel kind of negro slavery, perhaps, in existence, is that practised at Dahsleh, an island on the Abyssinian coast. The pearl fishery, according to Rüppell, who visited it in 1831, is carried on exclusively by youths, who are often sacrificed to the severities which accompany it. Many are destroyed by sharks, or fall victims to the negligence of the overseers, who are warming themselves at a fire while the poor creatures are pulling in vain at a rope which is attached to the arm, and is destined to give notice to those above when they are in want of air. M. Rüppell could not obtain any estimate of the profits derived from this accursed business; but, as the inhabitants were wealthy, and slaves in the market numerous, there can be no doubt that the loss of life attendant thereon is easily made up by fresh purchases, and that the average duration of existence among these helpless creatures must be short indeed.

THE PACHA OF EGYPT.—The Pacha not long since laid a tax of 250 piastres on every slave imported from Sennaar, and 500 on every one from Abyssinia, under the pretence of checking the traffic, but in reality to benefit his exchequer. It may be added that he not only encourages, by thus legalising, the trade, but, as Sennaar is a province of Egypt, and Abyssinia a foreign state, shows clearly, by the distinction he makes, that he wishes to confine this lucrative business to his own subjects.

AFRICAN CHAPELS.—Out of twenty-six Wesleyan chapels in Sierra Leone, the roof timbers, the flooring, and other wood work, of twenty are composed nearly exclusively of slave-ships, which have been taken by her Majesty's men-of-war on the coast, and condemned by the mixed commission court.—*Sierra Leone Watchman.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXXVII. Vol. III. No. 24.] WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 30th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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WITNESSES EXAMINED BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE WEST INDIES.

In the last number of the *Reporter*, we noticed the constitution and general working of the select committee on the West Indies. In the present one, we propose to pass in review the witnesses who were examined before them. The number who gave evidence was twenty-seven; of whom twenty were called by the West India party, two were specially summoned by the Committee, and three were proposed for examination by the Anti-Slavery Society. Of those called by the West Indians, Mr. Grant represented St. Vincent; Messrs. Burnley, Church, and Bushe, Trinidad; Messrs. Sharpe and Carrington, Barbados; Messrs. Campbell and Barkly, British Guiana; Dr. Nugent, Antigua; Mr. Estridge, St. Kitts; Sir Charles Metcalfe, late governor of Jamaica, Captain St. John, late special magistrate, and Messrs. Bernal, M.P., Burge, agent of Jamaica, Malcolm, McCornock, Lowndes, Barrett, Geddes, Christie, and Dr. Spalding, Jamaica. Those called by the committee were Captain Allen, late special magistrate, British Guiana, and Mr. Henry Ross, Grenada; those nominated by the Anti-slavery Society were Messrs. Candler and Knibb, for Jamaica, and Mr. Scoble for British Guiana. Had an opportunity been afforded, the Society would have proposed for examination a considerable number of witnesses, whose personal acquaintance with the British colonies well qualified them to give testimony on the points submitted to the committee, but this was not permitted; indeed great difficulty was encountered in getting the evidence of Mr. Candler taken, and Mr. Scoble was but partially heard.

By a reference to the Report of the Committee, it will be seen that the witnesses who appeared on behalf of the West India body were, for the most part, leviathan attorneys, or individuals in the management of estates, who had risen from penury to affluence under the system which so long prevailed in the British colonies, and who now, as resident proprietors and attorneys, exercise an influence, and wield a power in their respective districts, utterly inconceivable in this country; others appear before us as proprietors, merchants, and mortgagees, all having a deep personal stake in the colonies; and some few as non-resident proprietors, who depend upon their agents, four thousand miles off, for correct intelligence of the progress of events, and for the economical management of their estates. Of course, it was not to be expected that the former class would develop the hidden secrets of the system under which they had arrived at opulence, nor admit that that system was capable of improvement, either in respect of the mode of agriculture pursued, or in the matter of economical management. With the attorneys may be placed the mortgagees, who have usually thriven, if others have failed, and, by adding the functions of merchants to mortgagees, have been enabled to accumulate vast properties in the West Indies, as in the case of some who appeared before the committee. They complain naturally enough that their gains are not so large as formerly, nor ought they to be; yet the weight of the West India cause is rested on the testimony of these persons, and we are to believe their testimony, coloured as it is by their prejudices and their interests. The non-resident proprietors feel the pressure of the times—they report the letters of their agents—and on that evidence also we are called to rely. Better far for them, if they would personally visit their properties and judge for themselves of the actual state of affairs, and vigorously apply such remedies as they would soon find were required. The few independent witnesses examined by the Committee were heard with disfavour and reluctance; but a comparison of their evidence with that of the planters will show, how soon the West India case might have been stripped of its importance, had more of them been heard in vindication of the emancipated slaves, and in explanation of the true state of the colonies.

In making these remarks, we do not mean to assert that all the West India witnesses were governed by selfish or contracted views in the testimony they gave; on the contrary, we shall show in the progress of these papers, that more than one of them was actuated by generous feelings and correct sentiments towards the emancipated classes, and we have no doubt they will find a full reward in their enlightened and judicious attempts to benefit the labourers as well as themselves.

As upon the Burnleys, the McCornocks and the Spaldings was principally devolved the West India case before the Committee, we propose to glance at the peculiar claims of these gentlemen to be considered authorities. Mr. Burnley is a large proprietor of estates, as well as a mortgagee of others, in Trinidad. In the latter capacity it is said he wields no inconsiderable power over one of the members of the island government. He is unquestionably a clever and active man, and whether at home or abroad aims to advance his interests, and those of his party. He is not, however, uniformly considered an authority on West Indian affairs by his brother planters, and is only pushed forward by them when it suits their purpose to do so. Mr. Burnley has been for some years a member of the legislative council of Trinidad, and in that capacity did nothing to promote, but much to retard the complete abolition of slavery, and would now, if countenanced by the government, deprive the emancipated bondsmen of their just rights and liberties, under the plea of promoting the political and social condition of the colonies. It is painfully apparent to those who have read his recent publication on the Island of Trinidad, that nothing will satisfy him but "the framing of a legislative code, embracing *provisions for regulating the condition of the negros*, by which they may be trained and educated as moral and useful members of society in the station of life to which they belong." The words and the italics are his own, and they mean nothing less than to deprive the negros of their right of locomotion by stringent vagrant laws, and of the liberty to select their own employers and employments by equally stringent contract laws. In the late Trinidad ordinance we have a striking comment on Mr. Burnley's opinions on this head.

Mr. McCornock, a planting attorney having eight large properties under his care, is custos, or head of the local magistracy in the parish of St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica. We occasionally catch glimpses of this gentleman in the parliamentary papers under the old system, and we well remember that one of his chief complaints against the apprenticeship was, that it limited the power of the master over the time of the slave. According to his showing, *eighteen hours out of the twenty-four* were absolutely necessary to carry on the manufacture of sugar during the season of crop, whereas he could not then coerce more than nine hours.

It is not, however, to this incident merely that we call attention in connexion with the name of Mr. McCornock. Though coercion could not be practised on the estates during the apprenticeship as under the system of slavery, it was exercised by the planters in their prisons, and in no one of them more brutally than in that under the supervision and direction of the custos and magistracy of St. Thomas in the East. In that fatal place, no less than eleven deaths were reported in the space of rather more than twelve-months, resulting from the severity of the discipline practised there. As an instance we give the following extract from a summary view of one case, which occurred in February, 1836. Five women had been sentenced to two days' imprisonment with hard labour on the treadmill for disobedience of orders, when, in consequence of the reported death of one of them on the mill, Lord Sligo, then governor of Jamaica, ordered an inquiry, the result of which is stated in the following words:—"The women who refused to work on the treadmill *were fastened to it by ligatures round the arms for twenty-four successive hours, in such a manner*

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as to endanger the lives of all, and actually to occasion the death of one of them!" In the report of the custos on this case, we find no expression of regret at what had occurred, no promise of amendment for the future, but an attempt at justification, with which he hoped the governor would be satisfied.

We now call attention to Dr. Spalding. This gentleman is the proprietor of four coffee estates and a pen, as well as trustee for a sugar estate. He is reported to have made a large sum of money by taking advantage of a rumour industriously circulated in Jamaica, that no compensation would be received from government on the emancipation of the slaves. Ignorant and timid persons believed this, and their shares of the compensation fund were purchased by those better informed than themselves, to their very serious loss, as they afterwards discovered.

In the early part of the apprenticeship, Dr. Spalding rendered himself notorious for the sanction which he gave to the horrible system of flogging, which was allowed to be inflicted on males and females indiscriminately in the house of correction, in the city of Kingston, of which he was the visiting medical man. On one occasion, a woman who had been flogged frequently and severely, before his arrival, threw herself off the mill when she saw him, and complained that she was sick. The Doctor, however, pronounced her to be shamming, and ordered her on the mill. She refused. He then called the boatswain, and ordered him to flog her till she consented to go on the mill; this was done in his presence. At length she went on the mill, but came off again, and the Doctor a second time called upon the boatswain to do his duty, in other words, to "flog her up," which was accordingly done. We need scarcely remind the readers of the *Reporter*, that this Dr. Spalding is the same person who figures in connexion with the introduction of emigrants from the United Kingdom into Jamaica, the dreadful mortality amongst whom, occasioned mainly by the neglect and cruelty which they experienced there, has been so freely exposed and reprobated in the columns of the *Reporter*.

Such are the leading witnesses who appeared in behalf of the West India case, and we think that we have a right to ask, before their evidence be allowed to decide the great questions submitted to the Committee, that it be well-weighed and sifted, and to demand that, before the emancipated negros are condemned on such testimony, their friends be fully heard in their behalf.

We merely add in conclusion, that most of the witnesses produced by the West Indians were well drilled before they appeared before the Committee; and that the greatest credit is due to Mr. Burge for the skill with which he contrived to make out a case, and the ability with which he managed to prevent counter evidence from being placed on record.

NOTICE OF "REMARKS ON THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGROS IN SURINAM," CONTAINED IN THE NIEUWE AMSTERDAMSCHE COURANT, OCTOBER 21, 1842.

PART II.

WE resume our reply to the article inserted in the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*, especially in reference to the alleged baneful effects of emancipation in the island of Trinidad.

In Trinidad, during slavery, the decrease in the slave population, arising from the excess of deaths over births, was greater than in any other British West India colony, and is thus stated on the authority of official returns.

1815, Jan.		1828, Jan.	
Population	25,544	Population	24,006
Imports in 13 years	6,466	Manumissions in 13 years	1,716
		Exports in do.	120
			25,842
		Decrease in 13 years ...	6,168
	32,010		32,010

The number of the slave population was further reduced to 22,357, at the period when the emancipation act came into operation in 1834.

It thus appears that the decrease among the slaves arising from the excess of deaths over births, was, in thirteen years, from 1815 to 1828 6,168; and in six years, from 1828 to 1834, considerably more than 1000, if an ample allowance be made for the number freed by manumission. The total loss of human life will be seen to amount to between 7000 and 8000 in a period of nineteen years, and the actual decrease in the labouring portion of the population, notwithstanding a large importation, to 3189, being the difference between 25,544 in 1815 and 22,357 in 1834. There is every reason to believe that the number of this class of the community was still further reduced during the four years of the apprenticeship.

The more rapid progress of depopulation in Trinidad than in the other British West India colonies, was attributable to the superior fertility of its soil, and its peculiar adaptation for sugar cultivation; circumstances which have been found, in almost every instance in which they have occurred, and especially the former, to exercise a fearfully pernicious influence in increasing the ordinary mortality of slavery.

That such a decrease has taken place in the population may easily account for the circumstance, that a scarcity of labour has existed since the introduction of complete freedom, especially if we reflect, that men will not voluntarily perform an amount of toil which is fatal to health and life, and is obtained from slaves only by dreadful severities.

The statement which we shall presently give, will, however, show that a very small diminution has taken place in the exports from Trinidad, as compared with the period of slavery; and, consequently, that there has been very little decrease in the amount of labour needful for its production.

It is true that this result is partly owing to the introduction of immigrants, the number of whom is not exactly known, but is supposed to amount to from 8000 to 10,000, of whom not more than 4000 appear to have been employed at any time in sugar estates, the rest having chosen other employments. For evidence of the last mentioned facts, see the testimony of Mr. Burnley, and that of Mr. Bushe, contained in the Report of the Select Committee on West India Colonies, Questions 781, 3810 and 3901.

It will be evident that a large amount of work in the field and boiling house has been performed by the emancipated population, which ought to have shielded them from the heavy charges of indolence brought against them. It is, however, we suppose, impossible to satisfy the unreasonable desires of men, who, as slaveholders have been accustomed to exact an amount of labour almost without measure, during the day and night, and this without recompense.

The following is a statement of the produce of Trinidad from 1830 to 1840, copied from an official return of the imports of the United Kingdom, of sugar, molasses, rum, coffee, and cocoa, from the West Indies and British Guiana.

	Sugar cwts.	Molasses, cwts.	Rum. Gallons.	Cocoa. lbs.	Coffee. lbs.
1831	326,127	53,362	64,933	1,057,990	3,008
1832	312,266	92,177	5,556	415,039	91,582
1833	286,303	91,314	225	1,760,253	168,170
1834	339,615	90,494	7,714	999,816	160,915
1835	289,393	84,508	9,586	1,160,017	21,050
1836	312,141	75,176	7,456	1,292,595	163,539
1837	295,367	92,794	741	1,461,976	114,865
1838	286,247	78,387	3,530	1,676,913	425,341
1839	268,669	83,313	10,668	629,945	109,461
1840	245,778	69,698	20,539	2,007,494	253,183
1841	284,605	78,000	2,207	2,493,302	38,622

We are further informed on the authority of Mr. Burnley, that the crop of 1842, by the last account, promises to be large, and larger than that of 1841—Report of Select Committee already quoted, 943 and 944. It will be seen there is a large increase in the exports of cocoa and coffee during the last few years, the former of which is estimated by Mr. Burnley at 50 per cent., and the latter at 30 per cent—*Report of Select Committee*, 721.

The increased value of the exports since the establishment of freedom, will appear from a statement of the export duty (an ad valorem duty of 3½ per cent. upon all exports) from 1832 to 1840 inclusive.

DUTIES.

1832	1834	1836	1838	1840
£9,068	£12,823	£16,470	£14,715	£15,189
1833	1835	1837	1839	
£11,101	£12,053	£14,536	£14,819	

Comparative statement of the colonial revenue for each year, from 1832 to 1840, both inclusive, handed in by Mr. Burnley.—*Report of Select Committee*, 993 and 1028.

From the above statement, it appears that the increase in the value of exports, as compared with the period of slavery (1832 and 1833), amounts to 50 per cent.

The imports into Trinidad since the abolition of slavery have greatly increased, both in quantity and value. Some criterion of the extent of this increase, will be found in the amount of duty paid into the island treasury for imports from 1832 to 1840, which has been as follows:

DUTIES ON IMPORTS.

1832	1834	1836	1838	1840
£4,006	£4,972	£7,823	£8,565	£11,443
1833	1835	1837	1839	
£4,620	£5,355	£10,175	£8,521	

FOREIGN DUTIES FROM THE COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

1832	1834	1836	1838	1840
£1,887	£3,193	£5,024	£9,178	£10,504
1833	1835	1837	1839	
£2,044	£2,783	£8,991	£17,430	

We are informed that the articles included under the general head of *Duties on Imports*, include every possible article that can be imported into the island, except British linen, cotton goods, and dried fish, which pay no duty. The articles which appear under the head of *Foreign Duties from the Collector of Customs*, are all foreign articles; but the principal article is flour, some provisions, a large quantity of oil and wine, and Mediterranean articles, which a foreign population, such as that of Trinidad is, in its tastes and habits, in a great degree, always require.—*Report of Select Committee*, 903, 1050, and 1047.

From the tables we have given, it appears that the increase in the value of British imports on which duty is paid has reached nearly 300 per cent., as compared with the period of slavery, and that on Foreign imports more than 800 per cent., as compared with the same period. Such is the evidence of the decay of trade in Trinidad, occasioned by the introduction of freedom!

Before we present to our readers an account of the physical and

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moral condition of the emancipated population in Trinidad, we may observe, that, besides the evidence of the severity of the slave system which existed in that island afforded by the dreadful mortality among the slaves, facts respecting punishment of a similar kind to those described by Lord Stanley as having taken place in Demerara, might be cited. Thus we find the following information contained in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of August, 1831, extracted from the Report of the protector of slaves in Trinidad, which embraced a period of two years, from the 25th June 1828, to the 25th June 1830. It is headed *Domestic Punishments.*

"Besides the complaints of slaves against their masters, we have to notice the half yearly returns of punishments voluntarily inflicted by owners or managers, on the plantation slaves of Trinidad, during the period comprised in the Report. They are as follows: viz. punishments of male slaves, 5064; of female slaves, 2860; in all 7924. Among these we observe 100 inflictions for 'neglecting to throw grass' after the labour of the field is over. A frequent offence is styled 'breaking hospital.' Lord Goderich seems surprised at this new species of crime, especially as it seems to be visited with an unusual severity of punishment, as many as forty lashes being sometimes inflicted on offenders of this class. But, strangely enough, in the economy of West India plantations, the hospital, his lordship and the public ought to be informed, is also made the place of imprisonment; nay, the stocks and bilboes for confining criminals, or those who have been undergoing the scourge, and are smarting and groaning with their bleeding wounds, are actually placed in the very same apartment with the sick and the dying. We are only beginning to acquire some knowledge of the interior of West India plantations. The reader may consult on this particular the second volume of Mr. Stephen's Delineation. Lord Goderich, however, has overlooked the circumstance of the great frequency with which domestic punishments by whipping exceed the utmost limits allowed by law to be inflicted at the master's discretion. That limit is twenty-five lashes, and yet these returns abound with punishments of forty lashes, and not one word of explanation is given by the protector as to the cause of this excess, or as to the grounds of its impunity."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. v. p. 372, 373.

We copy from the same source, and on the same authority, the following statements on the subjects of marriage and religion.

"Marriage. One marriage has been celebrated in two years."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. v. p. 374.

"Religion. Not one syllable is said on the subject of religious instruction, or on the grant to the slaves of a day in lieu of Sunday, for marketing and labour in their provision grounds."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. v. p. 374.

The reader may now, perhaps, in some measure be prepared to learn, that, during the period of slavery, a public meeting was held in Trinidad, at which a public functionary of the colony presided, when the persons assembled thus formally recorded their sentiments on the subject of the religious instruction of slaves:—

"Resolved, that any attempt to instil religious instruction or education into the minds of the slaves is incompatible with the continuance of slavery." In accordance with this resolution, they determined to prevent the introduction of christianity among the slaves, in order that slavery should not be abolished.—*Sir T. F. Buxton's Speech during the debate on the Sugar Duties, March 23rd*, 1832.

We have now the not ungrateful task of turning from these enormities to describe the results of emancipation, so far as this act has affected the happiness and influenced the conduct of those who had hitherto been treated worse than the beasts of the field in Trinidad.

On this subject we have the following important testimony, in a despatch from Sir Henry Macleod, the lieutenant-governor, to Lord John Russell, contained in the last parliamentary papers, relative to the West Indies.

Trinidad, 6th July, 1841.

I enclose the first half-yearly report from the stipendiary magistrates, according to the new form received on the 4th of June last, and I consider them altogether made with impartiality and intelligence.

1. Your lordship will perceive, that all the magistrates agree in the improvement of the character and condition of the people, but admit that the allowance of spirits as part of the wages is a great drawback to their more rapid advance.

2. The system of small freeholds is fast extending, and although in one district the magistrate seems to think this has withdrawn some hands from the cultivation of sugar, yet I must remark, that they are usefully employed in supplying the town of San Fernando with very necessary articles; and it is most satisfactory to observe, that, although ceasing one employment, they have not remained in idleness, but have assumed another, that they most likely have found more profitable.

3. In some instances, the magistrates seem merely to have enumerated the number of churches and schools, without defining those just built; several of each are, however, in progress in different parts of the island, the colonial government defraying half the cost.

4. The crop this year is a good average, and, from the number of immigrants arrived, and the favourable weather for the growing crop, the next bids fair to be a very much larger one.

5. The internal traffic is increased to a very great extent, principally carried on by hucksters, and in small retail shops. The best idea to give of this will be by comparing the amount of revenue arising from imports for the past with the preceding year.

In 1839, the amount was . . £8,521.
In 1840, „ „ . . £11,443.

I conceive that the questions, to which I have above alluded, refer entirely to the state of the peasantry, and as there seem to be only two points of complaint against the labourer, one for inebricty, and the other a roving habit, I need but make the following remarks thereon.

The first is thought to be from a pernicious custom of giving a large allowance of rum; the second, which is almost entirely confined to the immigrants from the other islands, is supposed to be from a certainty of obtaining employment everywhere. Both of these arise from the very great competition for labour.

My own conviction is, that they can only be cured by substituting money for allowances, and by giving the labourer some interest in the soil, by establishing villages and hamlets (which are already begun), and by the adoption of the system of rent; for it is impossible to suppose that the slightest attachment to locality can exist where there is no tenure of property.

I hope that the necessity of these systems will become apparent, and, once gaining ground, they will progress rapidly.

It may be necessary to state to your lordship, that, although different denominations of coin are made use of by the magistrates in noticing the rate of the wages paid in their several districts, yet the amount of wages throughout the colony is 2*s.* 1*d.* sterling for each task, with certain allowances, such as house, grounds, salt provisions, and rum."

Did space permit we should gladly extract a considerable portion, and even the whole of the magistrates' reports, because they supply more particular information than that furnished in the summary contained in the governor's despatch. They also appear to us to establish the very important fact of a decrease in mortality since the termination of the apprenticeship. We shall proceed to the examination of Mr. Burnley's pamphlet in our next.

UNITED STATES: MR. CLAY.

On the 1st of October, 1842, Mr. Clay being on his way from Dayton, in Ohio, to Indianapolis, the seat of government of the state of Indiana, he stopped at Richmond, a flourishing town in that state, where a vast multitude, amounting to 15,000 or 20,000, had assembled to meet him, and greet and welcome his arrival among them. After taking some refreshment, he repaired to a stand provided for the occasion, from which he addressed the immense assemblage, in his accustomed manner, on the public topics of the day. The abolitionists in this neighbourhood, had determined to avail themselves of the opportunity thus presented to them, and had drawn up the following petition for presentation to him:—

"We, the undersigned citizens of Indiana, in view of the declaration of rights contained in the charter of American Independence, in view of that justice which is due from man to his fellow-man, in view of all those noble principles which should characterise the patriot, the philanthropist, and the christian, ask you, most respectfully, to 'unloose the heavy burdens,' and that you let the oppressed under your control who call you master go FREE. By doing so you would give 'liberty to whom liberty is due,' and do no more than justice to those under your charge, who have long been deprived by you of the sacred boon of freedom; and set an example that would result in much good to suffering and debased humanity, and do an act altogether worthy a great and a good man."

This petition was signed by nearly two thousand of the citizens of Indiana.

On the arrival of Mr. Clay, the committee charged with the arrangements, addressed to him the following note:—

To HENRY CLAY.

Richmond, 10th Month 1st, 1842.

"We, who are appointed a committee, by a large convention of people, to present a petition to Henry Clay, signed by near two thousand citizens of Indiana, respectfully ask him to communicate the hour that such interview would be most convenient.

(Signed)
"DANIEL WORTH, | "HIRAM MENDENHALL,
"PETER CROCKER, | "SAMUEL MITCHELL."

Without any notice being taken of this act of courtesy, it was announced from the stand (after Mr. Clay's speech) that, if any petitions were to be offered to Mr. Clay, they would be received and answered then and there. The committee accordingly repaired to the stand, and, when called upon, presented their petition. After the reading of the petition, the assembly manifested great sensation; some cried out, "pull him (Mr. Mendenhall) down," and a high degree of excitement, and indeed of indignation was kindling against him. No doubt it was the intention of Mr. Clay and his advisers to expose the abolitionists to this perilous excitement, and to create for himself the opportunity for that theatrical display of benignity which followed. The speech in reply was a plausible mixture of pro-slavery and anti-slavery sentiments, welded together for electioneering purposes. It is thus properly noticed in the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*.

Mr. Clay said, "he deplored the existence of slavery, and would willingly unite in any practicable measure for its 'eradication'—that he did not think the course of the abolitionists calculated to accomplish that end—that he knew that the feeling in favour of emancipation had been put back fifty years in Kentucky by the abolition excitement," &c. &c.

Now we happen to know something about Mr. Clay's sentiments on the subject of slavery and emancipation—about the retrograde movement of

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emancipation in his state—and his fifty or sixty slaves. First, then, he wrote to a friend of ours in Massachusetts, within a month or two, that he WAS OPPOSED TO EMANCIPATION, IMMEDIATE OR PROSPECTIVE. In his famous speech in the United State senate, Mr. Clay said, he considered "slavery as a curse, a curse to the master, and a grievous wrong to the slave;" and in the same speech, "I will continue to oppose any scheme whatever of emancipation, gradual or immediate." Now he tells the Indiana people that he is willing to unite in any "practicable measure" for the removal of slavery, and at the same time writes to a whig in Massachusetts that he is "opposed to emancipation, immediate or prospective." What shall we think of such a man?

We are assured from good authority—Kentucky authority—that the abolition excitement has *not* put back the cause of emancipation fifty years, nor one year, but on the contrary has accelerated it. On conversing with a slave-holder of Mississippi the other day, who was well acquainted with Kentucky and Mr. Clay, about that gentleman's letter to our friend in Massachusetts, "O," said he, "Mr. Clay does not mean so—he is a politician—he is unwilling to avow his real sentiments for fear they will be published."

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received three numbers of the *Berwick Advertizer* from Mr Matthew Forster.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 30TH.

OUR intention to proceed with extracts of Dr. Madden's report is frustrated for the present number, by the press of other matter. We hope to resume them in our next.

WE have devoted a considerable space to the proceedings of the meeting of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society. We are happy to observe that one of the transactions of the meeting was to appoint an effective delegation to the Anti-slavery Convention to be held in June next. We shall probably recur to this subject in our next. We may add that, on the Monday following the meeting at Birmingham, Mr. Scoble, with the self-purchased slave, Moses Grandy, attended a crowded meeting at Stourbridge.

WE present to our readers to-day, *in extenso*, the grinding ordinance which Lord Stanley leaves in operation in Trinidad, while he makes further inquiries of the law-officers in that island.

It may be worth while, however, for our readers to see whether this piece of colonial legislation is of a sort to demand further inquiry from any quarter; or whether it does not bear upon the face of it characteristics requiring its immediate disallowance by the responsible minister of the crown. Describing it generally, it is an ordinance for apprenticing for a year, on their arrival, "Africans recently liberated from a state of slavery." It exhibits the following details:—

First. It absolutely deprives the newly imported African of all exercise of choice, either in relation to his master or his work. He is indeed no party to the contract at all; the indenture being made exclusively between the governor and the planter, as though the African were nothing more than a horse or a mule.

Secondly. It prescribes no limit whatever to the amount of labour which may be required; nor is any right reserved for the governor to ascertain whether the amount of labour is excessive, or to interfere, either for its diminution or the cancelling of the indenture, if it be.

Thirdly. It prescribes nothing concerning the food, clothing, lodging, wages, or instruction to be provided for the apprentice. Certain items in relation to these are to be written on the back of the indenture, but always determined at the discretion of the governor.

Fourthly. It allows no release to the apprentice on the death of his employer; but in this event throws him back on the governor's hands to be apprenticed anew, till the fatal year has expired.

Fifthly. The case is the same if, in consequence of ill-usage or otherwise, an indenture should be cancelled. The party is to be apprenticed again.

Sixthly. Every one taking an apprentice is to pay a sum of money for him to the colonial treasury—how much, does not yet appear. The apprentice is, therefore, for the time a bought man; and bought too of the Queen of England—that is, of her representative.

Seventhly. It provides no means of effectually terminating the apprenticeship. The indenture, it is true, is dated; but this bit of paper may be lost—nothing more likely—and then where is the apprentice's freedom? Not a word is said of any registry or record by which he can claim it, or by which even his person can be identified.

Eighthly. It is so worded as to include, not only Africans liberated from slave-ships by British cruisers, to whom in the first instance it was said to be limited, but all African immigrants who have been slaves in their own country, a class comprehending by far the greatest number. The phrase used in the ordinance is, "Africans recently liberated from a state of slavery"—a phrase quite as applicable to the generality of those who may come direct from Africa as free emigrants, as to those who may be taken out of the hold of a slaver.

Being such, this ordinance is in principle an ordinance for the re-enactment of slavery; and it cannot fail to be in practice an inlet to crimes and sufferings as great as those which prevailed under the slave-system. It is an attempt to transform into a system of coerced and ill-requited labour that vast emigration from Africa, which, the Trinidadians seem to have thought so secure. And this, which, if once sanctioned, must immediately become a precedent for colonial legislation on the widest scale, Lord Stanley leaves unrebuked, and working its innumerable mischiefs, while he coolly—with Sir Henry McLeod at his elbow—sends for information to the law officers of Trinidad! Does he mean to say it is possible that, under any circumstances, he can recommend his royal mistress to sanction such an outrage!

WE take the following astounding communication from the *United Service Gazette*.

To the Editor of the *United Service Gazette*.

SIR—Your able exposure of the atrocious system which has long been carried on on the coast of Africa, and which is abetted and practised, not only by British subjects but by British functionaries, has created no inconsiderable alarm among the parties for whose profit it is continued. I allude to the infamous trade in pawns now going on on the western coast of Africa, in defiance of the proclamation issued by the governor-general, Sir John Jeremie, and promulgated by Dr. Madden, the honest and fearless commissioner of inquiry, whose admirable report the late committee on West African affairs was gotten up to impugn; but which, whilst it has confirmed it in many important points, has not contradicted it in any important particular. But neither Dr. Madden nor you may be cognisant of the fact, that the "pocket governor" of Cape Coast Castle actually followed one of his pawns on board her Majesty's ship *Wilberforce*, and demanded and obtained his restitution; or, at least, what was nearly as bad, the price he chose to ask for his manumission! But here are the details:—On the arrival of the late Niger expedition at Cape Coast Castle, Mr. Carr, the superintendent of the experimental farm, issued a notice that he would employ any useful native who chose to take service under him. A British subject named Africa, a blacksmith by trade, accordingly came on board the *Wilberforce*, and having been hired at the rate of three shillings per diem, received an advance of wages on the spot. He had not been long on board, however, before Messrs. Forster's "pocket governor," captain Maclean, demanded the man's restitution as a pawn. The superintendent laughed at the demand, and declared that he would not recognize so infamous a claim. The "pocket governor" then appealed to the four British Commissioners, who ordered the man to be given up! Rather than comply with this demand Mr. Carr paid a large sum, something above the market price of a slave, for his manumission.

Now, Sir, it behoves you, who have proved yourself, on all occasions, the guardian of the interests and the champion of the honour of the United Services, to call for a full inquiry into this abominable transaction, in order that the responsibility may rest upon the right shoulders. Can it be possible that four British Commissioners, three of whom were naval officers, could so far have disregarded the established law of Great Britain as to have consented to give up a British subject to slavery whilst standing beneath the folds of the British standard, as the alternative of the non-purchase of his freedom by the person to whom he had hired himself!—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A FRIEND OF AFRICA.

We entirely concur in the following remark, appended by the editor to this letter:—"We think it cannot be true, and trust, therefore, that one of the three British naval officers in question will authorise us to contradict it."

WE lay before our readers, on unquestionable authority, the following appalling narration:—About the month of November, 1840, a Maroon of Sierra Leone was caught in the act of adultery with the wife of a black man of the same colony. The black man killed the Maroon on the spot, by running him through the body. The authorities were forthwith made acquainted with the fact, and a correspondence took place with the native chief within whose district it was committed—it was within a few miles of Sierra Leone, and almost within the boundary line of the colony—which terminated in allowing the offender to be tried by the native chief, although he was a British subject. In the end he was burned alive, and a great number of Maroons went from Free-town, to witness the horrid sight. They actually supplied a tar barrel to assist in it! This unfortunate was an Ebo, a re-captured slave, and had resided many years in the colony. There must be official information of this fearful transaction at the colonial office, which some member of the House of Commons might perhaps obtain from the government.

WE are enabled to state that the slave-trade continues in Cuba with almost as much activity as heretofore, and that it is reported in that island that the captain-general has received recent orders to wink at it. Three cargoes of slaves have been seized, and made emancipados of; but, for one cargo seized, three are successfully landed. The greatest traffic is now carried on at Trinidad de Cuba. Three slavers were recently fitting out at that port. On the 30th of July, a slaver landed three hundred and fifty slaves in the city of Matanzas, under the very eye of the public; and *after they had left the city* the governor, Garcia Ona, sent officers on board the vessel to report whether she had brought slaves or

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not. One hundred of these victims were sent to the estate of the governor. Another landing of Africans very lately took place at Santiago de Cuba; about half of whom were, under unavoidable circumstances, seized and sent to Havana, to become slaves under the name of emancipados.

THE Jamaica planters, we observe, are beginning to seek after improved modes of cultivating their great staple, sugar. At a meeting of the St. Thomas in the Vale Agricultural Society, held on the 17th of September, a resolution was adopted, offering a prize "to the overseer, attorney, or proprietor, who shall make the greatest quantity of produce at the least proportionate expense." The prize is to be a silver cup, value thirty guineas, to be competed for on the 1st of November, 1844. The gentlemen will, of course, have an eye to the quality, as well as quantity, of the produce; and will scarcely sanction any attempt to seize the prize by enforcing reduced wages for labour.

WE have received several numbers of a new journal which has appeared in British Guiana, entitled *The Freeman's Sentinel*. It is the organ of the people of colour in that colony, and has commenced the advocacy of their interests with much spirit. We anticipate that our new contemporary will meet with some hard rubs; but we most heartily wish him success—and, to that end, wisdom as well as vigour.

WE know not from what quarter the following has been conveyed to us through the post office. We give it as we have received it, and our readers will take it for what it may be worth:—

Extract of a letter from Rio de Janeiro, dated *September 4th*, 1842.

I am glad to be able to inform you that all the slaves in the palace of the Emperor are about to receive their freedom, as well as those on the imperial and national domains, which amount to from 3000 to 4000, being spread through several provinces. The first amount to only fifty or sixty, or a few more perhaps, worthy domestics. Each of them has some musical instrument, and thus they form a complete, and really an excellent band. On festival occasions they are allowed to wear boots, and even shoes and silk stockings; but, on ordinary days, they tread barefoot through the rooms of the palace. It is said that this manumission is to take place in accordance with the desire of the future empress, who does not wish any slaves to belong to the imperial household, and that this has been made a condition of the marriage contract. If so, it is indeed a noble beginning for the princess, and will shine more than the pearls and jewels in her diadem.

Literary Notices.

An Address delivered at Lenox, on the 1st of August, 1842, the Anniversary of Emancipation in the British West Indies. By William E. Channing. London: 1842.

This is one of the most beautiful discourses we ever read, and it largely augments our regret that the gifted author of it is removed beyond the possibility of further contributions to the cause of humanity and freedom. Our desire to mark an extract for quotation, although of no ordinary strength, is repressed by the impossibility of inserting it in the crowded state of our columns. We earnestly recommend the pamphlet to our readers.

Not a Labourer wanted for Jamaica. By Thomas Clarkson. Second Edition; with important additions. London: 1842.

We need not do more than announce this pamphlet. We are glad that a second edition has been called for; and in the fact that it has received "important additions," all will see evidence of the deep feeling and untiring energy of its venerable author.

American Notes for General Circulation. By Charles Dickens. London: 1842.

We must, in very few words, express our gratification at the decided and noble tone in which Mr. Dickens has spoken in these volumes on the subject of American slavery. Besides a few scattered notices of it in both volumes, the author has devoted an entire and admirable chapter to the subject near the close of the work, some extracts from which have already appeared in the papers. We shall insert them also, the first opportunity we can command.

Journals of the rev. James Frederick Schön and Mr. Samuel Crowther, who with the Sanction of Her Majesty's Government, accompanied the Expedition up the Niger in 1841. Church Missionary Society. London: 1842.

That part of this volume which brings it within our scope consists of sundry notices of slavery and the slave-trade, as they fell under the observation of Mr. Schön, an estimable agent of the Church Missionary Society, long resident in their service at Sierra Leone. We must, as soon as possible, find room for some extracts.

AFFGHANISTAN.—Slavery is permitted in Affghanistan, as in all Mahommedan countries. The greater part of the slaves are born at home; but supplies are received of Abyssinians, and negros from Arabia, and of Persians from the inhabitants of Beloochistan, who seize them in their forays. Caufirs are purchased from their own nation, or carried off by some of their own border tribes. These last are generally women esteemed for their beauty.

BIRMINGHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting of the friends and supporters of this society was held on Friday evening, the 18th instant, in Cannon Street chapel, for the purpose of receiving a report from the committee, and of transacting the usual business of the society, and also for electing delegates from Birmingham to attend the Anti-slavery Convention, which it is proposed to hold in London, in the month of June, 1843. The meeting was very numerously and respectably attended. Amongst the gentlemen and ministers on the platform, we observed Joseph Sturge, Esq., John Scoble, Esq., secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, the Rev. John Clarke, formerly of Jamaica, and recently from the coast of Africa, Francis Rowan, Esq., the rev. Dr. Hoby, the rev. Messrs. Morgan, Swan, Hammond, &c.

Mr. STURGE having been called to the chair, said he should not detain the meeting by any lengthened observations, seeing there were some friends around him from a distance, whom they would doubtless be more anxious to hear, and who were more competent than himself to speak to the general question; but as he had not had an opportunity of publicly meeting the friends of the society in Birmingham since his visits to America and France, he would say one or two words in reference to the prospects of their cause in these countries. During the course of the last year he visited the United States for a few months, principally in reference to the anti-slavery question, when, although no country put forth stronger or higher pretensions to the carrying out of the principles of liberty, and in many respects afforded more beautiful exemplifications of its fruits, yet, he regretted to say, there was exemplified also some of the very worst fruits of class legislation—namely, those arising from the distinction of colour and of skin—(Hear, hear). This dark stain he found to prevail more or less throughout all the states, and he found it in many cases difficult to make persons believe, that as a class the coloured race possessed the same intellectual capacity as their white fellow-men; and he was never more strongly impressed with the cruelty and double injustice of first degrading a portion of mankind, and then from the fact of being degraded supposing that they did not possess all the qualifications of their brethren of the same blood—(Hear, and cheers). Mr. Sturge then proceeded to describe some of those harrowing and revolting circumstances (in connection with the system of slavery) which he had witnessed during his short sojourn in America. In the city of Alexandria, district of Columbia, he had seen a mother and nine children in the hands of the slave-trader, separated from their husband and father for the purpose of being sold at the New Orleans market. After visiting Washington, where the trade was being carried on within sight of the senate house, and also in the city of Baltimore a slave-trade establishment, in the latter city, he visited the triennial Baptist convention, which was then holding its sittings, and before adverting to what took place during its deliberations, he might take that opportunity of saying that, with the exception of those christian communities who altogether ceased to hold slaves, he believed there was no sect of christians who had made greater progress in cleansing their hands from the stain of slave-holding than their Baptist friends—(Cheers). At the time he entered the meeting, the subject under discussion was the re-election of officers to the Baptist board of missions; and it was intended, he knew, to remove his friend, Elon Galusha, from the office of one of the vice-presidents, because he had supported a motion at the Anti-slavery Convention in London, in 1840, that the holding of slaves after faithful admonition should disqualify persons for christian fellowship; and his friend was rejected by a majority of 124 to 117—(Hear hear). This he understood was generally looked upon as a moral triumph; and he believed that in no other section of the christian church in America would there have been found so large a number of abolitionists. On the whole, he felt greatly encouraged as to the progress of abolition principles, and he was satisfied that their cause was making rapid progress amongst the better part of the community, and that at no distant period they might hope to see its final triumph, notwithstanding the fearful odds with which they had to contend in that country—(Cheers). Mr. Sturge next referred to his visit to Paris, and to the reception which the delegates met with from the government, who, though they were invited by the Duke de Broglie, had interposed their authority to prevent the convention from holding publicly their sittings. He believed that the French king was not very favourable to abolition, and the expression of public opinion in public meetings was altogether discouraged; but he felt satisfied that the more public opinion was repressed in any country, the more danger there existed of mischief being done by violent and illegal means. Several of the delegates, however, had accepted an invitation to dine with M. Guizot, the French prime minister; and although, from the belief that by doing so it might appear to sanction the conduct of the government, he (Mr. Sturge) and two other of the delegates did not accept the invitation, yet he hoped that the interchange of opinion which took place on this occasion with those of the delegates who accepted it, on the great question of the abolition of slavery, was on the whole calculated to advance the cause. After some further observations, Mr. Sturge concluded by calling upon the secretary of the Society to read the report of the committee for the past year.

WILLIAM MORGAN, Esq., the secretary, then read the report, which commenced by noticing the invitation of the French society for the abolition of slavery to the friends of freedom in this country to attend a meeting in Paris on the 7th of March last year; when Joseph Sturge, Esq., was deputed to attend on behalf of the Birmingham society. The delegates who accompanied Mr. Sturge, on their arrival in Paris, were treated with the greatest personal courtesy; but the government interfered to prevent the meeting being held. A number of private meetings were however held, and the deputation returned to this country impressed with a conviction that much good had been effected by their visit, and that a large portion of the French people were convinced of the hatefulness of that system, which required the support of an arbitrary and despotic interference with the free expression of christian and peaceful sentiment. The report next noticed the arrival of the *Amistad* captives and five missionaries at Sierra Leone, and the case of the *Creole*, the particulars of which are fresh in the recollection of our readers. Another case of the deepest possible interest had just been brought to light, involving questions of international law of great importance, and affecting the safety of the thousands of fugitives who were now, or who might hereafter come, under the protection of British law in Canada. Nelson Hackett was a slave in Arkansas, in one of the remote south-western states, and succeeded in the summer of 1841 in effecting his escape into Canada. At the time he made the

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attempt to regain his liberty, he had in his care a gold watch, a great coat, and a race horse, belonging to his master, and having been followed by an agent, he was arrested in the autumn of the same year. Having been indicted for larceny in Arkansas, and a formal demand made for his surrender, the fugitive was given up by Sir Charles Bagot, the governor of Canada; and this case, which was sufficiently alarming as a precedent, has been rendered doubly so in consequence of the Ashburton treaty, which provided for the surrender of all fugitives charged with certain descriptions of crime, amongst which robbery was included. It could hardly be doubted that the American slave-holders would claim all fugitives under this clause; but the committee rejoiced in knowing, that the treaty would not come into operation till confirmed by an act of parliament, and it was highly important that to the provisions of this act, whenever introduced, the attention of the British public should be directed. The cause of abolition, they rejoiced to say, was progressing in the United States, and public attention was being still directed to the continent of Africa, notwithstanding the melancholy fate of the Niger expedition; and it was also matter of congratulation, as regarded the existence of slavery in the British dependencies, that this system of iniquity had been brought to an end in the British settlements, in Malacca, Penang, Singapore, and Province Wellesley. The friends of freedom should however urge on the legislature to proclaim that henceforth every British dependency should be sacred to liberty.

The Rev. Mr. PRICE moved the adoption of the report.

The Rev. Dr. HOBY in seconding the resolution, referred to the continuance of the iniquitous African slave-trade, and the daily seizure of thousands of their fellow-men by the iniquitous robbers of the bodies and souls of men. It made one's blood curdle to think of the awful cruelties which were perpetrated by nominal christians, supported too, he grieved to say, to a great extent by British capital and the spirit of British enterprize. To his own apprehension, the most conspicuous occurrence of the past year was the case of the *Creole*, referred to in the report; and he trusted that no future slaver would carry its accursed freight without a similar rising of its unhappy victims being accomplished on the deep. If they committed murder in the attempt he should regret it; but, whatever might be the result of their noble daring, if they succeeded in achieving their liberty, he for one should rejoice in it—(Applause).

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., here introduced to the meeting an African named Moses Grandy, lately an American slave, but who had succeeded in purchasing his freedom, and had come to this country duly accredited by the Abolition Society in America, to endeavour to raise sufficient money to purchase the freedom of his child and four grand-children, who were still in bondage in the southern states. It appeared from the simple narrative of the poor African, that he had been compelled, by the cupidity and injustice of his owners, to purchase three times his freedom, before he effected his liberation from slavery. The price fixed on his manumission was 600 dollars; and when by the fruits of his exertions he had accumulated the wished-for sum, his master destroyed the acknowledgment of his services, and refused to grant him his liberty. Again the African commenced saving the produce of his hard labour; and when once more he hoped to regain his freedom, once more was he cruelly defrauded by his owner, and consigned to bondage. But the hope of freedom was strong within him, and sustained him in his noble efforts; and by unremitting toil, and a perseverance which under other circumstances would have conferred worldly honour and renown, the poor African at length accomplished the object so dear to his heart, after many years of daily toil and suffering. The description which Moses Grandy gave of the treatment of the slaves in the southern plantations, the refinements in cruelty practised by their owners to extract from them the greatest possible amount of labour, and the utter disregard and outrage of every tie of affection and kindred exhibited towards the slaves, children being torn from their mothers' breasts, and husbands separated from their wives—these and a thousand similar atrocities were detailed by the speaker in his own simple and unvarnished style, and with a sincerity and earnestness of manner which went to the hearts of his hearers.

Mr. STURGE afterwards announced to the meeting, that Moses Grandy had published a narrative of his life, and a description of slavery as it existed at the present moment in the southern states of America, bespeaking the kind sympathy and assistance of the friends of humanity in behalf of its author, who was now engaged in a noble endeavour to rescue his child and four grand-children from bondage.

The Rev. JOHN CLARKE, who has lately returned from the coast of Africa, next addressed the meeting. They would naturally ask, after hearing the interesting statements of their sable brother, was this a true description of slavery? He, for one, could answer, yes; and if so, he put it to every individual present, whether slavery was not a sin of the deepest dye in the face of GOD and man. Was it possible, he asked, for any christian to maintain that the holding of slaves was not a sinful act in the sight of the Almighty? When they reflected that such horrible miseries had been inflicted through slavery on their fellow-creatures in the West Indies, in America, and in other parts of the world, surely they would have cause to rejoice that the friends of humanity, of GOD, and of man were still at their posts—that their zeal was not abating, and that they did not suppose their work was accomplished, but that they were still determined to proceed in their devoted cause so long as slavery existed on the face of the earth. Mr. Clarke here noticed the cruelties perpetrated under the dominion of slavery in the United States, in South America, in Cuba, Porto Rico, and other West India islands belonging to France, Spain, and the Danish government. The most rigorous system, was adopted to prevent strangers hostile to the system from visiting Porto Rico; and in the islands of St. Thomas and St. John, as well as in Santa Cruz, subject to the Danish government, the authorities were so fearful of the influence of the spread of the gospel amongst the people, that they deprived Dr. Prince and himself of the privilege of preaching, when the object of their visit became known. He was sorry to have to testify respecting the evils of slavery, that they were to a great extent encouraged by some who called themselves christian missionaries. At two establishments in the island of St. Thomas he was grieved to find the missionaries holding their fellow-men in bondage. Turning to Africa, he noticed the report of the parliamentary committee on the slave-trade in this part of the world, and which went on to state that the accursed traffic had diminished during the past year. He was not acquainted with the facts upon which this declaration was founded. All he knew was that the slave-trade still prevailed there to a fearful extent, and, on returning home by Havna, he had learned on undoubted authority that two vessels had lately arrived there with 800 slaves on board. Mr. Clarke, in connection with this subject, described the evils resulting from the present system of manning British vessels, on their way from the Gulf of Guinea to the Bight of Benin, with African kroomen, who were put on board without the knowlege of the duty required of them, and were thus subjected to a species of slavery. The speaker next gave a harrowing description of the state of Fernando Po, arising from the combined influence of slavery and idolatry, which led to the sacrifice of thousands of human beings; and concluded by calling upon the friends of humanity not to relax in their efforts for christianizing Africa, as the most effectual way of putting an end to the twin abominations of slavery and superstition.

The REV. T. H. MORGAN next addressed the meeting, after which

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., secretary to the parent society, came forward, and was cordially received. He said it was his pleasing duty to gladden the hearts of his friends, by giving them some information as to the prospects of the abolition cause, since he last had the pleasure of addressing an audience in the town of Birmingham. Mr. Clarke had given them a description of the horrors perpetrated in connexion with the slave-trade, and had shown that, after years of untiring effort, the friends of abolition found themselves grappling with an enemy as strong, nay stronger than that with which Wilberforce and Granville Sharpe had to contend, when they first commenced their glorious labours. At that time it was computed that not more than 72,000 Africans were annually transported from the coast; but since the slave-trade had been abolished by Great Britain, 150,000 human beings were annually landed in Cuba, the Brasils, Texas, and other countries in which a demand existed for slaves; and, for every one whom the dealers succeeded in bringing into the slave market, not less than two suffered a horrible death, either in the wars engendered in carrying on the traffic, in their transit to the coast, in the sacrifice of the refuse slaves after the slavers had been glutted with their human cargoes, or in the mortality which ensued in the middle passage. It might be asked, how came it, after the efforts made by British abolitionists, that the evil still raged to so fearful an extent? His answer was, that, whilst slavery existed, whilst a market was found in any part of the world for slaves, and whilst an enormous profit could be realised by their purchase and sale, so long would the slave-trade continue, despite the efforts of Great Britain to suppress it. During the days of Granville Sharpe and Wilberforce, they learned that the waste of human life in the transit of slaves across the Atlantic was from 10 to 15 per cent; but now the sacrifice amounted to from 25 to 33 per cent, and this fearful increase had been caused by the very means which had been taken to put an end to the diabolical traffic. The vessels were now so constructed that slaves could be packed like bales of goods between decks. If any accident occurred on the ocean, the holds were fastened down, and the most fearful destruction of life was the consequence. Turning to America, much had been done in the cause of abolition in that country during the past two years. Great interest was felt in the churches on the subject. In many of them slave-holders were no longer permitted to approach the table of the Lord, and enjoy christian fellowship in the free states. The American board of foreign missions had also taken up the question with much zeal, and faithful men would soon, he hoped, be free from the charge, that they allowed to be cast into their treasury the price of blood, for slave-holders were in the habit of sending their contributions to this fund. From France they had received intelligence that the duke de Broglie, the honoured president of the French abolition Society, was about making a final report to the French government on the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, and there was every prospect that this great measure would be advanced in the next session of the French chambers. In reference to Holland, he was happy to state that the government had appointed a commission of five persons to report on the best means of securing the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies of Holland; thus proving that the influence of Great Britain had not only set the question moving in these countries, but that it had brought it to a clear issue in the public mind. Turning now to home operations, it had been truly said, that their own country was not yet purged of the crime of slavery; and that there were still found within the limits of the empire men who were held as the property of their fellow-men. In British India there were millions of slaves. In the single presidency of Bengal there were upwards of four millions; and he was satisfied there would be found as many more in the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. If this then were the case, they had still a mighty work to achieve before the dominions of Great Britain should be free from the stain of slavery. In the British settlements of Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, where slavery existed in various forms, the fiat of the British government had gone forth, and by this time he believed he might say that not a slave was to be found in these settlements. With respect to British India, it was reported that the government had resolved, from the date of the promulgation of certain regulations, to put the slave population in possession of the rights of property—rights which they had never been permitted to enjoy under Hindoo or Mahomedan laws: they had also decreed that slaves should be put on an equality with freemen with regard to the redress of grievances and the protection of the law—that the sale and purchase of free children should be abolished—and that all children born of slaves, should, after the promulgation of the order, be free. But although much would be gained by the carrying out of these resolutions, millions of human beings would still be subject to be sold by their owners, and he put it to the meeting whether, as Englishmen and christians, they should be content with any thing short of the entire abolition of slavery throughout the whole of the British empire. He had also to report, in reference to Hayti, that a law which formerly existed, and which prevented the Haytiens from resorting to Jamaica, had been rescinded, and that free intercourse had now been established; and this through the efforts of British abolitionists. He might go on to show the effects of their labours on the Brazilian government, and also on the slave dealers of Porto Rico and Cuba. The authorities of the latter place professed to hold slavery in abhorrence—and this profession they were about to test—for, by the treaties with which the Spanish government had entered with Great Britain for the abolition of the slave-trade, they had acquired the right to demand the liberation of every slave illicitly introduced into the Spanish colonies since 1820. The Cubans, knowing that if Great Britain be sincere in this demand, three-fourths of the whole slave population must be emancipated, now ask her to compromise the matter: but he hoped the

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government and the people of this country would be satisfied with nothing short of the whole bond; and that they would insist on the emancipation of all slaves, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, had been illicitly introduced into that colony. The same demand had been made on the Brazilian government, and he trusted that the same terms would be insisted upon, by which more than one-half of the slaves of that empire would be emancipated. They would thus perceive that the British government had it in their power to put an end to the accursed slave-trade on the coast of Africa, by terminating slavery in Cuba and Brazil.—(Loud applause). He wished to call attention to one point in connexion with the observations of his valued friend from Africa, who said it was only by the introduction of christianity into that country that slavery could be put down. He agreed with him that the introduction of christianity, owned and blessed by the head of the church, would have that effect; but he would ask him, whether he did not despair of christianity reaching the hearts of the mass of the population in that country whilst slavery prevailed?—("No, no.)" His friend said "no," but facts were against him. They found christianity prevailing in the United States, and yet the churches were the chief bulwarks of slavery—("Sweep them off"). There is the proof that there is a work to do. (Dr. Hoby—"Christianity will sweep off slavery)." Yes, he believed it would do so ultimately; he believed that such would be its influence on the minds of men when perfectly understood and cordially embraced, that it would sweep off slavery, for he held that slavery and christianity were incompatible, and one or the other must eventually give way—(Hear, hear). Now the slave holding christians of the southern states, said that they were compatible, and that slavery should not give way; how then was christianity, as we understood it, to be preached? But he would say, if slavery were abolished, christianity would have free course and be triumphant, as it had been in the West Indies since the emancipation of its population; and, therefore he conceived, that, till slavery was abolished, they would not be able to send the gospel freely and fully to slave-holding countries. He trusted what he had said would not lead any one to suppose that he undervalued the power and efficacy of christian exertion, or that he was less the friend of missions because he was the enemy of slavery—(Hear, and cheers). All that he intended to impress on their minds was, that so long as slavery existed in any country, the gospel could never be fully and freely preached there. Mr. Scoble adverted to the anti-slavery convention, which it was proposed to hold next year in London. The effects produced by the great convention in 1840 had been of the utmost advantage to the cause, and he believed the resolutions adopted by it had done more for the abolition of slavery throughout the world than any other means which had ever before been resorted to, and he could not help believing that another anti-slavery convention would produce still greater results. He concluded by saying, they were aware that a parliamentary committee of inquiry had reported in favour of free emigration from Africa but coupling the recommendation of the committees on the subject with the fact, that the legislative council of Trinidad had passed an act for indenturing those free Africans on their arrival, they might easily see that a new slave-trade would spring up, unless the friends of abolition were vigilant in protecting the rights of these defenceless people. A memorial had been addressed to the British government, setting forth the oppressive and arbitrary character of the enactment in question, affecting, as it did, the rights and liberties of these "free" Africans. He thought the ordinance could not be permitted to remain much longer in force.

The Rev. THOMAS MORGAN seconded the resolution, and stated that he had the authority of the Rev. Mr. James to say, that he fully consented to be nominated a delegate from the meeting to the anti-slavery convention to be held next year in London.

The Rev. THOMAS SWAN expressed his happiness at finding that the hearts of the men of Birmingham still beat true to the anti-slavery cause, and that, while absorbed in their own cares and concerns, they could think of the interests of the slave. Mr. Swan, in noticing the happy results produced in the British West India islands by the abolition of slavery, read a letter from the Rev. J. M. Philippo, for which we must endeavour to find room in our next. He also read a brief but interesting letter which had been addressed to himself by Mr. Barrett, a deacon of one of the churches under Mr. Knibb, giving a very cheering account of the progress and blessed effects of christianity in the island of Jamaica.

The Rev. JOHN HAMMOND then rose for the purpose of nominating delegates from Birmingham to attend the anti-slavery convention, to be held in London in June, 1843. He begged to move that their worthy and esteemed chairman Joseph Sturge, Esq., the Rev. John Angell James, the Rev. Thomas Morgan, and the Rev. Thomas Swan should represent the anti-slavery society of Birmingham in the convention, and that the committee should also have power to appoint any other delegates whom they might select for that purpose.

The proposal was cordially received and carried with acclamation: and a vote of thanks having been presented to the chairman for his kindness in presiding, and also to the Rev. J. Clarke, and J. Scoble, Esq. for the interesting and important information which they had communicated, the meeting separated.

THE TRINIDAD ORDINANCE.

(From the *Trinidad Royal Gazette.*)

TRINIDAD. AN ORDINANCE.

Enacted by the Governor of the island of Trinidad, by and with the advice and consent of the council of government thereof.

To make provision for the protection of, and the promoting the industry of recently liberated Africans introduced into this colony.

F. FULLER, ACTING GOVERNOR.

Whereas it is expedient to make provision for the protection of, and the promoting the industry of Africans recently liberated from a state of slavery, who may be introduced into this colony—be it therefore enacted by his Excellency the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council of government thereof, That whenever the governor shall be satisfied that it would be for the benefit of any African who may be so introduced into this colony that any such African should be bound as an indented servant, it shall and may be lawful for the governor, by indenture under his hand and seal, to indent such African for such term of service not exceeding one year, and upon such terms and conditions to such person or persons, and for such employment as the governor shall see fit; which indenture shall be as binding on the person so bound to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as if he or she had executed the same being of the full age of majority: Provided always that no such person shall by such indenture be subject or liable to be separated from his or her wife or husband, parent or child, or from any person or persons reputed to bear any such relation to him or her.

II. And be it enacted, that every indenture whereby any such African shall be indented as aforesaid shall be made and drawn in the manner and form following, or in such other form as the governor may from time to time deem fit:—

TRINIDAD.

This Indenture made the day of in the year of our Lord 184 between his Excellency the governor and Commander-in-chief in and over the said island, for and on behalf of a recently liberated African introduced into this colony, of the one part, and E. F. of the other part, *Witnesseth* that, in virtue of the ordinance in such case made and provided, and in consideration of the covenants and agreements on the part of the said E. F. hereinafter contained, he the said as such Governor as aforesaid doth by these presents indent and bind the said to the said E. F. for the term of calendar months to be computed from the day of the date hereof, and doth hereby for and on the behalf of covenant to and with the said E. F. that the said shall and will during the said term truly and faithfully serve the said E. F. in the business or employment of And the said E. F. for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, doth hereby covenant with the said the Governor, that he the said E. F. shall and will during the said term of calendar months find and provide for the said good and comfortable lodging, and medical care and attendance, and such diet and clothing, and shall also allow to the said such wages and such quantity of land for the raising of provisions, as is or are specified and endorsed on this indenture, and shall also allow to the said such reasonable time and opportunity for education and religious instruction as shall be appointed or assigned by the governor of the island for the time being. *In Witness whereof* his Excellency the said and the said E. F. have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

And on the back of every such indenture shall be endorsed and specifically set forth the nature, quantity and amount of diet and clothing, and the amount of wages, and the quantity of land to be provided for and allowed or paid to each of the persons mentioned in and indented by such indenture.

III. And for the purpose of forming a fund to aid towards the repayment of the expenses of transferring such persons to this colony, be it enacted, That every person to whom any such African shall be so indented and bound, shall at the time of the execution of the indenture pay to the colonial treasurer, for the use of the colony, such sum of money in respect of such indented African as the governor shall from time to time see fit to apportion and direct: and a statement of all monies so paid shall be laid before the council of government once in every quarter.

IV. And be it enacted, that the right or interests of any employer in and to the services of any such indented African shall not be transferable by any mode whatsoever, nor shall pass by will or inheritance, nor be subject to any levy or other process of law, but the same shall cease and determine upon the death of such employer, and it shall thereupon be lawful for the governor from time to time to indent and bind such African to any other employer for such term as together with the actual term of his or her previous service, shall not exceed the term of twelve calendar months.

V. And be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for the stipendiary justice of the district, or any other person appointed by the governor for that purpose, from time to time as often as he shall see fit, to enter into and upon any estate, house, or tenement, wherein such stipendiary justice, or any person so appointed as aforesaid, shall have reasonable cause to believe any such indented African to be, and to visit and inspect the state and condition of all such indented Africans as he may find on any such estate, or in any such house or tenement; and the employer of any such indented African shall, on being required by the stipendiary justice by a notice in writing under his hand to that effect, produce such indented African before such stipendiary justice at such time and place as may be therein specified, for the purpose of inspecting and inquiring into the state and condition of such indented African, under a penalty in case of refusal not exceeding twenty pounds sterling, to be recovered in a summary manner before such stipendiary justice.

VI. And be it enacted, that all questions and complaints touching or concerning any indenture made under the authority of this ordinance, or the enforcement thereof, or any breach, neglect, or non-performance thereof, shall be dealt with, heard, and determined, in the manner directed by the order of Her Majesty in council bearing date the seventh day of November, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight.

VII. And be it enacted, that if it shall be made to appear to the governor to his satisfaction, that the employer of any such indented African, or any person by his or her authority, has been guilty of any ill-usage or ill-treatment of any such indented African, or has made default in the payment of the wages of any such indented African, or has no longer the means of providing him or her with fit and suitable employment according to the terms of the indenture, the governor may direct and adjudge such indented African, and also if he shall see fit, every other indented African bound to the same employer, to be released and discharged from all further service to such employer; and thereupon and thereby the person or persons in respect of whom such adjudication shall have been made, shall be wholly released and discharged from all further service to such employer, and the governor shall and may forthwith indent such person or persons to such other employer for such term, not exceeding together with the time of his her or their past service the term of twelve calendar months, as the governor shall see fit.

VIII. And be it enacted, that every person who shall remove or attempt to remove, or aid or abet in the removing, any such indented African from this island, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being convicted thereof shall be subject to the payment of a fine not less than fifty pounds or more than five hundred pounds sterling, or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any term not less than one calendar month or more than twelve calendar months, or to both fine and imprisonment, as the court for the trial of criminal prosecutions shall direct.

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IX. And be it enacted, that every person who shall wrongfully harbour, conceal, or employ, or remove or entice away from the service of his or her employer, any such indented African, shall on conviction thereof before the stipendiary justice of the peace of the district where such offender shall reside, forfeit and pay to any person who will inform and sue for the same, such sum not less than five pounds nor more than twenty pounds sterling as to the stipendiary justice shall seem fit; and if the employer or person in charge of any such indented African shall prove upon oath before any stipendiary justice of the peace a reasonable cause to suspect that any such indented African is wrongfully harboured, concealed, or employed on the premises of any person, such stipendiary justice may grant a warrant to search for and bring before him such indented African, and the person by whom such indented African may be so harboured, concealed, or employed.

X. And be it further enacted, that every person who shall so wrongfully harbour, conceal, or employ, or remove or entice away from the service of his or her employer any such indented African, shall, over and above such penalty as hereinbefore mentioned, be liable to pay to the employer of such indented African damages to be recovered before any court of competent jurisdiction, at the rate of one dollar for each and every day that such person shall have so harboured, concealed, or employed any such indented African.

XI. And whereas it is expedient to repeal a certain ordinance passed in council the nineteenth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, and entitled "*An ordinance for the protection of, and the promoting the industry and good conduct of Africans transferred to this island,*" be it enacted, that the said ordinance shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.

XII. And be it further enacted, that this ordinance shall take effect from and immediately after the promulgation thereof.

Passed in council this twenty-seventh day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

THOMAS F. JOHNSTON, *Clerk of Council.*

JAMAICA: THE CROP.—We have been favoured with a view of the statements of exports from this island during the present year, and have been delighted at perceiving the increase which has taken place over those of 1841. The statement is incomplete, not including the exports from Port Maria, Luces, and Savanna la Mar. Notwithstanding these omissions, it appears that 13,221 hogsheads of sugar, 3850 puncheons of rum, 1233 tierces coffee, have been shipped in 1842, over and above the shipments of the previous year. Our British as well as Jamaica readers will be gratified at the increased production of our staples which this statement shows, and will join us in the anxious hope that they will continue to increase in the like ratio every year, until our island has reached that pitch beyond which increased production becomes an evil.

	Hhds. Sugar.	Phs. Rum.	Tres. Coffee.
1841 ..	22,691 ..	8,298 ..	7,570
1842 ..	36,012 ..	12,148 ..	8,803
Excess, ..	13,321 ..	3,850 ..	1,233

Morning Journal.

DOMINICA: THE CROP.—We congratulate the planters upon the very large crop which has been taken off this year, and the expectation of doing the same next year. It is stated that the crop will exceed 4000 hogsheads. This island has not since the year 1832 shipped as large a quantity.—*Dominican.*

TRINIDAD.—The weather in Trinidad has of late been highly favourable to the planters; and, from the improved and advanced state of the cane-fields an increase of sugar in the next crop was looked forward to.

EAST TENNESSEE, UNITED STATES.—The system of slavery is doing its work here. The *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter* presents the case of a proprietor of 54,000 acres of land in East Tennessee, and 96000 in North Carolina, who is yet obliged to write to the north to borrow 10,000 dollars, for which he offers the security of the whole property. Also the case of a judge of the supreme court of one of the slave-holding states, possessing 170,000 acres of land in East Tennessee, and as much in an adjoining state, reduced to similar straits. The former gentleman writes—"It is difficult to estimate the value of real estate in the slave-holding states at this time, or to convey to you a correct idea of our situation. Every thing is reduced to the lowest possible rate, and many failures are taking place." He further says—"Slavery is unpopular with us, and growing more so. We wish it abolished. There are a great number of abolitionists now in correspondence to try to effect a separation of this state, so as to give East Tennessee a separate organization. We could then abolish slavery in six months. There are many of our citizens who hold slaves who wish it abolished. I think three-fourths of all the voters in East Tennessee would now vote for its abolition. Some slave-holders tell me that nine-tenths would vote for the abolition of slavery, with all its evils."

HAYTI.—An unexpected obstruction has arisen to the new trade between Jamaica and this island, from the circumstance that Hayti is not named in the order in council among the nations authorized to trade with Great Britain. The late act of parliament allows British vessels to trade with Hayti, but says nothing of Haytien vessels trading with Great Britain. But for this, says the *Morning Journal*, "several of their vessels would have reached us with cargoes, the proceeds of which would have been expended in the purchase of British manufactured goods."

THE COAST OF AFRICA.—By the brig *Kentucky*, Captain Jepson, we have late intelligence from Africa and the Cape de Verde islands. The *Kentucky* is directly from the Portuguese village up the Bissaos river. She was spoken at the Bissaos entrance by the British brig of war *Curlew*, and was permitted to pass on up the river without being boarded. The factories on the island of Gallinas, which were destroyed by the British some time ago, had been rebuilt by the well known Blanco, and are doing as extensive a business as formerly. No molestation from the British has occurred lately.—*New York Tribune.*

SIERRA LEONE.—In conversation with a gentleman from the western coast of Africa, he mentioned to us that, a few months since, a British vessel captured a slaver, and sent the ship with about 125 captives, into Sierra Leone. While she was lying in the harbour, the governor sent on board and took eighty of the slaves, marched them up to the barracks, and pressed them into the ranks of the army, to be sent immediately to Jamaica, in the West India service.—*U. S. Gazette.*

A NARROW ESCAPE.—The captain of a drogging vessel trading to this port, named the *Creole*, fell in yesterday with a Haytien boat in distress, which he piloted into this harbour. The individual in charge of the Haytien craft reports, that he was driven off the coast of St. Domingo by a squall, and subsequently made Port Morant, at which place he obtained provisions, and soon after set sail with the intention of going to Cuba. The crew, however, say, that, on leaving Port Morant, they had cause to believe that their skipper, who had resided upwards of eight years in Cuba, intended to sell them there as slaves; they consequently insisted on his making the nearest port of this island, and he was obliged to accede to their demand.—*Falmouth Post.*

A KIDNAPPED SLAVE RESTORED.—Captain James was some time ago tried and convicted at a court of vice-admiralty held in Spanish Town, for kidnapping two boys several years previously from the parish of St. James, and selling them into slavery, in St. Jago de Cuba. One of these boys, a black, returned to this island, and was the chief witness which caused the conviction of James for that dark transaction. The other, now a man (of colour), was recently discovered at St. Jago de Cuba, by her Majesty's consul at that place, and, being released from slavery, embarked on board the *Tweed*, and arrived at this port on Sunday afternoon.—*Falmouth Post.*

CAPTURED SLAVERS.—We have to notice three captures made by the *Waterwitch*, Lieutenant Matson commanding:—A small vessel, on the 29th August, having on board 63 slaves, running for the Brasils; on the 28th August, a very fine schooner, 144 tons, off Novo Redonda; and on the 21st September, by the boats under the charge of Mr. Sturdie, second master, a large brigantine at anchor in Elephant Bay, ready to embark 400 slaves, who were waiting on the shore. The above, doubtless, shows the activity of Lieutenant Matson, who on scores of occasions has assiduously performed the services entrusted to him; but we have no account of what nations these vessels belonged to, or what is to become of the 63 slaves thus stopped on the high seas. We have on former occasions recorded that upwards of a thousand negros, similarly taken under the protection of the British flag, have been sent to St. Helena for what is called condemnation: they have been condemned—that is, the officers stopping them have become entitled to prize-money, paid by the British government at so much per head. But what becomes of the poor black Africans after this money is so paid? We are credibly informed they have been sent to the British West India islands as apprentices—*that is, as slaves under another name;* at least, we know there were very few at St. Helena at the last advices.—*Hants Telegraph.*

THE PENAL SETTLEMENT IN GUIANA, OR HOW TO COERCE THE IMMIGRANTS.—Since the immigration scheme began, there cannot be less than six hundred immigrants who have passed through our jails. What say we—six hundred?

"In the Georgetown jail alone, from 1st January to 31st December, 1841 (twelve months), there were 576 persons under sentence who did not belong to the colony." This is the statistical information laid upon the table of the court by its honorable secretary.

In the Georgetown jail alone, 576 immigrant convicts in the space of twelve months! *One-twentieth* of the immigrants, convicts in the Georgetown jail! How necessary is our penal settlement! It will be one of the most profitable public concerns, when we shall have transhipped to our shores the live stock of Africa! Do we question the justice which sends these immigrants to the penal settlement? Nonsense! It may suit the purposes of our enemies to talk such folly, but no man believes that we are mad. But we maintain that immigration has deluged the colony with the vagabond refuse of other countries, and that Georgetown swarms with the contaminating mass.—*Freeman's Sentinel.*

HARD-HEARTED FRAUD.—It appears that several parties in British Guiana have sold to the emancipated labourers lands to which they cannot give a title; and that some are going themselves to oppose the completion of the transfer, in the teeth of an engagement to the contrary.

THE TENTH ARTICLE.—"Your interview with Lord Ashburton was worth all the dinners given to him. It confirms me in my conviction, that the treaty is a grand anti-slavery triumph."—*Correspondent of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter.*

IMMIGRANTS AT DEMERARA.—A rather laughable scene took place at the immigration depôt, when the immigrants who recently arrived from Sierra Leone were to be distributed to the several estates to which they had been assigned. A number of estates' boats were in readiness to take them on board, and the agent-general proceeded to inform them that the governor recommended them to go to such and such estates. He dwelt at some length, and with no little eloquence, upon the advantages they might derive from attending to these recommendations; to all which, at suitable intervals, and with great apparent satisfaction and docility, the people responded "very well." The harangue being over, and the matter appearing to be arranged to general satisfaction, the distribution was about to take place, when the people suddenly divided into three companies, under the guidance of as many leaders, one of which proclaimed an intention of going to Ogle and Supply, another to Lima, and a third, consisting of the Kroomen, to Montrose and Felicity—not one of which estates, we believe, had been mentioned by the agent-general. It appears that delegates from these estates had gone out in the vessel and returned in her, who had succeeded in enlisting the whole company into the service of their several employers. We need not say that the parties whose boats were in waiting, and were obliged to go away empty, were not a little chagrined at the result.—*Guiana Gazette.*

DEMAND FOR AN IMPROVED SYSTEM IN TRINIDAD.—After enumerating a variety of mischiefs which render even immigration itself only one of their plagues, the *Trinidad Standard* announces, as "the only efficient remedy," "the introduction of a system of rent for the occupation of houses on estates, whether by the immigrants introduced into this colony, or the people already resident there." How long the abolitionists have been saying the same thing!

The *Ardent*, man-of-war steamer, has taken another batch of liberated Africans from Rio de Janeiro to Demerara.—*Guiana Times.*

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXXVIII. Vol. III. No. 25.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14th, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

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MR. TURNBULL.

Our readers are in possession of the fact that Mr. Turnbull visited the Bahamas in the course of the summer, in order to make inquiries which should facilitate the liberation of British subjects held as slaves in Cuba. The following extract of a letter from the Rev. H. Capern, a Baptist missionary at Nassau, details some subsequent proceedings of much interest, concerning which we shall await with anxiety more complete information.

Nassau, N. P., Bahamas, November 5th, 1842.

In August last Mr. Turnbull visited Nassau. He had received from our government an official paper respecting some British subjects held in slavery in Cuba, who had been carried thither from the Bahamas during the time of slavery—carried thither in direct contravention of an act that had passed the English Parliament, for the purpose of preventing the exportation of slaves to a foreign port or country. The intent of the act was clearly obvious; but, one section not being so declaratory as it should have been, these men, (the slave owners) always distinguished for works of *supererogation*, availed themselves of the defect in the letter, most flagrantly to violate the spirit of the law. At different times, therefore, hundreds of slaves were removed to Cuba, where they, or their descendants, still are.

Immediately after Mr. Turnbull's arrival here, he commenced his inquiries in order to learn who had been carried away, and by whom. A large number of persons appeared to give evidence, some of whom had children there, others parents, brothers, and sisters. Some had themselves been there, and could give the names of fellow-slaves whom they left, and who are now groaning beneath the iron yoke. It was proved but too clearly that a gentleman holding an office in the Court of Vice Admiralty had British subjects as slaves on his estate at Cuba. Mr. Turnbull, thinking that he should be able to identify them and obtain their liberation, or, if not all, some one or two who would extend and increase the evidence already supplied, and hoping too to be able to visit several islands of the colony, from which the people had been carried, and thus collect more facts, left Nassau in the beginning of the month of October. On the 16th of the month they reached Gibara; but the sloop did not enter the harbour until Mr. Turnbull had been on shore, and ascertained of the proper officer if she might do so, to which he at once assented. Accordingly the sloop entered and was moored, but the crew were not to be allowed to come on shore. Mr. Turnbull was about to procure the usual securities for the crew, but the officer, or commandant, told him that there was no necessity for his being at the trouble of getting securities, for that he himself would be answerable for them. But all these movements were preconcerted, for they had been apprized by some one at Nassau of his coming, and of all that he had done there.

Mr. Turnbull had to go sixty miles inland to visit the estate. He obtained a horse, and was accompanied by three military men. He soon found that he was a prisoner, and not at liberty to go where he chose. He was taken before the governor of the district, where his passport was demanded, which he produced, and this, contrary to all international law, was taken altogether from him; and my informant tells me, that it was only by showing the firmest determination that he obtained a copy of it.

No sooner had Mr. Turnbull left the harbour than the commandant, with his soldiers, boarded the sloop, and made the crew prisoners. The next day Mr. Turnbull's valet, the captain, and the pilot were taken on shore, and put into the stocks. The day following the rest of the crew were taken from the sloop and imprisoned. Two days were these innocent men, British subjects, confined in a filthy narrow cell, knowing the want of both bread and water. On Mr. Turnbull's return from the interior he was made acquainted with the perfidy of the commandant, and, on his evincing deep feeling for the unoffending crew, the officials grinned satisfaction at their sufferings.

Mr. Turnbull's valet had with him a large number of books; most, indeed all, of them were religious, except an English grammar. He had also a large number of Spanish tracts, which he had received from the Baptist Mission at Nassau; also a bible, and a '*Companion to the Bible*:' all these they took away, and still retain. * * * * * *

Mr. Turnbull, when the sloop was sent away from Cuba, was then in the hands of the Spanish authorities, who were about to take him to Havana, to subject him to an examination and deal with him accordingly. Some of the old slave-holders at Nassau, I am told, were overjoyed at the good news of his captivity, and his friends are thinking of the possible issue with anxious feeling; but Mr. Turnbull was confident he should be at Nassau about three weeks from that date, October 25th.

I shall be happy, if at Nassau when he returns, to give other and further particulars of this daring outrage onthe liberty of British subjects, and on an agent of the British government. Surely, these blustering slave-owners—these people long notorious for iron-heartedness, treachery, and faithlessness—will not be permitted to insult an accredited officer of a mighty people with impunity.

Some indemnification should be made to the crew for their two days' suffering in their dark and filthy cell, during a part of which time their feet were made fast in the stocks.

(Signed) H. Capern, Baptist Missionary.

MR. MATTHEW FORSTER.

The three numbers of the *Berwick Advertiser*, the receipt of which we acknowledged in our last, were sent, not to the Anti-slavery Office, but to that of our publisher, with the following words written on the inside of the envelope:—"Sent by order of Mr. Forster, in reply to the calumnies which he understands the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* has been engaged in circulating in behalf of Dr. Madden. 16th November, 1842." In the course of his letter inserted in the *Advertiser* of November the 12th, Mr. Forster makes a strong protestation of acting under a "sense of personal dignity," of the influence of which we presume the courteous notification above cited is an example.

The object of Mr. Forster's letter, in the paper we have just named, is to defend himself against the charges brought in the document now so well known as Dr. Madden's Report; and our having printed some extracts from that document is—and must be, for we have done nothing else in relation to this subject—the sole ground on which he has forwarded his defence to us. He is pleased to call our doing so "circulating calumnies" against him; by which it is clear he means that no journalist may presume to insert in its columns the whole or a part of a parliamentary paper, if it touches Mr. Matthew Forster, without his high displeasure. It may perhaps be that this gentleman further intends to designate us as those "coadjutors" of Dr. Madden who "deal only in slanderous and cowardly insinuation, never daring to meet the objects of their attacks openly and fairly." Were it so, we should just reply, first, that we clearly have not dealt in "insinuation," since we have done nothing but publish the explicit statements of Dr. Madden. Secondly, that we have as yet made no "attack" at all on Mr. Forster, or any other party, and therefore cannot have made a "cowardly" one. And, thirdly, that whether Dr. Madden's charges against Forster and Smith, and other mercantile houses, be "slanderous" or not, is a point not absolutely decided by the assertion of Mr. Forster himself.

But since this gentleman has so far condescended as to put his defence into our hands, let us bestow upon it a few moments' consideration. It looks (as the Yankees would say) lengthy; and, upon computation, we find that it occupies three very long columns and a-half of closely printed matter. By far the greater part of it, however, consists of matter very far from relevant to the defence of Mr. Forster. It is principally made up of abuse of other parties—abuse, for example, of the late ministers, of the present ministers, of the *Morning Chronicle*, of M. Schœlcher, of "the Stephen and Macaulay clique," of the Niger expeditionists, and of the destroyers of the slave-barracoons; but above all, and at great length, of Dr. Madden himself. Now we beg to say, that, if the whole of this abuse were immaculate truth, it would avail nothing towards the vindication of Mr. Matthew Forster. As a part of his defence it is utterly worthless, and his thrusting it forward can have no other effect—it had probably no other design—than to divert and mystify the mind of the reader.

That which really does pertain to the vindication of Mr. Forster consists of two parts; the one an explanation of a particular fact, the other the assertion of a general principle. We will bestow a word or two on both these. The particular fact is that there were deals on board the Robert Heddle when she traded at Whydah, and that these were sold to the slave-dealers. Mr. Forster explains that these deals had been sent out for a missionary at Cape Coast; but that the captain, not knowing this, took them on to Whydah, where he was glad to get rid of them to any purchaser. If we admit this explanation, we then say, that it avails only for the particular article, namely, the deals, and leaves untouched the general fact of the trading at Whydah,

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which is the broad ground of Dr. Madden's accusation. We come therefore, to the general principle.

Mr. Forster artfully mis-states the case, when he says, "The ground of Dr. Madden's charges against the British traders on the coast of Africa was, that the slave-dealers occasionally purchased goods of them with palm-oil or dollars." Not so, Mr. Forster. The ground of Dr. Madden's charge is, that the British traders sell goods to slave-dealers, knowing them to be such. The fact that such trade is carried on is not only stated by Dr. Madden, but fully admitted by Captain Maclean, the governor of Cape Coast Castle; this it is, specifically and exclusively, of which complaint is made; and this, if there be any point in Mr. Forster's letter, he must be understood to defend. What, then, are his words! Let the reader ponder them.

The answer of the British trader was in the first place that it is impossible to know a slave-dealer by his looks; secondly, that if he is even known to be a slave-dealer, it is the more desirable to engage him in lawful in preference to unlawful trade; thirdly, that any attempt to discriminate purchasers could not be practically carried out without putting an end to British trade on the coast of Africa entirely; and even then humanity would gain nothing by the sacrifice, because the trade would be merely transferred to foreigners, who would carry it on with less regard than British subjects to the extirpation of the slave-trade.

The first of these particulars is obviously irrelevant. When the charge is that you trade with a slave-dealer, knowing him to be such, to say, "it is impossible to know a slave-dealer by his looks," is a mere evasion and impertinence. The second particular is to the point, but it is not valid. It cannot be admitted, that to supply a slave-dealer with cottons, muskets, and gunpowder, for the purchase of slaves, is doing anything towards "engaging him in lawful in preference to unlawful trade:" but if it could, it would avail nothing, inasmuch as the question is not what is desirable, but what is lawful. It is no answer to a charge of illegal trading, to say that it is useful. The third particular divides itself into two—the former being a mere appeal to the cupidity of mercantile men, and the other a repetition of the old argument for stealing slaves and apples, that, if we do not do it, some one else will. And this is gravely put forth as a defence against Dr. Madden's charge of illegal trading!

We are quite aware that the present attorney-general, Sir F. Pollock, has given his opinion that trading with slave-dealers, knowing them to be such, is not a violation of British law; but this, although it creates a present difficulty arising out of conflicting views of legal authorities, can be of no service to Mr. Forster and the British merchants, since it is an opinion given after the fact, and contrary to what had previously been supposed to be the law. So far is Dr. Madden from having any peculiar responsibility in this matter, that it was the admitted and believed unquestionable illegality of an act of such trading, discovered by the British commissioners at Sierra Leone, in the case of a captured slaver, which originated the commission of inquiry. As the law was then confidently held by all parties to be, British merchants trading with slave-dealers, known to be such, were acting illegally. This is the entire charge brought by Dr. Madden against the merchants; and Mr. Forster has produced not the shadow of available vindication.

In concluding this article we may add, that we have seen Captain Maclean's animadversions on Dr. Madden's Report, inserted in the *Morning Herald*. We may notice it at some length hereafter. At present, we shall only quote this gentleman's proposition "for the settlement of the question" of slavery on the Gold Coast. It is as follows:—"Let an act of parliament be passed, disuniting these settlements from Sierra Leone, constituting the whole territory now under our control into a colony, and placing it, with regard to native domestic slavery, on the same footing as the East Indies!" Yet Captain Maclean *says* he is "as zealous an opponent of slavery as" Dr. Madden!

NOTICE OF "REMARKS ON THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGROS IN SURINAM," CONTAINED IN THE NIEUWE AMSTERDAMSCHE COURANT, OCTOBER 21, 1842.

WE now pass on, according to the intimation given in our last paper, to notice the contents of the work to which the writer in the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant* appears to attach great importance, entitled *The Island of Trinidad*.

We find a large part of the contents of this volume transferred into the parliamentary papers relative to the West Indies, which are before us; a deputation from the Agricultural and Immigration Society having waited on the lieutenant-governor of Trinidad, with a request that a copy of the evidence taken before a committee of that society which forms the staple of *The Island of Trinidad* should be transmitted to the then secretary for the colonies, Lord John Russell, which request was complied with. We are also furnished in the same papers with a correspondence between certain parties belonging to the Agricultural and Immigration Society and the governor, or his representative; and, lastly, with a report of the sub-committee of this society, all of which we believe are also contained in the pamphlet called *The Island of Trinidad*.

We shall content ourselves with some examination of the first two parts of a scheme to promote immigration, containing the correspondence and evidence. The report, which is principally or entirely confined to an enunciation of planters' sentiments, does not appear to us to require any notice beyond that which may be incidentally given in observations on the other portion of the contents of *The Island of Trinidad*.

We are glad to learn from the correspondence, that the following reply, dated the 18th of March, 1841, addressed to the hon. W. H. Burnley, was made by the colonial secretary of Trinidad, on behalf of the governor, to a request that the latter would assist the committee of the Agricultural and Immigration Society in obtaining the testimony of the clergy, magistrates, and public officers of the island:—

"His Excellency is most happy to comply with this request, and has directed the public officers to give the fullest information in their power, but recommends, in order to insure the most impartial reply, that the questions intended to be put should be sent through this office."

The committee of the Agricultural and Immigration Society having, however, determined not to submit to the mode pointed out by the governor for securing impartial evidence, and having offered objections to such a course, a second letter, in reply to one from Mr. Losh, secretary to the Agricultural Society, was written on behalf of the governor, which we copy:—

"I put your letter before the governor, and he has now before him your note to me, but he is much engaged in preparing for the packet. His Excellency, however, says that the case does not appear in any new light before him; and, although he does not object to any public officer being examined, he cannot permit the stipendiary magistrates to be brought out of their districts to attend a committee of the Agricultural Society. There are one or two close to Port of Spain, who he imagines could always be found without interfering with their duties."

We now come to the evidence which was given before Mr. Burnley, a planter, improperly called by the correspondent of the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*, the magistrate of the island. The class of persons examined before him are thus described in a report of the Colonial Land and Immigration Board, to whom the evidence was referred by Lord Stanley:

Planters and Managers	7
Official Persons	7
Roman Catholic Bishop	1
Protestant Clergymen	2
Miscellaneous	4
Total	21

This board also observes in its report, that, "of the seven planters or managers, one had formerly been a slave; but, having been entrusted with the exclusive management of an estate, his feelings and interests may be supposed to have ceased to be identified with those of the labourers. The persons whom we have classed as miscellaneous are, a native of Barbados, a surveyor, a professor of botany, and a barrister. It appears, then, that none of the labouring classes were themselves examined; and, of those whose knowledge is derived from direct and personal intercourse with them, it is only the three clergymen whose situation might be considered as in itself excepting them from all bias."

The board "conclude also, that the society by which the inquiry has been instituted consists exclusively of the proprietors of the soil, or of those identified with them in interest."

We confess that we feel little confidence in statements made by interested parties before this unauthorised and ex-parte tribunal; and we shall follow the advice of the writer in the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*, in confining ourselves to that portion of the evidence which consists of the testimony of ministers of religion or magistrates, together five in number, including the Roman Catholic Bishop of Agna, who is not a resident in the colony.

The principal evidence afforded respecting the emancipated population of Trinidad by the rev. Mr. Muhauser, is contained in the following questions and answers.

"What is your profession, and how long have you been resident in the colony?—I am a clergyman of the church of England, I have had, for the last five years, spiritual charge of the district of San Fernando, which includes North and South Naparima, Pointe-à-Pierre, and the whole of the southern part of the island, from Oroponche to Pointe Icaque.

"What is your opinion of the general state of the labouring classes since the abolition of apprenticeship?—I think their state is generally improving, both physically and morally; but unfortunately they receive too much rum from the planters, which frequently renders them unable to attend divine service, and indifferent to improving their minds.

"Are you aware of any means by which this evil practice could be repressed? Is there not a temperance society established in the quarter?—There is none established as yet. A great difficulty arises from the population being collected from all parts of the world, who are not as yet settled or stationary; and I think the most efficient means at the present moment would be to render it illegal to distribute rum amongst the labourers, which I consider the greatest obstacle to their moral improvement. With respect to marriage, their improvement has been very great: in 1836, I united only one couple; in 1837, three; in 1838, seven; in 1839, fifteen; and in 1840, twenty-nine.

"Do you think that they are generally impressed with a due sense of the duties and obligations of a married state?—I think so; for with one exception, all are now living happily together.

"Do you think that the industry of the labourers has generally improved since emancipation?—I can only speak as to the estates

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which fall under my ministry; and I think they are improving in industry, although there is certainly a great opening for further improvement in this respect."

In order to abridge our quotations we shall give the substance of the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, and that of Dr. Smith, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Agna, in the words of the report of the Colonial Land and Immigration Board, from which we have already copied:—

"The Rev. J. H. Hamilton, who for four years has been clergyman over four districts, and states that he is not in any way interested in the profits of sugar cultivation, but has derived his knowledge of the labouring classes from intercourse with them in his ministerial capacity, considers that, though their moral and religious state is at a low ebb, yet a gradual improvement is taking place. That there is a better observance of the Sabbath, an increase in marriages, and the abandonment of many superstitious and improper customs, and that considering all the circumstances which have combined to affect their character, there is more industry among them than could have been reasonably anticipated. They are never in want of employment," he adds, "and are in a state of great prosperity, and all have a great command of money, as evinced in the expenses they incur in dress and domestic comforts.

"In common with the last witness, he deprecates the practice of the proprietors in giving rum to the labourers, which has directly led to the habits of drunkenness observable amongst them; and he is most anxious that the competition amongst employers for their services should, if possible, be lessened. He considers that the facilities for religious instruction are less in Trinidad than in the old islands.

"Dr. Smith, the Roman Catholic bishop, whose diocese comprises a large proportion of the West India islands, considers that the emancipation has had the most favourable effect upon the general conduct and behaviour of the peasantry throughout the islands, particularly in a religious point of view: but, he adds, that in some parts of Trinidad great deductions are to be made from this favourable statement. He ascribes the evils which exist amongst the labourers of this island to the competition of the masters for their services, and considers the custom of allowing them rum as most pernicious. There is a want of schools, or rather of the funds for keeping them up; and the labouring classes, as was also stated by the two preceding witnesses, are most unwilling to contribute anything towards the education of their children, although he decidedly thinks there is no peasantry in any part of the world so well able to pay for it. Marriages, however, he considers to be increasing; and he has succeeded in establishing twenty benefit societies, with 2,800 members, most of which are heads of families."

We do not give the testimony of Mr. Guiseppi, because the tenor of his evidence as a stipendiary magistrate furnished to the governor, is embraced in the governor's dispatch already quoted.

The statements of Mr. Carter, a magistrate, relate exclusively to geographical statistics, and to the practicability of increasing or improving the means of transport on the island.

Such, then, is the redoubtable evidence on which the correspondent of the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant* has the folly and hardihood to rely, for proving the fatal consequences of emancipation, in the impoverishment of the planters, and in the increased demoralization and diminished happiness of the negro population of Trinidad, and of the British colonies generally.

We think that we might safely rest the case upon what we have already offered; but, should any doubt arise as to the advantages of emancipation in Trinidad, we have ample means of proving them by the acknowledgments of Mr. H. Burnley himself, and of Messrs. Church and Bushe, also planters of that island, before a select committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the state of the British West India colonies. They will be found in the report to which we have had occasion repeatedly to refer in the early portion of this article.

We find in the evidence of the three Trinidad planters above named, full admissions that, during slavery, or up to 1834, the negros actually worked 18 hours during the crop season, which lasts five months in the year, notwithstanding that, in the latter part of this period, not more than nine hours could be legally exacted—that they seldom if ever retired to eat their meals, taking them wherever they were—that they very seld om had more than six hours for sleep, and that, while unable to say what effect was thus produced upon the health and duration of life of the labourers, the negros decreased decidedly during slavery, Mr. Bushe (3818 to 3823, and 4147)—that the existing number of the labourers is as great as it was during slavery, but that it is insufficient because they cannot be induced to give that continuous labour which has been described (3817, 3818)—that the eighteen hours labour in slavery was done entirely about the works, and in that time they ground 3600 gallons, and now 2400 is the task which is performed in about nine hours, or a longer period, say from seven o'clock in the morning till sunset, the difference in production being one third, but, that in the time of slavery there was a great mortality, Mr. Bushe (4199 to 4201) and Mr. Burnley (868)—that, during the crop of 1842, the amount of effective labour increased very much, and that the planters have been a great deal better off regarding labour since—that the labourers now work five tasks in the week, being as large an amount of labour as one of the witnesses desires from any labourer. Mr. Bushe (4198) and Mr. Church (4248)—that the amount of wages paid to a free labourer during slavery was about the same as at present, and the price of cutting canes precisely the same as now; that the allowance of rum has had the worst effect it is possible to conceive, but that the negros generally have not any tendency to drunkenness, and there is not one in ten of them given to drink, Mr. Bushe—that witness never saw finer children, or such a number of them, Mr. Bushe—that the children are all at school, that whenever they can get to school they will go, that they are exceedingly fond of learning to read. Mr. Church (1279)—that the aged and infirm are taken care of by their friends and relations, and pauperism is quite unknown, Mr. Burnley.

We learn further, that the alteration in the habits of the negro population since the abolition of slavery is very great indeed—that it would require a very long statement indeed to describe it—that in the first place, the negros are in possession of large sums of money, and that their whole appearance and manner is changed, so far as this circumstance can effect it—that they dress infinitely better—that they purchase extravagant luxuries, and that in every respect they are better off than they were before—that a great change is also observable in their attendance at church—that the churches are now found crowded with them, which they were not formerly—that they have now the liberty of placing themselves in any part of the church, and taking a pew wherever they please, and that more religious instruction has also been afforded them—that there are more clergymen now than formerly, and they are using their best efforts on all occasions—that in their outward appearance they are infinitely better than they used to be, and more regular in attendance at church and school—that, to sum up all in one sentence, it is thought that any individual going to the West Indies now, who had been in the West Indies during slavery, would hardly know or believe the labouring population to be the same class of persons.

This is the testimony of Mr. Burnley, author of *The Island of Trinidad*, notwithstanding the supposed pecuniary interests of himself and his brother planters, in procuring abundant labour at a low price, have led him to understate the blessings which have accompanied the introduction of freedom. We are glad to believe that he has seen his error in the publication of *The Island of Trinidad*, which we are informed is no longer to be purchased.

We do not deem it needful to make one word of comment on the testimony which has been adduced, to show what have been the results of the change from slavery to freedom, on the happiness and character of the emancipated population in Trinidad. The planters of that island have no just reason to complain, having received a much larger sum than formerly for a somewhat reduced quantity of sugar, and a greatly increased quantity of cocoa and coffee. The prosperity of the great mass of the inhabitants, and their greatly increased means of procuring the necessaries and comforts of life, are plainly indicated by the flourishing state of the revenue derivable from duties on imports; one branch of which, it has been seen, produced in 1832 £4,096, and in 1840 £11,443, and another £1837 at the former, and no less than £19,504 at the latter period.

Such are the physical, moral, and pecuniary consequences of emancipation in Trinidad. We leave to our readers the task of comparing them with the picture of slavery which we have given on unquestionable authority, and with the rash and confident statements of the correspondent of the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*. We must defer the concluding portion of the translation of the *Remarks* to a future number.

CASE OF THE CREOLE.

THE correspondence between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton on the case of the *Creole* has appeared in the public papers. We cannot find room for the whole of it in our columns; but we shall briefly pass it under review.

Having stated the president's regret that the British negociator was not authorized to treat on the points arising out of this case, Mr. Webster proceeds to put it, first, as a matter of fact, and secondly, as a matter of international law.

That of which the American secretary complains as a matter of fact, is "positive and officious interference by the colonial authorities to set the slaves [of the *Creole*] free;" but he admits at the same time that this is "alleged on the one side, and denied on the other." He adds, that, as "investigation is now in progress," he will at present assert nothing.

Now upon this we remark, that the ground of complaint on the part of the American government is, on Mr. Webster's own shewing, altogether hypothetical. It consists not in any of the obvious and admitted facts of the case; but solely in a matter denied by the parties on whom it is charged, and not yet substantiated, even in a one-sided way, by the Americans themselves. It would have been time enough, we think, to have made this a matter of diplomatic correspondence, when the facts should have been established, at all events to the satisfaction of the United States government.

We further remark, that Mr. Webster confines his hypothetical complaint to a "*positive interference* of the colonial authorities *to set the slaves free*," deeming any *positive* interference "officious," or extra-official. These words are carefully selected. It appears from them, that Mr. Webster does not complain of the slaves being either held or declared to be free, or of assistance to keep them in bonds having been refused; but only of a "*positive* interference *to set* them free." We have never seen a tittle of evidence to support such a charge against the British authorities at Nassau.

In putting his case as one of international law, Mr. Webster places the stress of it on two points. The first is that slavery exists in the Union "under the guarantee of the constitution of

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the United States." We confess ourselves incredulous of this; and we should much like to be shewn that clause in the constitution by which it could be made good. It seems clear to us that, in the American Union, slavery is an institution of certain states, and *not a national one*; and, that, consequently, the United States government has neither obligation nor right, as such, to interfere for its benefit. It is, we think, under the ban of the constitution, and not entitled to its protection.

The next point, and that which Mr. Webster elaborates with the greatest care, is, "that, by the comity of the law of nations, and the practice of modern times, merchant vessels entering open ports of other nations for the purposes of trade, are presumed to be allowed to bring with them, and to retain for their protection and government, the jurisdiction and laws of their own country." Hence he infers that persons on board an American ship, being slaves while on the high seas, are also slaves in a British port, although they would be free, as he admits, if they were to touch the land. While elaborately constructing this argument, he admits what seems to us to deprive it of all value to him, namely, that a state may declare such of its laws as it pleases to extend over its own waters. Now we take it to be distinctly the law of England that slavery can exist no more in its waters than on its solid land; and we think an attempt to make a distinction between the two is utterly unwarranted and futile. According to Mr. Webster's argument, an American vessel might retain her slaves at London Bridge. What Englishman, knowing slaves to be in her, would not immediately apply for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and triumphantly effect their liberation!

Convinced as we are that Mr. Webster effects nothing by his elaborate letter, we cannot but express our regret at the tone in which Lord Ashburton replies to it. He entirely evades the argument, with an appearance of timidity for which we are sure there could have been no grounds; while the absence of any adequate enunciation of British law, or declaration of British feeling, in reference to freedom, gives a suspicious and unsatisfactory aspect to the following passage.

> In the meantime, I can engage that instructions shall be given to the governors of Her Majesty's colonies on the southern borders of the United States to execute their own laws with careful attention to the wish of their government to maintain good neighbourhood, and that there shall be no officious interference with American vessels driven by accident or by violence into those ports. The laws and duties of hospitality shall be executed; and these seem neither to require nor to justify any further inquisition into the state of persons or things on board of vessels so situated, than may be indispensable to enforce the observance of the municipal law of the colony, and the proper regulation of its harbours and waters.

Mr. Webster, in his rejoinder, catches eagerly at this engagement of the British minister, as though he thought something satisfactory to American slave-holders might be made of it. For our part, we have no desire that British functionaries should be "officious," or that "the laws and duties of hospitality" should be violated; but we cannot consent that, under these or any other pretext, American slaves should be held in bondage in British waters. And, if the municipal law of England on the subject of slavery extends (as we believe it does) to her waters as well as her shores, it will be at the peril of any administration to send out instructions which shall impede the liberation of any slaves, of any nation, who shall be brought by any cause into a British harbour.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

An Index to the *Anti-slavery Reporter* for the present year, forming the third volume, may be expected with our next Number.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 14TH.

IN reference to the approaching Anti-slavery Convention, all we have to say at present is that the attention of the Committee has been closely directed to the necessary preliminaries, and that the proper documents are in course of preparation. We shall give them the earliest possible publicity. In the mean time we may commend to the imitation of our friends generally the example of the Birmingham Auxiliary, in appointing delegates to the Convention.

OUR extracts from the West India papers will be found interesting. In Jamaica even Lord Elgin admits that there is no want of labour; and the general accounts from that island are such as might almost lead one to suppose them framed on purpose to contradict and put to shame the witnesses of the West India party, who figure so conspicuously in the late blue book.

WE have inserted in another column an abstract of the intelligence brought by the Jamaica papers in reference to the reduction of the sugar duties, a measure which, it seems, the present government seriously contemplate. It was, of course, to be assumed that the mission of Sir Henry Ellis to Brazil, in order to negociate a new commercial treaty with that country, must involve a reference to the same matter; and through a provincial paper, the *Manchester Guardian*, some intelligence on this subject begins to transpire. From the paper we have named we take the following extract:—

> COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH THE BRAZILS.—We have reason to believe that the leading provisions of a new commercial treaty with the Brazils have been arranged, and that there is now no serious difficulty in the way of a satisfactory arrangement of all the points in dispute. It is stated, that the duty proposed to be levied on Brazilian sugar is 30s. per cwt.; whilst that on the produce of the British plantations and the East Indies is to be reduced to 10s; the present duties being, as most of our readers are no doubt aware, 63s. and 24s. We imagine that this change, if carried into effect, will prove highly satisfactory, and will very considerably reduce the price of sugar to the consumer. There is another point of view in which a treaty admitting the sugar of Brazil to consumption in this country, is very important at this time—namely, its probable effect upon the Spanish government, with which negotiations for a commercial treaty are now proceeding. The sugar planters of the island of Cuba are now in a state of great distress and difficulty, from the want of an adequate demand for their produce; and they have long had their eyes fixed upon the English market, as the only one from which any material relief could be expected. If the sugar of Brazil should be admitted into, and theirs continue to be excluded from, this country, they will raise a loud clamour for such a treaty between Spain and England as will secure for them the privilege which they so earnestly desire; and, with their assistance, the government will most probably be able to overcome the opposition of the Catalan manufacturers, which, at present, prevents the conclusion of a commercial treaty.

We must leave it to journals which take a wider range than ours, to animadvert on the singular circumstances connected with the adoption of this measure on the part of the present government. For ourselves, we confess that we sympathise with neither of the great parties who are coming into action. The policy of the ministry is to secure advantages for commerce; the cry of the West Indians is for "protection"; our desire is that no measures of the British government may have the effect of extending, consolidating, or countenancing, slavery and the slave-trade. We shall watch the further development of the measures in contemplation with much anxiety.

WE direct the attention of our readers, with much pleasure, to the notices of anti-slavery progress in the Mediterranean, which they will find in another column. We may add to them, that a tract exhibiting the principles and objects of the Anglo-Maltese Anti-slavery Association has been printed in the Arabic language, and will be extensively circulated along the northern coast of Africa.

THE last mail has brought the following intelligence from Calcutta in relation to the treatment of Indian labourers at Mauritius. We quote the *Bengal Hurkuru* of October the 11th.

> We have had for several days in our possession some official reports of the depositions of Coolies returned from the Mauritius. These are the most unfavourable reports that have yet been published. We find in them a statement of a Cooley declaring that he would rather break stones than work in the cane plantations, so great did he conceive the labour he had to undergo in the fields. Others complain of having been cruelly treated by the overseers, of having been beaten for merely looking at them, and subsequently taken to some colonial justice or other, imprisoned on half rations, and made to break stones. The return Coolies are not a hundredth part of those that have been expatriated from India, and, if we could but institute inquiries among those who still remain at the Mauritius, we have little doubt that we should find the island very far from being the Cooley Eldorado which it has been represented, and the unfortunate emigrants in it far from being so content with their condition as has been reported.

We should have been glad if our contemporary had furnished us with copies of the documents referred to, as we should then have been able to lay them before the British public, who take a deep interest in the welfare of the Indian population. In these successive testimonies the truth, we have no doubt, is gradually transpiring, and nothing could be of greater importance as affecting, and indeed as determining, the measures adopted by the government, that the friends of humanity in this country should be enabled to lay the depositions of the returned Coolies at large before the public eye.

WE have received the second number, but not the first, of a new paper started last month at Boston under extraordinary circumstances. Our readers will recollect the legal decision by which it was pronounced that a slave-holder might seize and repossess himself of his runaway slave in any of the free states, without trial—that is to say, without affording the party seized an opportunity of showing that he was not the slave pretended. Under this decision, a respectable inhabitant of Boston, named George Latimer, has been arrested and imprisoned at Boston by the agent of a Virginian, whose name is James Gray, and the whole city has been electrified by this transaction. Not only have immense and thrilling public meetings been held, but, in order to make a more powerful appeal to public sentiment, a new paper has been commenced, entitled the *Latimer Journal and North Star*, devoted wholly to this matter. The details of Latimer's case are promised in the next number of the *Journal*, and we shall eagerly watch for them.

WE have again to express our regret that a press of matter obliges us to postpone our further extracts from Dr. Madden's Report. Our readers will see that we have noticed Mr. Matthew Forster's elaborate defence.

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SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA—RECENT TESTIMONY.

[From a *Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca*, by James Taylor, surgeon. Printed by order of Government, Calcutta, 1840. Received into the library of the India House 14th July, 1842.]

Slavery prevails to a greater extent here than in the western districts of Bengal, a circumstance which is perhaps attributable to the frequent occurrence of destitution and distress, occasioned by the sudden inundations to which this part of the country is liable. Male slaves are distinguished by the name of Bhandaree by the Hindoos, and by that of Gholam among the Mussulmans; and female slaves are called Dassee by the former, and Bhandee by the latter. Almost all the female domestics in Hindoo and Mussulman families are slaves. In Mussulman houses they act as cooks, but among the Hindoos they are never employed in this capacity, the only articles of diet they are allowed to prepare, being choorah, kooee, &c. Male slaves are employed as agricultural labourers, and do the various kinds of work about a farm, as ploughing, weeding, reaping, fishing, cutting wood and grass, &c., or they act as domestic servants in Hindoo families, carrying water from the river, preparing the hookah and pan, and cleaning cooking utensils. A Baandaree or Gholam is frequently the husband of six or eight female slaves in the neighbourhood; but most of his marriages are fictitious and are got up by the proprietors of the female slaves to screen their own intercourse with them. The marriage of a slave is conducted in the same way as that of a poor ryot. The expense is defrayed by the owner of the serf; but, in the fictitious marriages, the proprietors of the female slaves pay the costs of the ceremony, and also bestow a small sum upon the bridegroom. In a majority of instances, slaves are treated with kindness and leniency by their masters. The work exacted from them is seldom oppressive, and generally is even less than a hired servant would be required to perform. In most cases they partake of the diet used by the family, and are allowed the common luxuries of betel nut and tobacco. Many of those born in bondage in the houses of the wealthier classes, are taught to read and write, along with the children of the family. The sale of persons in slavery is not so common now, it is alleged, as it was in former times, although it is admitted that it is still carried on to a considerable extent. Formerly slaves were sold with landed property, and the transfer was generally ratified by separate deeds of sale. The maximum value of a male slave, in the present day, is estimated at one hundred and fifty rupees, and that of a female at one hundred rupees. The latter are always sold at an early age, and avowedly to attend the daughters of the purchasers; many of them, however, are infamously disposed of to prostitutes in the town. Most of the slaves in this part of the country are aware of the protection held out to them by government, and instances frequently occur of individuals claiming it from the magistrates. Many of those who have been thus liberated are scattered over the country, and, in several villages in the district of Mymensing, have formed small communities, which serve as rallying points, or places of refuge, for those who have obtained their freedom, or who choose to desert their masters. Slaves in general are distinguished by the appellation of "Sing;" but those who can read and write, after their liberation assume the rank of Kayets. Many slaves in the district, work only for a certain number of months or days in the year, and are allowed wages for the rest of their labour. It is mentioned in the records of the district, for the year 1777, that the slaves of the Zemindars of Toroffs, in Mymensing, rose in a body and murdered the whole of the family.—Pp. 319, *et seq.*

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—In my last of May 28th, I endeavoured to give some glimpses of Brazilian slavery and the slave-trade, by translating several advertisements from the *Jornal do Commercio*. These advertisements were copied into several of the West India papers, and three months afterwards the *Morning Herald* re-copied them from the *Tobago Chronicle*, with the self-gratulatory comments of the latter on the happiness of being for ever rid of the iniquitous system of slavery in the British colonies. I think this illustration of the various ramifications by which information is spread through the medium of the press, will not be altogether uninteresting to your readers.

I promised to endeavour to trace the results of the inquiry into the case of Isidoro Joaquim Pereira, accused of flogging several slaves to death, "four bodies" of the murdered victims "having been dug up on his premises by the police, and another burying place remaining to be examined." The accused was lodged in gaol, together with four blacks, stated to be accomplices. I watched with great care the police reports in the *Jornal* for some time after this event, but could discover no further traces of this miscreant; a short time since, however, I learned from a correspondent that he had been *liberated on his own bail*, and that no further notice was taken of this atrocious affair, which excited but little attention at the time, and now appears to be entirely forgotten.

Impunity for such deeds of darkness is just what might be expected under the present government, who are of the Portuguese or slave-trading party. These latter are very powerful from their wealth, and it was through this influence that the Andrada (the late) ministry was overturned, they, the slave-traders, having refused to lend any money to the government, who, the supplies being stopped, were obliged to resign office.

During their short administration, armed launches were sent to cruise off Ilha Grande for the suppression of the slave-trade. One of these having captured a slaver, took her into port, when the commander of the launch, an officer with a lieutenant's commission, was actually made prisoner by the local authorities on a charge of piracy, and afterwards, the ministry having been by this time changed, taken to Ric de Janeiro, where he was paraded through the streets amidst the insults and pelting of the mobs of slave-traders.

Since the present party have been in power, several of the most worthy and distinguished of the Brazilian citizens have been banished their country. Amongst these, I may mention Leopoldo Augusto da Camara Lima, the late chief officer of the custom-house, well known and feared by those engaged in slave-trade, for his opposition to their nefarious practices; Limpo de Abreo, the late minister of justice; Conego Geraldo, private councillor of the late regent; Dr. Meirelles, an eminent physician, well known for the severe persecutions he has endured at the hands of slave-trading men in power, and for his firm and undaunted bearing under them; Drs. França Leite and Torres Homem, distinguished barristers; and Senhor Guimaraes, a large landed proprietor, late commandant of the national guard, dismissed by the present government to make room for Colonel Barbosa, a man who opposed, *ti et armis*, the landing of Lieut. Noguera, of the schooner *Lebre*, for the purpose of destroying some slave barracoons at Ilha Grande.

I give you a brief sketch of some of the men who compose the present government, inorder that I may not appear to deal too much in generals when I characterize them as a set of slave-traders. Paulino José Soares de Souza, *minister of* the interior, is connected by marriage with one of the most extensive slave-holders in Brazil, and, when president of the province of Praia Grande, invariably employed inspectors of police, &c., who were connected with the traffic; José Clemente Pereira, minister of war, well known as the chief of the Portuguese league in Brazil*—this man was, when minister of justice, a few years since, publicly twitted in the house of representatives by Montezuma, late ambassador to this country, with going from farm to farm to sell slaves in the Serra dos Orgaos. The slaves of a certain priest in the Serra having been set free by him on his death-bed, and all his property being bequeathed to them by will, Jose Clemente Pereira, *then minister of justice!* whose wife was related to this priest, by quoting an old Roman statute, which prohibited masters from bequeathing property to slaves, annulled the will, and actually re-enslaved these poor people, who had begun to taste the sweets of freedom. They resisted this attempt, but the then government gave this perverter of justice a party of soldiers to enforce his iniquitous purpose!! Senhor Montezuma on this occasion did himself much honour by defending the cause of the oppressed. Senhor Aureliano, theminister for foreign affairs, the father-in-law of Pereira, is the owner of large barracoons at Ilha Grande, where landings of slaves are constantly taking place.

Last, not least, among these statesmen comes Senhor Vasconcellos, leading member of the emperor's private council of state. It is supposed that this person made £40,000 during his former administration, in the shape of bribes from slave-traders, &c. His colleague Honorio Hermeto Carneiro Leon, of slaving celebrity, is also a member of the council of state. Amongst those who have been appointed to important stations is the notorious Pereira da Silva, who so often figures in the reports of the mixed commission, as the advocate of the slavers, and who, not long ago, presented a petition from Praia Grande for the repeal of the decree of 1831, which enacted that all slaves brought into the empire after that date should be free—he is now one of the principal lawyers of the council of state. After this specimen of the present rulers of Brazil, the most sanguine will not be disposed to entertain much hope of concluding a treaty with them for the *bonâ fide* suppression of the slave-trade. It would be much better that the time of the ambassador and expense of the embassy should be saved, as far as this object is concerned.

There is a great and increasing desire on the part of many native Brazilians for the suppression of the slave-trade. Some are actuated by their fears of future insurrection; others by economical motives, feeling that the existence of the institution of slavery is the greatest obstacle to the social and political improvement of their country; and a third class, composed principally of the youth who have been educated in the principles of enlightened freedom, by sentiments of humanity. All these classes, however, are thwarted by the sordid self-interest of the slave-traders, who, having as I have said above, wealth on their side, are able to carry things their own way in every department of the state. I am, &c.

FULANO.

* This is a powerful combination for the purpose of supporting the influence of Portugal in Brazil.

CAPTAIN MACLEAN'S PAWN.

(From the *United Service Gazette*.)

WE have received the following letter from Captain William Allen, of her Majesty's ship *Wilberforce* (Niger expedition), in reference to our exposure of the atrocious pawn system of slavery practised at Cape Coast Castle, of which, on the authority of a known and respected correspondent, we furnished in our *Gazette* of the 19th ult. so remarkable an illustration. We allude to the narrative of a friend of Africa, which mentioned the fact that Mr. Maclean, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, had pursued one of his slaves (or as he is pleased to entitle them his *pawns*) on board the *Wilberforce*, and demanded his restitution—a demand which, notwithstanding its illegality, was so far complied with by three out of the four commissioners appealed to on the occasion, that the civilian to whom he had hired himself was compelled to pay a ransom for his release! It will be seen that Captain Allen's excuse for agreeing to his surrender, was the bare assertion of Messrs. Forster's "pocket governor" that he was in debt:—

To the Editor of the *United Service Gazette*.

"Sir—Your correspondent of the 19th ult., the 'pseudo' 'Friend of Africa,' shews himself to be a secret enemy, by giving you a garbled statement of facts.

"As I was the only one of the four commissioners who interfered in the case, I feel myself called upon to destroy the calumny, by stating the truth as far as I can recollect it; to which I request you will do me the favour to give publicity.

"A man was engaged by Mr. Carr, a blacksmith; but Captain Maclean objected to his going away on the ground that he was *in debt*. I questioned the man, who acknowledged it; but said that he was paying it off by a proportion of his wages as they became due. As the man's services were desirable, I suggested to Mr. Carr that *he* should pay the debt, and *stop a portion of his wages till it was cleared off*. I apprehend that such a case is not uncommon, even in England, the stronghold of liberty. I remain, sir, yours obediently,

"WILLIAM ALLEN, Captain R. N.
and late Commissioner.

"*No. 3, Shaftesbury Terrace, Vauxhall-road, December 1st, 1842.*"

In our *Gazette* of the 20th of October, we endeavoured to explain to our readers the main features of the pawn system—in other words, the detention of free men as slaves until they have paid the pretended debt, often fictitious, and always exaggerated, for which they have been pledged; and we do not find that Captain Allen has attempted to controvert one of our assertions on the subject, whilst he has assumed the entire responsibility of the course of which we felt it our duty to complain. He tells us

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that the African free man who was pursued on board the *Wilberforce* by Mr. Maclean was *in debt*; and there can be no question that such was the pretext. Captain Allen has not, however, informed us what steps he took to ascertain, not merely the correctness of the statement, but how the debt was incurred. Captain Allen states that he was the only commissioner who interfered in the matter; but we have heard, nevertheless, on what we consider to be very good authority, that another commissioner not only interfered in the matter, but protested loudly against the restitution of the pawn. We trust, therefore, he will see the necessity of vindicating his conduct from the imputation of having desired to deprive Mr. Maclean of his just due. We have no doubt that Captain Allen fully believed the representations that were made to him; but we are equally certain that his scruples were much too easily satisfied. At all events the matter cannot be allowed to rest where it does.

ANGLO-MALTESE ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

We gather from our file of the *Malta Times* the following interesting items.

Athens, 24th October, 1842.

SIR,—I have delayed answering your letter of the 30th of August last, in hopes of being able to communicate to you the result of your letter to his Hellenick Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I will not, however, defer assuring you that you may depend upon my hearty co-operation in the objects of the Anglo-Maltese Anti-Slavery Association.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

James Richardson, Esq. EDMUND LYONS.

Secretary's Office, Gibraltar, 21st October, 1842.

SIR,—I am directed by the governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 2nd September last, transmitting an address to her Majesty from the Anglo-Maltese Anti-Slavery Association, and to inform you, that his Excellency has directed the same to be laid on the tables of the Garrison Library and the Exchange Committee for signatures.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

G. ADDERLEY,

James Richardson, Esq. Coll. Secretary.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Wood, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Damascus, dated 6th Oct. 1842.

The Anglo-Maltese Anti-Slavery Association will learn, perhaps, with some satisfaction, that I have not only succeeded in persuading some of the Christian sects and Hebrews resident at Damascus to liberate the slaves in their possession, but that the foreign consuls have readily followed my suggestion, and have decreed the emancipation of those that were possessed by their respective subjects and *protégés*.

We are happy to hear through the editor of the *Mediterraneo*, that upwards of thirty gentlemen in Alexandria, nearly all Maltese, have become members of the Anglo Maltese Anti-Slavery Association. We feel confident that the more impartial and humane persons reflect upon the main object of this association, viz., that of propagating the anti-slavery feeling, the more they will unite for its extension and its duration, till not a slave is found in the Mediterranean.

REDUCTION OF THE SUGAR DUTIES.

WE extract from the *Morning Chronicle* the following summary of the contents of the Jamaica papers on this subject.

Owing to the large increase in the exports of the staples this year, and the anticipation of still further increase in the amount of the coming crops, the agriculturists of Jamaica are willing that the government should deal with the sugar duties, merely securing a certain amount of protection. This statement is made in the *Morning Journal* of the 3rd November, with an *addendum*, that the question was expected to form the subject of discussion in the Assembly, and that, if the debate should take place, the result would be published in a separate column, under the head "Business of the House." On referring to that head of our contemporary, we find "the appointment of a committee to memorialize the queen not to give her sanction to the admission of foreign sugar for home consumption, without establishing such a differential duty as will give due protection and encouragement to the sugar growers of the British West India colonies." That committee was appointed in consequence of a message sent down by the governor from Lord Stanley, in which the Secretary of state says that—"In abstaining from proposing any alteration in the sugar duties, her majesty's government have been mainly influenced by the present circumstances of the West Indies in reference to the recent abolition of slavery, and by the apprehension lest, by stimulating the production of sugar in countries in which slavery continues to exist, the evils of slavery in those countries should be aggravated, and the trade in slaves encouraged." On this message the *Morning Journal* remarks:—"Here we may be permitted to inquire how far it may be proper to meet the views of the government by demanding, *not the continuance of the present discriminating duties*, but the imposition of such a duty on foreign sugar as will afford us fair protection." There is evidently a disposition to yield the ground hitherto occupied in this respect, and to take up a new position. Mr. Thomson's motion will bring this matter under discussion in the house, and determine the course that will be pursued on this important point. "It is a question which materially affects the agriculturists, and they are called upon to give it mature consideration. This movement in our legislature will be regarded with interest in the mother country, and the government will perceive that the disposition exists to meet their views, in so far as it is practicable to do so."

The origin of all this movement is the despatch of Lord Stanley of the 28th May, in answer to an address from the house of assembly to the queen, against the admission of foreign sugar into the mother country. After stating that he had laid this address before her majesty, his lordship adds "I have to request that your lordship (Lord Elgin) would direct the attention of the assembly to the tariff now under the consideration of parliament, so far as relates to the important articles of sugar and coffee; and that you would point out to them that her majesty, although desirous of relieving the labouring classes of her subjects, by a material reduction of the duties on coffee, has not disregarded the interests of the colonial planter." His lordship then states that "although the duty on foreign coffee is proposed to be lowered to 8d. per lb., yet this rate of duty will give to colonial coffee a larger protection than is afforded by the existing law." Then follows the paragraph above quoted, explanatory of the reasons which had hitherto induced her majesty's government to abstain from proposing any alteration in the sugar duties.

So now the murder is out, and the West India planters are preparing to set their house in order with becoming grace and resignation; but it is for those who voted against the reduction of the sugar duties proposed *last session* by Mr. Labouchere (a reduction in favour both of foreign and plantation sugars) to square their conscience so as to support the coming bill to alter the said duties, in accordance with the new light that has dawned upon the views of the West India agriculturists. If the admission of foreign sugar to home consumption, in the summer of 1842, would have stimulated the production of sugar in countries where slavery exists, and so encouraged the slave trade, it will be difficult to show how the same effect will not be produced from the same cause in the summer of 1843.

EMANCIPATION IN JAMAICA.

The following letter from the Rev. J. Phillippo to the Rev. T. Swan, was read by that gentleman at the late meeting of the Birmingham Anti-slavery Society.

Hastings, 15th November, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Agreeably with your request, I very cheerfully furnish you with a few particulars relative to the state of things in Jamaica, exceedingly regretting my inability to be present with you on the interesting occasion to which you refer.

I. The island has been favoured, as perhaps you have heard, with considerable agricultural prosperity during the past year.

The sugar crop has been abundant—greater than it has been for several years past. More sugar has been manufactured, indeed, than could be conveyed home by the number of vessels sent out for the purpose; accordingly, and I have it on the authority of a captain of a vessel trading to the island, in addition to the testimony of several other individuals acquainted with the fact, a considerable quantity was left behind until additional vessels could be dispatched to convey it, or until others could return for the purpose. As an evidence of the latter statement, it accords with my knowledge that several vessels have returned to the colony this year full three months earlier than they have been accustomed to return.

Provisions throughout the country have been also abundant, and their price has been accordingly reduced. The pimento crop has been large; but, from the state of the market, considered unprofitable. The coffee plantations have been more than usually productive, and the article has fetched a remunerating price.

II. The prospect for the coming year is also encouraging, I have no hesitation in saying in a high degree.

The seasons for preparing the soil and planting canes have been unusually propitious. An additional quantity of land has been therefore brought into cultivation—increased attention has been manifested to the various processes by which sugar cultivation and manufacture are distinguished; and a better understanding has been cultivated between employers and the employed. Added to this, it is ascertained by recent accounts from Jamaica that propitious seasons have been continued, which, together with the "mania," as it is so called, for "cane planting," creates apprehensions in the minds of individuals in one of the colonies, that more canes will be produced than there will be facilities for manufacturing into sugar. If any alteration is visible in the people,

III. Their general character and conduct continue to improve.

A more industrious peasantry, generally speaking, cannot anywhere exist. In all my journeyings through the extended district under my superintendence (and in other parts of the island), including one entire parish and parts of three adjoining ones, in which there are sugar estates, coffee and pimento plantations, with several extensive villages, I have scarcely seen an individual at any time loitering about, or betraying the least indisposition to labour for reasonable wages duly and punctually paid.

The cottages of the peasantry in general—their grounds—every thing about them, indicate their sense of the advantages derivable from persevering industry. Those who have been accustomed to that kind of employment are by no means averse to estate labour; but, on the contrary, in most cases prefer it to any other. Nor are the demands of the peasantry for money wages exorbitant. In no case that has come under my notice has the most able class required more than 1s. 6d. per diem.

In numerical strength, I consider the present population fully able to keep up the cultivation of the estates and other properties, to the present, and even to a still greater extent. By the adoption generally of an improved system of agriculture, the present labouring population, it is my firm opinion, would be more than sufficient for the present demand, and quite equal to the means of remuneration possessed. And the native population is continually increasing, in a degree which will double or treble itself in a few years; thus rendering the accession of labourers from other parts of the world unnecessary for the purposes for which they are ostensibly desired. Small farmers of small capital might settle advantageously in the mountain districts; but the emigration of Europeans, especially as day labourers is out of the question.

The means by which native agency, present and to come, may be made available to the proprietors of the soil are obvious and easy—not, as has been hitherto too much the case in Jamaica, by the employers making themselves objects of terror and aversion—not by attempting to exact labour at the lowest possible fraction, and prosecuting offences, gross or trivial, with the utmost rigour of the law—not, in a word, by any coercive stimulus; but by mild, conciliating, and pacific conduct—by treating them as human beings—as men of like passions and resentments, whether for good or evil, with themselves. A contrary conduct has demoralized the peasantry of Ireland, and, if persevered in, will originate in Jamaica those very evils which the planters seem so anxious to avert counteracting to a considerable degree the beneficial effects produced by the gospel.

IV. The whole state and aspect of the country are decidedly improved since the period of emancipation.

Estates and properties in general, where capital is possessed and where the peasantry have been properly treated, are in much better condition than under the old system. Fences are being repaired—premises in some instances enlarged—pasture lands brought into good order that had been abandoned for years. Cultivation has also been extended, and the signs of property are everywhere apparent.

V. To a considerable degree the spirit of enterprize has been awakened. Various experiments have been successfully tried for increasing the conveniences of the public, and for developing the resources of the country;

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agricultural societies have been formed, and are now in operation in almost every parish. Hence the plough and machinery are more generally introduced; whilst improvements might be made in these and other respects, to an extent that would reduce the demand for manual labour to one-third of what is now required.

VI. The value of property is very considerably enhanced.

Sugar plantationsadvantageously situated are worth *double the prices* at which they were valued during slavery and under the subsequent system, and no sooner is a property of this description in the market than it readily obtains a purchaser. A short time ago it was reported that two noble lords had announced their Jamaica *properties* for sale, when the editor of one of the island journals who is incessantly predicting the approaching ruin of the country, expresses his hope that they may be purchased by an individual of capital, in order that their productiveness might be increased—a report, however, which he afterwards stated with great satisfaction he had authority to contradict. Waste lands, which a few years ago might have been purchased at from £1 to £2 per acre, now obtain a ready sale at from £3 to £20 per acre. Free villages, which brought thousands of acres of land into cultivation that had been before a wilderness, are now established in all parts of the island, and probably number at the present time between two and three hundred. In the district in which I reside, and in connexion almost entirely with my own congregation, there are seven of these villages directly and indirectly under my own superintendence, together with an equal number of smaller settlements that are likely to become a nucleus for others.

VII. As a consequence of this improvement, property has become more generally distributed than formerly.

Some proprietors may have suffered by emancipation, but the great mass of the people have been benefited by it. Thus, as is reasonable and just, the interest of the few have given way to the rights and welfare of the many. From the effects of slavery, the whole body social and politic was diseased resembling the human frame, under the influence of paralysis; now wealth or the means of its attainment being generally possessed, liberty, and health, and happiness are enjoyed by all, by the poor as by the rich, by the slave as by the tyrant. Hence we have prosperity, as well as *social health and happiness*, among our labouring classes. Many of the once slaves have by these advantages and their industrial habits advanced themselves in the towns, to tradesmen, and in the country to freeholders of from one to five, ten, and twenty acres each, and are thus rapidly forming that middle class which slavery precluded, and without which no country can flourish.

With increased means there has been a demand for increased comforts, and thus civilization *has rapidly progressed. There has been a great improvement* as to the style and manner of living among the peasantry in general—as to their cottages and furniture—as to their habits and dress—as to their appearance and general bearing. These circumstances, it is but natural to suppose, have not been without their influence on the commerce of the island. The imports during the three past years have been unprecedented, and are still increasing: whilst, with the exports of the last year, the West Indian trade has been admitted, both by merchants and ship owners, to be the most profitable of any at the present day.

Interesting and important as these consequences of emancipation have thus been, that event has been attended by results still more interesting and glorious. By the blessing of God on the instrumentality employed in connexion with the enjoyment of liberty, morality and religion have been greatly extended. None of the villages under the superintendence of the missionaries, I think I am warranted in saying, are desecrated by a vender of spirituous liquors; nor do they exhibit scenes of quarrelling, revelling, or immorality of any kind. The children attend the day and evening schools, which are in most cases established for their benefit, most of their parents are members of some christian church, and all, *it may be* said, are in the habit of attending to the outward means and ordinances of the gospel. Thus the colony in general is in the possession of peace, as well as of comparative happiness and prosperity.

The great mass of the people, however, it is true, are still under the influence of oppressive laws; but the circumstances in which they are now placed, justify the hope that, at no very distant period, they may be able, with their fellow subjects in England, *by direct influence on* the legislature to obtain an equality of civil and religious rights.

I am, my dear friend, very sincerely yours,

JAMES M. PHILLIPPO.

TRINIDAD.

WE have, on several occasions, felt it to be our duty to expose and denounce the "bondage ordinance" of Trinidad, as it is most appropriately termed, by which African emigrants to that colony are placed at the absolute disposal of the governor, as if they were things and not men. Stripped of every vestige of personal rights, they are handed over, on the payment of a stipulated premium, to the planters, to be dealt with as a merely selfish view of their own interests may dictate. To expect that under these circumstances they will be treated with humanity and justice, is entirely out of the question. By the ordinance they are reduced to the condition of slaves, and they will no doubt be treated as such. What course the British government may ultimately take in reference to this infamous piece of legislation we know not; but we venture to say, that, if it should be permitted to remain law, it will reflect a disgrace as indelible on them, as it has on the parties who originated it. We trust however it will be indignantly repudiated, and that Lord Stanley will vindicate himself and the office he sustains by the rejection of so unconstitutional as well as so unjust a law.

The planters of Trinidad, as a body, are said to condemn the act, and to throw the entire blame of it on the government officials. Now, when it is known that not a few of these officials are planters, or connected with them by family ties or pecuniary transactions, and that the ordinance was passed unanimously by the legislative council—the non-officials as well as the officials concurring—we cannot credit this statement. It may happen, however, that that portion of the planters who gained nothing, and are likely to gain nothing by the ordinance, are dissatisfied with it, and therefore condemn it; but what say the men whose influence with the governor was *strong* enough to induce him to pass the ordinance, and to parcel out the Africans to them in suitable lots?

But we have another fact to bring under the attention of our readers. On the 12th of October last, there arrived from Sierra Leone, by the ship *Warwick*, one hundred and fifteen emigrants. Mr Spiers, of the house of Losh, Spiers, and Co., of which firm Mr Burnley was formerly the head, very opportunely found himself at the office of the emigration agent, when Captain Hamingway of the *Warwick* arrived there to consult him about the disposal of the Africans on board his vessel. Without delay, accompanied by the agent and the captain, he proceeded on board, and, having boats at his command, soon transferred the Africans to the private wharf of the firm of which he was a partner, where they were locked up, not to prevent the access of persons desiring their services—for they had no right to enter on the premises of Losh, Spiers, and Co.—but for the purpose of preventing the egress of the Africans to the town, where, undoubtedly, they would have had the best opportunity of selecting their own masters, and of making their own terms with them. Anything more unfair and illegal than this we can scarcely imagine. However, good seems to have arisen out of this unjustifiable transaction. Those of the planters resident in Port of Spain who considered that a fraud had been practised on them, called a public meeting, at which they denounced the conduct of the emigration agent and Mr. Spiers; and the result was that the collector of the customs moved in the legislative council, "that his Excellency the acting governor be respectfully requested to authorise the immigration agent to hire a suitable and proper place for the reception and accommodation of all immigrants arriving at this island, save and except such as may come from the neighbouring West India islands and colonies; and that he also may be further authorised to provide (if necessary) proper food and sustenance for immigrants located at such place, for the space of three clear days at least, after their landing; and that they may be at liberty to remain in such place during one week and no longer."

The argument by which he supported his motion was grounded on the foregoing fact, by which several merchants had been prevented from treating with the immigrants; and because he thought "something was due to the public who had expended large sums in immigration, to show that every thing was done with proper fairness, both towards the labourer as well as the planter." Not so thought the attorney-general, Mr. Jackson: "he did not think the council should interfere in a matter in which the executive had the power, but saw no reason to exercise it." After some lengthened remarks in opposition to the motion, he observed, that "he believed the passing of this resolution would have an injurious effect in the other islands, going as it would, through the press, before all of them. He felt perfectly persuaded that it would be asked, what made it necessary to establish this place; was it the want of proper food and sustenance?" To which the collector promptly replied "UNDOUBTEDLY," and gave an instance in proof. Mr. Fuller justified the motion on the ground that the immigrants ought to have time allowed them "to consider where they were to go." "These people," he said, "were free people, and he questioned very much whether under the Passengers' Act they could be detained at all on board." In further illustration of his views, he observed the immigrants "became *enfeebled by the voyage*, and coming on shore for a few days would be the means of promoting their health; three days was not too long a time to find out where it would be most beneficial for them to go to. They would be better judges of localities, of the places of residence among their own countrymen, and what employer was or was not to be trusted. This was only due to the immigrant." Mr. Burnley, however, was of a different opinion. He believed the whole of the feeling upon the subject arose out of competition; those who had been unsuccessful in obtaining labourers felt rather sore, whilst those who had been successful were equally elated." *The African emigrants*, he observed, "*scarcely knew when they landed the nature of the work they would be required to perform*"—therefore it was unnecessary for them to land before they were engaged, and useless to have a house open for their reception on arrival. But this was not the true reason. Mr. Burnley, after stating that there were thirteen African settlements in the island, asks, "What was to prevent these parties from communicating with their countrymen immediately on arrival? And *they could hold out higher inducements than any planter*—they could offer African society, and lazy independence:" therefore keep them on board the emigrant ships until they are carried off to Mr. Burnley's plantations—therefore lock them up in the premises of Messrs. Losh, Spiers, and Co., "till they are disposed of"—therefore bind them by indentures to which they are no parties, until the discipline of the planter shall have tamed "the savages," and subdued "the spirit of clanship known to exist amongst the African tribes."

In reply to Mr. Burnley, the solicitor-general remarked, "it had been said, that, by opening the proposed establishment, it would allow of the immigrant being enticed away by his friend and countryman, who was a squatter: that might be supposed to be an inconvenience, but, on the other hand, were they to deprive the immigrant of consulting and advising with his friends on landing?" His reasons for supporting the resolution were as follows:—"First, as regarded the immigrant who was obliged to accept the first offer, he had no time given him to decide; but, if he had two or three days to look about him, and was well fed,

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and comfortably lodged, he would be able to examine for himself. Next, as regarded the planter; it was hard upon the distant planter that, before he had time to make his offer, the labourer was 'snapped up,' and they had something to complain of that no time was given them. Lastly, as regarded the community; it was a duty to those paying largely for immigration purposes, that nothing should be done to disgust the immigrant on his arrival, and *they had a right to see that all that was necessary should be done for his comfort.*" There is common sense and justice in these remarks. The attorney-general, in defence of himself and his clients, Messrs. Burnley and Losh, made a desperate effort to maintain his position; but the motion of the collector of the customs was carried by six to three, the minority who voted against it being the triumvirate referred to.

It will be seen from the foregoing extracts, that free African emigration to Trinidad has been nominal, not real; that the basest advantage has been taken of the ignorance and helplessness of the immigrants by the leading men of the colony; and that these same men would perpetuate the system under which they have thriven. May we not add, that we owe the prospect of a better state of things rather to the quarrels, than to the sense of justice, existing among the planters?

In closing these remarks we must not omit to state, that Mr. Burnley and his party, under the pretence of preventing squatting on the crown lands, are making an attempt to dislodge those, who, under the present laws on the subject, are permitted to occupy them. We shall return to this important subject in our next.

WEST INDIA MAILS.

The advices from the West Indies by the *Solway* are, from Barbados and Demerara the 2nd of November, and from Jamaica the 3rd of that month. The Jamaica papers give the proceedings at the opening of the Legislative Assembly, on the 25th of October. His Excellency the Governor delivered a long speech, in which he paid a high tribute of applause to his predecessor, Sir Charles Metcalfe. The governor bears testimony to the tranquil state of the colony, and it is allowed that the complaints about the want of labour had gradually subsided. The proceedings respecting the proposed reduction of the sugar duties we have inserted elsewhere. We quote from the *Morning Journal*, the following gratifying, but—placed in juxta-position with the planter-evidence lately given before the commons committee—very extraordinary statement.

"The seasons have been favourable, and in some parts exceedingly abundant—much more so than is desirable to many. The complaints which poured in upon us at one time respecting the want of labour have gradually subsided, and are now scarcely heard. Many, however, still think that several of the sugar-properties must be thrown up, in consequence of their not paying their expenses. These properties never paid their contingencies, even during slavery. The sooner they are abandoned, therefore, the better, because the labour now unprofitably expended upon them might be profitably devoted to the cultivation of other estates. It is evident, and the opinion must continue to gain ground, that the abandonment of old and worn-out estates will benefit the colony, and is not, as some suppose, an evil that is to be dreaded. The number of labourers in the market of the district will be increased, and labour will be more plentiful, if it be not cheaper. The gross amount of the staples will also be increased by that labour being applied in the cultivation of a more grateful soil. So far from feeling alarmed at the prospect of a great many estates being thrown out of cultivation, we regard that circumstance as an extremely favourable one, where the poverty of the land is the cause of the abandonment. Every estate of this character thrown up is equivalent to an importation of as many immigrants as there were labourers employed upon it, with the further advantage of there being no expense incurred in the conveyance of them, which there would be were the increase occasioned by importations from abroad. The large increase which has taken place in the exports of the staples this year is very cheering, especially when we are enabled to add the anticipation of a still greater increase in the amount of the coming crops. Indeed, so favourable a view do some agriculturists take of the present and future prospects of the island, that they are no longer disposed to contend against alteration in sugar-duties, and are willing that the government should deal with those duties, merely securing to them a certain amount of protection."

The *Guiana Times* states, in the summary for the packet, that the weather is most propitious, and sugar making nearly universal; the money market beginning to revive under the influence of augmented exportations; but, in opposition to two of his contemporaries, he denies that this year's crop will equal that of 1841. Two plantations had been sold—namely, one sugar plantation for 81,000 dollars, and a business-stand in Water-street for 10,000 dollars, which are looked upon as symptoms of returning confidence.

The *Freeman's Sentinel* contains the following:—"Certain parties, immigration-mad, have been endeavouring to qualify themselves for fourteen years transportation to a penal colony, by entering into an agreement with a captain of a ship in London, to proceed to the Gold Coast to bring labourers to Guiana; but mark, reader, these labourers were to be purchased as slaves, and then manumitted. This having come to the ears of his Excellency the governor, he communicated the same to Lord Stanley, who immediately submitted the matter to the law officers of the crown for their opinion; his lordship very properly assuming that such a transaction would infringe the slave-trade abolition acts, and subject the parties so offending to the penalties of those laws. The following is the opinion of the law officers:—

"In obedience to your lordship's commands we have taken this case into consideration, and have the honour to report that we are of opinion, That the purchase of slaves upon the Gold Coast, notwithstanding they should be immediately afterwards emancipated and brought into a state of freedom, and, with their own concurrence, to British Guiana, would be illegal; and that the parties engaged in the transaction would be guilty of an infringement of the Statute 5, Geo. 4, chap. 113, and be liable to the pains and penalties thereby imposed.

"The purchasers of slaves are, by the 10th section of that statute, declared to be felons, and liable to transportation for fourteen years.

"It appears to us that the words of the statute clearly include the case of purchasing slaves even with a view to their emancipation. The discouragement of slavery was probably intended in part with a view to promote the civilization of Africa, and it is manifest that, as far as the purchase of slaves is mischievous by inducing those who deal in them to procure them in order that they may be purchased, the mischief is the same, whether they be emancipated or continued in a state of slavery. But, whether or not these were the views and this the policy of the legislature, we are of opinion that the purchase of slaves, even to set them free, is unlawful.—We have the honour, &c. &c. &c.,

"(Signed) "J. DODSON.
"FREDERICK POLLOCK."

HAYTI.—The House of Assembly in Jamaica have unanimously passed two resolutions, in order to obtain from the government the removal of the impediment yet existing to British trade with Hayti.

The *Manifeste*, a Port-au-Prince paper, of the 25th of September, contains an article on this subject, which is transferred into the Jamaica *Morning Journal*. The following is an extract:—"It is great and joyous intelligence which we have this day to announce to our fellow-citizens—the ports of Jamaica are at length open to Haytien commerce; our flag may now, without the least danger, float upon the breeze in any and all the ports of that English colony. * * * There is for Hayti in this opening of the ports of Jamaica a double interest. First, the citizen-cultivators, meeting with a great outlet for the provisions which they produce with so much facility, will be enabled to extend their cultivation, and thus obtain a comfortable livelihood. So much for the physical advantage. With relation to the moral, it will be immense. Civilization has marched with rapid strides in Jamaica. * * * The contact of the people of Hayti with the inhabitants of Jamaica cannot be otherwise than profitable to the former; they must necessarily return to their country with more enlightened and enlarged ideas. While observing how, with the aid of the press, of education, and freedom, the English government has caused this colony to progress, and rendered it an object of admiration, the Haytiens will insensibly lose the old ideas to which they have been accustomed, and put away from them, as something injurious and fatal, all those prejudices which they have cherished against the press and liberal ideas. They will comprehend that without liberty the development of the intelligence of a nation is nearly impossible; that industry and commerce cannot progress without it; that liberty, in fact, is that which constitutes the happiness of nations. On every side, then, the opening of the ports of Jamaica is favourable to the Haytien nation."

MAURITIUS.—The *Cerneén* of the 2nd of August extracts from the *Fort St. George Gazette*, of the 17th of June, the draft of the intended order in council for regulating emigration to Mauritius. It was to be taken into further consideration at the first meeting of the council after the 5th of September. The regulations seem stringent enough *on paper*; but we have yet the recorded opinion of a high Indian functionary, that *no regulations* will prevent crimping and kidnapping in India. The number of women to accompany each cargo of emigrants is to be left entirely to the discretion of the governor-general. The *Cerneén* makes a reasonable complaint against the government at Mauritius, first for what it has done, in recommending Mr. Anderson, who knows nothing of the Indian languages, to the post of protector of immigrants; and next for what it has not done, in providing no accommodation for the immigrants, whether healthy or sick, on their arrival.

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The following Subscriptions have been received during the past month and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXXIX. Vol. III. No. 26.] WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1842. [Price Fourpence.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. Wild, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. Everett, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4*d*., or 8*s*. 8*d*. per annum.

*** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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CAPTAIN MACLEAN'S STRICTURES ON DR. MADDEN'S REPORT.

Nearly eleven columns in three successive numbers of the *Morning Herald*, have been devoted to the strictures of Captain Maclean, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, on Dr. Madden's Report. The greater portion of these strictures refer to matters with which we have no concern; we shall try to do justice to those which relate, first, to the existence of slavery on the Gold Coast, and secondly, to the implication of British merchants in the slave-trade.

It is an undisputed fact that domestic slavery does exist on the Gold Coast, and that slaves are currently held there by British subjects, as well as natives. It is also undisputed British law, that no person can be held in slavery by any party, whether a British subject or otherwise, in any British territory, except India, St. Helena, and Ceylon. The existence of slavery on the Gold Coast, therefore, would be an admitted infraction of British law, if that region were a British colony. But here arises a question, the difficulty of answering which complicates the whole subject. The Gold Coast is the name of a region on the coast of Africa, extending several hundred miles in length, on which, at distant intervals, there are about half-a-dozen British forts for the protection of commerce; but the British government disavows all pretensions to the territorial possession of it. Consequently it is not a British colony.

Nevertheless, although the British government renounces the claim to territorial rights generally, this is not absolute, inasmuch as the ground occupied *by the forts* is at all events British possession. But is any more than this British? and if so, how much? This is the perplexing question. Lord John Russell (then colonial secretary) gives his opinion that our territorial possession and rights are limited by the walls of the forts; Dr. Madden thinks they ought to be co-extensive with the range of the guns; and other gentlemen, among whom we are to rank Captain Maclean, maintain that they should, although as yet they do not, extend over the whole territory actually subjected to our influence. It is plain that the question of territorial right must be satisfactorily and definitively settled before anything can be rationally said respecting the existence of slavery. Of the source of perplexity we have thus indicated Captain Maclean largely avails himself, and presses the argument against Dr. Madden, that the proclamation of Sir John Jeremie, which he posted up in the town of Cape Coast, was directed against parties on a foreign soil, and therefore, as slave-*holders*, not properly within the scope of it.

Now, for the sake of argument, not disputing this position, it is to be observed, that, although the Gold Coast is technically a foreign soil, practically it is British. Captain Maclean describes it as a "territory which we have long actually governed, and which cannot be abandoned without the abandonment of the forts at the same time." The gigantic evil, then, stares us in the face, that through a territory practically British, several hundred miles in extent, and containing more than three hundred thousand inhabitants—nearly as many as the island of Jamaica—slavery prevails, upheld and countenanced by British authorities. The technical exemption of this territory from British possession does nothing towards relieving this country from the moral responsibility attaching to such a state of things, and from the obligation of providing for it some immediate remedy. We quoted in our last Captain Maclean's panacea for this fearful mischief. "Let an act of parliament be passed," says he, "constituting the whole territory into a colony, and placing it with regard to native domestic slavery on the same footing as the East Indies." The meaning of this is that slavery on the Gold Coast should be legalized and perpetuated by the British legislature. Hear this, people of England! It may perhaps be the best thing for a region which is "now actually under our control" to be declared a British colony; but Captain Maclean may depend upon it, we hope, that, if such an act of parliament should ever be passed, it will contain a clause decreeing that slavery shall exist no more. He does not seem to know how soon even slavery in India is coming to an end.

Captain Maclean admits that British subjects of the most respectable class hold slaves, but denies that such slaves are sold. Dr. Madden says that the late Mr. Hanson, a merchant, left many slaves for the benefit of his creditors, and that they were about to be sold. To this Captain Maclean replies that Mr. Hanson's slaves are not left for the benefit of his creditors, and that they never had been destined to be sold. This is very well as far as it goes, but it is far from being satisfactory. Captain Maclean admits, by implication that the whole of Mr. Hanson's property was due to his creditors (chiefly resident in London), "to whom he was largely indebted;" by what rule would, or could, his slaves, clearly a part of his property, have been withheld from them? Or how could their value have been realized, but by sale? If the slaves were not for the creditors, for whom were they? Did they, or could they, under the circumstances, pass by bequest to any other party? If they were not be to sold, what was to have been done with them? and what has actually been done with them, and for what reasons? All these questions Captain Maclean might have saved us the trouble of asking, if he had been more explicit; and his silence on these points affords strong ground for suspicion. In our judgment, common sense was on the side of "the authorities" who, when Dr. Madden contended "that the sale of such persons would amount to a felony," replied, "that justice was a greater duty than generosity, and that people, where debts were due and creditors clamorous, could not be deprived of any property that was left to pay them." While men *are* property, we do not see how it is possible to withhold them from being disposed of as such.

Captain Maclean further denies that the pawn system on the Gold Coast is virtual slavery. He says, "I will state what is meant by the term pawn;" and then he gives the example of a man who borrows a sum of money on an agreement to repay it by work at reduced wages. But this, we beg to say, is not telling us what is the meaning of the term pawn; nor does the example by any means fairly illustrate the system. Dr. Madden states that itinerant hucksters taking large credit of the merchants, "in some instances leave their children or dependents at the disposal of their creditors, to become their pawns in the event of their failing to return by the appointed time, or to pay the debts they incurred for them." Are not these people *sold*? And into what state, if not slavery!

But, without citing Dr. Madden, we have proof enough from Captain Maclean himself. Making out a wide distinction between a pawn and a slave, he says that a pawn cannot be sold or alienated, and that his services cannot be transferred: yet he subsequently speaks of "certain debts due by pawns, which had been sold with my sanction." Here then is the sale, if not of the pawns themselves, yet of the "debts due by them." Now when we ask what is selling a debt due by a pawn, it seems to be nothing short of transferring to another, for a consideration, that pawn's obligation to labour—or, which is the same thing, that pawn himself, in relation to the labour to which he is so obliged. If the case were one in which the obligation extended to the whole of his labour, the result would clearly be one of absolute slavery by purchase, Such a sale must be connected with all those means and prerogatives of coercing labour, by which alone the right acquired could be turned into value.

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Captain Maclean refers slightly to the heavy complaints from pawns which Dr. Madden received, and has inserted in his report, and says that he would have done well to inquire into their truth. Perhaps so; but may it not be retorted that Captain Maclean would have done better to show their falsehood! Some of them deeply implicate him personally, but of only one case has he attempted an explanation. When will he do himself the justice of confessing how much truth there is in the rest!

We come now to the remarks of Captain Maclean on the cases of the *Dos Amigos* and the *Robert Heddle*. He quarrels with Dr. Madden's expression that the *Dos Amigos* was "*evidently and obviously* fitted out for the slave-trade," and affirms that "she had no appearance whatever of being engaged in the slave-trade."

Upon what grounds Captain Maclean makes this statement does not appear. That Dr. Madden had ample authority for the language he employed, is evident from the slightest inspection of the documents. The commissioners at Sierra Leone state that, "at the moment of capture, the *Dos Amigos* was prepared for the immediate reception of a cargo of slaves; her slave provisions were on board; her water casks, containing 15,000 gallons, were all filled with fresh water; and a complete slave-deck was laid fore and aft." They state in the same despatch, that the guns and gunpowder were purchased by her captain at Cape Coast "very shortly before her capture." Accordingly, in his letter to Captain Maclean, Lord Palmerston speaks of the *Dos Amigos* as "a vessel which was evidently engaged in the slave-trade, and fully equipped for the traffic." Dr. Madden cannot be charged with impropriety in using the same language. If Captain Maclean contradicts any one, he contradicts Lord Palmerston. And we may be permitted to say, that, if he was prepared to do this at all, he should have done it at once, and in the official correspondence; and should not have left it till now, and have done it at last in a mere article in a newspaper, which he cannot be required to substantiate. Besides, when called upon to prosecute a merchant for trafficking with a vessel "fully equipped for the" slave-trade, what could have been more direct than the reply (if it could really have been given), that the *Dos Amigos* was not equipped for the slave-trade, and "had no appearance whatever" of being engaged in it? If this was not said then—and it was not—it is scarcely to be believed now. Nor do we see very clearly how all the equipments described by the commissioners would have been found "very shortly after" her courteous reception at Cape Coast, unless some of them had been in her before.

Even if true, however, it affords nothing but a technical defence. "I might suspect, indeed," Captain Maclean adds, "that she was directly or indirectly connected with the slave-trade, merely because she was Portuguese, and had come from Bahia." But in his letter to Lord John Russell he admits that he knew it; for he says, "I have never seen a Spanish, Portuguese, or Brazilian vessel on this coast (and I have seen hundreds) that was not so engaged." "Nor is it pretended to be denied," he says in the same letter, "that in a general sense all these merchants knew, or suspected, that such vessels as the *Dos Amigos* were connected directly or indirectly with the slave-trade." The matter, then, is this—that both the British governor and the British merchants at Cape Coast readily furnish the slavers with supplies, knowing them to be such, they only being clever enough to conceal the "appearance" of being engaged in the trade. As a specimen of high feeling and excellent morals we commend this to consideration.

On the case of the *Robert Heddle*, which traded at the notorious slave-mart, Whydah, Captain Maclean does nothing but avail himself of the opinion of the present attorney-general, that it was not illegal; an opinion which can have no bearing in relation to Dr. Madden, because it has been given subsequently to his mission, and runs counter to all which had previously influenced the proceedings of the government.

NOTICE OF "REMARKS ON THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGROS IN SURINAM," CONTAINED IN THE NIEUWE AMSTERDAMSCHE COURANT, OCTOBER 21, 1842.

(Concluded.)

WE proceed to translate the remaining portion of the *Remarks*.

"Such are the results of emancipation in the English colonies. Who will not, on a serious consideration of these things, cease from violent efforts to promote such a measure, which would at once destroy our beautiful and fertile colony of Surinam? This colony is truly, whatever misapprehension may exist respecting it, a valuable jewel for the Netherlands, and however decayed it may be, is still abundantly worthy of the consideration of the mother country and of the government. The loss of it would be deeply felt.

"Let us in this respect follow the example of our neighbours; and, if it be determined that emancipation must take place, let it be accompanied by a just compensation to the proprietors, and after the negros have been prepared for it.

"Whether the course which is at present pursued is calculated to lead to such results, I cannot but doubt. It has been lately stated in the *Courant*, that a commission has been appointed to advise respecting the new regulations to be introduced, consisting of four functionaries in the colony, two proprietors of estates, and one attorney, and that the three last have been knighted; but no information has transpired respecting the regulations or advice. Every thing has been done quietly, just as though the other proprietors, mortgagees, or administrators, were entirely strangers to the subject; for I am not aware that information has been sought from any of them respecting this matter of vital interest to the colony. Why has not a copy of the regulations been forwarded to every administrator of plantations in Europe for his opinion, and why have not those administrators nominated a committee from amongst themselves to frame a general advice representing the sentiments of the whole body? Why not one of the Surinam administrators now in Holland added to the committee above proposed to assist it? No! it has been preferred to do every thing privately, and it is in the highest degree probable, that in a few months we shall receive the sentence which has been passed upon the proprietors of plantations, without their having been heard. Why, I am bold to ask, in the present difficult situation of the colony is a governor-general sent out who does not know the country, and who, however great may be the abilities of his Excellency, requires time to become acquainted with his position, and this at a moment when no time is to be lost, who having come from the East Indies, has notions entirely different from those of the West Indies, with whose people, customs and language he is unacquainted? Why is not the governor-general who has already twice occupied that office, now again nominated to fulfil its duties effectively? Why is not the wish of the greater part of the proprietors gratified in this respect? Why—but my question would lead me too far, and that which is done cannot be altered.

"Let the government, however, be careful in introducing the new regulations, for very little is required to inflame the minds of the black population. That which took place a little before the departure of the Heer Rijk should be a warning to the minister.

"Lastly, allow me to remark that emancipation in Surinam would be even much more destructive than it has been in the English colonies, 1st, because it is extremely probable that no compensation money would be given to the proprietors:—2nd, because the produce of the Dutch plantations has no protecting duty as in England, but on the contrary is much more burdened than that of the East Indies:—3rd, because our negros are still less civilized than the English negros were at the time of emancipation, and are much less accustomed to luxury and European commodities, in consequence of which they have fewer wants, and therefore less necessity for labour in order to supply them.

"Perhaps it will be urged in reply to what I have said, that the value of the slave is transferred to the soil—for this is the favourite hobby of the abolitionists, and I have myself heard that one of the principal proprietors of plantations in Demerara, resident at Amsterdam, has said that the compensation money was to be regarded as a present, and that on his estate with the same number of labourers much more produce was manufactured, so that a hogshead of sugar obtained by wages cost much less than formerly before emancipation took place. If it be true that the honourable gentleman has thus expressed himself, he is the only one who is thus fortunate, at least, if the official report may be credited, and consequently the honourable gentleman will do all the Surinam planters a service to prove his statement by unquestionable facts and documents, and further to make them acquainted with the means which he has adopted to attain such splendid results; until this be done I trust to the English reports.

"On whatever side, then, the question be considered, the results of an emancipation for which there has not been a very long preparation are most destructive to all parties concerned, and the most reasonable plan will be to allow the planters time, and leave to them the means to prepare their slaves by little and little for freedom, for they or their agents in the colony know much better than the colonial authorities what means are the most suitable for this purpose.

"That is, some will say, a pretext for delay (*het liedje van verlangen singen*), a means of putting off the question, and burying it in oblivion. By no means. The proprietors of plantations know too well that sooner or later they will have to yield to the outcry which some have raised, and many have already begun to adopt measures to prepare their slaves beforehand, by imparting to them moral and religious instruction, by endeavouring to perfect machinery and tools, and by efforts to procure for their negros better dwellings, clothing, and more delicacies, by which they may become attached to the soil on which they are located. That this is truth requires no proof, I could name the plantations every one can convince himself of it without much trouble, by means of the very easy communication with Surinam, or by correspondence.

"Whether these efforts of the proprietors of plantations will have the desired effect time will show, but all who have learned the character of the black population in the place will, with ardent desires for their well doing, feel a secret fear that the result will not answer the expectation; for, whatever may be said to the contrary, with the negro to be free is not to work.

"Let not this, however, deter us who are proprietors of plantations, from using every effort to attach our slaves to a religious and moral conduct and industrious habits; let us do all in our power, and even make pecuniary sacrifices, to attain these objects. Let us report to each other, without any reserve, our successful or unsuccessful attempts, in order that, when the day of emancipation shall arrive, we may tranquilly, with the hand on the heart declare, that we have nothing to reproach ourselves with, and that, whatever the result may be, we have done all which is in our power, so far as it is permitted to mortals in order to guard against and prevent our ruin."

We do not deem it needful to make any lengthened observations on the above, because we think it has been shown that the statements on which the conclusions of the writer appear to be generally based are false.

The change from a system of injustice and oppression—by which the labourer was systematically defrauded of the reward of his toil, and condemned to unmerited degradation and suffering, terminating in countless instances in a premature death—has promoted instead of impaired the general prosperity of the British colonies. Had it however, been otherwise, we regard the intellectual and moral improvement, of a large coloured population in the West Indies, as of incomparably greater importance than the sordid interest and the guilty gains of the traffickers in human flesh and blood.

We rejoice in the appointment of a commission to take some steps in the highly necessary work of reformation in Surinam because we know, from the results of large experience in such attempts in the British colonies, that, if honestly undertaken and supported by public sentiment, they must ere long lead to the abolition of slavery; the only cure for the dreadful evils which

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are inseparable from a system of coerced and uncompensated labour.

The danger said to arise from the character of the black population in the introduction of changes, is one which was often adduced formerly by British slave-masters, but of which the astonishing patience of the negro, under the most irritating and trying circumstances, is a sufficient refutation.

We notice the assertion that the Dutch slave-proprietors will be placed in a worse situation than were those of England in the event of emancipation. We do not pretend to judge respecting the probability of the Dutch government paying a large sum of money, to gratify the insatiable demands of a class of men, who have too long been allowed to degrade and torture those who have no less a claim upon the protection and guardianship of the parent state than themselves. The produce of the British West Indies has not the amount of protection which might be inferred from the statement in the *Remarks*. It is liable to a competition on equal terms with sugar from British India and the island of Mauritius, from which two sources nearly one-half of the supply of this article is at present drawn. The allegation that the negros of Surinam are less civilized than the slaves in the British colonies at the period of emancipation, and less accustomed to European luxuries and commodities, reflects no credit on the character of Dutch slave-holders, but we have great reason to believe, that, however guilty Surinam proprietors may have been, and still are in the treatment of their bondsmen, they differ very little from the practice which formerly prevailed among their English neighbours. The horrible barbarities, and the determined hostility to the instruction of their slaves which we have cited, is sufficient evidence on this point.

We refer the writer of the *Remarks* to the parliamentary papers relative to British Guiana, for the proof that the value of the slave is to a great extent, if not entirely, transferred to the soil since the introduction of freedom. This is shown by the very large sum, considerably more than £400,000 sterling, for which plantations in that colony have been sold to persons resident in it, since the abolition act came into operation. It is therefore in confirmation of, and not in contradiction to official statements, that a proprietor of estates in British Guiana resident at Amsterdam has given his testimony to the pecuniary advantages of emancipation in his own case.

The monstrous folly of leaving slave-holders and their representatives to prepare for, and to carry into effect, the abolition of slavery, has been clearly seen in the resolute maintenance of abuses fatal to the improvement, happiness, and life of the slave, so far as it was possible in all the British colonies during a period of ten years, in which the vain attempt to obtain a reform from them was made, and the sacrifice of 50,000 lives during this term of trial who fell victims to the avarice and cruelty of those who claimed a property in their fellow-men. We might indeed truly state the sacrifice of human life at a much greater amount than we have done, because there is every reason to believe that, under freedom, instead of a decrease of 50,000, there would have been an increase of at least 200,000, arising from the excess of births over deaths, as a consequence of that law of nature and of providence, which only some dreadful calamity or intolerable oppression has been found to annul or to reverse.

On the subject of preparation for freedom, as was well observed by Lord Stanley in the passage we have quoted in a former paper, this is impracticable during slavery, and happily it is not needful. Recent experience, upon a scale so large as to be decisive of the question, has proved that emancipation is as safe as it is just; and that this righteous measure not only brings with it an improvement in the circumstances of the negro inconceivable by those who have not witnessed it, but that, by affording greatly increased motives and opportunity for instruction, it is eminently conducive to his intellectual, moral, and religious advancement. Such results fill the hearts of the philanthropist and christian with sober exultation; and furnish new and unanswerable arguments for universal emancipation, however differently regarded by those, who, if their own statements are to be believed, are the interested apologists for the perpetuation of negro bondage.

The concluding paragraph of the *Remarks* is worthy of the preceding portion. We would contrast with the selfishness which it breathes, the just and noble language of our favourite poet, Cowper:—

> I would not have a slave to till my ground,
> To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
> And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
> That sinews bought and sold have ever earned.
> No! dear as freedom is, and in my heart's
> Just estimation prized above all price,
> I had much rather be myself the slave,
> And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.

EVIDENCE TAKEN BEFORE THE WEST INDIA COMMITTEE.

ST. VINCENT'S.

In laying before the readers of the *Reporter* a brief view of the evidence taken by the West India Committee, we deem it necessary to specify the points to which their attention was particularly directed. They were as follows, viz.:—1st. The existing relations between employers and labourers. 2nd. The rate of wages. 3rd. The supply of labour. 4th. The system and expense of cultivation; and 5th. The general state of the rural and agricultural economy of the colonies. How far the evidence taken was relevant or otherwise to these points, will appear as we proceed with its analysis and examination.

Having made this preliminary remark, we proceed to the consideration of the evidence of Mr. Hay M'Dowall Grant, the only witness examined in reference to the island of St. Vincent. This gentleman does not appear to be a proprietor. He represents himself to have been in charge of estates, eight in number, as attorney or agent. His testimony, however, merely refers to two of these estates, *Argyle* and *Calder*, and to the expression of an opinion in reference to the colony generally.

On the subject of the relations between employers and labourers, Mr. Grant's evidence is defective. He speaks of certain acts being in force, such as the Master's and Servant's Act, the Combination Act, the Ejectment Acts, &c. Of the particular provisions of these acts, however, he was *ignorant* (see answers to queries 7 to 16, and 392 to 403 both inclusive). Practically the relation between master and servant, he stated to be regulated by "a parole agreement for a month"—the labourer objecting to a contract for a longer period. "The renewal of work," at the end of the month, "is a renewal of contract." The agreement is understood to embrace the following particulars. "Nine hours' labour per day, five days in the week" at 8d. sterling for the first class; house-rent free, two allotments of provision grounds, one in the mountains, (one acre) and one on the estate (quarter of an acre) medical attendance and medicine; a gratuity of 2lbs. of salt fish weekly, *provided the labourer give satisfaction*, and sugar and rum *at the discretion of the manager*, according to work." (Queries 17 to 32 inclusive). Turning from Mr. Grant to the official papers we find that the laws regulating the relations between employer and labourer have been various. The first was passed the 12th May, 1838, in view of the termination of the apprenticeship—which it abrogated on the 1st of August of the same year—by which the labourers were entitled to remain on the estates to which they were previously attached for twelve months, provided they were "willing to continue to perform *such work as shall be assigned them*, and shall truly and faithfully perform the same *for stipulated wages*." Concurrently with this act were passed vagrant, combination, and police laws. The two first of these enactments were disallowed on account of their stringency. As Lord Glenelg then Colonial Secretary, in reference to the first, justly observed, "*it subjected every one to the absolute authority of the persons under whose control, or in whose employment he may be living.*" But the second act, which regulated contracts, was "open to yet graver objections." After a specification of many of its oppressive enactments, the noble lord remarked that its 10th clause was a grievous "departure from the great principles of personal freedom," for it provided, "that all workmen on estates shall be at their work at or before six o'clock in the morning, and shall not depart till six o'clock at night, except at breakfast and dinner, the time to be allowed for which shall not exceed three hours a-day." Well might he say, in disallowing these oppresive acts, that their confirmation would "*tend to reproduce, in a new form, many of those evils which it was the design of Parliament to bring to a close by the abolition of slavery.*" The police act was allowed to go into operation, oppressive on the labouring population, as its provisions were, though not confirmed by her Majesty.

Can it be reasonably wondered at, that, after this statement, the emancipated negros looked upon their masters rather as enemies than friends; and that they evaded by all possible means the obligation to labour under contracts to which they were not really parties!

Mr. Grant gives a statement that on the Calder estate eighty-five field labourers, viz., 38 males and 47 females, only gave him 739 days labour in five months, (Query 103 and 104). This is made matter of grave complaint by him, though all who will take the trouble of referring to the blue books relative to the West Indies, will not be at a loss to discover the true cause of this diminution of labour on the estate in question. We gather from these books that Mr. Grant, on the 6th August, 1838, brought certain negros before the magistrate "for refusing to work for stipulated wages, or to remove from the Calder estate." They declared themselves ready to work for reasonable wages; the law, however, was explained to them, and, having no option, they accepted Mr. Grant's terms of 8d. per day for the first class, 6d. per day for the second class, and 4d. per day for the third class, for the month. "In the course of the complaint," says the magistrate, the women insisted that they should not be compelled to work more than four days in the week, assigning as a reason, that they had washing and other domestic duties to perform, to which men are not subject. This," he adds, "seems reasonable, but under the Abrogation Act, to *entitle them to a residence on the estate, they must continue to perform the work which may be assigned to them.*" (Parliamentary papers 1839, part 2, No. 107—4, p. 153.) Our readers will not fail to observe, that women, the wives of the men on the estate, were compelled to perform the work 'assigned to them,' under pain of eviction from the huts of their husbands. On the 13th of the same month Mr. Grant again appeared before the magistrate to prefer a complaint against some labourers from Aker's marriage estate, "for refusing to work for 8d. sterling per day, or remove from said estate." They were compelled to submit also. As a further illustration of the working of the system pursued by the planters, we give the case of Adam and Trum, from the same records. "Adam, a labourer on Penniston's estate, claims an exemption

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from labour, and a right of residence on the estate, for his wife. Trum does not claim the same right for his wife, but they will only consent to labour for three days." The magistrate decided against Adam, though "it may appear," he observes, "repugnant to the right which a man unquestionably has, of receiving his wife into his habitation," but he grounds his decision on the abrogation law, and says that "but for such restraints, the provisions of the act would be a nullity." Trum fared no better. The consequence of this state of things was as might have been expected. The negros left the estates, or as Mr. Grant says, became "squatters" in considerable numbers. It was evident, however, that this gentleman's notion of squatting was different from that of the committee's. By squatting he meant "*they were buying land of their own*, doing that which they consider to better their own interests, *buying small freeholds*." (Queries 135 to 142, inclusive.) Such negros, he states, become jobbers; they refuse to work in the cane-field because they find "it less profitable" than other labour about which they employ themselves. (Queries 143, to 145, inclusive). He has known labourers give as much as £60 per acre for provision lands near the estates to which they were formerly attached, and £7 per acre, per annum, when let to them; they prefer hiring cultivated land to settling upon uncultivated soils; and the number employing themselves apart from sugar estates, notwithstanding "the high price they pay for the land," is increasing; and this holds good of the mountain districts as well as the valleys and the plains, (Queries 143 to 145—204—273 to 275—and 556 to 559 inclusive). Thus has a short-sighted policy, an odious attempt to coerce labour from freemen, met with its just reward. In 1834, Mr. Grant informed the committee, the number of labourers on the estates in St. Vincent, inclusive of those in the dependencies, was 14,797; in 1841, they amounted to 8536, (Query 556).

Subsequently to the disallowance of the acts referred to, several less objectionable laws have been substituted for them. Into the particular provisions of these laws we cannot enter farther than to say, they place the master and servant in a better position towards each other; though we fear they were enacted too late to prevent the mischiefs and heart-burnings to which the original enactments coupled with the past conduct of the planters in St. Vincent gave rise. But whatever may be the law, practically the old system is attempted to be worked out under it; the planters being unwilling to part with the power they conceive they possess, by refusing to rent the huts and provision grounds to the people, leaving them free to choose their own employer. According to Mr. Grant, their language is, "if a labourer does not work for us, walk away; your house is given to some one else in your room," in fact "they hold the house and land on condition of their working for their master" (Queries 260 and 264.) And this miserable expedient to obtain labour on their own terms, is defeating itself; the people are retiring as rapidly as possible from the estates; whereas, if there were free negro villages established on the various properties, there is every probability that the people would give more work to them than they now do, a better feeling be generated, and though the negro would then be free, which he ought to be, to sell his labour at the best market, the master would derive rent for his huts and grounds, equivalent to any rise in the value of labour that might take place; but no, say they, "if we let a man pay rent, we make that man a tenant, and must give him six months' notice," and "no tenant can be compelled to quit until he reaps his crop, or without six month's notice" (Queries 265 and 266). Thus to have the power of instant ejectment, in other words, the power of coercion, is, with the planters of St. Vincents, a *sine qua non*. We doubt, however, whether they are legally in possession of this power. We contend that the labourers, under the present system, are tenants at will, paying rent for their huts and grounds in the shape of labour or service, and that they are as much entitled to the occupancy of their huts, and to reap the fruits from their provision grounds, as though they paid rent in the shape of money for the same. And, as a consequences, we are of opinion that they are as fully entitled to due notice to quit, as much so as if they were renters in any other form than the present.

In the reports of the stipendiary magistrates, made in the early part of the present year, on the "relations between the peasantry and proprietor," they observe that "contracts for labour are from month to month; *the labourer will not engage for a longer period*. Tenancy, in consideration of the payment of rent, is unknown. The condition invariably implies the performance of labour, for the benefit of the proprietor, *by husband, wife, and every grown male and female member of a family*; in general, for five days weekly." * * * * "The labourers have their houses and grounds free of rent; the latter consists of seventy feet square of yam-ground, and as much land for other provisions as they require; *they work the first five days in the week at eight-pence sterling per day*." (West India Colonies, No. 479, 1842, pp. 747 and 752). The contracts are implied, depending upon occupancy of huts and grounds, not mutual as they ought to be. The labourer, therefore, seizes the first moment of escape, and hence, "to possess a freehold seems the peasant's ambition." (Ibid, p. 747). And a laudable ambition it is.

The last mail brings the gratifying intelligence that the crop of the island for the present year exceeds that of the last considerably. The account stands thus:—1841, Sugar, 8,009 hogsheads, 372 tierces, and 165 barrels; 1842, 8,504 hogsheads, 381 tierces, and 282 barrels; showing an increase of 495 hogsheads, 9 tierces, and 117 barrels. Molasses and rum in proportion.

UNITED STATES: SLAVERY AS IT IS.

[Extract of a letter written in New Orleans, in April, 1834, to a friend of the writer's residing at Philadelphia.]

I now come to the subject of slavery. Its institution is unnatural—its duration impossible; for God has willed the progress of knowledge and the expansion of light, and the duration of slavery involves a perfect and continued sympathy between ignorance and knowledge, immorality and virtue, childhood and maturity.

I consider the people of the south (as a mass) at least a century behind the people of the free states in moral polity. You feel a suspicion of this as you cross the Potomac; it grows towards belief as you proceed southward; and when you have reached this place, you are fraught full of the frightful conviction that you are no longer in a country of morals and laws.

Murders, assassinations, duels—your sensibilities are benumbed by their repetition. I could cite instances upon instances, until the current of feeling would be choked up. Why, only this day week, in the evening, at the theatre, the French Consul received a challenge in the foyer (saloon), or rather he refused to accept the letter in that place, saying that he would be in his office on the morrow. The messenger returned with his principal; the one threw the letter in the Consul's face, the other called him a blackguard. Some of the influential Creoles took part with the Consul, who insisted upon bringing the insult to the usual arbitrement. The challengers (two young Creoles,) were asked what motive they had for the offence. *O rien*, (they replied) *excepté que nous avions entendu dire que Mons. S. etait homme de courage, et nous voulions l'essayer!* And for this trivial reason they sought the life of a married man with young children, who, even in the more fortunate alternative, would have been deprived of his official station. Fortunately they found that Mr. S. *was* a man of courage, so much so, that they made to him ample written apologies, alleging that they were under the influence of wine. Now, at the north, in any of the free states, would not the community have risen *en masse* against such swashbucklers! Here, there was a slight and incidental expression of reproval; and the seconds had great difficulty in bringing the affair to adjustment.

This is but a solitary instance of contempt of law. Disregard of life, the neglect of domestic relations, cruelty to the poor negros, these almost characterize the Creoles of the higher classes. On the portraiture of this last feature look, and shudder.

About a month ago the house of a rich baker was burned, and a *chained* negro was found consumed beneath the *ruins*! This would naturally excite horror, but not unqualified reprobation; for, under this odious system, the chain might have been necessary, and the death may have been unavoidable. I only mention this as an introduction.

Three days ago a series of atrocities was brought to light, such as belief withers from compassing. Amongst the dramatic pieces that the vitiated taste of the day has introduced upon the French stage, you have probably seen "La Tour de Nesle" and "Lucrèce Borgie;" and you have probably condemned them, because the motive of crime was unequal to the result of horrors. Yet, they fall short of last week's realities, for in these there was no motive—nothing but an abstract, demoniacal thirst for blood and torture. I cannot conceive that God should have permitted hell to mould such a monster, unless it was to make the powers of darkness work out their own loss, by hastening, through their own greediness, the abolition of a system so fruitful of crimes.

There is a Creole woman of this place, aged about forty, distinguished in Creole society by passing grace and amenity, an angel of sweetness in manner and demeanour. She has been twice a widow, and is now the wife of a French physician, some years a resident of this place. Her husband is said to be accessory to her crimes; but I do not speak of him, for he is a mere pusillanimous slave—as abject as any of her black victims.

A fire broke out in this woman's house three mornings ago. The chief engineer stated that it was necessary to break open a sort of "keep," which the flames had seized. Madame L. resisted, averring that it contained only old furniture of no value. But information was given that it enclosed imprisoned slaves, and it was broken open. They found and rescued, here and in other parts of the house, *seven slaves*, male and female, from the age of sixty to that of sixteen, in such a state of emaciation and suffering as you cannot suppose animal nature capable of enduring. I saw the poor wretches myself; and, from the partial examination my nerves allowed me to make, I can implicitly believe all that is said of the means of torture employed by this female demon. To whip their naked bodies until they were one festering sore was not enough; to tear and lacerate the breasts of women did not satiate this vulture; to portion out to them a pittance of food and water barely sufficient to keep them alive still stinted her craving. No—she had mechanical tortures, such as the inquisition had failed to contrive. A bed that had been used in Paris to remedy a defect in the spine of her own daughter was converted by this Procrustes into an implement of torture. The iron collar was garnished with spikes to press against the chin of the intended victim. Others wore yokes of iron with edges on the inside to keep the head immoveable. She crowned the poor wretches at times with an iron band, which, through means of a screw, gradually pressed spikes into their heads. She had too a chair bristling with nails, in which she caused them to be seated; and, when the too copious effusion of blood threatened to outrun the scanty supplying of their food, she would sear the wounds with

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hot irons! Then, in her mood of more tranquil enjoyment, she would visit her victims in their dungeons, inhale the pestilential effluvia from their sores, feel and gauge the thickening scab and the deepening wound, and contemplate the worms making merry in their banquetings! You—a creature of God—can you believe this! I could not have believed it a week ago; but now I do.

This fury, since the death of her second husband, has destroyed *forty-six* out of forty-seven slaves that her husband left to her. Last year two threw themselves from the house-roof. Three days ago one set fire to the house, as a means of terminating her sufferings, and those of her fellows. She lives on murder and bloodshed, and—shame to human nature! she lives unpunished.

It must be a subject of nice and curious speculation with the demons of hell (for *men* it would be too revolting)—to fathom the sources and trace the currents of this woman's infernal instincts and aspirations. Not satisfied with those she may have, her longings are for fresh victims: and youth, and health, and the hilarious impulses which a beneficent God has given to the long-suffering African race, only stimulate her cravings for power and possession—the power to torture and the possession in misery—which seem to constitute her life's aim. I am acquainted with a very worthy quadroon woman, who owns two female slaves to whom she is gentle and kind; and they seem content and happy. She told me yesterday, that Madame L. had often appeared to be struck with the gaiety of one, a girl of fifteen, and at last had made the most seductive offers for her purchase:—*Madame, quelle charmante petite négresse vous avez là! Voudrez vous me faire le bonheur de me la vendre?* She had marked the joyousness of the poor girl, and her imagination had gloated over the contrast that might be wrought, until she could no longer resist the desire of enjoying it. Fortunately for the poor negress, my acquaintance knew her too well not to resist her offers, and her fascinations—for fascinating she is, and she has been most beautiful. Oh! who would bow to the shrine of beauty, when he reflects that the most bewitching exterior can mask such hideous deformity of soul! Yes, she was in her youth, I am told, of surpassing loveliness: so much so, indeed, that, her first marriage having involved the forfeiture of his commission to her husband, an officer of the Spanish army (you know that no public officer of Spain can marry without the consent of his sovereign), she, confident in her power of blandishment, went to Spain, placed herself in the king's way, and throwing herself at his feet, besought her husband's pardon. "Madam," said the king, raising her, "your husband is pardoned; the temptation was so great that the offence must have been unavoidable." But to return.

After having seen her victims, I was almost frantic. I wanted to instigate the people to break open her house, seize her, and burn her. At night I went to her house, with no fixed purpose, but under an instinctive feeling that something of retribution would be done. The work of revenge was going on gloriously. The people, finding that she had been suffered to escape without an effort on the part of the authorities, had broken open her house; and, from one nearly opposite, I had the satisfaction of seeing all her costly furniture, plate, mirrors, every thing, shattered and thrown into the street. Windows, doors, balconies, almost the walls themselves, are destroyed. It was expected that the next night the mob would make a similar attack upon the house of Madame L———e, the cousin and compeer in crime of this monster; but now the armed force was on the alert, for the exalted feeling of vengeance that had animated the first actors in this justifiable demolition, had been succeeded by the love of pillage in the baser order of the populace. So now all is quiet again, except that it constitutes the subject of conversation, but not of newspaper disquisition. No, only two newspapers, the *Bee* and the *Courier*, have had the independence to recount these horrors without reserve! Amongst foreigners and strangers there are none but the feelings of execration against this woman, commiseration of the slaves, horror at the insufficiency of the laws, exultation that public feeling had manifested itself in the absence of legal representation. But in the minds of the Creoles, all these feelings seem to be swallowed up in a sense of danger—the danger of precedent, the infraction of the inviolateness of property. Base egoists! Why, when, four years ago, this same woman was arraigned, did they truckle to her family influence and wealth, and let her escape! Why have they let their statute book be polluted by the awarding of a fine of five hundred dollars (!!!), and disqualification from holding slaves, to those who punish them *even to death*? No, no, their own cruelty is but largely mirrored in this woman's atrocities.

DR. MADDEN AND SIR JOHN JEREMIE.

As it cannot but be interesting to our readers to know what view was entertained of Dr. Madden's proceedings on the Gold Coast, and what part was taken in them, by that distinguished friend of humanity, the late Sir John Jeremie, at that time governor of Sierra Leone, we publish, according to our promise, the following correspondence from the Appendix to the Report of the West African Committee.

SIR JOHN JEREMIE to DR. MADDEN.

Government House, Freetown, 5th March, 1841.

MY DEAR DR. MADDEN—Herewith you will receive, by favour of Captain Tucker, several sets of a proclamation having reference principally, though I fear not exclusively, to the part of the coast you are now at, and to which, if it were not for your being there, I should immediately proceed. But I am aware that your investigations are directed to collateral subjects, if not immediately to this one, and am anxious to avoid even the appearance of a gratuitous interference with duties which you are so competent to discharge.

As it is possible, however, that this particular point is not specifically mentioned in your commission, I send you herewith a justice of the peace's appointment, which you can avail yourself of if you see fit, or deem it necessary.

The law of the case is incontrovertible: by 5 Geo. 4, cap. 113, s. 2, all dealing in slaves whatever is unlawful, except in such special cases as are mentioned in that very act.

The third section sets forth the pecuniary mulct, and the tenth makes all such dealings a felony, with transportation or hard labour.

The thirteenth section points out the special cases excepted, which are solely dealing or trading in slaves lawfully being in any British territory, with the true intent and purpose of employing them in that territory.

So that thenceforth no new slaves could be lawfully introduced into the British territories, nor could any British subject deal in slaves in any other part of the world.

So stood the law from June 1824 to 28th August, 1833; when, by 3 and 4 Will. 4, c. 73, s. 12, it was further enacted, "That from and after the 1st of August, 1834, slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad." Consequently, as slavery was already rendered unlawful everywhere else, it is now unlawful everywhere, unless an exception can be found in its favour in that very act, and the only exceptions are in section sixty-four, which comprises only India, Ceylon, and St. Helena.

These parties, it is said, allege that they have not obtained compensation. This may be a reason for seeking an indemnification, but it is no excuse for their committing felony.

As it does not appear desirable to go further at present than to proclaim the law, and as Captain Tucker, exercising, I conceive, a very sound judgment, does not intend to proceed to coercion by seizure of the slaves for full six weeks, so as to enable the parties to liberate them spontaneously, I would, were I in your place, confine my proceedings principally to making more complete inquiry; but I would ascertain, as fully as I could, where these people came from, how they are supported, how punished, whether any of the mitigatory enactments of the British slave colonies were legally in force there; if it be alleged they are free, what wages they receive for their labour, whether they are bought or sold, or bequeathed, or pawned. The latter I am told is common, and there can be no doubt that it is "a trading in slaves;" and in all these matters I would be as specific as I could as to names, time, and place.

I am also very desirous of directing your attention to the danger of any of these persons being removed or withdrawn from British protection.

In closing this painful subject, I can only assure you that, if you think my going down will be of material assistance, I shall, although my time is much occupied, proceed there on the first notification from you or Captain Tucker. Believe me, &c.

(Signed) JOHN JEREMIE.

The following is the proclamation alluded to in the foregoing letter.

Proclamation by his Excellency Sir JOHN JEREMIE, &c. &c. &c.

JOHN JEREMIE—Whereas undoubted information has been conveyed to us that the practice of holding persons in slavery prevails in certain parts of the British territories of Africa *within the limits of this* government, viz. 20th degree north to 20th degree south, as aforesaid: Now, therefore, be it known, that by the several acts of parliament, viz. 5 Geo. 4, c. 13, and 3 and 4 Will. 4, c. 73, commonly called the Slave-Trade Abolition Act, and the Slave Emancipation Act, it is unlawful for any person to hold slaves in a British territory, or for a British subject to hold slaves in any country whatever, except India, St. Helena, and Ceylon, and that in all such cases the holders are liable to severe punishment, and the persons thus unlawfully held in slavery to seizure and confiscation.

And wherens undoubted information has been further conveyed to us, that it is not unusual for traders to take persons in pawn within the said limits; be it therefore also known that such holding in pawn is a holding in slavery within the meaning of these acts; and we do hereby strictly enjoin and require all officers, civil and military, all officers of cities, towns, and others, her Majesty's loyal subjects, to aid and assist in the execution of the laws.

Given at Government House, Freetown, in the said colony, this 4th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1841, and of her Majesty's reign the fourth. By command of his Excellency the Governor.

(Signed) N. W. MACDONALD, Colonial Secretary.

God save the Queen.

The spirit and determination here shown by the lamented Jeremie are noble, and worthy of the highest admiration. The course adopted by him is thus noticed by the government.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL to the officer administering the government of Sierra Leone.

Downing-street, 8th July, 1841.

SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your predecessor's despatch, No. 28, of the 4th of March, with its enclosures, relating to the practices which have been discovered to exist on the Gold Coast, of holding persons in slavery, and of taking persons in pawn; and I have to acquaint you, that I entirely approve the proclamation which he promulgated under date of the 4th of March last, declaring those practices to be illegal.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL to CAPTAIN MACLEAN.

Downing-street, 14th July, 1841.

The proclamation of the late Sir John Jeremie is nothing more than the affirmation of a principle of law, regarding which it is impossible that any doubt should arise. Perhaps, indeed, the mere words of that proclamation may not have been accurately chosen. It declares it to be unlawful for any persons to hold slaves in a British territory. To that extent it is indisputably correct. The additional declaration, that it is unlawful for a British subject to hold slaves in any country whatever, except India, St. Helena, and Ceylon, is a wider assertion than I apprehend can

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strictly be made; for the laws of Great Britain are, of course, binding only within the British dominions, except in a few peculiar cases where the municipal law attaches to a British subject even in a foreign land. Treason is the most familiar instance of an exception of this kind. But I do not understand that a British subject would incur any penalty which would be enforced against him in British courts of justice, by holding men in slavery within the limits of any country by the law of which slavery is permitted.

This distinction is of great practical importance in reference to the British forts on the Gold Coast. Her Majesty's dominion on that coast is, as I understand, of very narrow local range. If I am correctly informed, it extends only to the forts themselves. Whatever influence Great Britain may exercise beyond those precincts, my supposition is, that beyond the very walls of the forts there is no sovereignty, properly speaking, vested in the British crown; but that the whole adjacent country is subject to the dominion of the native powers.

My information on this subject may be defective or erroneous; but, if I am rightly informed respecting it, it follows that, within the fort of Cape Coast Castle, a different rule of law regarding slavery may prevail from that which exists beyond those limits. Within them the statute 3 and 4 Will. 4, c. 73, is unquestionably in force. Beyond them it is not so.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of Mr. Phillippo, inserted in our last, was addressed, not to the rev. T. Swan, but to Mr. Joseph Sturge.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 28TH.

WE have great pleasure in giving to-day an extract—too short—from Mr. Dickens's *American Notes*. The genuine humanity and love of freedom which breathe in his remarks cannot be too much honoured; nor can the moral bravery with which he has sacrificed, by the utterance of them, a large proportion of his otherwise unlimited popularity in the United States.

WE have the pleasure of announcing that the rev. T. Spencer, T. Hunt, and W. Blair, esqs., have been appointed delegates from Bath to the next Anti-slavery Convention.

WE find in one of Dr. Madden's letters to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* the following exhibition of a certain Mr. Hughes:—

There is a person of the name of Hughes, connected with the house of Mr. Forster's brother at the Gambia, who acts in the capacity chiefly of its factor at Cacheo, the Cassamanra, and Bissao, who has lately taken an active part on behalf of the interests of those places, and is likely to become distinguished in the service of them. He has contrived to enter into correspondence with the lords commissioners of the Admiralty. In this correspondence he takes up the defence of his friends, the slave-dealers of Bissao, and brings charges of very grave importance against officers in the British service, on the evidence, too, of one of the principal merchants in this vile traffic, the notorious Nozolini (better known by the name of Caetano), whose declaration is annexed to this correspondence.

The lords commissioners of the admiralty, knowing little of Mr. John Hughes, have been led into a correspondence with this man, and advantage is taken of their condescension to promote the interests of the Portuguese miscreants who carry on the slave-trade on the coast. The communication to them and their answer to it have been printed by this party, in the form of a circular, in the Portuguese language as well as in English, for extensive distribution, of course throughout the Portuguese slave factories along that part of the coast of Africa. In this country it was intended for private distribution only, and was thus stealthily circulated by Mr. John Hughes within the last four or five days. I send you, sir, the precious document in the original, with the initials of Mr. Hughes, and in his handwriting, at the top of this printed paper. On the first page the correspondence with the lords of the admiralty is printed in English; on the other side it is given *verbatim* in Portuguese, and on the next page the document purporting to be the deposition or declaration of Senhor Nozolini is given in the Portuguese language only. For what object this latter document is printed in that language, and not in English, it is not difficult to divine. It is evident the place where use is to be made of it is at the Portuguese factories on the coast—that the object is to furnish the notorious Caetano with suitable materials for another deposition, or to open to him a new channel for the heavy charges of rapine and murder which he has brought against British officers and seamen."

This same gentleman, who so kindly patronizes the slave-dealers of Bissao, has done us the honour of a communication, which we copy with literal accuracy below:—

To the *Editor* of the *Anti-Slavery Society*.

22, Upper Baker Street, 2nd *Dec.*, 1842.

SIR,—When you have finished emitting your anti-slavery slaver in libels on the African merchants, who do more to put down slavery in a day than you and your society will do in fifty years, perhaps you will be able to find room in your slanderous and mendacious *Reporter* for the article in the inclosed paper, the *British Queen*. You will find in it some admirable advice, and if you, and those who pay you for your libellous labours, will apply the lesson properly, it will be of the greatest service to you.

The exposures now in progress, provoked by your hypocrisy and slanders, will teach you the homely lesson that honesty is the best policy. Try to get an honest penny by some honest trade, and leave off begging under the mask of humanity; leave the cause of the negro to those really and sincerely his friend, and save him from the mock friendship of trading sympathisers, like Messrs. Scoble, Madden, and co.

I know you all well in many ways, and particularly from having been the object of your libels.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
JOHN HUGHES.

The article in the *British Queen* to which our courteous monitor refers us, we have duly read; but, even as abuse, it is of too ordinary a quality to be worth inserting. Mr. Baker's effusion, not of "slaver," but of gall, is sufficiently accounted for by his connexion with the house of Forster and Co., and is no doubt a part of the tactics by which the nefarious commerce of that firm is to be protected, if possible, from public reprobation. By the sharpness with which the wasps try to sting, we could almost imagine that their nest was on fire.

ALTHOUGH we have not received any further number of the *Latimer Journal*, we are happy to find from other papers that George Latimer is free. We have given the details in another column. From what a fearful destiny he has been rescued may appear from the following circumstance, related and affirmed by Mr. Amos B. Merrill:—

I asked Latimer if he ever expressed to Gray, or any one else, a willingness to go back to Norfolk. He said, "No, never; I would rather die than go back. Gray has just been here, trying to get me to say that I will go back willingly. I turned my back on him, and would not speak to him. He said if I would go back peaceably, there should be no more trouble—he would take me out of jail, and use me well. I then turned towards him, and said, 'Mr. Gray, when you get me back to Norfolk, you may kill me.' Gray, setting his teeth together, answered, "No, I wont kill you, I'll load you with chains, I'll make you follow me night and day through the streets with a ball chained to each foot, as an example—I'll kill you by inches!"

When Latimer pronounced these words, his horror-struck look, as if the image of future tortures rose before him, the tones of his voice, and every motion of his body, proclaimed that he spoke the truth.

THE appeal of the *United Service Gazette* to Mr. Cook, the fourth commissioner, in relation to Captain Maclean's pawn, has issued in his declining to enter into any further explanation, on official and very proper grounds. He will fully report the case, of course, to the government. The statement is given below from the *Gazette*.

We have endeavoured, not unsuccessfully we hope, to expose the enormous atrocity of the pawn system of slavery practised up to the present moment on the Western Coast of Africa, not only with the authority, but actually by the governor of Cape Coast Castle himself! We lately instanced the fact, that, when her Majesty's ship *Wilberforce* was at that station, Mr. MACLEAN, the governor, came on board the vessel and claimed possession of an African who had been hired by Mr. CARR, the superintendent of the model farm, on the ground that he was a *pawn*. To their discredit be it written, three of the commissioners (naval officers) consented to give back this poor wretch to slavery. The fourth, a civilian, viewing the demand in its proper light, protested in the most earnest manner against the restitution of the pawn, who had been pledged to the master who claimed him by his father, for money for a drunken debauch over the dead body of his wife; and for whose liberation after having worked three years as a blacksmith, a considerably larger sum was demanded than that for which he had been originally pawned!! Finding, however, the majority of his associate commissioners prepared to admit Mr. MACLEAN'S claim to the man, Mr. COOK, the civil commissioner, purchased his freedom.

The article from which we have made this extract is seasoned with a bitter reference to "Exeter Hall philanthropists," the design of which we cannot pretend to penetrate. Its injustice is obvious on the face of it.

THE *Morning Herald* announces an important sequence to Lord Aberdeen's despatch on the destruction of slave-barracoons, and the letter of the admiralty which has just appeared in the papers. It speaks as follows:—

We have now to inform the public that the Earl of Aberdeen, feeling the extreme importance, in the present excitable state of temper which now so unfortunately exists in France with reference to our proceedings to put down the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, that the instructions given to the British squadron in those seas should be most scrupulously and strictly in accordance with the law of nations, has appointed a commission to frame a series of orders for that squadron which shall be impregnable to legal objections, and agreeable to the stipulations of our slave-trade treaties with foreign powers. The gentlemen to whom this important task has been confided are Sir Stephen Lushington, the Honorable Captain Denman, R.N., an officer of great naval experience on the coast, Mr. Rothery, a well known and experienced civilian of Doctors' Commons, much employed by government in matters relating to the coast and the slave-trade, and Mr. Bandinell, of the foreign-office, the author of a semi-official memoir of the diplomatic efforts of England to suppress the detestable traffic in human beings, lately published.

THE ASHBURTON TREATY.

THE late arrivals from the United States have brought the President's message on the opening of Congress. We extract what refers to the African slave-trade.

By the tenth article of the treaty of Ghent it was expressly declared, that "whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcileable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas both his majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their

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best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object." In the enforcement of the laws and treaty stipulations of Great Britain, a practice had threatened to grow up on the part of its cruisers of subjecting to visitation ships sailing under the American flag, which, while it seriously involved our maritime rights, would subject to vexation a branch of our trade which was increasing, and which required the fostering care of the government

And although Lord Aberdeen, in his correspondence with the American envoys at London, expressly disclaimed all right to detain any American ship on the high seas, even if found with a cargo of slaves on board, and restricted the British pretension to a mere claim to visit and inquire, yet it could not well be discerned by the executive of the United States how such visit and inquiry could be made without detention on the voyage, and consequent interruption to the trade. It was regarded as the right of search, presented only in a new form, and expressed in different words; and I therefore felt it to be my duty distinctly to declare, in my annual message to Congress, that no such concession could be made, and that the United States had both the will and the ability to enforce their own laws, and to protect their flag from being used for purposes wholly forbidden by those laws, and obnoxious to the moral censure of the world.

Taking the message as his letter of instructions, our then minister at Paris felt himself required to assume the same ground, in a remonstrance which he felt it his duty to present to M. Guizot, and through him to the King of the French, against what has been called the quintuple treaty; and his conduct in this respect met with the approval of this government. In close conformity with these views, the eighth article of the treaty was framed, which provides that "each nation shall keep afloat in the African seas, a force not less than eighty guns, to act separately and apart, under instructions from their respective governments, and for the enforcement of their respective laws and obligations," From this it will be seen that the ground assumed in the message has been fully maintained, at the same time that the stipulations of the treaty of Ghent are to be carried out in good faith by the two countries, and that all pretence is removed for interference with our commerce for any purpose whatever by a foreign government.

While, therefore, the United States have been standing up for the freedom of the seas, they have not thought proper to make that a pretext for avoiding a fulfilment of their treaty stipulations, or a ground for giving countenance to a trade reprobated by our laws. A similar arrangement by the other great powers could not fail to sweep from the ocean the slave-trade, without the interpolation of any new principle into the maritime code. We may be permitted to hope that the example thus set will be followed by one, if not all of them. We thereby also afford suitable protection to the fair trader in those seas, thus fulfilling at the same time the dictates of a sound policy, and complying with the claims of justice and humanity.

TRINIDAD AUXILIARY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WE have been favoured with a copy of the report of this Society, presented at the Annual Meeting held at Port of Spain on the 1st of August last, together with the speeches delivered on the occasion. As the Report is short, we present it entire.

REPORT OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1842.

This society has now existed for three years. It was instituted with the view of fostering in the public mind gratitude for the invaluable blessing of emancipation, and of helping to propagate among all classes of the community, a knowledge of the duties which man owes to his brother man, and last but not least, of exciting sympathy for those still enslaved in other lands. This Society never presumed to hope that it would be able to lend pecuniary or other direct or positive assistance to the victims of human rapacity; but confident that the sigh of sympathy is neither unheard nor unheeded by Him "who ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will," the members would deem it their duty to associate together, though they could do nothing more, than mourn over the fate of their brethren in bondage.

The society deeply laments the apathy and indirect opposition it has had to encounter. These indeed were anticipated to a certain extent, but it was hoped that time and participation in the blessings of freedom would entirely remove them. This hope has been, as yet, partially disappointed, which has evidently tended to cool the zeal of not a few of the friends of liberty.

The society, while it regrets, cannot wonder at the indifference of the lately emancipated: their former state of mental, as well as physical degradation, affords a sufficient and melancholy reason for their indifference as regards the objects of this society; they are therefore to be pitied, not to be blamed. But it would be hypocrisy to hide the astonishment felt by this society at the apathy manifested by many of the more enlightened and cultivated of African descent in reference to slavery; that insatiable monster that has for ages devoured by millions the harmless end defenceless inhabitants of their father-land, and from whose jaws they themselves so narrowly escaped. That they should be indifferent is truly strange and sad:—Freedom looks entreatingly to the enlightened coloured population of this and of every British colony; from them, surely, she has a right to expect allegiance and zealous support; their devotion to her is justly due. It is the duty of all to rally round the sacred standard of freedom, but it is peculiarly incumbent and imperative on those in whose veins there runs even one drop of honoured African blood, to be found not only in the field of contest, but in the front of the battle.

It was not to be expected that any considerable number of the white population resident in the colony would at first feel disposed to co-operate with, or even approve of the society—their former habits and feelings forbade such an expectation—but their opposition was uncalled for, and might have been spared without any loss either to their interest or their honour. It is right however to state, that they have offered no direct or open opposition to the society, although it is well known, that they have not failed to depreciate its members and objects, in what may be here termed gallery-gossip, and at times have endeavoured to bespatter the members and injure the society by a little harmless *Editorial twaddle*. But of the coldness and covert enmity of those formerly implicated in the sin of slavery, the society would speak tenderly and compassionately, knowing that the human mind can only with great difficulty be emancipated from the tyranny of hoary habit, and feelings long and fondly cherished; and aware also that nothing has yet been done in this colony to enlighten their minds and introduce them to the heavenly principles of justice and mercy—principles that would have fared no worse amongst us, that would have been as extensively known and embraced, although printing had been an art yet unknown in Trinidad. This the society regrets, and may attempt to remedy at no distant day.

But the Society would forget the little local difficulties with which it has to contend, and contemplate with gratitude and delight the progress, which the cause of freedom is making throughout the world. In America the stronghold of slavery, abolition principles are gradually and irresistibly spreading, and at no remote period, the destruction of the diabolical system of human bondage is certain; nothing more surely indicates its speedy dissolution than the infatuated fury of its abettors; their darling system must be in the most imminent danger when it is being defended with such demoniac desperation. The society devoutly desires that freedom may there, as well as everywhere else, obtain a bloodless triumph; but it cannot rid itself of the fear lest her banner be crimsoned in the contest, although of the result it does not entertain a doubt.

France is bestirring herself, and concerting measures for the amelioration of her captives, and is even looking forward to the entire abolition of slavery. Some of the greatest of her great men are numbered with the friends of freedom. The minor powers, Spain, Portugal and Denmark, will be driven by the force of public opinion, and from regard to their own interest or safety, to regenerate the cruel system of slavery, and ultimately to follow the high and holy example of Britain.

The society would mention with very sincere joy, the fact, that that Pontiff of Rome has issued a bull prohibiting the slave-trade. This is a fatal stroke given to slavery in the papal dominions.

In conclusion, the society feels greatly encouraged by the aspect of the nations, as regards the object which it solely seeks to promote. There are many evident indications of the approach of a better and happier state of things. Knowledge, the foe of domination, and the leveller of all unwarranted distinctions, is being fast disseminated, and cannot fail ultimately, to eradicate slavery.

"Come hallow'd era,
When sacred justice shall unaw'd preside,
O'er all the acts of men."

MR. DICKENS ON SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

From his American Notes for General Circulation.

THE ground most commonly taken by these better men among the advocates of slavery is this:—"It is a bad system; and for myself I would willingly get rid of it, if I could, most willingly. But it is not so bad as you in England take it to be. You are deceived by the representations of the emancipationists. The greater part of my slaves are much attached to me. You will say that I do not allow them to be severely treated; but I will put it to you whether you believe that it can be a general practice to treat them inhumanly, when it would impair their value, and would be obviously against the interests of their masters."

Is it the interest of any man to steal, to game, to waste his health and mental faculties in drunkenness, to lie, forswear himself, indulge hatred, seek deperate revenge, or do murder? No. All these are roads to ruin. And why, then, do men tread them? Because such inclinations are among the vicious qualities of mankind. Blot out, ye friends of slavery, from the catalogue of human passions, brutal lust, cruelty, and the abuse of irresponsible power (of all earthly temptations the most difficult to be resisted), and when ye have done so, and not before, we will inquire whether it be the interest of a master to lash and maim the slaves, over whose life and limbs he has an absolute control.

But again: this class, together with the last one I have named, the miserable aristocracy spawned of a false republic, lift up their voices and exclaim, "Public opinion is all-sufficient to prevent such cruelty as you denounce." Public opinion in the slave states is slavery, is it not? Public opinion in the slave states has delivered the slaves over to the gentle mercies of their masters. Public opinion has made the laws, and denied them legislative protection. Public opinion has knotted the lash, heated the branding-iron, loaded the rifle, and shielded the murderer. Public opinion threatens the abolitionist with death, if he venture to the south; and drags him with a rope about his middle, in broad unblushing noon, through the first city in the east. Public opinion has, within a few years, burned a slave alive at a slow fire in the city of St. Louis; and public opinion has to this day maintained upon the bench that estimable judge who charged the jury, impannelled there to try his murderers, that their most horrid deed was an act of public opinion, and being so, must not be punished by the laws the public sentiment had made. Public opinion hailed this doctrine with a howl of wild applause, and set the prisoners free, to walk the city, men of mark, and influence, and station, as they had been before.

Public opinion! what class of men have an immense preponderance over the rest of the community, in their power of representing public opinion in the legislature? The slave-owners. They send from their twelve states one hundred members, while the fourteen free states, with a free population nearly double, return but a hundred and forty-two. Before whom do the presidential candidates bow down the most humbly, on whom do they fawn the most fondly, and for whose tastes do they cater the most assiduously in their servile protestations? The slave-owners always.

Public opinion! hear the public opinion of the free south, as expressed by its own members in the house of representatives at Washington. "I have a great respect for the chair," quoth North Carolina, "I have a great respect for him personally; nothing but that respect prevents me from rushing to the table and tearing that petition which has just been presented for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia to pieces."—"I warn the abolitionists," says South Carolina, "ignorant, infuriated barbarians as they are, that if chance shall throw any of them into our hands he may expect a felon's death."—"Let an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina" cried a third, mild Carolina's colleague, "and if we can catch him we will try him, and notwithstanding the interference of all the governments on earth, including the federal government, we will HANG him.

Public opinion has made this law. It has declared that in Washington, in that city which takes its name from the father of American liberty, any justice of the peace may bind with fetters any negro passing down the

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street, and thrust him into gaol: no offence on the black man's part is necessary. The justice says, "I choose to think this man a runaway;" and locks him up. Public opinion empowers the man of law, when this is done, to advertise the negro in the newspapers, warning his owner to come and claim him, or he will be sold to pay the gaol fees. But supposing he is a free black, and has no owner, it may naturally be presumed that he is set at liberty. No: he is sold to recompense his jailor. This has been done again, and again, and again. He has no means of proving his freedom; has no adviser, messenger, or assistance of any sort or kind; no investigation into his case is made, or inquiry instituted. He, a free man, who may have served for years, and bought his liberty, is thrown into gaol on no process, for no crime, and on no pretence of crime: and is sold to pay the gaol fees. This seems incredible, even of America, but it is the law.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

(From the *Hamburger Nachrichten*).

The question of the slave trade having been of late so frequently a topic of discussion, it may not be disagreeable to your readers to know something of the enormous profit made by West Indian and North American slave-dealers; I shall, therefore, hand you for publication a letter addressed to me when I was in America, in 1841, proposing to me to take a share in a speculation of the kind.

The original was written in French, and was addressed to me by Captain Auguste L., one of the most notorious slave-dealers, and was delivered to me by his own hand.

The calculations of Captain L., it will be seen, are not quite accurately summed up; still I have sent them as they are, a nearly literal translation, without altering any part of the original. HEINRICH FLINDT.

CONTO HINTO OF THE PROBABLE RESULT OF A CARGO OF 250 NEGROS.

Preliminary Expenses.

	Dollars.
Purchase of a suitable vessel	4,000
Equipment and advance to the crew	2,000
300 muskets, of the usual quality	700
600 machetas, or negro knives	300
1,500 pieces of calico, gingham, &c.	3,000
1,000 pieces of cloth	1,000
1,000 lbs. of tobacco	200
1,500 lbs. of gunpowder	400
800 casks of tafia	200
Bullets, flints, knives, and looking glasses	400
Fittings up between the decks, chains, 300 small demi fesnnes, water casks, and medicine chests	800
Total	13,000

The captain's wages are 150 dollars a month, besides 12 per cent. on the gross produce of the slaves. The first mate's wages are 80 dollars a month, and four dollars a head on each negro; the second mate 60 dollars, and two dollars a head. The cook receives monthly 50 dollars, the carpenter 50 dollars, and each sailor 35 dollars.

Expenses after landing the negros.

	Dollars.
To be paid to the captain and crew, say	16,000
To the consignee	4,000
To the governor, one ounce per head	4,000
	24,000

The value of the ship remains to the owners, say 2,500 dollars, and might be sold to cover the cost of lodging, and feeding the cargo till the sale.

The gross proceeds of the sale, estimating the 250 negros to bring the very low price of 22 Spanish ounces, or 374 dollars a head (they seldom bring less than 400 dollars), would be .....dollars 93,500

Deduct expenses	37,000
There will remain a net profit of	56,500

Every thousand dollar share will, therefore, produce 4,345 dollars netto.

The equipment may take place either at Havana or in the United States. In the latter case, however, the muskets and machetas must be bought at Havana, as these articles would not be easily obtained in an American harbour.

It will be well to let the equipment begin immediately, as about four months are required to complete the affair, namely, between the departure from Havana and the return thither. It would be possible, therefore, to be back in August, and at this season there are few or no cruizers to be apprehended, most of them taking shelter for the winter in the harbours. The moment of landing the slaves is, perhaps, the only one of real danger.

It would be better, in many respects, that this affair should be undertaken in shares.

THE CASE OF GEORGE LATIMER.

From the *Liberator*.

GEORGE LATIMER was held as a slave by James B. Gray, of Norfolk, Virginia. He says his former *mistress* emancipated him by will, that his mother saw the will after the old lady's decease, but the heirs destroyed it, and held him until he was sold to Gray. Having no redress, he fled, with his wife, now on the eve of her confinement, and came to Boston, where he was immediately followed by Gray, who had him committed on a charge of larceny in Virginia. This, it appears, was a mere pretence, in fraud of the law, in order to get him into possession without a breach of the peace, under the extraordinary decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg v. Pennsylvania. Latimer's wife has not been taken. A habeas corpus was taken out by Messrs. Sewall and Merrill, and Mr. Stratton, the officer who held him in custody, justified his detention, first under the police warrant, and then under a power of attorney from Gray to hold him as a slave. Chief Justice Shaw said the decision of the Supreme Court authorized the owner of a fugitive slave to arrest *him* whenever he could find him, and the state *courts* could not interfere, and the writ therefore was discharged. Latimer was then taken before the police court, and ordered to give bail in 1000 dollars for his appearance to answer. Bail was immediately offered, when, lo! the prosecution for theft was immediately abandoned—showing it to have been a mere fraud upon the law. Latimer never could have been taken by Gray as a slave, but, being once in custody, and *in irons*, the false imprisonment as a thief was abandoned and the poor victim removed to jail, where he is still held, under the following extraordinary warrant, which we wish every citizen of Massachusetts to read, and see to what base uses the commonwealth jails are prostituted. Such an instrument ought to be dated at Constantinople instead of Boston:—

"*To the Jailor of the County of Suffolk*:—Sir, George Latimer, a negro slave and belonging to me, and a fugitive from my service, and living in Norfolk, in the state of Virginia, who is now committed to your custody by John Wilson, my agent and attorney, I request and DIRECT you to hold on my account, at my costs, until removed by me according to law.

"*Boston October* 21, 1842. JAMES B. GRAY.

"Witness—E. G. Austin.

"*Boston, October* 21, 1842.—I hereby promise to pay to the keeper of the jail any sum due to him for keeping the body of said Latimer, on demand. E. G. AUSTIN."

A writ de homine replegiando, under the statute of Massachusetts, was next sued out, but the jailor refused to obey it. A second habeas corpus was then brought, and again the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts decided that the above warrant is good authority for the imprisonment of a man! What will Westminster Hall say to that?

When Latimer was removed from the police court to the jail, it is said there were so great apprehensions of a rescue that two constables suffered themselves to be handcuffed to him for security. The supreme court of Massachusetts held its sitting on the last *habeas corpus* in the precinct of the jail, through fear. The vast body of people who crowded Faneuil Hall were in our favour, but a few white slaves and hired bullies were allowed to disturb us without restraint. It is currently reported that Gray has told Latimer, that, if he gets him into his power, he will not kill him outright, but will *kill him by inches!* It is also said that he has threatened to chain an iron ball to each foot, and drive him about the country until his life is worn out. Latimer's wife, of course, is in great distress, and, under her circumstances, fatal results are apprehended! When Latimer was brought before Judge Story as a fugitive slave, and Gray had no proof on his claim, the learned judge very kindly told him that it was usual in such cases to give time, and he therefore directed Latimer to be remanded under that prodigious warrant, for two weeks. The final hearing comes on on Saturday next, November 5. The city of Boston is waiting in breathless anxiety for the issue. May God grant a happy deliverance, or we shudder for the consequences. It seems impossible that Gray and Latimer should go out of the city together, *both* alive.

The following extract from the *Latimer Journal*, given in the *Emancipator*, details the manner of his release.

Glory be to God—Latimer is free! Early last week, a petition, signed by some of the most respectable of our lawyers, untainted too with abolition, was sent to the high sheriff, Eveleth, requesting him to remove Coolidge from the office of jailor, *as the petitioners had learned from Mr. Eveleth himself, that Coolidge held Latimer in his private custody*, and that he, Mr. Eveleth, (the only commanding officer of the jail,) had no control in the case. Mr. Eveleth took the opinion of Judge Shaw on Wednesday morning, and he decided that Mr. Eveleth was not bound to hold Latimer, *or in other words that he had no legal right to hold him.*

The sheriff, however, has not removed his unworthy subordinate, although it is rumoured that he gave some pretty significant hints. As the next step, a movement was set on foot for a similar petition to the governor, requesting him to remove the sheriff. That was hitting the nail on the head, and produced numerous results.

On Thursday the trial came on in the municipal court, before Judge Thatcher, of five men who had been indicted for a riot and resistance of the officers of justice (!) while they were taking Latimer to jail on the 20th of October. Mr. Merrill, for the defendants, stated to the court that George Latimer would be an important witness in the defence, as he was present through the whole of it, and moved that a writ of habeas corpus be issued to the high sheriff and the jail keeper, Mr. Nathaniel Coolidge, for his appearance in court. He made an affidavit to this effect, and further said, that he expects that George Latimer will testify that, on the 20th of October, at the time of the committing of the acts alleged in the indictment, he was present at the place or places wherever the acts were said to have been committed, and that there was then no unlawful rioting or riotous assembly, and that there was no attempt made to rescue him—that he was near by constable Stratton, and that there was no attempt made to assault Stratton or to rescue him.

Joseph Eveleth, Esq., the sheriff, in answer to the writ, stated that George Latimer was not in his custody, but he believed that such a person was in the custody of the jailor, who was acting as the agent of Mr. Gray, the master. This, of course, settles the question that Latimer was *not lawfully imprisoned in the jail.* We hope the appropriate results of *unlawful* imprisonment will be secured.

A new writ of habeas corpus was then required for Coolidge, but he promised to bring Latimer into court when wanted, and so no writ was issued. Rumour at the same time asserted that Coolidge was resolved, if he brought Latimer into court, never to take him out, or to have any thing more to do with him.

Early the same morning, word was sent by lawyer Austin to Mr. Sewall, that if Latimer's friends would pay 800 dollars, he might go free. Latimer's friends, however, who had offered 600 dollars in cash on Monday evening, which was then contemptuously refused with an oath by Gray not to take a cent short of 1500 dollars, were now in no hurry to take up the offer. In the afternoon a proposal came from Coolidge, that for 650 dollars he would deliver Latimer up to his friends, at any place they might designate in the city. Still there was no hurry; night closed in—it was rumoured that Gray had abandoned the suit and gone off in despair—at length a negotiation was entered into, and about nine o'clock the portals of the jail in Leverett-street opened, and the welkin rang with loud shouts of hundreds, as the long imprisoned martyr of habeas corpus walked forth to the air, and swung upwards his free arms—a man—a husband—a father—a free citizen of the free commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The friends finally consented to allow the wretched conspirators 400 dollars to divide among them, to replace in part the money they had expended. Probably it was best, under the circumstances.

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SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLOMBIA.

[From the *New York Evangelist.*]

ONE of the reasons always adduced for not interfering with slavery in the district of Colombia, is that "slavery exists there in a very modified form," that we there "behold its mildest features"

I do not doubt this; and having myself witnessed slavery in the district, I confess I am prepared to believe the truth of that vast collection of horrid and astounding cruelties charged upon the system generally in Weld's "Slavery as it is." The following advertisement graces the columns of the daily *National Intelligencer*, from month to month.

"Negros Wanted.—The subscriber wishes to purchase immediately a number of Negros, for which he will pay the highest cash price. He can at all times be found at the corner of Seventh street and Maryland Avenue. All communications addressed through the post office will be promptly attended to. "JOSHUA STAPLES."

This shameless human flesh dealer has the use of a *private slave prison*, standing midway between the capitol and the president's house in the city of Washington, on the lowlands below Gadsby's, where he secures the poor heart-broken captives that he purchases. Could that old prison reveal all the agonizing scenes, and publish abroad all the cruelties, groans, and tears its gloomy walls have witnessed, I doubt not every freeman would exclaim, that the system "in its mildest form" had in it enough of the elements of human misery and wretchedness" to provoke the exclamation—"*Cursed be Slavery*, and let all the people say AMEN!"

An owner of a slave in the district, who, from losses at the gaming table or race course, from extravagance, improvidence, or other cause, determines upon the sale of his slave, will most assuredly, from motives of shame, make a *secret sale* to Mr. Joshua Staples. The first notice the poor slave has of his sale for a southern plantation may be, that he or she is suddenly drawn and locked into that private "PEN," as it is called, having been sent there, perhaps, under pretence of carrying a letter, or doing an errand! Occasionally an incident occurs which affords a glimpse at the deeds of darkness and infamy practised there, and of the keenness of the misery, and the desolation of hopes, experienced by the captives who are shut within it. For the truth of the following occurrence I might refer to at least one member of congress, as well as to many of the citizens of the district, who saw and heard of the transaction at the time.

A smart and active female slave was placed in this prison, having been sold for the southern market, and the time of her departure was at hand. Her particular history I cannot give. Whether it was the dread of the cruelties and starvation of a southern cotton plantation; the dread of the abuse and violence of some licentious purchaser; or the grief of being suddenly and for ever separated from husband, children, and the friends of her youth, that drove the unhappy woman to adopt, not only in theory, but in practice, the sentiment of Patrick Henry—"Give me liberty, or give me death," I know not. Whatever was the cause, the sentiment was adopted; and, at dusk of the evening previous to the day when she was to be sent off, as the old prison was being closed for the night, she suddenly darted past her keeper, and ran for her life. It is not a great distance from the prison to the Long Bridge, which passes from the lower part of the city across the Potomac, to the extensive forests and woodlands of the celebrated Arlington place, occupied by that distinguished relative and descendant of the immortal Washington, Mr. George W. Custiss. Thither the poor pursued fugitive directed her flight. So unexpected was her escape, that she had quite a number of rods the start before the keeper had secured the other prisoners, and rallied his assistants in pursuit. It was at an hour when, and in a part of the city where, horses could not readily be obtained for the chase; no blood-hounds were at hand to run down the flying woman; and for once it seemed as though there was like to be a fair trial of speed and endurance between the slave and the slave catchers. The keeper and his forces raised the hue and cry on her pathway close behind; but so rapid was the flight along the wide avenue, that the astonished citizens, as they poured forth from their dwellings to learn the cause of alarm, were only enabled to comprehend the nature of the case in season to fall in with the motley mass in pursuit, or (as many a one did that night) to raise an anxious prayer to heaven as they refused to join in pursuit, that the panting fugitive might escape, and the merciless soul-dealer for once be disappointed of his prey. And now, with the speed of an arrow, having safely passed the Avenue, with the distance between her and her pursuers constantly increasing, this poor hunted female gained the 'LONG BRIDGE,' as it is called, where interruption seemed improbable, and already did her heart begin to beat high with the hope of success. She had only to pass three-fourths of a mile more across the bridge, and she could bury herself in a vast forest, just at the moment when the curtain of night would close around her, and protect her from the pursuit of her enemies.

But God by his providence had otherwise determined. He had determined that an appalling tragedy should be enacted that night, within plain sight of the president's house and the capitol of the union, which should be an evidence, wherever it should be known, of the unconquerable love of liberty the heart of the slave may inherit, as well as a fresh admonition to the slave dealer of the cruelty and enormity of his crimes. Just as the pursuers crossed the high draw for the passage of sloops, soon after entering upon the bridge, they beheld in the distance, three men slowly advancing from the Virginia side. They immediately called to them to arrest the fugitive, whom they proclaimed a runaway slave. True to their Virginia instincts, as she came near they formed in line across the narrow bridge, and prepared to seize her. Seeing escape impossible in that quarter, she stopped suddenly, and turned upon her pursuers. On came the profane and ribald crew, faster than ever, already exulting in her capture, and threatening punishment for her flight. For a moment she looked wildly and anxiously around, to see if there was no other hope of escape. On either hand, far down below, rolled the deep loamy waters of the Potomac, and before and behind the rapidly approaching step and fierce and noisy shout of pursuers showed how vain would be any further effort for freedom. Her resolution was taken. She clasped her *hands* convulsively, and raised *them*, as she at the same time raised her *eyes*, towards heaven, and begged for that mercy and compassion *there*, which had been denied her on earth; and then, with a single bound, she vaulted over the railing of the bridge, and sank for ever beneath the waves of the river!!

Slave-trader! "thy prey hath escaped thee," and if thou comest up to the judgment without deep repentance for thy damnable traffic, that deeds of wickedness shall one after another be passed in review before an assembled universe, and thou shalt be driven away from the presence of God and the Lamb, will not all created intelligences cry out *Amen* to thy sentence, when they shall see that thou didst persist in buying and selling the bodies and souls of thy fellow-men, after being warned of the tendency and cruelty of thy villainous trade by the self-destruction of the poor hunted fugitive upon the Long Bridge?

A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The following summary of the proceedings in the legislature in relation to the sugar duties is given in the *Morning Chronicle*. "The proceedings of the house of assembly in Jamaica, agreeing to meet the government 'half-way' in the reduction of the duty on foreign sugars, deserve commendation. The old spirit of exclusiveness and bigotted adherence to prohibition is happily no longer to be found amongst the members. If the love of monopoly exists, or still lingers amongst them, it is at least content to be quiet, and to suffer itself to be lost in the current of liberal principles which has now dominion over it. The exhortations of the island agent to resist concession seem to have fallen dead upon the ears of the learned gentleman's constituents, and his lamentation over the lowness of the 'tone and spirit' which manifested itself in the British House of Commons, was responded to by the brief remark, 'that it was impossible for any minister much longer to resist the almost universal cry for cheap sugar.' The house of assembly have given up all idea of maintaining the present prohibitory duties. They have 'ceased to consider the present sugar duties as essential to their existence,' and are preparing for a competition which they 'have hitherto regarded not only with alarm, but with horror and dismay.' The motion for an address to her Majesty, in order to make the Crown officially advised of this truth, did not meet with opposition. The principle was agreed to without a division, and even the champion of the planters, Mr. Barclay, formerly immoveable as any post could be on the subject of admitting the products of Brazil into the British market, grumbled his acquiescence, reserving himself merely on the point of 'detail.' There would seem to be no room for the doubt of the readiness of the Jamaica planters to admit foreign sugars into the British markets under a differential duty in their favour, convinced, at last, that free labour sugar will yet be able to compete with slave-grown sugar. This change in the views of the island parliament cannot but be agreeable to the friends of freedom."

MR. BURGE, THE ISLAND AGENT.—The *Falmouth Post* supplies the following:—"The appointment of an Island Agent gave rise to a lengthy and interesting debate on Wednesday last. A conference on the subject had been held with the members of the council, and the report of the committee was, that the retention of the services of Mr. Burge had been agreed upon. This was a most extraordinary proceeding, the more especially, as several members are of opinion that an Island Agent is no longer required; while others candidly confess, that if required, a salary of £1500 sterling is exorbitant, and one which the island in its present depressed condition can ill afford to pay. Of what influence, let us ask, is Mr. Burge? What good has he done? We are reminded by Mr. Osborn, that the House of Assembly made him a present not long ago of £3000, 'as a mark of the sterling value they placed upon his services.' Services indeed! What services? He attended a few meetings of the West India body—wrote a few letters to the Commissioners of Correspondence—and spoke a speech which was scarcely listened to by the members of the imperial parliament, when the bill was introduced for the purpose of doing away with the constitution of Jamaica. And so, because our representatives were silly enough to throw away a vast sum of money in 1839, on an unprincipled, intriguing lawyer, they must forsooth, for the sake of consistency, waste more of the island's impoverished treasury, on a man who, by the admission of those who are his most staunch supporters, is 'not the agent for Jamaica, but of a few individuals.' We are told by Mr. Osborn, that 'were he to expose the secrets of a correspondence held for upwards of twenty years, by Mr. Burge with persons in this colony—a correspondence vilifying the whole of our coloured population, the house would be astonished.' We are further told by the same gentleman, that Mr. Burge is 'all things to all men'—a whig under a whig government, a tory under tory administration;' that his 'vacilliating disposition was stimulated more by self-interest than public principle;' and this is the individual whose appointment is supported by Mr. Osborn for 'consistency's sake!' As Mr. Hart very justly remarked, 'if Mr. Burge performed certain services he was liberally remunerated;' and we feel not a little surprised and indignant that a representative of one of the most important parishes in the island, a man of fair fame and unblemished reputation, should be found talking of the debt of gratitude due to Mr. Burge in the same breath, and at the same moment, that he denounced him as being inimical to the great mass of the people who are required to be taxed for his support. We deny that Mr. Burge's advocacy rescued Jamaica from the ruin with which she was threatened. To Sir Robert Peel—to British honour, and to British generosity ought our thanks to be given; and with this conviction on our minds we hope that a proper reduction will be made in his salary, and his 'valuable services' dispensed with at no very distant period." A subsequent paper adds:—"Mr. Burge has been again placed on the list of Jamaica's splendid paupers, but for one year only and at a reduced salary of £1000 per annum, which is just £700 more than his services are worth. If he possess one spark of honour and gentlemanly feeling, he will, after reading the sentiments of his constituents retire from his post. If, however, the love of money so engrosses his thoughts and soul, as to induce him to act, notwithstanding all that has been said about him, we seriously advise the "learned gentleman" to "assume a virtue, though he have it not," at the end of the next year, and "like a well-bred dog, walk down stairs whenhe sees preparations on foot for kicking him into the street." The days of his agency are numbered." The *Morning Chronicle* pithily observes upon this that "ingratitude is the lot of public men."

The following sample of Jamaica attornies is given in the *Baptist Herald*.—"An attorney residing not an hundred miles from Good Hope engaged a labourer to perform a job of work, requesting him to begin upon a certain day. The man hired those he considered necessary to assist, and at the time specified was ready to begin the job, but was informed by the attorney that it must be postponed for some days. The man discharged

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his assistants, and, when he would have hired them again, found it impossible to do so. He stated his difficulty to the attorney, and gave up (to use his own expression) the agreement; *nothing* was said by the attorney for some weeks, and in the meantime the poor man was assisting to erect a Baptist chapel. The persecuting spirit of his old employer was immediately stirred within him, nor would he allow it to lull till he had compelled him to pay a heavy fine for *breaking his agreement*. The man, as was natural, expressed a determination not to work upon the property again. The same attorney has the charge of a property not a week's walk from Windsor Pen. The large majority of the labourers there located were anxious to erect upon the property a large shed, for the purpose of holding their usual prayer meeting; they applied to their employer for permission, and were insultingly refused. Such a refusal has excited a great deal of bad feeling, and many declare they will leave at once, unless they are allowed a room to meet for social prayer. Let these facts be pondered, and it will be seen that honest men for managers will do far more than immigration to keep the island in a healthy state. *With or* without labourers from Africa, the island will never prosper till we have *continuous wages, continuous kind treatment, and a continuous discharging*, until all have gone, of the petty despots, who, having lost the power of the whip, have lost the only power they ever had."

The same paper supplies the following fact, in answer to the question why the new coloured proprietors do not grow sugar. "An enterprising and industrious black man, being in possession of a considerable portion of land, came to the praiseworthy determination of planting a certain portion of it in canes; but the petty *creatures* to whom he applied for plants threw every impediment in his way, and were determined to make the 'ambitious fellow' pay more than other people for them. But this fellow, possessing a little more sense than they gave him credit for, went further, and applied to a coloured proprietor, who afforded him every facility in carrying out his intentions, and the plants were procured from that gentleman's estate.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT.—St. Andrews Agricultural Association has offered a premium of ten guineas to any person who shall *plant* and *establish* 1000 cocoa nut trees on any plantation in the parish.

The Vere society offers a premium to any person who shall erect a set of coppers upon an improved principle, effecting a saving in fuel, and producing a *more* speedy evaporation of the liquor; and also intends to award two prizes to the labourers who shall have planted, manured, and cultivated to maturity a field of canes at the least cost, and yielding the best returns, the extent of land not to be less than eight acres.

Mr. Edie has invented a harrow for the purpose of clearing young canes and moulding them. It is said to be a very ingenious and simple contrivance by which the roots of weeds are cut and grubbed up from a considerable depth beneath the surface, and conveyed from the field. The labour saved is thus stated; two steers attended by three labourers could do the work of twenty-four labourers with the hoe in a given time. £10 sterling has been given as a premium to Mr. Edie by the St. Andrews Association.

IMMIGRATION.—On the 10th of September an English brig sailed from Kingston, with six African delegates and a white physician on board, bound to Sierra Leone for emigrants.

BARBADOS.—(Not from the *Liberal*, but the *West Indian*).—"It is not pleasant to us to publish to the world the dishonour or cupidity of our proprietors—to draw down the ridicule, or contempt, or obloquy of the wise and virtuous on our magistracy; but really, it fills us *with indignation* to behold the recklessness of the one, and the imbecility of the other. What individual can read the report of the case, Davis against Carter, and withhold his disapprobation, nay, his unmeasured condemnation? Here is a man, for visiting his reputed wife at night, charged by an unjust attorney, rent for the house which that wife occupies, and for which she pays the attorney rent by giving him her labour; and on refusing to comply with the illegal demand, cited before a magistrate, the friend and croney of the complainant, we suppose—who, in the absence of all proof of the debt —nay, in the presence of direct proof that there could be no legal demand —*orders* the labourer to pay the amount, for which, but for the court of appeal, he must have undergone imprisonment for some time? Is this disregard of law and equity to be silently submitted to? Never so long as we have a press at our command, and are permitted by providence to wield a pen. We will expose the delinquencies of Mr. Evelyn and his time-serving brethren, though our reward be a prison. We feel most strongly in this case. Davis has been, by the statement of Carter himself, *incarcerated for forty days* for a debt which he did not owe; a debt which Carter unjustly sought to recover, and which the police magistrate for Christchurch iniquitously and illegally ordered him to pay. We shall see what redress the injured man will receive. But this we must say, it never entered our imagination that there was a magistrate in the commission of the peace—Mr. Alexander Harper Morris excepted—who could have given so unrighteous a judgment—who would have dared to disgrace the records *of any* court with proceedings of the nature of those to which we are now referring. Mr. Evelyn, it appears, has not learned wisdom from the chastisements that his erring brother has received. He must needs sigh for notoriety, and notoriety he shall have."—We give our assistance to this laudable design of our contemporary.—ED. *Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

ANTIGUA.—R. H. Haynes, esq., a practical planter of Antigua, well-known for his successful experiments in sugar boiling, has put forth a prospectus of a work, which he offers to the acceptance of his brother planters, as the result of thirty years' experience. From the advertisement of the work we make the following extract:—

'The work contains an account of his method, not only of *improving the quality* but of *increasing the quantity* of saccharine matter in the cane at least fifty per cent., by an improved plan of cultivation, and management of the plant in all its stages, backed by arithmetical proof, that it is less expensive than that which is now in use in most of these islands; and that the results of the general adoption of this plan throughout the free colonies would be the saving of 700,000 dollars in labour, and an addition of fifty thousand tons of sugar per annum to the average exportations."—*Antigua Herald.*

DOMINICA.—The following are said to be the statistics referred to in a speech of Mr. J. Fadelle, in the house of assembly:—

"Annual average of 4 years produce ending with slavery, 54,214 cwt sugar—annual average of 4 years of apprenticeship, 39,076 cwt.—annual average of 4 years of freedom, 38,998 cwt.

"With regard to coffee no accurate statistical table could be presented. It might generally be stated however, that the export of coffee from this island, under the combined influences of the long existing blight and high wages to the cane cultivation, had declined from *one million and a quarter of pounds* in 1832, to a *third* of a million in the present year."

It appears from these statistics that the average sugar crop during the four years of apprenticeship was 15,138 cwts., or about 1009 hogsheads of 15 cwts. each below the average of the four preceding years of slavery, whilst the falling off in the four years of freedom averaged only 78 cwts., or about 5 hogsheads, as compared with the four years of apprenticeship. We should have liked to see an annual statement of crops for the entire three periods, with fair notices of the state of the seasons and other *influencing* causes, to enable us to form a correct judgment of the actual deficiency to be charged to free labour. As regards the coffee crop, nothing can be inferred to the prejudice of free labour from the statement before us, as it is pretty generally known that for several years the coffee plantations have been suffering severely from blight, and the diminution of crops, enormous as it is, may be entirely attributable to that cause.—*Barbados Liberal.*

The *St. Vincent Observer* tells us that the agent for that colony has written to the Gambia, representing to the proper authorities the propriety of publishing a proclamation recommendatory of emigration to these colonies. By what authority is this?

TOBAGO.—In the address of the Assembly to the speech of his Excellency the Lieutenant-governor on opening the session, we find it stated that the governor-in-chief, in a despatch on the supply bill, had "expressed himself averse to the tax of *four* shillings imposed by the bill on each male labourer, which he terms a capitation tax." The house state, in defence of the measure, that they "cannot view the tax in that light, but consider it, as other taxes imposed on trades, professions, and employments, a tax on the employment of the labourer from which he derives an income.—*Barbados Liberal.*

The tax referred to has been in operation some time. Its oppressive character may be gathered from the following extract of a letter received from a well-informed correspondent some months since:—

"There is a tax levied in Tobago on all persons of 4s. sterling each, and those people freed in 1838 come in for this. A few days ago a man who had been formerly an apprenticed labourer, was engaged by an officer to assist his butler, and on the 27th of November last, the marshall's deputy came to the officer's house with a warrant against the poor man for not having paid the 4s., with the addition of £1. 19s. fees for the treasurer and marshall—the poor man was wholly ignorant of the poll-tax, and thus was made to pay in all £2. 3s. or go to gaol. The poll-tax was not allowed to be in force at St. Lucia after emancipation in 1838; and why the poor people of Tobago are to be inflicted with it, I cannot devise. This is one case out of lots similar, so that the marshall and treasurer obtain 9 times and ¾ as much in fees as the colony itself—viz. the colony, 4s. and the others £1 19s. Surely this a sad imposition."

THE FREEHOLD SYSTEM is about to be fairly tried in Tobago. We are informed by a friend on whose authority we can rely, that one of our most extensive attornies (in consequence of instructions from home) has recently ordered about 100 acres of one of the estates under his charge to be surveyed, and divided into small lots, which he means to offer to the labourers of the estate at a moderate rate of purchase. An estate long out of cultivation, and situate near the Moravian church at *Mount Moriah*, has also been purchased a few days ago on speculation, with the view of leasing and selling land to the peasantry. The experiment therefore is about to be entered on— and, once begun, it must, in self-defence even, be adopted by all.—*Tobago Gazette.*

TRINIDAD.—On Saturday the 20th October, the *Chieftain* returned from Sierra Leone with a full complement of people (248), having made the voyage from this island and back with her cargo in 98 days.—*Trinidad Standard.*

In Trinidad there is a prospect of great judicial reforms. Trial by jury and the English law of evidence are to be introduced in criminal cases.

The immigration to Trinidad from the islands still continues. During the months of August and September upwards of 500 arrived. These, it is probable, were principally from Anguilla, which had been inundated by a hurricane which destroyed all the crops, and threatened the inhabitants with starvation. As British Guiana has retired from the field, and no lofiger pays the passage money of immigrants from the islands, Trinidad has a monopoly of that supply.

The *Gazette* congratulates the planters on the increase of immigration from the neighbouring colonies up to the 30th September. It says—no less than 728 labourers had arrived during the last two months, without reckoning many other immigrants, not exactly labourers, but still very useful people in a thinly peopled and progressing colony.

The crop of 1842 is stated to have exceeded that of 1841 by about 300 hogsheads, up to the 30th of September both years. The number of hogsheads expected to be shipped by the 31st of December is 20,000.

BRITISH GUIANA. WANT OF ECONOMY.—A correspondent of *The Royal Gazette* calls the attention of the Editor to the general want of economy, and the misapplication of labour and capital every where observable, and the influence which this has on its credit and prosperity. From the editor's remarks on the communication of his correspondent, we make the following extract, which is well deserving the consideration of proprietors and capitalists at home:—"The complaints which AN AGENT makes of the general want of economy, and the general misapplication of capital and labour, are better founded. These faults indeed, lie at the bottom of the greater part, if not the whole, of the existing distress. In former times it was so easy to raise money, or to run in debt, upon the credit of a plantation, that few planters felt the necessity of economy. This profusion and extravagance was still increased more, by the fact, that most of

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the proprietors were non-resident. The managers and attorneys, as the money they spent was not theirs, had no motive to economize; extravagance in one led to extravagance in another;—and in some *things*, especially in buildings, boats, and machinery, it seems almost to have been a contest which plantation should spend the most money, to least purpose.

"As to the misapplication of labour, that was essentially part and parcel of the system of slavery. Every thing was done by brute force; and it was not until shortly before emancipation, when the diminution in the number of hands began to be felt, that any effort was made to supply by ingenuity and contrivance the place of mere muscular exertion.

"Since the most serious evils of which our correspondent justly complains can thus be traced to the former absolute command of labour, and unlimited extent of credit which the planters enjoyed, it is to be hoped that the present short supply of labour and difficulty of borrowing money will not prove an unmixed evil; but will tend to some general and decided improvements in the management of planting affairs. Necessity is a sharp teacher; but generally speaking, it is the only teacher to which men will listen. It is in vain to expect men to grow economical, till they have experienced in their own persons the evils of profusion; nor will sugar planters, more than any body else, exert their genius to discover new and more productive applications of labour, till they find themselves obliged to use their wits, or lose their estates.

"If, then, capitalists at home will no longer trust us with their money, we must endeavour to see what can be done without it; and how far thrift and good management may be made to answer the purpose of loans and mortgages. Nobody can doubt that the prosperity of the colony would be placed upon a far more stable footing, could it once be delivered from that dependence upon foreign capitalists, who have never lent their money for nothing, and whose favours, whatever appearance of momentary prosperity they might produce, have ended most commonly in the ruin of the borrower. To mere speculators, whether colonial or foreign, the colony at present holds out no great inducements; but those who are content with the sober rewards of persevering industry have, perhaps, as good a chance here as elsewhere."

THE CHEAPNESS OF FERTILE LAND being assigned by the Commons committee as the chief cause of the ills complained of in the West Indies, the *Freeman's Sentinel* (Guiana paper) replies, that this cause cannot affect the labourers, for three reasons. First, because only one-thirtieth part of them have any land, and these not on an average an acre a head. Secondly, because the land they have is not fertile but either swampy, sandy, or exhausted soils. Thirdly, because it is not cheap, the labourers having paid from four hundred to eight hundred dollars per acre for it, which is very far beyond the price at which *good* land has ever been sold before. The *Gazette* acknowledges the truth of all this; and naïvely says, that the abundance of fertile land is a cause of mischief, not because the labourers get hold of it, but because it is in the possession of the planters.

A CANDID ADMISSION.—High wages demanded by and paid to the negro, is not the *only* evil with which we have to contend. The whole system by which properties are managed is unwise, and unsuited to the change that has taken place. It was framed during the existence of slavery; it could only work with advantage while slavery lasted, and it should have been abandoned at the self-same time, when the monster whose power it contributed to uphold was vanquished and overcome by the guardian genius of liberty. It is folly in the extreme for individuals to cry about the prevailing distress, while they are too indolent to set their houses in order while they exert not sufficient energy to better their condition, but, on the contrary, are apparently contented to spend the little means they have remaining in the purchase of those articles which ought to be raised at home for the maintenance of themselves and families.—*Guiana Gazette.*

IMMIGRANT CATCHING.—The planters of Guiana are beginning to discover that to their own "dirty acts," as one of them phrases it, is to be traced "the bad working of the estates." Anxious to obtain labour, they are not scrupulous as to the means of securing it. "Sly emissaries" and "enticing letters," are the order of the day. In all this, the editor of the *Times* observes, "the inconsistency of the Demerara planter" is conspicuous. He is "always prepared to catch up the labourers lost by his 'neighbour;'" yet watches "with a dog-in-the-manger jealousy, the reception given to those lost by himself."

THE SUGAR DUTIES.—The reported alteration of the duties on the Brazilian sugar from 63s. per cwt. to 30s., and on plantation from 24s. to 16s., does not meet with any great favour in Liverpool, principally on the ground that it would be attended with a serious loss to the revenue, and that it would give the grower of plantation sugar so great an advantage over the Brazilian planter, as to render it doubtful whether the latter would be able to compete with the former in the English market, except at times when the prices of sugar were extravagantly high. Supposing the duty on plantation sugar to be reduced from 24s. to 16s. per cwt., it is believed that there would be a loss to the revenue of a million and a-half sterling, and it is considered very doubtful whether the increased consumption of Brazilian sugar at 30s. duty would make up for it. It is also felt, that a discriminating duty of 14s. per cwt., or rather of between 15s. and 16s. per cwt. (for, after the additional five per cent. and two and a-half per cent. are added to the respective duties on Brazilian and West Indian sugar, it amounts to that) is much too high, and would be likely, if there was a moderate fall of prices, either to drive the Brazilian out of the market, or at least very much to diminish their imports. On these grounds the measure is not much liked, although it is admitted that it would lower the price of sugar to the consumer, and would, for a time, give a considerable impulse to the trade with Brazil.—*Liverpool Times.*

LOUISIANA.—The legislature of this state has passed a law entitled "An act *more effectually to prevent free persons of colour from entering into this state*, and for other purposes." This is in the teeth of the "glorious constitution."—*American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

OHIO. STATE LAW AND THE CONSTITUTION.—The legislature of Ohio has enacted, that coloured persons settling in that state shall give bond for their good behaviour. On a trial which has arisen out of this, the supreme court has, on a suit of error, decided, that "the legislature have no power to make distinction among citizens of other states who may settle in this."—*Ibid.*

THE IMPORT TRADE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

Governor LIGHT to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, 15th March, 1841.

I have the honour of forwarding to your lordship the comparative tonnage of shipping entered at George-town, from the harbour-master and collector of customs. There is some little discrepancy in the two, but both show the large increase of tonnage in 1840 compared with 1839. I have forwarded both returns, as that of the harbour-master has given the corresponding entries in the month of January for successive years, including 1841, in which month of this year there is an increase nearly double that of any corresponding January of previous years. It is satisfactory to be able to give your lordship such striking proofs of the increasing prosperity of this colony.

A RETURN of the number of vessels and tonnage entered the port of George-town in the under-mentioned years.

Harbour Master's Office, Demerara, 20th Feb. 1841.

——	No. of Vessels.	Amount of Tonnage.	REMARKS.
For the Year ending 31st of December 1834	405	72,419	These numbers do not include vessels from Berbice, vessels in her Majesty's service, nor vessels that may have arrived in the port and obtained permission from her Majesty's customs to land certain articles of cargo without coming to entry.
,, ,, 1835	394	77,055	
,, ,, 1836	430	80,185	
,, ,, 1837	477	84,759	
,, ,, 1838	504	93,535	
,, ,, 1839	524	81,273	
,, ,, 1840	552	92,838	

N.B.—the number of vessels entered in the port of George-town in the month of January of the present year, exceeds by thirty-two the number that have entered within the same period in any of the seven preceding years, and the tonnage by 6,878, viz.:—

——	No. of Vessels.	Amount of Tonnage.	——	No. of Vessels.	Amount of Tonnage.
In the January of 1834	24	2054	In the January of 1838	44	8178
,, 1835	28	5304	,, 1839	31	5688
,, 1836	39	7435	,, 1840	39	7511
,, 1837	41	8004	,, 1841	76	15,056

(Signed) H. H. SOUTHEY.
Port of George-town, Demerara.

RETURN of the number and tonnage of vessels entered inwards at the Custom House, George-town, Demerara, for the following years, viz.:—

Years.	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	——
1834	630	90,221	Including vessels from Berbice.
1835	672	95,039	
1836	543	88,909	From the junction of the two ports of New Amsterdam and George-town, the Berbice trade is considered a coasting-trade, and is not included herein.
1837	532	90,431	
1838	536	94,824	
1839	501	81,293	
1840	567	93,211	

Custom House, 22nd Feb. 1841. (Signed) CHAS. ROBINSON, Collector.

In connexion with these gratifying facts, the following statement will show the growing prosperity of the colony.

A RETURN showing—1st. The Number of New Stores, for the sale of dry goods, provisions, liquors, and merchandize in general. 2nd. The number of free settlers' cottages (almost exclusively from the emancipated class) erected and established in the rural districts since the 1st August, 1838.

Districts.	Counties.	No. of Stores.	No. of Cottages.	Remarks.
A.	Demerara	3	8	The village of Mahaica and the hamlet Mahaicany are rapidly increasing, and some settlement are springing up near Abary.
B.	,,	4	14	In this district but little disposition to wander has been exhibited. The labourers industrious, and well behaved.
C.	,,	2	6	Many plots of land have been purchased by labourers, and preparations for building cottages are in progress.
D.	,,	7	64	Most of the saleable land in this district is high up the river.
E.	,,	4	,,	,, ,,
F.	Essequibo	10	6	This district is composed of the islands Leguan and Wakenaam. Fredericksburgh is greatly increasing.
G.	,,	11	27	Free settlers can have a fine choice of convenient plots of good land in this district.
H.	,,	3	8	Free settlers can have a fine choice of capital land, but remotely situated.
I.	Berbice	2	57	In this district abandoned lands to a considerable extent.

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DR. MADDEN'S REPORT.

(Continued.)

Having proceeded to Accra, I immediately caused the proclamation prohibiting slavery on the part of Europeans and other British subjects in our settlements to be carried into execution, and generally made known among the slaves. I found that a British merchant, lately deceased at Accra, had left a large number of slaves, between 400 and 500 by common report, for the benefit of his creditors (chiefly in London) to whom he was largely indebted. Two-thirds of the trade on the Gold Coast are in the hands of one London house, from which establishment a great proportion of the merchants on the coast obtain large credits; and, if misfortunes should arise, or death should happen, the president of the council is expected to see that the interests of this house are taken care of, and in most cases of deaths he becomes the official executor, and the disposal of the property rests with him. In such cases, and in that of the property in this instance left, it chiefly consisted of slaves and pawns; and on one occasion, when I contended with the authorities that the sale of such persons would amount to a felony, I was informed that justice was a greater duty than generosity, and that people, where debts were due and creditors clamorous, could not be deprived of any property that was left to pay them.

I called on Mr. Topp, the commandant of the British fort at Accra, to have the slave and pawns in this case brought before me. The deceased person had lately been commandant of the fort, and his slaves were living in the vicinity. I received from Mr. Topp, I must gratefully acknowledge, every assistance he could render, or facility he could throw in the way of my proceedings: he had the slaves of the deceased brought up to meet me at the house of Mr. Bannermann, and there I explained to them, as I had done at Cape Coast, the state of the law with regard to them and their masters, and informed them, whenever they desired to obtain their freedom, they were justified in demanding it at the hands of the British authorities at the place, and that no Englishman had a legal right to hold them in slavery. These poor people little knew how they were situated; that in a few days, but for these proceedings, they were destined to be sold; and many of them might probably have been committed to the care of a person whose factory at Little Popoe I have already spoken of. Since the death of their late master, they had been allowed to remain in idleness with his family; and, having been severely worked heretofore, the change in their treatment was for the better, and they imagined it was to last. Their spokesman informed me, on behalf of all of them present, that they were thankful for what the British government had done for them, and whenever they found themselves badly treated, or not given enough to buy food and clothes, they would go to the commandant and ask to be made free; but, so long as the children of their late master behaved well towards them, they would remain in their service.

They went away, however, very grateful for the information they received, and little is likely to be ever got from their services as slaves. I then called on Mr. Bannermann to inform his slaves (to a considerable amount), to do the same with them as had been done in the former case; and Mr. Bannermann, having patiently heard the explanation I gave him of the state of the law as regarded slavery, and the nature of the proclamation for its prohibition, this gentleman at once expressed his determination to abide by the law, and to set his slaves at liberty; and much to his honour I must add, he stated that, on every subject connected with the affairs of the settlement, his strongest desire was to meet the views and wishes of the home government. I now sent for a coloured gentleman who held a considerable number of slaves, of the name of Bruce, and pursued the same course as in the case of Mr. Bannermann, and with similar results. Circumstances having come to my knowledge at Accra, which made it desirable for me to get further information on this subject of slave-holding and man-pawning in our settlements, I addressed a letter to Mr. President Maclean, from Prince's Island, to make several further inquiries respecting slavery in these places, and the disposal of slaves on the part of British subjects. The queries I put to Mr. Maclean, and the answers he returned to them, will be found in the appendix. It will be seen that he denies any knowledge of the existence of slavery on the part of British subjects on the Gold Coast; that he does not consider the British act of emancipation applicable to our settlements on the Gold Coast; that slaves or pawns are never sold to pay the debts of deceased British subjects in these settlements; that a number of slaves, in the year 1839, belonging to a merchant of Accra, who had then died, had not been sold by him, Mr. President Maclean, to a person sometimes residing at Accra, but chiefly at his factory at Little Popoe; but that he, Captain Maclean, did interfere for the protection of the creditors, and he "enfranchised the slaves, apportioning to each, according to his ability, a small sum which he was to pay to the estate. These sums many paid, others borrowed the necessary amounts, giving their labour at low wages until they could raise money to repay the debts so contracted;" the purchaser alluded to, "he believes, advanced money for many of them, as he required their labour. That it is incorrect to say that pawns (that is, individuals) are the property which is really made over to the purchaser; such is not the case; it is a certain portion or quantity of labour which the purchaser gets in exchange for his money: he has no property whatever in, or right over, his debtor, who can leave him at any moment he chooses." I would like to know from Captain Maclean, how the purchaser gets the labour without the person of the pawn? or how Captain Maclean never sold any of the slaves to this person, and yet he "advanced the money for many of them, as he required their labour?" or how Captain Maclean can believe that no British subject holds slaves or pawns, and yet he, Captain Maclean, is called on to interfere for the protection of the creditors when a merchant dies "possessed of slaves acquired by his creditors' money?" or, finally, how Captain Maclean can consider that the act of emancipation of 1834 was never made applicable to these settlements, and yet admits that he has never seen the act in question, and knows nothing of its specific provisions. He has seen, however, the Act 5 Geo. 4, which I had cited against slave holding; and the term "pawns" he states, is not to be found in the act. I would ask Captain Maclean if the term slave is to be found there; and if a pawn is any other than a slave, while the debt is unpaid for which he has sold his freedom to another, and while he cannot labour for himself and is compelled to labour for his creditor.

It might be well to have considered, before this objection was taken to the act, what Vatel has said to similar objections: "Conjunctures vary, and produce new kinds of cases that cannot be brought within the terms of law, except by inferences drawn from the general views of the legislature."

The replies I have referred to admit of many comments. I am very unwilling to make any further observations on them, but I feel bound to declare that the opinions expressed in them are totally at variance with the results of all the inquiries I have made on the subject of these queries.

TOBACCO AND SNUFF.—The subscriber is very anxious to call the attention of grocers and tobacconists to the importance of their influence in the spread of anti-slavery views; as, by selling tobacco and snuff, they are direct agents in this country of encouraging the system of slavery. And should any dealer exclaim that his trade will be injured by abandoning the sale of these articles, the subscriber would encourage him to prove it. About £200 a year in snuff, and £400 or £500 in tobacco, have been disposed of in the concern I took to, and have managed for the last three years; but I am thankful to say that I am now liberated from the contaminating influence of interest by discontinuing the sale of them, and my customers are not prejudiced against me, but continue their custom for other goods. Many, indeed, declare that, "as Englishmen they ought not to encourage slavery by smoking," and some intend to abandon it. Truly it may be said, our brother's blood cries to us from the ground in this thing. But, whilst I quote this solemn language, let none suppose that the garment of charity does not belong to the writer. He rather gives warning, knowing that we shall all have to give an account of the deeds done in the body at the last day. A. B.

THE BEY OF TUNIS.—The government of Spain and Portugal ratified a thousand times treaties with Great Britain for the abolition of the slave-trade, and a thousand times they, the christians of Spain and Portugal, broke those treaties. The Bey of Tunis ratified no such treaties with Great Britain, but promised Great Britain and her representative at his court, Sir Thomas Reade, to abolish the slave-trade in his territory, and the Bey has kept his promise. Among other evident proofs, we cite one, which very recently took place, from a letter of Mr. Lusco, at Sax, dated 25th November, 1842.

In this letter, Mr. Lusco says:—"A caravan of many slaves arrived on the frontiers of the kingdom of Tunis a few days ago, when immediately the shiekhs of those districts presented themselves to the chiefs of the caravan, and in the name of the Bey informed them, that, as soon as they passed the frontiers with slaves upon the territories of the Bey, those slaves were free, and the masters had no more control or right over them. The chief of the caravan, seeing that the Bey's orders were precise and absolute, retired forthwith. "It is a great pity that the ordinances of many christian princes and governments are not equally well enforced.—*Malta Times.*

MR. TURNBULL.—By late advices from Havana it appears that the interference of Mr. Turnbull, on the slavery question, which they had learned was sanctioned by the British government, was looked upon with great irritation and jealousy. The Cuban planters are represented as resolved to resist any attempt at the interference of Great Britain with their slaves, even though such movement might be authorised by their own government—intimating in fact, that they will throw off their allegiance to their mother country, if such a step be sanctioned by it.—*Morning Chronicle.*

Mr. Turnbull, who had been arrested on landing on the island was brought to Havana on 3rd November, as a prisoner. His arrival caused a great excitement in the city. There was even talk of putting him to death, but through the exertions of the British consul, that disposition of him was changed to an order for immediate departure from the island, and a prohibition never to return. On the 6th he was on board the steamship *Thames* for Nassau and England.—*Times.*

SLAVERY IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA.—The Egga people seldom make or purchase slaves from their own, that is, the Nufi nation; but always prefer purchasing such whose native countries are far away, because they are considered less liable to effect their escape. Their description of the condition of domestic slaves is so favourable, that, at first, I doubted its correctness; and, to ascertain the truth, I inquired of several persons, whose accounts always agreed in the main points. The slave is allowed half of his time, to work for himself; and the other half he must spend in his master's service, for which he receives food and clothing, both of which are very cheap. The clothing consists of a narrow piece of cloth around the loins; and the food is chiefly such as the owners cultivate by the labour of their slaves. The slave is allowed to sell the produce of his farm, after his master has disposed of his own; and if he is engaged in trading, and employed in canoes visiting the various market-places, he may have his own articles of commerce, and dispose of them to his own advantage. He is permitted to purchase as many wives as his means will allow; and his offspring are free. This circumstance accounts in some measure for the continuance of the internal slave-trade. If the slave can produce money enough, it not unfrequently happens that he purchases his own liberty; after which he is allowed to remain unmolested at the place where he has before been a slave, or, if he chooses, he may return to his own country. The former is done more frequently than the latter. A domestic slave is only allowed to be sold if guilty of a crime; and none taken for the debts of their masters can be sold out of the country, without causing much trouble to those who violate this law. The term "domestic slaves" requires an explanation here. It is obvious that, when they purchase slaves, they are at liberty to sell them again, or to employ them for their own work, as they find most convenient for themselves, and most to their own interests; and that, at the time the bargain is made, they never pledge themselves in any way whether they are intended for domestic use or for a foreign market. When, therefore, they speak of domestic slaves, and of the limits under which they are with regard to the infliction of punishment or the re-selling of them, they can only speak of such slaves as have been long at the place, and entered into the relations of life through marriages, &c., and have thus become members of the community from which they cannot be separated so easily.—*Schön's Journal of the Niger Expedition.*

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